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Mediterranean, Our Own: (Post-)Yugoslav Pop Music

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MEDITERRANEAN, OUR OWN: (POST-)YUGOSLAV POP MUSIC

Tatjana Marković (Vienna/Belgrade)

In one episode of the popular British TV series *Midsomer Murders*, Inspector Barnaby and his assistant Troy are puzzled by the murder of a woman and her lover. When Troy expresses his opinion that the woman's husband must be the murderer, the inspetor surprisingly asks him what could be the motive. When Troy answers, "Jealousy. A crime of passion. He kills his wife, then he kills her lover", Inspector Barnaby doubtfully concludes: "Sounds very Mediterranean, Troy".

According to this stereotype, "Mediterranean" means passion, excitement, the expression of intense feelings and, as against British reticence and understatement, a "Southern mentality" as depicted in *verismo* operas. However, any attempt to define the Mediterranean in a precise way remains incomplete, or even leads to the conclusion that it does not exist at all.[1] The lack of a unique definition results from the hybrid identity of the Mediterranean; as Predrag Matvejević points out, this mosaic includes

> Europe, the Maghreb, and the Levant; Judaism, Christianity, and Islam; the Talmud, the Bible, and the Qur'an; Athens and Rome; Jerusalem, Alexandria, Constatinople, and Venice; Greek dialectics, art, and democracy; Roman law, the forum, and the republic; Arab scholarship; Provençal and Catalan poetry; Italy in the Renaissance; Spain in various periods, glorious and inglorious; the Southern Slavs on the Adriatic; and many more.[2]

Everyone has a Mediterranean of their own, and the topic of this issue of TheMA is the last mentioned – the South Slavic or Yugoslav. Yugoslavia belonged partly

1 Takis Theodoropoulos: "Alcune storie sul Mediterraneo, mare senza misteri", in: *Raccontare il Mediterraneo: Lo sguardo Greco*, eds. Takis Theodoropoulos and Rania Polycandroti. Messina: Mesogea, 2002, pp. 17–43.

2 Predrag Matvejević*: Mediteranski brevijar.* Zagreb*:* Graficki zavod Hrvatske*,* 1987, quoted here from the English translation: Predrag Matvejević: *Mediterranean: A Cultural Landscape*, trans. Michael Henry Heim. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1999, p. 10.

to central Europe, partly to southeast Europe, and partly to the Mediterranean world. Dalmatia and Istria are, however, not at all in the focus of Mediterranean Studies, at least not so often as the Eastern Mediterranean or the Near East. In other words, Mediterraneanism is understood as a cousin of Orientalism.[3] For instance, at one website where the sounds of the Mediterranean are offered for sale or collection, one can access seven sounds: 1) a traditional Mediterranean or Middle Eastern percussion loop played on a darabuka, dumbek or Arabic tabla drum; 2) a traditional Mediterranean or Middle Eastern Arabic tabla percussion loop; 3) squeaky calls from a flock of Mediterranean gulls; 4) a melody loop plucked on a traditional Mediterranean mandolin; 5) a percussion loop played on a traditional Mediterranean or Middle Eastern darabuka drum; 6) a traditional Middle Eastern darabuka, dumbek or Arabic tabla drum rhythm; and 7) a traditional Mediterranean or Middle Eastern darabuka, dumbek or Arabic tabla drum rhythm.[4] These sounds are obviously related to Near East and Arabic cultures, but only one is a part of Adriatic culture: the mandolin. Interestingly enough, in spite of the presence of the Ottoman legacy in Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia, it is not a part of the South Slav's Mediterranean pop music vocabulary, which is inspired by the sounds and images of the Adriatic sea, seagulls, the Dalmatian or Istrian breeze, and the sunshine.

> Many incongruities have marked Mediterranean civilizations, old and new: from the Greek and Roman to the Byzantine, and on to the Italian, French Provençal, Spanish Catalan, Arabic (in a number of regions), Croatian (from Dalmatia to Pannonia), Slovenian (from the coast to the Alps), Serbian and Montenegrin, Macedonian and Bulgarian, Albanian, Romanian, Turkish, and most likely others as well, either preceding Greco-Roman times, parallel to them, or following them, together and separately. Mediterranean cultures are not merely national cultures.[5]

As can be seen, the continental parts of Yugoslavia have their own perspectives on the Mediterranean, especially through popular music – or more precisely, *zabavna muzika/glazba* ("light" or "entertainment music").[6] As a matter of fact,

3 William Vernon Harris: *Rethinking the Mediterranean*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 2.

4 http://www.soundsnap.com/tags/mediterranean (accessed on September 15, 2015).

5 Matvejević: *Mediterranean*, pp. 11–12.

6 In order to understand the complex terminology in the Serbo-Croatian language and the ways in which the genres of popular music, including *zabavna* and *narodna,* were defined in Yugoslavia, cf. Catherine Baker, *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism in Croatia since 1991*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010, pp. 2, 82. These terms are related also to evaluation of the popular music/s in accordance with Communist aesthetics; cf. Miša Đurković: "Ideološki i politički sukobi oko popularne muzike u Srbiji", *Filozofija i društvo* 25 (2004): 271–284.

popular music includes two ideologically, aesthetically, and socially opposed genres: the aforementioned *zabavna*, and *narodna* (folk) music. The latter includes *izvorna* ("authentic")[7] and neo-folk (neo-traditional, newly composed) or turbo-folk music.[8] *Zabavna* music means "something positive, modern, urban and international", while the neo-traditional *narodna* is dismissed as a "degeneration of genuine folklore" and kitsch.[9] Consequently, the former music was popular among the urban educated middle class, and the latter among the less well-educated working class.[10] *Zabavna* music was promoted through annual festivals, in Belgrade, Zagreb, and especially in coastal Croatian cities such as Split or Opatija; this was the so-called "festival period" in the 1950s and the 1960s, followed by the "recording period" of the 1970s.[11] These songs or schlagers, such as those from the LP *Mediterranean Sound* (Croatia Records, 1972), composed and arranged by Stipica Kalogjera, constructed *Mediterranean, Our Own* throughout Yugoslavia in the first decades after World War II.

The repertoire of Mediterranean *zabavna muzika* has not generally been included in popular music studies, neither in the context of its highest popularity in the 1960s and 1970s, nor in the post-Yugoslav revival as a prominent form of Yugo-nostalgia, in a strongly politicized context. For instance, one of the significant studies dedicated to this topic, *The Mediterranean in Music*, includes contributions on Turkish, Albanian, Palestinian, North African, Greek, Spanish and Italian music, but Yugoslavia – and more precisely, Croatia – is omitted.[12] In the study *Mediterranean Mosaic: Popular Music and Global Sounds*, Croatia is included along with Spanish, Moroccan, Tunisian, Egyptian, Israeli, Turkish and Greek

7 Uroš Čvoro calls it "source" music. Uroš Čvoro: *Turbo-folk Music and Cultural Representations of National Identity in Former Yugoslavia*. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2014, p. 38.

8 "Although the boundaries between *narodna* and *zabavna* music have been firmly in place since the early days, traditional folk sources did define the festival aesthetic to some degree", as in the case of *klapa* polyphonic singing by a group of men. Ljerka V. Rasmussen: *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia*. New York: Routledge, 2002, p. 44.

9 Ljerka Vidić Rasmussen: "From source to commodity: Newly-composed folk music of Yugoslavia", *Popular Music* 14/2 (1995): 241–256.

10 Čvoro: *Turbo-folk music*, p. 16. Contrary to Čvoro and Vidić-Rasmussen, Peter Manuel's explanation of Yugoslav popular music remained rather confused. He mentions *zabavna* music only once, as "mainstream Western popular music", and equates popular music with traditional and *novokomponovana* (neo-traditional, literally "newly composed") music. Peter Manuel: *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World. An Introductory Survey*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 136–140.

11 Dražen Vrdoljak: "Zabavna glazba", in: Diskografija u SR Hrvatskoj, eds. Nena Franičević and Mata Bošnjaković. Zagreb: Zavod za kulturu Hrvatske, 1984, 28.

12 David Cooper and Kevin Dawe (eds.): *The Mediterranean in Music: Critical Perspectives, Common Concerns, Cultural Differences*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press, 2005.

music.[13] However, the term "popular" here includes both folk and pop music, so that Croatian popular music is considered through *klapa* singing (folk traditional music) and not through *zabavna* music.[14]

The papers in this issue consider one of the most popular Yugoslav groups since the 1960s, *Dubrovački trubaduri* (Trubadours of Dubrovnik), along with the magazine *Metronom za Vas* (Metronome for You), which promoted *zabavna muzika* by making available scores of the hits, the gender perspectives of the most popular female singers, as well as post-Yugoslav revival of this genre. Anita Buhin shows how the group *Dubrovački trubaduri* based their popularity on regional traditional music, that is, *klapa* singing and playing the mandolin. Due to the numerous awards they won at the festivals in Split and Opatija, the group was chosen as the Yugoslav national representative at the Eurovision Song Contest in 1968 with the song *Jedan dan* ('One Day'). The group won seventh place and the song became popular in almost twenty countries in translated versions; this was "the first big break-out for Yugoslav popular music onto the international music scene".[15]

Pop music in Yugoslavia was promoted also through a specialized magazine for publishing popular song scores. Schlagers were chosen from movies, radio stations, and LPs and arranged for violin, guitar, accordion, and singing. The magazine *Metronom za Vas*, edited by Dragomir Ristić and published by the Udruženje zabavnih i džez musičara Srbije (Union of *zabavni* and jazz musicians of Serbia), is the subject of Milan Milojković's study. Numerous songs came from the *Sanremo Festival*, which influenced the establishment of Yugoslav *estrada* and festival practice (Opatija, Split, Zagreb, Belgrade and others). Along with the *Sanremo* repertoire, the magazine *Metronome* disseminated popular tunes from Spain, Latin America (especially Mexico), Germany, and Belgium. The author traces this network constructed through a process of acculturation.

Since Socialist Yugoslavia belonged neither to the Western nor to the Eastern bloc, but initiated the third union of non-aligned countries and was politically rather liberal, Western (American) influences were present as early as the 1950s, immediately after Josip Broz Tito's break with Iosif Vissarionovič Stalin and the Soviet Union in 1948. One of the results of this "Americanization" of Yugoslavia was the assimilation of pop, rock, and jazz music, including also *zabavna muzika* inspired by Mediterranean (Dalmatian, Istrian, Italian) sounds. Among the

13 Goffredo Plastino (ed.): *Mediterranean Mosaic: Popular Music And Global Sounds*. New York. Routledge, 2003.

14 Joško Ćaleta: "*Klapa* Singing and *Ča-val*: The Mediterranean Dimension of Popular Music in Croatia", in: ibidem, pp. 241–267. The term "Mediterranean mosaic" here is taken from Matvejević.

15 Cf. Anita Buhin's paper in this issue.

representatives of this genre were three female singers – Tereza Kesovija (*b*. 1938), Ljiljana Petrović (*b*. 1939), and Zorana Lola Novaković (*b*. 1935); Adriana Sabo examines their performance practice in the framework of gender performativity as defined in the writings of Judith Butler.

Tereza Kesovija, for decades one of the most popular Yugoslav performers of "entertainment" music, together with other Dalmatian singers repaired the broken connections between Serbia and Croatia (or, Bosnia and Herzegovina). In a challenging and intriguing political context marked by both euphoric acceptance and complete denial, Dalmatian song became a (beloved) part of the pop music repertoire beyond the new state borders in the 2000s. This transformation of the perception of Dalmatian *zabavna muzika* perception in the second half of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century is the focus of Ana Petrov. Finally, Leon Stefanija analyzes the post-Yugoslav (Slovenian) schlager music signified by Mediterranean music since 1991 in a broader theoretical framework.

Given that this kind of popular music has not received much attention in the international literature, the five articles included in this 2015 issue of *TheMA* by young musicologists affiliated with universities in Florence, Novi Sad, Belgrade, and Ljubljana, represent a significant contribution to popular musicology by exploring the music of *Mediterranean, Our Own*. Yugoslavia may no longer exist as a state, but it still lives on through its music.

