Music and Cultural Trauma

V SAKOJOLNJ USICOLOGY





Реч уреднице Editor's Note

Настављајући да доприноси актуелним истраживачким токовима у наукама о музици, часопис Музикологија пажњу овогодишњих бројева усмерава на студије музике и културне трауме. Главна тематска рубрика броја 36 обухвата испитивања традиционалне, уметничке и филмске музике и трауматских искустава у различитим локалним контекстима, уводећи у фокус питања избеглиштва и дијаспоре, ратних разарања и послератних одговорности, репресије и цензуре, као и теоријска и практична разматрања комбинована са студијама сећања, пост-сећања, идентитетских политика и балканизма. Рубрика "Varia" доноси разноврсне радове, од анализе погребних тужбалица словачке националне мањине у Србији, преко текста о византијским кратимама инспирисаним певањем птица, до студије о католичкој музици током Другог ватиканског концила и прегледа звучних снимака традиционалног српског црквеног појања, који се чувају у Музиколошком институту САНУ.

The journal *Musicology* focuses this year's issues on studies of music and cultural trauma, thus continuing to contribute to current research streams in the science of music. The "Main Theme" section of issue 36 includes examinations of traditional, art and film music and traumatic experiences in different local contexts, bringing into focus issues of refugee and diaspora, war destruction and post-war responsibilities, repression and censorship, as well as theoretical and practical considerations combined with memory studies, postmemory, identity politics and Balkanism. The "Varia" section comprises diverse articles, ranging from the analysis of the funeral laments of the Slovak national minority in Serbia, through the study of Byzantine *kratēmata* inspired by birdsongs, the research on the status of the Roman Catholic liturgical music during the Second Vatican Council, to the discussion of audio recordings of traditional Serbian church chant preserved at the Phonoarchive of the Institute of Musicology SASA.

Музика и културна траума Music and Cultural Trauma **Музика** и културна траума

Music and Cultural Trauma









Музика

и културна траума (I)

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and Cultural Trauma (I)

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Musicology is a peer-reviewed journal published by the Institute of Musicology SASA (Belgrade). It is dedicated to the research of music as an aesthetical, cultural, historical and social phenomenon and primarily focused on musicological and ethnomusicological research. The editorial board also welcomes music-centred interdisciplinary research. The journal is published semiannually. Instructions for authors can be found on the following address: https://muzikologija-musicology.com/index.php/MM/about/submissions

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Настављајући да доприноси актуелним истраживачким токовима у наукама о музици, часопис *Музиколоїија* пажњу овогодишњих бројева усмерава на студије музике и културне трауме. Главна тематска рубрика броја 36 обухвата испитивања традиционалне, уметничке и филмске музике и трауматских искустава у различитим локалним контекстима, уводећи у фокус питања избеглиштва и дијаспоре, ратних разарања и послератних одговорности, репресије и цензуре, као и теоријска и практична разматрања комбинована са студијама сећања, пост-сећања, идентитетских политика и балканизма. Усмерени превасходно на проблематику XX, али и XXI века, радови сведоче о богатству тема и приступа и перспективности овог истраживачког поља.

"Тему броја" отвара рад Јоаниса Цекураса, посвећен проучавању музике и трансгенерацијске трауме Понтских Грка, тачније потомака избеглица из Санте, грчког локалитета у турској области Црног мора, који је 1921. године претрпео погром и уништење. Питања о томе како савремени Понти преговарају сећање на локалитет и трауму својих предака истражена су кроз контекстуално осветљену анализу дијалошког и партиципативног певања, познатог под називима мухабеши или йаракаши. Цекурас користи резултате свог опсежног етномузиколошког теренског рада, ослања се на новије теоријске приступе трауми и постсећању, а указује и на концепт арошимије који обухвата егзистенцијалну носталгију, инхерентну онтологијама бола понтске мухабеши музике. Апсолвирајући ограничења психоаналитичких и постструктуралистичких теоријских дискурса о трауми, аутор долази до закључка да поменута музичка пракса представља медиј трансгенерацијског посредовања неизрецивости трауме, као и развијања снажне емпатије с патњом жртава.

Студија Ане Г. Пјотровске бави се немачким композиторима филмске музике, који су своје активности започели у Немачкој у периоду између светских ратова, те наставили да делују и у поратном времену,

обележеном трауматичним откривањем Холокауста и разоткривањем нацистичке политике. У раду су разјашњени различити фактори попустљивости према ауторима овог жанра. Представљени су бројни композитори, међу којима је тек неколицина била оптужена за подршку нацистичком режиму. На основу целокупног увида, ауторка сматра да је трауматизовано друштво бирало различите стратегије, укључујући и заборављање непосредне прошлости при преласку у нову стварност. Заборављање је представљало и једну од одлика репресивног режима у комунистичкој Румунији, у којој је неколико генерација композитора из дијаспоре деценијама практично било избрисано из историје музике. Рад Ане Дјакону бави се румунско-француским композитором Маријусом Констаном и осветљава како су званичне румунске власти поступале с дијаспором, указујући на идеолошке стереотипе и висок степен контроле, који су владали културном политиком ове државе. Дјакону посредно упућује на однос културне трауме и музике у репресивном режиму. Међутим, она проблемски посматра сопствена и истраживања својих колега, која су заснована на грађи о музици у Националном савету за проучавање архива Секуритатее, доступној у XXI веку, наговештавајући и другу врсту културне трауме, проистекле из наглог повратка демократији и слободи изражавања.

Георгија Петруди бави се стваралачким одговорима кипарског композитора Солона Михаелидеса на турску војну инвазију на северни део Кипра 1974. године. Ауторка се ослања на различите теоријске радове о културној трауми, а посебно на аспекте које Џефри Ч. Александер издваја у конструисању трауме као "мастер-наратива". Из те перспективе представља и анализира композиције Химна и ламенти за Киџар и Моја Киренија, сагледавајући их као део симболичког процеса приповедања трауме. Уз контекстуални осврт на композиторову биографију и истицање његовог значаја у јавној сфери, ауторка закључује да су Михаелидесове композиције учествовале у формирању трауматских сећања уграђених у национални идентитет заједнице кипарских Грка. Михаелидесов случај посматра као могућу полазну тачку будућих истаживања, која би обухватила и поређења између грчких и турских наратива о трауми. Она има у виду да би таква линија проучавања омогућила ново, продубљено сагледавање музике Кипра, острва које је још увек подељено и обележено трансгенерацијским преношењем културне трауме.

Последњи у низу, пети рад у "Теми броја", бави се сложеним теоријским преплетима теорија трауме и балканизма, примењених у сагледавању музике Горана Бреговића, писане за филм *Подземље* Емира Кустурице. Ауторка ове студије, Ана Ђорђевић, инспирисана је

РЕЧ УРЕДНИЦЕ

истраживањима Дијане Јелаче о аспектима ратне трауме и сећања у филмовима постјугословенског периода, у којима је установљена директна повезаност историјских и друштвених траума и њихове филмске репрезентације, уз коришћење балканских стереотипа које преузимају, те на различите начине третирају и пласирају сами балкански аутори. Наведена проблематика пренета је у разматрање музичког поља, а посебна пажња поклоњена је анализи нумере "Месечина", која има централно место у кључним сценама филма *Подземље*. Уз контигентност неразрешених ратних траума на простору некадашње Југославије, балканистичка перспектива наглашена је у случају Бреговићеве музике, која кроз употребу у Кустуричиним филмовима и сама постаје музички стереотип народа Балкана, попримајући негативне конотације које ови стереотипи са собом носе.

Рубрика "Varia", сходно својој концепцији, доноси тематски и методолошки разнолике етномузиколошке и музиколошке радове. Студија Кристине Ломен пружа први детаљно осмишљен етномузиколошки увид у погребне тужбалице словачке националне мањине у Србији. Поручавања су настала на основу теренског рада у Старој Пазови, једном од три војвођанска локалитета на којима је ауторка спроводила своја истраживања. У раду су представљени обичаји везани за смрт и сахрањивање, подробно су анализиране саме погребне тужбалице, а вишеструка вредност документованог материјала потврђена је и чињеницом да с нестанком старије генерације овај обред пада у заборав, те да средње и млађе генерације имају ограничено знање о самом типу извођења погребних тужбалица. Студија Томаса Апостолопулоса настала је на основу проучавања византијских музичких рукописа и њихових транскрипција, то јест "тумачења" у аналитичком неумском писму. Аутор убедљиво потврђује да су се ондашњи музичари инспирисали певањем одређених птица при компоновању појединих крашима. Скретањем пажње на најстарије познате музичке композиције надахнуте имитирањем птичјег певања, Апостолопулос доприноси релативно новој научној области орнитомузикологије. Наредна студија бави се статусом римокатоличке литургијске музике током Другог ватиканског концила. Весна Сара Пено и Сања Стевановић пружају детаљан историјско-друштвени и културолошко-антрополошки увид у ову проблематику, указујући на различите чиниоце који су утицали на изостанак суштинских промена у области црквене музике после поменутог концила. Ауторке постављају основу на којој би будућа компаративна проучавања трендова и појава у новијим традицијама и римокатоличке музике и православног појања у целини могла показати њихове међусобне разлике и сличности. Рубрику закључује рад Наташе

Марјановић, која даје преглед и систематизацију звучних снимака традиционалног српског црквеног појања, насталих током музиколошких теренских истраживања Димитрија Стефановића и Данице Петровић, у оквиру њиховог рада у Музиколошком институту САНУ. Снимци су забележени у црквама и манастирима у Србији, Хрватској, Босни и Херцеговини и Мађарској, од краја шездесетих до средине осамдесетих година XX века. Иако дигитализовани, ови звучни извори, који се чувају у Фоноархиву Музиколошког института САНУ, недовољно су познати, те их ауторка представља као примарну грађу за проучавање српске црквене музичке историје.

Рубрика "Научна критика и полемика" садржи два прилога посвећена новим музиколошким издањима. Опсежан зборник радова *The Routledge Companion to Applied Musicology*, који је уредио музиколог Крис Дроми, критички представља Бојана Радовановић, која кроз преглед двадесет седам поглавља ове књиге проблемски сагледава различите аспекте концепта примењене музикологије, тренутно веома актуелног у савременој науци. На примењену музикологију осврће се и Александар Васић, оцењујући монографију *Александар Вујић од А до III: комйозишор, дирићенш, йијанисша...*, насталу из пера Снежане Николајевић и Бранке Радовић, као изузетно успело стручно остварење којим је постигнута равнотежа између доприноса музикологији и популаризације науке о музици и савремене музике.

У име редакције *Музиколоїије* и у своје име захваљујем свим ауторима научних прилога, рецензентима и сарадницима, који су својим залагањем допринели квалитету овог броја чаописа.

У Београду, 20. јуна 2024. године др Биљана Милановић, главна и одговорна уредница

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

The journal *Musicology* focuses this year's issues on studies of music and cultural trauma, thus continuing to contribute to current research streams in the science of music. The "Main Theme" section of issue 36 includes examinations of traditional, art and film music and traumatic experiences in different local contexts, bringing into focus issues of refugee and diaspora, war destruction and post-war responsibilities, repression and censorship, as well as theoretical and practical considerations combined with memory studies, postmemory, identity politics and Balkanism. Focused primarily on the problems of the twentieth, but also of the twenty-first century, the articles testify to the wealth of topics and approaches and the potential of this research field.

The "Main Theme" opens with the article by Ioannis Tsekouras dedicated to the study of music and transgenerational trauma of the Pontic Greeks, more precisely the descendants of refugees from Santa, a Greek locality in the Turkish Black Sea region, which suffered pogrom and destruction in 1921. Questions about how contemporary Pontic Greeks negotiate the locality's memory and their ancestors' trauma are explored through a thoroughly contextualized analysis of dialogic and participatory singing known as *muhabeti* or *parakathi*. Tsekouras uses the results of his extensive ethnomusicological fieldwork, relies on newer theoretical approaches to trauma and postmemory, and points to the concept of *arothymia*, which encompasses existential nostalgia, inherent in the ontologies of pain of Pontic *muhabeti* music. Absolving the limitations of psychoanalytical and poststructuralist theoretical discourses on trauma, the author concludes that this musical practice represents a medium of transgenerational mediation of the ineffability of trauma and helps develop a strong empathy with the victims' suffering.

Anna G. Piotrowska's article deals with German composers of film music who began their activities in the period between the world wars and continued to work in the post-WWII period, marked by the traumatic revelation of the Holocaust and the disclosure of Nazi policies. The paper

explains various factors that contributed to the tolerance of the authors of this genre. Piotrowska presents numerous composers, among whom only a few were accused of supporting the Nazi regime. Based on the overall insight, she believes that the traumatized society chose different strategies when moving to a new reality, including forgetting the immediate past. Forgetting was also one of the characteristics of the repressive regime in communist Romania, in which several generations of composers from the diaspora were practically erased from the history of music for decades. Ana Diaconu's article deals with the Romanian-French composer Marius Constant. It sheds light on how the official Romanian authorities dealt with the diaspora, pointing to ideological stereotypes and a high degree of control, which ruled the country's cultural policy. Diakonu indirectly refers to the relationship between cultural trauma and music in a repressive regime. Moreover, she problematizes both her own and her colleagues' research, based on archival data on music preserved in the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives, which became available in the twenty-first century, hinting at another kind of cultural trauma, resulting from the sudden return to democracy and freedom of expression.

Georgia Petroudi deals with the creative responses of the Cypriot composer Solon Michaelides to the Turkish military invasion of the northern part of Cyprus in 1974. The author relies on various theoretical works on cultural trauma, especially on aspects singled out by Jeffrey C. Alexander in constructing trauma as a "master narrative." From that perspective, she presents and analyzes the compositions *Hymn and Lament for Cyprus* and *My Kyrenia*, seeing them as part of the symbolic process of trauma narration. By offering a contextual review of the composer's biography and highlighting his importance in the public sphere, the author concludes that Michaelides' compositions participated in the construction of traumatic memories embedded in the national identity of the Greek Cypriot community. Petroudi sees Michaelides' case as a possible starting point for future research that would include comparisons between Greek and Turkish trauma narratives. She believes that such a line of study would enable a new, deeper understanding of the music of Cyprus, an island still divided and marked by the transgenerational transmission of cultural trauma.

The fifth and last article in the "Main Theme" deals with the complex theoretical interweaving of the theories of trauma and Balkanism, applied to the analysis of Goran Bregović's music for the film *Underground*, directed by Emir Kusturica. The author of this study Ana Đorđević is inspired by Dijana Jelača's research on aspects of war trauma and memory in the films of the post-Yugoslav period, in which Jelača establishes a direct connection between historical and social traumas and their film representation, highlighting the use of Balkan stereotypes that are adopted, used in different ways and promoted by the Balkan

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filmmakers themselves. Đorđević transfers this issue to the consideration of music and pays special attention to the analysis of the track "Moonlight" which has a central place in the key scenes of the film *Underground*. Along with the contingency of unresolved war traumas in the area of the former Yugoslavia, the Balkan perspective is emphasized by Bregović's music which, through its use in Kusturica's films, itself becomes a musical stereotype of the Balkan peoples, absorbing all the negative connotations that these stereotypes are loaded with.

Per its concept, the section "Varia" encompasses thematically and methodologically diverse ethnomusicological and musicological texts. Kristina Lomen's study provides the first detailed ethnomusicological insight into the funeral laments of the Slovak national minority in Serbia. Her article is based on fieldwork in Stara Pazova, one of the three localities in Vojvodina where the author conducted her research. The article presents the customs related to death and burial, the funeral laments themselves are analyzed in detail, and the multiple value of the documented material is confirmed by the fact that with the disappearance of the older generation, this rite has fallen into oblivion because the middleaged and younger generations have limited knowledge about the type of performance of funeral laments. Thomas Apostolopoulos' article is based on his study of Byzantine musical manuscripts and their transcriptions, that is, "interpretations" in analytical neumatic notation. The author convincingly asserts that the musicians of that time were inspired by the singing of certain birds when composing certain kratēmata. By drawing attention to the oldest known musical compositions imitating birdsong, Apostolopoulos contributes to the relatively new scientific field of ornithomusicology. The next study deals with the status of Roman Catholic liturgical music during the Second Vatican Council. Vesna Sara Peno and Sanja Stevanović provide a detailed historical-social and cultural-anthropological insight into this issue, pointing to various factors that influenced the absence of essential changes in the field of church music after that council. The authors lay a foundation for future comparative studies of trends and phenomena in recent traditions of both Roman Catholic music and Orthodox chanting which could show their mutual differences and similarities. The section "Varia" concludes with Nataša Marjanović's article which provides an overview and systematization of sound recordings of traditional Serbian church chant, made during the musicological field research of Dimitrije Stefanović and Danica Petrović, as part of their work at the Institute of Musicology SASA. The recordings were made in churches and monasteries in present-day Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Hungary, from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s. Although digitized, these recordings, preserved at the Phonoarchive of the Institute of Musicology SASA are still insufficiently known. Marjanović regards them as primary sources for the study of Serbian church music history.

The section "Scientific Reviews and Polemics" contains two reviews of new books. The extensive volume *The Routledge Companion to Applied Musicology* edited by musicologist Chris Dromey is reviewed by Bojana Radovanović, who provides an overview of the twenty-seven chapters of this book and presents various aspects of the concept of applied musicology, which is very current in the modern science of music. Aleksandar Vasić also refers to applied musicology, reviewing the monograph *Aleksandar Vujić od A do Š: kompozitor, dirigent, pijanista...* [Aleksandar Vujić from A to Z: Composer, Conductor, Pianist...] written by Snežana Nikolajević and Branka Radović, as a very successful professional achievement that strikes a balance between its scientific contribution on the one hand, and popularization of musicology and contemporary music on the other.

On behalf of the editorial board of *Musicology* and my own, I would like to thank all authors, peer reviewers and collaborators who contributed to the quality of this issue of the journal.

In Belgrade, 20 June 2024 Dr Biljana Milanović, Editor-in-Chief

TEMA БРОЈА / THE MAIN THEME

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POSTMEMORY OF TRAUMA AS TRANSGENERATIONAL EMPATHY: REMEMBERING THE SANTA PAIN IN PONTIC DIALOGICAL SINGING

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Пост-сећање на трауму као трансгенерацијска емпатија: памћење бола Санте кроз понтско дијалошко певање

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ABSTRACT

This article examines the relation between music and the transgenerational trauma of the Pontic Greeks – the descendants of the 1923 Black Sea [Karadeniz] refugees. More specifically, the article concerns the 1921 destruction of the Santa locality, in Gümüşhane province, and how the memory of this violence is negotiated in the practice of dialogical and participatory singing called *parakathi* or *muhabeti*. It is demonstrated how *muhabeti* enables Pontians to cultivate an empathic postmemory of the 1920s refugees' Santa trauma and what this might mean for trauma theory in general.

KEYWORDS: music performance, dialogue, monumentalization, postmemory, empathy.

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Апстракт

Овај чланак испитује однос између музике и трансгенерацијске трауме Понтских Грка – потомака избеглица из турске области Црног мора из 1923. године. Конкретно, чланак реферише о уништењу локалитета Санта у провинцији Гумушхане 1921. године и проучава преговарање сећања на ово насиље кроз праксу дијалошког и партиципативног певања познатог као *йаракаши* или *мухабеши*. Приказано је како *мухабеши* омогућава Понтима да негују емпатично пост-сећање на трауму избеглица из 1920-их, као и шта би то генерално могло значити за теорију трауме.

Къучне речи: музичко извођење, дијалог, монументализација, постсећање, емпатија.

Trauma references life- and subject-shattering experiences that escape narrativization (Whitehead 2007, 186-187). Traumatic experiences trap the subject in latency and repression while opposing the phallic divisiveness (Crapanzano 1992, 44) and world-ordering agency of language (Caruth 1995, 3-5; LaCapra 2004, 117-123). The dual genealogy of trauma theory, from psychiatry and poststructuralism, has triggered a fascination with collective suffering and testimony which, since the 1980s, has led to a re-understanding of collective identity discourses (Davis and Meretoja 2020, 2-4). This fascination has had an indirect effect that can, borrowing from Derrida, be described as part of a broader trend of hauntology (1994, 95-125). In general, the term refers to sentiments of ethical inheritance and responsibility towards the past, a feature that can generally be traced in the construction of diachronic collective identity, that of the nation included (Bubandt 2014, 121). In one common political manifestation, the ethical persistence of the past involves the appropriation of testimony discourse that involves tropes of trauma that validate certain groups over others on the grounds of collective past suffering and injustices (for a complete analysis see, Hirsch and Spitzer 2010).

More recent trauma theorisations have connected hauntology with the discontinuities of the trauma ineffability presumption. The identification of the traumatic experience with the unspeakable and the ensuing designation of narrativization as post-traumatic can contribute to the silencing of the traumatized expressions and to the devaluation of suffering experiences that do not comply with the shattering event principle and its potential top-down appropriations. At the same time, the poststructuralist emphasis on the ineffable creates an impossibility of trauma negotiation beyond the medicalized

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approaches. These potentials for silencing are central in the hauntological appropriation of the trauma discourse. The same line of criticism proposes expressive arts as alternative approaches to suffering negotiation that might enable an escape from the effable versus the ineffable dichotomy (Meretoja 2020, 23–26).

In this article, I offer an analysis of a musicking practice that partially responds to the criticism of classical trauma theory. The practice of dialogical singing of the Pontic Greeks or Pontians – the descendants of the 1916–1923 Black Sea refugees – known as *parakathi* or *muhabeti*, entails ontologies of suffering and of the "pained subject" that emerge in between representations of ineffability and discursivity. More specifically, my analysis focuses on the *parakathi* remembering of the 1921 destruction of one major locality in the pre-1923 Black Sea region, the mountainous area of Santa, and how this trauma-inflected remembering relates to personal suffering through musicking.

Given the demise of the generation that experienced the destruction, my case study, and more broadly, the Pontic trauma, belong to the category of transgenerational trauma. In this sense, the case study already concerns a fluid realm, between the ineffability of the shattering event, here the Santa destruction, and the remembering of this event by the descendants of the survivors. Transgenerational trauma suggests some kind of transference of the suffering-related feelings to the people who have neither witnessed nor have been victimized by this event. I demonstrate how *muhabeti* musicking enables a transgenerational empathy that constitutes a postmemory of the Santa trauma.

My analysis draws from fieldwork conducted among Pontic Greeks in the region of Greek Macedonia where the majority of the Pontians settled after the displacement in 1916–1923. Most of the data were collected between 2011 and 2014 during the fieldwork for my dissertation (Tsekouras 2016). In reality, though, the fieldwork has not stopped since, as I have been in constant communication with the fieldwork associates. For this article, I have used the data collected from music gatherings of the Pontians of Santa origin, including the communities of Georgiani and Nea Santa in the Veria and Kilkis prefectures of Greek Macedonia respectively, as well as the discourse of renown musicians of Santa origin (e.g. Labis Pavlidis, Dimitris Piperidis, Thanasis Stylidis), and the specialists in the Santa style (e.g. Serafeim Marmaridis, Natasa Tsakiridou).

Parakathi or muhabeti can be a highly personal and confessional process, including the expression of personal suffering. However, as I will demonstrate, the muhabeti entails mechanisms that allow protection of the individual from ill-intended outsiders, uncontrolled exposure, and latency. Exposure to the re-experiencing of suffering is mitigated by the allegorical singing of known poetry that enables a circumvention of literal articulation. Therefore, no highly

detailed protocol was issued, other than the fundamental ethics of anthropological research: I followed a model of participant observation of the performances, combined with interviews with practitioners. Reflexivity is dominant in my ethnography, making it clear who speaks and when. Some caution was used in the interviews, where I avoided to directly address motives, experiences, and emotions that I have witnessed being expressed in *muhabeti*, unless the interlocutor wanted to talk about them. In addition, I have also avoided sharing interlocutor's personal information and, unless they requested otherwise, subjects have been protected by anonymity.

After a succinct presentation of the Pontians, of Santa and its destruction, as well as the monumentalizing discourses of the Santa trauma, I offer a detailed exploration of *muhabeti* and its poetics as they relate to trauma theories. My main conclusion is that *muhabeti* poetics both support and negate the monumentalization of the Santa trauma, offering, though, the ultimate experiences of empathic identification with the suffering individuals, in ways that elevate a common generic humanness of pain beyond the hauntological privileging of the suffering.

THE PONTIC GREEKS OR THE PONTIANS

The Pontians are Greeks from the region of "Pontos," in the Black Sea areas of Turkey, and specifically the littoral areas delineated by the northeastern Anatolian mountains (King 2004; E.O. [= Olhausen, Echart] and J.N. [= Niehoff, Johannes] 2007; Samouilides 2002). Pontos was cleansed of its Orthodox Christian population between 1916 and 1923 during the "Christian genocide" (Akçam, Kyriakidis, Chatzikyriakidis et al. 2023; Hoffman 2012; IAGS 2007) that sealed the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, and as part of the policies that Fridtjof Nasnen called 'unmixing of populations,' namely the Lausanne Treaty's population exchange, which solidified contemporary Greece and Turkey (Stroebel and Gedgaudaitė 2022, vii-x, xiii). The genocide claim has constituted a central element of the Pontic identity politics, dominating the Pontic public self-representation and identity discourse since the 1980s (e.g. Charalambidis 2004).

The survivors of the purges fled to Greece, becoming part of the Lausanne Treaty's (1923) exchanged populations (Hirschon 2006; Kontogiorgi 2006). There, they developed a Pontic identity. They emphasized their origin from the region of Pontos, reminding the broader Greek public of their inclusion in the philosophical map (Wolf 1994) of pre-modern Hellenism, thus declaring their Greek ethnicity and claiming membership in the Greek citizenry (Voutira 2011, 66–76). Pontic identity discourse is described

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as ethnoregionalist: the memory of the region frames the cultural alterity as ethnically Greek, while simultaneously being mediated by this alterity (Vergeti 2000, 57).¹

Traumas of massive violence and displacement have been central in Pontic identity, but they have been negotiated within different discursive contexts depending on the period. In the first decades of the settlement, the displacement traumas were filtered through representations of heroism and resilience. In the context of Pontic ethnoregionalism, the main concern was the salvation of the Pontic cultural heritage, or the Pontic tradition. This implied focusing on objectified cultural truths that elevate the Greekness of the Pontians. The interest in testimony, trauma experience included, emerged earnestly after 1980, as a result of the articulation of a Pontic genocide discourse and of the demise of the refugee generation (Tsekouras 2022, 397–401). In this article, I explore the negotiation of trauma from a particular Pontic locality, Santa.

SANTA AND ITS DESTRUCTION

Santa, today Dumanlı, was a cluster of seven hamlets, located on the southern slopes of the Pontic Alps, at an altitude of 2000 meters. The nearest urban centres were Gümüşhane at around 60 km to the southwest, and Trabzon circa 70 km to the north. The remote location attracted settlers in the seventeenth century due to its proximity to the Gümüşhane (Turkish "a place of silver") and its silver deposits and mines (Samouilides 2002, 132–148). Santa had an exclusively Greek Orthodox population. The majority of the population in the mountainous provinces between Trabzon and Gümüşhane, where major monasteries operated, were Rum (Greek Orthodox), thus defining a Christian pocket (Bryer 1991). The monasteries, supported by the Porte, provided economic structures of stability and protection as well as spiritual leadership, therefore, their surrounding provinces did not follow the broader seventeenth century Islamization of the Ottoman Black Sea (Samouilides 2002).

Since the early nineteenth century, the silver mines have declined. High altitude meant long and cold winters with an especially thick fog,² so the agricultural production was low, hardly satisfying domestic needs. As a result,

 $^{^1}$ Vergeti translates her Greek term (εθνοτοπική ταυτότητα) into English as "ethnolocal identity." I prefer the translation "ethnoregional identity" and for the discourse "ethnoregionalism," because my fieldwork associates bear in mind the entire region of Pontos when theorising their Pontic identity (Tsekouras 2016, 18–22).

 $^{^2}$ $\,\,$ From December through March, Santa had an exceptional thick fog, known in Turkish as duman [smoke], hence the toponym Dumanlı, "the smoky place."

the Santans turned to migration. Men married early and migrated to Trabzon, Istanbul, and the Russian Empire; women stayed behind taking care of the family property and the children. By the 1910s, Santa was part of an extensive diaspora network that spanned to Georgia, Armenia, and Southern Russia. Money orders was the main income source. The Santans had espoused the Karadeniz "horizons of elsewhere" (Meeker 2001, 98).

The destruction of Santa was part of the long wars and related ethnic cleansing that marked the collapse of the Ottoman Empire (1912–1923). The Santa destruction was particularly violent involving different kinds of massive violence: massacre, deportation, and self-sacrifice. Post-WWI instability and the rise of nationalism during the Greco-Turkish war (1919–1922) exposed the Santans to simultaneous violence by local thugs and nationalist paramilitaries. Incidents of murder, abduction, and robbery, as well as pressure on the men to join the Ottoman army, forced the Santans to organize self-defence groups (Kourtidis 2007, 1–4; Kourtidou 2015). By the 1920s, an organized resistance had developed that defied the authorities. Although testimonies reveal that common ground could be found, there was a decision to neutralize the guerrillas by cleansing their locality.

In September 1921, the seven hamlets were surrounded by infantry and an artillery squadron. By 21 September, the army had managed to establish control, bombing parts of the hamlets and pushing out the guerillas. On the same day the locals were commanded to concentrate in one of the central hamlets. The majority obeyed and found themselves deported to the inland. The deportation evolved into a death march with the deportees exposed to the elements and the typhoid fever. The losses amounted to more than 50% (Tryantafillidi 2015). The emptied hamlets were first pillaged and then burned. After the Lausanne Treaty, the surviving deportees moved to Greece. Today, Dumanlı remains deserted.

At the same time, small groups defied the orders and hid. The largest, consisting of several guerrilla families led by captain Euclides Kourtidis, barricaded itself in a cave and resisted the army for an entire day. They escaped to safety during the night through a nearby forest. To secure their escape, they killed their babies, seven in number, so that they would not betray the group's location with their crying. Allegedly, the Turkish officers were shocked upon finding the dead babies, and they decided to abandon the chase of such "bestial and desperate" people (Pilidis 2015). The escapees remained in the mountains for several months, surviving through robbery, before starting to move to Trabzon and then Greece, secretly and in small numbers. The fragments of the surviving Santans reunited in Greece. Two villages, one in the Kilkis prefecture of Macedonia, and one in the Rhodope

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prefecture of Thrace, bear the name "New Santa." However, many reunited with migrant kin who came from outside Pontos settling elsewhere in Greece.

THE SANTA TRAUMA NARRATIVE

It is difficult to discern when the Santa destruction testimonies solidified into a single narrative. Descriptions and reports were released shortly after the 1923 population exchange (e.g. Valavanis 1925). However, these texts, following broader trends, do not contain testimonies, but general accounts, looking for causes and perpetrators (Exertzoglou 2016).

Testimonies of the infanticide and the deportations were systematically recorded in the 1950s and the 1960s, by the Centre of Asia Minor Studies and by the Pontic folklorists Stathis Eustathiadis and Simos Lianidis (1995). The 1950s and the 1960s witnessed the development of refugee identity discourses (Kailaris 2002), and a systematic effort to salvage refugee memory (Exertzoglou 2016; Salvanou 2018). Systematic mediation of the Santa testimonies appears after the 1980s. Today the Santa Catastrophe is commemorated in various monuments erected all over Greece, in documentaries, historical fiction novels, media tributes, and TV series.

In short, the destruction of Santa has been subjected to monumentalization (Young 2007). It is mentioned as a token of the genocide and commemorated as an incident exemplary of the heroic spirit of the Santa Greeks. Monumentalization is evident in the likening of the Santa infanticide to the 1803 Zalogo incident. The Zalogo incident, or "Zalogo dance" as it is known, was the epilogue of the conflict between a group of Albanian-speaking Rum highlanders from Souli of Epirus and Ali Pasha of Tepelena. Ali Pasha destroyed Souli in 1803. While most men died fighting, most women committed collective suicide with their children by jumping off a cliff in the Zalogo location. This collective suicide, among else, an act of despair against enslavement and rape, has been presented in Greek popular history as a freedom-embracing self-sacrifice exemplary of the Greek spirit that gave birth to the 1821 Greek revolution.

In Pontic public discourse, the Santa destruction is often compared to the Zalogo incident with Santa referred as the "Souli of Pontos" (Kontogiannidis 2021; Kourtidis 2007, 92). The infanticide is presented as exemplary of the freedom-loving nature of the Greek highlanders. Still, the Santa destruction narrative appears as an intra-Pontic affair, with most Greeks being oblivious of the incident. *Muhabeti* or *parakathi* is an insider Pontic practice with a central place in Pontic collective memory (Tsekouras 2022).

Muhabeti or Parakathi

The term *muhabeti* or *parakathi* refers to a banquet. Today, the two terms are used interchangeably, however, this has not always been the case. The term parakathi is of a broader content referencing a gathering in general, while the Ottoman term *muhabeti*, similarly to other such practices of the same name from the ex-Ottoman world (e.g. Gill 2018; Sugarman 1999), refers to a special socialization practice, characterized by comradeship and intimacy. The two terms have merged as a result of the urbanization of Greece, the dissolution of the socially autonomous rural communities with their everyday sociality, and the consequent collapse of Pontic socialization into exceptional, music events. Staying closer to the initial meanings of the concepts, from now on I will refer to the practice only as muhabeti. Since the 1980s, muhabetia (pl.) are accompanied by an authenticity discourse of special connection to a nostalgically envisioned Pontic rurality, independence, and distance from the folkloric stage, and of exclusively Pontic linguistic identity. They are maybe the only examples, outside the family, where the Pontic dialect is the dominant idiom (Tsekouras 2024).

Optimal *muhabeti* socialization – the sociality frame that satisfies, at best, the *muhabeti* poetics – involves confessional and intersubjective communication that ideally culminates in dialogical singing. In this optimal scenario, singing is an exemplary emergent performance (Bauman 1975, 38); it happens, without prior arrangement, "by itself," when "emotion prevails." Singing emerges when the intimate conversation reaches a stage of emotional reflection that cannot fit into everyday prosaic language – hence the Ottoman name *muhabbet*, meaning "conversation of friendship, love, or affection" (Akdikmen 2006, 302).

The *muhabeti* repertoire is called *epitrapezia*, meaning "table songs." It consists in rhyming distichs in fifteen-syllable iambic or trochaic poetic meter that are sung on repeated, riff-like tunes, provided by a Pontic *lyra* or *kemençe* – the Karadeniz fiddle. Music is usually homorhythmic to the poetry with most of the tunes being in 5/8 (3+2 or 2+3) meter. The most common textures, provided by the *kemençe*, are parallel polyphony in fourths and a melody with movable drone. The melodic structure follows the form of the poetic delivery. The tunes present an eight-measure form which is divided into two phrases of four measures each. Every verse of the distich is repeated; hence, every tune

³ Not to be confused with the epitrapezia category of the Greek mainland, non-Pontic music. In the latter case, the term refers to unmetered songs. In the Pontic case, the term has a functional content referring to music preferred for the table, without necessarily referencing to free-metered music.

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is usually in an *ab* or *aa*' form with each phrase corresponding to one verse of the distich.

All these features describe the most typical case of the Pontic folk music, which is, depending on the context, called the *tik* or distich form (Kilpatrick 1980, 189–199). *Tik* refers to the most common Pontic dance genre that abounds in different variations among the Pontians; distich refers to the poetic form that the *tik* songs follow. *Epitrapezia* songs refer to music that is not danced, but listened to around the table. The sharing of the same form with the *tik* repertoire defines the features of the *epitrapezia* repertoire as stylistic. *Epitrapezia* repertoire is thus defined by elements of melodic and rhythmic structuration that follow the flow of the poetic dialogue and not the succession of the dance movements (Tsekouras 2016, 202–237).⁴

Distichs and tunes form two parallel repertoires that are combined at will, but according to a series of conventions. Hence, in both the *epitrapezia* and the *tik* repertoires there are no songs in the conventional sense of the term, as multiversed poems set into unifying music. For this reason, distichs constitute their own category of poetic form and musical genre in Pontic folklore without falling in the typical taxa of repertoire classification (epic poetry, laments, dirges, narrative songs or ballads, love songs, etc.). Distichs (and *tiks*), being short poetic and melodic forms, afford multiple allusions to all the typical categories in an endless semi-improvisatory game of signification that is ultimately determined by the performative occasion.

Regarding the *epitrapezia* repertoire of the *muhabeti*, the most important principle for matching the verses with the tunes is the respect for the flow of the dialogue. Every participant sings one distich at a time, as a response to the distich just performed by another tablemate. The singing exchange of poetry takes place according to topics (e.g. romantic love, friendship, exile, death, etc.). The poetic topic changes through accepted associations, common poetic images or metaphors, and word play.

The centrality of dialogue points to participation. A *muhabeti* is assessed according to the degree, intensity, and duration of the participation in singing. Ideally, everybody should sing. Utterances out of tune and rhythm are welcomed, as long as they serve the dialogue. On the contrary, a virtuosic utterance is condemnable if it disrupts the dialogical flow. Beautiful poetry and beautiful singing, but too loud and too long, more than one distich at a time, or off-topic, disturbing the dialogical flow, are considered a demonstration of a "lack of respect:" anti-social behaviour – which violates the frame of the performance.

⁴ A detailed analysis exceeds the span of this article.

Similar criteria pertain to the instrumentalist. The *lyra* player provides the sonic constancy necessary for participation (Turino 2008, 22–27). The instrumentalist's roles are to coordinate the rhythmic delivery of the tablemate's singing; to accommodate flawed utterances, by modifying and neutralizing any tonal and metric lapses; and to fill in the pauses between the utterances, with related, but new and inspiring, melodic material. The fill-in melodic material is known as "branches" (*kladhia*) and it consists of semi-improvisatory formulaic riffs. The ability to imaginatively use the *kladhia* defines the skilful musician suggesting a participatory virtuosity. An instrumentalist who demonstrates virtuosity by playing too loudly, too fast, too long, or a complicated melodic material "does not listen or respect," and is therefore unfit for *muhabeti* (Tsekouras 2016, 283–284).

The centrality of dialogical participation is the foundation of the stylistic differentiation of the repertoire. Dialogical structure translates into metrical and structural malleability, where the common sense of the rhythm emerges out of the coordinating agency of the instrumentalists in dialogue with the singing participants. Similarly, the alternation of the *kladhia* to the main tunes follows the degree and intensity of the singing participation, resulting in a varied melodic soundscape or rich improvisation and "participatory discrepancies" (see Keil 1995): intentional and semi-calculated disruptions of the canonicity of the form that aim at the evocation of participation (Tsekouras 2016, 283–284).

Muhabeti and the Suffering Subject

The connection between *muhabeti* and trauma is, first of all, detectable in the music poetics of ineffability. Since singing happens with the emergence of deeper feelings, which cannot fit in the prosaic language, the music amounts to an expression of the ineffable as a liberating revelation of the self. Labis Pavlidis, a famous *muhabeti* master, declares:

Muhabeti reaches under the whole situation. [...] the psihi [psyche or soul] is released. No matter how much you try to pretend, you will release it. [...] muhabeti means laying your soul bare. [...] (Labis Pavlidis, Research Interview, 22 April 2012).

The word *psichi*, meaning both soul and psyche, suggests that the subject is defined by an inner immaterial core. Music releases this immaterial inner nature ("laying your soul bare") against external restrictions.

The release of the subject's core is understood as an expression of pain. Subjects are defined by their suffering. The *psihi* is formed by painful

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experiences, their recall, related emotions, and accompanying sentiments of loss and nostalgia. The acclaimed singer Natasa Tsakiridou mentions:

The *psichi* [soul/psyche] opens at that time [when the distich is sung] and you understand that he has a wound here [pointing to her chest]. He is in pain and he sings (Natasa Tsakiridou, Research Interview, 26 November 2012).

Tsakiridou makes an explicit connection with trauma by likening singing to the opening of a psychic wound. Literally, trauma means injury. A wound is a visible injury. The opening of an emotional wound equals to a revelation of trauma.

Psychic wound is referenced with the Turkish word for injury, *yar*. The Turkish linguistic identity distinguishes emotional wound from the Pontic Greek vocabulary adding to the concept's significance. It also points to connections with Sufism. In both devotional Islam and Orthodox Christianity, personal suffering is the soul's way to the divine. In Mevlevi Sufism, a manifestation of personal suffering is also the sentiment of *hüzün*, a subject-defining existential nostalgia that results from the soul's separation from God (Gill 2017, 20–21; Mirmiroglou 2000, 299–302). Similarly, the Pontians use the concept of *arothymia*, which does not have theological overtones, but carries a similar existential dynamic. *Arothymia* literally means longing, but in its most powerful manifestation, it refers to existential nostalgia: subject-defining unrequited longing; a sentiment of existential incompleteness and painful awareness of separation that makes the person who they are. The optimal *muhabeti* is dominated by *arothymia*. The ineffable feelings of the subject's psychospiritual core translate to nostalgia as an emotional awareness of the lack.

A phenomenological approach verifies the identification of pain with a sense of self. As Sarah Ahmed remarks, pain is the most subjective and thus a more universal feeling (2004, 28–31). One's pain cannot be claimed by anybody else, and hence it cannot be mediated. But, at the same time, everybody has experienced pain. Expression of pain constitutes the most genuine performance of the self. Sharing this expression allows intersubjective communication as performance of empathy – hence the equating liminality of the *muhabeti* dialogue. Nobody can participate in another person's pain, only to demonstrate empathy by imitating the pained person's behaviour (2004, 28–31). *Muhabeti* singing is a dialogical performance of empathy. Every utterance is an expression and mirroring of pain and therefore empathic acknowledgment of the other tablemate's pain.

The stability of music-poetic form and performance supports this mirroring. Every utterance follows a stylized manner of music and vocal performance, as

well as body gesturing, that contributes to the equating participatory spirit and to the empathy as mirroring of behaviour. The known status of distichs and tunes supports empathic dialogue. While improvisation is highly valued, known repertoire is deemed more appropriate as it carries emotional capital – especially repertoire attributed to the refugee generation. Sharing of pain happens through a personalizing use of traditional music and poetry. Thus, the distichs and the tunes function as emotional quotations or affective citations (Gill 2017, 18). Every utterance is a statement – "I feel like (in) this distich."

Emotional quotation involves allegory between the poetry and the experiences and emotions of the performer. The tablemate sings a known distich in order to signify their own suffering. The poetry and personal story relation is both iconic, through similarity, and indexical, through association. The allegory lies in this indexical iconicity connection. The allegorical use of the emotional citation allows expression without explanation. The singer externalizes their psychological state without explicit descriptions of the experience behind the feelings. The tablemates decode the poetic allegory because they know their comrade's story. Thus, the poetic dialogue involves an encoded communication beyond explication. Afroditi Zamanidou, an avid *muhabeti* practitioner, mentions:

When I perform a distich the only thing I have to do is to turn and look at a friend. I do not have to explain anything. He knows why I sing it. He understands (Afroditi Zamanidou, Research Interview, 10 October 2012).

In summary, *muhabeti* pain poetics suggest subject and injury ontologies that resemble those of classical trauma theory, of both medical and poststructuralist genealogies (Sütterlin 2020, 14–18). The subject is understood as incomplete, defined by the painful awareness of existential separation. This painful awareness, the *arothymia*, similarly to trauma, escapes literal linguistic mediation.

However, a more careful examination reveals fundamental differences: *muhabeti* pain presents neither medicalized characteristics of psychoanalytical trauma nor an anti-discursive quality of poststructuralist latency. The poetic allegories involve the encoded narrative of the traumatic experiences. What defies the language are the feelings that these experiences have generated. Therefore, the *muhabeti* wound is broader than post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and the repressed and re-experienced event of Caruth (1995) and Felman and Laub (1992).

For these reasons, *muhabeti* is not approached according to healing outcomes. There is no specific objective of cure. Psychic health benefits, of course, but healing is understood more as a process of betterment than an achieved

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outcome of narrativization. Contrary to both Freudian psychoanalysis and the PTSD psychiatry, there is no objective of narrativization. *Muhabeti* functions reversely. It involves de-narrativization: the liberation of the experience from prosaic language towards an awareness of its pain through multi-sensory and dialogical performances of empathy. Psychoanalysis and psychiatry help the individual to narrativise the traumatic event against repression, thus enabling a reconstitution of the self. *Muhabeti* singing makes the subject aware of existential pain, of themselves and of others, against externally imposed narratives. The status of the distichs and the tunes as emotional citation, capsules of affective capital, have a crucial function in this process. Music and poetry deconstruct the opacity of language reconnecting the subject with a genuine Pontic feeling of self.

In this sense, *muhabeti* subject lies closer to poststructuralist ontology. However, contrary to poststructuralism, where trauma reveals the inherently fragmented nature of individuality, the *muhabeti* subject emerges as the common humanness of intersubjectively shared personal pain. The individual is not shattered by the violence of language, like in Lacanian approaches. On the contrary, *muhabeti* poetics suggest a telos of selfhood beyond language in the ineffable personal pain. This pain is understood as collectively human, reconnecting the singing subject with the vocally embodied presence of intersubjectivity. This is why *muhabeti* does not provide palpable and countable psychotherapeutic outcomes, but rather protects the suffering subject by exposure and the possibility of latency-like re-experiencing of pain. The "telos" of the individual also suggests a self-controlled subject and, therefore, a degree of self-narrativization prior to the expression of the psyche, as it takes place through the discursive component of the *muhabeti* occasion before the emergence of singing.

The embodied presence of intersubjectivity is audibly performed in both the claiming of participation and the use of the known repertoire. Every distich utterance is preceded by the exclamation of an open vowel, which equals to asking for singing permission. The exclamation differs according to the sonic environment of the moment, varying from a sigh, to a yell, cry, or even a roar. Hence, it signifies the subject as "voice and nothing more" (Dollar 2006, 66): a vocally embodied presence independent of linguistic semantics. This vocal presence is completed and extended with the singing of distichs that, comprising a common repertoire, connects the subject with the generic humanity of collectively shared significations of pain. Brevity of poetic and music form enables a condensing encoding of subjectivity through deindividualization of the self. The subject connects themself with the collectively shared, protecting and expressing their individual core. In summary, the *muhabeti*

subject is ruptured, but not fragmented. The generic humanity of the subject is respected as ineffable sonic presence mediated allegorically through emotional citations into intersubjective experiences of empathy. The connection between the subject and the collectively shared poetry and music is the realm where the collective Santa trauma is negotiated.

REMEMBERING SANTA AND ITS PEOPLE

The Santa trauma can be explored in the *muhabeti* memory of Pontos. Allegory as emotional citation juxtaposes two texts – the overtly articulated poetry and the allegorically signified unarticulated personal narrative. The memory of Pontos emerges as a third text, more precisely as contextual information involving geographical association. Geography and its related narratives are attached to the distich, posing (as I explain below) an important criterion regarding the matching of distich to tune. Much (but not all) of the repertoire is recognized as originating from specific localities. Santa is represented by a sizeable number of distichs and tunes.

Poetry's origin is evoked as background information. Consider the following distich:

I sometime cry, other times I laugh, my days are passing, I am waiting for the river's cloudy water to turn clean.

This distich entails an image of uncomfortable expectancy. The stated expectation, the change of the river water's clarity, obviously stands for something else. The waiting can be painful for the textual subject as indicated by the awareness of the time's passing and the possibly erratic behaviour of crying and laughing. The distich can have many allegorical uses, since we all wait for something. The water's clarity can signify expectation of a situation change. The cloudy water suggests haziness and negativity; the clean water is associated with mental clarity, prospects, favourable conditions, etc.

When I asked *muhabeti* practitioners and musicians about the topic of the distich, I was told that it is about exile, and that the poetry originates from Santa. Santa was bounded by the Yambolis (Yanbolu) stream in the east. During the winter and early spring months, the Yambolis swells by the melting snow, becomes fast-flowing and sweeps along mud and dirt, becoming murky. In late spring, with most of the snow melted, the river decreases in volume and the water becomes crystal clear. Late spring, when the stream was also crossable, was one of the periods when the migrants visited Santa. In short, the distich references the expectation of the women

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left behind for the return of their beloved ones. The contextual interpretation provides significant information about the life in pre-1923 Santa: about migration, related gender roles, seasons, the terrain, geography, and natural boundaries.

This condensation of contextual information through the distich and the tune (see below) is typical of the *muhabeti epitrapezia* repertoire. Not all distichs carry such wealth of contextual associations, but those that do, demand specific tunes and topics that exemplify specific memory narratives about the pre-1923 places.⁵ Generally speaking, most of the Santa distichs are classified under the topics of migration/exile (*ksenitia*) or death. Romantic love, especially unrequited, has its fair share also, however, it is present as major topic in other local repertoires (Tsekouras 2022, 406–407). Unrequited love, death, and migration define the broader topic of separation and of its awareness as *arothymia*. Therefore, the three topics share metaphors and poetic images. The dominance of the exile and death topics makes the Santa repertoire especially affective.

The music of Santa matches the topics of poetry. Santa-style tunes are of slower tempo and of a longer form, either with two distinct phrases, *ab*, or ternary, *aab* or *abb*', where the last phrase corresponds to the poetic refrain. Santa tunes present an angular metric structure. The dominant meter of 5/8 (3+2 or 2+3) entails dotted rhythmic patterns that emphasize the tilting sensation between the long and the short beat groups. Syncopating accentuation and hemiolic structures (triplets over the 2-beat group and dotted eights over the 3-beat group) add to the groove. Modal structure involves a narrow range, typically less than a sixth, and similarly narrow, often chromatic, intervals. The use of augmented seconds is very common. Modal material alludes to the harmonic minor and the European Phrygian, the chromatic genus of Greek Orthodox chant, and the Ottoman *hicaz*, *segah* and *kyurdi* makams.⁶ All these elements are interpreted as building a sad and mournful style that matches the painful poetry topics of exile and death.