"A ROMANTIC, SOUTHERN MYTH": *ONE DAY* BY THE TROUBADOURS OF DUBROVNIK[1]

Anita Buhin (Florence/Pula)

Abstract: *A group* Dubrovački trubaduri *(Troubadours of Dubrovnik) was in 1968 widely welcomed as long awaited rescuer of Yugoslav representation at the Eurovision Song Contest with the song* Jedan dan *(One day). Keeping traditional Dalmatian melodies and polyphonic singing, as well as traditional Mediterranean instruments like mandolin, but in modern arrangement, they showed that it is possible to combine the best of the old and new values.* Dubrovački trubaduri, *dressed in typical renaissance outfit, confirmed deep-rooted Mediterranean identity and longing for the sea. In the imaginary of the Yugoslav cultural space Dubrovnik, therefore, served as a romantic coastal destination where dreams could come true, at least for one day. Moreover, the cultural legacy of Dubrovnik was one of the common places of Yugoslav cultural history, so it (re)confirmed long tradition of Yugoslav high-culture space, which could compete with its richer Western neighbours. The performance of Troubadours at the Eurovision Song Contest was, hence, completely new approach to the representation of the country in the international circles, which finally confirmed the adoption of the Mediterranean motives in Yugoslav popular music.*

★ ★ ★

Ulicama moga grada	*Through the streets of my city*
trubaduri pjevaju	*Troubadours are singing*
mandoline i gitare	*Mandolins and guitars*
pod prozorom sviraju	*Are playing under the window.*
K'o u ono davno vrijeme	*Just like once upon a time*
ljubav vječna još je mit	*Eternal love is still a myth*
ali sad smo s dužom kosom	*But now our hair is longer*
i plešemo samo 'beat'	*And we only dance to the beat*
Svud je radost i veselje	*Happiness and joy are everywhere*
"Luda mladost baš ste vi"	*"You're such a crazy youth"*
govore nam naši stari	*That's what the elders tell us*
ko da nijesu ljubili	*Like they didn't love at all*
Veseli smo jer smo mladi	*We are happy because we're young*
za nas lud je sav taj svijet	*This whole world is crazy for us*
na rakete samo misli	*It only thinks about rockets*
i svemirski neki let.[2]	*And some space flight.*

1 This work has been supported in part by Croatian Science Foundation under the project "Making of the Socialist Man. Croatian Society and the Ideology of Yugoslav Socialism", no. 1718.

2 *Luda mladost* ('Crazy youth'), http://www.dailymotion.com/video/xmedsu_dubrovacki-trubaduri-luda-mladost-1968_music (accessed on October 24, 2015). Translation by: http://lyricstranslate.com/it/luda-mladost-crazy-youth.html (accessed on October 24, 2015).

The performance of the composition *Luda mladost* ('Crazy youth') by *Dubrovački trubaduri* (Troubadours of Dubrovnik) at the Split Festival of 1967, followed by seven awards, made them one of the most popular music acts in socialist Yugoslavia.[3] This sudden widespread popularity was accompanied by predominantly positive reviews in the media. The magazine *Džuboks*, specialized in popular music, described their style as "čisti jugoslovenski folk sa 'pravim' prizvukom bita, originalnost do maksimuma, profesionalna ležernost kojoj treba zavideti, novi i 'naš' zvuk".[4] The leader of the Troubadours, Đelo Jusić, confirmed that the group's vision was to create something new and original, combining the best of the new and old values:

> Nama nije bilo stalo da se povodimo za prolaznim zabavno-muzičkim okusima i pomodnošću. Želeći ostati vjerni gradu i regiji iz koje smo potekli, te po imenu ansambla, odlučili smo da u svoje muziciranje utkamo i pokoju specifičnost tradicionalnog dubrovačkog melosa, poneki motiv iz stare muzike kakva je bila u modi još za Dubrovačke Republike.[5]

The wish of the distinguished composer Pero Gotovac in 1966 that *Dubrovački trubaduri* should represent Yugoslav popular music in the world came true in 1968, when the troubadours were chosen to represent Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest with their composition *Jedan dan* (One day).[6]

THE EUROVISION SONG CONTEST

The Eurovision Song Contest was created in 1956 to promote cultural cooperation among Western European countries, which were at that time also initiating a more important political partnership. In this ideological context, according to Francesca Rolandi, the participation of Yugoslavia, as the only socialist country, could be seen as yet another sign of Yugoslav's (cultural) alignment with the Western world.[7]

3 Frane Jelinčić: "Dvije istine", *Studio*, 15–21 July 1972.

4 "genuine Yugoslav folk with a 'real' undertone of beat music, extreme originality, an enviable professional insouciance, and a new sound, 'our' sound". *Džuboks*, 3 January 1968, according to: http://www.yugopapir.com/2012/11/muzicke-legende-dubrovacki-trubaduri-3.html (accessed on October 24, 2015). Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

5 "We didn't care about following faddish popular-music tastes and trends. Wanting to stay faithful to the city and region from which we come, and because of the name of the ensemble, we have decided to also include in our musicianship a few elements of the traditional folk melodies of Dubrovnik, a few motifs from the old music that was popular in the time of the Republic of Dubrovnik." *Plavi vjesnik* 1968, according to: http://www.yugopapir.com/2012/11/muzicke-legende-dubrovacki-trubaduri-3.html (accessed on October 24, 2015).

6 Idem.

7 Francesca Rolandi: *Con ventiquattromila baci: L'influenza della cultura di massa italiana in Yugoslavia (1955–1965),* PhD. diss., University of Turin, 2012, p. 160.

The question of international representation thus came to be hugely important in the shaping of the Yugoslav popular music style. Leading scholars in the field, such as Rolandi or Dean Vuletic, agree that Yugoslavia appropriated a Mediterranean identity, mostly manifest in maritime motifs, which of course also had an economic-propaganda aim, namely to promote Yugoslavia as a tourist destination. Similarly, Gad Yair and Daniel Maman's study of the Eurovision Song Contest shows that Yugoslavia was included in the Mediterranean voting bloc together with Italy, Spain, Greece, Cyprus, Turkey, and Monaco, because they all shared "common experiences of sea and history, which helped to create similar cultural tastes for music, dance and sexuality".[8] For most Yugoslav citizens, the Dalmatian style of *zabavna* music echoed memories of summer holidays at the Adriatic Sea, while for the rest, who could not afford them, it was a long-sought-after dream that was nourished with images or sounds from the media.[9] As the Macedonian singer Zoran Georgiev stated after his first visit to Opatija: "The impression is 'terrific'! For us in Macedonia the sea is so distant, but the sea is so vast and so blue".[10] The Split Festival offered even more: not only the impressions from the artists, but a flavour of the sea in the words and sounds of the compositions, which could, thanks to the spread of mass media, enter every Yugoslav home. Similarly, the television show *Ol na moru ol na kraju* ('Either at the sea or on the shore') advertised popular Adriatic destinations on the eve of the tourist season with the performances of popular singers, usually with songs about the sea. In this way, images of coastal everyday life and modernized lifestyles reached even those who could not afford to visit the coast themselves.[11]

The spread of maritime images and motifs was also evident in the use of Dalmatian dialectal expressions without translations, such as *ćakula* ('chit-chat'), *fjaka* ('total relaxation'), or the whole phrase "kad *rivom* projde Ana" ('when Ana passes along the *riviera*'), indicating that Dalmatian *koine* was familiar enough to be used in the media without further explanation.[12] As the sociolinguist Ivo

8 Dean Vuletic: "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions: Performing Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest", in: *Remembering Utopia: The Culture of Everyday Life in Socialist Yugoslavia*, eds. Breda Luthar and Maruša Pušnik. Washington: New Academia Pub., 2010, p. 133.

9 According to Catherine Baker, "'popular music' is not a common term in Croatian: its best equivalent might be 'zabavna glazba' ('[light] entertainment music' or perhaps, in its heyday, 'easy listening'), although this tends to connote the particular musical style of televised festivals". Cf. Catherine Baker: *Sounds of the Borderland: Popular Music, War and Nationalism in Croatia since 1991*. Burlington: Ashgate, 2009, p. 2.

10 V. Šegota and J. Prka: "Riječ imaju: Robić, Kuntarić, Georgiev", *Novi list*, 6 October 1962.

11 Nikola Vončina, *RTV Zagreb: 1959.–1964.: prilozi za povijest radija u Hrvatskoj IV.* Zagreb: Hrvatski radio, 2001, pp. 43–44.

12 Ivo Žanić: "Kako govori more? Jezična konstrukcija Dalmacije u hrvatskoj zabavnoj glazbi", in: *Aktualna istraživanja u primijenjenoj lingvistici. Zbornik radova s 25. međunarodnog skupa HDPL-a održanog 12–14. svibnja 2011. u Osijeku*, eds. Pon Leonard, Vladimir Karabalić and Sanja Cimer.

Žanić explained, the success of a certain composition "shares a positive perception of its characteristics, makes even non-native speakers used to it, and reinforces the inherent connections between the language, the geographical area, and its culture".[13] However, the debates occasioned by the selection of the Yugoslav representative to the Eurovision Song Contest demonstrate the full complexity of the development of Yugoslav music and its adoption of Mediterranean motifs.

At first, the Opatija festival, as the most popular and pan-Yugoslav music festival, served to showcase the Yugoslav representative chosen for the Eurovision Song Contest since 1961, when Yugoslavia made its debut.[14] Only two years later, Jugoslovenska radio-televizija (Yugoslav Radio-Television) decided to make the selection more democratic by offering equal opportunities to all republics and nationalities. Henceforth, the TV centre in each republic could choose two entries for the finals, which were held each year in different republican capital.[15] The result was more diversity in the nationality of composers and performers, as well as in the language of the song, so that in the 1960s virtually all parts of Yugoslavia were represented at some point. Nevertheless, stylistically the songs that were chosen followed the trend set by Opatija and similar festivals. Although the Opatija Festival had the label of an all-Yugoslav festival, by the early 1960s it became obvious that the most popular music style originated in the Adriatic or had maritime motifs. That made it difficult for the public as well as the experts to support the choice of 'representative' compositions for the Eurovision Song Contest. The biggest problem seemed to be the general tone of Yugoslav compositions, which apparently did not correspond to the image that Yugoslavia was building in the world; as Italian composers often commented during the Opatija festival: "You are such a kind and joyful nation, so I cannot understand why your light music is so sad".[16] Compositions like the 1961 *Neke davne zvezde* ('Some bygone stars'), the 1962 *Ne pali svetla u sumrak* ('Don't turn the lights on at twilight'), the 1966 *Brez besed* ('Without words') or the 1967 *Vse rože sveta* ('All the flowers of this world') had sad and romantic motifs, followed by melancholic melodies written in the style of a waltz or some other traditional rhythm. The other option was pseudo-intellectual and hermetic poetry, like the 1964 *Život je sklopio krug* ('Life has come full circle'), but still with the same monotonous melody.

Osijek: Hrvatsko društvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku, 2012, p. 188.

13 Ibidem, p. 193.

14 Vuletic: "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions", p. 125.

15 Anonym: "Traži se pesma za Kopenhagen", *Ritam*, 15 November 1963.

16 Milivoj Kerbler: "Opatija 62.", *Borba*, 10 October 1962.

Tu više nema bijega	There is no escape anymore
Svijet je zatvorio krug,	The world has closed the circle,
Pa neka i biljka i ptica	So may the plant and the bird
Budu kao čovjek, drug.	Be like a human, like a friend.
I grana već da postanem	And if I became a branch
Moje bi lišće mislilo	My leaves would ponder.
O ne bi se samo u jesen	Oh, and the red gold would not
Crveno zlato lilo.	Teem only in the autumn.
U kamen da se pretvorim	If I turned into stone
Već ne bi naš'o zaborav	I would not be forgotten,
Bio bi na obali jedini	I would be the only one on the shore
Kamen zamišljen i plav.	A thinking, blue stone.
Tu više nema bijega,	There is no escape anymore
Život je sklopio krug,	Life has come full circle,
Pa neka i brijeg i suton	So may the hill and the dusk
Budu kao čovjek, drug.[17]	Be like a human, like a friend.

The dissatisfaction with the chosen representatives came not only from the experts but also from the public, who followed the song selection with great interest. The outburst of public booing in 1966 after the proclamation of the winning composition *Brez besed* marked the culmination of the media and public criticism.[18] The whole interested public was discouraged by the poor performance at the Eurovision Song Contest, which did not make Yugoslavia prominent amongst its richer and more developed Western neighbours, nor did it bring something new and unheard to European listeners.[19] The two attempts with maritime motifs, the 1963 *Brodovi* ('Ships') and the 1965 *Čežnja* ('Longing'), both performed by the Dalmatian Vice Vukov, also failed, which was not surprising, since the idea of the sea was used only to create a melancholic and nostalgic atmosphere that was diametrically opposed to the images in the minds of European visitors to the Adriatic.

17 *Život je sklopio krug* ('Life has come full circle'), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6A9BH2Za1d0 (accessed on May 16, 2015). Translation by: http://www.diggiloo.net/?1964yu (accessed on May 16, 2015).

18 Anonym: "Ozbiljni problem", *Studio*, 5–11 February 1966.

19 Anonym: "Novi brodolom", *Ritam*, 1 April 1965.

Brodovi	*Ships*
U mome kraju, brodovi su ljudi, Oni plaču, smiju se i vole. U mome kraju, brodovi su svečanost I najdraže igračke nestašnih dječaka.	In my neighbourhood, ships are people, They cry, smile and love. In my neighbourhood, ships are a celebration And the dearest toys of menacing boys.
Brodovi, Bez vas, tužne su luke sve, Bez vas, puste su rive te, Bez vas, galebi mru, Dok Mjesec kosi noć. Na pramcu stiha svog Ja palim sreće žar Za puteve vaše.	Ships, Without you, all ports are sad, Without you, rivieras are deserted, Without you, seagulls die While the moon cuts the night. On the stem of my verse. I ignite the fire of luck For your journeys.
Brodovi, Na vas čekaju ljubavi, Na vas čekaju prozori, Bez vas, gitare mru Dok zora pali dan. Na jarbol stiha svog Ja dižem pjesmu tu, Za povratke vaše, Dok zora pali dan.	Ships, Loves await you. Windows await you, Without you, guitars die, While dawn ignites the day. On the mast of my verse I raise this song, For your returns While dawn ignites the day.
Na jarbol stiha svog Ja dižem pjesmu tu, Za povratke vaše, O, igračke drage Iz djetinjstva mog.[20]	On the mast of my verse I raise this song, For your returns, Oh, dear toys From my childhood.

20 *Brodovi* ('Ships'), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VlW4_Z7R4Do (accessed on May 16, 2015). Translation by: http://www.diggiloo.net/?1963yu (accessed on May 16, 2015).

Čežnja	*Longing*
Šumi, šumi more pjenom bijelom dok nemirni val Donosi svaki put odjeke sjećanja, Odjeke maštanja na ovaj žal, tihi žal.	The sea rustles with white foam while the wave Brings every echo of memories, Echoes of fantasy to this quiet shore.
Tiho šumi, šumi more kao nekad u danima sna Kad smo na pješčanom tlu umorni zaspali, Zaspali tu, tu na tlu vreloga juga.	The sea silently rustles like in the days of dream When we fell asleep on the warms and Feel asleep on the ground of the hot south.
Oh, pričaj, more, pričaj meni ti O svitanju jutra moje čežnje za njom.	Oh, speak, sea, speak to me, On the dawn of the morning of my longing for her.
Tiho šumi, šumi more ko da želi da ispriča sad, Šapatom ćutanja sve o jednoj ljubavi Rođenoj tu, tu na tlu vreloga juga.	The sea rustles quietly as if it wants to speak With the whisper of silence about a love Born here on the ground of the hot south.
Oh, pričaj, more, pričaj meni ti O svitanju jutra moje čežnje za njom, Moje duboke čežnje za njom.[21]	Oh, speak, sea, speak to me On the dawn of the morning of my longing for her, My deep longing for her.

This misplaced melancholy was especially responsible for the 1963 failure of the song *Brodovi* by the popular composer Mario Nardeli, who also wrote the lyrics. He was criticized for missing completely the style and the idea behind the maritime motifs:

> A Nardelijeva kvazi-poezija i kvazi-filozofija u tekstovima njegovih kompozicija samo odmaže, a ne pomaže kvalitetu kompozicija. Kao što bi takođe krajnje vreme bilo sa deklamatorskim izmotavanjima pre ili u toku melodije! To više nije ni slučaj, ni običaj – već se pretvorilo u jedan rđav, primitvni manir, koji je rođeni brat kiču. Svi ti "crveni cvetovi dana",

21 Čežnja ("Longing"), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ciuR6APZfTc (accessed on May 16, 2015). Translated by: http://www.diggiloo.net/?1965yu (accessed on May 16, 2015).

> "gitare, koje mru", "na pramcu stiha", itd. pripadaju kolekciji nadri poezije i bombastičnosti bez svrhe, a u međunarodnoj konkurenciji deluje prosto smešno i postidno-deplasirano.[22]

All these problems and questions explain why, after all the failures, the Dubrovački trubaduri were welcomed as long-awaited rescuers. They were not a copy of some internationally successful equivalent, and they escaped the trap of relying too much on Italian influences. Hence, "they were neither *urlatori*,[23] nor 'folklorists'", but they made skillful use of "folk music and rhythms only as the basis for the superstructure, which is not only solid but also nice".[24] The simplicity and cheerfulness of their performances, together with the high quality of the melodies and the musically proficient performers, all guaranteed that Yugoslavia had at last found perfect representatives of the nation and its musical legacies.

THE PHENOMENON OF *DUBROVAČKI TRUBADURI*

The group formed in 1961 as a beat vocal-instrumental sextet performing a mixture of pop and folk music. Playing and singing their own compositions on the streets of Dubrovnik every summer evening, they brought a fresh spirit to entertainment. By preserving traditional Dalmatian melodies and polyphonic singing, as well as traditional Mediterranean instruments like the mandolin, but in modern arrangements, they showed that it was possible to combine the best of the old and new values. Although their fame was largely restricted to local circles, their quality and originality soon attracted the attention of the media. While the lyrics were typically romantic, with a strong Mediterranean flavour, they were recognized as refreshing and non-pretentious, basically the polar opposite of the usual festival performances.[25] However, like other popular singers or groups, they still needed a striking performance at a festival to gain the recognition of the whole nation. This happened in 1967 at the Split Festival, where they performed

22 "Nardeli's quasi-poetry and quasi-philosophy in the texts of his compositions only hinder and do not improve the quality of the compositions. This would finally be the moment to end declamatory trifles before and during the melody! This is not an exception, nor a custom – but it has turned into a bad, primitive manner, which is the nearest neighbour to kitsch. All those 'red roses of a day', 'guitars, which die', 'on the prow of a verse', and so on, belong in a collection of pseudo-poetry and grandiloquence without purpose; in an international competition they appear simply ridiculous and shamefully out of place." Berislav Kosler: "Kraj jedne iluzije", *Ritam*, 1 April 1963.

23 *Urlatori* was the term used in Italian popular music in the 1950s and 1960s for the interpreters of a specific style characterized by loud, unadorned, and unruly melodic singing. The closest English equivalent would be "shouters".

24 Anonym: "Trubaduri u Londonu", *Studio*, April 6–12, 1968.

25 Anonym: "Trubaduri na ploči", *Studio*, February 5–11, 1966.

Luda mladost, a catchy tune about the happy-go-lucky youth of Dubrovnik and the troubadours who serenade below the windows of their loved ones.[26] Dressed in typical renaissance outfits, and with musical motifs performed by mandolins, *Dubrovački trubaduri* confirmed the deep-rooted Mediterranean identity and the long tradition of high culture in a Yugoslav setting. As journalist Igor Mandić explained, the group was so successful because they combined a contemporary international style of light music with domestic and local sensations:

> Kao grupa glazbenika koji dolaze s Juga, "Dubrovački trubaduri" unijeli su u našu sredinu, u našu svakodnevnu ("laku") glazbu i kulturu, nešto od onoga što čini mit svake mediteranske strane, a posebno ove naše domaće, hrvatske, jadranske obale. Naprečac govoreći, to su stanovite odrednice stila njihova muziciranja (kolorit "romantičnih" kostima, atmosfera dalamtinske klape, južnjačka spontanost i otvorenost, izrazita lokalistička obojenost […]), kao i čimbenici njihove skladateljske i izvođačke tehnike (vezanost uz dalamtinsko-primorksi melos, uz intonaciju stare hrvatske lirike, romantilna sentimentalnost i optimizam tekstova […]).[27]

This perception of *Dubrovački trubaduri* was widely shared on the cover pages and in reports in periodicals, in radio and television performances, and in their appearances at festivals and live tours. In 1972 the young documentary director Marin Marušić began filming a musical movie about Dubrovački trubaduri. The first shots, shown only to reporters from *Studio*, perfectly represented the image the troubadours created in public.

> Gledajući te snimke shvatili smo da je režiser pošao najjednostavnijim i najzahvalnijim putem: za pozadinu filma upotrijebio je Dubrovnik, njegove trgove i ulice koji su kao vječna teatarska kulisa, nadsvođena vedrim nebom, predstava sama za sebe. A onda je petoricu "trubadura" – Marka, Lučija, Lacija. Bobu i Olivera – poveo da se šeću kalama, niz skalinade, pijacom i ribarnicom, Stradunom i po zidinama, kavanicama i rivom, uvijek okruženi domaćim svijetom, susrećući i grupe turista, da

26 Čukić, B.: "Debi 'Trubadura'", *Studio*, 5–11 August 1967.

27 "As a group of musicians coming from the South, Dubrovački trubaduri introduced into our milieu, into our everyday ('light') music and culture, parts of the myth from every Mediterranean shore, and particularly of our domestic, Croatian, Adriatic coast. Briefly put, these are the definitive elements of their musical style (the colouring of their 'romantic' costumes, the atmosphere of Dalmatian *klapa*, Southern spontaneity and openness, a distinct local tone […]), along with other aspects of their composing and performing techniques (their attachment to Dalmatian/coastal melodies, with the intonation of old Croatian poetry, romantic sentimentality, and optimism in lyrics […])." Igor Mandić, *Mitologija svakidašnjeg života*. Rijeka: Otokar Keršovani, 1976, p. 26–27.

bi svi zajedno činili neprestanu predstavu, jedan simpatični mediteranski hapening.[28]

The whole setting was supposed to be a musical comedy imagined as a modern version of an "old, slightly renaissance musical comedy, farce, and *bufonada*".[29]

The connection of Dubrovački trubaduri with the renaissance tradition of Dubrovnik was complex. Along with the romantic image of the time, mostly linked with the name of the group and the motifs and style of their music, the cultural legacy of Dubrovnik also served as an additional and recognizable feature at the cultural-ideological level. The renaissance period of Dubrovnik was a commonplace of Yugoslav cultural history, and was especially valued as a culmination of Yugoslav national culture and literature, demonstrating that the Slavic peoples on the eastern shores of the Adriatic were capable of producing high culture of the same quality as their Western neighbours. Additionally, the historical importance of the Republic of Dubrovnik,[30] both as the only independent and prosperous Slavic territory of the early modern period and as a borderland of different cultures and a transit centre "between the East and West, the Balkan hinterland and the Mediterranean",[31] served perfectly this Yugoslav ideological narrative, in which the name of playwright Marin Držić was seen as a central cultural figure. In his numerous comedies, Držić contrasted rapacious and lying noblemen with a vivid and artful plebeian youth. As the writer Miroslav Krleža wrote in 1948 with regard to the 400th anniversary of Držić's drama *Tirena*, Držić created "for the first time a folk-hued, poetic portrait of the locals, who speak a straightforward, no-frills language rendered in a playful and celebratory countryman's argot".[32] Traces of

28 "Watching these recordings, we realized that the director had taken the simplest and most rewarding way: for the background of the movie he used the squares and streets of Dubrovnik, which are an eternal stage vaulted with clear skies, and a performance in itself. Then he took the five 'troubadours' – Marko, Lučo, Laci, Bobo, and Oliver – on a walk through the streets and stalls of the vegetable and fish markets, to Stradun and on to the city wall, the bars and the Riviera, always surrounded by the locals, but meeting also groups of tourists, so they would all together create a never-ending spectacle, a lovable Mediterranean happening." Z. Kovačić, "Bez Đeline glazbe", *Studio*, 28 October–3 November 1972.

29 Idem.

30 Known also as Republic of Ragusa, after Italian and Latin name for the city – Ragusa.

31 For the interpretation of the Republic of Dubrovnik and its cultural legacy in Yugoslav period cf. Snježana Koren: *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945–1960). Komunistička partija Jugoslavije, nastava povijesti, historiografija*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012, pp. 251, 281–283; Miljenko Foretić: *Historiografija i literatura o Dubrovniku – Dubrovačkoj Republici od 1975. do 1985. godine*. Dubrovnik: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Dubrovnik, 2012, pp. 74, 81.

32 Slavko Goldstein et al.: *Povijest hrvatske književnosti,* Vol. 3. Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1974, p. 125.

Držić's "Mediterranean laughing away the environment's bad traits"[33] could also be found in the image that Dubrovački trubaduri tried to create for themselves as joyful and idle youths, but still with strong moral values.