Returning to the distich used here as an example, its most popular rendition is by Sabbas Lazaridis (2010), a well-known musicians of Santa origin and representative of the style. Lazaridis follows a typical Pontic practice of song releases. He combines what are essentially independent *epitrapezia* distichs of similar topic into unified constructs. What appears here as a song is, in reality,

⁵ For other examples of distich-centered memory mediation, both from Santa and from other localities in the pre-1923 Pontos, see Tsekouras 2022, 405–408.

⁶ Here, I follow the discourse of my interlocutors. Whether the interchangeable use of names for the description of the modality corresponds to the cited theories should be the topic of another article.

a combination of known, traditional distichs on a single traditional tune: a version of folk music and poetry.⁷

Lazaridis's rendition presents most of the characteristics mentioned above. The distich opens Lazaridis's song providing also its title "I sometime cry, other times I laugh." Singing is preceded by an introductory *kladhi* (2010, 0:00–0:37), which is varied and provides the interlude material performed in between the various verses. The *kladhi* establishes the modal environment into a "*kyurdi*" or a "minor" tetrachord (Phrygian as, f#-g-a-b). Notice the "pulling" or attraction (*elksis* in Greek church music theory) of b by f# through an emphatic piano colouration of the tetrachord's higher pitch b by the *lyra*, accompanied also by a trill (*tremolo* in Pontic Greek) that destabilizes its tonal specificity towards a microtonal embellishment. These ornamental devices emphasize the descending contour of the melody towards the tonic.

The singer utters the introductory sigh ("eeeh") of participation request (Lazaridis 2010, 0:37), like if he was around the table. The actual singing starts on the upbeat (levare), in the second half of the long part of the iambic beat pattern (0:40), establishing a dotted pattern on the 3 eights of the 5/8 meter. This tilting rhythm characterizes the entire singing. The first verse, corresponding to a four-measure phrase (0:40-0:54) ends via the subtonic (e) on the third pitch of the tetrachord, a minor third (or augmented second) over the tonic. The second phrase (0:54-1:07) begins with the same melodic pattern but introduces (the two last measures) the second pitch of the tetrachord reaching in a step melodic movement the tonic at the very end of the form. Hence, although the overall modality is diatonic, there is a structural use of the minor third, an allusion to the harmonic minor or hicaz tetrachord. The texture provided by the *kemence* or *lyra* and alternating between parallel fourths (usually at the two higher pitches of the tetrachord) and melody with movable drone, emphasizes these tonal subtleties and the general gravity of the mood. These stylistic devices and elements can be traced, to various degrees, in the entire epitrapezia repertoire that is recognized as Santan, both in its original performance in the muhabeti and in song-like releases of the discography.8

The association between migration and death and Santa is so strong that mournful distichs and tunes are often interpreted as being from Santa without evidence. The mournful character of the repertoire and memories of a rough

⁷ For all the lyrics with a Greek translation and discography examples, see the digital library Pontiakós Stíchos – Pontian Lyrics 2024.

Maybe the most celebrated such work is the 2010 album *Yambolis*, carrying the very name of the river alluded in our distich example, by Giotis Gavrilidis and Thanasis Stylidis (2010). The entire album (Gavrielidis, Pavlidis and Stylidis 2010) exemplifies most of the Santa style elements, as well as a couple of songs that refer specifically to the Santa destruction.

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landscape, poverty, exile, and separation have been filtered through folkloric narratives, supporting a representation of Santa as a rough place inhabited by tough, yet tormented people. The Santans are further described as austere in ethos and of conservative morals, constantly dealing with the hardships of survival. The memories of brigandage and guerrilla warfare also add a heroic component. Hence, the Santa Pontians also emerge in *muhabeti* imagination as tough, dynamic, potentially belligerent, and free-spirited.

These representations are so strong that they form an ethnological type. The ethnological type is only partially verified by historical research. Santa was indeed a locality attached to migration and armed activity. However, brigandage and guerrilla resistance were endemic in late Ottoman Empire, particularly in eastern Karadeniz, as a result of political instability, scarcity of resources, and inter-community competitions. Similarly, translocal mobility, seasonal and long-term, has been common in the entire region (Meeker 2001, 9).

With all this said, the association of Santa with these practices was indeed stronger in comparison to other localities. Therefore, the ethnological type of the heroic but tormented Santans mediates the pre-1923 local sensitivities. However, it also reproduces Herderian tropes of nativism: the interpretation of the people as collectively grown out of the landscape. Elements of collective memory – the distichs – have merged with top-down folkloric ethnoregionalist tropes, leading to a folkloric schematization (Wertsch 2002, 28–29) of *muhabeti* memory (Tsekouras 2022, 410).

Monumentalization and the Ethnological Stereotype

The question that emerges here concerns the place of the Santa trauma. This question becomes more pressing given the general lack of explicit references to the destruction in *muhabeti* poetry. Apart from one explicit song and a couple more about the deeds of Captain Euclides with indirect references, the poetic repertoire mostly concerns the pre-1921 life. Still, the mournful and heroic character is prevalent.

My initial hypothesis was that the ethnological type functions as a kind of screen memory, revealing the repression of the trauma. However, this hypothesis is deeply problematic as it suggests a kind of collective subconscious. It is also defied by the loud articulation of the Santa destruction outside *muhabeti*. Actually, the ethnological (stereo)type emerges as part of a top-down appropriation of the trauma memories into a monumentalizing narrative. The testimonies have solidified into a unified discourse that idealizes the Santans, representing their acts as manifestations of exemplary Greekness. The

designation of the Santans as inherently tough, heroic, and freedom-loving abounds in texts about the disaster. See how the aforementioned journalist Romanos Kontogiannidis describes Santa:

[Santa] gave birth to heroic young men who did not count at all their own lives if they had to defend the homeland; they constantly resisted first the Ottomans and then the Kemalists (2021).

Kontogiannidis proceeds with the description of the catastrophe and of the infanticide, interpreting the latter as a manifestation of the self-sacrificial and freedom-loving spirit of the locals. Thus, he supports the Zalogo simile, which is unequivocally stated in the article's title, "The seven hamlets of Santa: the Souli of Pontos" (2021).

The heroism interpretation does not agree with all testimonies. Euclides' brother, Kostas Kourtidis, mentions the infanticide in his diary as a mothers' decision induced by the fear for their lives and that of their families (2007, 58). Spyrantis, who was hiding in another cave and with a smaller unarmed group, mentions in his memoir an incident of infanticide as the result of pressure that the men of the group exerted on the mothers (1990, 98–128). Finally, the destruction narrative overtly focuses on the escapee groups, neglecting the testimonies of the deportees.

Still, the interpretation that the ethnological (stereo)type has been shaped by the monumentalization discourse presents certain shortcomings. First of all, it does not account for the mournfulness of the repertoire. Mournfulness is not necessarily compatible with heroism. Secondly, it does not account for the monumentalizing discourse itself. If monumentalization emerged out of a public and top-down negotiation of the Santa trauma, then the stereotype is a secondary product of the trauma. A study of how the first refugee generation negotiated their traumatic memories could answer these questions. But such an inquiry is not possible anymore, hence any kind of research cannot be but post-memorial and post-traumatic. In the light of all the above, what is today's role of *muhabeti* practice in relation to Santa trauma?

ALLUSIONS OF TRAUMA, POSTMEMORY, AND TRANSGENERATIONAL EMPATHY

Most of my fieldwork associates, when asked about the ethnological type and the Santa trauma relation, answered that the destruction was the reasonable outcome of the Santans' character. They claimed that the hardened by suffering, free-spirited highlanders paid the price for their resistance. In this

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sense, the Santan character and the monumentalization are parts of the same memory discourse. At the same time, all interlocutors agreed that any representation of the refugee memory can only be incomplete and distorted, due both to temporal distance and to the demise of the refugee generation.

They finally pointed to me that *muhabeti* is not about remembering historical events, but about transferring something of the pain of history. This transference is inevitably incomplete, given the ineffable and unmediated character of personal pain. Contrary to the singing participants, the refugees cannot be present in any *muhabeti*. The intensity of the suffering makes any suggestion of trauma mediation even more impossible. All these are usually expressed with general aphorisms: "They had suffered more than what somebody could ever imagine," "they had to endure Jesus's sufferings," "you cannot imagine what they had to go through."

When asked about the conjoining of heroism, suffering, and emotional pain, most interlocutors answered that the relationship is dialectical. Hence, most *muhabeti* practitioners agree that the heroism of the Santa refugees lies in the fact that they lived with the pragmatic, psychological, and emotional burdens of their traumas. The suffering that resulted from these burdens and the awareness of the trauma as *arothymia* made the Santa survivors better people and their music and poetry more affective; they had a higher capacity for empathy, a special awareness of the painful existence of other humans. This special empathic capability has its own share of stereotypical phrases: "These people knew how to feel;" "they had suffered, so they knew about pain." Often, contemporary Pontians compare the suffering of the refugee generations with contemporary comparative comfort, attributing to the latter's lack of emotional awareness the reason for a broader cultural and moral decline.

All these interpretations resonate with the *muhabeti* ontologies of subjectivity and wound: the designation of suffering and its awareness (*arothymia*) as existential principles. In this sense, singing the *muhabeti* repertoire performs one more process of humanizing denarrativization. In the same way that the poetic allegories signify the personal narrative of trauma, without articulating it, they also index the suffering of the refugees, in this particular case, of the Santa survivors. The mournful poetry and music of Santa connects the participants with the psychological and emotional burdens of the Santa trauma without the articulation of the disaster story. In this sense, the ethnological (stereo)type emerges similarly to the distichs as a condensation of the Santa suffering. Still, it does not have the status of an allegory. The stereotype emerges in between the memories of trauma and the distich, as a general denarrativizing condensation. It reminds the contemporary participants that the survivors were some *other* people, whose reflections are not reproducible.

Historically, geographically, and existentially, these people belong elsewhere. The singing of their poetry makes their absence felt, by reminding us of the intense suffering in all its ineffability.

In this sense, the ethnological stereotype is a part of a Pontic postmemory. Hirsch suggests the concept of postmemory not only as the memory of memories, but as an emotional process of identifying with traumatic experiences that you know cannot be yours exactly because of their traumatic character (2012, 6). It is an empathic identification: an acknowledgment of the telos of the other's pain, a recognition of the impossibility of its mediation, and an effort to sense and share something of their pain by mirroring their emotions. Even more, it is an awareness of the exceptionality of the traumatized pain. In this sense, *muhabeti* singing offers personalizing allusions to the Santa survivors' trauma: a Pontic affective postmemory that enables an identity formulating empathic and personalizing association with Santans' trauma.

Conclusions

One of the most important contributions of trauma scholarship is the demonstration of how the past haunts the present. Ironically, it can be argued that the post-1980s fascination with trauma and traumatic testimony has also contributed to politics of hauntology that opposes, the initial intentions of the trauma scholars. Politicians from the entire spectrum, but particularly from the right, have invested in the cultivation of collective sentiments of victimhood and injustice through the focus on past, imaginary or real, collective traumas.

Contemporary trauma theorists recognize, in the radically different, psychoanalytical and poststructuralist beginnings of trauma discourses, elements that, publicly mediated and distorted, have facilitated the phenomenon of hauntology politics. These can be summarized into three major presumptions: (1) a covert and uncritical acceptance of the empiricist dichotomy between objective sensation and subjective discourse; (2) a trauma-premised individualizing essentialization of the collective; and (3) an obfuscating identification of trauma experience with ineffability. The first presumption generates pseudoscientific discourses of historical objectivity that elevate certain collective experiences of pain and suffering as more valid than others. In the second presumption, the designation of a collective trauma facilitates essentializing likening of the group to the traumatized individual. The individualizing definition of the collective further supports the elevation of normative trauma narratives that exclude certain testimonies. Finally, the identification of the traumatic experience as ineffable might lead to the silencing of alternative negotiations of trauma and of culturally alternative ontologies of pain. Critics of trauma

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theory have pointed to the importance of phenomenological and hermeneutic accounts that focus on implicit theories of trauma through the examination of broader discourses and practices of pain negotiation (Meretoja 2020, 23–26).

In this article I have offered such an analysis by exploring relations between trauma theory, the Pontic politics of collective trauma, and the Pontic *muhabeti* ontologies of pain. More specifically, my analysis focused on the traumatic destruction of the Santa locality in September of 1921 and the ways that this is alluded to and remembered in different genres of Pontic discourse, but ultimately in the musicking of empathy that defines the *muhabeti*.

The Pontic *muhabeti* case offers interesting insights into the negotiation of collective pain. Obviously, the Pontians are not free from hauntology. On the contrary. What can be concluded from this analysis is that Santa *muhabeti*, and more broadly Pontic *muhabeti*, remembrance of Santa presents the characteristic polyglossia (Bakhtin 1986; 1981) of collective memory (Hammilton 2010; Olick et al 2011). Memory texts of poetry (the distichs) and of witnessing (the memories of destruction) are schematized through top-down, world-ordering discourses (folklore, nationalism) into unilinear narratives of ethnological characters. The *muhabeti* remembrance of the Santa traumatic destruction verifies, to a high extent, the ethnological stereotype, through the indexical connection between the locality of Santa and the musical-poetic representations of suffering, namely, exile and death – the very traumas that universally define the refugeehood.

At the same time, my analysis demonstrates how the fluid indexicalities of musicking can open the door to anti-normative experiences that oppose the politics of hauntology. On one hand, these experiences exemplify the difference between trauma and its postmemory and, on the other, navigate the trauma and the suffering away from the effable versus ineffable dichotomy. Emotional and psychological pain, the *muhabeti* wound, suggests a fluid and implicit understanding of the trauma, as a shattering experience that can be approached by others through an awareness of its pain. In contemporary *muhabeti*, this nostalgic awareness, the *arothymia*, emerges as a presence of absence of the refugees' pain: an awareness of the absence of their pain, as empathic realization of the ineffable exceptionality of their traumatic feelings.

Thus, the Pontic *muhabeti* teaches that the feelings stemming from trauma belong to the individual, defining an existential telos and core that can only be alluded to through the performance of empathy. In this way, Pontic cultural alterity is redefined as structures of empathic identification with the refugees' suffering, and Pontic ethos is delineated as a philosophy of empathy. The Pontic wound emerges fluidly between the effable of the experience's narrative and the ineffable of the emotional and sensory imprints of this experience. It is

partaking to the poetic metaphors and music indexicalities that approach the ineffability of the feelings and enable the Pontians to be aware of the other's pain. The Pontic identity politics where the genocide claim rejects also demands of reparation from Turkey, and the empathic response of Pontic institutions to the 2015 refugee crisis, prove that awareness of trauma does not have to succumb to the politics of hauntology.

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Пост-сећање на трауму као трансгенерацијска емпатија: памћење бола Санте кроз понтско дијалошко певање

(Резиме)

Једна од главних претпоставки у вези с траумом јесте да она избегава језик: искуство патње и сећање на њу, због њиховог карактера који разара живот и уништава субјект, не може бити објашњено приповедањем. Језик се појављује када траума престаје да постоји, то јест када се она трансформише у стандардизоване наративе. Новији приступи довели су у питање догму неизрецивости, указујући на алтернативна посредовања сопства и патње која премашују ограничену темпоралност потресног догађаја. Иако су ови приступи обогатили теорију трауме, они су критиковани због банализовања трауме, чинећи сам концепт бескорисним.

Инспирисан новијим теоријским приступима трауми, у чланку се фокусирам на однос музике и трансгенерацијске трауме – случај када је известан степен наративизације неизбежан. Тема моје етнографске студије случаја су Понтски Грци или Понти, потомци грчких избеглица из 1923. године из турске области Црног мора, тачније Понти из Санте, грчког локалитета који је 1921. године доживео посебно насилно уништење. Ослањајући се на опсежан теренски рад, кроз анализу праксе дијалошког певања познате као мухабети или паракати истражујем како савремени Понти памте свој локалитет пре 1923. године и његово насилно уништење.

Представљајући *мухабеш*и као трансгенерацијско посредовање неизрецивости трауме, овај чланак избегава крајности искључивих ставова о неизрецивости. *Мухабеш*и певање не посредује трауму Понтских Грка из Санте, али представља афективну неизрецивост осећања патње жртава. Ови поетски и музички прикази алудирају на наративе трауме, али их не репродукују. У чланку долазимо до закључка да трансгенерацијска динамика *мухабеш*и музике не лежи ни у репродукцији ни у лечењу трауме, већ у пост-сећању: препознавању неизрецивости сећања и, самим тим, снажном поистовећивању с осећањем бола учесника и наглашеној емпатији.

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FORGETTING ABOUT TRAUMATIC PAST? ON THE POSITION OF FILM MUSIC COMPOSERS IN POST-WWII GERMANY

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Заборављање трауматичне прошлости? О положају композитора филмске музике у Немачкој после Другог светског рата

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents selected German film music composers who were active in Germany during the inter-war period as musicians trying to regain their position and renegotiate their role in the German post-war society marked by trauma and transition processes. Film music composers were believed to have stayed above politics and associated with a "harmless" type of music; therefore, they could adapt to the new situation comparatively more easily, particularly since the Allies had already treated musicians ambivalently. While pinpointing the reasons behind such a lenient attitude towards film music composers, the paper also touches on those rare cases when film music composers were actually accused of supporting the Nazi system.

KEYWORDS: film music composer, NS film music, German music after WWII.

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Апстракт

Рад се бави одабраним немачким композиторима филмске музике, активним у Немачкој у периоду између двају светских ратова, који су настојали да поврате свој положај и поново преговарају о својој улози у немачком послератном друштву обележеном траумом и процесима транзиције. Веровало се да су композитори филмске музике остали изнад политике и да су повезани с "безопасном" врстом музике. То им је олакшало прилагођавање новој ситуацији, будући да су савезници већ амбивалентно третирали музичаре. У раду су појашњени разлози попустљивог односа према композиторима овог жанра, а издвојени су и ретки примери у којима су композитори филмске музике били оптужени за подршку нацистичком режиму.

Кључне речи: композитори филмске музике, филмска музика у нацистичком режиму, немачка музика после Другог светског рата.

While framing post-war German culture as marked by trauma and transition processes, this paper – situated at the crossroads of historical, musicological, and film studies and combining their different methodologies – seeks to shed some light on the lives of selected German film music composers associated with Nazi ideology in the inter-war period and their attempts to renegotiate their position as members of German artistic circles in the postwar reality. The scope of this paper encompasses the first decades after the end of the WWII and it includes different experiences of German film music composers trying to regain their importance as influential musicians.

The ultimate trauma of the German history after 1945 was connected, among other things, with the disclosure of the Holocaust (Giesen 2004, 115), and the exposure of Nazi politics, also in the realm of the arts, music, and cinematography. It goes without saying that film music composers working in the Third Reich actively contributed to the Nazi cinematographic industry, even though they supposedly steered away from politics. In post-war Europe, however, their role was often treated ambiguously since German musicians were (in general) believed to "have remained above politics" (Potter 2007, 626). Nevertheless, several composers linked to the National Socialism (NS) became scrutinized as subjects of musicological and/or historical analysis, particularly by those scholars who ventured to examine the Nazi involvement in music, and their "deployment of the musical professional" (Botstein 2005, 493). Still, German film music composers, including those who supported the propaganda system promoting the NS, have managed to escape the attention of scholars, even though most of them continued their

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musical careers after the WWII, proving that German society chose various ways of transiting into new reality, oftentimes tacitly "forgetting" about the distressing facts from its prominent members' past. As some authors claim, at that time, German intellectuals might have felt that "all that remained of their country was its art" (Monod 2000, 339). Pamela M. Potter aptly described the confrontation of the Nazi past in the history of the visual and performing arts as the "art of suppression" (2016, 44), accordingly titling her recent book, which deals with historiography of German music, art, architecture, theatre, film, and dance in the traumatic period following the defeat of the Nazi Germany. She also pointed to rejection and avoidance, among other things, which can be viewed as common mechanisms encountered, for example, in literature and other writings whose authors try to negotiate historical trauma (LaCapra 2014, 97).

THE POWER OF MUSIC

The validity of music is often related to, and sometimes even predefined by aesthetic values or social interests that dominate in a community. Consequently, music can be strongly related to political situations and impacted by political regulations. Some authors, like Robin Ballinger, argue that music can also shape political consciousness "through its complex system of signification," which "is a powerful site of struggle in the organisation of meaning and lived experience" (Ballinger 2005, 430). This presumption is based on the belief that music transcends communication barriers and can be understood both locally and nationally, even transnationally. Furthermore, its political power has been recognised by numerous rulers aware of the potential influence of music, especially on human emotions. Hence, politicians are prone to regulate music production by motivating and stimulating musicians to undertake certain types of politicised expression etc. (Barbalet 1985, 531). It is generally accepted that music can also be used for propaganda as an excellent tool that facilitates the acceptance of an ideology by large audiences. For example, in the layer of lyrics, songs serving propagandistic purposes convey certain messages, often strengthened by the accompanying images, as is the case of cinematography. Indeed, it "has been argued that film [...] has a unique power as a tool for propaganda" (Jason 2013, 203 and 217), and it is no surprise that, for the Nazis (when they consolidated the power in 1933), the sound films became instrumental in their attempts to ensure public support for the regime. At the same time, music, in general, has come to be treated as one of the key elements of the Nazi propaganda, believed to seduce the masses. Music was also a part of the Nazi strategy in that sense that it helped, for example, "to promote incarceration as a disciplinary measure and patriotic education, whilst at the same time

manipulating public opinion" (Fackler 2010, 619). The widespread use of music at open events organised by the Nazi Party and observed in its publicity served as a propaganda outlet, given also that musical institutions in the Third Reich were funded by the state. While music played on the German radio of that time was already the subject of scholarly interest (Drechsler 1988), the functions that the music served in Nazi films, surprisingly, still remain under-researched, perhaps with some notable exceptions that concern music in such symbolic films as 1935 Triumph des Willens (Loiperdinger 1987, 58). The research of NS films predominantly concentrates on their plots: (hidden) meanings, messages, etc., and on their visual aspects. As noted by Lindsay Carter, musicologists predominantly approach Nazi films by focusing on composers who provided their soundtracks (2019, 15). Indeed, music in these films, particularly when associated with haunting images, has had the liminal power to stir emotions. Thus, it was harnessed by the Nazis to serve political causes in sound film, as "the German sound cinema of the 1930s aspired to control all possible effects. Nazi film music beat audiences into delightful submission" (Koepnick 2002, 46). This aim was also achieved by references to music of Bruckner or Beethoven (Hirsch, 2007, 489), or allusions to military music etc. Still, music in Nazi films defies straightforward categorisations and escapes simplistic generalisations, although musicologists often locate film music of the Third Reich in "the fields of popular culture or communications" (Weinberg 1984, 106).

GERMAN MUSICAL SCENE AFTER WWIL

Indeed, in the 1930s, most film music composers in the Third Reich, as in the whole Europe, were usually simultaneously involved in various realms of musical scene, for example, working in cabarets. Composers providing music for sound films typically treated it as a side job. These composers often came from different walks of life and worked, on a daily basis, in a variety of places. Because of that specificity, they often crossed over, or joined different cultural domains, thus accumulating substantial cultural capital to transgress the role of a composer associated with a single genre. That particular position of film music composers in Europe (unlike the US) did not change much after WWII, and arguably German composers who wrote music for NS films benefited from it. Following the end of the WWII, all composers from Germany found themselves in a delicate situation, also because the re-organization of the musical life was a complicated and multifarious process. It started as early as 1945, when the Americans set up the so-called "music control" within the office in Munich. It became clear that managing the German musical scene required extra delicacy when one of the composers who offered services was, among others, Richard

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Strauss (1864–1949) – a favourite composer of the NS regime. In 1947, Richard Strauss was cordially welcomed in London, which only symbolically proved that the politics of oblivion and "forgetting" (or, maybe, forgiving?) was successfully employed in the case of German musicians. Among other things, it was due to the implementation of the idea of educating Germany, inter alia through music, which was initially cherished among the British and then promoted by the rest of the Allies (Thacker 2017, 18). However, performing German military and nationalistic music was forbidden. The French went even further, proposing to blacklist certain German composers and their compositions written after 1933, even for a short period (Thacker 2017, 21, 27). In reality, German composers were affected by the denazification procedure only to a limited level, as the attitude of the Allies towards musicians in post-war Germany was rather ambivalent, even though the role of music in the development of the Nazi culture was generally well-known.

In these traumatic circumstances, German musicians needed to adapt to the post-war reality. Several tendencies appeared. To begin with, the process of denazification affected musical institutions, including opera houses, orchestras, etc. Soon, it became clear that, in many cases, up to one-fourth of musicians engaged in each orchestra had belonged to NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers' Party), so it was deemed almost impossible for musical institutions to function without former party members. It was determined that the musicians' past cannot jeopardise the existence of these ensembles (Thacker 2017, 50). Another factor affecting German musicians working for official institutions after the WWII was the challenge connected with re-establishment of an appropriate repertoire, an issue which also needed a dose of delicacy. Music by German composers that had been banned by the Nazis was restored. Thus, popular composers discriminated against by the Nazis on racial or other grounds (for example, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, or Tchaikovsky) were reintroduced to concert halls. However, after the WWII, the music by those German composers who were considered the embodiment of the German spirit by the Nazis also continued to be played. It was agreed that composers such as Bach or Beethoven, despite their German origins, should be considered as a part of the universal heritage, as, in general, the musical circles were

marked by conscious effort to reanimate the music allegedly silenced by Nazism, depart from what was construed to be a Nazi aesthetic that left music vulnerable to propagandistic exploitation, and to reimagine the recent past as a police state in which music and musicians were forced into submission. This creation of Nazi musical dystopia served the purpose of sanitizing all that was to emerge in the new German states as a welcome departure from the horrors (Thacker 2017, 50).

The third factor that affected the transition to normality was opening to the modern music. The city of Darmstadt offered to host Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik, initiated as early as 1946 by German musicologist Wolfgang Steinecke (1910-1961), who presented himself as politically unencumbered and was thus exempt from the denazification procedure. His initiative to bring Germany closer to contemporary music succeeded. Thus, Darmstadt became an important place on a musical map of the post-war Europe, with many composers, performers, and philosophers heading to Germany every summer to participate in the *Internationale Ferienkurse für Neue Musik*. The initiative aimed at proving that German composers were willing to make up for the lost time and wished to become a part of the European contemporary scene, and re-connect with the European musical culture. Furthermore, German circles seemed ready to assume a leading role in the process of designing new roads for the development of European music. Many German composers identified with a slogan formulated by Ernst Hermann Ludimar Meyer (1905–1981), who postulated that musicians from Germany should look forward and think about progress, rather than look back (Thacker 2017, 115). Upon settling back in Berlin, Meyer formed a group of musicians with whom he attempted to define paths of implementing the Leninist-Marxist theory in music in the German society.

German composers opted for various possibilities, either opening up to the Western musical tendencies or accommodating Leninist-Marxist influences. Most of them, however, enjoyed an "almost seamless transition" to the postwar reality (Potter 2007, 626), facilitated also by the belief (shared not only amongst the Germans) that even under the Nazi regime, musicians were able to remain unaffected by politics. It was assumed, as if tacitly, that music, as a sonic phenomenon, could not express any political views. Accordingly, composers were granted "prolonged denazification proceedings" (Potter 2007, 626) and the positions that they had held in Hitler's Germany were not openly discussed. Some authors, like Pamela Potter, believe that the privileged situation of the German musicians after the WWII should be related to the nineteenth century cult of the composer and the appreciation for German music, while other researchers, like Leon Botstein, suggest that it might have been an effect of the Nazi admiration of music, especially their "deployment of the musical professional" (2005, 493). Botstein believes that it was the Nazis who "cultivated and promoted the musician [...] In the context of dictatorship, repression, and terror, music became privileged not only as a compensatory sphere of personal and individualistic expression, but also as a component of the homogeneous cultural racial community" (2005, 493). In the Third Reich, the figure of a musician was promoted because it served as a metaphor of a perfect, i.e., in this case, an obedient, well-organized Nazi.

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Potter divides German musicians active in the Third Reich into perpetrators and victims (Potter 2007, 639). That dichotomy may, however, simplify the complicacy of their situation and ignore various shades of the pre-war reality because it was not only professional, but also amateur musicians who could (actively or passively) support the system, while music-making, in general, was perceived as an allegory of Nazi ideals. As Botstein suggests,

the ideal Nazi subject was an obedient and loyal servant of the state who sang in a choir and played string quartets or the piano at home with friends. Even amateur public performance within non-commercialized public venues was encouraged. The joy of music making made the subordination by the state and the absence of political freedom tolerable. Active amateurism was also the best preparation for the complete release of emotion as anonymous witnesses and listeners in the concert hall, opera house, and mass rally (2005, 493).

Hence, as several researchers claimed, e.g. Joseph Wulf in his 1963 *Musik im Dritten Reich*, or Fred K. Prieberg in his 1982 *Musik im NS-Staat*, musicianship during the NS times was inevitably and always politically charged.

A "MINOR ROLE" OF FILM COMPOSERS

As already underlined, most German film music composers active in the NS times, continued working in the second half of the twentieth century and almost seamlessly re-assumed their career immediately after the war. Oftentimes, they became respected teachers, presidents of various musical organizations, etc., and a handful of them continued to work in the film industry. Although today composing for films is a rather prestigious job, with several wellknown film music composers touring around the globe (e.g. John Willimas or Hans Zimmer), in the 1930s and 1940s, composing for films, especially in Europe, was considered, among composers themselves, an inferior type of work, treated as "a somewhat peripheral activity" (Dutilleux 2003, 27) or as a "secondary task" (Schnittke 2002, 22). At that time, a composer writing film music was believed to perform a servile function as one of the most popular composers of the early twentieth century – Aaron Copland (1900–1991) attested (despite composing music for a few films). He insisted that "there is no sense in denying the subordinate position the composer fills" (Copland 1940, 141–143). Film music was felt to have played "a minor role," while still "struggling for its place in the sun: the film people themselves almost invariably treat it very casually and are not quite clear in their own minds about its

importance, musicians take it up more for the sake of fees than for art's sake, and he is a rare exception among them who shows any sympathy for its novel forms" (London 1970, 11).

It seems that the nineteenth century division into E-Musik (Ernst-Musik) and U-Musik (Unterhaltung-Musik) affected composers who considered writing soundtracks as compromising their talent for financial benefits. Consequently, some composers even refused to write film music (Ligeti 1983, 24). However, the position assigned to film music composers impacted the assessment of their involvement with the film industry of the Third Reich: it was excused, viewed as a way of amending their financial situation. Many composers of film music, additionally active in other forms of entertainment business, chose to steer away from the politics by writing music for films which seemed apolitical, for example, cinematographic operettas. But their music could also be featured in propagandistic films or otherwise used by the NS regime to support the ideology, not to mention that some film music composers actively supported NS.

Many composers who became engaged in composing for the film industry in the 1930s stemmed from the U-Musik circles, as was the case of Frank Fux [Fox] (1902–1965), a well-educated composer (he studied with Joseph Marx, Ferdinand Löwe, and Franz Schmidt) initially based in Vienna. He focused on film music after he was appointed music director of the Tobis Sascha film industry. After the Anschluss, he moved to Berlin, providing music, among other things, to such propaganda films as *Kora Terry* (1940) (Fox 2000, 130). After the WWII, Fux immediately resumed composing film music providing soundtrack for *Der weite Weg / Schicksal in Ketten* (1946), the first Austrian feature film shown in cinemas after the end of the war. Fux continued working for the radio, cabaret, and he also composed light music, for example, operettas and Viennese songs, and stayed active as a conductor.

Another composer for whom cinematography offered financial support during the NS times was Edmund Nick (1891–1974), who became conductor of the Bavarian State Operetta in 1947. He subsequently worked for the West German Broadcasting Cologne and the University of Music and Performing Arts Munich. Before the war, Nick was also a musical director of the Silesian Radio in Breslau, but in 1933 he moved to Berlin, where he became active on the cabaret scene. When in May 1935 cabarets were declared a hotbed of Jewish and Marxist propaganda, Nick decided to leave the city, at least temporarily, heading to Slovakia. His position was uncertain since he was married to a Jewish singer Käte Jaenicke (1889–1967), and consequently his daughter Dagmar Nick was treated as "half Jewish." Nevertheless, Nick worked for the UFA, composing music for short and commercial films; alas, his name was

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often omitted in the opening credits (Nick n.d.). At the end of the war, Nick moved to Bohemia, where he started writing books about operettas (also composing them).

Operettas were so popular at that time that their success was capitalised in the so-called *Tonfilmoperetten*. The genre seemed politically unbiased, but, in fact, these film operettas were also exploited by the Nazi propaganda. After 1933, many composers (to name Jean Gilbert, Friedrich Hollaender, Paul Abraham, Mischa Spoliansky, Hans May, Werner Richard Heymann), as well as directors (e.g. Wilhelm Thiele), and singers (for example Jan Kiepura, Marta Eggerth) who made their names in the genre, went into exile, eventually migrating, for example, to Hollywood. The genre of Tonfilmoperette, being a mixture of dialogues, sounds, and music, nevertheless remained one of the most preferred genres among composers who actually stayed in Germany (Volker 2006, 13-28). These films allowed composers to focus on existing music written by the great Austrian or German operetta masters of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, Nico Dostal, Franz Lehar, and Johann Strauss II, and they often worked on adaptations of operettas' music featured in Tonfilmoperetten. Another tendency observed among film music composers under NS was to allude to cabaret traditions, especially in cinematographic light musicals, often conceived as war romances, to mention Die große Liebe of 1942 (Jason 2013). Composers who chose to function outside the propaganda system by contributing music to such films continued their professional careers after the WWII, for example, Leo Leux (1893-1951) who was responsible for music in several entertainment films, among others, Robert and Bertram (1939). This light-hearted musical comedy in the style of Laurel and Hardy can be, however, credited as a perfect example of Nazi movie, depicting Robert and Bertram as stereotypical Jews.

Another very successful film music composer, who stemmed from U-Musik circles and continued his career after the WWII unbothered, was Michael Jary (1906–1988). This German composer of Polish origin was born as Maksymilian Michał Jarczyk, and before the WWII he enjoyed several successes, including hits like "Roter Mohn" featured in the film *Schwarzfahrt ins Glück* (1938). Because Jary was denied his visa and was therefore forced to stay in Germany, he collaborated with the lyricist Bruno Balz, writing songs that became great hits with the UFA: "Ich weiß, es wird einmal ein Wunder geschehn" and "Davon geht die Welt nicht unter." Between 1939 and 1945, Jary supplied music for around 30 films, but he was also active as a conductor, and released albums with his music. According to contemporary enthusiasts of his music, he "became an insider tip in the film industry: he was regarded as a master of symphonic background music and, after some initial difficulties,

hits also became his profession" (Michael Jary n.d.). During WWII, Jary became one of the most willingly performed composers of light music, with his compositions broadcast on the radio, and his hit "Roter Mohn Tango" heard in the Auschwitz camp. While Jary typically wrote music for melodramas, e.g. Gabriele Dambrone (1943) or Das große Spiel (1942), featuring famous German footballers of the era, some films with his music, like Auf Wiedersehn, Franziska (1941), carried propagandistic content (Hoppe 1941, 558; Grundschöttel, 1941), and already in the 1940s, they were deemed as bringing comfort to "the countless German women who made the war lonely," and the film Zwei Welten (1939) with Jary's music receiving the title of "artistically valuable" in 1940 (Giesen and Hobsch 2005, 345). Consequently, some films with Jary's music, including Falschmünzer (1940) or Blutsbrüderschaft (1941), were either completely banned by the Allies, or their public performances were limited. After the war, Jary was mostly associated with a number of evergreens, also stemming from the revue film Karneval der Liebe (1943) or Großstadtmelodie (1943), which featured the hit "Berlin - ich bin verliebt in dich bei Tag und Nacht," hailing the splendour of the old imperial capital (Lexikon 1987, 1440). Altogether, during his lifetime, Jary wrote music to over 130 films, musicals, and hundreds of songs (Kiszakiewicz 1972), as he reassumed his responsibilities after the war, including that of a conductor. He also became engaged in the reorganization of musical life in Germany, for example, founding the orchestra of the Radio Saarbrücken.

It can be concluded that many composers who were predominantly linked to composing light music during the NS regime successfully reassumed their musical careers after the WWII (like the above-mentioned Nick or Jary) for they were perceived through the prism of the U-Musik as a presumably less "harmful" type of music, notwithstanding the fact that films featuring their music were, or might have been used to promote Nazi ideology.

But there are also several German pre-war film music composers who seamlessly transited to the new reality even though they openly supported the Nazi regime. Most of them continued their professional career as film music composers after the WWII.

For example, Siegfried Bethmann (1915–1993) who was also a member of the NSDAP, worked as the first conductor of the theatre in Heidelberg after 1945; then in 1946, he became engaged in Roßlau, where he founded a town orchestra, only to relocate to Leipzig, where he worked for a radio station (Knocke and Neuhold 2015, 11–34). The post-war career of Franz Grothe (1908–1982) also shows that the active membership in the party (his number was 2.580.427), and even enormous popularity during the NS times – his hits like "Lied der Nachtigall" from the film *Die schwedische Nachtigall* (1941) were

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also performed in Auschwitz - did not hinder the composer's career after 1945. Grothe became a chairman of the Supervisory Board of GEMA (Gesellschaft für musikalische Aufführungs- und mechanische Vervielfältigungsrechte) and the director of the Franz Grothe Foundation; finally, he even received the Order of Merit of the Federal Republic in 1980 (Prieberg 2009, 2711). Similarly successful was the after-war career of a Nazi politician Clemens Carl Otto Schmalstich (1908-1960), who took over the leadership of the Siemens Orchestra in 1945, thus continuing his pre-war activities (previously he worked as a conductor in the most prestigious opera houses, including the Neues Schauspielhaus in Berlin). Although his compositions were initially banned (only in the Soviet occupation zone, though) (Prieberg 2009, 6580-6582), after the WWII, Schmalstich became active in the Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur [Taskforce for German Culture] as an area cultural director and as a branch leader for light music and operetta. Alois Melichar (1896-1976), who also continued to compose for films (staying active until 1950) was highly praised in the 1970s for his achievements, especially in the realm of accompaniment music, which some scholars deemed the most welcomed in film soundtracks (Cadars and Courtade 1972, 99). In the inter-war period, Melichar was involved in the campaign to formulate the principles of film music appropriate for NS German films insisting on establishing clear guidelines, but his postulates were never answered, which was "a typical manoeuvre of Nazi bureaucracy" (Volker 2006, 21). His role in the development of the NS cinematography was, however, either forgotten or purposefully ignored, and effectively silenced in literature on film music.

Yet, several composers of film music who continued their careers after the WWII had a rather ambivalent, to say the least, attitude towards the NSDAP, but saw no other option as to join the party, and, perhaps, even to use the membership to their benefit. Some truly believed in the ideology before understanding the reality behind the slogans. For example, Peter Paul Kreuder (1905-1981) became a member of the Nazi Party in 1932, resigning only two years later. Other composers involved in the German film industry disassociated themselves from the dominant ideology or tried to shun it - for example, Willy Schmidt-Gentner (1894-1964). However, his "Ich bin heute ja so verliebt" from the film Operette (1941) could be heard in Auschwitz. After the end of the war, Schmidt-Gentner continued to compose music for numerous films until his retirement in 1955. Some composers, such as Norbert Schultze (1911–2002), were advised to become members of the NSDAP to avoid being conscripted. Schultze composed several hits: martial and propaganda songs; for example, in 1938, he set the poem "Lili Marleen" to music. He was also responsible for soundtracks for propaganda films, including the super-production Kolberg

(1945). Schultze explained his attitude towards the NS regime as a natural (and quintessentially conformist) consequence of the situation he encountered, saying that at the time of the Nazi rule he was "at the best age for a soldier, 30 or so. For me, the alternatives were: compose or croak. So, I decided for the former" (Anonymous 2005). After the WWII, not only did Schultze continue his work as a film music composer (often collaborating with the director Rolf Thiele), but he also benefited from the royalties from his hits written between 1933 and 1945. The money was supposedly used to finance the German Red Cross, as German Wikipedia informs (2024).

BANS AND ACCUSATIONS

The transition to the post-war life was often marked by bans on certain compositions or even entire soundtracks (e.g. when films featuring them were forbidden). However, this enforced absence was usually short-lived, rarely, if ever, affecting the composers. For example, the film music composer Franz Adam (1885–1954) continued his work in Munich, although his compositions were on the US military government's "black list," while in 1948, the composer was classified by the Munich Spruchkammer in group III (as less incriminated), and then moved to group IV (Prieberg 2009, 82). Several propagandistic films were also put on such black lists and disappeared from the public sphere. Among others, the flag-ship Nazi film Jud Süβ (1940) with music by Wolfgang Friedrich Zeller (1893-1967), who was also responsible for soundtracks for other Nazi films, Der Gouverneur (1939) or Menschen im Sturm (1941), met the same fate and it was also banned in 1945. After the WWII, Zeller re-established his career and became a conductor in a Berlin-based theatre. He continued to work as a film composer writing music for anti-fascist (!) films such as Ehe im Schatten (1947) or Morituri (1948). Even if some composers, like Herbert Windt (1894-1965) initially fell into disfavour, in the denazification trials, they were often completely cleared. Windt is still well-remembered for his music in Leni Riefenstahl's 1934 propaganda film Triumph des Willens. Worth recalling is the fact that Windt - along with Zeller, Jary, Grothe, and Georg Haentzschel – was considered the most prominent film composer of the Third Reich, listed by the Reich Ministry for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in 1944 (Kellenter 2020, 459).

Only in rare cases, the composers whose music was used in propagandistic NS films, were explicitly accused of supporting the regime. In the book *Eight German Composers of the Nazi Era*, Michael Kater named Werner Joseph Mayer (1901–1983) "the Enigmatic Opportunist" (2000: 3–30). The composer was better known as Egk: the pseudonym is believed to be an acronym of "ein

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guter Komponist" or "ein großer Künstler," i.e. "a good composer" or "a great artist." An alternative anecdote claims that it is an anagram of the initials of his wife, the violinist Elisabeth Karl, for Egk used it from the time of their marriage in 1923, making it his official family name in 1937. Egk never joined the Nazi party, but his works were used in Nazi films (Meyer 1977, 15). Twenty years before Kater's book, in 1969, Egk sued his younger colleague - composer Konrad Boehmer (1941-2014) - for calling him "one of the evilest figures of National Socialist music politics" (in original: "eine der übelsten Figuren nationalsozialistischer Musikpolitik") (Boehmer 1969, 90). But even before that, in 1947, Egk defended himself in a Spruchkammer trial against accusation of performing the Hitler salute in public in front of Hermann Göring (Eckstein 2017). Infamy followed Egk: when Kater called him "the Enigmatic Opportunist" the author clearly reflected on these events, and alluded to the late 1960s coverage of Egk's past in the German press. At that time, the Der Spiegel described Egk as "an opportunist who shook hands with Hitler and praised the tremendous Nazi era in which everything was striving mightily forward" (Anonymous 1969).

PERSPECTIVES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It might be said that German film music composers seamlessly transited into the post-war reality benefiting from a rather lenient attitude of the Allies toward musicians, and paradoxically they also profited from the fact that composing for films was still underrated. Music in films was assigned an undefined role, i.e. it continued to be perceived as an indispensable element of cinematography but only of nominal value. It was classified as a sonic filler, almost a technical ingredient, and not as a sonic counterpart of the visuals. However, in the practice, music, sound, and image were closely bound and they underlined the meaning of the films, oftentimes openly, and sometimes only superficially alluding to Nazi ideology, even in then popular light comedies, romances, and musicals, or apparently non-political Bergfilms (Stilwell and Powrie 2008, 3). It is, nevertheless, difficult (sometimes even impossible) to determine how, and to what degree the Nazi values and ideals were embedded in these seemingly non-political films, and also how ideological elements were deduced and gauged by the German audiences (Weinberg 1984, 118). However, it is commonly agreed that films produced in the Third Reich served the general ideological purposes, and most of them used the potential of music to awaken certain associations, often promoting strong military associations, enticed by soldier songs and marches (Reimar 2003), thus leading to the formation of the specific "Nazi musical style." Some researchers believe that Nazi

ideology, even if only temporarily, compromised the German music (Potter 2007, 643), and thus it also affected film soundtracks.

Notwithstanding the actual involvement of German film music composers in Nazi politics, they cherished successful careers after WWII, perhaps with some minor exceptions. As demonstrated, in most cases, they continued their activities as musicians without substantial problems, obtaining prominent positions, and contributing to local musical scenes etc. The ambivalence of assessment criteria applied to musicians of the Third Reich, particularly film music composers whose soundtracks were categorised as of secondary importance, allowed for implementation of the mechanism of repression of their past in the period right after WWII. Later, it seems that the same mechanism has been employed by societies in Eastern and Western Germany alike, as if they had hoped for better (quicker?) coping with the traumatic past. The prewar involvement of film music composers with the Nazi ideology was either "forgotten," or treated as if isolated from the context in which their actual soundtracks originated. However, with the change of the paradigm observed in film musicology, particularly in the light of the new conceptualizations of the role music plays in films, the implications and consequences of composing for films produced in the NS time, as well as the position of German film composers in the post-war German society, should be revisited and this issue certainly calls for more and in-depth research.

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ON THE POSITION OF FILM MUSIC COMPOSERS IN POST-WWII GERMANY

Ана Г. Пјотровска

Заборављање трауматичне прошлости? О положају композитора филмске музике у Немачкој после Другог светског рата

(Резиме)

Рад се фокусира на одабране немачке композиторе филмске музике активне у Немачкој између двају светских ратова, који су поново успоставили свој положај у послератном немачком друштву. Наиме, композитори филмске музике успели су у томе да се њихова улога у друштву преиспита, јер се веровало да су остали изнад политике. Њихово стваралаштво било је често повезивано с "безопасном", то јест забавном и лаком музиком. Поред тога, савезници су амбивалентно третирали музичаре. Зато су немачки композитори филмске музике могли релативно лако да се прилагоде новој ситуацији. У раду је детаљно сагледана ова проблематика. Иако смо размотрили и ретке случајеве у којима су аутори филмске музике били оптужени за подршку нацистичком режиму, у раду смо представили велики број композитора овог жанра који су релативно лако прешли у послератну стварност, упркос томе што је послератна немачка култура била озбиљно трауматизована и прогањана непосредном прошлошћу. Траума немачке историје после 1945. године била је повезана, између осталог, с откривањем Холокауста и разоткривањем нацистичке политике, што је пратило и токове у области уметности, музике и кинематографије. Случај филмских композитора показује да је немачко друштво бирало различите, па и прећутне начине преласка у нову стварност.

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Emigrant Composers in the C.N.S.A.S. Archives. Case Study: The Unknown Story of Marius Constant's Official Visit to Communist Romania

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Емигрантски композитори у Националном савету за проучавање архива Секуритатее (*C.N.S.A.S.*).

Студија случаја: непозната прича о званичној посети Маријуса Констана комунистичкој Румунији

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ABSTRACT

The present study is part of a larger research, which focused on Romanian emigrant composers in France and their relationship with their homeland in the second half of the twentieth century, based on documents from the National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives. An analysis of the numerous notes and reports of the Securitate documenting composer Marius Constant's official visit to Romania in 1985 sheds some light on how the authorities in communist Romania dealt with the diaspora, the ideological clichés, and on the high degree of control and manipulation that governed the country's cultural policy.

KEYWORDS: Romanian diaspora, censorship, music and politics, communist regime, French-Romanian composer, cultural trauma.

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АПСТРАКТ

Ова студија део је обимнијег истраживања, које се фокусира на румунске емигрантске композиторе у Француској и њихов однос с домовином у другој половини XX века. Истраживање је засновано на документима из Националног савета за проучавање архива Секуритатее. Анализа бројних бележака и извештаја Секуритатее, који документују званичну посету композитора Маријуса Констана Румунији 1985. године, осветљава како су власти у комунистичкој Румунији поступале с дијаспором, идеолошким клишеима и високим степеном контроле и манипулације, који су владали културном политиком земље.

Кључне речи: румунска дијаспора, цензура, музика и политика, комунистички режим, француско-румунски композитор, културна траума.

RESEARCH PREMISES

What does accreditation as a C.N.S.A.S. researcher entail? What is the document organization system and how do we manage to navigate between categories of files and information? How do we position ourselves in relation to the findings in the files as young researchers born after the communist period so that we are able to discern the fine line between ethical, circumstantial, and immoral? These are just a few of the questions that I have found necessary to reflect on before bringing to the public's attention the documents with strong circumstantial connotations, which I am presenting and commenting on for the first time, no less than 35 years after the end of the communist regime in Romania.

At the end of 1999, Consiliul Naţional pentru Studierea Arhivelor Securității [The National Council for the Study of the Securitate Archives] (C.N.S.A.S.) was set up in Romania. The establishment of this institution followed similar initiatives that had already been successfully implemented in other former communist countries (such as the Stasi Records Archive in the former GDR or the Institute of National Remembrance in Poland). While the founding Law (Legea nr. 187/1999 n.d.) provides that "to establish the historical truth, the Council shall make available to researchers accredited for this purpose by the Collegium of the Council comprehensive documents and information on the structure, methods and activities of the Securitate organs" (Art. 19), later Emergency Ordinance (Ordonanța de urgență nr. 24/2008 n.d.) prescribes that "accredited researchers are obliged to respect and protect the family and private lives of those who were persecuted by the communist

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political police" (Art. 28). Applications for accreditation – accompanied by supporting documents for the research topic – are subject to the approval by the C.N.S.A.S. Collegium - and may request information on a maximum of 15 persons/request from the following three categories of C.N.S.A.S. funds: problem/objective files - in regards to either an institution as an objective, or an event / group of people / social phenomenon as a possible "problem" for the official regime; documents relating to personalities who played a role in the history of the country (in the period 1945-1989); documents relating to workers, collaborators of the Securitate and other people assimilated to these categories. The general thematic areas approved by the C.N.S.A.S. Collegium for researchers include, among others, "Romanian exile between 1945-1989," "Romanian intellectuals under communism," and "Art, culture, education, sport in communist Romania" (Studiul documentelor din arhiva C.N.S.A.S. n.d.). In addition to the nominal files of the personalities of interest for the research topic, documents from the Library Fund (former Securitate Library) and the Documentary Fund, which includes problem or objective files, may be consulted without additional approval from the Collegium, provided that they are related to the research topic for which the accreditation was obtained.

On the occasion of a research project coordinated by Prof. Nicolae Gheorghiță at the National University of Music Bucharest (UNMB) - Music control. Effects and consequences of the institution of censorship on education and musical culture in Romania during the three dictatorships of the 20th century: Carlist, Antonescian and Communist - in 2022, together with my colleagues Desiela Ion and Benedicta Pavel, I went through the accreditation stages, benefiting from the generous guidance of violinist Ladislau Csendes - a member of the C.N.S.A.S. Collegium and professor at the National University of Music Bucharest. We obtained accreditation to complete our doctoral research with information from the C.N.S.A.S. Archive, which, in my case, meant following in the footsteps of the generation of Romanian avant-garde composers who emigrated to France from the 1960s to the 1980s (Diaconu 2023). After the first contact with the selection of documentary files grouped by the themes "artistic creation", "art-culture," and "higher education," which the Research Service of the institution has proposed to us and which was common for all three, I could make certain observations. Although these files may be common to two or more institutions,1 and the chain of documents may be very heterogeneous,

¹ For example, C.N.S.A.S., File no. 10965, vol. 38, *Documentation on Artistic Creation:* [...] notes on the Union of Composers and the George Enescu Philharmonic, and File no. 11155, vol. 61, Union of Composers – Brief History. Lists of members, documentary material concerning the "George Enescu" Conservatory (1981).

they are not to be neglected as they can reveal very valuable information and connections for the research topic. There is no guarantee that all the relevant information about a personality can be found in the file opened in his/her name, in cases where it exists, be it an information / a pursue file or a network file (in case of persons who collaborated with the Securitate). I think that these *objective* files – which concerned certain institutions that were important for the cultural life or ideological issues of interest to the political authorities – most clearly show the level of control that the state – through the political police – exercised over the Romanian musical life. Parts of the very extensive and well-infiltrated networks of informers in the ranks of each musical institution are indicated; criteria considered when recruiting; records and lists of personnel – with family origins and political affiliations; reports on the degree of implementation of political desiderata at the level of each institution. Of course, any connection of the musicians with Western countries had to pass through filters at all levels, supervised by the Securitate organs.

Before starting my research through the thousands of files in the documentary files,² I decided to first learn about the previous musical research that had been undertaken in investigations of the C.N.S.A.S. files. One of the most brutal triggers of cultural trauma is the change of fundamental institutions or regimes (Sztompka 2004, 163). During the communist regime in Romania, free cultural and artistic thinking was quite abruptly replaced by censorship and ideologized artistic desiderata issued under political influence, and free international movement was stopped in favour of nationalist containment. An important part of the acceptance and understanding of cultural trauma can be discovered by looking at its manifestation or appearance in the arts - music, literature, visual arts. Sometimes, the mere submission of artists to the doctrines of a totalitarian regime can be one of the most obvious signs of trauma. But more often, we are looking for protest, disobedience, the subservience of art to the regime, followed by the regime's response to such manifestations. As will be seen from the analysed archival documents, this response is rarely linked to musical stylistics per se, often remaining confined to the superficial area of clichés linked to social origin or ideological convictions. On the other hand, cultural traumas are considered defined not when they occur, but rather when they are, with the help of the public discourse of influential voices,

² Besides those related to the Union of Composers, Bucharest Philharmonic, National Opera and Conservatory that I had at my disposal, there are more than 40 volumes in the C.N.S.A.S. Archive related to the activity of the ARIA – Romanian Agency of Artistic Impresariat, which intermediated all the visits of Romanian musicians abroad and all the concerts of foreign artists in Romania.

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understood, made public and accepted as collective traumas by the general public (Eyerman 2019, 42). Hence, it became essential to know what was written on the subject in post-communist Romania, an analysis that could easily be a case study for another kind of cultural trauma, represented by the sudden return to democracy and the supposed absolute freedom of expression.

At the beginning of my research, I already knew the valuable achievements of two authors – both violinists and professors at the Music University in Bucharest - Ladislau Csendes and Ioana Raluca Voicu Arnăuțoiu. In 2011, Ladislau Csendes – a member of the C.N.S.A.S. Collegium and its president from 2007 to 2009 - stirred up a wave of controversy in the music world with the publication of George Enescu, a supervised exile? (Csendes 2011). The book brought to light previously unknown details about the great composer's connection to Romania in the last years of his life; among others, a report with a proposal to bring George Enescu into the country, signed by the head of the Securitate, Vasile Vîlcu, in July 1954 (Csendes 2011, 232-235), and a chapter about "(non)friends" who turned out to be some of the composer's closest collaborators who worked in the Securitate network: Corneliu Bediteanu and Romeo Drăghici (Csendes 2011, 137-197). În 2019, Ladislau Csendes returned with new musical accounts from the C.N.S.A.S. Archives, in an extensive study published in the volume Panorama comunismului în România [Panorama of Communism in Romania], coordinated by Liliana Corobca, in which he discusses recruitment and resistance, blackmail, and the disagreeable position in which many famous musicians found themselves in their dealings with the political police:

The limits of power and the power of limits in this constant confrontation of musicians with the political police seem most dramatic and offer the most interesting insights. Some were, it seems, less vulnerable. These musicians, as well as luck, had a presence of mind that allowed them to position themselves advantageously in the unequal battle they waged with the Securitate emissaries (agents provocateurs, agents of influence, etc.). However, it was very difficult to escape without injury from the (in)visible but extremely dangerous web of political police (Csendes 2020, 783).

The second musician who took significant steps in the process of rewriting the history of Romanian music in light of the political background information revealed by the C.N.S.A.S. was Raluca Voicu Arnăuţoiu, who has been involved in the reconstruction of the destinies of musicians from George Enescu's generation and the one immediately following, some of them ousted from the country for good by the recurrent persecutions of the political police: George Enescu, Mihail Jora, Paul Constantinescu, Alfred Alessandrescu,

George Georgescu (Voicu-Arnăuțoiu 2011); Constantin Silvestri, Antonin Ciolan, Sergiu Celibidache, Florica Musicescu, Mîndru Katz and Richard Oschanitzky (Voicu-Arnăuțoiu 2012; 2013; 2021).

The list of researchers accredited to the C.N.S.A.S. from 2002 to 2022 (Cereri aprobate n.d.) - in which we were also officially included in 2022 contains 2,962 names. I went through it in search of musicians' names and discovered, together with Ladislau Csendes and Raluca Voicu, composer Thomas Beimel (with the topic "Music and life of the composer Myriam Marbé in the Romanian and European political context"), pianist Sanda Hîrlav-Maistorovici, and priest Stelian Ionașcu, both researching Paul Constantinescu ("Composer Paul Constantinescu - monographic study"), as well as Maria Lucia Beatrice Lupu, musician and television personality, researching "The Union of Romanian Composers between 1950 and 1989." Based on a generous theme spanning almost 40 years and with many possible ramifications, Beatrice Lupu has published 5 articles in the journal Muzica (issues 3/2004 and 1-4/2005 respectively), which focused on just a few files from the C.N.S.A.S. archive: The verification file on the Dumitrescu Ion and Vasilescu Ion group, Informative File no. 3102, motivated by "diversion in the ideological sector" (Lupu 2004; Lupu 2005a; Lupu 2005b); Informative File no. 715 - Mihail Jora; Informative File no. 717 - Paul Constantinescu (Lupu 2005c) and Informative File 5020 - Elenescu Emanoil "Dirijorul" [The Conductor] (Lupu 2005d). Being the first attempt to reconsider events in the history of Romanian music based on documents from the C.N.S.A.S. Archive, at a time when it contained far fewer documents,3 Beatrice Lupu's studies display a moderate approach, with certain reservations:

When I started this work, I was well aware of the problems C.N.S.A.S. was facing in obtaining the archive, I knew that I could not decide which files I would search and the order in which I would search them. This is a source of disappointment, both for the researcher and for those who have their own vision of the subjects that should be tackled as a priority. Of

³ The aforementioned Law (Legea nr. 187/1999) stipulated that the Romanian Intelligence Service, the Foreign Intelligence Service, the Ministry of Administration and Interior, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of National Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the National Archives, and any other public or private institutions, as well as individuals holding documents, files, registers, photo, video, audio and computer records, databases, including the files of Securitate officers identified as having engaged in political police activity during the communist regime, are obliged to ensure the right of access provided by the Law and to hand them over to the Council (Art. 20). More than 20 years later, although the current C.N.S.A.S. fund comprises almost 30 linear kilometres of archives, the transfer process has still not been completed.

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course, it would have been better if I had started with the 1950s, but I hope that, whatever the order in which the files come up for research, it will be possible to cover the entire period proposed, 1950–1989. Otherwise, the approach is bound to disappoint (Lupu 2005a, 88).

To me it is not particularly important who is behind the code names. What matters is the atmosphere of those years, the way the Securitate intervened between friends, in work relationships, the way people were disposed of. Those who signed the pledge always had the date and time of their next meeting fixed. They were asked about certain subjects. If the tone was too mild, they were seriously warned (Lupu 2005a, 109).

The bureau' or officers' notes generally leave the impression of useless work. Everything floats in the vague "let the note be as concrete as possible," the meetings with agents as often as possible. Does it ever come to a conclusion? (Lupu 2005b, 111)

I was particularly struck by the editor's note, conspicuously framed on the border at the beginning of the last article in the series (see Figure 1):

Once again, it should be stressed that the name of the informant was conspiratorial, as such, other than the real one. Unfortunately, some of the names of the informants coincide with the names of prominent musicians in the Union, which is likely to create confusion and cast a veil of suspicion over personalities of integrity and far from any involvement in this direction (Lupu 2005d, 89).

It also seems to exude a sense of postscript censorship.

The first conclusion I came to after launching my first research project at the C.N.S.A.S. Archive is that it is good to have flexible expectations. For a more concrete view of the phenomenon, I present below the statistics of my research topic. Within the theme *Diaspora of Romanian composers in France in the second half of the 20th century*, I followed in parallel the destinies of several avant-garde composers who emigrated to France in the period 1960–1980. Given the obvious relationship with the occidental world and their illegal settlement in France, my expectation was that all of them (or almost all of them) have had their files opened, at least in the SIE (Foreign Intelligence Service) Fund. In the accreditation application, I requested information on eleven personalities relevant to the context of the research: Horaţiu Rădulescu, Costin Miereanu, Costin Cazaban, Mihai Mitrea-Celarianu, Horia Şurianu, Vladimir Cosma, Edgar Cosma, Theodor Cosma, Marius Constant, Radu Stan and Mica Salabert (the latter two, although not composers, were heavily involved in the work of the French publishing house Salabert, which functioned as an

invaluable launching platform for Romanian musicians who settled in Paris). The answer included six archival units identified for only four of the musicians mentioned in the request: two files from the Information Fund, two from the Network Fund and two from the SIE Fund. I cannot help but wonder how many of the files have been destroyed, how many pages have been torn out or moved to other files (the clue to this is given by multiple cuts in the opening indexes and renumbering of pages; see Figures 2 and 3), how many have not yet been transferred to the C.N.S.A.S. funds, and how many related documents are in the *problem* or *objective* files. Therefore, it was necessary to adjust my expectations, to accept that the result of my request was complex material, that the circumstances are nuanced from case to case, and that interpreting and corroborating them will require a great dose of diligence and responsibility on my part for objective historical reflection.

An Uncommon Perspective – The Apparent Intention to Recover Western Musical Values

Marius Constant (Braunstein) - The First Dossier

Marius Constant (1925-2004) was a French composer and conductor, born in Romania – this is how some biographies present him (Rae 2005; Whos's Who n.d.), and even one of the very rare texts dedicated to him in Romanian publications chooses the same approach: "We cannot assimilate Marius Constant to Romanian culture, but neither can we overlook his origins and his early formative period which left their deep mark on the artist's later development" (Arzoiu 1995: 40). He graduated from the Bucharest Conservatory in 1943, and in 1946, after winning the Enescu Prize, he emigrated to Paris thanks to a scholarship offered by the French government, where he had the opportunity to study with Olivier Messiaen, Nadia Boulanger, Jean Fourmet, and Arthur Honegger. He composed five operas, over ten ballet scores (by virtue of his marriage to a ballerina, also originating from Romania), arranged and reorchestrated many famous scores from the French repertoire (including Georges Bizet's Carmen and Debussy's Pelléas et Mélisande), and composed in a wide variety of styles, from musique concrète and aleatoric to neoclassical/neo-romantic works. Paradoxically or not, his greatest notoriety as a composer came from a fragment of only a few bars that was used in the credits of the famous American science fiction series The Twilight Zone. Since the late 1950s, when he gained greater international visibility with the presentation of his 24 Preludes for Orchestra under Leonard Bernstein, Marius Constant has become an increasingly prominent figure in French music. He

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has been musical director of the *Ballets de Paris* (a series founded by Roland Petit) since 1958 and music director of the Paris Opera Ballet since 1973. He was one of the founders of the radio station France-Musique, a professor at the Paris Conservatoire since 1978, and since 1963, he has been the founder and conductor of the *Ars Nova* contemporary music ensemble affiliated to the French national radio. In this position, Marius Constant made an essential contribution to the international promotion of Romanian avant-garde creations, including the disc *Jeune musique roumaine*, recorded in 1970 with works by Tiberiu Olah, Ştefan Niculescu, Anatol Vieru, Costin Miereanu, and Mihai Mitrea-Celarianu.

I thought it appropriate to sketch this short biographical introduction to outline the well-established status of Marius Constant on the international scene – as a versatile composer, conductor, professor, and cultural manager – and the total autonomy from his country of origin that he acquired during his decades of prolific activity after the emigration. I chose him for a case study in the Securitate files because, on one hand, he is a part of the Romanian musical diaspora in France not only by origin, but also by his own choice to associate with and support his younger compatriots since the 1960s, while on the other, he embodies a completely different perspective from the situations of the younger Romanian musicians who were struggling to emigrate and were then completely disowned by their country. Although he emigrated to France at a time when the Department of State Security did not yet officially exist, ⁴ a "File against the Foreigners" was opened for him, with the oldest document in it dating back to 1949, and is currently contained in the SIE file no. 6423. On only seven pages of this early file opened in the name of the musician,⁵ certain personal and family information from his life is emphasized and interpreted in connection with his departure from the country: the composer was born in Bucharest, and by the age of 22 he had been orphaned by both parents (his mother, Sofia Braunstein, died in 1936, and his father, Iosif Braunstein, in 1947); he changed his name in 1946 - from Marius Braunstein he became Theodor Marius Constant; he married ballerina Sonia Millian, daughter of a wealthy Jewish family in Bucharest, who had handed over their property to the People's Council in order to "remain without means of subsistence and to obtain a visa to go to Israel" - a version of the official discourse used by

⁴ It was established by Decree no. 221 of 28 August 1948 of the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly of the Romanian People's Republic (R.P.R.).

⁵ To which are added another twelve pages erroneously attached to the file, due to a coincidence of names, dealing with the issue of emigration of the Jewish population in the Galați county region and the practice of bribery for the issuance of passports for Israel.

the regime to mask the forced dispossession of people.⁶ He left Romania in December 1946 with a valid passport, and was then granted an extension of his visa to stay in France until February 1949, when the Ministry of Arts and Information did not give him a permission for further extension. A note written on 30 May 1949 shows that Marius and Sonia Constant were helped by Miron Grindea⁷ to travel to London and that, at the same time, "Marius, the poor and talented husband, supported by his wife's very rich family, was influenced by Sonia Millian's horror of returning to the country. She influenced him to leave for London for good all the more as Marius was making plans to work if he came back to the R.P.R."8 Before 1980, the file records only one other document dated 3 September 1956, notifying the Securitate agents that Sonia Constant had entered the country to visit her father.9 She was identified as the wife of Marius Constant, "a renowned composer who works for the French Radio, has many connections in emigration and artistic circles and for a time acted against the R.P.R. as a music critic."10 During her visit to Romania, Sonia Constant's activity and "behaviour" were monitored by the Securitate agents.

The "Karajan" Dossier. About a Visit to Romania That Went Unheeded

The decision to open a personal file under the flattering codename "Karajan" (see Figure 4) comes in the third year of successive attempts by the regime in Bucharest to organise an official visit to Romania by Marius Constant. The thread of the initiative to invite Constant to the country can be traced in the file from May 1983, when a source in Paris – "Vornicu" – wrote a note describing the Romanian musician's remarkable successes, which culminated in 1982 with the invitations he received to realise a new version of *Carmen* in collaboration with one of the most appreciated directors of the time – a Briton Peter Brook. The source states that, although he was aware of the previous

⁶ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 1.

Miron Grindea (1909–1995) was a literary journalist, based in London at the beginning of the WWII, who supported the cultural diaspora in Romania, and the Jewish diaspora, his entire life.

⁸ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 7.

⁹ However, according to the Securitate file on another composer – Mihail Andricu – it appears that the couple also visited Romania in 1967, in the context of the period of a certain cultural liberalization, on the occasion of the George Enescu International Festival; A.C.N.S.A.S., Informative Fund, File I 203438, vol. 8, p. 113.

¹⁰ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 7.

¹¹ La tragédie de Carmen premiered in Paris in 1981 and by 1990 it had already been performed over 800 times worldwide (Booklet in Kaltenbach 1990). Dedicated to a reduced instrumental

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invitations from the Philharmonic's director to conduct in Bucharest, these did not materialise, and he "convinced him that it would be useful to accept an invitation to his native country, in order to make contact with the musical movement and to study on the spot what possibilities existed for making these contacts fruitful." The discussions that followed were carefully directed by the Securitate through collaborators in Paris. Another agent, "Mirel," was instructed to take over further negotiations and find out what Marius Constant's expectations would be for his visit to "Ceahlău." This time, the source called "Popescu," informs from "Panciu" that the guest is willing to come to Romania after 15 September 1983:

He said that he did not want the visit to be official and that he would like to have friendly consultations with members of the Union of Composers, representatives of theatre and artistic life in Ceahlău. He would like to see performances "that would facilitate his reconnecting with the spiritual life of the city," with whom he has only had some consultations through composers and musicians such as T. Brediceanu, T. Olah, Şt. Niculescu. M. Constant asks for confirmation that the international transport and the stay will be paid by the Ceahlău side by 1 August at the latest.¹⁴

On 20 July 1983, the Military Unit 544 – Foreign Intelligence Centre – drafted, in a single top-secret copy, the "report with the proposal to bring the composer Marius Constant from France to the country, within the framework of the *Orpheus* action." I am reproducing the full content of this report, which I consider relevant from several points of view. The following emerge from it: the motivation for the choice of this particular musician – an influential person at the peak of his international career; the purpose of organising the visit – to check off of apparent French-Romanian cultural relations and the propaganda of the communist regime abroad, and, last but not least, the "operational" approach to the visit, with several agents prepared for all the necessary contexts:

ensemble, with a focus on only four main characters and a minimalist setting, *La tragédie de Carmen* was one of the few viable options for the period of the COVID-19 pandemic, and was revived by several opera houses.

¹² A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 24–25.

¹³ In communication with representatives outside the country, the Securitate agents used code names (originally of Romanian towns and villages) to designate cities and countries. In the Marius Constant file, I deciphered the following legend: "Ceahlău" = Romania; "Panciu" = Paris; "Negoiu", where *La tragédie de Carmen* was to be performed = New York, "Vadu" = Washington, and "Buşteni" = Bucharest.

¹⁴ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 27.

In accordance with the provisions of the plan of measures and the table of personalities approved to be brought to the country within the framework of the "Sena-82" action, action was taken to create the conditions for inviting the composer Marius Constant to Romania.

Marius Constant, aged 58, born in Romania, of Jewish nationality and French citizenship, is a composer and professor at the Paris Conservatory and is considered one of the most representative composers of modern symphonic music. He has given concerts with his works in Paris, London, New York, Copenhagen, Brussels, Rome, Berlin, Chicago, etc. He has won several international prizes, the last of which (the prize of the President of the French Republic) he was awarded in 1981 for his works recorded on discs, considered to be an original contribution to the development of the French musical school.

Marius Constant is an influential figure in French cultural life, with important connections in Jewish and political-economic circles. He is a close relation of our source "Vornicu," who influenced him to accept a visit to Romania despite a recommendation to the contrary from the French authorities.

The purpose of inviting him to the country is to use him in the development of French-Romanian cultural relations and the possibilities he has in other French environments to act on behalf of Romania.

During his visit to the country, contacts will be organised at the CCES (The Socialist Culture and Education Council), the Union of Composers, the Romanian Philharmonic, the Romania Association, and an appropriate tourist programme. For the official part of the programme, he will be accompanied by the source "Vladimir," and outside the programme by "Vornicu," with the aim of influencing him permanently to work for the development of cultural relations between France and Romania in the parameters preferred by the Romanian side, as well as to make positive statements to the French press and radio and television.

In the country, statements and interviews will be taken from him, which will be broadcast both in our publications and in France, in order to counteract hostile propaganda. Since the invitation of Marius Constant is made at our initiative through the C.C.S., we propose to approve the sum of 25000 lei, necessary for the cost of the plane tickets and hotel and travel expenses.¹⁵

On 9 September 1983, just six days before the scheduled visit, a telegram was received from Paris announcing the impossibility of Marius Constant to visit Romania that year, proposing to postpone the visit to early 1984. He used several musical engagements in the period to come as a pretext. Further analysis

¹⁵ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 29–30.

¹⁶ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 35.

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of the file would show that, in fact, those responsible for organising the visit did not take any steps in this direction, and the musician was thus forced to give up. Discussions were resumed in 1984, also without any result¹⁷ (see Figure 5), and to the musician's surprise, after two years of fruitless discussions, he received an invitation and plane tickets for 26 September to 3 October 1985.¹⁸

In preparation for the visit, which was still based on the considerations of the 1983 Report on the visit to the country,¹⁹ two letters were sent containing some additional "operational" measures. Firstly, the accommodation of the musician had to be offered in a room with operational technical means at Hotel *Bucureşti*, in order to record and verify his attitude towards the regime in Romania.²⁰ The second letter required the activation of existing Securitate sources in the Philharmonic and at the Union of Composers – where Constant was to have meetings, among others, with Mihai Brediceanu and Radu Gheciu from the Philharmonic, and with the secretary of the Union, Vasile Tomescu – in order to "positively influence" the composer, on one hand, and to accumulate background material on the musician and his family members, on the other.²¹

On 4 October 1985, a report "on the fulfilment of the tasks concerning the revitalization of relations with France by the visit of the French composer and conductor of Romanian origin *Karajan*, together with his wife, Secretary General of the International Dance Council at UNESCO"²² was quickly prepared. Beyond the "positive influences and reactions" obtained with great success by the military units 0225, 0800 and 0625, involved in the "smooth running" of the visit, the concrete musical objectives that the hosts have assumed at the proposal and together with Marius Constant are interesting:

- Facilitating contracts with the French cultural space to make recordings with the Radio Orchestra or the Bucharest Philharmonic, to be purchased with foreign currency;
- Organisation of an anniversary performance by the George Enescu Philharmonic conducted by Mihai Brediceanu in Paris in 1986, 50 years after the world premiere of the *Oedipe* opera by Enescu in the same city;
- Facilitation and presentation by Marius Constant of radio broadcasts about George Enescu and the confluences of the Romanian and French schools of

¹⁷ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 39–40.

¹⁸ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 42.

¹⁹ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 29–30.

²⁰ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 55.

²¹ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 56.

²² A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE fonds, File 6423, p. 58–59.

composition, to be broadcast during 1986 on France-Musique and France Culture;

- Organisation of a "Romanian Music Week" in Paris, as part of the Romanian-French cultural program, with the participation of several Romanian conductors, performers, and repertoires;
- Exerting influence on several personalities of alleged interest to the Romanian authorities. This objective has not been discussed with the musician directly, but the sources in Paris had to remain in close contact with Constant to convince him to influence the following important individuals: Minister of Culture Jack Lang, so that he would support the proposed actions of Romanian-French collaboration; Nelly Boufathal, president and general manager of Salabert Publishing House, with whom they had hoped to reach an agreement whereby Electrecord would be able to record the complete works of Enescu without having to make payments to the copyright holders namely, the Salabert Publishing House; the writer Emil Cioran, with a view of inviting him to Romania; and the writer Eugen Ionesco, whom they had hoped to persuade to stop supporting the actions of the reactionary émigrés in France.

Last but not least, the Securitate agents aimed to stimulate Marius Constant by inviting his son – the sports journalist Alain Constant – to visit Romania and to publish articles, of course, favourable to the country, in French specialised journals.

The success and "efficiency of the visit" are also confirmed by the informative notes signed by the representatives of the Philharmonic and the source "Vornicu," who accompanied Marius Constant during the trip. Back in Paris, Constant made arrangements to obtain free use of the Opera Hall for the *Oedipe* concerts, but official confirmation from the Bucharest Philharmonic was late to arrive. Also in 1986, Marius Constant expressed his disappointment in the fact that, following meetings with representatives of the Bucharest Philharmonic, the discussions did not result in any concrete invitation for him to conduct in Bucharest, and he did not receive any response from the Romanian Radio regarding the quality of the recordings. At the same time, Sonia Constant took the necessary steps for Romania's inclusion in the International Dance Council (of UNESCO) without any financial contribution, but she, too, received no response from the responsible Romanian authorities.²³

Despite the "efficient organization" and the pretentious and very carefully planned programme by the officials before the composer's arrival in

²³ A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 78–86. Informative note from source "Vornicu" – Conversation with composer Marius Constant and his wife, Sonia Millian Constant, 30 October 1986.

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Romania,²⁴ it is quite clear from later documents that the opening towards the West and the desire to reconsolidate relations with the French world were only a part of the superficial propaganda message of the Bucharest regime. From my research so far, I have not found any evidence of Marius Constant's visit to Romania in 1985 in the press, except for a small piece for flute and vibraphone composed by him that seems to have been played at that year's edition of the Enescu Festival, performed by musicians from the Ars Nova Ensemble, before he arrived in Bucharest (Hoffman 1985; Popovici 1985). The reasons for this secrecy are difficult to grasp and may have stemmed from a later decision, especially given that the programme drawn up in advance of the visit included several meetings with media representatives. Being only a checkmark on a list of personalities to be brought into the country as part of an action, on 25 April 1988, as a result of "the limited possibilities of the Paris operative group," as well as the "age" and Constant's stepping down from several of the positions he had held, it was proposed to remove "Karajan" from the Securitate's concerns and to terminate his file at the Military Unit 0503 (subunit of the Foreign Intelligence Centre). Following what seems to have been an underwhelming experience for the musician in 1985, I have found no information about any subsequent visit of Marius Constant to Romania before 1990.²⁵

It is said that our generation, those of us born after 1990, who studied entirely in a democracy, sheltered from the impact and ordeals of communism, have been completely spared from the atmosphere of fear and uncertainty, and also the disappointments of the transition period and the post-communist cultural trauma (Sztompka 2004, 193). However, in the 25 years since the inauguration of the National Council for the Study of Securitate Archives, there have been many musicians' files that have not yet been researched, and there are many questions that remain answered in the non-chronologically ordered files. For several generations of émigré musicians who have been virulently erased from the history and the conscience of Romanian music for more than four decades, we have only recently begun to become truly aware of their cultural trauma and to begin to document it systematically and as objectively as possible, with a view of a much desired, yet probably impossible "healing."

²⁴ The programme of the visit to Romania of the composer Marius Constant and his wife can be seen in full in Table 1.

 $^{^{25}}$ Testimonies indicate that Marius Constant only came back to Bucharest once, in 1991, on the occasion of the first edition of the International Week of New Music festival, organised by the Union of Romanian Composers.

Table 1. Programme of Marius Constant's visit to Romania, 26 September – 3 October 1985. Source: A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 53–54, Secret, Sole copy.

No. 006423/33/8.08.1985					
PROGRAMME The visit of the composer and conductor MARIUS CONSTANT to Romania during the period 26 September – 3 October 1985					
Thursday, 26 September	- 8.25 PM – Arrival at Otopeni Airport; check-in at the hotel "București".				
Friday, 27 September	- 10.00 AM – Reception at the "ROMANIA" Association, discussions with its management 12.00 PM – Reception and discussions at the Culture-Press Directorate of the M.A.E. (Ministry of External Affairs) 1.30 PM – Official lunch 7.00 PM – Participation in the closing concert at the "George Enescu" International Festival.				
Saturday, 28 September	- 10.00 AM – Meeting and discussion with the management of the George Enescu Philharmonic 11.30 AM – Round table at the Union of Composers, with the participation of Romanian composers, conductors and performers 7.30 PM – Official dinner.				
Sunday, 29 September	- 9.30 AM – Departure to Snagov, visiting the resort 1.00 PM – Lunch at "MUNTENIA" restaurant, return to Bucharest 7.30 PM – Theatre.				
Monday, 30 September	 - 10.00 AM – Reception and discussions at the C.C.E.S. (Socialist Culture and Education Council) management. - 1.00 PM – Official lunch. - 5.00 PM – Visit of some monuments and places of historical interest in Bucharest. 				
Tuesday, 1 October	- Discussions (interview) with journalists from the journals "Muzica" and "România Literară" (time to be agreed with M. CONSTANT). - 3.00 PM – Visits to the Art Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Museum of Art Collections.				
Wednesday, 2 October	- Discussions starting at: 10.30 AM – "ROMANIA" Association. 12.00 PM – Philharmonic and Union of Composers. - 4.00 PM – Radio interview – Foreign broadcast.				
Thursday, 3 October - 12.00 PM – Departure to Paris from Otopeni Airport.					

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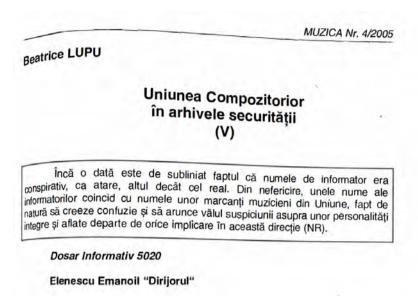


Figure 1. Editor's disclaimer in the last of the five articles published in the journal *Muzica* on the Securitate files of the Union of Romanian Composers (Lupu 2005d: 89).

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Figure 2. Opening document list in Marius Constant's Securitate file (A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File no. 6423).

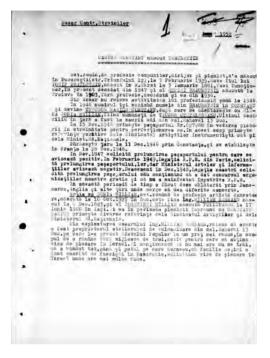


Figure 3. First page (after multiple renumberings) in Marius Constant's Securitate file (A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File no. 6423, p. 1).

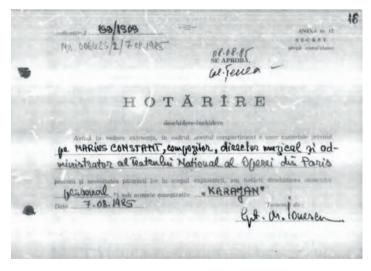


Figure 4. Decision to open the personal file of the composer Marius Constant, under the conspiratorial name "Karajan," dated 7 August 1985 (A.C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 16).

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Figure 5. Letter addressed by Marius Constant to the President of the Romania Association, Virgil Cândea, on 23 March 1984. It is written in French and reiterates, for the second time, the wishes for the programme of the visit to Romania (C.N.S.A.S., SIE Fund, File 6423, p. 40).

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ANA DIACONU

EMIGRANT COMPOSERS IN THE C.N.S.A.S. ARCHIVES. CASE STUDY:
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Ана Дјакону

Емигрантски композитори у Националном савету за проучавање архива Секуритатее (*C.N.S.A.S.*). Студија случаја: непозната прича о званичној посети Маријуса Констана комунистичкој Румунији

(Резиме)

Национални савет за проучавање архива Секуритатее, познат по румунском акрониму С.N.S.A.S., основан је у Румунији након проглашења Закона бр. 187/1999 о приступу личним досијеима и откривању Сигуритатее као политичке полиције. Од раних двехиљадитих година, неколико музичара попут Јоане Ралуке Војку-Арнауцоју и Ладислава Чендеша, као и историчара Влада Александрескуа, успешно су започели преиспитивање историје музике на основу јавно доступних докумената Секуритатее, откривајући велове цензуре и различите аспекте културне трауме коју је комунистички режим нанео музици.

Била сам део групе која је истраживала "музички" архив у Националном савету за проучавање архива Сигуритатее, пратећи трагове генерација румунских авангардних композитора који су емигрирали у Француску крајем шездесетих година прошлог века. У овом раду анализирала сам случај композитора и диригента Маријуса Констана (1925–2004).

Иако Констан припада генерацији нешто старијој од оне којом сам се углавном бавила, његов пример сведочи о једном од аспеката преокупације Секуритатее: овде није реч о уобичајеним тешкоћама емиграције, већ о очигледним покушајима власти да успостави "пријатељске" односе с најзначајнијим представницима румунске дијаспоре. Будући да власт није имала начин да такве појединце силом задржи у земљи, настојала је да с њима изгради привид пријатељства, с циљем да спречи уочавање било какве форме неуспеха у управљању културним механизмима државе. У свом истраживању посебно сам се усмерила на конкретан однос према музици, који су успостављали званични органи као представници воље партије и државе у датом историјском периоду. Резултати су били разочаравајући, али предвидљиви. Музика је сама по себи била схваћена и приказана веома површно, слично као и друге уметности, с тим што је била теже разумљива. Када језик музике није могао бити схваћен, константно се посезало за фиксацијама на тему социјалног порекла музичара, њихових веза с иностранством, те идеолошке субверзивности и религијских опредељења. То је представљало клишее који су обележавали целокупну активност Секуритатее.

WAR AND MANIFESTATIONS OF CULTURAL TRAUMA IN THE WORKS OF CYPRIOT COMPOSER SOLON MICHAELIDES

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Рат и манифестације културне трауме у делима кипарског композитора Солона Михаелидеса

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ABSTRACT

The paper investigates, through the prism of cultural trauma theories of Jeffrey C. Alexander and other scholars, the case of Cypriot composer Solon Michaelides (1905–1979) and his creative responses to the Turkish military invasion of the northern part of Cyprus in 1974. The resulting trauma from the shock caused by the war is engrained in the composer's creative oeuvre, since several of his compositions, including the *Hymn and Lament for Cyprus* and *My Kyrenia*, became a part of the cultural trauma narration.

Keywords: national identity, cultural trauma, Cyprus, music representation, Solon Michaelides.

Апстракт

Рад истражује, кроз призму теорија културне трауме Џефрија Ч. Александера и других научника, случај кипарског композитора Солона Михаелидеса (1905–1979) и његових креативних одговора на

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турску војну инвазију на северни део Кипра 1974. године. Траума настала због шока изазваног ратом укорењена је у стваралачки опус овог аутора, јер је неколико његових дела, укључујући Xимну и Ламен \overline{u} за Kи \overline{u} ар и композицију Mоја Kиренија, постало део приповедања културне трауме.

Кључне речи: национални идентитет, културна траума, Кипар, музичка репрезентација, Солон Михаелидес.

The twentieth century can be marked as a time when people – primarily in Western societies – have recognized and spoken up about the traumatic experiences and events, such as acts of violence (Alexander 2004, 2). The concept of trauma can be both a personal experience, an experience that shocks the individual self, or it can also be collectively applied to an entire group, an entire nation, and thus be shared with others (Neal 2005, Chapter I). Even though in music literature, as stated by Mehnert, expressions of trauma and dealing with the trauma, have not yet been investigated in great detail (2021, 1), it is worth noting that Maria Cizmic published the monograph *Performing Pain: Music and Trauma in Eastern Europe* back in 2012 – "the first music research monograph to consider music and trauma – which investigates how music provided people in late socialist Eastern Europe with opportunities to perform, express, represent, testify and bear witness to the traumas of the Stalinist era and World War II" (Meinhart and Rogers 2023, 21).

There is also valuable research regarding cultural trauma and its manifestations in relation to events that marked the twentieth century. "A cultural trauma refers to an invasive and overwhelming event that is believed to undermine or overwhelm one or several essential ingredients of a culture or the culture as a whole" (Smelser 2004, 38). As Smelser continues to define cultural trauma more specifically, he gives a detailed exegesis of it as "a memory accepted and publicly given credence by a relevant membership group and evoking an event or situation which is a) laden with negative affect, b) represented as indelible, and c) regarded as threatening a society's existence or violating one or more of its fundamental cultural presuppositions" (Smelser 2004, 44).

In the case of Cyprus, cultural trauma resulting from political crises, wars and coups in its modern history became an issue of national identity, nostalgia and memory, and it was naturally and unavoidably represented in the arts. This paper investigates the case of Cypriot composer Solon Michaelides (1905–1979) and his creative responses to the Turkish military invasion of the northern part of Cyprus in 1974. The resulting trauma from the shock caused

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by the war is engrained in the composer's creative oeuvre, since several of his compositions – including *Ýmnos kai thrínos gia tin Kýpro* [Hymn and Lament for Cyprus] and *Kerýneia mou* [My Kyrenia], which are singled out in the paper – became part of the trauma narration.

On Cyprus and Michaelides' Connection to His Homeland

Located in the eastern corner of the Mediterranean Sea, and despite its small size, Cyprus has always been considered a crossroads or even a transit point between Europe, Asia and Africa. Unavoidably, this position held a two-fold significance: on one hand, it led to an exchange and mixing of cultures, but on the other, it resulted in years of oppression and frequent periods of conflicts in Cypriot history.

After the Hellenization of the island, there was a long succession of conquerors and rulers, including the Byzantines, Franks, Venetians, Ottomans, and finally the British. This continuous history of change and alternation of cultures unavoidably led to an amalgamation and interaction of languages, customs, religions, and other traits that left their mark to the Cypriot identity. As these influences transferred from one generation to the next, they carried both negative and positive memories, depending on the conqueror's stance and behaviour towards the people.

Music is at the heart of cultures' most profound social occasions and experiences (Turino 2008). It involves a variety of social meanings, operates on all levels of society, and plays a key role in many people's lives. Music is not only a cultural and expressive practice that bonds group members together, but it can also cross boundaries between social identities and shape new ones (Lidskog 2017, 24). In the case of Cypriot musical history, a positive example of that was the creation of the Codex of Turin (MS J.II.9 "Cypriot-French") during the fifteenth century, a manuscript bearing testament of outstanding music creation, with polyphonic compositions in Latin and French. On the other hand, the Ottoman rule in Cyprus, which lasted for about three hundred years and ended in 1878, proved to be an obliteration of the population's well-being, with education and culture taking a massive turn for the worse. As Katy Romanou confirms, all indications of urban culture rapidly declined, and by the time the British took over in 1878, the quality of life, as well as cultural standards, were abysmal (Demetriou et al. 2015). The majority of the Cypriot population was illiterate and their musical activities that managed to survive were limited to two extant types of music - ecclesiastical music that was present in the Greek Orthodox churches and monasteries, with the neumatic notation

spread amongst the church cycles, and traditional folk music that was mainly performed at local festivals, fairs and weddings, whose repertoire was to a large extent in common with the Turkish-Cypriot community. Nevertheless, both church and folk music were widely appreciated, since they connected the Greek-Cypriots to their ancestors: to the Byzantine Empire and to ancient Greece (Romanou 2003).

The westernization of Cypriot music restarted towards the end of the nineteenth century with the annexation of the island by the British in 1878. This process was indeed slow, with many concerts taking place by philharmonic bands and mandolin ensembles, originally organized and performed by musicians who migrated to Cyprus from abroad due to political and social turbulence and unrest in their own countries (Asia Minor, Soviet Union, Armenia), and later with Cypriot musicians. Of course, compared to what was happening in the West, the development of western art music in Cyprus was far behind, but composers did try to "catch up" to the current trends as much as they could. Due to the British colonization, the majority of Cypriot musicians went to England to continue their music studies, or attended lessons via correspondence. A number of Cypriots also studied at conservatories in Paris (Panagiotou 1985; Hasikou 2015, 104–105).¹

Such was the case with the composer Solon Michaelides (1905–1979) who, after his music lessons with Isaia Kalmanovich at the Odeion of Cyprus, founded in Nicosia by the British governor Ronald Storrs and his wife, Lady Storrs, studied via correspondence at the Trinity College, and later moved to Paris where he continued his composition studies at the École Normale de Musique and the Schola Cantorum. Solon Michaelides relocated in 1957 to Greece, specifically Thessaloniki, as the new director of the Thessaloniki State Conservatory. During his years in Thessaloniki, he worked towards the establishment of the National Orchestra of Northern Greece. Solon Michaelides was a man of vision and will - due to his many activities and great achievements he became an important figure in the artistic community and the Greek and Cypriot society (Kallis 2014; Lamari Papadopoulou 1994).² He never distanced himself from his home country and was always a part of national affairs. He was even asked by the president Archbishop Makarios the Third to compose the national anthem of Cyprus, to celebrate the independence of the new republic in 1960. Even though, in the end, the decision was made for Cyprus to share the same national anthem with Greece, it was still one of the greatest

¹ Other sources that were consulted in relation to music in Cyprus in the nineteenth century onwards are: Kallis 2015; Skordi, Maro et al. 2005; Smith 2015.

² More biographical information is found in the composer's digital archive by the Library and Information Services of Cyprus University of Technology (Solon Michaelides Archive n.d.).

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honours to be bestowed upon him. However, because of this relocation, he missed important events affecting the history and evolution of his native island, namely the establishment of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, after the 1955–1960 coup against the British, as well as the Turkish invasion of the northern part of the island, in 1974.

The Turkish invasion followed an unsuccessful coup d'etat against the official Cyprus government which aimed to overthrow the president Archbishop Makarios the Third, organized under the military guidance of the Greek junta, on July 15, 1974. On July 20, the Turkish government invoked the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960, which mandated Turkey, Greece and Britain as the three guarantee countries for the peace in the island, and invaded the northern part of the island in two phases, taking over approximately 37% of the territory and displacing around 200,000 Cypriots (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). Cyprus was a newly founded republic (1960), a small country with particularities in its two national communities that had already been highly vulnerable before Cyprus emerged from a long period of occupation and colonialism and gained independence for the first time in its modern history. The violent upheaval of 1974 diminished the efforts for order, peace, collaboration, and progress, and prolonged instability led to a society more prone to trauma.

Even though Michaelides was geographically distant from Cyprus, having immigrated to Greece, he was deeply and emotionally connected to his country and the political upheaval affected his psyche and his creative oeuvre. Moreover, the sentiment of being away from home when all these tragic events have been unfolding, filled him with even greater sorrow, since he was not physically present in his country and he could not be of any help to his compatriots. Growing up in a colonial island under great poverty, losing his mother as a child, and being raised by grandparents and a father who had to work all day, could not be considered a stress-free upbringing.³ However, during a person's life, stressful situations are encountered, but stress and difficulties can be overcome and eventually healed (Mehnert 2021, 4). As pointed out by Mehnert, not all stressful events are traumatic, whereas all traumatic events are stressful, and the exposure to such kind of events can vary (2021, 7). Indeed, the traumatic war of 1974 – which

³ Information about Solon Michaelides' childhood, the loss of his mother and his difficult upbringing was given to the author (beyond what is included in Lamari Papadopoulou's biographical note) by the composer's niece, Ms Georgia Michaelides. In addition, Ms Michaelides' discussed how difficult it was for Solon Michaelides to be away from his home country. Even though he thrived in Greece, the political developments in Cyprus affected him emotionally and this transferred to his music. This oral testimony is further emphasized and supported by the items found in the composer's digital archive (Solon Michaelides Archive n.d.).

triggered memories of Solon Michaelides' home country, the suffering of his compatriots, even his mother's hometown of Kyrenia, which was the first town in the northern part of the island occupied by the Turkish military – was such an extraordinary stressful event that took on national dimensions and disrupted and disturbed him greatly. As will be indicated below, the resulting trauma from the shock caused by the war became engrained in the composer's creative oeuvre.

Manifestations of Cultural Trauma in Michaelides' Works

Following Alexander's cultural trauma theory, the representation of trauma and preservation of the trauma narrative are produced and enacted by carrier groups. These consist of influential individuals who hold a special role in their society in which they are placed in key positions. Eventually, these agents become symbols of representation of their nation, pitting it against the enemy (Alexander 2004). Hence Solon Michaelides could be characterised as such an agent. Through his music that ensued the 1974 event, his high social status acquired over the years and his appointment and involvement in highprofile cultural positions, his interaction with mass media (including interviews at the national broadcasting corporation of Cyprus), and his influence as an intellectual, he was in a position to articulate his claims in the public sphere. "Intellectuals, in the term's widest sense, play a significant role. Generally speaking, intellectuals mediate between the cultural and political spheres that characterize modern societies, not so much representing and giving voice to their own ideas and interests, but rather articulating ideas to and for others. Intellectuals are mediators" (Eyerman 2001, 3).

By becoming the carrier through his music, Michaelides was able to connect and communicate with a mass audience who suffered the same trauma and contribute to efforts to preserve the memory and the collective identity. Indeed, it appears (through the study of various archival material) that this role was bestowed upon Solon Michaelides by his compatriots. Clips from newspapers characterised him as a crusader, whose high position abroad, as well as his international connections, enabled him to become a cultural ambassador of Cyprus and inform people of the Cyprus issue. Moreover, this role is also mentioned in celebratory speeches by his fellow musicians, on different occasions (Solon Michaelides Archive n.d.).

As mentioned earlier, manifestations of cultural trauma related to the 1974 event are researched here in two Michaelides' compositions: cantata *Hymn and Lament for Cyprus* and *My Kyrenia* for choir and orchestra.

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Both compositions, especially the first, can be perceived, according to Alexander's discussion of creating trauma, as a new master narrative (2014, 12–15). Namely, Alexander stresses that the representation of trauma is not "simply telling a new story," but also "a complex and multivalent symbolic process" of storytelling, in which "the carrier group needs to engage in successful meaning work" intending to create among the wider audience a feeling "that they, too, have become traumatized by an experience or an event." In this context, Alexander accents four "critical representations" that "are essential to the creation of a new master narrative" and "unfold in an interlarded manner that is continuously cross-referential" (2014, 12). According to Alexander, the four critical representations or parameters, together with the corresponding "questions to which a successful process of collective representation must provide compelling answers," are as follows:

- A. The nature of the pain. What actually happened to the particular group and to the wider collectivity of which it is a part (2004, 13)?
- B. The nature of the victim. What group of persons was affected by this traumatizing pain? Were they particular individuals or groups, or "the people" in general? Did a singular and delimited group receive the brunt of the pain, or were several groups involved (2004, 13–14)?
- *C. Relation of the trauma victim to the wider audience*. [...] To what extent do the members of the audience for trauma representations experience an identity with the immediately victimized group (2004, 14–15)?
- D. *Attribution of responsibility*. [...] Who actually injured the victim? Who caused the trauma (2004, 15)?

The cantata for baritone (or mezzo soprano), piano and mixed choir, the *Hymn and Lament for Cyprus* in five parts (*Lento*, *Allegretto*, *Moderato*, *Lento*, *Lento*), composed in 1975, is based on a poem written the year before, in 1974, by the Greek poet Yiannis Ritsos, on the occasion of the Turkish military invasion. The text which is also in five parts, begins with a lament over the island's bad fortune. As the poem progresses, the trauma is made more prevalent through the use of very intense, accusatory, symbolic, and overtly dramatic lyrics. The poet addresses the island in the second person, creating vivid image and language, with a range of negative and positive emotions that constantly interchange. At moments the words are full of praise for the island's beauty, the natural scenery, the sea, the flowers, the sun, whereas at other instances, the poet curses the "barbarians" and the "tyrants," the "Antichrists" who messed up its fortune and ruined it. There is a lot of rage, but simultaneously, there is also a cry for national unity and struggle directed towards the people, to bear the tragedy and overcome the mourning and loss, while towards the end, there

is a courageous and uplifting note of hope and determination. The mourning and lament are transformed into a need for justice, restoration of peace, and celebration.

Words can be empowering, making the music an example that "is able to integrate, enliven and empower its listener by bringing a cultural trauma into the symbolic sphere of shared experience, and creating out of it a fabulously sounding representation" (Välimäki 2015, 132). The dynamism of the lyrics in the *Hymn and Lament for Cyprus* is enhanced by the carefully crafted music which greatly contributes to bringing out the meaning.

Michaelides' music builds on three main influences that stem from the Hellenic and the Byzantine world, and form three main categories under which his works can be placed. The first is the influence initiated by the ideas of the ancient Greece and the ancient Greek 'spirit,' the second one is a tradition of the Byzantine and the Greek Orthodox church music with its modes and distinct melodic figures, while the third one is folk music. In the *Hymn and Lament for Cyprus* the main influences are the Byzantine and the Greek Orthodox church music.