Their public performances, whether giving interviews to the press or at the concerts, were always easy-going and teasing. The tenth birthday of Dubrovački trubaduri in 1972 was celebrated with numerous concerts, and the recorded Belgrade performance exemplifies the easy communication that Dubrovački trubaduri could establish with their audiences, even if the spectators did not share all the cultural and linguistic references of Dubrovnik. The constant banter and interaction between songs, with witty comments and jokes, reached a high point in the middle of the concert during the performance of *La Bamba*, an American evergreen with Mexican motifs. At one moment, the singer and bass player Marko Brešković moved down into the audience and began quizzing members of the audience about their personal and love lives. In a typical charismatic troubadour fashion he serenaded one girl, asked another who was her favourite troubadour, and not waiting for an answer, asked a third girl to come dance with him on the stage. Finally, after this brief performance, he asked the dancing girl where she had learned to dance so beautifully, to which she replied: "in Dubrovnik, at hotel Jadran".[34] The answer came as no surprise, since the hotel Jadran was a famous tourist site, a place for entertainment on summer evenings, and where, not by chance, Dubrovački trubaduri had launched their own careers as performers. Since the creation of the band, the performances of the troubadours were among the most popular and famous tourist acts in Dubrovnik.[35] The Mediterranean charm also worked on foreign visitors, who by the end of the 1960s became regular guests on the Yugoslav side of the Adriatic in the summer months. As *Studio* magazine reported in 1966, plenty of tourists

> dolazi uveče u "Jadran" da ih vidi i čuje i da po koja zapleše s njima na bini gdje pjevaju. Za uspomenu djevojke ponesu iz "Jadrana" po neku ploču da i daleko u Skandinaviji ili Sjedinjenim Državama slušaju "Trubadure" i gledaju ih na omotnici u originalnim trubadurskim kostimima.[36]

33 Davor Šošić: "Vječni mladi Držić", *VUS*, 10 June 1968.

34 *Dubrovački trubaduri – koncert*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qMxse4hTyyY (accessed on October 25, 2015).

35 *Muzičke legende: Dubrovački trubaduri*. Part 2: *Od Straduna do Londona,* http://www.yugopapir.com/2012/11/muzicke-legende-dubrovacki-trubaduri-2.html?m=1 (accessed on October 25, 2015).

36 "come every evening to 'Jadran' to see them and hear them, and, for some of the girls, even to dance with them on the stage. As a memory, girls take from 'Jadran' some records, and from afar, somewhere in Scandinavia or the United States, they are listening to 'the Trubadours' and looking at them on the covers, dressed in their original troubadour costumes". Đ. Dalmatinac: "Dubrovački trubaduri", *Studio*, 23–29 July 1966.

This specific outfit was just the final touch to the devotion that the group put into their performances, which, nevertheless, remained light-hearted.

JEDAN DAN ('ONE DAY')

All these elements – the fusion of old and new traditions and motifs, a light-hearted but respectful appearance, and touristic appeal – made Dubrovački trubaduri potentially perfect candidates for the template of a Yugoslav national style of popular music and its representation in the world. Their work was finally officially recognized in 1968 when their song *Jedan dan* was chosen as the Yugoslav entry for the Eurovision Song Contest.

Jedan dan, samo jedan dan,	One day, just one day,
Onaj pravi presudan čudan dan.	That real, crucial and odd day.
Jedan dan, samo jedan dan,	One day, just one day,
Pa da bude sav život radostan.	So may the life be happy.
Dani svi, svi k'o jedan dan	All the days, like one day
Proć' će dobro, znam,	Are going away, I know,
A ljubav moja neće	But my love won't,
Za nju živim, za nju dajem sve.	I live for her, I give everything to her.
Jedan dan, onaj pravi dan,	One day, that real day,
To je život, pun život nije san.	That's life, rich life is not a dream,
Jedan dan, onaj pravi dan,	One day, that real day,
To je mladost, ljubav,	That's youth, love,
radost, stvaran san.[37]	happiness, real dream.

Unlike as in previous years, the atmosphere surrounding the decision was extremely positive, and for the first time the audience fully agreed with the choice of the expert jury. The media also resounded with positive expectations. Varteks Baronijan from TV-centre Belgrade emphasized that the chosen song was a "good combination of something our own: light, baroque, and refreshing and adolescent"; while his colleague from TV Sarajevo, Esad Arnautalić, added that the song was "nice, melodic, and easy to remember, while its rhythm is modern".[38] In addition, the leader of the group, Đelo Jusić, was positive that for the first time Yugoslav performers would have an additional advantage because, performing in their traditional outfits, the group would be

37 *Jedan dan* ('One day'), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AjBLXBBuGcg (accessed on May 16, 2015).

38 Anonym: "Nek vam je dobar vjetar u krmu", *Studio*, 2–8 March 1968.

recognized by their international summer tourist audience, who would therefore vote for them. Immediately before the departure to London, in an interview for *Plavi vjesnik* Đelo affirmed that the troubadours are "aware that in London they have to make the best propaganda both for our popular music and for our tourism. That is why we have carefully perused everything: from music to our troubadour costumes. And for tourist propaganda we are also taking with us two girls in the folk costumes of Konavle".[39]

The performance of the Troubadours at the Eurovision Song Contest was, hence, a completely new approach to the representation of the country. Touristic potential was more than explicit in the image that Dubrovački trubaduri brought to London. Although it seemed that tourism workers in Yugoslavia took this opportunity for touristic propaganda seriously, the immediate report from *Vjesnik u srijedu* demonstrated their ineptitude and amateurism:

> Naši turistički radnici obećavali su brda i doline, tone propagandnog materijala, prijeme u Londonu za turističke i diskografske kuće i djevojke u konavoskim narodnim nošnjama koje će ustopu pratiti "Trubadure u Londonu" […] Ali nije učinjeno ništa. Umjesto šest Konavoki, "Trubadure" su na londonskom aerodromu jedino dočekali dopisnici naših listova, radija i televizije. Svi talambasi naših turističkih obećanja sveli su se na nekoliko stotina prospekata što su ih utrapili reporter Radio-Dubrovnika Baldi Čupiću, koje je on dijelio po "Royal Albert Hallu" i na prijemu koji je održan u našem turističkom predstavništvu.[40]

The failure of the touristic organization was partially ascribed to financial problems, but mostly to the incompetence of the tourism officials. Another problem for the promotion of tourism were the rules of the contest, which did not allow group performances, so Dubrovački trubaduri performed officially as a vocal duo of Luciano Capurso and Hamo Hajdarhodžić with an accompanying trio, so "we lost out on the satisfaction of hearing the announcer say in front of two hundred million Europeans: 'Dubrovnik'".[41]

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39 *Muzičke legende: Dubrovački trubaduri*. Part 3: *Od Straduna do Londona,* http://www.yugopapir.com/2012/11/muzicke-legende-dubrovacki-trubaduri-3.html (accessed on October 24, 2015).

40 "Our tourism workers were full of promises, tons of propaganda material, receptions in London for tourist and record companies and girls in the folk costumes of Konavle who would constantly follow the 'Troubadours' in London […] But nothing has been done. Instead of six girls from Konavle, at the London airport the 'Troubadours' were welcomed only by correspondents of our press, radio and television. All our pompous touristic promises were reduced to several hundreds of leaflets which were foisted on the reporter of Radio-Dubrovnik Baldo Čupić, which he dispensed in the Royal Albert Hall and at the reception in our tourist branch office". M. Goluža: "London (ni)je Stradun", *VUS*, 10 June 1968.

41 M. Goluža: "'Trubaduri' u klubu razočaranih", *VUS*, 17 April 1968.

The group also violated the general standards for performances at the Eurovision Song Contest. Most of the singers remained faithful to traditional styles of performance, with few a exceptions of minimal choreography, like Cliff Richard from the United Kingdom or Wenche Myhre from Germany, or using special instruments, like Line & Willy from Monaco with the traditional sound of the accordion.[42] In contrast, the appearance of Dubrovački trubaduri on stage, dressed in their best traditional troubadour outfits and accompanied by the mandolin and flute, visually grabbed the attention of the audience. In addition, "the next surprise was the arrangement, a sort of synthesis between 'beat' and renaissance music", all accompanied with cheerful choreography.[43] It seemed like the optimal choice for the biggest Eurovision Song Contest so far – telecast to more than two hundred million people from twenty-three countries, including all the members of Eurovision and Intervision, as well as Tunisia – and all transmitted in colour. Dubrovački trubaduri seemed truly effective, and even the British singing star Sandie Shaw, the winner of the previous Contest, predicted that the Dubrovački trubaduri would succeed her.

However, all this innovation, along with a light, catchy tune and lyrics about "youth, love, and happiness", did not help Yugoslavia to reach the top of European popular music, and the troubadours ended up in seventh place in the final ranking. The disappointment in Yugoslav circles was obvious. Unlike previous years, when the failure was attributed to their own mistakes and wrong choices, this time the fury was directed at the structures of the Eurovision Song Contest, or more precisely, to lobbying for votes and the regional and political grouping of certain countries. From very sober observations that "it would be illusory to expect from a competition which is actually a conglomerate of Anglo-Saxon, Romance-speaking and Slavic-speaking popular-music tastes and fashions to be homogeneous and high quality", or emphasizing the unfair position of the smaller countries since "almost all the winning melodies so far were either in English or French", to finally direct accusations of the higher (political) interests of some countries by stating that "the voting machinery of the Romance-speaking countries, Scandinavia, and Benelux 'moulded' the festival list, carrying more about neighbourly relations than about the quality of compositions", Yugoslav media and cultural workers assumed a unified and defeatist attitude that would haunt them in the following years as well.[44]

42 *Eurovision Song Contest 1968 (Full Show)*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q76LLSIwOic (accessed on October 25, 2015).

43 Goluža: "London (ni)je Stradun".

44 Idem; Goluža: "'Trubaduri' u klubu razočaranih"; Baldo: "Milijun ploča".

CONCLUSION

Although disappointment was evident in the media, the outbreak of the troubadours marked a new stream in Yugoslav popular music. Firstly, the performance of Dubrovački trubaduri set a high standard for future Yugoslav compositions for the Eurovision Song Contest, which would be confirmed at the next Eurovision, when Yugoslav Radio-Television decided to send a vocal group called Ivan and 3M with another light and catchy tune called *Pozdrav svijetu* ('Greetings to the world'), based on simple greetings to various countries in several languages.[45]

Dobar dan,
Buenos días,
Za svu braću za sve
sestre širom svjeta,
Iz svih grla
iz svih srca
Nek odjekne vasionom,
Jednoglasnim unisonom.

Dobar dan,
Buenos días,
To all the sisters and
brothers of the world,
From the bottom of our
hearts and throats,
May it be heard through universe
in a unisson.

Guten Tag,
Bonjour,
Good morning,
Za dječake sviju
zastava i boja,
Nek u horu svi zabruje,
Nek' se ori nek se čuje
Ovaj poklik unisonom.

Guten Tag,
Bonjour,
Good morning,
To all the boys of all
colours and flags,
Let's join the choir
May this hail
Be heard in unison.

Goedendag,
Buongiorno,
Oh, zdravstvujte,
Ovaj pozdrav neka
prihvate milioni,
Nek' svi ljudi sad u kolu
Pruže ruke prijateljstva,
U taj pozdrav, pozdrav svijeta
Hyvää päivää,
Dobar dan.

Goedendag
Buongiorno
Oh, zdravsvuytye,
May millions receive
this greeting,
May everyone in a dance
Join their hands of friendship,
In that greeting to the world.
Hyvää päivää,
Dobar dan.

45 *Dobar dan* ('Good day'), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kWi7tv8xmzI (accessed on May 16, 2015). Translation by: http://www.diggiloo.net/?1969yu (accessed on May 16, 2015).

However, in subsequent years Yugoslavia's results went from bad to worse, which led to the withdrawal of Yugoslavia from the competition in 1977. The decision to stop participating in the Eurovision Song Contest was partially also political. Once the cultural workers realized that there was no possibility of victory, they decided to return to the primary goal of their work, which was "the domestic production of quality popular music for a Yugoslav audience, rather than the promotion of it to a Western market that seemed to be showing little interest for it",[46] even though the case of Dubrovački trubaduri appeared to indicate the contrary.

Their appearance at the Eurovision Song Contest in 1968 marked the beginning of the international career of Dubrovački trubaduri, which in the long term also helped to promote Yugoslavia on cultural and tourist level. The song *Jedan dan* won seventh place in the final results of the Eurovision Song Contest; it was recorded and sold in almost twenty different countries, which was the first big break-out for Yugoslav popular music onto the international music scene.[47] Dubrovački trubaduri also started touring Europe and the USA, joining other Yugoslav singers in promoting the country in both the Eastern and the Western bloc. However, always dressed in their traditional outfits, they not only popularized Yugoslav popular music, but also aroused curiosity and interest in Yugoslav culture and tourism. Hence, the special particularity of Yugoslavia between the two blocs was accompanied with the idea of the Yugoslav "romantic Southern myth".

The idea of the South was closely connected with the Mediterranean, or at least the maritime imaginary. The so-called "Southern way of thinking" is inevitably connected closely with the interpretation of the Mediterranean as "the site of *une pensée du midi, une pensée du milieu*".[48] The special Mediterranean features thus exceed the traditional interpretation of the Mediterranean as merely a socio-geographical term, but imply a specific culture in the broader sense.[49] Adapted to the Yugoslav case, with its specific geographic features, the dream of the South meant the image of the sea. According to the interwar linguist Petar Skok, two characteristics of Slavic Mediterranean culture were free thought and artism.[50] In this narrative, Dubrovački trubaduri appeared as the final "embodiment of a romantic, Southern myth, creating a certain emotional, sentimental halo […]

46 Vuletic: "European Sounds, Yugoslav Visions", p. 134.

47 Anonym: "Dubrovački trubaduri pred raspadom?", *Studio*, 1–7 July 1972.

48 Mauro Peressini and Ratiba Hadj-Moussa: "Introduction", in: *The Mediterranean Reconsidered: Representations, Emergences, Recompositions*, eds. Mauro Peressini and Ratiba Hadj-Moussa. Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2005, p. 3.

49 Faysal Yachir: *The Mediterranean: Between Autonomy and Dependency*. Tokyo, London, New York: United Nations University / Zed Books Ltd., 1989, p. 25.

50 Petar Skok: *Dolazak Slovena na Mediteran*. Split: Pomorska biblioteka Jadranske straže, 1934, p. 31.

which reminded us of our dreams".[51] The 1972 hit *La musica di notte* could, therefore, serve as a concluding example of the success of both Dubrovački trubaduri and the imagery of the Yugoslav Mediterranized South.

Usred tišine grada	Amidst the city silence
i usnule ljepote,	And sleeping beauty
tiha se čuje gitara,	A quiet guitar can be heard
La musica di notte.	The music of the night
Ako si pošla spavat,	If you went to sleep
bila ti laka noć,	May you have a good night
družina naša s pjesmom	Our band with a song
zakantat će ti doć.	Will come to sing for you
Otvori, draga, prozor,	Open up the window, darling
i slušaj naše note,	And listen to our notes
o ljubavi ćemo pjevat	We'll sing about love
La musica di notte.[52]	The music of the night.

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51 Mandić: *Mitologija svakidašnjeg života*, 27.

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ITALIAN SONGS PUBLISHED IN MAGAZINE *METRONOM ZA VAS* (METRONOME FOR YOU) AND ON RECORDS RELEASED BY YUGOSLAV LABELS[1]

Milan Milojković (Novi Sad)

Abstract: *Magazine for popular music players,* Metronom za Vas *('Metronome for You') served as the starting point in this endeavor to a get closer look on relations between Yugoslav popular music of the sixties and radical changes of both international reputation of the state and everyday life of its people that then occurred. Although dominant socialist ideology was not completely abandoned, partisan uniforms and revolutionary songs gradually changed place with tokens of western popular culture – schlager records, fancy dress and general hedonism. Magazine, as one of the symbols of this „westernization", consisted of sheet music of then popular tunes, copyright information, as well as commercials regarding music and everyday life, something like lifestyle magazine for players. In general, compositions from Italy were the most popular ones, especially those presented on famous* Sanremo festival. *Since the leadsheet in* Metronome *provided information regarding original and Yugoslav cover, my research will focus on relations between printed publication and its sonorous and iconographic presentation embodied in gramophone record, pointing out similarities and differences between these modes of production.*

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The magazine *Metronom za Vas* ('Metronome for You')[2] was at the time of its publishing very influential for the development of musical culture in socialist Yugoslavia.[3] Basically, *The Metronome* was a collection of scores of popular tunes of the time. It was published by the Udruženje zabavnih i džez muzičara Srbije (Union of jazz and schlager musicians of Serbia) in Belgrade with Dragomir Ristić as editor in chief. In this paper I intend to shed light on the ways in which Italian songs – that were most frequently published on pages of *The Metronome* – affected

1 Original research on this subject was conducted within the Center for Popular Music Research in Belgrade.

2 Henceforth, I will refer to the magazine simply as *The Metronome*.

3 From 1954 to 1974, following 100th issue (published in 1974) magazine was radically changed, so later issues will not be included in this research.

the popular music scene in Yugoslavia, by analyzing some aspects of sheet music publishing practice and its relation to recordings of covers of Italian tunes.

During the 1950s, the country and its society have just entered a new period of socialist self-management, independent from the Soviet bloc and more open to western influences – when compared to other socialist countries. This was evident in every aspect of social practice, especially in the cultural one, where a lot of new, diverse contemporary artistic endeavors were undertaken. Popular culture moved away from social-realistic proletarian iconography, although gradually and under state control.[4] Nevertheless, visual and audible image of Yugoslav major cities at time started to look like that in other European metropolises.

In this period, schlagers and jazz were dominant popular music genres in Yugoslavia, as in the rest of Europe. They were an important part of the urban tradition, having background in the pre-war bourgeois culture, but at the same time, existed within socialist framework – with short intermezzo between 1944 and 1948, since it was the time of intensified Sovietisation of the country. Following the Tito-Stalin split, jazz and schlagers made their comeback as part of "opening to the west" rather than as continuation of previous practice.[5] Hence, jazz and schlagers in this new context merged into one hybrid popular music genre called *easy notes* ('lake note') or *light music* ('zabavna muzika'), accompanied by several more influences such as twist, blues, rockabilly, different Latino rhythms common in western jazz practice (calypso, salsa, bossa, rumba) and occasionally by Balkan folk music idioms.[6] According to *Metronome* and related discography, this could be a description of mainstream popular music during the second half of the fifties, up until the end of the sixties in Yugoslavia. Even thought a development of certain sideline genres, such as be-bop and rock'n'roll can be noticed especially in the sixties, this jazz-schlager blend with a few exotic spices could be considered as default.

Having its own specificities, this kind of music, however, was not a Yugoslav invention. On the contrary, almost all European states had their own mixture of jazz and other (local) practices. All of these were spread across the continent, and also present in central European schlager-dominated region. This sometimes surprising patchwork of influences and practices is exemplified in *The Metronome*, unique spot in this network, equipped with scores, visuals and textual documents regarding this boiling popular music scene that ruled Europe during the fifties and most of the sixties. During this period *The Metronome* didn't change a lot, but

4 Vartkes Baronijan: "Pola veka beogradskog zabavno-muzičkog života", *Zvuk* 102–103 (1970), pp. 104–106.

5 Radina Vučetić: "Trubom kroz gvozdenu zavesu – prodor džeza u socijalističku Jugoslaviju", *Muzikologija* 13 (2012), pp. 53–77.

6 Milivoj Koerbler: "Laka i popularna muzika u Jugoslaviji", *Zvuk* 87–88 (1968), pp. 452–456.

music did. When one compares recordings and scores from mid-fifties, it can be said that differences between notated music and sound are not so drastic, as they were in the beginning of the 1970s, when other kinds of media coverage of one's performance become at least equally important as sheet-music.

It should be noted that magazines like this were sold at the time when live music was much more important than nowadays. Socialist education incorporated music on various levels, so accordions, guitars and other smaller instruments was very available and common among young people (mass labour actions were also a fertile ground for young musicians and later development of subcultures).[7] According to the magazine, sales were going good. Between seven and seventeen scores were standard for one issue, for almost twenty years of monthly publishing. Hence, it can be said that during this stage of popular music development in Yugoslavia, music was consumed primarily through live re-production, rather than with broadcasting or through personal sound-carriers.[8]

Besides the scores – doubtless the most important part of the magazine – it also consisted of various other entries such as collages, graphics, photographs, as well as short textual notification. All these were important for creation of visual image of performers, as well as their advertising on 'the scene'. This is important as early case of such kind of publication in post-war Yugoslavia.[9] Although it was published in a socialist country, no explicit political content was printed within *The Metronome*. On the contrary, iconographic presentation of singers and instrumentalists was similar to the music – very western-like. For example, numbers from popular movies and musicales were an important part of *The Metronome*. References to the film were very prominent, printed above the title, and sometimes consisted of the name of the actor who sings that melody as well. Movie-inserts were very important for image-building at the time when no other form of music video was available.[10] Such movies were *Ljubav i moda* and *Zvižduk u 8*, both covered by *The Metronome*.

7 Labour actions (*radna akcija*) were a huge movement after World War II in which excursions were organized for citizens and especially young people who worked to reconstruct the many roads, buildings, and railways destroyed or damaged by the war. There was music and singing after work, and the state provided food and simple accommodation. Most of the population took part in these actions, and they are fondly remembered as a time of great general enthusiasm and expectations of a bright future.

8 The very significant bass player, Miša Blam, claims that as early as in 1948 there were seven permanent big bands in Yugoslavia, apart from numerous small ensambles. Cf. Vučetić: "Trubom kroz gvozdenu zavesu", p. 61.

9 There were several attempts to start periodicals about popular music at the time such as *List udrženja Jazz muzičara* ('Magazine of Union of Jazz Musicians', 1952) and *Bilten udrženja Jazz muzičara* ('Bulletin of Union of Jazz Musicians', 1956). Cf. Vučetić: ibidem, p. 67.

10 Cf. Marija Ćirić: "Zvuci nostalgije", in: *Muzika i neizrecivo & Istorija umetnosti – metodi i medotologija i njihova primena*, ed. Valerija Kanački. Kragujevac: FILUM, 2013, pp. 55–64.

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Since it covered the most of the European hits of the time, when legendary *Sanremo* festival emerged, the magazine was very devoted to publishing almost all songs performed on *Sanremo* year after year. Also, from this point, popularity of Italian version of jazz-schlagers gradually raised, making *Sanremo* songs as well as other tunes by Italian authors dominant among scores published in one issue of *The Metronome* by the end of the fifties. Following the Italian example, Yugoslav version of Sanremo, *Dani Jugoslovenske zabavne muzike* in Opatija (Days of Yugolsav light music, 1958) was established and made a probably biggest influence on music scene. Other notorious music festivals were *Zagrebački festival zabavne muzike* (Zagreb Festival of Light Music, 1954), *Beogradsko proleće* (Belgrade spring, 1961), festivals in Split, Ljubljana and others. *The Metronome* had a certain kind of official role when it came to Yugoslav early festivals of this kind of music. Sometimes, scores were published under the code before the festival, so that the jury and the audience could judge the tune just on its own merits, without 'extra-musical' influences. First half of the 1960s was the climax of this Italo-fashion, when specials were made, consisting exclusively of tunes from Sanremo. With the 1970s approaching, Anglo-American music in its rock'n'roll form gradually stepped in the place of Italian schlagers.

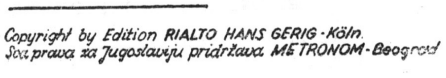
ALBUMI POPULARNIH ŠLAGERA

Metronom za vas

izlaze svakog meseca i sadrže 10—15 popularnih zabavnih melodija jugoslovenskih i stranih autora u obradi za violinu, gitaru, harmoniku i pevanje. Cena pojedinom broju je 60.— dinara.

ORKESTRI mogu koristiti naša izdanja i kao aranžmane. Ukoliko nabave 3—4 primeraka jednog broja obezbediće sebi nov i raznovrstan repertoar uz najniže troškove — violina, klavir, harmonika, gitara i bas mogu koristiti ove albume odmah bez ikakve traspozicije.

ŠEFOVI ORKESTRA — prilikom izvođenja ubeležavajte izvedene kompozicije u programe Zavoda za zaštitu autorskih prava. Podatke o autorima sadrži svako naše izdanje i kompozicija. Na zahtev šaljemo besplatno popis svih kompozicija koje smo objavili sa imenima autora.



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Sva prava za Jugoslaviju pridržava METRONOM-Beograd

Example 1. 1a (left) Reminder to the band leaders that scores from *The Metronome* could possibly be used as orchestral parts if one buys several copies of the issue, as well as information regarding copyright payments.
1b (right) Example of copyright notice consisting of original owner label and information that all rights for Yugoslavia are property of *The Metronome*.

In the beginning, Italian schlagers were not so different from others in *The Metronome*. The magazine also published songs from Germany, Belgium, Spain and Latin American countries, according to the copyright note printed in the footnote of every score. Important feature of the magazine was its inclusion in a broader European network of popular music institutions. Copyright pieces of information were obviously taken seriously, since the warnings for payments to certain copyright agency were published in several issues (Ex. 1a.)