In the opening piano part, the composer uses repeated octaves in the tonal centre in D, with just the fifth, avoiding the use of the third, that is the major-minor chordal structure, in order to give this open and clear sound reminiscent of church sounds and the mourning bell that tolls at funerals (see Figure 1). In the second part, the Allegretto, in which the poem describes the beauty of the island, but in the end of the verse concludes with the dark consequences suffered by the refugees, the composer opts to use Byzantine music modes in the melodic line and harmonization. In particular, he selects the seventh of the eight modes, the mode called *varýs* [heavy]. In Byzantine music, a certain ethos is attributed to each mode, and this ethos can be found in one of the most important ecclesiastical chanting books, the Octoechos (Priggos, n.d.). The ethos of this particular mode is that of sombreness and simplicity. It expresses the simple people, the people who love and who are disciplined. In the final *Lento* of the cantata, the culmination of the entire poem comes with a tragic cry, the exclamation of "Ach!" [Ah!] along with the exclamation point. This is based on two descending chromatic notes, built on the music rhetorical figure of lament, and with a fermata that pauses all action. This is an important moment of silence that refers to drama, the relation that Meinhart and Rogers touch upon as a frequent characteristic of traumatic experience: from the psychological point of view, some victims can be vocal and narrate what happened to them, whereas others prefer to remain silent (2023, 23-25).

The interweaving between the lyrics and the music serves to make the narrative even stronger. In a way, the music setting of the poem helps the

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narrative reach the people even deeper. The music setting of the poem, which is composed by an esteemed Cypriot composer, has even more significance to the people, because it comes from a compatriot. The contour of the melody follows the meaning of the text and the flow of the emotions created by the words. Certain sections are grave, melancholic, pensive, while others are happy, joyful, and carefree, and sometimes, they are dynamic and courageous, ending in a dynamic crescendo.

Both Hymn and Lament for Cyprus and My Kyrenia (the composition that follows) address different levels of victims. Primarily, the text addresses the island of Cyprus (in the first composition) and the town of Kyrenia (in the second composition) in the second person. Thus, on this first level, the victim has a spatial reference; it is a particular place. However, on a second level, the people of Cyprus - and, in this instance, the Greek-Cypriot community since Solon Michaelides is addressing this part of the population – identify themselves as the directly traumatized members of their country and they also suffer as a collective group. The subsequent performances of the compositions over the years make them diachronic, elevate the national sentiment and allow for the trauma to be sustained in further generations. In both compositions, even though there is no direct reference as to who the perpetrator is, the audience knows that the "Antichrist" is the Turkish military that occupied a part of the island. Of course, the narrative is much more complicated, with the Cypriot issue becoming a problem that has remained unresolved for the past fifty years. Solon Michaelides' compositions that relate to the 1974 event approach the pain and the trauma suffered by his country, and subsequently his Greek-Cypriot compatriots, in a more humane way and from his artistic perspective.

The composition for mixed choir and orchestra *My Kyrenia*, composed to poetry by the Cypriot poet Kypros Chrysanthis in 1979, the year of the composer's death and performed for the first time during his crowd-filled funeral in Limassol, Cyprus, presents similar characteristics to the cantata *Hymn and Lament for Cyprus*. It is also based on a text that enables the tragedy and the trauma to permeate the audience's psyche. However, in a way this composition becomes more particular, since it concentrates on the town of Kyrenia, the most beautiful town of the island, that was the first to be occupied by the Turkish military in 1974. For Greek-Cypriots, the reference to Kyrenia is enough to bring back memories of the small town, with its graphic harbour, Venetian castle, beautiful beaches and the sea. In the ten lines of the poem, and through the literary device of anthropomorphism used by the poet who speaks directly to the town, as if it can hear him, there are contrasting feelings – peace and calamity are restored by sadness and nostalgia. The word

"Kyrenia" is repeated three times at the end, ending on a forte, alluding to the audience a feeling of hope. Five years had passed since the tragic events of 1974, but the memories were still raw, being replayed in the minds of the population through such compositions. Moreover, even with the Michaelides' physical absence, authorities and cultural organizations united as a collective group and chose to perform a composition that was deemed representative of his entire oeuvre. Such practices, as argued by Eyerman, are practices of preservation, since they allow to maintain the trauma and play it over and over again, in order for it to persist in the individual and collective consciousness (2001, 2). The representation of the events through music as a medium is "linked to the reformation of collective identity and the reworking of collective memory" (2001, 1).

This was Michaelides' second composition dedicated to his mother's hometown of Kyrenia. The nostalgia is very evident in this work. Kyrenia, being a hometown not only of his mother, but of many Cypriots who were dislocated, became a representation of the collective identity. Eyermann claims that "cultural trauma refers to a dramatic loss of identity and meaning, a tear in the social fabric, affecting a group of people that has achieved some degree of cohesion. In this sense, the trauma need not necessarily be felt by everyone in a community or experienced directly by any or all" (2001, 2). Still, this specific town became a national symbol which would tie together the entire population in their efforts to explain and overcome their trauma. This national symbol is reinforced with the word *Elláda* [Greece] that appears in the poem as well, which ties the victims together even more strongly under this national identity and collective/national consciousness. This identity makes the Greek-Cypriots and the Greeks stand together against the common threat in the neighbouring area - the Turkish military. This phenomenon is not uncommon in different parts of the world. As Neal (2005, Chapter I) describes: "It is primarily because of the blending of national identities with personal identities that individuals are drawn into the political arena during times of crisis. Through attachment to the United States as a society, Americans are set apart from all other peoples of the world. A distinction is sometimes made between "insiders and outsiders," between "friends and enemies," and between "those who are with us and those who are against us."

On a handwritten note, written in 1976, available in the composer's digital archive, Solon Michaelides elaborates on his deep connection to his mother's hometown. For him, Kyrenia was the small town of an "unparalleled beauty" which was the first to pay the price of war with the "barbarians" (as characterised by Michaelides). Similarly to the island's residents, the town is also waiting for its liberation and salvation (see Figure 2). The feeling of melancholy

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and nostalgia would help reconfigure the collective identity through collective representation, as means of repairing the previously mentioned "tear." There may be a number of possible responses or paths to resolving cultural trauma that emerges in a specific historical context, but all of them involve identity and memory in some way or the other (Eyerman 2001).

The music in this composition is complimentary to the lyrics, as the homophonic setting of the orchestra and the choir seems discreet, allowing the text to be heard and absorbed by the audience. The pensive sound of the oboe doubles the melodic line of the choir. The brass entering forcefully at the final bars, in order to strongly emphasize the final word which is repeated three times (a holy number for the Greek Orthodox), each time in a louder dynamic and higher register and in a decisive manner. That word is *Kerýneia* [Kyrenia].

CONCLUDING REMARKS

What happened to Cyprus in 1974 impacted with great force the social foundation, as well as the sense of security, especially given the subsequent dichotomy of the island and the ensuing dispute which remains unresolved until this day, with Nicosia being the only divided capital in Europe. Fifty years have passed since 1974, giving a temporal distance from the actual events, and the reality is that the majority of the current Cypriot population has had no direct, but rather a mediated experience of the event. However, the trauma became even more embedded in the society since there is a lack of closure. Its effects have managed to permeate the Greek-Cypriot community's collective memory and national identity. "Mass-mediated experience always involves selective construction and representation," since what is seen is the result of the actions and decisions of professionals regarding what is significant and how it should be presented. National or cultural trauma thus always engages a "meaningful struggle, a grappling with an event that involves identifying the nature of the pain, the nature of the victim and the attribution of responsibility." Alexander calls this a "trauma process" because eventually, it becomes a crisis of meaning and identity (Eyerman 2001, 3). Both Michaelides' compositions participated in the construction of these traumatic memories and collective identity: they have been "kept alive" during the years through performances and concerts by the Symphony Orchestra of Cyprus, the National Orchestra of Northern Greece (where the composer also served as conductor), the Solon Michaelides Foundation, choirs and television and radio broadcasts.

Through music as a medium, collective memory and national identity have been preserved, given meaning, expressed, and transformed in order to guide from the past to the future. Under the scope of cultural trauma theory and

its association with how trauma is represented in music, the investigation of the life and oeuvre of Solon Michaelides presents a starting point in further expanding such research not only in the case of Michaelides but also of other Cypriot composers and musicians, including comparisons between Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot trauma narratives and their connection to music culture. "Music and sonic histories developed through attention to trauma thus bring to light the importance of turning to the audible," as Meinhart and Rogers argue, "[...] when asking questions about historical, political and social events, and perhaps especially in instances of war." Thus, trauma becomes the link between different disciplines and various efforts to understand it better (Meinhart and Rogers 2023, 30). In turbulent Cypriot history and its conflicting narratives, this might also allow researchers to view musical compositions in a different light.

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Figure 1. "Hymn and Lament for Cyprus," p. 1 (Michaelides 1975).

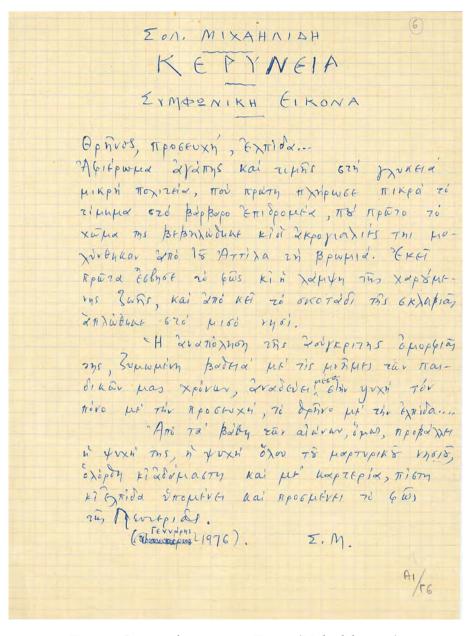


Figure 2. Composer's own text on Kyrenia (Michaelides 1976).

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Георгија Петруди

Рат и манифестације културне трауме у делима кипарског композитора Солона Михаелидеса

(Резиме)

Кипар је у својој модерној историји обележен политичким кризама и оружаним сукобима. Међу најтрауматичнијима су они из 1974. године, који су обухватали државни удар грчке војне хунте и инвазију турске војске на северни део Кипра. Подељеност острва и након педесет година продубио је културну трауму која се преносила на нове генерације, те и данас делује на концепт националног идентитета кипарских Грка.

Ослањајући се на теорију културне трауме Џефрија Ч. Александера и других научника, овај рад бави се кипарским композитором Солоном Михаелидесом (1905-1979) и његовим креативним одговорима на поменуте трауматичне догађаје. Посебна пажња посвећена је двема композицијама. Прва од њих је кантата под насловом Химна и ламент за Кипар за баритон (или мецосопран), мешовити хор и клавир (1975), писана на стихове грчког песника Јаниса Рицоса, који су настали поводом турске инвазије на острво. Друга је Моја Киренија за мешовити хор и оркестар, компонована на текст кипарског песника Кипроса Кризантиса, а премијерно изведена током композиторовог погреба у Лимасолу (1979). Оба дела сагледана су као симболички процес приповедања трауме, а пажња је поклоњена испитивању четири Александерова параметра (природа бола; природа жртве; однос жртве трауме и шире публике; приписивање одговорности), који су кључни у обликовању трауме и њој иманентног "мастер-наратива". Назначена је и дубока емотивна повезаност Михаелидеса с Кипром, те нарочито с градом Киренија, о чему сведоче бројна документа која се чувају у композиторовом архиву. С обзиром на честа извођења његових дела, узет је у обзир и значај овог аутора у дијахроној перспективи, што је допринело да Михаелидесове композиције учествују у изградњи трауматских сећања и колективног идентитета.

Случај Михаелидеса представља могућу полазну тачку детаљнијих истраживања кипарских композитора, која би у наредним корацима обухватила и поређења између грчких и турских наратива о трауми у контексту музичке културе. Имајући у виду турбулентну и конфликтну историју острва, сматрамо да би таква линија истраживања омогућила сагледавање музике Кипра у новом светлу.

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"Two Wild and Crazy Guys, and a Gal" – Unresolved Trauma and Balkan Stereotypes in the Music of Emir Kusturica's Film Podzemlje (Underground)

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"Два дивља, луда момка и једна цура" – неразрешена траума и балкански стереотипи у музици за филм *Подземље* Емира Кустурице

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ABSTRACT

One of the manifestations of unresolved trauma is associated with the use of Balkan stereotypes and self-Balkanisation in films. In this paper, I explore the connection between unresolved trauma and the music used to express Balkan stereotypes, focusing on a case study dedicated to Goran Bregović's soundtrack for Emir Kusturica's film *Podzemlje* [Underground] (1995). I analyse the track "Mesečina [Moonlight]" featured in the film, and observe how the music goes hand in hand with the portrayal of some of the main characters as "wild Balkan men" associated with a myriad of negative characteristics and stereotypes.

Keywords: unresolved trauma, Balkan stereotypes, Emir Kusturica, Goran Bregović, self-Balkanisation, *Underground*, "Moonlight."

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Апстракт

Једна од манифестација неразрешене трауме повезана је с употребом балканских стереотипа и самобалканизацијом у филмовима. У овом раду истражујем везу између неразрешене трауме и музике која се користи за изражавање балканских стереотипа, фокусирајући се на студију случаја посвећену музици Горана Бреговића за филм Емира Кустурице *Подземље* (1995). Анализирам нумеру "Месечина" из наведеног филма и посматрам како музика иде руку под руку с приказивањем ликова као "дивљих Балканаца" повезаних с многобројним негативним карактеристикама и стереотипима.

Кључне речи: неразрешена траума, балкански стереотипи, Емир Кустурица, Горан Бреговић, самобалканизација, *Подземље*, "Месечина".

Introduction

The difficulty of speaking about war trauma is generally present in media in post-Yugoslav space and in the post-Yugoslav cinema. The society that went through a horrific civil war and political turmoil in the 1990s, decades later, still finds it hard to adjust to the traumatic events and experiences and accept the accountability instead of shifting the blame. The consequences of unaddressed (and therefore unresolved) trauma can be found in different forms across a traumatized society living in denial. One of the manifestations of unresolved trauma, according to film scholar Dijana Jelača (2016), is associated with the use of the Balkan stereotypes and self-Balkanisation in films.

In her book, Dijana Jelača analyses different ways in which war trauma presents itself in films created after the break-up of Yugoslavia (2016). For that purpose, she draws on Sigmund Freud's term "screen memory" and how it gets dislocated because "the films that speak to and about the same historical event – or series of events – inevitably address the question of what their own collective role in archiving, creating, or re-creating the public memories of such an event is" (2016, 19). Jelača also writes about the urge to use the stereotypes in films and rely on them in order to tell a story as one of the effects of unspoken trauma. She observes that post-Yugoslav war cinema is haunted by the question of why "war recurs, and violence becomes instigated in such a veracious manner rather than pushing against the fact of its existence altogether" (2016, 40). However, she also notices that the films do not even consider that "violence perhaps recurs as a result of the suppressed, unresolved traumas of the past – traumas that have not been meaningfully worked through" (2016, 40). She analyses the trope of "ancient ethnic hatred" between former Yugoslav nations present in many

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war-related narratives that "acts as a kind of screen memory itself," where screen memory is understood as a memory that masks a different kind of hidden and painful memory (2016, 41). This trope then functions as "a fictive memory that works to obscure and further repress the more historicized and contextualized memories of violence, which it is actually about" (2016, 41). Hence, self-Balkanisation, the process of internalisation of an externally imposed stereotype, could be more complex than initially thought, and "act as a complicated mechanism by which collective traumatic memory is being addressed through the screen memory of a constructed trans-historical animosity" (2016, 40–41).

The unresolved trauma that Jelača writes about is connected to transgenerational trauma and perennial mourning as observed by psychologist Vamik Volkan (1997; 2007) as well as sociologist Ivana Spasić (2011), while Jeffrey Alexander observes it as cultural trauma, arguing that "for traumas to emerge at the level of the collectivity, social crisis must become cultural crisis" (Alexander 2012, 15). I argue that the cultural trauma that leads to the narrative of "ancient ethnic hatred" according to Jelača, is represented in music by the stereotypical use of traditional music elements. The various uses of traditional music contribute to the set stereotypes employed in films. Regarding Jelača's observations in connection to trauma and Balkan stereotypes, I explore how music responds to these observations through the example of the track "Mesečina [Moonlight]" from Goran Bregović's soundtrack for the film *Podzemlje*.

Podzemlje is a story about two friends, "two wild and crazy guys" (Goulding 2002, 199),¹ their love interest and their more than 50-year-long friendship/ love triangle, shaped by the historical circumstances of the WWII, the Cold War, and the break-up of Yugoslavia. At the beginning of the film, Marko Dren (Predrag Miki Manojlović) and Petar Popara Crni (Lazar Ristovski) are members of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in 1941. As the war progresses so do their military operations, making Crni wanted by the Gestapo. When he gets seriously wounded, Marko hides Crni in his basement, where their extended family and friends are already living in hiding. They nurse Crni back to health as they live underground waiting for the war to be over. The Cold War part of the film is set in 1961, where Crni is presumed dead and celebrated as

¹ The section of the title of this paper "Two Wild and Crazy Guys" references popular sketches in the American variety show *Saturday Night Live* where Steve Marin and Dan Aykroyd played Yortuk and Jorge Festrunk, two brothers from Czechoslovakia visiting New York. Martin and Aykroyd portrayed the characters with thick Czech accents, in elaborate clothing and over-thetop behavior that is "wild and crazy," which became their catchphrase as the skits became regular in the 1978 season of the this popular and long-lasting variety show, and were referenced in several other skits throughout the years. See Perkins, 2022. This reference is slightly changed in the title of this paper to accommodate the *Podzemlje*'s three main characters.

war hero while he is actually still living in Marko's basement waiting for the war to be over. Marko is now an important government official who built his reputation on his involvement in the WWII and the great Partisan victory. He is married to Natalija (Mirjana Joković), an actress and a former love interest of Crni. Marko and Natalija keep this charade going until the underground people manage to build a tank and accidently shoot their way out. An abrupt cut takes us to the early 1990s and the beginning of war conflict in former Yugoslavia in which Crni is now commanding paramilitary troops that capture and execute two war profiteers, who end up being Marko and Natalija.

The cyclical structure observed in this film was often used in post-Yugoslav films and it is supposed to prove the inevitability of the never-ending war in the region as the past keeps brutally and repeatedly materializing in a vicious time circle (Daković 2008, 79). This was a prominent way of connecting history and then-current events in the post-Yugoslav films, dealing with the subject the breakup of Yugoslavia. Nevena Daković coined the term "neowar film," which refers to a substantial part of film production in the 1990s that was dedicated to the war and the break-up of former Yugoslavia, and it is also a part of her further discussion on the Balkans as a film genre of its own. The prefix "neo" acknowledges the existing legacy of the Yugoslav war cinema in the genre of Partisan war films. The term also recognizes that not all films that fall under the "neowar" category are set on the battlefields of former Yugoslavia. Rather, the films of this subgenre are mostly set in unoccupied territories (cities, or rural areas) and are focused on individuals and how their lives have been affected by the war raging far away, and/or the economic and psychological consequences of the break-up of the former country.

BALKANISM AS A MANIFESTATION OF TRAUMA

During the 1990s, six former Yugoslav nations were establishing their own identities and independent integrities while, at the same time, they were being perceived as part of a collective Balkan identity. The political turmoil and civil war that followed the break-up of the country resulted in Western media affiliating Balkan countries with war and destruction, as well as establishing certain negative stereotypes in connection to people from the Balkans. This recreated the configuration of sociopolitical dynamics that Maria Todorova theorized as the Balkanism.²

The discourse on Balkanism is based on Todorova's writings (2009; first published in 1997), which draw on Edward Said's discussion of Orientalism, but is also strongly reflected in Gayatri Spivak's (Morris and Spivak 2010) ideas about the subaltern, specifically that one must take

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Todorova writes that "Balkanism' expresses the idea that explanatory approaches to phenomena in the Balkans often rest upon a discourse or a stable system of stereotypes" (2009, 193). She states that the term took a pejorative turn in the early twentieth century "triggered by the events accompanying the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of small, weak, economically backward and dependent nation states, striving to modernize" (2009, 194). The modernization was a difficult and long process accompanied by nationalistic policies creating "a situation in which the Balkans began to serve as a symbol for the aggressive, intolerant, barbarian, semi-developed, semi-civilized, and semioriental" (2009, 194). Over time, these characteristics became stereotypes that, according to Todorova, have shaped the attitudes and actions towards the Balkans.

Writing about post-Yugoslav cinema of the 1990s, Žižek sees *Podzemlje* as "the ultimate ideological product of Western liberal multiculturalism" (1995, 38, cited in Keene 2001, 241; Iordanova 2001, 130), because it perpetuates stereotypes regarding the Balkans and offers a "timeless space in which the West projects its phantasmatic content" (Žižek 1995, 38, cited in Keene 2001, 241). Iordanova writes about this "readiness to cast a gaze at oneself as an exotic object" as a common trope in the 1990s Balkan cinema (2001, 153).³

On the other hand, citing Frederic Jameson's explanation of "global cinema" that "adopts Hollywood stereotype and aesthetic codes in order to subvert them," Dušan Bijelić writes that "Serbian cinema succeeded in exploiting the [Balkan] stereotype brilliantly, using Hollywood's own language of cinema to turn the global media against itself" (2005, 103). Bjelić sees the stereotype of "the wild man from the Balkans" as one of the aesthetic codes that, when subverted, creates an innovative aesthetic form (2005, 104). In his analysis, Bjelić focuses on Serbian cinema of the 1990s that "inherited the Hollywoodization of domestic ideology that typified the 1970s [Yugoslav war epic spectacles], and deployed the stereotypes of the wild Balkan man, an ideological and global media cliché of the 1990s, in order to confront both nationalism and globalism at once" (2005, 105). The trope of the wild Balkan man emerged in this social context, characterized by elevated tensions created by nationalism and ethnic divides that infused the conflict between the nations and weakened the local economy. Bjelić argues that by using stereotypes surrounding the Balkan men and Balkanism perpetuated by Western media and Hollywood productions,

on a culture's ways of knowing in order to bring that culture into dialogue with the dominant cultures.

³ Iordanova also finds Milcho Manchevski's film *Before the Rain* (1994) to be "moving within a prescribed conceptualization mirroring long standing stereotypes of the Balkans as enigmatic and attractive but impossible to deal with" (Iordanova 2001, 63).

Serbian filmmakers in the 1990s managed to subvert the Hollywood cinema language and its mainstream aesthetics, which gave Balkan cinema its geoaesthetic significance (2005, 103). In a way, Kusturica's success with *Podzemlje* proves Bjelić's point as the film was shortlisted for many international film festivals and won *Palme d'Or* at the Cannes Film Festival in 1995. After its premier in Cannes, however, the film raised plenty of controversy as it was seen as glorification of the Serbian point of view of the break-up of Yugoslavia.⁴

Bjelic's idea about subverting Balkanism for your own gain also echoes in the popular music of the Balkan region. In her writings about Balkan music and self-Balkanisation, or "autobalkanisation" as she calls it, Marija Dumnić Vilotijević at first explains Balkan music as "a pan-Balkan phenomenon, in terms of similar music practices, which implied performances in taverns, networking of musicians, the same types of ensembles and similarities in musical forms, even the same tunes" (2020, 4). As a music genre, Balkan music "contains divergent music content (meaning not only from different locations, but also ranging from 'authentic' folklore to hybrid artistic forms and arrangements, with all their inner diversities)" and encompasses a very diverse mix of popular music genres that employ many of the characteristics she lists and market themselves as "Balkan music" (Dumnić Vilotijević 2020, 4). However, she also observes that the stereotypes regarding the Balkans and the Balkan music are internalized in the Balkans as the Balkan music label is used primarily for exported music as "the connection of music and place is constructed in order to mark one particular genre (consisting of various forms) in the global (but first of all Western) music industry" (2020, 4). This supranational umbrella term, the "Balkan music," also allows the performers to avoid nationalistic adjectives in their names (as well as the names of their projects) in favor of the more politically neutral one – "Balkan." The diversity of use of the term in music has possibly led to a subversion of the Balkan stereotypes because it has shown other sides of Balkan music and once again united the region after the war years.

In film music scholarship on war trauma in European cinema the focus is on the diversity that comes from the variety of perspectives in the post-WWII Europe and its complex socio-political context. However, it is a part of a wider context of

⁴ The controversy in international media continued, especially after the award ceremony, when several film critics attacked the Cannes Film Festival Committee for giving the prestigious award to such a film. Probably the harshest review came from film scholar Dina Iordanova who described Kusturica as the Leni Riefenstahl of Slobodan Milošević's regime, comparing *Podzemlje* to Riefenstahl's Nazi propaganda films (1999; 2001). Iordanova explained the controversies in more detail in her book *Cinema of Flames* (2001). In the section "The Acquittal," she writes about how the opinions and circumstances surrounding the film have been changing in the turbulent years after the film's release (2001, 129–131).

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trauma studies that analyze trauma through interdisciplinary lenses. Maria Cizmic writes that "definitions of trauma tend to be shaped by disciplinary concerns - and since trauma forms a genuinely interdisciplinary topic, there exists a range of interpretations" (2012, 14). Here, she includes music studies as well, noting that representation of trauma in music occurs in many ways (Cizmic 2012, 14).⁵ She concludes that, regardless of the involvement of music, "aesthetic media might open up possibilities for people to empathetically imagine another's suffering, which can lead to positive outcomes regarding communications, understanding, education, and social justice [...], while cultural trauma can allow people to share in suffering they did not directly experience, and thereby build collective identities and a sense of community" (2012, 173-174). Films can be understood as types of testimony to the traumatic events in their own right. Cizmic concludes that "if truth is located in fragmentation, disruption, gaps of silence, then capturing these experiences in literature and film provides a way of keeping faith with trauma, truth, and history" (2012, 18). Certain narrative methods, such as flashbacks and mixing of timelines and chronological disorder, can also be interpreted as manifestations of trauma. These interruptions are also reflected on the soundtracks, whether through the use of traditional music elements that resonate musical stereotypes, or through popular music that invokes a nostalgic response. Before discussing how trauma is embedded in the music of post-Yugoslav war cinema and in which way we observe it in the two tracks from the *Podzemlje* soundtrack, it should be noted how trauma is addressed in the political and social narratives of the war in Yugoslavia, or rather the lack of it, through the interdisciplinary writings of Dijana Jelača, Vamik Volkan, Jeffrey Alexander, and Ivana Spasić.

Dijana Jelača explains her approach to post-Yugoslav war films "primarily as expressions and channels through which trauma narratives get played out at the level of culturally circulated affect that permeates post-conflict spaces across national and ethnic lines" (2016, 19–20). That takes her to consider trauma as a key point in redefining certain aspects of these films and the issues addressed in them. In one of her observations, she considers post-Yugoslav war cinema to be "trauma cinema." Jelača also explains trauma cinema as being

⁵ Her research on trauma and music is informed by Judith Herman's seminal work *Trauma* and *Recovery* (1992), as well as Cathy Caruth (1995, 1996) and Shoshana Felman's (Felman and Laub 1992, Felman 1995) psychological views on trauma adapted to the analysis of films and literature as testimonial acts. Both Felman and Caruth see films and literature as aesthetic forms that can fill the gaps in memory caused by trauma.

⁶ This term was introduced by Janet Walker (2005) and further explored by Raya Morag (2009), who noted that, although war cinema is usually understood as portrayal of historical events, because of the fragility of the factual side of this portrayal, it might be better to consider it trauma cinema, "and relieved of the burden of historical accuracy, since traumatic recurrence rarely answers to the compulsion to be factually accurate" (Jelača 2016, 11).

"about memory's inadequate relationship to past events and their recurring role in the present" (2016, 11), which can be found in many post-Yugoslav war films. On that note, she also proposes understanding the history of violence as the history of trauma. This opens a possibility of understanding the recurring wars and violent conflicts in the Yugoslav space as a consequence of unresolved trauma from previous wars, mostly the WWII, but also the Balkan wars, the nineteenth century freedom uprisings, and the Ottoman occupation, that is passed on through generations, often contributing to the "ancient ethnic hatred" amongst the former Yugoslav nations.

The perennial mourning caused by unresolved transgenerational trauma present in the post-Yugoslav film narratives can be associated with the use of traditional music elements in the soundtracks. This is particularly true in films that evoke the "mythical" and "glorious" past through the use of "old and forgotten" traditional music. Jeffrey Alexander writes about the importance of language as a tool that helps one gain reflexivity "to move from the sense of something commonly experienced to the sense of strangeness" (2012, 7). In the post-Yugoslav cinema of the 1990s, the idea about a glorious and mythical past is often mentioned as it became a trope in the war narrative and, therefore, a media narrative of the war conflicts in the former Yugoslav states as well, while the trauma narrative is non-existent. The music in films appears through this mythological narrative and it is thus perceived as ancient, seminal, and primordial. In this way, traditional music elements used in the soundtracks signal perennial mourning and suppressed and unresolved societal traumas.

In his study of ethnic violence, psychologist Vamik Volkan (2007) analyses various historical circumstances that have led to ethnic violence, including a case study of the conflict in former Yugoslavia. Looking at these cases through the psychological lens we discover how certain historical events, like great losses in battles and wars, can be understood as trauma that, neither resolved nor addressed, can have a huge impact on both individuals and the entire societies. Volkan explains that suppressed and unaddressed trauma can lead to perennial mourning which occurs when the process of mourning is not completed. In cases of massive nationwide trauma such as war, societies sometimes go through mourning ("societal mourning"), expressing a "shared sense of humiliation and a helpless wish for revenge" (Volkan 2007, 104). If this feeling is experienced by people who are a part of the same large group identity defined by nationality and/or religion, then the society can experience perennial mourning and the shared response to what has been done to them can lead to it becoming a political ideology, which is exactly what happened in Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

Jeffrey Alexander comes to a conclusion similar to Volkan's in his writings about the cultural trauma. Here, Alexander observes how "in the course of

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defining national identity, national histories are constructed around injuries that cry out for revenge" as "angry nationalist groups, and their intellectual and media representatives, assert [that] they were injured or traumatized by agents of some putatively antagonistic ethnic and political group, which must then be battled against in turn" (2012, 13). Cultural trauma, according to Alexander, "occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (2012, 6). Volkan examines those "marks," referring to them as societal processes or "symptoms," which accompany societal mourning that, in the case of the former Yugoslav nations, became a cultural crisis.

Providing an example from Serbian history and Slobodan Milošević's regime, Volkan examines three of these processes – building monuments, chosen trauma, and the establishment of the entitlement ideologies (2007, 105). He defines chosen trauma as "the shared mental representation of an event in a large group's history in which the group has suffered a catastrophic loss, humiliation, and helplessness at the hands of enemies" (2007, 106). It is also possible to pass the chosen trauma to the offspring if the society and its members are not able "to mourn such losses and reverse their humiliation and helplessness" (2007, 106), which is when the transgenerational transmission of trauma occurs. He examines the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, and its 600th anniversary in 1989, which has been used to "reactivate Serbian perennial mourning." The anniversary ceremony and the processions around it, according to Volkan, created a "time collapse" that denoted "the conscious and unconscious connections between a large-group historical trauma and contemporary threats [...] that typically emerge when a chosen trauma is dramatically reactivated" (2007, 107-108). In this way, Volkan concludes, "the Serbian leadership turned a 'memory' of an historical event - associated as it was with losses, inability to mourn, and the difficulty of shared mourning - into a tool of revenge" (2007, 108).

Sociologist Ivana Spasić also writes about Kosovo as Serbian trauma that "involves a whole knot of entangled traumas" (2011, 99). She argues that this trauma, put in the larger context that started in the 1990s and has expanded to this day,

might also hide traumas of the Yugoslav wars, including the "trauma of perpetrators" [Bernhard Giesen 2004 quoted in Spasić 2011]; the trauma of being caught in an irresolvable conflict with a neighboring people, Albanians; the trauma of Serbia's exclusion from European integration; the trauma of living in a faulty democracy and continuing economic stagnation; and also,

perhaps, the trauma of being forced into a traumatic identity and lacking the language in which to express one's dissent without being called a traitor" (Spasić 2011, 99).

Dijana Jelača sees these events as resulting in trauma that is not resolved and that, in her opinion, led to self-Balkanisation present in many aspects of the post-Yugoslav life, which is very noticeable in post-Yugoslav films, as well as their soundtracks. The same stereotypes that the filmmakers have used in the narrative of their films, have been applied by the composers in the soundtracks, which we will see below in the analysis of the *Podzemlje* soundtrack. Folk-like musical elements became a part of the corpus of Balkan stereotypes used in the films and other media because of their frequent use in this context. In the following paragraphs, I will look into traditional music elements as Balkan sound stereotypes and investigate the connection between unresolved traumas which applies to the musical stereotypes as well, on the example of two tracks from the *Podzemlje* soundtrack.

THE TRUMPETS OF THE UNDERGROUND

Goran Bregović, the composer of the music for this film, is a well-known figure in the former Yugoslavia⁷ and his music is often described by some music journalists and critics as the prime example of the "Balkan music." In its colloquial use, "Balkan music" usually implies presence of certain musical elements which are characteristic of the Balkan region, such as: complex meters, local traditional instruments like accordions, different types of trumpets, clarinets, and drums; or traditional singing styles such as melismatic singing or the use of characteristics exclamations of the syllable "oj." By combining different music traditions, Bregović created his own musical style which, due to the popularity of Kusturica's films and the soundtracks, became the prime example of what came to be perceived as world music from the Balkans, thus making the terms "Balkan," "brass" and "Gypsy" interchangeable in marketing, as Carol Silverman notes (2014, 193).8 In Kusturica's film Dom za vešanje [Time of the Gypsies] (1989) Bregović created a soundscape that became connected to the Roma through the story in the film. As Kusturica continued this creative path in an auteur-like manner going into his following films, Arizona

⁷ Bregović was the leader of the Yugoslav-Bosnian band *Bijelo dugme*.

⁸ Bregović's music is often classified as Roma music rather than the traditional music associated with any former Yugoslav nation. Carol Silverman understands this as Bregović "transcending the conflicts of the Balkans through Gypsy music" (Silverman 2014, 203).

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Dream (1992) and Podzemlje, he extended his collaboration with Bregović. At that time, it could be argued that Bregović's music in Kusturica's films was "a key thematic element and a marker of authorial style" (Gorbman 2007, 149), which would make Kusturica a mélomane in Claudia Gorbman's terms, an auteur with a strong and authentic musical imprint. Bregović's musical imprint on Kusturica's films was substantial enough to make Dom za vešanje and Podzemlje also considered in terms of film operas (Ćirić 2020).

Soundtrack for *Podzemlje* is considered under the obscure lines of the world music label while creating its own subsection under the term "Balkan." By using this term, the application of nationalistic implications that were so popular at the time is avoided and all the variations of the different national traditional music are incorporated in this supranational geographic term, while, at the same time, it takes in all the stereotypes previously connected to the Balkans embodying them through Kusturica's characters. The soundtrack also combines elements of several different music genres and traditional music originating from different cultures and/or subcultures or considered a part of subcultures. The most prominent tracks in the film are the two brass band songs - "Kalašnjikov" (and its instrumental version "Ševa") and "Mesečina," as well as "Underground Tango," arranged for string orchestra. Other tracks that are heard throughout the film are either brass band tracks titled čoček on the official soundtrack ("Čaješukarije čoček," "Underground čoček," "Wedding čoček," and "Belly of the Beast"), or variations on the tango theme, such as in the track "War" which has added lyrics from the old-town song "Stani, stani, Ibar vodo [Slow down, Ibar River]" by Dragiša Nedović (1916-1966). On the official soundtrack, there is another variation of the tango theme performed by Cape Verdian singer Cesaria Evora. The track is titled "Ausencia [Absence]," and it is based on the string quartet arrangement used in the film with some pizzicato parts that come from "Underground Tango," with added lyrics in Portuguese that talk about loneliness and inability to fly away from the fears and be free. This track creates something Vesna Mikić calls "Balkan sung tango" by mixing and matching "tango's generic, passionate longing and Balkan 'dert'" (2017, 265) that is, like Portuguese saudade, an untranslatable word signifying similar mix of emotions of sadness, unease, nostalgia, and mourning. The soundtrack also contains a brass band cover of Lee Dorsey's song "Ya Ya,"

⁹ However, it needs to be noted that in his later films his *mélomane* music expression has not been as potent as it was during his collaboration with Bregović. He can still be considered an *auteur*, even though his artistic style has changed significantly since *Podzemlje*, but the music does not hold the same gravitas as it did before. At the same time, Bregović's brass band music became his own trademark sound that he used throughout the film and continued to use in his work after the collaboration with Kusturica has ended.

which is used in the film in Djordje Marjanović's 1960s translated version of the song as "Ringe Ringe Raja Twist."

"Mesečina," the track on which I particularly focus on, is one of the popular brass band tracks that supports representation of the film's characters in this film as stereotypical "wild Balkan men." This song is closely connected to all three main characters – Marko, Crni, and Natalija. It is heard twice in the film, and both times it is used diegetically and sung by these characters. Only the chorus is used in the film. It starts slowly and very quiet (*piano*) as it sets the melancholic tone of the song. As it progresses, the music gradually speeds up, layering percussion and brass sections in a crescendo that finishes in an upbeat instrumental section performed by the full brass band.

The first time the song is heard is in the first part of the film set in the period of the WWII, during the aftermath of Natalija and Crni's interrupted wedding. Before the wedding ceremony, while waiting for a priest, the couple and their best man, Marko, get drunk, and in a drunken haze at sunrise they sing the chorus of the song, dancing and singing tightly in a circle. The camera is below them, in the middle, catching them from a low angle, and rhythmically spinning to their singing, gradually speeding up. The scene is replicated in the second part of the film at the wedding of Crni's son Jovan. Natalija and Marko attend the wedding as well, but they are very tense because they are still hiding the secret that the war is over. In order to loosen up a bit, they again reach for singing and drinking and end up singing the same song, thus mirroring the scene from before.

Film and media scholar Pavle Levi explains the "Mesečina" scenes as Kusturica's "libidinal outbursts," as "moments that suspend all narrative/thematic expectations for the sake of elevated, first-degree scopic pleasure" (Levi 2009, 137). These and their *mise-en-scene* that "includes circular movement and rotation of human bodies in ecstasy, perform significant 'centrifugal effect' [...] as the song follows the movement of the scene – it starts with a cappella singing in slow motion and as the camera speeds up so does the singing" (Djordjević 2021, 241).

The setting of both scenes is very similar. Both are happening at the weddings that get interrupted – the first one by the Nazi soldiers, and the second one by Soni, the monkey, which gets in a tank and fires the gun, thus opening the underground passages and releasing the people out of the basement, exposing them to the outside world. Both scenes are set in closed, interior spaces – the first one in the cabin of a small boat, while the second one is set in an underground bunker. In the first scene the music stops after the arrival of the German soldiers looking for Marko and Crni, while in the second scene the musical number is much longer. After singing the chorus

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with Marko and Crni hugging in a tight circle, Natalija breaks off and joins the band that continues with the instrumental part of the track. The band stands on a scaled-up replica of a three-tier wedding cake that spins. Natalija joins them while they are still playing and spinning, and every time she spins towards the men, she hits one of them with a wooden pole shouting foul words to them, calling them names, etc. She has shown her disapproval of the whole underground ordeal earlier in the scene, which she now expresses by hitting the men with the wooden poll as she spins while the band continues to play. The scene is shown from Natalija's point of view, accentuating the centrifugal effect of the circular movement, as noted by Levi (2009, 139), while the music contributes to the surreal and fantastical *mise-en-scene* of the underground wedding.

Beneath the carnivalesque surface of the song, the lyrics of "Mesečina" express pain and possibly hidden trauma. Marija Ćirić, who regards the film *Podzemlje* as a film opera, describes this scene in terms of Lacan's concept of *jouissance*, which is particularly expressed in this film in its "Mesečina" scenes. She argues that this track comprises pleasure, lust, tension, and pain that correspond to the "never quiet Balkan region, as well as Balkan (film) genre" (Ćirić 2020, 96). While her explanation is in line with the settings of the "Mesečina" scenes, the lyrics of the song point to the war trauma that is not addressed in any other way:

Nema više sunca, nema više meseca, nema tebe, nema mene, ničeg više nema, joj.
Pokrila nas ratna tama, pokrila nas tama, joj.
A ja se pitam moja draga, šta će biti sa nama.
[Refren] Mesečina, mesečina, joj, joj, joj, joj.
Sunce sija, sunce sija, joj, joj, joj, joj.
Sa nebesa, zrak probija.
Niko ne zna, niko ne zna, niko ne zna, niko ne zna,

niko ne zna šta to sija.

The Sun is no more. The Moon is no more, You are no more, I am no more. Ay, there's nothing anymore. The war darkness covered us, Ay, it covered us. And I ask myself, my dear, What will become of us? [Chorus] Moonlight, moonlight, Ay, ay, ay, ay, The sun is shining, it's shining, Ay, ay, ay, ay, A ray pierces from the sky, But no one knows, no one knows, No one knows, no one knows, No one knows what it is.

The similarities between the Moon and the Sun that are indicated in the lyrics illuminate the perspective of the people living in the basement for many

years. For them, and especially for their children born and raised underground, the difference between the moonlight and the sunlight is unclear. This becomes evident when Crni's son Jovan, born and raised underground, goes outside for the first time, and points to the Moon asking if that is the Sun. The short chorus of the song touches on this issue, "pointing out that there is a light in the sky and that no one knows if it is moonlight or sunlight" (Djordjević 2021, 241).

Since both the characters and the band know the song by heart, it can be argued that, according to the film's timeline, the song had been well-known before they went underground. In this light, the song's lyrics could be interpreted as descriptions of the uncertainty of war times and a display of transgenerational war trauma. In addition, trauma can be interpreted from the lyrics, which address the darkness of the war and the feeling of utter hopelessness. However, these emotions are not reflected in the music nor acknowledged by the characters, who just "dance it off" in a hopeless drunken haze (Djordjević 2021, 242). In this sense, the film's "Mesečina" scenes re-affirm the Balkan stereotypes discussed earlier in the context of this film.

In these scenes, the three main characters, Natalija, Marko and Crni, sing "Mesečina" on two different yet similar occasions and in similar circumstances that stereotypically include drinking, dancing, frolicking, being violent and obnoxious, and similar negative characteristics associated with "the wild Balkan men" stereotype. The dystopian lyrics of this song about the war darkness that covered everything, however, posing the question "what is going to happen to us" reveal a hidden trauma. Behind the excessive enjoyment portrayed in the film, behind all the stereotypical portrayals of characters and their actions as "wild Balkan men," lie layers of historical war events, some of which appear in the film. The unspoken trauma of those events is then presented through the metaphor used in this song.

Conclusion

As described "Mesečina" scenes indicate, the part of the *Podzemlje* soundtrack based on brass band music goes hand in hand with the portrayal of the characters as "wild Balkan men" associated with a myriad of negative characteristics and stereotypes. The characters are portrayed as very loud and disruptive, short-tempered, surrounded by alcohol, drugs, guns, and prostitutes, and always accompanied by a brass band playing up-beat music. As part of the diegesis, music actively participates in the narrative not only by accentuating the negative stereotypes, but also by working as a catalyst in some scenes to initiate the bad behavior and violence (as in the second "Mesečina" scene). The soundtrack of *Podzemlje* enhances the stereotypes presented in the film

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while at the same time, due to the popularity of the soundtrack, the brass band music becomes a stereotype in its own right.

Unresolved and unaddressed generational trauma peeks through the details in film such as the "Mesečina" scenes. The meaning of this song, in the historical and social context of the *Podzemlje*, combined many Balkan stereotypes that the film encompasses, supporting Jelača's observations regarding self-Balkanism and trauma in post-Yugoslav cinema.

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ANA DJORDJEVIĆ

"TWO WILD AND CRAZY GUYS, AND A GAL" – UNRESOLVED TRAUMA AND BALKAN STEREOTYPES IN THE MUSIC OF EMIR KUSTURICA'S FILM PODZEMLJE (UNDERGROUND)

Ана Ђорђевић

"Два дивља, луда момка и једна цура" – неразрешена траума и балкански стереотипи у музици за филм *Подземље* Емира Кустурице

(Резиме)

Рад се бави међусобном повезаношћу стереотипа о припадницима балканских народа и неприхваћене и неразрешене ратне трауме. Полазиште теоријских разматрања чине истраживања Дијане Јелаче, која је проучавала аспекте ратне трауме и сећања у филмовима постјугословенског периода. Јелача, наиме, сматра да у овим филмовима постоји директна веза између друштвених и историјских траума кроз које је друштво прошло, њихове репрезентације на филму и употребе балканских стереотипа од самих балканских аутора. У тексту је ова проблематика детаљно представљена, с фокусом на студију случаја посвећену музици Горана Бреговића за филм Подземље (1995) Емира Кустурице. Утврђене су вишеструке интерференције између музике и поменутих стереоптипа, а истраживање се усмерило на питања о томе како су у музици за овај филм манифестоване везе између стереотипа и неразрешене трауме. Анализирана је нумера "Месечина", која има централно место у филму, а детаљно су сагледане и сцене у којима се нумера јавља. Такође, поред утврђивања повезаности балканских стереотипа с музиком Горана Бреговића као компонентом филма, у раду је предочено да Бреговићева музика, кроз употребу у Кустуричиним филмовима, и сама постаје музички стереотип народа Балкана, те тако поприма негативне конотације које ови стереотипи са собом носе.



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THE FUNERAL LAMENTS (POHREBNÉ PLAČE) OF THE SLOVAK COMMUNITY IN SERBIA*

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Погребне тужбалице (*pohrebné plače*) словачке заједнице у Србији

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses the funeral laments (*pohrebné plače* or *pohrebné nariekanie* in Slovak) of the Slovak ethnic minority in Srem, Vojvodina, Republic of Serbia. Among the Vojvodina Slovaks, funeral laments are gradually becoming extinct, although they could still be heard during the funeral rites of this ethnicity in various localities of Vojvodina in the latter half of the twentieth century. This study summarizes the state of the research on this issue. It focuses on the funeral laments documented by the author during her field research in Stará Pazova / Stara Pazova, Srem, in 2014.

KEYWORDS: funeral laments, wailing, Slovak ethnic community in Stara Pazova, fieldwork, documentation.

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АПСТРАКТ

У овој студији размотрене су погребне тужбалице (pohrebné plače или pohrebné nariekanie на словачком језику) словачке етничке мањине у Срему (Војводина, Република Србија). Иако су се током погребних обреда ове етничке заједнице у разним местима Војводине још могле чути у другој половини XX века, погребне тужбалице код војвођанских Словака постепено изумиру. Студија пружа преглед досадашњих истраживања ове теме, а фокусира се на погребне тужбалице које је ауторка документовала током свог теренског истраживања 2014. године у Старој Пазови у Срему.

Кључне речи: погребне тужбалице, нарицање, словачка етничка заједница у Старој Пазови, теренски рад, документација.

Introduction

As a specific verbal and musical genre, laments have existed, in a certain form, in every traditional culture (Porter 2001). In traditional music, the term 'lament' denotes ritual crying related to either real or symbolic death. Laments have been a part of the traditional rites connected with farewell or departure and made their way into a number of folklore genres. Various ethnicities mostly linked them with the funeral rite (*plač nad mŕtvym* / crying over the deceased) and with the wedding ceremonial (*plač nevesty* / crying of the bride, wedding laments, bridal laments), whereas in some cultures, laments have also been a part of the customs connected with the recruitment of young lads for military service (*regrútsky plač* / recruitment laments) (Urbancová 2009, 33–34). In this study, we deal with laments that formed a part of the Slovak funeral rites and we therefore refer to them as funeral laments.

Today, there are several Slovak ethnic communities, not just in Europe, but overseas as well. Currently, one of the largest is in Vojvodina, in the Republic of Serbia, and it has existed there for almost three hundred years. The Slovak population has been maintaining and developing their traditional culture ever since their arrival to that territory. Slovaks began to move there at the close of the seventeenth century, but the major migration waves have been taking place roughly from the mid-eighteenth century, more specifically 1745, onwards, when several Slovak families arrived in Báčsky Petrovec / Bački Petrovac in the Bačka region of Vojvodina. The Slovak inhabitation of Vojvodina is closely connected to the colonization of the southernmost parts of the Habsburg Monarchy, the so-called Lower Land (Dolná zem in Slovak) in Hungary of that

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time (Sirácky 1971; Botík 2007; 2011). This term comes from the translation of the Hungarian word *Alföld* [Lower Land] which, from the fifteenth century onwards, denoted the regions that lay south of the political and administrative centre of Hungary, contrary to the mountainous regions in the north, which were referred to as the *Felföld* [Upper Land]. It is a historical geographical name. Today, however, this term is mainly used in a broader context which encompasses several geographical regions inhabited by Slovaks that lie south of the territory of the Slovak Republic. The term 'Slovaks of the Lower Land' refers to Slovaks living on the territory of nowdays Hungary, Serbia, Croatia, Romania, and Bulgaria (Veľký 1977; Botík and Slavkovský 1995).