Additionally, most of the tunes were bought from original copyrighter and then covered, as it was said in the notice. It's important to point out that considerable number of pieces were composed by Yugoslav authors. Lyrics were given in Serbo-Croatian and in the case of foreign tunes, original lyrics were printed bellow the translation. Covering was the most important task of *The Metronome,* so that editors justified their practice by publishing Serbo-Croatian covers of the songs that had already been covered in major European centers, some of them several times, so previous versions were advertised in the magazine as proof of the quality of the tune. As the result, some scores had lyrics in three different languages (Italian, German and Serbo-Croatian).

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This internationality was very much present in the lyrics, what makes Serbo-Croatian (among others) covers even more interesting. That is the case with a song *Si, si, si*, originally composed and performed by Domenico Modugno. Lyrics combine Italian and English common phrases used by a man while flirting with a foreign girl ("Si, si, si, yes, yes,yes, veni qui, come to me").[11] Yugoslav cover was recorded by Dragan Toković,[12] and in his version of this Italo-English romance, words were changed into just plain love paroles, but refrain "Si, si, si" was kept, with the rest translated as "da, da, da". Similar procedure can be noticed in the case of *Ciao* by Catarina Valente,[13] covered by Nada Knežević under the same title, but in Serbo-Croatian orthography as *Ćao*.[14] It seems that this Italian salute was accepted (and kept until today) in everyday use in Yugoslavia during this period of popularity of Apennines' music.

11 Domenico Modugno: *Si, si, si*. Milano: Fonit (SPM. 9), 1960.
12 Dragan Toković: *Si, si, si*. Zagreb: Jugoton (EPY-3114), 1961.
13 Catarina Valente: *Ciao!* Milano: Decca (LKI 4704), 1963.
14 Nada Knežević: *Ćao!* Beograd: PGP-RTB (EP 50211), 1964.

Among Yugoslav Italian-cover-makers the most prominent role belongs to Đorđe Marjanović, a celebrated singer who started his career during the late 1950s, almost at the same time when *The Metronome* gained its full peak. His numerous covers of Italian songs were included into the magazone and he recorded many of them as well. It is possible to conclude that he is one of the most deserving for the expansion of Italian music. At the time, foreign songs were widely known primarily by Yugoslav covers, since the original records were obsolete and broadcasters favored local production. Marjanović's covers published on records were among the best selling in addition to his translations recorded by others such as Jimmy Stanić, Dušan Jakšić and Nada Knežević.

Marjanović's style in covering was unique, since he did not have the intention of producing himself as a replica of some Italian singer, which was a regular practice – instead, he was acting "natural", non-pretencious, relaxed in both appearance and covering-style. Illustrating case would be a song *Abbronzatissima* by Eduardo Vianello,[15] whose title is very difficult to translate properly so that it would fit the melody and meaning. Marjanović's version has a descriptive Serbo-Croatian title – *Devojka bronzane boje*,[16] but the refrain is nonetheless sung in Italian and the lyrics are changed to express the author's struggle to address the unknown tanned girl: "I couldn't find out your name, but I've decided to give you this strange title, Abbronzatissima, due to your bronzed look, I called you that way". Although, it is hard to determine who was the first one who started this trend, it surely was not Marjanović's invention. Ivo Robić's version[17] of Italio-English hit *I sing amore*[18] kept this specific trend of blending famous European phrases, adding one more language to the mix. Nevertheless, somewhat surprising where covers of German tunes made under their Italo-fashion and then translated to Serbo-croatian. Such a case is *Mille-mille baci* sung by Gabi Novak and Marko Novosel.[19] Translation included the Italian refrain, but the rest of the text was in Serbo-Croatian, so given the fact that German original is written in Italian manner, Yugoslav cover just emphasised the effect intended by Margit Imlau and Peter Alexander.[20] Nena Ivošević's cover of *Casanova baciami* or *Kazanova, dođi mi*[21] is one more among notable examples of this Schagler-internationalism. The

15 Eduardo Vianello: *Abbronzatissima*. Roma: RCA Italiana (PM 45 3200), 1964.
16 Đorđe Marjanović: *Abbronzatissima*. Beograd: PGP RTB (EP 50106), 1964.
17 Ivo Robić: *I sing "Amore"*. Zagreb: Jugoton (EPY-3072), 1960.
18 Franco Franchi: *I sing "Amore"*. Milano: Combo Record (5229), 1959.
19 Marko Novosel: Gabi Novak, *Mille, mille baci*. Zagreb: Jugoton (EPY-3116), 1961.
20 Peter Alexander, Margit Imlau: *Mille, mille baci*. Berlin: Polydor (24 309), 1960.
21 Nena Ivošević: *Kazanova, dođi mi*. Zagreb: Jugoton (EPY-3310), 1964.

song was originally recorded by Petulla Clarck in German,[22] and *The Metronome* bought the rights from *Edition Montana* from Munich. German version contains Italian, English and German words that vanished from Yugoslav cover in which this cosmopolitanism remained only on the level of desire towards legendary Italian lover.

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The Metronome often included information about the release, written above the title of the tune. In the beginning, that practice was very rare, and instead, notice was made about the inclusion of a certain number into some singer's repertoire. That period could be described as dominated by radio-singers, i.e. live-singers who had the opportunity to be broadcasted on the radio and could be regarded as predecessors of gramophone-record-singers, which will become a typical performer's profile by the end of the sixties. Since the gramophone record was already a multi-media product – audio content enveloped in visual design – reference to singers discography printed in *The Metronome* was very important for the interpretation of the score. Since the sheet-music is not definitive and needs to be completed with previous knowledge, but also open to fit someone's desire, having a record as model shrinks circle of possible interpretations, focusing player's attention on imitating not just the recording, but also the visual representation of the singer from the sleeve.

Hence, it can be concluded that photographs were an important part of the magazine. In the early stage, photos of the radio-singers were taken in atelier, and person appeared to be a stylised figure, motionless and almost with no expression except a polite and decent smile (Example 2). This can be understood as the result of 'invisibility' of the radio-singer, and with no material item as carrier of his appearance (sonorous or visual). With emergence of vinyl record, visual representation of singers in magazine shifted towards photos taken 'in action', often cut out from the composition and pasted into an abstract collage with sometimes dynamic structure (Example 3). *The Metronome* published also the photos of foreign and Yugoslav singers, providing enough information regarding comparison of 'models' and 'covers' (Example 4).

22 Petula Clark: *Casanova baciami*. Frankfurt am Main: Vogue Schallplatten (DV 14036), 1962.

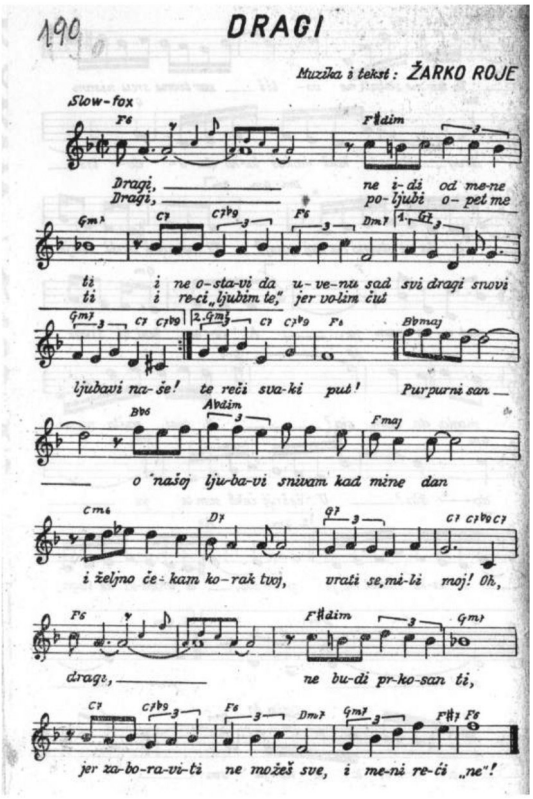
Example 2. Four photos of radio-singers published in *The Metronome*

Example 3. Singers captured "in action" on covers of *The Metronome*

Example 4: Photos of foreign singers from *The Metronome*

Scores in *The Metronome* were arranged as universal leadsheet, without precise instrumentation noted. One piece consisted of mostly single-voice melody and chord progressions code written above the score with lyrics below. Harmony was coded

with capital letters for root of the chord and number for extension (for example: C^9 was dominant seventh chord with added ninth on the root C, cf. Example 5).



Example 5. Example of a score from *The Metronome*

According to the available recordings, written melodic line was different that the one that was sung. This melody was usually a vocal part, and it was written as simple as possible, so it would be easy for the singer to read the score. Final interpretation depended on the ability of performer to express read line in accordance with character mark, signifier of equal importance as notes and chords. This character mark provided a direction for players as to where to stylistically point their performance according to previous experience.[23] It was particularly

23 Given the fact that the notation system was taken from the western, artistic music, it shows only those aspects that can be written in this way. All else that comes with the interpretation of the notation is based on the 'aural', unwritten tradition of the given musical practice. Cf. David Brackett: *Interpreting popular music*. Oakland: University of California Press, 1995, p. 28.

significant for drummers, since it in most cases meant specific rhythmic ostinato with its fill-in idioms, expected at the ends of the four- or eight-bar phrases and turnarounds.

So, it can be concluded that scores published in *The Metronome* were not intended for someone who is not familiar with conventions and idioms from the music of that time. This kind of popular music had its (relatively) own notation practice, which was neither descriptive nor detailed as classical one, but rather, to a certain measure, open for improvisation and creative interpretations. That can be one of the reasons why recordings of the same score are so different, matching only in segments that could be read from the score – basic melodic points, chord progression and one-word character description. Key, tempo, instrumentation, arrangement, solos, dynamics – all of that could be (and usually was) very different from one recording to another. One more detail can be spotted in the fact that, in opposition to classical notation where randomness and inaccuracy were mostly unwanted, the *Metronome* scores were very inviting for improvisation and re-arrangements, which can be attributed to 'jazz-part' of this phenomenon.[24] Chords code was the most important for piano, accordion and guitar players. It also provided foundation for solo improvisation, but although it was always written, in practice could be omitted in cases such as blues or traditional ternary form (*a b a1*), present in majority of schlagers and jazz standards. In this cases, harmonic progression was part of the idiom, and regardless of its very changeable nature, it was fixed on the level of harmonic functions and relations to root key. Typical variations of harmonic progressions were tritone substitutions, and adding of thirds, with common eliptic resolutions in turnarounds. Important aspect of the *Metronome* scores was their *ad libitum* instrumentation practice, so the same score could be valid for making arrangement for a big band or for an amateur playing on his own.

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Yugoslav covers had a very wide range of dissimilarities in comparison to the Italian original – from almost literary copy of musical arrangement and instrumentation to a very free interpretation with a lot of personal flavor. It's important to mention that man-woman singer distinction was not very important since it was a common practice for a man to sing a song previously recorded by a woman and vice-versa. I will not focus on the most popular songs – such as

24 This kind of notation was partly borrowed from jazz tradition, where similar sort of scores are still in use, although it is not so standardised as classical notation and has large number of versions and variations.

"Marina" sung by Rocco Granata[25] and covered by Dušan Jakšić,[26] or "La partita di pallone" by Rita Pavone[27] rendered by Nada Knežević[28] and Betty Jurković[29] and translated by Đorđe Marjanović – since they are so popular and accepted, that it would be hard to point out specificities of musical re-interpretation.

In the context of the already mentioned cross-influences manifested in both lyrics and music, Jimmy Stanić's cover[30] of *New Orleans* by Adriano Celentano[31] is one of the very prominent cases, due to the former's 'serious', somewhat old-fashioned interpretation in comparison to Celentano's very Americanized style of performance. This Stanić's 'conservativism' is more or less present in the majority of the covers of the time, apparent in another Celentano's bluesy tune *Sono un simpatico*,[32] recorded by Dušan Jakšić.[33] By contrast, Đorđe Marjanović was more appealing to the youth, although his repertoire consisted of covers of the same kind of Italian songs. Friendly and spontaneous, Marjanović made even moderate originals sound energetic and dance-able, although his vocal technique was quite limited comparing to Dušan Jakšić or Jimmy Stanić.