Today, there are over thirty localities in the three regions of Vojvodina (Bačka, Banat, Srem) where the Slovak ethnicity forms the minority or the majority of the local population. Almost half of them lie in the region of Bačka: Báčska Palanka / Bačka Palanka, Bački Petrovac, Bajša, Begeč, Čelárevo / Čelarevo, Hložany / Gložan, Kulpín / Kulpin, Kysáč / Kisač, Laliť / Lalić, Nový Sad / Novi Sad, Pivnica / Pivnice, Savino Selo, Selenča, Silbaš. The number of such localities in Srem is somewhat lower: Ašaňa / Ašanja, Bingula / Bingula, Bolovce / Boljevci, Dobanovce / Dobanovci, Erdevík / Erdevík, Lug, Ľuba / Ljuba, Slankamenské Vinohrady / Slankamenački Vinogradi, Sriemska Mitrovica / Sremska Mitrovica, Stara Pazova, Šíd / Šid, Višnjićevo. The lowest number of localities inhabited by Slovaks in Vojvodina can be found in the region of Banat: Aradáč / Aradač, Biele Blato / Belo Blato, Hajdušica, Jánošík / Janošik, Kovačica, Ostojićevo, Padina, Vojlovica, Zreňanin / Zrenjanin (Kultúrna mapa [Cultural Map] 2022). Apart from the above localities, Slovaks constitute roughly three percent of the population of Belgrade, the capital of the Republic of Serbia (Belehrad [Belgrade] 2022).

The fact that the Slovaks have maintained and kept developing their ethnic awareness, language, denomination, and traditional culture in a multiethnic environment for over three centuries is remarkable (Sklabinská and Mosnáková 2012).¹ Their song tradition forms an indispensable part of their culture. Although the song material that survived among the Slovaks of Vojvodina is relatively rich, it is still a modest corpus compared to the traditional songs from the territory of Slovakia, especially from the aspect of the preservation

¹ Today, the Slovak ethnic minority in Vojvodina is one of the most active Slovak communities abroad in terms of the cultivation of their traditional cultural manifestations. Local cultural-artistic associations have played a major role in preserving these cultural traditions. In addition, the Institute for the Culture of the Slovaks of Vojvodina was established in 2008 and it promotes and actively participates in the preservation and further development of the traditional culture of the Slovak ethnicity in Vojvodina (see Ústav pre kultúru vojvodinských Slovákov [Institute for the Culture of the Slovaks of Vojvodina] 2022).

of the individual song types and genres. Today, funeral laments, as a musical folklore genre, rarely occur among the Slovaks of Vojvodina (if at all). One of the localities where such laments have survived is Stara Pazova. The aim of this study is to introduce, describe, and characterize the funeral laments in this locality, where this folklore genre has survived only in the recollections of the oldest inhabitants. We will focus on several aspects related to this matter. Firstly, we will briefly characterize Slovak funeral laments within the framework of Slovak ethnomusicology. Then, we will focus on the funeral laments of the Slovaks in Vojvodina. We will present an overview of their documentation. Subsequently, we will focus on our own documentation of the laments, which we made as part of our fieldwork in the period from 2014 to 2016. The fieldwork has been conducted in three localities: Stara Pazova (Srem), Bački Petrovac (Bačka), and Padina (Banat).² Lastly, we will concentrate on the locality of Stara Pazova, where we documented the funeral laments, introducing the local people's beliefs and ideas about afterlife. We will describe and characterize the funeral laments that we have documented and indicate their significance today.

SLOVAK FUNERAL LAMENTS – GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Funeral laments (also called *wailing* – in Slovak *nariekanie*, or *telling* – in Slovak *vykladanie* by the locals) denote a ritualized form of parting with the deceased. Their origins can be traced back to pre-Christian forms of folk rites and customs (Zíbrt 1894). In the past, the funeral laments have played a significant role in the death and burial of a person. They usually formed a solid and indispensable part of each funeral (Elscheková and Elschek 1982, 162). They were a part of magical, spiritual rituals but, at the same time, they were to accompany the deceased to their eternal rest in the most beautiful and the most dignified manner possible. In a certain form, laments have been used by almost every ethnic group in the world (Šelcová 1985; Porter 2001, 181–184). In Europe, they have been documented among many ethnicities. They are also

² The research carried out in that period was a part of our doctoral studies under the aegis of the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences. We did fieldwork in Stara Pazova in 2014 in three phases (from 7 April to 19 April, from 16 June to 26 June, and from 19 October to 26 October). We were given recommendations and contact details of local singers of several generations by Anna Đurđevićová (born in 1944), a retired teacher of music education. We carried out fieldwork in Bački Petrovac in 2015 (from 15 June to 20 June) and 2016 (on 6 and 7 May). All contacts and recommendations were provided to us by a local music teacher, Mariena Stankovićová Kriváková (born in 1957). We conducted fieldwork in Padina in 2016 (from 21 June to 25 June) and 2016 (on 4 and 5 May). We received the contact details of a few informants from Pavol Tomáš senior (born in 1958), a local teacher of music education, but were also given several contacts by the locals.

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known to all the ethnicities in the Balkans (Bartók and Kodály 1966; Tolbert 1990, 80, 103). It has also been a common way of honouring the dead among the Slovaks in their new homeland, as well as all the other nations around them.

Slovak ethnomusicology views funeral laments as a specific song genre, which is one of the most archaic musical items. They may be defined as verbal-vocal manifestations that combine a ceremonial character with individual improvisation and have fixed functional ties to concrete singing occasions (Urbancová 2008; Burlasová 2009, 7–8). With respect to the ritual funeral act, funeral laments may be classified as Old Slavonic pagan rituals (Elscheková and Elschek 1982, 162). This testifies to the significance and honour showed to the deceased, as well as to the spiritual background of the ethnic groups, most of which believed in the afterlife and the immortality of the soul. To wail over the deceased in a dignified manner was necessary for this reason as well. Every ethnicity had its own rituals and its own acts when burying their dead. In Slovakian culture, funeral laments were mainly performed by women (Burlasová 2009, 10).

The earliest references to the funeral wailing in the territory of Slovakia come from the sixteenth century and are connected to pagans and pagan customs, which is why the Church forbade them (Ibid., 8). Nevertheless, funeral laments continued to exist in the territory of Slovakia in a certain form, and references to them have also been recorded. They were mentioned by significant Slovak authors, such as Matej Bel (1684-1749), Ján Kollár (1793-1852), and others (Burlasová 2009). They first attracted the attention of ethnologists in Slovakia starting from the 1930s, (Bednárik 1939; Čajánková 1956; Komorovský 1971) and then, from the late 1940s, of ethnomusicologists as well, including Soňa Burlasová (1927–2021), Ondrej Demo (1927-2020), Juliana Kováčová (1927-2009), Kliment Ondrejka (1929-2011), Ladislav Leng (1930–1973), Alica Elscheková (1930), Oskár Elschek (1931), and others. From the 1950s onwards, most funeral laments have been documented with sound recordings. Most of the funeral laments documented by the above authors can be found in the archives of several institutions in Slovakia (the Slovak Radio, the Institute of Musicology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of Ethnology and Social Anthropology of the Slovak Academy of Sciences) (Urbancová 2014). Ethnomusicologist Soňa Burlasová documented these laments in several villages of Eastern Slovakia, in the Upper Hron region, in the region of Hont, and among the Slovaks of the Lower Land (Burlasová 2009, 9). Since part of the Slovak population that arrived in Vojvodina in the eighteenth century came from the above regions, we may presume that they also brought along their rituals and rites connected to death and burial.

Documentations of Funeral Laments among the Slovaks of Vojvodina

In historical and ethnological literature (Lilge 1932), there are few pieces of information about the customs and rites related to death and burial among the Slovak population of Vojvodina. Up to the mid-twentieth century, collectors of folk songs had shunned funeral laments. One of the reasons was supposedly the fact that the Slovak population in that region avoided talking about death. Soňa Burlasová also encountered this phenomenon during her fieldwork among the Slovaks of Vojvodina in the 1960s and 1970s. She documented funeral laments in some of the Slovak villages and described those from the village of Selenča. This was the first, and, thus far, the only description of the laments of the Slovak ethnicity in Vojvodina (Burlasová 1971). Funeral laments do not form a part of extensive song collections of the Slovaks of Vojvodina published in that region in the late twentieth century (Filip, Miškovic, and Kmeť 1996; Tomáš, and Baláž 1997) and in the early twenty-first century (Ferík 2004) either. Below, we will briefly discuss the results of the research conducted by Soňa Burlasová in the village of Selenča in connection with funeral laments.

Selenča lies in the region of Bačka and it is the only locality where two denominations can be encountered among the Slovak ethnicity in Vojvodina: Catholic and Lutheran (in the other localities in this region, including Stara Pazova, the Slovak population is of the Lutheran denomination). Burlasová registered descriptions of funeral laments among the members of both denominations, but she managed to audio record their interpretations only by the Catholic informants. The Lutheran informants were willing to describe their funeral laments but refused to perform them in an unauthentic situation. Burlasová viewed this fact in the context of the way of performing the laments. The funeral laments of the Lutherans had a spoken character and were accompanied with sighs and weeping. They were improvised renderings depending on the situation and the mental state of the rendering person. Among the Catholic population, the author witnessed laments of a melodic character, in which certain melodic formulas were present. These laments were also based on improvisation, but Burlasová noticed certain ties to melodic formulas and a certain schematicism in their texts (Burlasová 1971, 625). Funeral laments from other localities in Vojvodina were not specified in detail by the author. A funeral lament from Selenča, documented and transcribed by Soňa Burlasová, is illustrated in Example 1.

During our own fieldwork, which we conducted in the period from 2014 to 2016 in three settlements in Vojvodina (Stara Pazova, Bački Petrovac, and Padina), we only encountered funeral laments (sung and spoken) in one of them – in Stara Pazova. Therefore, we will focus on the description of funeral

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laments in this locality. At the outset, the historical aspect of funeral laments should be noted, as it is very important. Slovaks settled in Selenča in 1758 (Sirácky 1971, 168–169) and it was one of the first Slovak localities in that region. In 1768, a major part of the Lutheran population was forced to leave this village (Miklovic 2002, 9–11). In 1769, they received permission to move to Pazova, which lay in the border regions of the Habsburg Monarchy. The Slovak Lutherans then moved to Stara Pazova in 1770. The preservation of funeral laments in Stara Pazova may be closely connected to this historical event.

Some of the Funeral Customs and Superstitions about Death and Burial in Stara Pazova

References to funeral laments in Stara Pazova in the existing literature are rare. They were not mentioned by the author of the first monograph on the Slovaks of Stara Pazova, Karol Lilge (1888-1953) either, although he did give some partial pieces of information about funerals. Regarding singing, he mentioned songs from the book of Funeral Rites, which used to be sung along with the cantor. Lilge mentioned singing during the vigil over the deceased until midnight, on the way to the funeral, and at the funeral banquet given by the closest family members, who sang mourning songs (1932, 204-205). The absence of references to nariekanie or vykladanie may confirm the fact, also pointed out by Lilge, that the local population was unwilling to talk about death and any acts related to it. We also encountered this attitude during our fieldwork. Funerals in Stara Pazova in the past were described in detail by a Vojvodina linguist, Anna Marićová (1951–2016). Her studies mainly focus on the description of funerals and related acts, superstitions, and practices (Marićová 2014; 2016). There is little information about funeral laments, though. In describing the funeral rites and the superstitions connected to death in Stara Pazova, we mainly drew on the results of the research carried out by Marićová.

Although a Christian framework of funeral customs was present in this settlement, one could not fail to notice certain acts that pointed to ancient magical practices. Superstitions respected, followed, and even feared by the people were deeply rooted in this locality.³ Death represented a transition. Both the pagan and the Christian tradition believe in afterlife. Therefore, the funeral rituals played an important role. It was through them that the separation of the dead from the society took place, and all the social and family ties of the

³ These included the omen of death that appeared as a sound or in a dream. For example, it was believed that if a dog howled in the courtyard or a little owl hooted near the house, someone from the family would die (Marićová 2016, 148–151).

deceased were broken, with the aim to satisfy their soul (Tolbert 1990; Jágerová 2001). Wailing was a certain form of respect and probably even a magical ritual act. If the deceased was not sufficiently mourned, in other words, wailed over, the family had to face collective slander in the locality (Jágerová 2001, 13–28; Marićová 2014, 119). On the other hand, funeral laments could also be manifestations of an individual who was expressing their deepest and most intimate emotions connected to mourning. They were a means for the mourner to release and overcome their grief. The nature of the laments documented by us reveals that they are also addressed to the listeners, which is evident from the various testimonies about the life of the deceased or regarding the difficulties and sufferings that they have faced (Burlasová 2009, 10).

In the past, funeral rites in Stara Pazova would last for two days. The first day included preparation of the deceased for the funeral, such as securing an official death certificate from the physician, and bathing and dressing of the body. The deceased was then placed in the front room of the house, where the family, friends, and neighbours gradually gathered to offer their condolences to the bereaved and keep the vigil (the locals say they sat /sedelo in Slovak/ over the deceased, which means they kept the vigil). In the past, the vigil was kept by the side of the deceased for one night. Today, this custom is no longer practised. The second day included taking away the body and the funeral itself. That day, the deceased was placed in a coffin and taken to the courtyard. In the past, this was immediately followed by some other actions, such as opening the windows, sweeping out the room, turning the chairs on which the deceased had been placed upside down, and setting the table with food and drink for the deceased in the room where they had been lying. These remained there until the next day. The reason for this was the belief that the soul of the deceased still lingered in the room for some time. The windows were opened so that the soul would depart, and the food was placed so that it could eat. The religious ritual connected to taking away the body would begin after the arrival of the priest. Subsequently, the people would leave for the cemetery accompanying the deceased, and then the funeral would take place (Marićová 2014; 2016). Next, we will focus on the results of our fieldwork in terms of the funeral laments of Stara Pazova, which was the only locality where we have documented such laments.

Our Own Fieldwork

According to the oldest, both male and female, informants who participated in our research, funeral wailing was still practiced in Stara Pazova until recently. Documenting the funeral laments, however, turned out to be an extremely complicated task. Many informants were no longer able to render

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funeral laments, and those who could, kept refusing to do so. The women attributed utmost gravity to the funeral laments. In their view, they could, and should, be sung only in a concrete situation of wailing over the deceased. After several attempts, we managed to make three complete recordings and one incomplete recording, where the laments were rendered by older informants. The laments were performed by two informants: Ján Pecník (1930–2020) and Katarína Forgáčová (b. 1938). Both of them were born in Stara Pazova. It was a difficult task even for the informants themselves, since they were not in an authentic situation—there was no deceased and no funeral. The lamenting was therefore not documented on an authentic occasion, but the case was recording on demand. For this reason, we only have secondary transcriptions. Nevertheless, they retain the spirit and style of local rendering.

According to the information we gained, in Stara Pazova, funeral laments over the deceased used to be performed by their closest family members, most often by women or girls. Usually, a mother would wail over her child, a wife over her husband, a sister over her sibling, or a daughter over her mother. Several people could wail over the deceased at the same time, and there were no pre-constructed formulas for their rendering. Rather, it was their momentary emotional expression. In Stara Pazova, there were no professional weepers among the Slovak population who would have been paid for this service. In some regions of Slovakia, funeral wailing would accompany certain phases of the funeral cycle (Urbancová 2009, 37). Based on the information we acquired, we may presume that this was also the case in Stara Pazova. Funeral laments could be heard in the house of the deceased right after their death, after their closest family and relatives had gathered, during the nocturnal vigil over the deceased, on the day of the funeral when parting with the deceased in the courtyard or in front of the house, when closing the coffin, during the funeral procession, at the cemetery when the coffin was lowered into the grave, and over the grave. In Stara Pazova, these rituals did not have clearly defined phases reserved for wailing over the deceased. One could wail over the deceased any time that the situation within the funeral rites permitted. These situations occurred during the phases specified above.

THE CONTEXT AND MUSICAL COMPONENTS IN FUNERAL LAMENTS IN STARA PAZOVA

According to their way of rendering, we may distinguish between two types of funeral laments in Stara Pazova: melodic and spoken (declamatory) ones. This is a noteworthy phenomenon because, in Stara Pazova, the Slovak ethnicity is Lutheran and a major part of the population moved to Stara

Pazova from Selenča. Unfortunately, due to a low number of recordings in our research, we cannot clearly explain the presence of both types of laments in this specific locality. Since funeral laments were not generally performed by men, we may hypothetically reason that, in this specific case, the melodic form of the lament was determined by the singer himself. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that, on the territory of Slovakia, melodic funeral laments prevail over spoken ones regardless of denomination (Urbancová 2009, 38–50).

Melodic funeral laments were sung by the oldest informant, Ján Pecník. It is interesting and unusual that funeral laments containing melodic formulas were performed by a man, as funeral laments in Stara Pazova were traditionally performed by women, as mentioned earlier. Even the informant must have been aware of this, since he was initially reluctant to perform such a lament for us. The documentation of funeral laments rendered by him is an exception rather than a custom in the respective locality. Ultimately, we managed to document two funeral laments performed by him. In one of them, he played the role of a woman – a daughter wailing over her mother (Example 2) and, in the other one, he performed his own funeral lament over his wife. Although men did not use to render funeral laments in Stara Pazova (or at least not in public), Ján Pecník would perform laments both at the funerals of his closest relatives and to express his grief in private. However, he could not characterize in detail when he would use such a performance during a funeral, as he did so mostly whenever he felt an inner need for it. Nevertheless, based on partial pieces of information that he provided, he presumably mainly wailed at funerals when there were not a lot of people around or when he thought he was alone. Such situations arose during the vigil over the deceased, for example, or right after the funeral at the grave of the deceased, when the mourners were already leaving. This was also confirmed by some of the locals who heard Pecnik wail over the grave of his wife. The recordings therefore represent a highly valuable material.

Funeral laments spoken in a declamatory style over a mother (Example 3) and a female friend were rendered by Katarína Forgáčová, although the second recording is incomplete. The informant also provided some information about the wailing itself. As she noted, the intensity and the duration of the wailing would depend on who had died. For example, when a child died in the village, the wailing was very intense. Wailing was usually also intense in case of a mother's death. Forgáčová lamented her parents (father and mother) in an authentic situation. Despite the low number of recordings, we will now try to characterize these funeral laments. It should be noted, however, that more recordings should be made and analysed to provide a general characterization of the funeral laments in Stara Pazova.

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An improvised text stands at the forefront of both types of funeral laments. With respect to their textual structure, these laments may be classified as non-strophic items of stichic form (Elscheková 1969; Burlasová 1977). Nevertheless, certain schematicism was noticeable in the rendering of both informants (provided that one may talk about any schematicism in case of such a low number of songs): turning to the deceased (my mother, my wife / mama moja, žena moja), expressing grief and sorrow over the loss of a close person (why did you leave me, oh, what am I to do / čo sťe ma nahaľi, jaj, čo ja budem robit), recalling the personal characteristics of the deceased (good, kind / dobrá, milá), what the deceased person meant to the wailing person, what their relationship was (we were together for ages, one without the other nowhere / ke zme naveki dovena boli, edom bez druhího ňigďe); the further course of the rendering focused on a description of their disease and preparation for death (when you went to hospital, my mother, you remained there / do bolinici ke ste tašli, mama moja, tam ste ostáli). The above scheme has no strict sequence that would apply to all the funeral laments recorded during our fieldwork. Nevertheless, all of them contain most of the above in a certain order. In addition, rhetorical questions prevail, which enhance the emotional charge of the rendering. The texts of the laments are improvised, but certain contents were present in their rendering. Pazova wailing also includes expressions in the form of interjections, exclamations, and moaning (oh / jaj).

A melodic funeral lament is illustrated in Example 2. The melody is in the minor key. In case of melodic funeral laments, the melodic structure consists of a single musical motif of an ascending-descending character with no exceptions. The third degree is the starting point from which the melody ascends to the fifth or the sixth and, subsequently, with a gradual motion, descends to the prime (the base note). Almost all the musical (melodic) lines contain such musical progression. The duration of the motif depends on the text contained in a particular line (phrase). In Example 2, there are as many as thirty such phrases. Their length differs depending on the number of syllables: six or more. The number of pitches in a phrase depends on the number of syllables in the text. During its course, the above motif may be varied by ornamentation and rhythmic changes. The melodic and rhythmic diction of the text consist of small rhythmic values throughout the motif. There are also pauses, which are usually used by the singer to take a breath or rest. In our recordings, however, the performers did not make any major pauses. The lines above the staff in the transcriptions represent the breath pauses of the singer. Longer rhythmic values mostly appear at the end of the textual phrases or in their middle. Another peculiarity of the funeral laments performed by Ján Pecník is the application of ornaments.

Ornamentation is one of the general basic attributes of the Slovak folk songs of Pazova. The ornamentation of the Slovak Pazova folk songs has attracted the attention of several researchers, but the first theoretical reflection on this issue was presented by Martin Kmeť (1926–2011), a Slovak ethnomusicologist from Vojvodina. He discussed it the most in relation to the influences of musical instruments on the development of Pazova singing (Kmeť 1972).

Although the extent of its presence is not the same in all the songs, the ornamentation is obviously a part of the performance style of the Slovak songs in Stara Pazova. This is a specific phenomenon especially because prominent ornamentation is not characteristic for the traditional songs of the Slovaks in Vojvodina. This fact can, for example, be observed in the song collection of Juraj Ferík Senior (Ferík 2004), who documented Slovak folk songs in almost all the Slovak localities in Vojvodina. Moreover, the ornamented singing of the Slovaks of Stara Pazova is also unique in the context of traditional songs from the territory of Slovakia. Ornamentation in the funeral laments in Stara Pazova can therefore be viewed as a specificity of that locality (Lomen 2022).

A declamatory funeral lament is illustrated in Example 3. In declamatory laments, the melody is subject to the intonation of speech. The melody is therefore recitative. Both funeral laments rendered by Katarína Forgáčová are mutually comparable. They are based on sections of the text (phrases) of various syllabic structure: five or more syllables. Contrary to melodic funeral laments, in which an ascending-descending melodic motion prevails, this lament also contains a prevailing descending motion. In some of the phrases, the text is rendered on a static (supporting) note. The intensity of performance or its gradation would be achieved through amplification or weakening of the intonation of the voice. This rendering of a funeral lament is also primarily based on improvisation.

The descriptions of these recorded funeral laments reveal certain shared features. In both types, the dominant text does not have a verse form. It is a freely composed prosaic text. Although the lament is based on improvisation, the text is not that free. This is evidenced by the above-mentioned schematic framework of the texts, which was, in a certain form, present in both types of funeral laments. The funeral laments were not identical and the phrases in them did not repeat. Also, they did not have a specified length: they could last only for a few minutes, or longer. The descending character is a prominent feature of both types of funeral songs. Tolbert attributed this to speech in general, for which descending intonation is characteristic (1990, 93–97).

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Conclusion

In this study, we have focused our attention on the characteristics of the funeral laments of the Slovak ethnicity in Vojvodina, Serbia. So far, they have not received major attention, which can also be seen from the fact that there are no references whatsoever to funeral laments in the existing Slovak song collections from this geo-cultural region. The largest contribution in this field was made by the Slovak ethnomusicologist Soňa Burlasová (1971), who characterized funeral laments in the village of Selenča. We documented a few funeral laments in Stara Pazova within our fieldwork in 2014, among the oldest generation of singer-informants. The young and the middle generation of singers no longer use this folklore genre in authentic situations. Therefore, these recordings represent valuable material, even though they were not documented in an original context and despite their low number.

We may draw several conclusions by establishing a general parallel between recorded funeral laments of the Vojvodina Slovaks in Serbia and funeral laments in Slovakia. Firstly, this musical folklore genre did not survive in large numbers among Slovaks in Vojvodina. On the contrary, a relatively copious collection of laments captured on sound recordings and in written transcriptions has survived from the territory of Slovakia. Secondly, we may affirm that our recordings of the funeral laments of the Slovak ethnicity in Stara Pazova share several characteristics both with the funeral laments on the territory of Slovakia and with the funeral laments of the Slovaks in other localities in Vojvodina. Thirdly, in both localities, the main bearers of this folklore genre were primarily women. The rendering of a funeral lament by a male performer in Stara Pazova is an unusual, although not a unique phenomenon. Funeral laments rendered by men were also documented in Slovakia, although in rare cases (Urbancová 2019, 74). Fourthly, we documented two types of funeral laments in Stara Pazova: melodic and spoken ones, and certain similarities can be observed even in terms of the text and melody (Burlasová 2009). However, their specific similarities and differences can only be indicated by more detailed analyses, which require further research.

Example 1. Wailing over a mother, rendered by Erža Gašparovská (b. 1931), transcribed by Soňa Burlasová, 1977, Selenča (Bačka region, Vojvodina). Source: Burlasová 2009, 20–21.

Nariekanie za matkou. Selenča (Báčka), 1977. Prednes Erža Gašparovská (nar. 1931).



Oh, my dear mother,
oh, my good mother,
oh, how will I see you,
oh, whether from the mountain, or from below,
or from our Beloved Lord God,
oh, my dear mother,
oh, come to me once more,

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oh, come to make me happy,
oh, my dear mother,
oh, my good mother,
oh, my dear mother,
why did you leave me so alone,
and my small orphans,
oh, my dear mother,
come to me once more,
oh, my good mother,
oh, my beloved mother,
oh, mother, mother of mine.

Example 2. Wailing over a mother, rendered by Ján Pecník (1930–2020), transcribed by Kristina Lomen, October 2014, Stara Pazova.





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Oh, my mother, mother of mine, my dear mother, why did you leave me. Mother of mine, who will be waiting for me when I come to this house. Oh, who will exclaim 'my Anna is coming.' Oh, my mother, mother of mine,

oh, mother of mine,

how much you have suffered in your disease. Oh, how I have searched for a doctor and for medicine for you.

Mother of mine, and I could not help you. Mother of mine, the doctor has come now,

who will heal all your wounds and pains.

Mother of mine, oh, I call, I cry, but you do not answer me.

Oh, mother of mine, mourned forever, my mother, mother of mine,

oh, my goodness, who is now going into the earth.

Mother of mine, where will I search for you,

I will not find you anywhere, mother of mine, only in the grave. Oh, only on the grave your name will be written.

Oh, my burdens, big, heavier than stone.

Oh, let no one think it is easy to lose a mother.

Oh, the name of my mother,

my mother's name is complete, complete when "mother" is said.

My good mother,

mother of mine, tortured by disease.

Mother of mine, how will I forget you.

Mother of mine, I have been crying since last night, but you say nothing, oh, you ask nothing.

Mother of mine, oh, when you went to hospital,

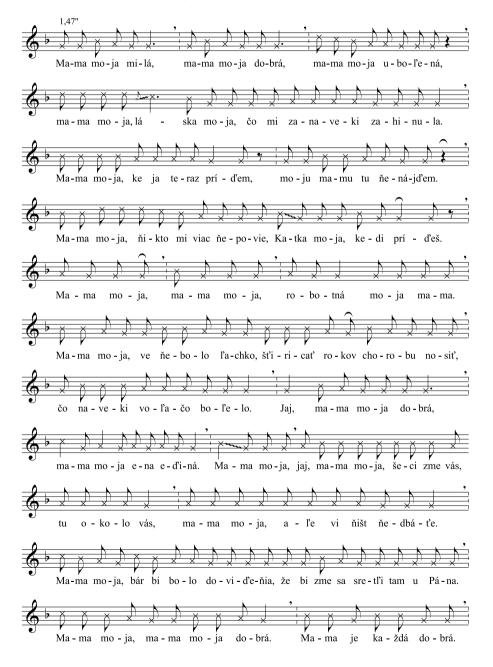
mother of mine, you remained there.

Who did you call to yourself,

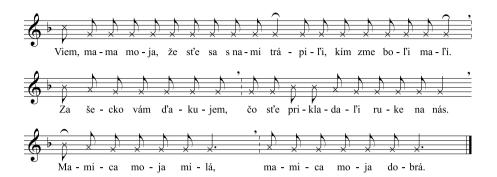
oh, you had nobody there.

Oh, my mother, my mother, mother of mine.

Example 3. Wailing over a mother, rendered by Katarína Forgáčová (b. 1938), transcribed by Kristina Lomen, October 2014, Stara Pazova.



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My dear mother, my good mother, my mother who was in pain, my mother, my love, who died forever. My mother, when I come now, I will not find my mother here. Mother of mine, nobody will ever tell me. 'My dear Kate, when will you come?' Mother of mine, mother of mine, my hardworking mother. Mother of mine, it was not easy to carry a disease for forty years, something always ached. Oh, my good mother, my one and only mother. Mother of mine, oh, mother of mine, all of us are here around you, mother of mine, but you do not notice anything. Mother of mine, if only it would be the end, and we would meet at our Lord. Mother of mine, my good mother, every mother is good. I know, my mother, it was hard for you with us while we were young. Thank you for everything, whatever you did for us. My dear mother, my good mother.

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KRISTINA LOMEN

THE FUNERAL LAMENTS (POHREBNÉ PLAČE) OF THE SLOVAK COMMUNITY IN SERBIA

Кристина Ломен

Погребне тужбалице (*pohrebné plače*) словачке заједнице у Србији

(Резиме)

Ово је прва студија која пружа детаљан етномузиколошки увид у погребне тужбалице (pohrebné plače или pohrebné nariekanie на словачком језику) међу словачким становништвом у Срему (Војводина, Република Србија). Након увода у тему и резимирања досадашњих проучавања, фокусирали смо се на сопствени документарни материјал о погребним тужбалицама, прикупљен у Старој Пазови, једном од трију локалитета у Војводини на којима смо спроводили теренска истраживања. Укратко смо представили неке обичаје и радње везане за смрт и сахрану на овом локалитету. Потом смо описали погребне тужбалице и детаљно их специфицирали. Погребно нарицање у Старој Пазови традиционалан је обичај који се више не практикује. Данас се такво нарицање може чути само у веома ретким случајевима и искључиво у аутентичним ситуацијама – као део различитих фаза погребних обреда, а изводи га женска популација старије генерације. Међутим, већина слушалаца и извођача није свесна чињенице да је реч о одређеном фолклорном жанру. На овом локалитету обично се користе два термина за означавање обичаја нарицања над умрлим: nariekať или vikladať. Такво извођење сматра се субјективним изражавањем туге због губитка блиске особе и најчешће доводи до колективног осећања бола међу присутнима. С нестанком најстарије генерације овај обред такође пада у заборав. Средње и млађе генерације имају ограничено знање о самом типу извођења погребних тужбалица, па се вишеструка вредност документованог материјала потврђује и у том контексту.

THE SONGBIRDS AS AN INSPIRATION FOR BYZANTINE KRATEMATA*

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Птице певачице као инспирација за византијске *кратиме*

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ABSTRACT

Byzantine *kratēmata*, widely known as the *terrirem*, as part of other, broader musical works, date approximately back to the eleventh–twelfth century. A small group of four *kratēmata* are named after birds (*Aēdhon* – Luscinia megarhynchos, *Potamis* – Acrocephalus, *Anyfantis* and *Papadopoula* – Parus major). It is reasonable to assume that the singing of the respective birds inspired composers to set these *kratēmata* to music. Studying the related compositions, as they have been documented in the written tradition of the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine manuscripts until their transcription from the pre-1814 old stenographic method notation, we report certain observations that reinforce the initial hypothesis, as well as some parallel remarks about the phenomenon of creation, establishment, and spreading of this form.

Keywords: songbirds, Byzantine music, terrirem, kratēma.

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Апстракт

Византијске крашиме, широко познате као шерирем, потичу приближно из XI–XII века као део других, обимнијих музичких дела. Мала група од четири крашиме названа је по птицама ($\alpha \dot{\eta} \delta \omega v$ – славуј, $\pi o \tau \dot{\alpha} \mu \eta \varsigma$ – трстењак, $\alpha v v \phi \dot{\alpha} v \tau \eta \varsigma$ и $\pi \alpha \pi \alpha \delta o \dot{\nu} \lambda \alpha$ – велике сенице). Основано се може претпоставити да су композитори били надахнути певањем одређених птица при компоновању појединих крашима. Проучавајући сродне композиције документоване у писаној традицији византијских и поствизантијских рукописа до њихове транскрипције из старе стенографске нотације, од пре 1814. године, износимо нека запажања која подупиру почетну хипотезу, као и неке паралелне напомене о феномену стварања, утврђивања и ширења овог жанра.

Кључне речи: птице певачице, византијска музика, шерирем, крашима.

THE TERM KRATĒMATA

The *kratēmata* are a special form of Byzantine music. They are also known as *terirem*, *teretismoi*, *nenanismoi*, etc, and their most obvious characteristic is that they are not speech set to music. Since the ancient times and in the Byzantine dictionaries, the term *teretismos* has referred to the imitation of a melody without lyrics, performed either by instruments or by animals such as cicada, grasshopper, cricket and various birds, and it has survived to this day in folk songs (Apostolopoulos 2024, 177-183).

The music of *kratēmata* is produced vocally, yet it is applied to meaningless syllables like *terirem*, *tiriti*, *tototo*, *nenena* and so on, by cantors who chant following the aesthetic rules of the Psaltikē.

Etymologically, the word *kratēma* means "prolongation, long note, long melody" (Anastasiou 2005, 68) and relates to the need to extend the duration of religious rituals by using long-lasting melodies. The *kratēmata* were formed and established roughly in the eleventh-twelfth century as parts of greater works, with the famous *castrati* (Byzantine eunuchs) playing a particular role in their establishment (Anastasiou 2005, 97; Spyrakou 2008, 502–515). In their first historical appearance, they are found as intervening melodies which define the transition from one part to the other within the extended melismatic musical compositions. It is noteworthy that the form of *terrenum* has appeared in the Persian tradition, in approximately the same period (Kalaitzidis 2013, 448). Gradually they came to constitute autonomous compositions and their number increased. The *kratēmata* are integrated into the so-called *kalophonia*, that is, the

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melismatic, artistic, eponymous and learned version of the Byzantine music, and they are considered one of the genres of the most eminent artistic value. Notably, according to some, they were "genuine and pure music" (Stathis 1979, 116).

From a practical point of view, the *kratēmata* serve to musically fill the gaps during a ceremony, while the priests are occupied with rituals exclusively performed by them, such as the preparation of the Sacred Gifts for the mystery of the Divine Liturgy, the Holy Communion of the priests, or during long vigils. From a morphological point of view, their placement within large compositions served to clearly distinguish among different parts and highlight the transitions.

However, ever since they first appeared, they have been raising theological questions about the compatibility of their use in worship. In Orthodox worship, the *logos* dominates, i.e. it is the highest function of a man, through which he addresses God with praises, supplications or other prays. The Byzantine music dubs the poetic speech which constitutes the hymnography. The text should be heard at all times. According to the rules of *Typikon*, in worship, even when the *kratēmata* are complete and entire works lasting even up to twenty minutes, they never have their own place in the ceremonies; instead, they always function as accompaniments to other musical texts intended to be sung at celebrations. They lengthen the duration of these chanted texts, and by artful melodic treatment, they apparently make them more pleasant to the ears. The absence of speech in the *kratēmata*, in the sense of a linguistic message, and the presence of meaningless syllables (*terire*, *nenena*, etc.) raised a debate centring on their compatibility with the Orthodox tradition.

The absence of speech in the *kratēmata* gave the composer a greater degree of freedom to use melodic phrases with elements of secular music. In other words, it was an open door to secular melodies which many people in the Church were not willing to accept. There have been some who supported the use of *kratēmata*, including Saint Theophylactos Achridos (eleventh century), who supported the *teretistae*, Saint Ioannis Koukouzelis (fourteenth century), who composed 89 *kratēmata*, and Nikolaos Malaxos (sixteenth century). Others did not approve of them, such as the interpreter of the Sacred Canons Theodore Valsamon, who disapproved of the *teretismata* (twelfth century), and Saint Nicodemus of Athos (eighteenth century), who considered them "recent, unnecessary pieces" and suggested that they should be replaced by repetitions of the text of the *Troparia*, etc. (Anastasiou 2005, 105–119; Spyrakou, 2008, 514).

In an attempt to bridge this opposition, given that the absence of words was in conflict with practical use, various theological and symbolic interpretations were proposed, mainly arguing that the *kratēmata* are associated with certain symbolism. According to some of these interpretations, the *terirem*

stem from prayer words, such as the Latin words *te regem* [you, the king], or the Greek *tērei roon* [keep the flow], or even a mixture of Latin and Greek: *tērei regem* [keep the king]. Similarly, the *Anane nenena* etc., may originate from the Greek *Anax anes* [king, forgive], from which comes the apēchēma *Ananes* of the Byzantine musical parallaghi – solfège; the *Tinini* from *ti tini* [what suits whom]; the *Koum* from Hebrew *koum* [get up], etc. (Vamvoudakis 1933, 353–361; Anastasiou 2005, 98-111).

Other interpretations invoke the symbolism of the "unspoken words" heard by Apostle Paul or the language of the angels, which does not correspond to any human language. Some still invoked David's Psalms, in particular, the last three Psalms – 148, 149, and 150, called *Ainoi* [Praises] – where all creation is asked to praise God. Thus, a language with meaningless syllables can accurately express both the angels and the people, animals, and celestial objects (sun, moon, and stars). In the latter case, the ancient Pythagorean meets Platonic teachings on cosmogony and the "harmony of the heavenly spheres," the planets, and the stars. According to this theory, one can discover mathematical and musical relationships in the movements of the planets, however, there, one does not encounter human speech.

The establishment and extensive use of the *kratēmata* happened during the time (fourteenth century) when the movement of "hesychasm" flourished. Silence and prayer with the "intentional speech" are a sign of spiritual perfection. The *kratēmata* with the meaningless syllables can be considered a reflection of the so-called "apophatic" theology in musical art (Peno 2006, 241–245). The value of inner communication with God is emphasized and silence is elevated to the level of "mystery," so the melodies do not need words to be considered a prayer. The *kratēmata* express the state in which the believer experiences a new world in which the "unspoken verbs" are a new transcendent reality (Peno 2018, 251).

Finally, in quite a charming interpretation of the origin of *kratēmata*, it is mentioned that they represented exactly those meaningless melodies with which Virgin Mary lulled the Christ Child (Anastasiou 2005, 119).

Of course, the simplest interpretation of their origin is that *terirem*, *nenena*, etc., are merely an imitation of the sounds of instruments, when one vocally renders a melody without using words. It is noteworthy that one can encounter dozens of such phonemes in every language (e.g. in Greek, there are over 60 of them, see: Apostolopoulos 2024, 182), and unconsciously use them in an attempt, for example, to reproduce the sound of a chord, using the consonants *t*, *r*, *n* and *l*, which are closer to describing these sounds. The corresponding technique in the Persian form, *terenum*, uses sequences such as *terela*, *yalele*, *tanini tanatiri* and the like (Kalaitzidis 2012, 242). From this set

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of phonemes, the Psaltiki has adopted a small subset (see *terirem*, *toto tororo nenena tenterirem*, etc.), in which the attempt to imitate a known sound from the natural or man-made environment can sometimes be very obvious.

In any case, the *kratēmata* were accepted and established in the Orthodox worship tradition. Already in the fifteenth century, a book called *Kratēmatarion* appeared, which included a collection of the *kratēmata* (Anastasiou 2005, 198). The *kratēmata* that are anthologized in the *kratēmataria* as autonomous compositions, that is, without including the *kratēmata* that are placed in between the parts of larger compositions as separators. From the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, they amounted to 465 – a number that could be increased with the discovery of other unknown manuscripts (Anastasiou 2005, 392).

Apart from the *kratēmata* named after the composer, the onymous tradition includes approximately seventy cases which are named in a special way, after various sources of inspiration. Among others, there are about fifteen of them named after musical instruments, e.g. *Viola* by Nikiforos Ēthikos and Koukouzelēs, as well as *Kinnyra*, *Psaltira*, *Simantiri*, *Sourlas* by various composers (Anastasiou 2005, 393–407).

Although the Orthodox tradition is strictly vocal and does not use instruments, the connection with the Psalms of David is also evident here, since the *Praises* in the Psalms are said to have been performed with drums and dancing, with cymbals, trumpets, psalteries, guitars, strings, generally with instruments, while the invitation 'to all peoples' to praise also justifies geographical or national indications (*persicon*, *frangicon*, *atzemicon*, *ismaeliticon*, etc.). Of course, names deriving from purely technical musical terms are also present (e.g. *Trochos*, *Kalofonikon*, *Pestrefi*, *Phthoricon*, etc.), as well as references to unnamed persons (*Vasileos*, *Pimikiriou*), or even names of vague reference (*Margaritis*, *Rodakinaton*, *Polemikon*). This was a common Byzantine practice which goes back to at least the mid-fourteenth century.

Kratēmata and Ornithomusicology

A rather small group consisting of ten "named" *kratēmata* bear bird names. The aforementioned theological context of the *Ainoi* in relation to musical instruments, here acquires special weight for feathered animals. Songbirds, however, have the added advantage of being gifted with the extraordinary natural ability to produce certain sounds reminiscent of music and song.

The songbirds have always been a cross-cultural source of inspiration and a primordial musical model provided by nature itself. There are about 8,700 species of birds and about half of them are classified as 'songbirds.' Of these, 200–300 have the ability to produce a variety of acoustic signals which could be

characterized as 'song' (Mâche, 1983). Some of the most common and popular songbirds, at least in Greek literature and musical tradition, are listed below:

Blackbird (in Greek: kotsifas, Turdus merula)

Ghalandra lark (in Greek: ghaliantra, Melanocorypha calandra)

Canary (in Greek: kanarini, Serinus canaria)

Common chaffinch (in Greek: spinos, Fringilla coelebs)

Cuckoo (in Greek: koukos, Cuculus canorus)

Eurasian collared dove (in Greek: dhekaochoura, *Streptopelia decaocto*)

European reed warbler (in Greek: potamidha, Acrocephalus scirpaceus)

European scops owl (in Greek: gionis, *Otus scops*) Goldfinch (in Greek: kardherina, *Carduelis carduelis*)

Great tit (in Greek: papaditsa or kalogheros, Parus major)

Hoopoe (in Greek: tsalapetinos, Upupa epops)

Mistle thrush, throstle (in Greek: tsichla, Turdus philomelos)

Nightingale (in Greek: aēdhoni, Luscinia megarhynchos)

Oriole (in Greek: floros, *Carduelis chloris*)
Owl (in Greek: koukouvaghia, *Athene noctua*)

Robin redbreast (in Greek: kokkinolemis or kaloghianos, Erithacus rubecula)

Rock partridge (in Greek: petroperdhika, Alectoris graeca)

Skylark (in Greek: korydhallos, Alauda arvensis)

Swallow, red-rumped swallow (in Greek: chelidhoni, miltochelidhono

Hirundo daurica)

Turtledove (in Greek: tryghoni, Streptopelia turtur)

Wagtail (in Greek: sousouradha, leukosoysouradha, Motacilla alba)

Starling (in Greek: psaroni or karaveli, sturnus vulgaris)

European serin (in Greek: ska(r)thi, Serinus serinus)

Jay bird (in Greek: kissa, Garrulus glandarius)

Woodpecker (in Greek: dhryokolaptis, tsiglitara, Picus major or Dendrocopos

medius)

Common linnet (in Greek: faneto, Carduelis cannabina)

Corn crake (in Greek: ortyki, Crex crex)

Eurasian golden oriole (in Greek: sykofaghos, Oriolus oriolus)

Since the topic is connected to music, the following questions have been raised: How are the sound and musical phrases of birds being produced? How did this emerge from the evolutionary standpoint? What is the biological role of bird song? If it is a language, does their song contain a coded message? Do birds know music? Did the birdsong influence humans to create music? How did the humans imitate the song of birds with musical instruments in specific musical works?

The birdsong has been the object of study in many scientific fields, including musicology. Its more specialized branches, such as biomusicology,

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zoomusicology, and ornithomusicology, as well as broader branches, such as music acoustics, or even cognitive neuroscience, evolutionary neurology, almost all the branches of linguistics (phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics), informatics, etc., can demonstrate a substantial amount of relevant research on the subject.

Songbirds have been a beloved theme in poetry and musical composition since ancient Greece. In Aristophanes's *chorica* (i.e. the musical parts of the comedy), we encounter verses that refer to imitations of bird voices. In learned texts, anonymous folk songs, as well as numerous, more recent popular or artistic songs, we find literary references, images, similes, metaphors and sometimes melodic imitations of specific birds and their song. In Psaltic hymnography, a special treatment is observed in the musical setting of words that refer to birds, in accordance with the technique of 'composing after meaning.'

There are a few dozen musical compositions named after birds (e.g. *La symphonie des oiseaux*) in many pieces of either learned or anonymous popular traditional music. Sometimes musical instruments, such as the violin, can imitate the chirping of birds. The similes of someone singing or chanting 'like a nightingale,' or having a voice like a 'sweet canary,' are very common in many traditions. There is also a Greek school song, which mentions a child asking the chaffinch (a songbird), which is his teacher, to teach him the Psaltic solemnization D(h)I, G(h)A, VOU, PA! Even in ecclesiastical tradition, we know of the adjective *kallikelados* used for a certain Saint Mēnas who was apparently a chanter. In David's Psalms, there is a verse that exhorts all beings to praise the Creator, including the birds, "Praise him [...] feathered birds."

The case of the *kratēmata* named after birds is another striking element that connects birdsong with the art of musical composition and the attempt to record the melodic phrases of certain birds.

THE NAMES OF THE KRATEMATA AND THE BIRDS

At least three birds have given their names to the ten *kratēmata*. A plausible interpretation would be that the songs of particular birds and the imitations of their twitter inspired the composers to set the corresponding *kratēma* to music, as we assume that a similar thing happened with the special sounds of certain musical instruments.

By studying the relevant compositions that were preserved in the written tradition of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts until their $ex\bar{e}g\bar{e}sis$ (transcription with analysis) using the old stenographic notation method, one

can make certain observations that amplify the original hypothesis, as well as some relevant observations regarding the whole phenomenon of the creation, establishment and dissemination of this form.

The *kratēmata* named after birds include: The *Aēdhon* or the *Aēdhonaton*, the *Potamis*, the *Anyfantis* and the *Papadopoula* or the *Papadopoulon*.

The name $A\bar{e}dhon$ makes an instant reference to the nightingale, the queen of the songbirds, and there are at least six compositions named $A\bar{e}dhon$ or $A\bar{e}dhonaton$, signed by:

- 1. Io. Koukouzelis (fourteenth century), Echos A' Plagal (Anastasiou 2005, 270).
- 2. Xenos Koronis (fourteenth century), Echos B' (Anastasiou 2005, 283).
- 3. Xenos Koronis (fourteenth century), Echos A' Plagal (Anastasiou 2005, 288).
- 4. Xenos Koronis (fourteenth century), Echos A' Plagal (other *kratēma*, Anastasiou 2005, 288 see Figures 1a and 1b).
- 5. Manouēl. Chrysafis (fifteenth century), Echos D' Plagal (Anastasiou 2005, 327).
- 6. Benediktos Episkopoulos (sixteenth century), Echos B' (Anastasiou 205, 336).

Three *kratēmata* bear the name *Potamis*. Their composers are:

- 7. Io. Lascaris (fourteenth century), Echos B' (Anastasiou 2005, 312, see Figure 2).
- 8. D. Ntamias (seventeenth century), Echos B' (Anastasiou 2005, 341).
- 9. Kosmas Varanis (seventeenth century), Echos B' (Anastasiou 2005, 348).

Potamis was a translation for the term Suzinak, chosen by Keltzanidis (1881, 164), citing a reference to Filoxenis (1868, 16). As a Macam, Suzinac belongs to the D' Plagal Echos, however, the Phthora of Echos B' connects it strongly to the Byzantine kratēma in Echos B'. Following S. Karas, Lascaris's Potamis implies the nightingale, since potamis is the name for this bird in Crete, one of the places where Ioannis Lascaris used to live (Karas 1992, 61).

Finally, *Anyfantis* is the tenth *kratēma* by Koukouzelis (fourteenth century, Echos B' Plagal; Anastasiou 2005, 272; see Figure 3). The name *Anyfantis* could refer to the rhythmic sound made by a big wooden loom while weaving. Nonetheless, in Greek bird-fauna, one finds a songbird from the *Parides* family (*Parus major*) known as *anyfantou* (female weaver), a name probably stemming from the interpretation of its song, as this particular bird family does not weave nests. It is far likelier that a recursive song pattern resembled the sound made by the loom.

To our knowledge, so far, the *kratēma Papadopoula* by Ioannis Koukouzelis (fourteenth century), Echos D' Plagal, has never been connected to birds. In manuscripts it is also found as *to Papadopoulon* or *to Papadopoulo* (Anastasiou 2005, 523; see Figure 4). The first connection to make would be to

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the surname *Papadopoulos*, under which the composer Ioannis Papadopoulos or Koukouzelis is known. Nevertheless, the distance between this and the term *Papadopoula*, a female noun indeed, or even the neuter noun *Papadopoulon* (in the Byzantine era, a young priest who usually rings the bells) forces us to seek another interpretation. The association with the name of a large and widespread songbird family, the *papaditses* or *kalogeri* or *kalogeraki* [monks], which belong to *Parus major*, like the mentioned *anyfantou*, is a hypothesis with a considerable possibility of being verified, therefore, the *Papadopoula* will be included as the eleventh *kratēma* named after a bird.

THE SET-TO-MUSIC MEANINGLESS SYLLABLES

After the names, at the next stage of the process of connecting the kratēmata to birds, what can serve as a source of information is the set-tomusic meaningless syllables. Terirem, nenena, etc., are syllables that primarily imitate the sound of musical instruments, as it would be the case if one was asked to sing a melody without using any words - they would probably use syllables like nananana tam tarararara. The dominance of the consonants t, n and r indicates the exact same source that gave us the famous terirems. By writing down the syllables used for the kratēmata, one ascertains that some of them reflect the sound made by specific objects. For instance, one finds syllables like tin tin ento ten etc. in kratēmata called Kambana [bell], or toto tororo in kratēmata named Troumpeta [trumpet]. A very common version in several kratēmata are the syllable sequences tiriri, ti ti ti, te te te and erire. All of them match birdsong sounds – especially those made by the papaditsa (Parus major, Parus ater, etc.) – and remind us of onomatopoetic names of these bird species. The sound titi, ti tsi, ti ti tsi etc. is often used to depict their twitter. In English, the papaditsa is known as the tit.