Sonorous reflections of the economic situation on the popular music scene was also present in the sound of Yugoslav records when put side-by-side with Italian, but only in technological domain. Regarding playing abilities, Yugoslav studio musicians were at the same level as their Italian colleagues, which is apparent in numerous recordings and need not to be particularly proven. But, studios and engineering were quite modest in comparison to western, and also, market was smaller, so production was adopted to fit its demands. It is most obvious when arrangements and instrumentations are compared. Although big festival productions (such as Opatija festival for instance) were glamorous, with big ensembles and sparkling orchestrations, most of the recordings were made with studio bands, almost by rule with less performers than in the original. It is the case, for instance, with Marko Novosel's rendition[34] of Claudio Villa's 1962 Sanremo entry *Quando, quando, quando*.[35] On both recordings performance is

25 Rocco Granata: *Marina*. Berlin: Columbia (45-DW 5745), 1959.
26 Dušan Jakšić: *Marina*. Zagreb: Jugoton (SY-1047), 1959.
27 Rita Pavone: *La partita di pallone*. Roma: RCA Victor (PM45 3140), 1962.
28 Nada Knežević: *Utakmica*. Beograd: PGP-RTB (EP 50214), 1964.
29 Betty Jurković: *Nogometna utakmica*. Zagreb: Jugoton (SY-1256), 1963.
30 Stjepan Jimmy Stanić: *New Orleans*. Zagreb: Jugoton (EPY-3319), 1964.
31 Adriano Celentano: *New Orleans*. Roma: Jolly Hi-Fi Records (J 20197), 1962.
32 Adriano Celentano: *Sono un simpatico*. Milano: Clan Celentano (ACC 24024), 1964.
33 Dušan Jakšić: *Ja sam simpatičan*. Beograd: PGP-RTB (EP 50243), 1966.
34 Marko Novosel: *Kada, kada, kada*. Zagreb: Jugoton (SY-1270), 1964.
35 Claudio Villa: *Quando, quando, quando (The Twelve Greatest Hits San Remo Festival / 1962)*. New York: Epic (LF 18021), 1962.

equally persuasive, but skillful Novosel's backing Dance orchestra of RTV Zagreb is no match for colorful Mediterranean orchestration.

This is less noticeable in the case of combo ensembles. Especially successful in highly accurate covering with occasional personal creative contributions, were bands backing Đorđe Marjanović, Dušan Jakšić, Nada Knežević and Ljiljana Petrović. Generally, Marjanović's most successful records were made with small bands and covers of *Il Pulover* ('Plavi pulover') by Gianni Meccia[36] and Little Tony's *Bella Pupa* or *Lutkica*[37] are good examples of high level of professionalism of Yugoslav musicians expressed in precision and coordination of band members with prolific solo excursions that reveal experienced performer in variety of genres. This impression is boosted with not so fortunate Italian originals, obviously produced with bigger budget that can be justified only as a mean to hide the otherwise routine atmosphere of the performance. In numerous other cases, Italian bands were on a high technical level that was extremely demanding to imitate. One of the notorious examples is the already mentioned recording of "Abbronzatissima", *tempo di cha-cha-cha* with specific ostinate figure played by the entire band simultaneously, accompanying the vocal line. Particularly demanding is that each figure has a rapid fade in and out, resulting in a wave-like dance beat. Yugoslav sextet lead by Aleksandar Subota bravely accepted the challenge made by world-wide famous Enio Moricone's orchestra.

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Today, analisys of scores and recordings of popular music seems like a justified path towards better understanding of specific musical practices of the time. Since the score in popular music was not as important as it was the case with classical one, comparison of recordings and sheet music provides insight in details of musicianship, usually hidden when conclusions are derived just on the basis of recordings or/and secondary sources. Historian Radina Vučetić also recognizes this period as the time of institutionalization of Yugoslav jazz music, so given that jazz of the 50s and 60s is sometimes hard to distinguish from the rest of the popular music, it can be said that the *Metronome* was a kind of effort made toward overcoming of practical infrastructural issues on the scene that was not affiliated with official classical musical institutions (schools and academies) nor folklore societies, also state-sponsored.

36 Gianni Meccia: *Il Pulover*. Roma: RCA Camden (45CP 103), 1960; Đorđe Marjanović: *Plavi pulover*. Zagreb: Jugoton (EPY-3155), 1962.

37 Little Tony: *Bella Pupa*. Milano: Durium (Ld A 7002), 1961; Đorđe Marjanović: *Lutkica*. Zagreb: Jugoton (EPY-3155), 1962.

Metronome for You maintained strong ties with other kinds of publishing of the time, especially with record labels, and served as advertising media for majority of releases. When this kind of 'product' – where score, singer's photos and record references – is joined with the actual sound carrier, the result is an all-you-need set for a beginner, and at the same time, an instruction kit for the already established bands and soloists for proper positioning on the market. Following the tags from the magazine one can easily come to the recordings (even nowadays) of both originals and covers and acquire knowledge on the sound environment of the printed artifacts, originating from very different and distant geographical and social contexts that are, nevertheless strongly connected to the Yugoslav one. This method has proven useful, especially in the case of musicological approach, traditionally close to the score analysis, because in this case written material is relevant only when performed and 'finished' with interpretation based on previous experience of listening and playing this kind of music. Since the field and live recordings are rare and were unpublished at the time, official releases provide a good reference and insight in most of the musical parameters. In addition, production has to be treated separately, since there were no mentions of studio practices – like recording, mixing, editing etc. – on the pages of the *Metronome*. When approaching the magazine with previous statements in mind, it was inevitable to come to a comparison of Yugoslav covers with their Italian originals, since the majority of the material originated from our oversee neighbor. Goal of this analysis was to contribute to the already conducted research in the field of history of popular music in Serbia. Due to the fact that it focuses on questions of musical performance and published scores, it aimed to sheds new light on the relations between popular music scenes of Yugoslavia and neighboring western countries.

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"SHE WAS AFRAID THAT SOMEBODY WOULD SEE": THE GENDER PERFORMATIVITY OF FEMALE YUGOSLAV SINGERS IN THE SIXTIES[1]

Adriana Sabo (Belgrade)

Abstract: *This paper focuses on female singers of so-called light music active during the 1960s in Yugoslavia, and on the status of what can be called Mediterranean music in their work. The goal is to explore how the concept of gender performativity, as defined by Judith Butler, can be applied to the performance of music, and to shed some light on the way Mediterranean music has affected gender performativity. Several important aspects of Yugoslav culture at that time will be examined, including the importance of Western influences and the ideological use of popular music, as well as the status of women in the former Yugoslavia and the question of gender (in)equality. The aim of the paper will also be to reveal the norms of femininity that were prevalent in the music industry at that time.*

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One important characteristic of cultural life in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia from the 1950s onward was its openness to the Western influences that strongly shaped the lives especially of those who lived in large cities.[2] Among the most important of these Western influences was the development of the rock music scene and that of the so-called light music that was very popular in Yugoslavia.

The assimilation of 'artifacts' from Western consumer cultures – from Western Europe as well as Britain and the United States – was used by the government to shape the idea of Yugoslavia's 'progressiveness' and to distance the regime from the ideologies of the other communist countries that formed the Eastern Bloc.

1 This paper was written as part of a project of the Department of Musicology of the Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade, entitled "Identities of Serbian Music in the World Cultural Context", supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia, no. 1770149.

2 Cf. Alexei Monroe: *Interrogation Machine. Laibach and NSK*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 80–121; Sabrina Petra Ramet: "Shake, Rattle and Self-Management. Rock Music in Socialist Yugoslavia, and After", in: *Kazaaam! Splat! Ploof!: The American Impact on European Popular Culture Since 1945*, eds. Sabrina Ramet and Gordana Crnković. London: Rowman & Littlefield Publisher, 2003, pp. 173–197; and Radina Vučetić: "Rokenrol na Zapadu Istoka – slučaj *Džuboks*", in: *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 1–3 (2006), pp. 71–88.

In this context I propose to consider the ways in which music performance influenced female gender performativity, as understood by Judith Butler, and vice versa. My focus will be on three singers (Tereza Kesovija, Ljiljana Petrović, and Zorana Lola Novaković) who performed light music during the 1960s under the influence of the 'Mediterranean' music that came to be understood as a musical symbol of the 'progressive' West.[3] I will also examine how the identity of female singers of light music was constructed within Yugoslav society and elaborate some of the ways in which music influenced their gender performativity.

THE CONCEPT OF GENDER PERFORMATIVITY AND ITS RELATION TO VOICE

Judith Butler writes that "If gender is a kind of a doing, an incessant activity performed, in part, without one's knowing and without one's willing [...] it is a practice of improvisation within a scene of constraint".[4] According to Butler, gender 'appears' due to practices of reiteration that happen within the framework of different norms; in acts of gender performativity, individuals repeat, change or 'decline' to accept those norms, and by doing so they become subjects. Gender norms are thus (re)produced in this process of reiteration, but they can, at the same time, be questioned. Butler writes that these norms are "[t]he terms by which we are recognized as human" and are located "from the start, outside oneself, beyond oneself in a sociality that has no single author".[5] Thus, she claims that society recognizes us as 'men' and 'women' only in relation to the degree to which we comply with the reiteration of prescribed gender norms. One's self, thus, "emerges only within and as the matrix of gender relations themselves".[6] According to Butler, no one *is* a gender, but everyone's gender is constantly being performed, in a process that happens in time and includes the reiteration of certain social norms.

3 In the pre-war period, jazz music and the so-called schlagers became popular among the urban bourgeois as examples of the latest musical fashion from the West. This popularity continued after the World War II despite the fact that a new, socialist state had been established, and these popular genres merged into what is often referred to as 'easy' or 'light' music. Along with jazz and schlager music, light music was influenced by Latino rhythms (cha-cha-cha, rumba, samba), as well as elements of rock, swing, twist, blues etc. In other words, it was a blend of various musical genres popular in the West. Cf. Vartkes Baronijan: "Pola veka beogradskog zabavno-muzičkog života", *Zvuk* 102–103 (1970), pp. 104–106.

4 Judith Butler: *Undoing Gender*. London, New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 2.

5 Idem.

6 Judith Butler: *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"*. London, New York: Routledge, 2011, p. xvi.

In her theoretical work, Butler thus emphasizes the difference between the concepts of gender *performance* and gender *performativity*: "the former presumes a subject, but the latter contests the very notion of the subject".[7] Performativity is a concept that, in her opinion, invites us to think about language and voice, since it can be understood as "*that aspect of discourse that has the capacity to produce what it names*" (italics in the original), or as "the vehicle through which ontological effects are established […] the discursive mode by which ontological effects are installed".[8] Yet, even though the concept of performativity announces the importance of language, questions of voice and sound remain outside Butler's theoretical focus. As Annette Schlichter notes, Butler's "theory of gender performativity and the consecutive deliberations about the matter of bodies do not account for voice as sound, nor do they acknowledge the mediation of vocal acts through sound technologies".[9] According to Schlichter, Butler "eventually presents us with voiceless bodies".[10] Although Butler's concepts offer an important theoretical tool for understanding the way gender is performed through speaking or singing, the author herself seems to understand the voice as purely discursive. Schlichter's article provides a valuable extension. As Schlichter claims, voice is a vitally important aspect of gender performativity and the materialization of the body, since it "marks a passage from the inside of bodies to the exterior, and its materiality is rather delicate, even paradoxical".[11] Schlichter agrees with Jacques Lacan and Mladen Dolar that the voice is "an object that emerges from the body but is neither fully defined by matter nor completely beyond it".[12] The question of gender performativity through singing is also an important field that shows how voices are trained to fit particular genre norms – like those of *bel canto*, jazz singing, or blues. As defined by Butler, gender performativity is based mainly on the visual, which can be understood as both a result and a critique of the predominance of this aspect in contemporary society.

Butler claims that gender performativity and compliance with the reiteration of gender norms are what make us 'recognizable' to the society in which we live, which is a thesis that can be applied to music (and to many other phenomena) as well. To put it simply, compliance with certain norms or rules – manifested in the form of genres, compositional techniques, performance characteristics, etc. –

7 Judith Butler: "Gender as Performance", in: *A Critical Sense: Interviews With Intellectuals*, ed. Peter Osborne. London: Routledge, 1996, p. 112.

8 Idem.

9 Annette Schlichter: "Do Voices Matter? Vocality, Materiality, Gender Performativity", in: *Body & Society* 17/1 (2011), p. 32.

10 Idem.

11 Ibidem, p. 33.

12 Idem.

ensures that a piece of music will be recognized by its audience as belonging to popular, classical, jazz, or any other kind of music. My intention here is to analyze how gender and musical performance are connected and influence each other, and to shed some light on the question of how the female gender has been constructed and performed within a world of music that *was* predominantly male – most composers, arrangers, and lyricists were men – but which 'allowed' a number of women to enter the sphere of performance. Special attention will be given to the female voice since, during the sixties in Yugoslavia, visual media culture was not as highly developed as in other Western countries, and singers were recognized by audiences chiefly through their singing voices.