In modern Greek, two local names for *papaditsa: tetetzia* and *tetentis*, include the crucial syllable sequence *te-te*. In addition to *titi*, the sound *currr* is also close to *terrr* of the *terirems*. In Macedonia and in the region of Edessa, the name for *papaditsa* combines both sounds: *tsitsigarka*.

A final observation would be that, among the syllables in many *kratēmata* names other than those that bear a bird name, one also notices the syllables *kum kum kum* and *ke ke ke*. It is of particular interest that, especially in older manuscripts (before the seventeenth century), the *kum* syllables are written as *ku ku ku* and *ke ke ke* (see Figure 5). Presumably, there is yet another interpretation, but the similarity to the voices of the *cuckoo* or *galliform birds* is too great to be overlooked.

TRACKING OF MELODIC PATTERNS

In *kratēmata* that bear a characteristic name, it is expected that one can detect the patterns which have inspired the naming. Among the known *kratēmata* with bird names, one observes the dominance of B' or B' Plagal Echos, as only three are in A' Plagal and one in D' Plagal, which easily alternates with the B' Echos (cf. *Potamis – Suzinak* makam). The central melodic pattern of Echos B' as either Kyrios or Mesos or sometimes Plagal is *Neanes*, an apēchēma with a range of a minor soft diatonic third.

In Lascaris's *Potamis* (Karakatsanis 2000, A 250) in B' *Mesos* Echos, the thirds D(h)I – VOU, D(h)I – ZO' are dominant, while the limited range of the work restricts movements with great leaps.

In *Anyfantis* by Koukouzelis and in the transcription by Chourmouzios, the downward leap of the two voices with the sign *elaphron* appears to be impressively frequent, with 104 appearances on 10 pages of the printed edition (Karakatsanis 2007, B 43). Many of these movements are in minor thirds of B' Plagal, as, for example, VOU – NĒ, PA – ZO, KE – G(h)A (Eb – C, D – H, a – F#). Moreover, the pentachord below the Basis PA (D) is used extensively. One comes across thirds many times in bird tweets and songs, as, for instance, in the well-known *Koukos* [cuckoo], as D(h)I – VOU, D(h)I – VOU (G – E), as well as in several variations of the almost forty phrases of *Papaditsa*, as VOU – D(h)I (E – G), as NĒ – KE (c – A), etc.

In *Papadopoula* in D' Plagal by Koukouzelis (Karakatsanis 2007, B 346), what is outstanding are the frequent leaps in wide ranges, thirds, fourths, fifths, octaves, together with extensive use of the tetrachord below the basis NĒ (see Figures 6 and 7). These phrases simulate birdsong patterns which are more complex than the easily recognisable thirds. Such patterns are primarily detected in the songs of the prototypical songbirds (nightingales, canaries, goldfinches),

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however, *papaditses* also demonstrate a substantial variety of phrases. The most striking fact that provides conclusive evidence for our hypothesis, which is also portrayed visually via the notation of the Psaltikē, are the repetitions of short patterns of two or three notes not as upward or downward *pallilogies*, but as movements around the same root note, which would otherwise, especially for a modal music system such as Psaltikē, seem too monotonous.

These patterns constitute only the core of the music phrase, the initial idea of composition. The composer, after having apposed them as many times as necessary, elaborates the composition with variations and analyses. Although the notation of the manuscripts is stenographic, while the so-called *exēgesis* has analysed the patterns of the *Old Notation*, it takes little effort to see the correspondence. Even the non-analysed – explained version is a self-evident sound event for the Byzantines as well, via a mechanism called *metrophonia*. The similarity to sounds made by certain birds that, in particular, belong to the *Parides* family is striking and significant, and, since the Byzantine *parasemantikē* is actually a neumatic notation with description of the movements, sometimes the musical text looks like a frequency graph (Slater 2000, 49–65; see Figure 8).

The extensive use of such a pattern, especially in the beginning of the *kratē-ma* by Koukouzelis called *Monopnous* [the one who chants with one breath], again in B' Plagal (Karakatsanis 2007, B104), makes us wonder whether this name belongs to some unknown bird whose twitter is not interrupted by pauses so that it would sound like a stop to take a breath. This allows the addition **of one more** as the twelfth *kratēma* named after birds in the relevant list.

Epilogue

To locate the first recording of bird sounds in notation in Western European music sources, one has to go back to the seventeenth century. With the exception of a sample from the thirteenth century, where in an English song called *Sumer Is Icumen In*, there is a short imitation of the cuckoo in notation (Wikipedia 2024; see Jensen 1985, 50), many maintain that the first transcription of musical phrases of birds was made by Athanasius Kircher in the first volume of his *Musurgia Universalis* (1650, 30–31). A famous relevant image (Figure 9) displays a rooster, a chicken, a cuckoo, and a quail singing melodies that he then paints in a pentagram, while a parrot says *chaire* in Greek [cheers, hail].

However, three centuries earlier, the Byzantine composers emerged as pioneers, as they not only imitated musical phrases of some of the most characteristic birds, but also named the entire compositions after certain birds.

Based on what has been noted earlier about *kratēmata* named after instruments, it does not come as a surprise that the birdsongs function as a special,

natural (in the sense that it is not constructed by humans) musical instrument. The small group of ten or twelve *kratēmata* named after birds is therefore naturally connected to the respective group of the *kratēmata* named after instruments. The songbirds on the level of symbolic use in the church music are a popular source of inspiration for another reason. They remind us of the angels, the other 'winged' creatures, assigned the task of chanting to God. The new branch of ornithomusicology should delve into the ancient Greek texts and the Byzantine dictionaries to discover the first attempts at depicting the voices of various birds and animals phonetically in writing. Apart from these, the Byzantine fourteenth-century psaltic *kratēmata* probably include **the older document with extended written music phrases** sung by birds.

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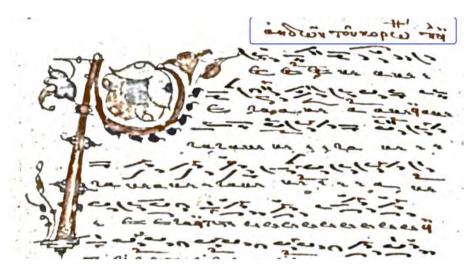


Figure 1a. The Aēdhon of Koronis. Ms. Iviron 1080, f 23v.

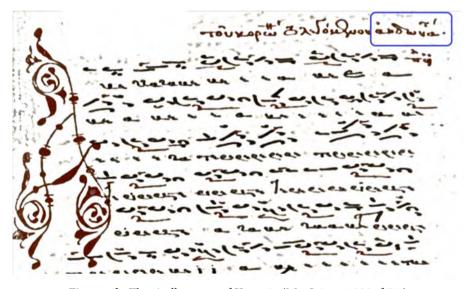


Figure 1b. The *Aēdhonaton* of Koronis (Ms. Iviron 1080, f 74r).

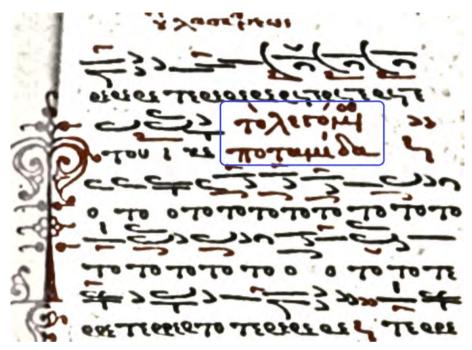


Figure 2. The *Potamis* of Laskaris (Ms. Iviron 1288, f 52v).

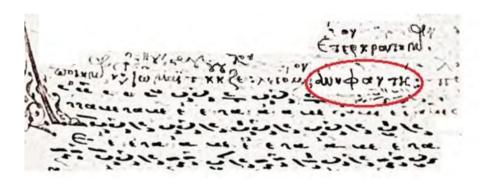


Figure 3. The *Anyfantis* of Koukouzelis (NLG 2406, f 372r).

${\bf THOMAS~APOSTOLOPOULOS} \\ {\bf THE~SONGBIRDS~AS~AN~INSPIRATION~FOR~BYZANTINE~} {\it KRAT\bar{E}MATA} \\$

The written tradition of Papadopoula

Ms NLG 2458 1336 AD.

MS NLG 2406 15TH C

MS IMRON 1288 16TH C.

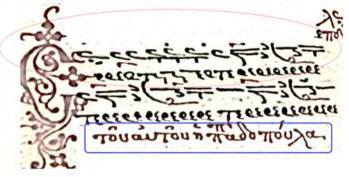


Figure 4. The *Papadopoula* (NLG 2458, f 192r; NLG 2406, f 306r; Ms. Iviron 1288, f 7v).

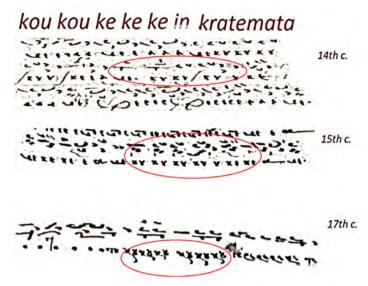
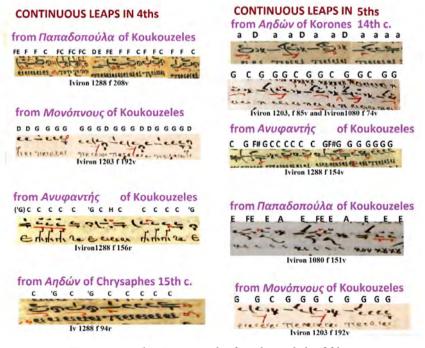


Figure 5. The syllables *ku ku* in *kratēmata* (NLG 2458 f 192v, NLG 2406 f 306r and Iviron 1080 f 74v).



Figures 6 and 7. Leaps in the fourths and the fifths. Selection of frasses by the author.

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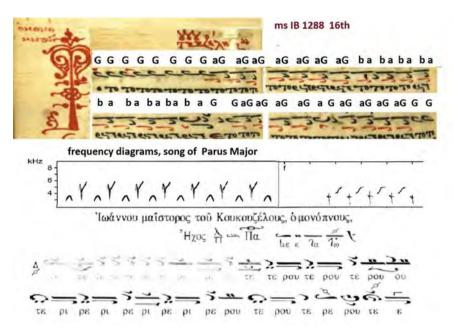


Figure 8. The monotonous *monopnous* (Ms. Iviron 1288 f 45v; Slater 2000, 49; Karakatsanis 2007, B104).



Figure 9. Five songbirds (Kircher 1650: 30–31).

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Томас Апостолопулос

Птице певачице као инспирација за византијске *кратиме*

(Резиме)

Крашиме су посебан облик византијске музике у којем је мелодија развијана према тексту заснованом на слоговима без значења. Још од византијске ере познате су *крашиме* које су назване по одређеним врстама птица. У раду полазимо од хипотезе да су композитори били надахнути певањем одређених птица при компоновању појединих *крашима*. То је била иновативна техника која је допринела подизању угледа византијске музике раног XIV века.

Рад се бави *крашимама* на основу византијских музичких рукописа и њихових транскрипција – "тумачења" у аналитичком неумском писму. Идентификују се обрасци који одговарају својеврсним "музичким" фразама птичјег певања. Анализирано је десет кратима напева. У раду се наводи да би кратиму "велику сеницу" [*Parus major*], а могуће и "монотону шеву" [*Mirafra passerina*] требало прикључити познатој листи кратима које имитирају птичји пој. Анализа доприноси новој области орнитомузикологије, која нуди иновативан поглед на византијску музику, фокусирајући се на најстарије познате музичке композиције, најпре на оне које имитирају птичје певање.

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THE STATUS OF CATHOLIC LITURGICAL MUSIC DURING THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

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Статус римокатоличке богослужбене музике у процесу Другог ватиканског концила*** Весна Сара Пено

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ABSTRACT

The study deals with historical, social, cultural, and anthropological aspects of Roman Catholic liturgical music during the Second Vatican Council. After the Council's closure, the determination of the boundary between sacred

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^{***} Рад је резултат истраживања спроведеног у Музиколошком институту САНУ, које финансира Министарство науке, технолошког развоја и иновација РС (РС-200176), као и истраживања које је мср Сања Стевановић обавила у оквиру пројекта RESILIENCE, под називом "Transnational Access Fellowship" (TNA), а у сарадњи с проф. Албертом Мелонијем [Alberto Melloni], проф. Давидеом Даинезеом [Davide Dainese] и др Масимилијаном Пројетијем [Massimiliano Proietti] из Фондације за религијске науке [Fondazione per le scienze religiose] (FSCIRE) у Болоњи. Велику захвалност дугујемо универзитетском специјалисти музикологије Мирку Јанкову [Mirko Jankov] с Умјетничке академије Свеучилишта у Сплиту, који је пружио драгоцене информације и стручну помоћ у току настанка ове студије.

and secular music was postponed indefinitely. This was significantly contributed to by the activities of the Council for the Implementation of Decisions on the Holy Liturgy, professional church musicians, and their interaction. Insights into the process of preparation, Council's decision-making, and implementation of the decisions in practice justified the need for an interdisciplinary approach in examining church music.

KEYWORDS: Second Vatican Council, Roman Catholic church music, Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia, interdisciplinarity.

Апстракт

Студија истражује историјски, друштвени, културни и антрополошки аспект римокатоличке богослужбене музике током Другог ватиканског концила. По затварању Концила, утврђивање границе између сакралне и секуларне музике одложено је на неодређено време. Овоме је значајно допринела делатност Конзилијума за спровођење одлука о Светој литургији, професионалних црквених музичара, као и њихова међусобна интеракција. Увиди у процес који се одвијао током припреме, доношења концилских одлука, и њиховог спровођења у пракси, оправдали су потребу интердисциплинарног приступа у разматрању црквене музике.

Къучне речи: Други ватикански концил, римокатоличка богослужбена музика, конзилијум, интердисциплинарност.

Увод

Вишеслојна функција музике у римокатоличкој обредној пракси и различита тумачења њеног смисла, дејства, улоге, као и (не)подобних жанрова, врста композиција, начина интерпретација и граница стваралачког дејства композитора и извођача, биле су теме које су иницирале неколике папске енциклике и у вези са којима су се расправе водиле у оквиру два крупна догађаја у западнохришћанској историји: Тридентског и Другог

¹ Тридентски сабор је, с прекидима, трајао осамнаест година, тачније од 1545. до 1563. године. У склопу заседања у Триденту, на којима су две главне теме биле појава протестантизма и обнова вере, разматрани су и тада актуелни литургијски проблеми. Покрет реформације и опште неповољне околности (необразованост и сујеверје у неким редовима римокатоличког клира, њихова подложност упливима локалних традиција и обичаја и др.)

ВЕСНА САРА ПЕНО, САЊА СТЕВАНОВИЋ

СТАТУС РИМОКАТОЛИЧКЕ БОГОСЛУЖБЕНЕ МУЗИКЕ У ПРОЦЕСУ ДРУГОГ ВАТИКАНСКОГ КОНЦИЛА

ватиканског концила.² Будући да су били сазвани с циљем разматрања тада актуелних догматских, еклисиолошких и литургијских проблема, као и механизама у примени одлука у самој пракси, ови концили су примарно, како у прошлости, тако и данас, улазили у обзор различитих теолошких анализа и дискурса.

Сагледавање енциклијских и концилских решења, а нарочито Другог Ватиканума, доприноси уједно комплетнијој музиколошкој визури статуса музике у шире схваћеном хришћанском контексту и, конкретно, тенденцијама у њеном развоју, односно покушајима реформе у новијем добу. Иако би се оправдано могло претпоставити да су интердисциплинарни музиколошко-литургијски увиди већ обезбеђени у научној литератури, ситуација је заправо сасвим другачија. Процес у којем су се креирале концилске одлуке у вези с обредном музиком остао је нетранспарентно представљен, а конкретни догађаји у атмосфери напетости, који су пратили њихово спровођење непосредно пред закључење Другог Ватиканума, јавности нису ни предочени; управо супротно, били су обавијени ћутањем. Штуре информације о томе како су текле дискусије у вези с реформом богослужења и музиком која у њему има одређену улогу пружали су понајвише новински извештаји, док су стручне расправе о спорним питањима остале скрајнуте из видокруга заинтересованих (Proietti 2023, 4).

провоцирале су тежњу ка унификовању богослужбеног обреда, која се конкретно испољила у форми концилске одредбе. Отуда, најзначајнији резултат Тридентског концила у вези с богослужбеном праксом и музиком у њеном склопу био је тзв. Тридентски мисал, познат и под називом Мисал Пија V [Misaale Romanum ex decreto ss. Consilii Tridentini restitutum, Pii V. Pont. Mac. iussu editum], који је установљен и озваничен 1570. године. Прописи Тридентског мисала били су детаљни, изникли из литургијских и етичких питања која су заузимала централно место у концилским расправама и строго су одређивали како се обред треба вршити, што је тек секундарно утицало на стварну музичку праксу. Овакав корак у правцу форматирања римокатоличке обредне праксе управо је био претходница Другог Ватиканума, на којем ће реформа богослужења, а с њом и статус музике, постати једна од централних тема. Ипак, важно је истаћи да доношење Тридентског мисала није било искључиво у односу на друге обреде праксе, те да је Тридентски концил уважио и оне мисале који су имали доказан континуитет у трајању од двеста и више година. Види у: Buckley 1851, 148; Jungmann 1951, 135–137; Adam 1993, 97; Bertoglio 2017, 382; Rostirolla 2013.

² Припрема 21. у низу концила први пут најављена је 1959. године, када је у капитуларној сали манастира Светог Павла папа Јован Павле XXIII поделио с неколицином присутних кардинала намеру о сазивању двоструког славља: Синода за Дијецезу Рима и Екуменског концила за Универзалну цркву (Ioannes Pp. XXIII. 1959a, 69; Proietti 2023, 86). Неколико месеци касније римски понтифекс обратио се хришћанској јавности путем радио-укључења, позивајући је да умножи своје молитве Богородици за предстојећи концил и сврху његовог сазивања (Ioannes Pp. XXIII 1959b, 315–316). Концил је у целини трајао три године, од 1962. до 1965. и његов главни циљ била је реформа богослужења.

Ова студија отуда има за сврху постављање основа с којег би будућа упоредна проучавања тенденција и појава у новијим православним појачким традицијама и, с друге стране, римокатоличке музике у целини, могла показати њихове разлике и сличности, као и специфичности историјских, друштвених, културних и антрополошких аспеката у њиховом развоју. Као полазна тачка послужио је последњи у низу концил у којем су у извесном степену поменуте перспективе биле под пажњом римских прелата. Освртом на прве наговештаје и покушаје реформе римокатоличког богослужења, што је уједно подразумевало и ревизионистичка настојања у домену обредне музике, анализа претприпремне и припремне фазе Другог Ватиканума и његових конкретних резултата, пружиће увид у то на који начин су разнолики менталитети у оквиру римокатоличке заједнице ближе одредили и позиционирали звук који прати молитвена сабрања њених чланова.

Покушаји литургијске и музичке реформе пре Δ ругог ватиканског концила

Статус сакралне музике у периоду Другог Ватиканума био је, према речима појединих италијанских стручњака, утемељен у литургијској обнови која је отпочела још у XIX столећу.³ Тада се, наиме, у оквиру неоцецилијанског покрета у Француској, који је предводио бенедиктинац из опатије Солем [Solesmes], Проспер Геранже [Prosper Guéranger]

Ова информација потекла је од Алберта Мелонија, еминентног стручњака у области Другог ватиканског концила, с којим је Сања Стевановић водила разговор 10. новембра 2023. године. Према његовим речима, литургијска обнова се у домену сакралне музике испољила као повратак древним напевима грегоријанског корала, због чега би реформу сакралне музике у контексту литургијске обнове и Другог Ватиканума требало сагледати у вези с основним идејама Проспера Геранжеа и (нео)цецилијанског покрета. Види и у: Melloni 2004. Из опсежне биографије професора Мелонија издвајамо неколико података: члан је Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, редовни професор на Катедри за историју хришћанства на Универзитету у Модени, секретар Фондације Јован XXIII за религијске студије с библиотекама и истраживачким центрима у Болоњи, Палерму и Венецији, главни научни саветник Европске комисије. Обавља функцију на Унесковој катедри за религијски плурализам и мир на Универзитету у Риму, координатор је Европске истраживачке инфраструктуре за религијске студије RESILIENCE. Оснивач је едиција "Politics and Holy See in the 20th Century" (Il Mulino, Bologna), "Christianity and History" (Lit, Münster), "Christianity in History" (Brill). Делао је и као главни уредник петотомне публикације "Storia del Concilio Vaticano II", координирао издања личних дневника папе Јована XXIII, приредио двотомно издање "Cristiani d'Italia". Тренутно је главни уредник критичког издања докумената великих црквених сабора у серији "Conciliorum oecumenicorum generaliumque decreta".

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(1805–1875), испољила потреба за ревитализовањем грегоријанског корала, у склопу шире реформаторске акције која је проистекла из начелне идеје повратка литургијским изворима и схватању цркве као савршеної арушшва [societas perfecta]. Требало је да обнова покаже "универзалност" и "чистоту" римске литургијске традиције у целини, те да код свих припадника римокатоличке вероисповести освести њихов заједнички идентитет. У домену богослужбене музике, пак, реформа је била иницирана уверењем да су управо музички елементи у највећој мери допринели нарушавању, тачније губитку молитвене атмосфере у централним обредима: Литургији часова – часослову [Liturgia horarum – Officium Divinum] и римској миси (O'Malley 2018, 74). Исказани став био је утемељен на чињеници да су поједине локалне музичке традиције, уз изворне грегоријанске напеве, током дужег историјског континуума лагано освајале простор храмова, те да су задобиле равноправну и легитимну позицију у богослужењима, поставши њихов интегрални део. Геранже је, сходно затеченом стању, покренуо студијски подухват у области грегоријанског појања у циљу пурификације музичких форми од профаних утицаја.4

Идеје потекле из "музичке радионице" манастира Солем преузели су и носиоци (нео)цецилијанског покрета на простору данашње Италије, који су своје активности усмерили превасходно на обнављање аутентичног грегоријанског корала и сузбијање оперских ефеката, својствених мајсторима римске школе, у вокалној полифонији (Monti 2011).

⁴ Из супротстављања тежњи ерудитског типа ка откривању локалних литургијских традиција, које су се појавиле још током XVI и XVII века, Геранже се заложио за поистовећивање термина "литургија" с хришћанским богослужењем (Proietti 2023, 22). Главни Геранжеови сарадници, важни учесници реформе црквене музике у Француској, били су литургичар Жозеф Потје [Joseph Pothier] (1835–1923) и музиколог Андре Мокеро [André Mocquereau] (1849–1930), а њихов заједнички рад резултовао је оснивањем *Schola Cantorum* у Паризу 1896. године, чиме су постављени темељи за даље ширење цецилијанског покрета (Milanović 1969, 45). Више о Геранжеовој активности у оквиру литургијског покрета видети у: O'Malley 2018; Schilson 1991; Moulinet 2017.

⁵ Кључна фигура (нео)цецилијанског покрета у Италији био је Лоренцо Перози [Lorenzo Perosi] (1872–1956), италијански композитор с титулом "доживотног коровође" у цркви Светог Петра у Риму. На ово место поставио га је папа Пијо X, а приврженост римског понтифекса Перозијевом музичком мишљењу најјасније се испољила 1903. године, објавом документа "Меđu brigama [Tra le sollecitudini]", којим ће идеје цецилијанског покрета бити значајно распрострањене у Италији. Плод садејства цецилијанаца предвођених Перозијем и папе Пија X било је оснивање "Visoke papinske škole za crkvenu glazbu" 1911. године, која ће након две деценије бити преименована у "Раріпski institut za crkvenu glazbu [Pontificium Institutum Musicae Sacrae]" (Milanović 1969, 45). Институт данас представља централну институцију за проучавање црквене музике која се налази под непосредним покровитељством римског папе. Више о Перозију види у: Milanović 1967.

Деветнаестовековни подухвати (нео)цецилијанаца у Француској и Италији били су само наставак вишевековних покушаја реформе римокатоличке богослужбене музике.⁶ Још су у далекој прошлости, у периоду између XIII и XVI столећа, различите традиције уметничке духовне музике интегрисане у римокатоличку обредну праксу и то превасходно на територији данашње Француске, Енглеске, Холандије и Италије (Adam 1993, 96). Током датог историјског раздобља, сложене композиције нове умешносши [Ars Nova], као и крајње упрошћени народни напеви на обредне текстове, нису увек одговарали претпостављеном духу богослужења. Због тога су музичарима неретко прописиване забране и претње санкцијама, у циљу сузбијања профанизације и тривијализације музичког израза који је пледирао на изазивање узвишених побожних осећања. Наметање једногласних напева грегоријанског појања од стране римокатоличке јерархије имало је за сврху очување првенствено универзалистичке доктрине коју су и сами заступали, штитећи ауторитет римског понтифекса. На полифонију и народне мелодије у обредној пракси није се увек гледало с одобравањем и због тога што је музички израз ових жанрова недвосмислено изражавао личне духовне и уметничке пориве музичара и самих верника који се често нису уклапали у наметнуте и прокламоване литургијске и естетске оквире.

С једне стране, забране увођења нових облика музичке пратње на богослужењима, мењања ритмике, мелодијских орнаментисања и других самовољних мање или више инвентивних музичких решења, и, с друге стране, санкционисање неупражњавања древних грегоријанских напева, настављени су у одлукама Тридентског сабора којим је омогућен даљи развој реформи у области сакралне музике (Buckley 1851, 147–149). Према

⁶ Услед уочљивог присуства полифоније на народном језику у римокатоличкој пракси током Средњег века, папа Јован XXII објавио је 1324. године булу под називом "Поуке светих Отаца [Docta Sanctorum Patrum]". У поменутом декрету експлицитно је назначено да, насупрот грегоријанском коралу, полифонија као музичка форма не подстиче побожност верника, већ их "духовно замара, испуњава дрскошћу и уводи у раскалашност" (Роре John XXII. п. d., 1). Надаље, током XVI века, римски понтифекси предузимали су конкретне реформистичке акције у оквиру тзв. "папских капела", с циљем одвраћања црквених музичара од извођења секуларних композиција, те наметања сопствених визија о сакралној музици (Bertoglio 2017, 396).

⁷ Поред забрањивања ласцивних, разузданих, нечистих елемената у сакралним мелодијама, као и употребе полифоније у женским самостанима, одредбе Тридентског концила поставиле су разумљивост и уравнотеженост текста за једини параметар којим су се црквени музичари могли руководити. Овај правац највише је тежила испратити Римска школа предвођена Палестрином [Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina] (1525/1526–1594), формирајући специфичан црквеномузички стил назван строги [stylus gravis], који ће од XVII века изнова бити прожет карактеристикама и елементима световне музике као што су

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појединим стручним увидима, догађај Тридентског концила се, међутим, показао неуспешним на плану ревизије ондашњег стања. Чињеница да је овај догађај умањио улогу музике, прописујући првенствено разне врсте декрета, без конкретних препорука везаних за очекивани стил сакралне музике, показује да је римокатоличким перитусима недостајао увид у то да музика, музичко стваралаштво и извођаштво могу успешно дејствовати у домену изграђивања побожности и идентитета. С друге стране, управо овакво настојање додатно је провоцирало акције реформаторске струје (Bertoglio 2017, 382).

Као ни концил у Триденту, тако ни потоња, а претходно поменута реформа (нео)цецилијанаца у XIX столећу није имала трајније ефекте. Главни разлог је био тај што није било живе музичке традиције – усменог предања у интерпретацији грегоријанских мелодија изван малобројне скупине Геранжеових следбеника. Додатни, ништа мање значајни разлог треба видети у дубоко увреженом музичком укусу који је, на уштрб сведеног звука грегоријанског корала, предност давао помпезном музичком стилу у којем се огледала особита симбиоза театралног и религијског духа (O'Malley 2018, 77; Monti 2011, 598).8

Покушаји да римокатолички верници активније учествују на богослужењима били су саставни део просветитељских тенденција и на почетку XX века, када се поред основног описмењавања пастве, упоредо радило и на њиховом, условно речено, елементарном литургијском васпитању и то управо посредством музике која је у датом тренутку била блиска њиховом уху.9

индивидуална осећајност у тумачењу текста и концертантни стил и учестововање више хорова у интерпретацији дате обредне композиције (Adam 1993, 97). Треба имати у виду, такође, да Тридентски сабор није имао за крајњи циљ реформисање сакралне музике, већ реформу схватања исте унутар црквене реформације. Следствено томе, концилска пажња није била усмерена ка естетским, стилским или практичним детаљима, због чега се уочљиви дисконтинуитети на композиционо-техничком плану, између предтридентских и посттридентских црквених композиција, не могу директно и искључиво приписати концилским акцијама (Bertoglio 2017, 388).

⁸ (Нео)цецилијанци су, према увидима стручњака, превидели чињеницу да је кључ за успешност реформе морао подразумевати ослушкивање свеукупних музичких искустава, дакле, не искључиво црквеномузичке праксе (Monti 2011, 601). О цецилијанском покрету видети више у: Monti, Ruini 2004; Bombi 2013.

⁹ Једна од централних фигура просветитељског таласа био је дон Ђовани Мелхиоре Боско [Giovanni Melchiorre Bosco] (1815–1888), римокатолички свештеник посвећен образовању младих чија се педагогија одликовала извесном особеношћу. Његови ученици били су већином сиромашни млади људи, подложни пороцима, за које је он основао верско-образовно друштво, названо по Фрањи Салешком. У оквиру ове организације, која ће се касније преобразити у салезијанска братства, музика је била један од основ-

Обнова сакралне музике, а с њом и целокупног римокатоличког богослужења, добила је нови замах објавом документа "Меđu brigama [Tra le sollecitudini]" Пија X, који је јавности предочен симболично, 22. новембра 1903. године, када се у римокатоличком црквеном календару обележава спомен Свете мученице Цецилије, заштитнице римокатоличких црквених музичара (Ріјо X 1903). Иако у датом тренутку ни овај документ није имао дубљег утицаја на богослужбеномузичку праксу, ипак је допринео да се принципи литургијске обнове прошире изван оквира мале и одабране групе присталица неоцецилијанских реформатора.

Из актуелне перспективе, документ "Tra le sollecitudini" показује се првим правим програмом литургијског покрета којим је јавно промовисано активно учествовање лаоса у обредним ритуалима (Proietti 2023, 23). Будући да се хришћански дух може стећи једино у литургијском учествовању, препород сакралне музике овим документом чврсто је повезан са самим литургијским чином. У првом члану овог папског акта указује се на то да је сакрална музика саставни део свечане литургије у којој се прославља Бог и освећују верници, те, самим тим, она мора бити, и у својој суштини и у свим појавним формама, сакрална.

них и неопходних образовних медија. Руководећи се идејом давања слободе младима уз постављање једног услова – да не греше, дон Боско сматрао је да се посредством сакралне музике преноси вера. Отуда је за младе дон Боскове питомце музика била део њихове свакодневице, што је подразумевало да њоме буде обухваћена и сфера световне музике. Следствено реченом, салезијанска друштва неговала су и "музичке бендове" састављене од лимених дувача и перкусија, који су своју улогу испуњавали и у сусретима с римокатоличким поглаваром (Monti 2011, 599–600).

 $^{^{10}}$ Документ "Tra le Sollecitudini" настао је као резултат интервенције папског Магистеријума из XIX века. Пије X је поменутим документом указао на потребу оживљавања достојанства и вредности литургијског славља, као и на потребу за обновом црквене музике и грегоријанског појања. "Tra le Sollecitudini" најавио је и схватање Литургије као првог и нужног врела из којег верници треба да црпе прави хришћански дух, а које ће Конституција о Сакралној литургији у оквиру Другог ватиканског концила потврдити својим 14. чланом (Pasqualetti 2012, 856; Konstitucija 1963).

¹¹ "Doista vruće želimo, da pravi kršćanski duh u svakom pogledu nanovo procvate i u srcima se vjernika uzdrži; zato je od potrebe, te se nada sve brinemo za svetinju i dostojanstvo crkve Božje, u kojoj se vjernici upravo i sastaju, da crpe spomenuti duh iz njegova najodličnijega vrela, naime iz učestvovanja kod svetih tajna te javnih i svečanih molitava Crkve" (Pijo X 1903).

¹² Члан 2 "Tra le sollecitudini" експлицитно сугерише: "Zato je potrebno da sveta glazba imade ista svojstva, što ih ima i sama liturgija, to jest u prvom redu svetost i prikladnost umjetničkog oblika, a otale izvire i treća vlastitost: općenitost crkvene glazbe. Budući da sveta glazba treba da bude sveta, valja od nje udaljiti ne samo sve ono, što je god profano samo po sebi, nego i sve, što je profano po načinu, kojim je izvode glazbenici. Sveta glazba treba da k tomu bude prava umjetnost, jer inače ne bi mogla da u onoj mjeri utječe na duh onih, koji je slušaju, u kojoj to mjeri želi Crkva da se zbiva, kad je dozvolila da umjetnost zvukova sudjeluje u liturgiji. No ujedno treba da crkvena glazba bude i općenita. Dopušteno je doduše svakom pojedinom

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Централним музичким жанром именовано је грегоријанско појање, као оно које једино има везу са староримским црквенопојачким предањем. ¹³ Будући да је универзалан и "чист" музички медиј, грегоријанско појање означено је као модел према којем би требало да се управљају све остале духовне композиције. ¹⁴

Будући да су појмови универзалности и чистоте форме у спрези с лепим и добрим, "Tra le sollecitudini" потврдио је и естетску функцију полифоније, ¹⁵ као и приврженост звуку оргуља и других инструмената у богослужењу. Показана је, такође, и отвореност за присуство модернијег звука напевима који обред прате уз недвосмислени став да је "позоришни музички тип" апсолутно неадекватан за дух мисе. ¹⁶

Основна обележја сакралне музике прокламована у оквиру поменуте уредбе папе Пија X, потврђена су и у званичним документима који су испунили период до отпочињања Другог Ватиканума. Важност разматрања карактеристика сакралне музике у контексту њене непосредне повезаности с литургијским питањима препозната је и у апостолској конституцији о литургији и литургијском певању "Воžanskog kulta [Divini

narodu da u crkvenim kompozicijama primjenjuje one posebne glazbene oblike, koji označuju naročitu značajku njegovog glazbenog shvaćanja. Ali sve to valja da u toj mjeri bude podređeno općenitim vlastitostima svete glazbe, te nijedan pripadnik drugih naroda, kad to čuje, ne bude neugodno dirnut" (Pijo X 1903, чл. 2).

¹³ Треба имати у виду да упркос настојању да се грегоријански корал наметне као општеважећа црквенопојачка традиција, монолитна музичка пракса у римокатоличкој екумени никада није постојала, нити је могла бити остварена, будући да ни римски обред, као такав, није представљао једини богослужбени обред у оквиру римокатоличке заједнице.

¹⁴ Својим трећим чланом документ објављује: "Stoga je oduvijek gregorijansko pjevanje bilo smatrano kao najviši uzor svete glazbe, te se prema tomu može s pravom postaviti opće pravilo da je neka glazbena kompozicija [una composizione per chiesa], koja služi Crkvi, to više sveta i liturgijska, što se više svojim duhom, shvaćanjem i inspiracijom [nell'andamento, nella ispirazione e nel sapore] približuje gregorijanskom napjevu; nasuprot je to manje dostojna Božjega hrama, što se više udaljuje od ovog najvišeg uzora" (Pijo X 1903, чл. 3).

¹⁵ У римокатоличким црквеним документима термин "polifonia classica" односи се на полифоне композиције вокалног типа, настале под окриљем тзв. Римске школе у периоду од касног XV до раног XVII века (Swain 2012, 120). С тим у вези, у документу се посебно истиче да се модел идеалне полифоније може пронаћи у Римској школи која је у XVI веку постигла врхунац савршенства у делима Ђованија Пјерлуиђија да Палестрине. Документ налаже да се класична полифонија [polifonia classica] треба утврдити на свечаностима, посебно у најзначајнијим базиликама, катедралним црквама, црквама у оквиру семинарија и инстутута, тамо где обично не недостају потребна музичка средства (Ріјо X 1903, чл. 4).

¹⁶ Централни проблем лоциран је у симбиози профаног и сакралног, а услед тога изразито је умањена присутност соло деоница, тзв. "теноризма", у хорским деоницама (Ріјо X 1903, чл. 5, 6, 12).

Cultus]" из 1928, и у енциклици "О сакралној музици [Musicae Sacrae]" из 1955. године. Поменута документа, како је у њима назначено, нису донела одредбе усмерене на успостављање естетских и техничких правила, већ само оне које се тичу очувања достојанства сакралне музике (Ріјо XI 1928, чл. 3; Ріus XII 1955, чл. 21).

Према апостолској конституцији "Divini Cultus" смисао реформе сакралне музике је у постизању заједничког учествовања свих окупљених на богослужењу, јер су заједничке молитве ("Opus Dei" или "Officium divinum") свакодневна дужност хришћана (Pijo XI 1928, чл. 2). Како би се литургија очувала у свим њеним сегментима (Pijo XI 1928, чл. 3; Pius XII 1955, чл. 42), Конгрегација за обреде је 1958. године издала опсежну инструкцију "О сакралној музици и светој литургији [De Musica Sacra et sacra liturgia]", обезбедивши тако општа упутства у реализацији датих захтева. Инструкција је понудила дефиниције, појашњења и смернице у спровођењу одлука папског Магистеријума. У склопу тога, наведени су музички жанрови којима се одобрава примена у богослужењу: "Pod imenom 'sveta glazba' – 'Musica sacra', ovdje se podrazumijevaju: a. Grgurovsko pjevanje; b. Sveta polifonija; c. Suvremena sveta glazba' d. Sveta glazba za orgulje; e. Pobožno pučko pjevanje; f. Pobožna glazba" (De musica sacra 1958, I).

Одступање од основних постулата литургијске обнове у погледу одобравања различитих типова музике подстакнуто је ставовима папе Пија XII, који је у енциклики "Мизісае Sacrae" препознао вредност различитих западних музичких традиција, попут амброзијанског, галиканског, мозарапског и других врста певања, препоручујући да се оне сачувају и надаље негују (Pius XII 1955, чл. 50–51). Процењено је да су полифоне духовне композиције временом прочишћене од профаних елемената, те да за њихово искључивање из богослужења нема оправдања (Исто, чл. 54–55). Позитивну рецепцију привукле су и композиције за оргуље и друге инструменте. Приврженост вокалноинструменталним делима појашњавала се њиховим доприносом "dostojanstvu, veličanstvenosti i neverovatnom bogatstvu" сакралном музичком репертоару уопште (Исто, чл. 15–16).

Религијске химне на народном језику такође су препознате као медиј који подстиче активније суделовање верника у молитвама. Обухваћене називом "pobožno pučko pjevanje", оне су као одраз специфичних менталитета

¹⁷ Према објашњењу из Инструкције, савремена света музика је "glazba, koja se sastoji iz više glasova, ne isključujući ni glazbala, a skladana je u novije vrijeme prema napretku muzičke umjetnosti. Budući da je određena za neposrednu liturgijsku upotrebu, mora se odlikovati pobožnošću i vjerskim osjećajima, pa je pod tim uvjetom i primljena u službu liturgije" (De musica sacra 1958, I).

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и темперамената појединачних националних група римокатоличких верника, укључене у тзв. "певани", али не и у "свечани" тип мисе, у којем су се могле наћи само уз одобрење папе (Pius XII 1955, чл. 62, 64–66).

Енциклика "Musicae Sacrae" Пија XII успоставила је јасно разликовање између земаља у којима је римокатоличко вероисповедање већ било утврђено, од оних у којима је поменуто тек требало да уследи. Наиме, у народима који су били под пројектом мисије препоручено је да се уважи њихова актуелна музичка пракса, а било је потребно да се она преусмери и преобликује у складу с римокатоличким вероисповедањем. Од самих мисионара захтевало се да покажу разумевање и наклоност за тако обликовану појаву религијске музике коју негују поверени им људи, а која је у Инструкцији именована као "ровоžna glazba".

Полазне премисе и резултати музичке реформе у оквиру Другог ватиканског концила

Са оваквом предисторијом у погледу статуса обредне музике отпочела је званична припрема Другог ватиканског концила, средином 1959. године. Установљена је најпре Претприпремна комисија [Commisione Antepraeparatoria] и било је потребно да она сабере и дефинише све теме којима ће се учесници Другог Ватиканума бавити. На челу с кардиналом Домеником Тардинијем [Domenico Tardini], ову комисију чинили су изабрани прелати Римске курије, а њено формирање представљало је увод у састављање низа аката и устава који ће произаћи из спроведених истраживања, али и из ослушкивања гласа "свих земаљских језика [tutte le lingue della terra]" (Ioannes PP. XXIII 1959c, 420).

С објавом документа "Божјом натприродном вољом [Superno Dei nutu]" из 1960. године, у наставку су формиране специјалистичке намене припремне комисије, у чијем су се саставу, поред чланова Курије, кардинала, бискупа и других клерикалних службеника, нашли и саветници из различитих професија, припадници различитих народа.

Припремна комисија за сакралну литургију [Commissione liturgica preparatoria]¹⁸ бавила се конкретно анализом и даљим разматрањем већ започете литургијске реформе. Прва сесија овог тела, планирана за 12.

¹⁸ Формација и рад Припремне комисије за сакралну литургију представља кључну и одлучујућу тачку за будући период. У њој су тестирани механизми рада на хетерогеној групи сачињеној од бискупа и стручњака из различитих земаља. Анибале Буњини [Annibale Bugnini] (1912–1982), секретар Припремне комисије, развио је рад Претприпремне литургијске комисије на методи којом се настојала осигурати њена делотворност у постконцилској фази (Proietti 2023, 315).

новембар 1960. године, најављена је писмом генералног секретара свих припремних комисија Анибала Буњинија, који је овим путем предочио кључне проблеме који су били у средишту пажње већине чланова Концила. Како се из поменутог писма може видети, изнова се, након свих претходно поменутих покушаја канонизације богослужбеног репертоара, жанрова и музичких стилова, поставило питање која је врста сакралне музике заправо подобна простору храма и шта би у њу требало бити интегрисано (AFSCIRE, FBrg 6). Поново је постављен захтев за очувањем аутентичности грегоријанског напева, уз очигледну потребу да се исти прилагоди постојећим околностима у мањим парохијама, где нема едукованих појаца. Наметнуло се опет преиспитивање оправданости иницијативе да се из богослужбене праксе у потпуности изостави полифона музика. Напослетку, међу предлозима који су се нашли пред члановима Комисије, нашао се и онај који се тицао ограничавања народних религијских напева, на литургијске, као и на паралитургијске текстове. Разматрано је и то да ли је ова врста мелоса и њихових интерпретација у складу са званичним литургијским прописима, те да ли их је уопште оправдано подвести под целину сакралне музике.

Иако су чланови Комисије за сакралну литургију подробно анализирали наведене теме, ¹⁹ били су свесни да ће рецепција њихових дискусија

¹⁹ У извештају са седница Комисије за Сакралну литургију прибележена је и дебата вођена између литургичара Еме-Жоржа Мартимора [Aimé-Georges Martimort] и музиколога Ихинија Англеса [Higinio Anglés] о терминологији употребљеној у предложеној дефиницији грегоријанског појања: "'Grgurovsko' pjevanje, koje se ima upotrebljavati u liturgijskim činima, jest sveto pjevanje rimske Crkve, koje je po staroj i časnoj predaji, sveto i vjerno usavršeno i uređeno, ili u novija vremena prema uzorima stare predaje usklađeno, predano na liturgijsku upotrebu u odgovarajućim knjigama, koje je odobrila Sv. Stolica. Narav grgurovskog pjevanja ne zahtijeva, da se izvodi uz pratnju orgulja ili kojega drugoga glazbala" (De musica sacra 1958). За Мартимора понуђена дефиниција била је неадекватна, с археолошким призвуком. Како се у предањској пракси Латинске цркве могао уочити постепени развој мелодија у складу с актуелним литургијским потребама и развојем музичког стила, отуда су се и старе и нове композиције (које је Римокатоличка црква одобрила као одговарајуће) могле именовати грегоријанским појањем. Због тога, према Мартимору, дефиниција грегоријанског појања не може обухватати једино древне напеве. Англесов став о овој примедби био је другачији. Имајући за полазиште "академска" начела, сматрао је неопходним да Црква пружи дефиниције које могу парирати научним и практичним потребама, које притом одговарају савременом стању музикологије. Према његовом мишљењу, грегоријанско појање не може обухватити нове једногласне мелодије у духу старих грегоријанских напева, већ новитет могу бити само текстови према којима су уклопљене аутентичне, древне грегоријанске мелодије. У вези с датом изјавом, саговорници су подсетили Англеса да је једна од богослужбено употребљаваних миса потекла из пера Жозефа Потјеа [Joseph Pothier] који је заједно с неоцецилијанцима XIX и XX века радио на реконструкцији грегоријанских напева. Када је реч о полифоној

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током концилских заседања бити неизвесна, о чему сведоче изводи из записника са седница: "Ово су научна питања. Ми расправљамо, а Оци Сабора – шта ће учинити? [...] Проблеми о којима говоримо су многобројни и значајни, али ко ће их од концилских отаца у потпуности сагледати?" (AFSCIRE, FBrg 43).

Неоптимистична предвиђања показала су се тачним. Првим у низу објављених докумената Другог ватиканског концила – Конституцијом о светој литургији [Sacrosanctum Concilium], формално је, већ крајем 1963. године, заокружен рад на литургијској обнови и позиционирању сакралне музике (Konstitucija 1963). Треба имати у виду да је овај акт стављен у примену пре његовог озваничења како би се у пракси показала оправданост, односно неоправданост у њему прокламованих начела. Овако осмишљен експеримент, за који се очекивало да ће деловати као спонтани процес, наметнуле су прилике у којима се од почетка одвијао Други Ватиканум.

Наиме, различите фракције и супротна гледишта у вези с литургијском реформом, у којој је било неопходно ближе одредити значај и функцију литургијске музике, испољене су већ у иницијалној фази. Оне су управо изнудиле почетком 1964. године, поред постојеће Конгрегације за обреде – институционалног органа Римске курије [Congregatio de Cultu Divino], оснивање засебног тела – Конзилијума за спровођење Конституције о Сакралној литургији [Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia]. Примарни задатак овог тела било је осмишљавања мера на основу којих ће се на новим основама реализовати обнова

музици, на састанцима Комисије искристалисала се потреба да вишегласни напев Sanctus-а [Свјат], буде усклађен с основном намером литургијске реформе – да се подстакне активно учешће верника у миси. Полифона музичка форма призната је као изузетна, али су признати и њени недостаци оличени у чињеници да у прошлости верни народ на миси није могао певати, као и да је прокламовање Божје речи било отежано, будући да су се гласови мешали. Поједини чланови Комисије предлагали су правац којим би целокупна разнородна црквеномузичка традиција и даље остала у примени. Отуда је сматрано да би требало да и Концил прихвати и народно певање као део литургијског певања, али уз очување грегоријанског латинског напева, управо у циљу бољег разумевања молитвених текстова и учешћа народа у певању (AFSCIRE, FBrg 43; FBrg 45).

Доношењем Конституције завршила се прва и отпочела друга етапа у трајању Концила.
 Рад Конзилијума озваничен је објављивањем документа "Сакрална литургија [Sacram Liturgiam]" (Proietti 2023, 316–317). Сама Конгрегација била је задужена за одобрење,

Liturgiam]" (Proietti 2023, 316–317). Сама Конгрегација била је задужена за одобрење, односно неодобрење предлога Конзилијума, с тим да је одлучујућу и коначну реч имао римски папа. Конзилијум је, такође, имао задатак да осмисли начин којим би се све концилске одлуке спровеле у пракси. У раду ове формације најдоследније се може пратити рецепција саборских одлука, уједно и антиципација постконцилијарне примене донетих закључака (Исто, 10–11).

литургијског живота у римокатоличком свету. Требало је да Конзилијум послужи као својеврсни "бајпас" између свих учесника Концила и извршног органа концилских одлука – Римске курије, на челу с римским папом. Чланови Конзилијума преносили су клерикалном врху идеје и интенције које су римокатолички бискупи из целога света заступали, указујући и на атмосферу у којој су дискусије вођене. Они су уједно представницима локалних црквених заједница издавали налоге Курије, укључујући их у реализацију предвиђених мера реформе.²²

Имплементирање одредаба Конституције о Сакралној литургији трајало је неколико година, тачније, све до 1969. године, када је Конзилијум дефинитивно спојен с Конгрегацијом за обреде и када је коначно објављен Нови поредак мисе [Novus Ordo Missae] (Paul VI 1969).²³ Но, шта је довело до одлагања примене овог званичног акта, под каквим је притисцима он уобличен и да ли је њиме заиста постигнута литургијска обнова на хришћанском Западу? Да ли је, пре свега, Конституција донела било какву новину у тумачењу сакралне музике и њене обредне улоге?

Указивањем најпре на значај мелодијског произношења молитава, о чему говори Свето писмо и светоотачко предање, у првим члановима поглавља "О сакралној музици" унутар Конституције истакнуто је да "bogoslužni čin poprima plemenitiji oblik kad se službe Božje svečano slave pjevanjem uz prisutnost svetih služitelja i naroda koji u njima djelatno sudjeluje" (Konstitucija 1963, чл. 113). Међутим, сам процес реформе у домену богослужбене музике је, како се из непосредног наставка датог документа може видети, враћен на полазне позиције. Иако је на почетку истакнуто да је важно јасно профилисати оно што чини свечани "музички декор" богослужења, идеја о поларитету сакралних и профаних музичких елемената прокламованим одредбама евидентно је ослабљена.

Наиме, насупрот залагањима чланова Припремне комисије (из иницијалне фазе Другог Ватиканума) да се прецизирају особине музичких жанрова које их квалификују за богослужбену примену, до тога није дошло. Формално јесте поновљен званични став према којем се грегоријанско појање сматра "vlastitim rimskoj liturgiji", због чега оно задржава

²² Било је предвиђено да главни партнери Конзилијума буду тзв. бискупске конференције, уз неопходно укључивање ординаријата (локалне црквене власти одређене бискупије), о чему сведоче први записници с концилских заседања, као и документа Међународне литургијске радионице (Proietti 2023, 316).

²³ Поредак мисе према римској богослужбеној традицији налази се у Римском мисалу – богослужбеној књизи која је првенствено намењена служитељу, будући да је у њој дефинисан редослед литургијских радњи, уз садржај прописаних текстова за мисе током целе литургијске године.

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главно место у богослужењима, али је, са друге стране, тај исти напев изједначен са свим осталим видовима обредне музике која је у својој разноликости неоспорно већ постала традиционална. Притом, ни овог пута нису прецизирани критеријуми шта различите жанрове чини одговарајућим у поспешивању молитвене атмосфере: "Druge vrste sakralne glazbe, osobito polifonija, nikako se ne isključuju iz bogoslužnih slavlja, ako odgovaraju duhu liturgijskoga čina [...] Neka se mudro njeguje pučko vjersko pjevanje tako da glasovi vjernika mogu odzvanjati u pobožnim i svetim vježbama te u samim liturgijskim činima" (Исто, чл. 116, 118). Равноправни статус додељен је и локалним музичким традицијама, с већ познатим објашњењем да је процењено да се њиховим посредством може остварити ефикаснија верска мисија: "Kako se, pak, u nekim krajevima, osobito u misijskima, nalaze narodi koji imaju svoju vlastitu glazbenu predaju koja ima veliko značenje za njihov vjerski i društveni život, neka se i prema toj glazbi ima dužno poštovanje te joj se dade odgovarajuće mjesto, kako u oblikovanju njihova vjerskoga osjećaja tako i u bogoštovlju prilagođenom njihovu duhu" (Исто, чл. 119). Ни најмањи искорак није учињен ни у примени инструменталне музике: "Orgulje [...] sa sviralama kao tradicionalno glazbalo čiji zvuk može crkvenim ceremonijama dodati divan sjaj, a srca snažno uzdići k Bogu i k uzvišenim stvarima" изнова су потврђени као прихватљив начин духовног изграђивања верника (Исто, чл. 120). Под извесну предострожност стављена је употреба других инструмената, то јест за њихову примену требало је обезбедити сагласности надлежне власти одређене територијалне бискупије. На концу, подстицај стваралачкој композиторској активности у сфери обредног звука додатно је добио на значају: "Skladatelji, prožeti krišćanskim duhom, osjećaju [se, prim.] pozvanima njegovati sakralnu glazbu te povećavati njezino blago" (Исто, чл. 121).

Подржавањем развоја музичког образовања, како у редовима будућих чланова клира, тако и верника, посебно млађих генерација, испољена је тежња ка укидању строге границе између професионалног и лаичког партиципирања у извођењу богослужбене музике. У ту сврху Конституцијом је прописано да се "cijeni poučavanje i prakticiranje glazbe u bogoslovijama, redovničkim novicijatima obaju spolova,²⁴ u studijskim

²⁴ Препорука да у обредно музичко образовање укључе, поред мушкараца, и припаднице женског пола, како би учествовале у богослужбеном певању, представља новину у односу на дотадашња званична усмерења. Изузев одредбе Тридентског концила којом се, како је већ поменуто, забрањивала полифонија у женским самостанима, документ "Divini Cultus" одредио је ко може изводити полифоне композиције у богослужењу: "Želimo svima, na koje to spada, preporučiti pjevačke zborove [Capelas musicorum], koji su u neku ruku nasljednici starih škola, te u većim bazilikama imadu poglavito svrhu, da se bave polifonijskom

kućama te u ostalim katoličkim zavodima i školama; a da bi se ta izobrazba postigla, neka se brižljivo školuju učitelji koji će voditi nastavu sakralne glazbe. [...] Preporučuje se da se prema prilikama osnivaju i viši zavodi za sakralnu glazbu. Glazbenicima, pak, i pjevačima, a osobito djeci, neka se pruži ispravna liturgijska poduka" (Konstitucija 1963, чл. 115). Симбиоза музичке и катихетске едукације најлакше је могла да се спроведе унутар мешовитих хорова, како већих, тако и мањих вокалних састава. На њиховом репертоару требало је да се превасходно нађу напеви чије мелодијске карактеристике нису ближе описане, осим што је у Конституцији назначено да текстуални предлошци морају бити у складу с римокатоличком науком. Поред реченог, смисао активирања верника као хорских певача био је у томе да се постигне њихово делатно учешће на миси и другим обредима, што је, како је више пута већ речено, био један од главних циљева свеукупне литургијске обнове (Исто, чл. 114). Да је потреба за суделовањем пастве у богослужењу заиста виђена као услов повратка на предањске литургијске изворе јасно је из члана Конституције у којем се наводи да се у циљу присаједињења потенцијалних "обраћеника" мора поштовати њихова традиционална музика, чијим се посредством обликује жељени верски осећај. У ту сврху предочено је да се спрам локалних музичких пракси едукују сами римокатолички мисионари (Konstitucija 1963, чл. 119).

Описаним одредбама Конституције претходиле су бројне расправе које су се одвијале на више нивоа, а у чијем су средишту била два кључна проблема: учешће народа у литургијском певању и језик на којем ће се певана богослужења произносити. Треба рећи и то да је непосредно по оснивању Конзилијума објављена Инструкција о примени литургијских одлука [Inter Oecumenici] (Consilium 1964, чл. 4), у склопу које је, између осталог, постављен захтев за појачко-текстуалним јединством у обредној пракси.²⁵ Инсистирање на проактивном уделу у миси сваког члана

glazbom. Budući da sveta polifonija s pravom zauzima drugo mjesto iza gregorijanskoga pjevanja, Mi vrlo želimo, da se takvi pjevački zborovi, koji su bili u cvatu od XIV. do XVI. vijeka, i danas obnove, osobito tamo, gdje često i opširno bogoslužje traži veći broj i izbor pjevača. Neka se podignu dječački zborovi ne samo u većim crkvama i katedralama, nego i u manjim i župnim crkvama. Dječake neka u pravilnom pjevanju poučavaju učitelji tako, da se njihovi glasovi, po starom običaju Crkve, sjedine sa zborovima muškaraca, naročito onda, kada treba, kao nekada, da ih se upotrebi za najviši glas u polifoničkoj glazbi, koji je prozvan cantus. Iz njihova je kruga, osobito u XVI. vijeku, proizašao mnogi vješti polifonijski glazbenik, kako je poznato, a između njih je prvi Ivan Petar Alojzije Palestrina" (Pijo XI 1928, чл. 5).

²⁵ Појачко-текстуална симбиоза одувек се сматрала идеалом сакралне музике који се, међутим, различито интерпретирао у односу на дате друштвене и историјске околности. У том смислу би поновно истицање овог принципа, у односу на дотадашњи репертоар

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литургијске заједнице, изместило је све првобитно изнете идеје о томе каква сакрална музика треба да буде како би на најадекватнији начин "украшавала амбијент храма". Чланови Конзилијума и Конгрегације римске курије, па и сам папа, користили су сваку прилику да, у писаном или усменом обраћању јавности, нагласе важну функцију заједничког певања у богослужењу.

Дата мера је уједно у средиште пажње поставила оправданост вековима утврђеног латинског језика као "службеног" језика латинског богослужења. Наиме, ревизија у правцу умањења пасивне улоге лаика је, кроз инсистирање на народним одговорима на свештеничке прозбе, као и певању химни и појединих делова из Мисала на народном језику, отворила пут ка новим полемикама. ²⁶ Јединствени идентитет свеукупне римокатоличке заједнице је након изражених *pro et contra* ставова у вези с овим питањима дефинитивно сведен у ужи план – у појединачне народне и културне идентитете. Дату појаву, која је посебно у круговима конзервативно настројених чланова Концила изазвала негодовања, пратило је упоредо и незадовољство певача едукованих у специјалним школама духовне вокалне уметности [schola cantorum].

"Судар светова" показао се у пуном интензитету када су се поводом поменутих тема у расправе укључили професионални музичари, и сами активни учесници у обредима. Већина је заступала гледиште да је литургијско музицирање својеврсни декор ритуала, те да превасходно улази у домен уметности. Самим тим сматрали су да избор мелодијског репертоара и начина интерпретације потпада под одговорност наменски

сакралне музике, требало разумети у контексту могућности мењања парадигме, у оквиру које се сада на другачији/нов начин тумачи црквена музика. Наиме, иако је конзервативна црквена струја и даље сматрала музику за "понизну слушкињу Литургије", значајан број концилских перитуса размишљао је на другачији начин. Један од њих, литургичар Јозеф Пашер [Joseph Pascher], отворено се супротстављао предлогу изједначавања сакралне музике са "слушкињом Литургије", сматрајући да и музика чини саму Литургију. Стога је, према његовим речима, изразито важно неговати свакодневну пастирску – мисионарску службу, која непосредно утиче на литургијско певање. На овој линији мишљења, према којем се сакрална музика доживљава као сама Литургија, нашло се и уверење фратра Кипријана Вагађинија [Сіргіапо Vagaggini]: "Међу општим принципима мора се потврдити неопходност подвргавања, тачније прилагођавања сакралне музике живом учешћу верника [у Литургији]" (AFSCIRE, FBrg 43).

²⁶ Конституција је оставила простор за преводе одређених богослужбених текстова (превасходно литургијских састава мисала, али и других врста тзв. "чтенија", молитава, па и певаних химни), с тим да је право одлучивања по овим питањима припало надлежној територијалној бискупској власти (Konstitucija 1963, чл. 36). Треба имати у виду да је оваква тенденција у римокатоличкој литургијској пракси одувек представљала идеал који, међутим, из низа разлога током дуге историје није било могуће ни изблиза реализовати.

обучених мајстора певачке вештине. За литургичаре и малобројније црквене музичаре, који су отворено показивали осетљивост за пастирску егзегезу, музика је задржала своју примарно функционалну улогу изражавања тајне која се прославља (Bugnini 1990, 885). Иако нису доводили под сумњу значај стваралачког и интерпретаторског удела професионалних певача и инструменталиста, римокатолички литургичари инсистирали су на њиховом садејству са лаосом у литургијском чину. Заговарали су тезу да музичари немају предност у односу на било ког другог члана заједнице, као ни заједнице у целини, те да и они сами заједно с музички мање образованим или посве необразованим члановима чине лаос.²⁷

Иако су конкретна решења у звучној реализацији богослужења била препуштена локалним бискупијама, а касније и појединачним жупама, у концилским заседањима обелодањене тенденције и прокламована начела обликовани су и спрам реакција већинских припадника "римског еклисијалног амбијента", који су остали упорни заговорници очувања музичкоуметничког наслеђа као посебне вредности римокатоличке традиције. У периоду у којем одлуке из Конституције још увек нису дошле на ред за спровођење, часопис "Цецилијански билтен [Bolletino Ceciliano]" објавио је текст капел-мајстора Сикстинске капеле Доменика Бартолучија [Domenico Bartolucci] (1917–2013) под иронично интонираним насловом "За све су криви музичари! [La colpa è tutta dei musicisti!]". Говорећи о новаторима који уништавају споменик сакралне музике, Бартолучи је тврдио да управо црквени музичари најбоље разумеју лепоту и снагу певања народа у богослужењу. За осипање броја верника с мисе као главни кривци су означени носиоци литургијске реформе, јер су они утицали на елиминисање Палестрининих дела из праксе, која су, према Бартолучијевом уверењу, доприносила свечаном карактеру централног римокатоличког обреда. 28 Својим писмом овај кантор подсетио је читаоце да је душа цркве у музици, као и да је читаву историју римокатоличког друштва обележио испреплетани развој уметничке и црквене музике.

²⁷ У вези с изнетим ставом, музичар Армандо Ренци [Armando Renzi] (1915–1985) видео је тежњу да се Ординаријум (непроменљиви делови у миси) и Псалмодија (богослужбени псалми) издвоје из надлежности музичара, те да се традиционално римокатоличко богослужење наруши увођењем протестантског корала и страних музичких облика, сличних римокатоличкој пракси (AFSCIRE, FL 43).

²⁸ "Нису музичари ућуткали народ. Народ су ућуткали 'новатори' тог времена, блиски рођаци данашњих 'новатора'. Нико боље од музичара не разуме дубоку лепоту и снагу народне песме када је ова заиста достојна и када се укључи у њој одговарајућу улогу!" (AFSCIRE, FL 42).

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Незадовољство због изузимања школованих музичара из процеса доношења концилских предлога и одлука о музици у богослужењу изразио је и маестро-управитељ једног од двају главних хорова базилике Светог Петра у Ватикану – хора "Ђулија [Giulia]" – Армандо Ренци. Отворено писмо под насловом "Хоћемо ли, макар једанпут, играти са отвореним картама? [Vogliamo giocare, una buona volta, a carte scoperte?]", циркулисало је као памфлет током концилских седница у намери да привуче пажњу бискупа на неопходност укључења бар одабраних, реноминарних музичара римског округа у саветодавно тело Конзилијума у вези са разматрањем питања обредне музике (AFSCIRE, FL 43).

Јавним иступима музичари су показали високи степен слободе и спремност да бескомпромисно обзнане све последице прећуткивања и нерешавања проблема с којима су, реформом у процесу Другог Ватиканума, били суочени. Извршили су знатан притисак на клерикалне власти, апелујући да се предузму неопходне мере како би се урушени статус њиховог еснафа и личних егзистенција поправио. Нарочити ехо производили су гласови музичара при ватиканским капелама, који су, будући да су припадници италијанске заједнице, васпитани на вековима старој, уједно и актуелној римској црквеноуметничкој традицији. Њихова драматична апологија полифоног музичког предања била је уједно и одбрана личних уметничких афинитета и укуса спрам којих народне упрошћене мелодије нису могле никако наићи на одобравање. Упркос чињеници да је Конституција у суштини наставила да прати одредбе из званичних докумената који су јој претходили, рад Сикстинске капеле било је потребно одбранити и словом на папиру:

Мишљења која се данас шире путем писаних апела и упорних захтева за литургијским реформама, исказивала су и исказују отво-

²⁹ С ироничним призвуком, Доменико Бартолучи изјавио је: "Јадан свети Григорије Велики! Све што је он урадио било је штетно: заправо, сав лош учинак литургије произлази из тога што је он основао и устројио Школу стручњака за певање, на штету народа! Јадни Палестрина! Сва његова музика, превише аристократска, превише узвишена, написана за квалификоване музичке капелице, изражавала је све друго, само не оданост Литургији! Читав живот овог уметника био је неуспех, јер је зло које је нанео народу наредивши му да ћути, било толико велико да би боље било да се није ни родио! Стога ћемо ове велике музичаре ставити на суд и у име 'народа' (те велике фасцинантне речи) их осудити за велику издају!" (AFSCIRE, FL 42). Армандо Ренци је у сличном тону приметио: "Једног дана ће се сазнати да се у једном необичном тренутку кризе, када су се проблеми почели разоткривати, неко усудио да криви историју црквене музике је све што су њене присталице стварале кроз векове посвећености цркви, као и да се глас најважнијег капел-мајстора на свету подигао против одређених бесмислица и то без устручавања" (AFSCIRE, FL 43).

рену одбојност према свему ономе што је Понтификална музичка капела љубоморно и као свето чувала; и већ неко време су усмерена и утврђена [...] против свега што Музичка капела представља, што се до сада сматрало достојним божанственог обреда и што је сачињавало најузвишеније појање Римокатоличке цркве: грегоријанско и полифоно наслеђе (Bugnini 1990, 886).³⁰

На основу описаних нетрпељивости и расправа које су пратиле рад Конзилијума и Римске курије, постаје јасније зашто је Конституција у суштини понудила низ компромисних упутстава, без конкретних појашњења критеријума у њиховом избору. Литургијски приручник – "Поједностављени градуал [Graduale Simplex]" наставио је промовисање музичке радионице манастира Солем, док је Инструкција "Musicam Sacram" (Uputa 1967) афирмисала све претходно озваничене музичке жанрове у миси. Међу њима, грегоријанско појање задржало је само формално примат, али у пракси такву врсту предности и даље није имало.

На неизвесно време одложено је успостављање дуго тражене границе између сакралне и секуларне музике која је још у давним временима нашла примену у римокатоличком богослужењу. Оваквом исходу је засигурно допринео Конзилијум за спровођење Конституције о Светој литургији, окренут ка сарадњи и уподобљавању концилских решења различитим интересима и потребама појединачних бискупија, али су допринели и учесници латинског богослужења – професионални

³⁰ Да опонентна дејства професиналних певача нису оставила равнодушним чланове Конзилијума потврђује одговор на изнете оптужбе чији је потписник био главни секретар овог тела, кардинал Анибал Буњини. У реалности припреме и доношења Конституције није постојало, како је он тврдио, никакво непријатељство према музичарима Сикстинске капеле. Конзилијум је настојао да појасни да Конституцијом не укида традицију, и управо супротно, охрабрује њено даље неговање. Из легитимних пастирских разлога пружен је, међутим, простор народном религиозном певању у обредној пракси. Према утиску који су чланови Конзилијума стекли увидом у новинске чланке и памфлете иза којих су стајали професионални музичари, зрно раздора су баш они посејали, настојећи да на сваки начин спрече активно учешће певања народа у богослужењу. Подводећи реакције музичара под особености њиховог римског менталитета, нетолерантног према било каквој врсти новина, кадринал Буњини сумирао је да је било очекивано да питомци Римске певачке школе не дозволе да од њих буду одузети и препуштени народу делови Мисе које су они традиционално певали (Виgnini 1990, 885–890).

³¹ О неуједначеним ставовима црквених музичара, пастирски усмерених литургичара и конзервативно настројене Конгрегације римске курије сведочи чак девет верзија које су претходиле коначној инструкцији (Bugnini 1990, 898–911).

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музичари, који су како на сакралну музику полифоног типа, тако и на себе саме скренули позорност клира и шире јавности. Потенцирајући гледиште да је музика у свим својим појавностима идентитетски медиј који има значајан удео у креирању и управљању односима на различитим нивоима унутар римокатоличке заједнице, они су заправо највише допринели да се на пољу црквене музике након Другог ватиканског концила ништа суштински не промени. Потиснуте су идеје водиље из званичних докумената насталих у раној фази Концила, а конкретни проблеми, који су у пракси уследили применом сложених дела уметничке духовне музике, са специфичним интерпретативним захтевима које су музичари нужно морали испоштовати, остали су и даље релевантни. Оправдано инсистирање Другог Ватиканума на неопходности активног учествовања верника у богослужењу није у целости заживело, баш као што ни обредна музика у лепези разноврсних врста, стилова и особених традиција није постала кључни параметар у одређењу универзалног римокатоличког идентитета.

С увидом у процес који се на плану духовне музике одвијао у оквиру припреме и доношења одлука Другог концила, уједно и њиховог спровођења у пракси, потреба интердисциплинарног приступа у разматрању певаног богослужења постала је посве извесна и оправдана. У периоду од једне деценије, колико је Концил трајао, историјски значај и уметничка вредност грегоријанског појања потврђени су у домену научних и практичних прегнућа која су била усмерена ка његовом ревитализовању. Крајем XX века показала се потреба за проширењем устаљених музиколошких методологија, које су до тада превасходно обухватале сагледавање историјског континуума у развоју грегоријанске музике, тумачење древних записа, на основу утврђених принципа музичке палеографије, анализе и транскрипције мелоса. Стицање нових сазнања о друштвеном, културном и, посебно, антрополошком аспекту певане молитве иницирало је успостављање шире истраживачке платформе, својствене етномузиколошком типу проучавања.³²

На овако назначен опсет и значај обредне музике индиректно су указали и психолози и социолози заокупљени питањем ритуалног конфликта

³² "То је раскрсница где се етномузикологија и историја европске музичке уметности могу 'сусрести'." Наиме, једно од битних питања за које је заинтересована музикологија – питање усменог и писаног црквеномузичког предања – не може, према Џеферију, бити проучавано одвојено од остатка музичке традиције. Због тога би требало, предложио је Џефери, да проучавање грегоријанског појања изађе из досадашњих истраживачких оквира, те да укључи научна разматрања потекла и из других области попут етномузикологије, литургике, црквене историје, као и музичке когниције (Jeffery 1995, 1–5).

који је изазвала реформа Римског мисала. Од 1971. па све до 2007. године комплетна римокатоличка јерархија била је у обавези да следи реформисану мису. Нови поредак, објављен 3. априла 1969. године, потврдио је плурализам у разумевању функције музике у богослужењу и мелодијском репертоару. Прихватање реформисане мисе изазвало је нове поделе на различитим нивоима међу припадницима клира, али и континуирано осипање броја верника с богослужења. Спроведене психолошке анализе на узорку групације римокатолика на територији Сједињених Америчких Држава, који су остали везани за старији тип Мисала, показале су да су исти оболели од поремећаја тзв. "когнитивне дисонанце", те да су због изненадног суочења с новинама у домену богослужења, с којима се интимно нису слагали, подлегли различитим видовима анксиозних стања и кризи личне религиозности (Dinges 1987, 139-140). Са становишта социологије, уз глобални тренд све интензивније секуларизације, раздори у редовима клирика и верника након Другог ватиканског концила потврдили су слабљење и дифузију римокатоличког идентитета у плуралистичком културном миљеу, губитак поверења у ауторитет јерархије, као и појаву оснаживања "нове класе знања" унутар римокатоличких институционалних структура (Dinges 1987, 140). Богослужбена музика у склопу описаних тенденција дефинитивно није имала интегришућу моћ, будући да ни њени носиоци нису делили јединствена уверења, нити су спрам актуелне духовне кризе заступали иста начела и методе.

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Vesna Sara Peno and Sanja Stevanović

THE STATUS OF CATHOLIC LITURGICAL MUSIC DURING THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

(SUMMARY)

The study explores the historical, social, cultural, and anthropological aspects of Roman Catholic liturgical music during the Second Vatican Council. The process of making Council decisions regarding liturgical music remained non-transparent, and the specific events that happened in the tense atmosphere surrounding their implementation immediately before the conclusion of the Second Vatican Council were not disclosed to the public. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to lay the groundwork for future comparative studies of trends and phenomena in recent Orthodox chant traditions and Roman Catholic music as a whole that could demonstrate their differences and similarities.

After the Council, the establishment of the boundary between sacred and secular music was postponed indefinitely. The guiding ideas from official documents produced in the early stages of the Council were suppressed, and the ensuing practical problems regarding the implementation of complex works of art spiritual music, with specific interpretive requirements that the musicians had to meet, remained relevant.

This was significantly influenced by the activities of the Council for the Implementation of Decisions on the Holy Liturgy, professional church musicians, and their interaction. Emphasizing the view that music in all its manifestations is an identity medium that plays a significant role in creating and managing relationships at various levels within the Roman Catholic community, they actually contributed the most to ensuring that nothing has fundamentally changed in the field of church music after the Second Vatican Council.

Insights into the process of preparation, Council's decision-making, and implementation of decisions in practice justified the need for an interdisciplinary approach to the study of church music.

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ARCHIVAL SOUND RECORDINGS OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH CHANT IN THE INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY SASA: SOUNDS OF LIVE TRADITION AS SOURCES FOR RESEARCH

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Архивски звучни снимци српског црквеног појања у Музиколошком институту САНУ: звуци живе традиције као извори за истраживање**

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the rich archival collection of sound recordings of the Serbian church music, kept at the Phonoarchive of the Institute of Musicology SASA. The study focuses on the sound recordings of the traditional Serbian church chant, from the end of the 1960s to the mid-1980s, made in churches and monasteries in Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Hungary, during musicological field research by dr Dimitrije Stefanović and dr Danica Petrović. These unique sources, which have been previously unknown to the wider public, are the authentic testimony of the heritage of

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the liturgical musical practice of the Serbian Orthodox Church, as well as of the research field of church chant in the period after the WWII. Particular examples of sound recordings from the archival collection are presented as illustrations of this practice and as the hint of many different perspectives for further research and perception of this period of the Serbian church music history.

Keywords: traditional Serbian church chant, Serbian monasteries, oral tradition, sound recordings, field research.

Апстракт

У раду је представљена богата збирка архивских звучних снимака српске црквене музике, сачувана у Фоноархиву Музиколошког института САНУ. У фокусу истраживања су снимци традиционалног српског црквеног појања, сачињени у српским манастирима и црквама на простору Фрушке горе и централне Србије, Далмације, Босне и Херцеговине и Мађарске, у периоду од шездесетих до средине осамдесетих година XX века, у оквиру теренских музиколошких истраживања др Димитрија Стефановића и др Данице Петровић. Ова јединствена, јавности до сада непозната звучна грађа, аутентично је сведочанство о неговању наслеђа богослужбене музичке праксе Српске православне цркве, као и о напорима на пољу проучавања црквеног појања у периоду након Другог светског рата. Појединачни примери звучних записа из обимног корпуса архивске грађе издвојени су као илустрације поменуте праксе и наговештај мноштва перспектива за нова сагледавања овог сегмента историје српске црквене музике.

Къучне речи: традиционално српско црквено појање, српски манастири, усмено предање, звучни снимци, теренска истраживања.

Увод. Формирање збирке снимака црквене музике у Музиколошком институту САНУ

Када је 1947. године у оквиру Српске академије наука основан Музиколошки институт, његов први директор, композитор Петар Коњовић, као примарни циљ рада нове институције видео је истраживање српске традиционалне народне, световне и црквене музике. Сакупљање нотне и звучне грађе у овим областима било је међу основним задацима на пољу

АРХИВСКИ ЗВУЧНИ СНИМЦИ СРПСКОГ ЦРКВЕНОГ ПОЈАЊА У МУЗИКОЛОШКОМ ИНСТИТУТУ САНУ: ЗВУЦИ ЖИВЕ ТРАДИЦИЈЕ КАО ИЗВОРИ ЗА ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ

теренских (етно)музиколошких истраживања (Петровић 2010а; Лајић Михајловић и Јовановић 2014; Vesić i Lajić Mihajlović 2018; Милановић 2018; Пено 2023а). Током првих деценија рада Института, упознавање историјских токова српске црквене музике, као и црквеномузичких пракси других традиција, текло је кроз истраживања историјских извора, рад на сабирању и упознавању документарних сведочанстава о прошлости, те кроз истраживања тадашње актуелне праксе литургијске музике (Петровић 2010а).

У институтском архиву отпочело је и сабирање звучних снимака црквене музике. Након што је Петар Коњовић 1950. године набавио најстарију звучну збирку напева традиционалног српског појања, издање под називом *Расадник срйскої йравославної црквеної йојања* (1933/1935), на грамофонским плочама на 78 обртаја (Marjanović 2024), институтска колекција постепено је допуњавана снимцима црквене музике различитог порекла и садржаја (Лајић Михајловић и Јовановић 2014).

Највећи део материјала ушао је у овај фонд заслугом др Димитрија Стефановића (1929–2020), дугогодишњег сарадника (од 1958), током две

О појединачним одредницама синтагме "традиционално српско народно црквено појање" критички је детаљно писано (видети: Пено 2016). У овом раду термин "традиционално" користимо с упориштем у теоријским тумачењима према којима појам традиције у основи има концепт преношења из прошлости у садашњост, а традиционално се односи на оно што је "пренето и преношено, створено и извођено у прошлости, везано за одређени квалитет из прошлости" (Shils 1981). Из перспективе временског континуума, традицију разумемо као "ланац интерпретација, низ варијација", односно као "динамичан феномен, с обзиром на модификације различитих врста и степена кроз низ активности путем којих се мишљење и имагинација преносе из једне генерације у следећу" (Путилов 2003), такође као "амалгам опсталих елемената прошлости и промена које постају део ње" – другим речима, као главни елементи традиционалног у одређеној пракси сагледани су управо они који "остају препознатљиви упркос променама током протока времена" (Лајић Михајловић, Ђорђевић Белић 2019: 231). У обликовању традиције као релевантни препознати су фактори различитих профила, од друштвеног контекста, историјских, економских околности, до промена самих појединаца као носилаца традиције (Лајић Михајловић 2007: 137). Као кључне одреднице појма, поред концепта континуитета и (ре)креирања стоје и концепти колективности у процесу преношења и аутентичности елемента који претрајава кроз генерације (Ceribašić 2009). С обзиром на то да се традицијом назива и сам низ преношених варијаната претходног/наслеђеног, термин \bar{u} радиција третиран је и као синоним термина наслеђе/баштина (Ceribašić 2013; Gavrilović 2010). Под одредницом "традиционално српско народно црквено појање" (чији су синонимни називи и "српско народно појање", "карловачко", "старо карловачко", појање "по карловачком начину") подразумевамо литургијско појање из новије историје српске црквене музике, формирано крајем XVIII века на подручју Карловачке митрополије и неговано током XIX века међу Србима у Хабзбуршкој монархији и Кнежевини/Краљевини Србији, као и у Отоманској империји, те кроз деценије XX века у различитим друштвенополитичким и државним приликама, до данас витално у литургијској пракси Српске православне цркве.

деценије и директора Института (1979–2000), преданог музиколошким истраживањима црквене музике и активном практичном учешћу у богослужбеном, музичком животу Цркве. Звучни снимци којима је снабдео архив Института одраз су његових професионалних интересовања и многобројних научноистраживачких и извођачких подухвата. Поред разноврсних звучних издања, грамофонских плоча и компакт-дискова духовне музике, за истраживање су од посебног значаја необјављени архивски снимци из овог фонда.²

Групи архивских снимака припадају разнородни звучни записи црквене музике. Снимци хорског извођења српске, као и духовне музике других традиција, сведочанства су о пољима истраживања и о активностима ансамбала којима је др Димитрије Стефановић руководио. Међу најстаријима издвајају се записи богослужбеног појања Панчевачког српског црквеног певачког друштва на великопосним службама 1961. године, као и одабрани наступи хора Београдски мадригалисти, којим је дириговао у периоду 1961-1964. године. Звучно су забележена извођења Студијског хора Музиколошког института САНУ, ансамбла с којим је као оснивач и диригент неговао широк репертоар духовне музике различитих традиција. Историјски су важни снимци сачињени током послератних научних музиколошких скупова, првих професионалних сусрета истраживача из тадашње Западне и Источне Европе. На конгресу Musica Antiqua Europae Orientalis у Бидгошћу (Пољска), у оквиру којег је паралелно организован и Фестивал старе духовне музике Истока и Запада, биле су изведене и једногласне композиције тројице српских аутора из XV века, на основу Стефановићевих транскрипција неумских записа (Marjanović 2018).

Кључни део ове уникатне институтске збирке духовне музике чине звучни снимци православног црквеног појања, остварени у оквиру теренских музиколошких истраживања које је др Стефановић спроводио током три последње деценије XX века. У фокусу овог истраживања јесте најобимнији део тог звучног фонда, настао у православним манастирима и црквама широм СФР Југославије и међу Србима у Мађарској, у периоду између 1961. и 1989. године, а који садржи снимке традиционалног српског црквеног појања.³

 $^{^2\ \ \,}$ С обзиром на предвиђени обим овог рада, збирка објављених издања црквене музике у Фоноархиву Института неће бити разматрана.

³ По основном музичком садржају, тој групи снимака припада и материјал са записима богослужбеног појања у манастирима Раваница и Лешок (Тетово, данашња Северна Македонија), забележеним поред концертног извођења духовне музике на Дванаестом међународном конгресу византолога у Охриду 1961. године (уп. Лајић Михајловић и

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Поменута теренска снимања највећим делом вршена су магнетофоном, а део снимака из осамдесетих година начињен је касетофоном (уп. Лајић Михајловић и Јовановић 2014; Думнић и Јаковљевић 2014). Магнетофонске траке су по завршетку снимања похрањене у архиву Музиколошког института, док су снимци на аудио-касетама остали у личном поседу др Стефановића. У оквиру пројекта Кашалої изација и ресшаурација фонотрафске колекције Музиколошкот инстицијута САНУ (започетог 2006), поред рада на техничкој обради и пописивању мноштва разноврсне звучне грађе која је у фоноархиву Института сачувана на магнетофонским тракама, обављен је и обиман посао преношења теренских снимака црквеног појања у дигитални формат. Израђен је дигитални каталог с основним информацијама о садржају појединачних трака (документ садржи податке о нумерацији трака и преснимака, о локалитету снимања и истраживачу који је обавио теренски рад, локацији снимака у Музиколошком институту, а у појединим случајевима додате су напомене од значаја за претраживање и анализу ове музичке грађе).4 Снимци који су првобитно сачињени на аудио-касетама дигитализовани су у оквиру пројекта Дилишализација звучне грађе Музиколошког инстицији САНУ током 2023. године.⁵

Јовановић 2014), који је Институту поклонила Лора Крејтон Болтон [Laura Crayton Boulton], етномузиколог. Музиколошком институту САНУ поклоњена је копија снимака, чији је оригинал сачуван у библиотеци Универзитета Харвард (САД). На снимцима с богослужења из манастира Раваница такође је забележен глас истраживача, др Димитрија Стефановића. Фонд архивских теренских снимака које је током последњих деценија XX века сачинио др Стефановић садржи и звучне записе православне појачке традиције у светогорским манастирима, а посебно у манастиру Хиландар (видети Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака"). Тај фонд свакако завређује да буде тема засебне студије.

⁴ Пројектом је руководила проф. др Даница Петровић, а дигитализацију и каталогизацију овог дела грађе савесно су обавиле сараднице на пројекту (тада мср) Марија Думнић и Милица Обрадовић (в. Думнић и Јаковљевић 2014: 19). Од укупног броја тада дигитализованих звучних докумената (846), записи српског црквеног појања налазе се на барем педесет. Ознаке бројева дигитализованих трака коришћених током овог истраживања дате су на основу "Каталога магнетофонских трака", насталог у оквиру поменутог пројекта. (У овом тренутку не наводимо прецизан број оригиналних магнетофонских записа, као ни преснимака са снимцима појања, с обзиром на чињеницу да током рада на сређивању заоставштине академика Димитрија Стефановића и даље проналазимо појединачне снимке који ће накнадно бити придружени групи дигитализованих записа; такође, уочавамо да се понеки звучни запис црквеног појања може пронаћи и у оквиру других "нумера" поменутог каталога).

⁵ Дванаест аудио-касета са снимцима појања из овчарско-кабларског манастира Ваведење и манастира Благовештење (Рудничко) академик Димитрије Стефановић поклонио је др Наташи Марјановић, научном сараднику Музиколошког института САНУ 2018. године. Тај материјал дигитализован је у оквиру пројекта *Дилишализација звучне*

Ово истраживање спроведено је на основу дигитализованих верзија снимака с магнетофонских трака и оригиналних, потом и дигитализованих снимака са аудио-касета. 6

Теренски снимци – живи звук богослужења у фокусу музиколошких истраживања

Након Другог светског рата, у систему социјалистичке државе статус српског црквеног музичког наслеђа био је минимализован у широј јавности. Идеолошки изграђен негативан однос према Цркви, богослужењу, тиме и према црквеној уметности, довео је готово до замирања традиционалне литургијске музичке праксе (Петровић 2000; Пено 2023а). У комунистичком друштву које је тежило искључивом отклону од традиционалних вредности, духовна хорска музика као значајан сегмент културног идентитета православног српског народа такође је одлучно уклоњена из музичке јавности (Milin 2006, 2015, 2023; Đoković 2020b; Peno 2023b).

Традиционално српско црквено појање, или карловачко појање, већ је након Првог светског рата изгубило друштвено-културни статус који је имало у претходном историјском периоду. Укидање црквеног појања као предмета у грађанским школама довело је до смањења броја зналаца појања међу учитељима, као и међу лаицима, а последице тих прилика одражавале су се и на репертоар и одлике стила саме појачке праксе (Петровић 2000; Пено 2016). У другој половини XX века, сразмерно отежалим токовима јавних активности Цркве, као и све мањем броју верника спремних да буду литургијски активни, па и присутни на богослужењима, такође се смањивао и број зналаца црквеног појања. По одласку најстаријих генерација, које су појачке вештине стицале у старим школама од свештеника и учитеља, остајали су појединци међу епископима, свештенством, монасима, као и лаицима којима је био близак свет химнографских текстова и традиционалних црквених напева (уп.

їрађе Музиколошкої инсшишуша САНУ. Пројектом је руководила др Марија Думнић Вилотијевић, а радом на дигитализацији снимака бавили су се др Милош Браловић и мср Стефан Савић. Предстоји рад на детаљном попису и каталогизацији ове грађе која је придружена фоноархивској збирци (Фоноархив МИ САНУ, Лична архива Димитрија Стефановића, у обради).

⁶ На основу сегмента архивске звучне грађе која је у фокусу ове студије приређено је звучно (mp3) издање Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја – Срйско црквено йојање – из манастирских йевница, друѓа йоловина 20. века (2023), у оквиру едиције Звучна ризница Музиколошкої института САНУ, покренуте с циљем објављивања теренских снимака традиционалне музике из фондова институтског Фоноархива.

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Петровић 2000; Ђоковић 2007; Ристовић 2013). О богослужбеној музици учило се само у богословским школама, а у редовној, свакодневној литургијској динамици појање је неговано искључиво у манастирима (Пено 2006; Петровић 2000; 2024).

Тек у новије време осветљена су сведочанства о напорима и тешкоћама које су у том специфичном периоду доносила истраживања посвећена црквеној музици. Притисак владајуће атеистичке идеологије утицао је на избор тема и начин рада, па и на научну методологију у области музиколошких истраживања. Преовладавало је затворено кабинетско проучавање "старе музике", њене нотације и структуре напева, уз отклон од самог садржаја богослужбених песама; функција црквене музике у оквиру литургијске праксе и теолошки смисао химнографије нису били међу главним темама проучавања, а жива појачка пракса углавном је изостављана из фокуса истраживања (Petrović 2009; Куюмджиева 2009; Пено 2023а).

У Музиколошком институту САНУ истраживачи фокусирани на црквену музику, др Димитрије Стефановић и његова тада млада сарадница др Даница Петровић били су посвећени проучавању српског црквеног музичког наслеђа и као активни учесници у богослужбеној музичкој пракси у којој је појање преношено с генерације на генерацију. Рад на прикупљању и тумачењу фундаменталних извора, из којег су постепено проистицале научне студије и објављена грађа о новијем српском појању (в. Стефановић 2010; Петровић 2010б), полазиште је имао у самом звуку и функцији литургијске музике у њеном аутентичном окружењу. Научни приступ истраживањима црквеног појања подразумевао је познавање историјских, друштвених и културних прилика, старије и новије историје Српске православне цркве, те разумевање структуре и садржаја савременог богослужења. Праксу традиционалног српског појања Димитрије Стефановић упознавао је од периода раног детињства у родном Панчеву, а учио је потом и од Лазара Лере (1885-1966), врсног појца и учитеља који је стасавао уз фрушкогорске појце и учитеље Карловачке богословије и гимназије, као и Учитељске школе у Сомбору, матице неговања српског појања у XIX веку (Стефановић 1968; Андрејевић 2006; Марјановић 2021а). Редовно присуство на богослужењима и непосредан контакт с носиоцима традиционалне појачке праксе међу свештеницима, монасима, богословима, учитељима појања и појању вичним лаицима, били су подстицај за напредовање у вештини црквеног музичара, импулс продубљеном доживљају тог јединственог поља српске културе и уметности.

Из овакве перспективе – научника, истраживача, али и практичног носиоца црквеномузичког наслеђа, др Стефановић приступао је и истраживањима традиционалног српског појања. Теренска истраживања током којих је, у сарадњи с др Петровић, звучно забележио традиционално

српско појање у српским црквама и манастирима на подручју тадашње СФР Југославије и Мађарске сврставају се међу прве подухвате теренског звучног бележења српског црквеног музичког наслеђа у склопу научних, музиколошких истраживања (уп. Лајић Михајловић и Јовановић 2014; Попов 2022; Пено 2023а).

Звучни материјал прикупљан је, у оквиру вишегодишњих етапа рада, у више од четрдесет манастира, као и у црквама градских и сеоских средина, у многобројним епархијама Српске православне цркве (видети Табелу 1 у прилогу рада). Појање је снимано претежно током богослужења, као и у сусретима с казивачима, за потребе истраживања. Током или након првих етапа у раду на самом терену, истраживачи су бележили поједине метаподатке о снимљеном материјалу. Својеврсно осветљење процеса спроведеног теренског рада проналазимо и у фрагментима сачуваних

⁷ О теренским путовањима и снимањима црквеног појања др Стефановић и др Петровић подношени су сажети искази у оквиру годишњих извештаја, односно планова о раду сарадника Музиколошког института САН/САНУ. Документа која смо имали на располагању датирају у распону између 1963. и 1990. године, док се из појединачних рукописних бележака др Стефановића (Архив МИ САНУ, Заоставштина академика Димитрија Стефановића, у обради), види да су снимања вршена и раније (нпр. у манастиру Високи Дечани 1961. године). У највећем броју случајева, у извештајима је забележено на којим је локацијама снимано у одређеној години, док је у плановима навођено да следи наставак рада на снимању у наступајућем периоду. Снимање се одвијало у оквиру институтског потпројекта под називом *Историја музике*, чији је руководилац био др Д. Стефановић, као и у оквиру појединих пројектних активности САНУ, којима је такође руководио. Наиме, у извештајима др Д. Стефановића, насталим током осамдесетих година, евидентирано је да су снимања обављана и у оквиру пројекта Одељења ликовних и музичких уметности САНУ, Ф-103, *Снимање йојања* (Архив МИ САНУ, Збирка: Архива МИ САН/ САНУ, регистри 4, 14, 43, 89, 90, 134).

⁸ Снимања су организована и у Румунији, у манастиру Путна (1974, 1977). С обзиром на њихов основни садржај, ти снимци завређују да буду предмет засебне студије, те у овом раду нису разматрани. Напомињемо и да поједине податке саопштавамо само на основу бележака истраживача о местима снимања, док нам сами звучни снимци током овог истраживања нису били доступни, нпр. снимци из манастира Високи Дечани, Јазак, Месић, Липље (Архив МИ САНУ, Заоставштина академика Димитрија Стефановића, у обради).

⁹ Библиотечки картони садржали су податак о томе где је снимано, ко је снимао, ко пева, податак о врсти песме и где је текст штампан (видети: Архив МИ САНУ, Збирка: Архива МИ САН/САНУ, Регистар 43, Извештај о раду др Данице Петровић за 1976. годину; Архив МИ САНУ, Даница Петровић, Извештај о раду на обрађивању магнетофонских трака снимљених у манастирима и селима на територији Југославије (Пројекат 103/80), Београд, 22. XII 1980). У процес детаљног преслушавања снимака и евидентирања метаподатака о појцима, манастирима/црквама у којима је снимање обављано, о богослужењу, врстама химни и инципитима, са ближим упутницама о самим напевима, била је 1999. године укључена и Весна Пено, данас научни саветник Музиколошког института САНУ. Данас је у Архиву МИ САНУ сачуван део библиотечких картона који одговарају поменутим описима из извештаја Д. Петровић, а односе се на четрнаест магнетофонских трака.

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исписа из теренских бележница истраживача, у којима се местимично налазе додатне информације о сегментима снимљеног музичког материјала, локацији снимања, репертоару, жанровској припадности појединих песама, именима служашчих и појаца, понекад и утисци самих истраживача о вештини појања и маниру изношења снимљених црквених мелодија. 10

Истраживачко преслушавање изузетно обимног звучног узорка грађе, које је претходило писању овог рада (педесет дигитализованих трака и дванаест аудио-касета, укупно више од шест стотина сати материјала) подразумевало је сагледавање свеукупног садржаја, селекцију снимака према квалитетима извођења и специфичностима репертоара, тумачење различитих слојева метаподатака. Већи део дигитализованог материјала био је у технички солидном стању за информативно и аналитичко слушање, док је мањи проценат грађе, нажалост, био неупотребљив (у случајевима размагнетисане или на други начин оштећене оригиналне траке или касете). Део снимака одликују слаб квалитет звука, местимични прекиди или недовољна јачина, те недостатак почетка или краја одређених песама. Упркос томе, доминантан утисак звучног садржаја остављају његова основна, висока илустративност и потенцијал за истраживања аутентичне, живе праксе традиционалног српског појања у деценијама друге половине XX века.

Звучна слика литургијске појачке праксе у Српској православној цркви седамдесетих и осамдесетих година XX века

Два су основна типа снимака у оквиру целине збирке. Највећи број записа звучно осликава манастирска богослужења: бденија, вечерња и јутрења, Литургије, помене преминулих (парастосе/опела), обреде резања

¹⁰ Поменуте белешке, које очигледно нису по настанку бивале аутоматски придружене самим магнетофонским тракама, пронашли смо током рада на сређивању и пописивању изузетно обимне Заоставштине академика Димитрија Стефановића (овим послом баве се сарадници Музиколошког института САНУ, др Наташа Марјановић и мср Стефан Савић).

11 Одабране резултате вишегодишњег рада на преслушавању и аналитичком сагледавању грађе ауторка овог текста представила је у оквиру научних скупова (*Church Music and Topography: City, Village, and Monastery*, Ninth International Conference on Orthodox Church Music, The International Society for Orthodox Church Music, Joensuu, Finland, 7–11 June 2021; *Closing the Gap for a New Generation of Sound and Audiovisual Archives*, International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives (IASA), 27–30 September 2021; *Sound Heritage in Ethnomusicology: Approaches and Perspectives*, International Scientific Conference to Celebrate the World Day for Audiovisual Heritage, Institute of Musicology SASA, Belgrade, 27 October 2021) и објављених радова: Marjanović 2021b; 2022.

славског колача. На основу укупног фонда преслушане и анализиране архивске грађе уочљиве су одређене константе, као и варијантности у самим подухватима снимања, односно у снимљеном садржају. Богослужења су понекад бележена у целини, укључујући свештеничке прозбе и друге сегменте службе у којима се чита, док је у већем броју случајева вршен одабир одређених песама или група песама. На вечерњој служби уобичајено су снимане стихире "на Господи возвах", догматик, стихире "на стиховње", на јутрењу празнични тропари, прокимени, антифони, полијелеј, величанија, стихире "на Хвалите", Велико славословље и тропар по славословљу, на Литургији Прва и Друга слава, Блажена, Херувимска песма, Канон евхаристије, причасна песма, итд. Снимања су често била обављана у оквиру свечаних празничних служби, посебно везаних за манастирске славе, када је пажња била додатно посвећена песмама које произноси епископ или које су му посвећене, на бденијима и Архијерејским литургијама ("Придите", "Господи, спаси благочестивија", "Ис пола ети деспота"). У целини снимака с богослужења доминирају утврђене песме Осмогласника, Општег и Пригодног појања, као и празнични тропари или стихире из Минеја, Триода и Пентикостара. Упечатљиви су примери недеља након Васкрса, у комбинацији са службама других великих празника (нпр. Недеља жена мироносица и Св. Георгије или празник Благовести), које према црквеном правилу (типику) одликује сложенији химнографски садржај, односно преплитање песама из двеју или више служби.12

Други тип снимака садржи низове засебних песама, забележених према певању одабраних појединаца, при чему избор репертоара одражава истраживачка интересовања др Димитрија Стефановића или каткада сопствени избор казивача. Снимци уобичајено отпочињу најавама, представљањем места и датума снимања, именима појаца и репертоаром који следи. Најчешће су забележени тропари – васкрсни из Осмогласника, празнични из Минеја, Триода и Пентикостара, тропар храма у манастиру у којем је снимано, празничне стихире, карактеристичне причасне песме, делови помена преминулих.¹³

¹² Одабрани примери снимака с богослужења, из манастира Благовештење, Раваница, Жича, Враћевшница и Ваведење, објављени су у поменутом звучном издању (*Cūacu Госӣоди људи Твоја* 2023), у одељцима под редним бројевима: IV, VI, IX/2, XI, XV.

АРХИВСКИ ЗВУЧНИ СНИМЦИ СРПСКОГ ЦРКВЕНОГ ПОЈАЊА У МУЗИКОЛОШКОМ ИНСТИТУТУ САНУ: ЗВУЦИ ЖИВЕ ТРАДИЦИЈЕ КАО ИЗВОРИ ЗА ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ

Снимци сведоче о манирима извођења, интерпретацијама сродних или варираних верзија истих напева, у зависности од различитих локалитета или прилика у којима се појало. Мноштво је примера које је могуће издвојити према конкретним специфичностима, а према могућностима у оквиру овог текста наводимо поједине. Забележено фрушкогорско појање карактеристично је, између осталог, по примерима неговања старих, тзв. "великих", изразито мелизматичних и споро извођених напева, попут старинског великог "Алилуја" или ирмоса "Ангел вопијаше" са завршетком по великом напеву, према појању о. Дамаскина (Петровића, 1913–2005) у Крушедолу, 14 или великог напева "Спаси ни", за певницом у Гргетегу. 15 За аналитичка сагледавања такође су занимљиве варијанте у тоналном оквиру мелодија ("Вјечнаја памјат" и сугуба јектенија у молској верзији, у извођењу сестара манастира Велуће и Покров Богородице, код Ђуниса), или различите локалне специфичности песама као што су: "Свјатиј Боже" по "македонском" напеву, 16 према појању монахиње Аполинарије из Манастира Св. Јоакима Осоговског, претходно из манастира Лешка – данас у Северној Македонији;¹⁷ песме карактеристичне за подручје Сентандреје, према појању Лазара Терзина, Игњата Чобана и Стојана Вујичића;18 познате мелодије божићних духовних песама "Вси јазици" и "Слава во вишњих Богу", с упечатљивим верзијама текста и манира извођења, према певању ученика богословије у манастиру Крка у Далмацији.¹⁹

Невелики, али историјски значајан број теренских снимака сведочи о потреби за појањем на говорном српском језику у другој половини XX века. Такав пример је кондак на Благовести, који на основу препева Будимира Стефановића²⁰ поје архимандрит Дамаскин у манастиру Крушедол.²¹ Сродни примери забележени су и у манастиру Крка у Далмацији. Међу сачуваним снимцима издваја се Молебан Пресветој Богородици по

¹⁴ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, I/2, бр. 8, 11.

¹⁵ Дигитализована магнетофонска трака, Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_536.

¹⁶ Појам "македонски" преузет је из саме архивске грађе, како је био дефинисан од казивача, односно забележен у запису истраживача на терену.

¹⁷ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, I/2, бр. 6, XVI/2, бр. 2, XIX, бр. 4.

¹⁸ Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_519, 525, 527, 528.

¹⁹ Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_516, 517.

²⁰ Некадашњи питомац Богословије у Сремским Карловцима (1931–1937) и студент Богословског факултета у Београду, запослен као сарадник Историјског архива Војводине у Сремским Карловцима, посебно се бавио проучавањем и препевавањем црквенословенских богослужбених текстова на савремени српски језик.

²¹ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, I/2, бр. 7.

локалном традиционалном напеву из Дрниша, а према казивању книнског пароха, протонамесника Стевана Мрђана. 22

Аутентични богослужбени снимци кроз живи звук дочаравају и појање појединих епископа Српске цркве. Забележене су службе којима су началствовали бачки епископ Никанор (Иличић, 1906–1986) - Београд 1970; архимандрит Доментијан (Павловић, 1911–1983), потоњи епископ врањски (Студеница 1973), епископ браничевски Хризостом (Војиновић, 1911-1989) - Манасија 1974; владика рашко-призренски, потоњи патријарх српски Павле (Стојчевић, 1914-2009) - Вршац 1980; шумадијски епископ Сава (Вуковић, 1930-2001) - Благовештење Рудничко 1980, 1984; патријарх српски Герман (Ђорић, 1899–1991) – Враћевшница 1984.²³ Снимци Архијерејских литургија садрже и записе појања Хора свештеника Епархије шумадијске (Благовештење 1980) и Хора свештеника Епархије жичке (Враћевшница 1984).24 Звучни записи из манастира Студеница историјски су драгоцене илустрације појања студеничког игумана, архимандрита Јулијана (Кнежевића, 1918-2001), снимци из Враћевшнице жичког архимандрита Доситеја (Марјановића, 1929-1993), из Жиче снимци игуманије Јустине (Мишић, 1926–1992), из Сретења мати Февроније. 25

Као материјални траг музичке традиције деценијама неговане првенствено кроз усмено предање, ова богата звучна грађа сведочи о преношењу наслеђа кроз генерације – посредством живог звука самог појања, као и разговора вођених са сниманим појцима. Из архивског материјала дознајемо појединости о везама учитеља и ученика приликом стицања појачких знања и вештина у различитим срединама. Помињу се фрушкогорски манастири и Сремски Карловци, Препарандија у Сомбору, као и монашка школа у Високим Дечанима. О методама учења појања вођено је, нажалост, мање разговора приликом теренских снимања у манастирима.²⁶ Посредне податке о учењу појања у монашкој школи

²² Исти молебан снимљен је и у верзији на црквенословенском језику (видети: Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских плоча", тр_516). О специфичностима ових напева Димитрије Стефановић писао је у студији "Молебан Богородици и његова далматинска музичка варијанта" (1970).

 $^{^{23}}$ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, IV/2, IV/4, XI/1, XI/2; Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_ 514, 536.

²⁴ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, IV/2, XI/2.

²⁵ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, IX, X, XI, XIII.

²⁶ На појединим магнетофонским тракама снимљени су и разговори вођени у просторијама Музиколошког института, којима је допуњен фонд сведочанстава о историјским, као и о савременим карактеристикама појачке праксе и доприносу активних појединаца међу појцима у Српској цркви седамдесетих година прошлог века. Један од таквих снимака настао је 1972. године, а садржи разговор Димитрија Стефановића са учитељем у

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у манастиру Високи Дечани четрдесетих година XX века нашли смо у заоставштини Лазара Лере. Монаси и ученици појачке школе у овом манастиру набавили су и тада активно користили грамофонске плоче *Расадник йравославної срйскої црквеної йојања*, а постоји и неколико сведочанстава о томе да су исто издање, управо осмишљено с идејом да буде дидактичко, помоћно средство у савладавању репертоара српског појања, могли користити и у Жичи, као и у српским црквама у Мађарској у истом периоду (Marjanović 2024).²⁷

Рада Станковић, појац у Сентандреји (Мађарска), сведочио је да је појање учио од Лазара Терзина, некадашњег будимског школског надзорника, а потом у Крушедолу од о. Дамаскина. Јосип Горјанац из Мохача, чије је појање снимљено на Литургији у Липови (1979), изнео је податак да је у појању био ђак игумана Георгија (Бојанића) у манастиру Гргетег, да се потом усавршавао у Радовашници и у монашкој школи која је из Раковице премештена у Високе Дечане. Важна су и његова казивања о потоњим одласцима у Сремске Карловце поводом великих празника, када је певао Блажена с патријархом Варнавом (Росићем, 1880–1937).²⁸ Монахиња Марија у Хопову (1972) учила је појање још у ђачком добу, у основној школи у Србобрану, у којој су предавали учитељи из Препарандије у Сомбору.²⁹

Будући активан у појачкој литургијској пракси, као што је већ речено, ученик Лазара Лере, др Димитрије Стефановић је на сниманим богослужењима неретко учествовао и као појац и чтец, те поједини снимци доносе и записе његовог гласа. Примери попут антифоног појања с владиком Савом шумадијским, читања из Књиге постања или Шестопсалмија

пензији Светозаром Милуровићем (†1985), некадашњим учеником Ненада Барачког у сомборској Препарандији. "Чика Цвеја" (како је био надимак Милуровићу) описао је тада и како је изгледало учење уз проту Барачког, када су за сваки празник и прилику ученицима припремане ноте, умножаване помоћу шапирографа; сваки ученик је нотни материјал имао пред собом, те су заједно могли певати и песме великог појања – појали су велике ирмосе за Ускрс, Духове, а народ је с пажњом слушао. Поменути снимак представља вероватно један од ретких звучних снимака говора и појања овог врсног појца, трудбеника на пољу очувања наслеђа српског појања у датом периоду. У новије време објављена је и Служба Пресвешој Ботородици, у часш и сйомен чудошворне иконе Великоремешске (прир. Димитрије Стефановић, манастир Велика Ремета, 2010) коју је, према химнографском тексту хиландарског јеромонаха оца Хризостома (Столића), потоњег жичког епископа, а по традиционалном српском појању забележио Светозар Милуровић, велики сатрудник манастира Велика Ремета.

²⁷ О томе сведоче писма сачувана у заоставштини Лазара Лере (детаљније видети: Марјановић 2021а; Marjanović 2024).

²⁸ Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_530.

²⁹ Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_124.

(Благовештење), аутентично приказују позицију истраживача који је уједно и наследник, односно носилац појачког наслеђа сниманог у оквиру теренског прикупљања грађе. ³⁰

Поред извођења појединачно сниманих појаца – сниманих "по захтеву", која црквене мелодије доносе у изворном, једногласном облику, значајан број теренских записа показује да је традиционални напев у богослужбеној пракси негован и кроз различите облике вишегласја – од спонтаног народног двогласа, вођењем главне мелодије уз пратњу исона или у терцама, до динамичније, утврђене пратње другог гласа, па и до примера трогласног певања. У том смислу посебно се издвајају примери хорског манастирског појања, које је одликовало појачку праксу неколиких манастира – у Шумадији, централној и западној Србији, овчарско-кабларској области.

По богатству звука и вишеструким квалитетима хорске интерпретације издвајају се снимци из манастира Раваница, Благовештење Рудничко, а посебно из манастира Никоље и Ваведење. 31 Осамдесетих година овчарско-кабларске манастире редовно је посећивао професор, диригент и композитор Војислав Илић (1911-1999). На молбу монахиња, с њима је учио и увежбавао не само певање из нота него и вишегласно хорско појање. 32 Посветио им је низ трогласних аранжмана традиционалног напева, као и других, ауторских хорских композиција (Станковић 2012). 33 У свом педагошком раду, у процесима подучавања црквеном појању, Илић је настојао да ученике најпре упозна с основама солфеђа и оспособи за примарно ишчитавање тонова црквеног напева абецедом. О томе сведоче истраживања о његовом приступу студентима Богословског факултета у Београду између двају ратова (уп. Ђоковић 2016). Стога није необично ни што звучни примери из поменутих манастира илуструју висок ниво увежбаног музичког израза, изношења црквених напева у прецизно дефинисаном и сигурно вођеном трогласу. Илустративан пример ове јединствене праксе, међу снимцима из манастира Никоље, јесте појање великог напева "Достојно јест", према композицији Корнелија Станковића (1864), а упечатљиво је и трогласно извођење многих других песама Општег појања, попут "Возбраној војеводје", "Придите", или Канона евхаристије.³⁴

 $^{^{30}}$ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, IV/4, бр. 1.

³¹ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, IV, VI, XII, XV.

³² Из усменог казивања др Данице Петровић.

³³ Звучно сведочанство о појању монахиња овог манастира забележено је у издањима: *Никољско йојање* (1974) и *Никољски Ускрс* (1976).

³⁴ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја, XII, бр. 10–18.

АРХИВСКИ ЗВУЧНИ СНИМЦИ СРПСКОГ ЦРКВЕНОГ ПОЈАЊА У МУЗИКОЛОШКОМ ИНСТИТУТУ САНУ: ЗВУЦИ ЖИВЕ ТРАДИЦИЈЕ КАО ИЗВОРИ ЗА ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ

Седамдесетих и осамдесетих година прошлог века, како потврђују архивски снимци, репертоар традиционалног српског појања, неретко и у вишегласном извођењу (двогласу или трогласу), негован је и у манастиру Жича, у којем је почев од последње деценије XX века заживела пракса такозваног византијског или предањског појања.³⁵ Новија антрополошка истраживања фокусирана на сагледавање различитих утицаја историјских, политичких, друштвених и културних токова на монашки живот и црквену уметност, то јест на богослужбено певање у овом манастиру, осветлила су и питања о музичком образовању монахиња и неговању репертоара различитих појачких традиција током друге половине XX века (Благојевић 2019). Када је реч о сведочанствима о традицији српског појања, значајни су подаци о подукама које су монахиње примале тридесетих година прошлог века, најпре у манастиру Враћевшница од ђакона (?) Медаковића из Београда. По доласку у Жичу училе су од Слободана Бенђаревића, диригента из Призрена, потом од проте Мирка Павловића, свештеника и композитора Миливоја Црвчанина, затим, такође, уз Војислава Илића, као и јереја Виталија Тарасјева из Руске цркве у Београду (Благојевић 2019, 444-445). Саме сестре сведочиле су да су у манастиру училе ноте и да су у литургијској пракси најчешће користиле нотне записе Стевана Мокрањца и Ненада Барачког (Благојевић 2019, 444-445). Вишегласни манастирски хор водила је мати Февронија (Чејкановић), чија су казивања обухваћена и теренским снимцима др Димитрија Стефановића. 36

Традиционално српско појање било је, како снимци сведоче, заступљено и у манастирима у Бачкој: Бођанима, и у манастиру Ковиљ, који ће деведесетих година постати један од најзначајнијих расадника византијског појања (уп. Благојевић 2020). Карактеристични су снимци игумана манастира Бођани, о. Максимилијана (1970), одмалена обучаваног у појању у родној Кули, уз проту Саву Дамјанова који је био добар зналац такозваног "карловачког" појања. Монах Максимилијан посведочио је да је знао и напеве великог појања и певао их је о великим празницима и када би у цркви било много верника. У Бођанима је

³⁵ С обзиром на главну тему ове студије, као и на њен предвиђени обим, у овом тренутку нећемо детаљније разматрати феномене праксе византијског, то јест предањског појања. О поменутим темама видети: Пено 2015; 2016; Павићевић 2020.

³⁶ По доласку на управу игуманије Јелене (Лазовић), године 1993, сестринство је ступило у контакт с композитором Владимиром Јовановићем (1956–2016) и женским хором "Свети Јован Дамаскин", који је у посетама манастиру све учесталије појао на Литургијама (Благојевић 2019, 448).

 $^{^{37}\,}$ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, II; Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_511.

истом приликом снимљено и појање искушеника Чедомира Чалића, који је завршио Богословију у манастиру Крка. Из манастира Ковиљ (1972) драгоцена су казивања игумана Леонида, у појању ученика ковиљских монаха, о. Лаврентија и архимандрита Платона.³⁸

Иако их нема у великом броју, богослужбени снимци одражавају и присуство сегмената репертоара руске (хорске) црквене музике у српској појачкој пракси. Поред хорских композиција Дмитрија Бортњанског (Дмитрий Степанович Бортнянский 1751–1825) или руских аранжмана литургијских песама у извођењу хорова свештеника (из Жичке, односно Шумадијске епархије), најупечатљивији су примери неговања Херувимске песме према "старосимоновском" напеву (примери манастира Ваведење 1982, 1985) и вечерње молитве Свјеше шихиј у хорском аранжману Ивана Степановича Дворецког (Иван Степанович Дворецкий 1835–1886; у Благовештењу Рудничком, 1975). Монахиње манастира Манасија неговале су и шири хорски репертоар по "кијевском" напеву (1974).³⁹

Присуство духовних, богомољачких песама у оквиру литургијског и ширег манастирског појачког репертоара такође је евидентирано у снимцима с богослужења, као и приликом "наменских" снимања одабраних казивача на терену. Очигледно је удео овог жанра био значајан у оквирима иначе разноврсног репертоара причасних песама на Литургији, као и у певању ван саме службе. Поред типиком прописаних песама, уочава се да су у датом периоду у живој литургијској пракси били присутни и старији напеви тзв. "самопроизвољних" причасних песама према псаламским стиховима, попут Днес на Синајсшјеј тори, гл. 5 (уп. Пено 2004), каткада празничне стихире (нпр. Пасхалне стихира, гл. 5, у недељама после Васкрса),40 а најчешће паралитургијске, световне песме духовног карактера. Репертоар песама на стихове владике Николаја Велимировића снимљен је у манастирима Ћелије и Благовештење, а негован је и у Жичи и другим манастирима. Снажан утисак који на слушаоца и аналитичара оставља извођење ове врсте песама упућује на нераскидиве и дубоке везе између изданака српске световне и црквене музичке традиције, наслеђа песама сродних превасходно по мелодијској или мелодијско-ритмичкој, формалној структури, по латентној хармонској позадини, односно пратњи основне народне мелодије, као и по маниру извођења (уп. Ракочевић 2002; Ашковић 2006, 2010; Ђоковић 2020а). Поред песама које су до данас стекле велику популарност ("Теби, само Теби", "Небеска Србија",

³⁸ Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_124.

³⁹ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, IV/2, бр. 6, 7; IV/3, бр. 6, 7; V, бр. 5; XI/2, бр. 2; XV/4, бр. 6; Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_521.

⁴⁰ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, IV/3, бр. 9; XV/4, бр. 7.

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"Божић, Божић", "Људи, ликујте" и сл.), међу архивским снимцима доступни су и записи мање познатих, попут песме "Скини с мене бриге многе" (Манасија 1968), "Исусе, радости моја" (Благовештење 1984) или јединственог примера песме "У самоћи један монах", коју је испевала мати Вероника из манастира Покров Пресвете Богородице код Ђуниса (1975) у стилу градских песама из XIX и почетка XX века.⁴¹

Уз основни и најзначајнији, музички, снимци доносе и друге драгоцене слојеве садржаја који могу постати основ за разноврсна даља истраживања. Неретко су, посебно у записима насталим ван Србије, осим метаподатака о снимљеним песмама, бележени подаци од значаја за шири, културноисторијски контекст датог подручја и тренутка – о историји цркве, манастира или краја у којем је снимано, о црквеној и друштвеној заједници, обичајима, о пореклу и образовању појединих појаца.

Местимично су нотиране појединости које би у ширим оквирима могле бити значајне за културну историју и живот манастира, посредно и за осветљавање њиховог доприноса очувању српског црквеног појања у деценијама друге половине XX века: нпр. регистровано је бројчано стање монаштва у појединим годинама снимања (године 1973. забележено је да је у Жичи боравило четрдесет монахиња, у Студеници десет монаха, у манастиру Сретење петнаест, а у Велућу седамнаест сестара), о њиховом пореклу и образовању, преласцима из једног у други манастир, и слично. Звучне белешке попут оних из манастира Гомионица у Босни и Херцеговини, из Лепавине у Хрватској, или из манастира Крка у Далмацији могле би послужити и као важни извори за поље етнолошко-антрополошких, па и етномузиколошких истраживања о животу српског народа у различитим геокултурним подручјима. 42

 $^{^{41}}$ Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја 2023, XX/2; XIX, бр. 9; Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_522.

⁴² Међу сликовитим примерима је тонски запис службе уочи храмовне славе у манастиру Крка (1972), са далматинским епископом Стефаном (Малетићем); међу представљеним свештеницима који су служили и појцима издвојен је Спиридон Сандић, црквени појац у Шибенику. Снимљени су сегменти разговора са свештеником Миланом Тицом, парохом у Врбнику (код Книна), некадашњим питомцем Богословије Св. Саве у Београду, који је говорио о службовању на постављеном месту, обнављању цркве и о раду Богословије. У разговорима које је истом приликом водио са ученицима Богословије манастира Крка, др Димитрије Стефановић мотивисао је младе богослове да говоре о свом пореклу (Дервента, Невесиње, Мркоњић, Јајце, Тузла), о односу према црквеној музици и учењу појања, говорио им о својим посетама Светој гори и истраживањима у манастиру Хиландар. За етнолошка и етномузиколошка истраживања, али и за општу слику музичког наслеђа и профила служашчих и појаца у Крки, драгоцени су снимци попут гуслања без песме, тридесеттрогодишњег свештеника Илије Летића из Гламоча (1974), према подукама свога деведесетогодишњег деде. Исти аудио-запис садржи разговор о врстама певања и

По многоструким слојевима значаја и значења издвајају се и снимци из Мађарске. То су звучне слике појачке, као и вишегласне певачке праксе, као истакнутог елемената националног и духовног, религијског идентитета српског народа на простору некадашње јужне Угарске, негованог и одржаног у континуитету од XVIII века и кроз наредна столећа. Поред записа црквеног појања и певања световних песама према казивању Лазара Терзина (81 година, Сентандреја 1969), Игњата Чобана (1910–1993) и Стојана Вујичића (1933–2002), снимљена су и различита извођења мушког црквеног хора под руководством Игњата Чобана, с репертоаром црквених, као и световних народних, патриотских песама, за јединствени вид упознавања, кроз звучни одјек, културног и музичког живота заједнице Срба у Мађарској у XX веку (уп. Прелић 2008; Ластић и Радојичић 2013).

Фонд ових записа такође садржи етнографски важне податке за слику културног и духовног живота Срба у Мађарској. Вођени су разговори о породичном наслеђу, образовању и професијама појединаца у српској заједници у Сентандреји, Јегри, Помазу, Мохачу, Ловри и Рац-Алмашу, о црквеним и породичним обичајима прослављања Божића, крсне и храмовне славе, статусу музике у породичном животу и у животу заједнице. У манастиру Грабовац снимљено је појање о. Радована Степанова, као и разговор о богослужењу и традиционалном окупљању у манастирској цркви на празник Св. апостола Петра и Павла – према овом сведочењу, на Литургију, као и на поподневно вечерње и резање славског колача, долазили су по обичају Срби из целе Мађарске, па и из Југославије; славило се "као што је некада било", играло се коло, Петровдан је сматран "славом читавог краја", те су га и иноверни прослављали као своју славу, "бучу" (уп. Терзин 1987).⁴⁴

припевавања у колу, приче о обичајима и певању световних славских песама, снимке и сведочења о далматинском световном народном певању и тзв. *їрокшању*, као и о далматинском бећарцу; Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_516, 517.

⁴³ Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_519, 527, 528.

⁴⁴ Током боравака у Мађарској, др Димитрије Стефановић забележио је и појединости о заоставштини епископа Георгија Зубковића, на сентандрејском гробљу ишчитавао је записе са споменика, помињући имена и презимена преминулих, повезујући информације о сродницима, међу црквеним појцима (уп. Становчић и Стефановић, 2012). У разговору с мештанима разматрана су питања о језику, дијалектима којима се говорило у Сентандреји и околним мањим местима попут Будакалаза или Сантова; Фоноархив МИ САНУ, "Каталог магнетофонских трака", тр_526, 528.

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ТРАГОМ АРХИВСКИХ СНИМАКА ДО НОВИХ ИСТРАЖИВАЊА

У новијим научним истраживањима све израженија афирмација проучавања дискографије, односно звука као примарног музиколошког извора, полазишта "фономузикологије" (Leech-Wilkinson 2009; Cottrell 2010; Ceribašić 2021; Лајић Михајловић 2022) сугерише и поље нових визура у изучавању традиционалног српског црквеног појања. Из аналитичке, теоријске перспективе, објављивање снимака црквеног појања различитих традиција током претходних педесетак година посматрано је с фокусом на релацији између звучних записа и живог литургијског репертоара. Уочено је да снимци, с једне стране, могу "реконструисати" слику о богослужбеном музичком току једног времена, али и постати узор за аутентичну презентацију литургијске музике у различитим контекстима. Закључено је да оживљавање старе музике путем аудио-записа, као и током самог процеса снимања, посредно утиче и на савремену, могуће и будућу извођачку праксу (Brunner 1982; Weber 1991, 2012; Åkesson 2017).

Могло би се, с обзиром на ова гледишта, рећи да звучна сведочанства о српском појању већ почев од тридесетих година XX века имају потенцијал да постану "кључ разумевања" историјски информисаног извођаштва, али и ширег препознавања и неговања традиционалних вредности у маниру изношења и перципирања овде представљеног музичког наслеђа (уп. Weber 2015). Поједини примери из обиља приказаног теренског материјала приказују висок ниво умећа и музикалности појаца, посвећеност брижљивом односу према поступку "кројења" црквених напева на основу разумевања и изношења химнографског текста. Целина снимака сведочанство је живог тренутка појања и утемељености у конкретној музичкој традицији.

Приређивање и објављивање избора из фонда архивских снимака, као један од резултата досадашњег истраживања овде представљене грађе у складу је с циљевима очувања и неговања српског појања као јединственог културног и духовног наслеђа српског народа (уп. Стефановић 1992;

⁴⁵ У једном од извештаја о раду, др Стефановић нотирао је да је сакупљени звучни материјал с терена био значајан извор у припремању рада "Феномен усмене традиције у преношењу православног литургијског појања", који је на енглеском језику представио на међународном научном скупу *Cantus planus* у оквиру Међународног музиколошког друштва (Печуј, Мађарска), разматрајући питања усмене традиције у литургијском појању Српске цркве и отварајући низ питања за даља истраживања (Архив МИ САНУ, Збирка: Архива МИ САН/САНУ, Извештај Д. Стефановића о раду 1990. године, Регистар бр. 134; Стефановић 1992).

Dumnić Vilotijević 2019; Марјановић и Брујић 2018; Магјапоvić 2022). 46 Звучни исечак минулог времена српске историје могао би бити нови пут за упознавање и разумевање једног сегмента музичке прошлости, подстицај живој појачкој традицији, па и будућим упоредним истраживањима старих снимака и савремене појачке праксе.

Табела 1. Преглед локација и датума теренских снимања црквеног појања којима је руководио др Димитрије Стефановић.

Епархија Српске православне цркве	Манастир	Година снимања
	Крушедол	1970, 1974, 1986, 1989.
	Хопово	1972.
	Фенек	1972.
Сремска ейархија	Гргетег	1980.
	Велика Ремета	1983, 1984, 1989.
	Јазак	1984, 1989.
	Беочин	1989.
Бачка ейархија	Бођани	1970.
	Ковиљ	1972.
E avamana aā abuvia	Вршац	1980.
Банатска ейархија	Месић	1983.
Беоїрадско-карловачка ейархија	Београд	1981.
Шумадијска ейархија	Благовештење (Рудничко)	1975, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1985, 1989.
	Ралетинац	1981.

⁴⁶ Идеју о изношењу избора снимака у јавност, у оквиру пројекта *Архивски снимци срйскої црквеної йојања у Фоноархиву Музиколошкої инсйшийуй а САНУ – извори за исйраживање и очување йрадиције* (руководилац: др Наташа Марјановић, сарадници: проф. Зоран Јерковић, мср Стефан Савић) подржало је Министарство културе и информисања РС, на конкурсу за дигитализацију архивске грађе. Звучни садржај поменутог издања *Сйаси Госйоди људи Твоја* (Београд 2023) доступан је и на веб-сајту пројекта АРРМЕЅ (2024) Музиколошког института САНУ.

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	Манасија	1968.	
	Раваница	1968, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1981.	
Браничевска ейархија	Покајница	1970.	
	Горњак	1973.	
	Пожаревац	1989.	
	Жича	1973, 1975.	
	Студеница	1973, 1986.	
	Враћевшница	1984.	
Жичка ейархија	Никоље	1973.	
(Овчарско-кабларски манастири)	Сретење	1973.	
манастири)	Јовање	1982.	
	Ваведење	1975, 1983, 1984, 1985.	
	Благовештење	1989.	
	Велуће	1973, 1975.	
Крушевачка ейархија	Наупара	1973.	
	Св. Петка	1973.	
Нишка ейархија	Покров Пресвете Богородице (Ђунис)	1975.	
Ваљевска ейархија	Ћелије	1968, 1982.	
	Високи Дечани	1961.	
Рашко-йризренска ейархија	Сопоћани	1968.	
cuapxaja	Девич	1968.	
F	Гомионица	1974.	
Бањалучка ейархија	Липље	1975.	
Милешевска ейархија Милешева		1963.	
Пакрачко-славонска ейархија Пакрац		1989.	
Лейавинско-северинска ейархија	Лепавина	1978.	

Далматинска ейархија	Крка	1970, 1972, 1974.
Црноїорско-йриморска	Прасквице	1963, 1979.
ейархија	Режевићи	1963.
	Грабовац	1979.
	Сентандреја	1969, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1981.
	Помаз	1979, 1981.
Будимска ейархија	Рац-Алмаш	1979.
	Jerpa	1979.
	Ловра	1979.
	Липова	1979.
	Мохач	1979.

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НАТАША МАРЈАНОВИЋ

АРХИВСКИ ЗВУЧНИ СНИМЦИ СРПСКОГ ЦРКВЕНОГ ПОЈАЊА У МУЗИКОЛОШКОМ ИНСТИТУТУ САНУ: ЗВУЦИ ЖИВЕ ТРАДИЦИЈЕ КАО ИЗВОРИ ЗА ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ

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НАТАША МАРЈАНОВИЋ

АРХИВСКИ ЗВУЧНИ СНИМЦИ СРПСКОГ ЦРКВЕНОГ ПОЈАЊА У МУЗИКОЛОШКОМ ИНСТИТУТУ САНУ: ЗВУЦИ ЖИВЕ ТРАДИЦИЈЕ КАО ИЗВОРИ ЗА ИСТРАЖИВАЊЕ

Београд: Музиколошки институт САНУ, 2023. (= APPMES. 2024. Sound Archive – "Serbian Church Singing in the Phonoarchive of the Institute of Musicology SASA." Applied Musicology and Ethnomusicology in Serbia: Making a Difference in Contemporary Society – APPMES. Institute of Musicology SASA. Accessed 17 May 2024. https://appmes.rs/index.php/archive/sound-archive/)

Nataša Marjanović

ARCHIVAL SOUND RECORDINGS OF THE SERBIAN CHURCH CHANT IN THE INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY SASA: SOUNDS OF LIVE TRADITION AS SOURCES FOR RESEARCH

(SUMMARY)

The study presents the rich collection of sound recordings of church music at the Phonoarchive of the Institute of Musicology SASA. The recordings of the traditional Serbian church chant, made by dr Dimitrije Stefanović and dr Danica Petrović during their field research in the period from the end of the 1960s to the mid-1980s are of unique importance. That was the period after the WWII, unfavorable for both cultivation and study of church traditions. Several hundreds of hours of audio recordings from church services and direct encounters with chanters in churches and monasteries throughout the SFR Yugoslavia, as well as Hungary, remain material evidence of the vitality of the Serbian church chant during those times. The recordings were made with a magnetophon and a more modern cassette-tape recorder. They have been digitised as part of the project to digitise the Institute's early sound archive, but the entire sound material has remained unknown to the general public to this day.

Many recordings were made directly during the services (vespers and matins, festal vigil services, liturgies, memorial services, and the blessings of the *Slava* bread). The second type of the recordings includes groups of individual hymns, sung by exceptional chanters selected among the monks and nuns in various monasteries. The rich contents of the collection, as an authentic testimony, a cut-out of a bygone era, open new lines of sight for the study of the period in which the recordings were made, as well as for the understanding of the dynamics of the development of the traditional Serbian church chant, preserved to this day in the practice of the Serbian Church across different regions. Various metadata about the recorded sound material figure as historical sources for further research in the fields of cultural history, anthropology, ethnology and ethnomusicology.

НАУЧНА КРИТИКА И ПОЛЕМИКА / SCIENTIFIC REVIEWS AND POLEMICS

THE ROUTLEDGE COMPANION TO APPLIED MUSICOLOGY

EDITED BY CHRIS DROMEY

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It has already become customary to introduce applied musicology and ethnomusicology as musicology and ethnomusicology practiced beyond the strict confines of academia. The circumstances of the contemporary scientific world which depends on precarious funds and projects and is therefore suffocated by the "publish-or-perish" narrative just to survive, have brought about the ideas of broader applicability of these disciplines' expertise in the "real world." Addressing these conditions in contemporary humanities would be much too serious of a task for this occasion, but they should be noted in order to underline the gravity of the situation and give context to the publication we have before us. The need for justification of the role of ethno/musicology today, however coercively, also reminds us of the versatility and the potential that are innate to our jobs, which are exactly what we are faced with in the comprehensive new collection of papers, The Routledge Companion to Applied Musicology, edited by musicologist Chris Dromey, Associate Professor of Music at Middlesex University. Likewise, especially given that in the collection, there are no contributions of authors from Serbia or the former Yugoslav sphere, publications like these also give us an opportunity to reexamine the work of musicologists and ethnomusicologists - academic, public, or otherwise - in the local context, and compare the structure and responsibilities of our jobs throughout the history of the discipline and especially today.

Although, due to the increasing interest in the last decade or so, it may seem that applied musicology is a "new and trending topic," it is, in fact, true that the idea of the application of knowledge of music has been at the forefront of this discipline since its foundation. Combined with the persisting difficulty in pinpointing the definition of musicology, this misapprehension was the motivation behind Dromey's engagement in production of this publication

– to demystify "the m-word" and "to acknowledge what musicology has already accomplished and to consider what it might go on to achieve" (p. 1). As the collection's contributors and their themes show, "what musicologists themselves conceive as 'application' will vary, as will […] their priorities and methods" (p. 2).

The collection contains 27 chapters divided into five parts: "Defining and Theorising Applied Musicology," "Public Engagement," "New Approaches and Research Methods," "Representation and Inclusion," and "Musicology in/for Performance."

As it seems, there have always been different perspectives on the musicology's nature, and these rifts and different perspectives are embedded in the very core of the discipline. This is demonstrated in the article written by musicologist Malik Sharif, who dealt with early scholars of musicology in the nineteenth century (Philipp Spitta, Hermann Kretzchmar, Guido Adler, and Charles Seeger) during its conception. Moreover, authors such as Miloš Zapletal and Chris Dromey recognize the applicative roots of musicology already in the eighteenth century, as well as the practice of musealization and historiography of music instruments and various musical texts. They claim that during its establishment in the next century, musicology was already functioning based on the previously determined connections between scholarship, music-making, and the collecting, preserving, exhibiting, researching, etc., of music sources. In the next chapter, Natasha Loges discusses the concert-programming strategies of the Austro-German performers (Clara Schumann and Julius Stockhausen in particular) as a form of public musicological action, emphasizing the fact that before the pianist and conductor Charles Hallé, who performed complete Beethoven sonata opus in 1861/62, the concert programs were not intended or arranged to showcase a genre or an individual composer's works. In a similar vein, Bruno Bower explores "applied before musicology," or a very particular case of music lexicography, criticism, and concert programming that preceded musicology's foundation, in the domain of George Grove's program notes for concerts that gradually became what is today widely known as Dictionary of Music and Musicians, whose first edition was published in 1879. Here, Bower draws one highly significant conclusion that underlines the importance of audience education and familiarity with reading about music and musicians as one of the requirements for musicology to succeed institutionally. Moving closer to our time, Nancy November writes about the mutual benefits of the intersections between phenomenology (that strives to recognize a group's shared experience) and practice-led research (which gives insight into the individual and introduces self-awareness) of various musical practices. Similarly, in the following chapter, Alastair Williams

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argues that critical musicology and performance studies could benefit from productive collaboration in exploring musical meaning and subjectivity.

The second part of the collection raises several important ethical concerns when working as a public musicologist. Leah Broad advocates for a model of public musicology where the dissemination of knowledge beyond academic institutions must be entrenched in reflectivity and responsibility towards the community. Thus, in order to engage with the public in a manner that is neither elitist nor pretentious, one must develop skills to find a target audience and shape the dissemination narrative according to the audience's needs, capacities and interest. Furthermore, by expanding on their two collaborative ethnomusicological projects (Soundscape Rostock: An Ethnomusicological View of City Sound and Nimitaau | Let's Dance: Fiddle-Dancing through Scots and Eeyou Cultures), Frances Wilkins, Barbara Alge, and the Aanischaaukamikw Cree Cultural Institute show how working across cultures, languages, and disciplines must be executed carefully and with special sensitivity towards learning and unlearning the harmful patterns. The next two chapters deal with the issue of public engagement in concerts. The first one, by Helen Julia Minors, is dedicated to unveiling of the processes of curation and public musicology through the artist-audience interactions, with a goal of promoting women-centered art at the Club *Inégales* in London. The second one, penned by Constanze Wimmer and Chris Dromey, introduces a discussion on cultural and artistic citizenship in classical music with a historical overview and reframing the concert audience engagement through conversations and concert notes. Toby Young's preoccupation was the issue of knowledge exchange in a non-traditional way; the author also offers a manifesto of "Sharing Music(ologic)al Knowledge," which should encourage further reflections on knowledge exchange outside of academia. This part of the collection concludes with Rachel Johnson's contribution dedicated to the public music lectures of Edward Taylor (1784-1863), who was innovative for his time, not only in the sense of the huge popularity of his talks but also for his need to encourage the audience, and especially women, to understand and test his observations.

Going beyond the context of traditional art concerts, concert lectures, workshops, and knowledge exchange geared towards the public outside of academia, in the third part of the collection, the authors introduce new research frontiers and methods. One that is gaining steadfast traction is ecomusicology, which was of interest to Aaron S. Allen, Taylor Leapaldt, Mark Pedelty, and Jeff Todd Titon. Focusing on the concept of sound commons – sound as a resource that may be shared but not owned – the authors trace musicology's path to the ecological commons and give insight into three projects that venture into soundscape and the impact of organology and music technology on

the environment. On the other hand, Michael Thorpe dove into the research of melodic symmetry, and more specifically, retrogression, to demonstrate how both musicology and cognitive psychology can benefit from finding new methodologies for studying music perception. Joe Attard researched audience responses to the idea of "opera cinema," intending to question whether "opera virgins" perceive this kind of remediation of opera as authentic enough. As the author underlined, what differs here from the usual musicological research is the inclusion of audience-centered methods. Inquiring about a closer bond and possible tighter collaboration between musicology and music therapy, Colin Andrew Lee and Chris Dromey propose a concept of "aesthetic music therapy" in which atonal improvisation, as well as contemporary music (namely, minimalism), can have a more critical role. Further, Paul Fleet questions the value and authenticity of music education and music degrees today, with attempts to present music skills and knowledge through the lens of the "Tomorrow's Graduate Skills" (WEF) formula.

The fourth part of the publication is introduced by Karen Cyrus' chapter on strategies to integrate Pan-African Music into the Canadian educational system via projects such as workshops for choosing and incorporating appropriate repertoire and material, reviving a steel band program, and investigating teaching strategies in this regard. Xabier Etxeberria Adrien and Henry Stobart examine the historically significant figures and events of the indigenismo movement in Bolivia and Ecuador, with a cautionary conclusion for active researchers of marginalized and indigenous communities not to delude themselves that their "(ethno)musicological efforts are free of flaws [...] or that [they] can easily jettison the baggage of coloniality." Going from care for the communities that are the subject of research to the (self-)care of the researchers themselves, Klisala Harrison proposes a type of "reparative musicology" (a term mentioned at the very end of the chapter) that champions a more ambitious framework of care for researchers that face various types of risk at work (phycological, emotional, physical, etc.). Presenting several cases of "rap at court," Lily E. Hirsch argued that forensic musicology – i.e. expert witnesses working in the domain of public musicology - could aid in distinguishing between morality and the law, particularly when it comes to genres such as rap, which is prejudiced as criminal and otherwise problematic. Adam Ockelford's chapter discusses examples of "applied musicology in action" based on the "zygonic" theory (already mentioned in Thorpe's text), specifically concerning musical development, neurodiversity, and musical cognition. According to the author, this approach has the potential to overcome the issues of previous metacognition research methodologies based on reflection on musical experience through language.

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At the beginning of the exciting fifth part of the collection, Ties van de Werff, Imogen Eve, and Veerle Spronck wrote about their project "Mahler am Tisch," which strived to experiment with playing classical music for nontraditional audiences in unusual venues. Therefore, the music of Gustav Mahler was arranged to be performed in an intimate jazz café and a bar as a unadvertised pop-up event, with the idea to put the musicians in a non-traditional space and investigate different types of reactions from the present audience. Rachael Durkin and Darryl Martin expanded on the notion that organology can be seen as an *intra*disciplinary space, in which both performance studies and applied musicology have had important roles throughout history. Neil Heyde brings about the issue of musicians' and composers' relationship with existing music recordings and, with the help of a case study that deals with six cello pieces by Richard Beaudoin, proposes ways to stimulate critical and analytical approaches and engagement with music stored in digital memory. The penultimate chapter of the collection, written by Sarah-Jane Gibson and Lee Higgins, covers the role of applied musicology and knowledge on social issues in the life of community choirs in Northern Ireland. The choirs that were researched have shown that the communities, although not musically educated, have a desire to engage in collaborative musicking, demonstrating numerous acts of inclusive practice and democratizing musical experience. Finally, in their chapter, Neil T. Smith and Peter Peters deepened the discussion on music and architecture, that is, the buildings in which music is performed, and especially those that were built exclusively for that purpose - such as Richard Wagner's Festspielhaus, Pierre Boulez's IRCAM, and many other historical and contemporary examples of buildings for music. The authors concluded by highlighting the necessity of musicological studying and involvement in music and its buildings in order to be "more sensitive to the wider arenas of which music is part."

As shown in this short review, this volume gathers an astounding amount of vibrant and up-to-date scholarship that addresses historically, substantively, ethically, and otherwise essential issues, thus demonstrating the breadth of the possibilities and demand for musicology outside academic contexts. At the same time, it shows that musicologists and ethnomusicologists have been preoccupied with their role and impact in society since (and even before) the official establishment of their disciplines, and that the current precarious situation on the job market in humanities and in general, only prompted them to market their work as valuable to a broader audience. This type of work should also involve a strong sense of responsibility – towards the people subjected to the research, as well as towards the researcher's self and wellbeing – inherited from experiences of the social disciplines previously involved in research of different communities.

Finally, this culturally rich publication invites a self-reflection about our locally applied ethno/musicological practices. For public musicology and many other types of applied work have not only been present in the Serbian and Yugoslav context for decades, but it is also the case that these jobs and social interventions were and still are often done by the people working in academia, in collaboration with colleagues working in the realms such as radio, television, music criticism, concert and exhibition programming, marginalized community research, etc. Considering all the above while also taking into account the choice of traditional musicological media to present all of this vibrant research, we can finally add (another) question about the musicology's nature and definition – is it possible to completely distinguish applied from academic musicology, or are they (as they have always been) just two faces of the same coin? It seems to me that the second option is more plausible and logical.

Bojana Radovanović

Снежана Николајевић и Бранка Радовић

АЛЕКСАНДАР ВУЈИЋ ОД А ДО Ш: КОМПОЗИТОР, ДИРИГЕНТ, ПИЈАНИСТА...

Београд: Камерни оркестар "Симфонијета", 2023. ISBN 978-86-901126-3-0

Биографска/монографска литература о српским музичарима није обилно заступљена. Већ у том смислу књига о којој је овде реч добродошла је.

Свестрана личност Александра С. Вујића (1945–2017), оставила је значајног трага на свим пољима на којима се огледала. По образовању и потоњој делатности пијаниста, диригент и композитор, Вујић је иза себе оставио вредна остварења и резултате које су домаћа и инострана музичка публика и критика препознале још за његовог живота. Наведеним пољима треба додати његов педагошки рад дугогодишњег професора на Факултету музичке уметности у Београду, као и организационе активности у сфери музичког живота.

Музиколози др Снежана Николајевић, дугогодишња уредница у Редакцији за озбиљну музику Радио-телевизије Србије, редовни професор на Катедри за музику у медијима Филолошко-уметничког факултета у Крагујевцу, у пензији, и пок. др Бранка Радовић (1949–2023), редовни професор историје музике на истом факултету, биле су вишеструко предиспониране за писање монографије о Александру Вујићу. Припаднице практично исте генерације, с Вујићем су професионално сарађивале и биле везане пријатељством. Блиски познаваоци његовог живота, рада, композиторског и извођачког опуса, оне су биле и најпозваније да напишу књигу о Вујићу. Помоћ у прикупљању грађе за књигу добиле су од арх. Ане Марије Ковенц Вујић, композиторове удовице, и од Марије Адамов, музиколога и музичке критичарке, музичке уреднице Радио Новог Сада, у пензији.

Монографија није стандардно конципирана. Уместо за уобичајен, хронолошки поступак, ауторке су се опредиле да живот и рад А. Вујића

представе кроз појмовник сачињен од седамдесет одредница. Уазбучени појмовник подразумева да се из одреднице у одредницу неминовно смењују садржаји из приватног живота са онима из сфере уметничког рада; да се на биографске целине надовезују аналитичка разматрања. Из читалачког угла, оваква концепција собом носи опасност од дисконтинуитета. Међутим, та опасност је избегнута срећним распоредом конкретних садржаја и мешовитим карактером појединих одредница, па читалац без напора гради целину слике о Вујићу као личности и уметнику.

Нарација је средишње начело у обликовању ове књиге. Она доминира у највећем броју текстова, а најуочљивија је у биографским партијама. Живот Александра Вујића и његова личност оцртани су у више наврата. Вујић као личност представљен је сажетом и заокруженом биографијом (одредница Александар); освртом на породицу Вујић, местима и земљама за које је био везан током свога живота (Сента, Београд, Земун, Мађарска – Будимпешта, Немачка – Минхен, САД). Приказан је лик његове супруге, која му је представљала велики ослонац у животу и раду; истакнуте су црте његовог карактерног профила, његова духовност, приврженост традиционалним вредностима, вери и Српској православној цркви, његово родољубље, његов космополитизам. Присну слику Александра Вујића граде и ступци о хобијима, читању, разноврсним интересовањима, о предасима у Трнским Одоровцима. Читалац је тако добио пластичну слику о току уметниковог живота, о личности и карактеру.

Сва поља музичког рада осветљена су подробно. У своме првом креативном периоду Александар Вујић је био окренут пијанизму. После извесног времена посвећеног солистичком концертирању, а под дејством и једног разговора између пијаниста Евгенија Тимакина [Евгений Михайлович Тимакин] и Валерија Камишова [Валерий Константинович Камышов] у Новом Саду, он је увидео да треба да начини заокрет у извођаштву, па се прво окренуо камерној музици, а затим дириговању. Вујић као диригент обрађен је у штивима о ансамблима с којима је радио (Хор "Браћа Барух", Прво београдско певачко друштво, *Iuventus cantat*, Духовна академија у Студеници), или о онима које је сам основао – *Симфонијеша Беотрад* (први приватни оркестар у бившој Југославији) и Мадригалски хор Факултета музичке уметности.

У зрелом периоду наш музичар се предао компоновању. С. Николајевић и Б. Радовић су велику пажњу посветиле Вујићу као музичком ствараоцу. Оне су у књизи објавиле попис његових дела, зауставивши се код Вујићевих узора, пре свих Беле Бартока [Béla Bartók], али и кључних аспеката/ појмова попут авангарде (од које га је делила, на првом месту, жеља да

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музиком комуницира с извођачима и публиком), вокалне лирике (уочивши наклоност ка силабичности у третману вокалне деонице и развијеност клавирског парта), потом верзија и варијаната (Вујић је био познат као композитор који своја дела прерађује за различите саставе), фолклора (који је био Вујићева трајна инспирација) и др. Аналитички слој најприсутнији је у приказима одабраних, најзначајнијих дела. Неки од тих текстова преузети су од музичких критичара који су писали о музици А. Вујића.

Александар Вујић је остварио сарадњу с бројним, истакнутим музичким уметницима-извођачима. Тако се поред С. Николајевић и Б. Радовић и аутора преузетих и цитираних критика, у књизи чују и гласови уметника и других личности који износе сећања на свог колегу, професора и пријатеља (оперска уметница Јадранка Јовановић, гитаристкиња и композиторка Маја Леру Обрадовић, епископ шабачки Лаврентије, виолончелисти Алекса Асановић и Немања Станковић, пијанисти Уки Оваскаинен и Иван Башић). Александар Вујић као педагог – професор свирања партитура на ФМУ, осветљен је такође кроз сећање (Стефана Зекића, наследника на овом предмету), као и указивањем на уџбеник који је саставио за потребе наставе. Снежана Николајевић и Бранка Радовић су оваквом концепцијом дискретно окупиле и представиле познаваоце и поштоваоце Вујићевог рада, па се тако добила и слика о кругу музичара и интелектуалаца којем је он припадао.

Ни други битни аспекти формирања, живота и рада нашег уметника нису занемарени; ауторке су се осврнуле на најважније професоре у Вујићевом професионалном стасавању, на установе за које је везао свој рад, на награде и признања и др.

Монографија Снежане Николајевић и Бранке Радовић представља веома успело, стручно музиколошко дело, али, исто тако, пример изузетно успелог остварења у домену примењене музикологије. Иако у појединим сегментима књига подразумева извесна предзнања, она није замишљена и написана тако да обесхрабри читаоца који је само љубитељ музике. Верујемо да је и искуство др Николајевић као телевизијске уреднице за класичну музику допринело оваквој физиономији књиге. Постигнута равнотежа између наведених начела даје јој двојак статус, и она зато представља допринос како музикологији, тако и популаризацији науке о музици и савремене музике.

Књига је богато илустрована; она садржи педесет пет фотографија из архиве удовице и породице Вујић.

Концизна и компактна, монографија је написана децентним језиком који у одређеном смислу чини јединство са одмереним, објективним вредновањима рада и домета Александра Вујића као музичара. Ово је књига оданости колеги и пријатељу у којој је емоцији дата права мера; ово је атрактивно музиколошко штиво које се чита с лакоћом и уживањем.

Александар Васић



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Конкурс за доделу *Годишње наїраде* "Стана Ђурић-Клајн" *за изузешан дойринос музиколоїији* за 2023. годину

Музиколошко друштво Србије позива своје чланове, академске институције, издаваче и музичка удружења с територије Србије да до 15. септембра 2024. године доставе образложене предлоге за *Годишњу натраду* "Стана Ђурић-Клајн" за изузетиан дотринос музиколотији. Награда се додељује за сваку од три категорије:

- а) једном аутору или групи аутора за оригиналан допринос српској музикологији: за музиколошку публикацију (студију или монографију) објављену у штампаном и/или електронском виду 2023. године; односно, уреднику или групи уредника колективне монографије, објављене у штампаном и/или електронском виду 2023. године;
- б) истакнутом појединцу за укупан дугогодишњи допринос српској музикологији;
- в) за истакнуте резултате из области примењене музикологије (заштита српске музичке баштине, музиколошки прилози критичким издањима нотних и звучних записа, музиколошка обрада новооткривеног нотног или текстуалног рукописа и остале текстуалне заоставштине ...) објављене током 2023. године.

За номиновање предлога за Награду у категоријама *а* и *в*, потребно је да предлагач достави:

- образложен предлог (номинацију) дужине максимално до 500 речи, који укључује и комплетне библиографске податке предложеног дела;
- пет (5) штампаних примерака предложеног дела и један (1) електронски примерак.

За номиновање предлога за Награду у категорији б, потребно је да предлагач достави:

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