YUGOSLAV WOMEN BETWEEN EAST AND WEST

As noted, "the process of westernization was encouraged in Yugoslavia as part of the Cold War and the Yugoslav policy of balancing between two superpowers".[13]Also, as Alexei Monroe (and others) have observed, the status of popular music in Yugoslavia was different from its status in the other communist countries of Eastern Europe, since in Yugoslavia it had the additional role of promoting a certain political and cultural ideology. As Monroe states, the "authorities were tolerant of popular music partly in order to differentiate the 'progressive' Yugoslav regime from the overt cultural Stalinism of its Eastern neighbors".[14] Monroe also points out that in this case, "not only was there no sustained *Kulturkampf* against rock as such (only its 'unacceptable' variants), it even came to be seen as a useful transmitter of Yugoslav ideology".[15] Thus, music that was created under the influence of (mostly Anglo-American) popular genres came to be associated with progressive, urban, and cultured members of Yugoslav society and was often used as a basis for their distinction from those living in rural areas of the country, whose' music was understood as oriented towards the local context. In other words, popular music created under Western influences (not only rock and roll, but light and jazz music as well) played an important role in shaping the identities of the urban youth by supporting the idea that the country and its culture lay truly between East and West, never fully

13 R Vučetić: "Rokenrol na Zapadu Istoka", p. 77. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are by the author.

14 Alexei Monroe: *Interrogation Machine: Laibach and NSK*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003, p. 204.

15 Idem. It should be noted here that Monroe seems to understand the situation in eastern Europe at the time through the stereotypes present in the western countries; for example, he seems to generalize the entire Eastern bloc, understanding the cultural politics of these countries simply as "overt cultural Stalinism", uncritically assuming that Western popular music is 'free' of ideology while Eastern (Yugoslav) music is (only) a "useful transmitter of ideology".

accepting either of their ideologies as Yugoslavia chose 'its own path into socialism' in 1948, after the break between Tito and Stalin. In this context, the music of the Mediterranean, and especially the light music of Italy, served as a link with the popular music of Western Europe.

Another area that offers a way to understand how tensions and differences between East and West were negotiated within the context of Yugoslavia is that of female emancipation. The emancipation of women was among the goals to be achieved by the new socialist society that emerged after the end of World War II. The official position of the communist party was in accordance with the ideas of Marx and Engels concerning this issue: gender inequality would be eradicated together with class inequality and all forms of exploitation resulting from the existence of private property.[16] As Neda Božinović points out, while the Communist Party of Yugoslavia was in power there existed a permanent discussion about whether society required women's organizations whose work would be directed especially towards achieving the equality of women. In other words, two discourses were constantly present: one that stood by the ideas of Marx and Engels, and another arguing that the 'female question' and the problem of gender inequality must be addressed as issues separate from the fight for social and class equality. According to Božinović, "the status of women [...] improved constantly, but was coupled with a constant struggle by women's organizations against the general economic and cultural backwardness and the conservative patriarchal consciousness manifested in the everyday life by men and women alike".[17] The end of World War II and the victory of the Communist Party brought many improvements for the women of Yugoslavia – such as the right to vote, to choose a profession, the right to equal education, etc. – yet these changes often remained only on paper, and patriarchal ideas still remained strong. Even though women were given the same rights as men, they were never encouraged to denounce the traditional gender roles that kept them at the home as wives and mothers. In other words, legal mechanisms were constantly clashing with ideological principles. Feminist ideas took root in Yugoslav society partly due to Western influences, and despite the fact that this movement was often frowned upon by the authorities. One event that is often considered "the first event of the second wave of feminism in Eastern Europe"[18] was organized by women in 1978 under the title "Comrade Woman. Female Question. New Approach?" It can be

16 Bojana Pejić: "Proleterians of All Countries, Who Washes Your Socks? Equality, Dominance and Difference in Eastern European Art", in: *Gender Check. Femininity and Masculinity in the Art of Eastern Europe*, ed. Bojana Pejić. Vienna: Museum Moderner Kunst, 2009, pp. 19–29.

17 Neda Božinovič: *Žensko pitanje u Srbiji u XIX i XX veku*. Beograd: devedesetčetvrta, žene u crnom, 1996, p. 251.

18 Marijana Stojčić: "Proleteri svih zemalja – ko vam pere čarape? Feministički pokret u Jugoslaviji 1978–1989", in: *Društvo u pokretu,* eds. Đorđe Tomić and Petar Atanacković. Novi Sad: Cenzura, 2009, p. 108.

taken as evidence that actual gender equality did not exist in Yugoslavia, but that the question was considered very important.

Many women managed to use the opportunities offered them by a socialist society that espoused gender equality. Women were active in the political life of the country (like Mitra Mirović and Spasenija Babović, to name only two), and Yugoslav women were also active as sports journalists and commentators, rock journalists, scientists, engineers, etc. The growing number of female singers in Yugoslavia was not only a result of the demands made by the market and the music industry – as was the case in the capitalist West – but was also influenced by the proclaimed gender equality that existed in the official political discourse. Thus, the careers, music, and gender performativity of female singers must be considered in the contexts of a number of opposing influences: of East (or local) and West, of traditional versus progressive, and of emancipation versus gender inequality.

UNDERSTANDING THE MEDITERRANEAN IN A YUGOSLAV CONTEXT

When discussing Mediterranean music, or the Mediterranean *in* music, a clear definition of this term is lacking, as the term 'Mediterranean' can be applied to the music of all the countries that have access to the Mediterranean Sea whether they are in Europe, the near East, or North Africa.[19] The cultures in this region are many and diverse, and the 'Mediterranean' seems to be defined and redefined with each new attempt to understand the music – mostly traditional and popular – of different countries in the region. For present purposes 'Mediterranean' will be understood here in the context of the light music of former Yugoslavia, which differs from the definition formed through analysis of, for instance, folk and traditional music.[20] In the specific context of light music in Yugoslavia, the Mediterranean was associated mostly with the Adriatic Sea and was usually represented by Italian music, and to a lesser extent also with the music of France, Spain, and Greece.[21]

19 Cf. David Cooper and Kevin Dawe (eds.): *The Mediterranean in Music: Critical Perspectives, Common Concerns, Cultural Differences*. Lanham, MD.: The Scarecrow Press, 2005.

20 In this case, 'traditional music' refers to folklore – to music performed by people living mostly in rural areas, whose music is considered the primary subject of ethnomusicological research – while 'folk music' points to musical practices that produce popular music supposedly inspired by traditional music. In other words, this formulation implies the difference between the 'authentic' folklore and music that uses some of its typical elements (such as scales, ornamentation, or rhythms) but is in fact a product of the music industry.

21 Other non-European countries bordering the Mediterranean, such as Morocco, Palestine, Syria, Tunisia, Libya, and others, seem to have been excluded from what was recognized as 'Mediterranean' music in Yugoslavia.

Italy is one of the two 'Western' neighbors of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (the other being Austria), and the country itself had access to the Mediterranean via the Adriatic Sea and the coasts and seaports of Croatia, Montenegro, Slovenia, and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Italian music strongly influenced the Yugoslav light music of the sixties, and many Italian hits were covered by popular singers from Yugoslavia.[22] After the end of the so-called Trieste crisis – when Yugoslavia and Italy fought over the territory of Trieste, Gorizia, and Istria – many felt that Trieste should have been merged with Yugoslavia and 'embraced'; as the famous slogan proclaimed: "Trieste is ours!" One of the most important festivals revealing Yugoslavia's closeness to Italy and to Mediterranean music is the one held since 1958 in Opatija, on the Croatian coast. This festival was envisioned as a Yugoslav variant of the Sanremo Music Festival, and helped to define what is meant by Mediterranean music in Yugoslavia and to popularize Italian music. Covering popular songs was a common practice in Western Europe at the time, so the presence of a large number of foreign hits in the repertoire of Yugoslav singers is not surprising. But Mediterranean music was only one aspect of the light music scene in Yugoslavia, and only one of the representatives of the West European tradition of popular music. The Mediterranean also had strong local connotations, as Yugoslavia had access to the sea, especially via Croatia, where Mediterranean music became an important symbol of Croatian culture. In other words, Mediterranean music could be recognized as both international and local – that is, both Croatian and, in a broader sense, Yugoslav – which reveals once again the position of the non-aligned country *between* influences constructed in mutual opposition – not only 'East' and 'West', whether understood as the USSR and the U.S. or as Eastern Europe and Western Europe. Yugoslavia was close to *both* but accepted *neither* completely.

Within this framework, I will analyse a few examples of songs performed by Tereza Kesovija, Ljiljana Petrović, and Zorana Lola Novaković, whose music offers important insights into the performativity of female gender in the Yugoslav light music scene in the 1960s.

22 For instance, Dragan Toković sang Domenico Modugno's hit *Si, si, si*; Dušan Jakšić covered Carlo Buti's *Per un Bacio D'amor* with a song called *Za jedan poljubac*; and Dorđe Marjanović performed a number of Italian songs including *Renato* (sung by Mina), *Domani prendo il primo treno* (renamed *Prvi voz*), and *Bella pupa* (translated as *Lutkica*). Also, a magazine called *Metronome for You* published the scores of songs that were popular in the West, among them many Italian songs that were performed at the Sanremo Music Festival.

GENDER PERFORMATIVITY AND LIGHT MUSIC

Tereza Kesovija

Tereza Kesovija (*b.* 1938) was born near Dubrovnik in Croatia. Her career developed rapidly in the early 1960s following a performance at the festival *Beogradsko proleće* (Belgrade Spring Festival), and especially after she won second prize at the Opatija Festival in 1962 with a song entitled *Plavi nokturno* ('Blue Nocturne'). As her official biography states, she was known both within Yugoslavia and internationally, and toured the countries of Western Europe as well as the USSR, South America, and Asia.[23] In 1965 Kesovija moved to France, where she released two albums, *La Chanson de Lara* and *C'est ma chanson*; her international career flourished especially after she was chosen to represent Monaco at the Eurovision Song Contest in 1966. Her albums published in France achieved great success, with the first one selling over 50,000 copies. She also recorded a number of songs and albums dedicated to her home town of Dubrovnik, the region of Dalmatia, or the city of Split, which reveal her understanding of Mediterranean music as a symbol of local and specifically Dalmatian identity.

One such song is *Nima Splita do Splita* ('There's No Place Like Split'), composed by Nikica Kalogjera and Ivica Krajač, which Kesovija performed at the Split Festival in 1963. The song leans heavily on the characteristic local dialect, with lyrics that describe the beauties of Split and express love for its uniqueness, while the music reveals ties to Dalmatian folk music and the characteristic shaping of the vocal line. Similar characteristics can be found in the song *Sunčane fontane* ('Sunny Fountains', later known as 'Dalmatian Evergreen'), composed by Zdenko Runjić and first performed at the same festival in 1974.[24] This ballad again shows the strong influence of Dalmatian music, in a major key, with a prominent role given to the mandolin as one of the symbols of this area. The melody is wide-ranging, filled with jumps in thirds and ending in a characteristic manner, moving from the seventh to the third tone of the scale. Another interesting example of the Mediterranean music in Kesovija's discography is *Larina pjesma* ('Lara's Theme', 1967), one of the many covers of the famous tune from *Doctor Zhivago* (1965) composed by Maurice Jarre.[25] In Kesovija's performance, the music reveals strong ties to the region of Dalmatia; thanks to the prominence of the mandolin and the slightly slower tempo, the Russian atmosphere of the original tune was given a more local sound. From the rich discography of Tereza Kesovija, it is important to

23 http://tereza-kesovija.com/, biografija, 60e (accessed on September 29, 2015).

24 http://tereza-kesovija.com/ (accessed on September 29, 2015).

25 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=weRqvURKrWI (accessed on September 29, 2015).

mention the album *Nježne strune mandoline* ('Tender Strings of Mandolin') which contains songs inspired precisely by the 'Dalmatian sound' – with the use of the mandolin, major keys, the large vocal range of the melody, and frequent use of the major third – such as *Sunčane fontane*.

The performativity of Tereza Kesovija's gender during this time suggests that her identity was formed within a complex web of social norms that established the role of women, governed their conduct in public, and dictated how female vocalists should look, intersected by the possibilities (and limitations) offered by technology and the media. Her appearance on stage as a passionate, sensitive, and beautiful young woman was modeled on that of singers of classical music: she was elegant and feminine, wearing long dresses or skirts, and dressed and acting according to the norms of traditional femininity, yet never over-emphasizing any of her female attributes. Her visual appearance thus defined her clearly as a woman, but – paradoxically – also implied a certain 'neutrality', since her looks were never supposed to distract attention away from her singing. This neutrality of Kesovija's look can also be attributed to the fact that in Yugoslavia in the sixties, popular music was still heard mostly on the radio, so the physical appearance of the singer – male or female – was less important than in later decades. More emphasis was put on her singing abilities and her voice, trained according to the norms of light music, which was at times tender, soft, clear, or powerful, and always technically perfect. Her singing reflected the tradition of Italian *canzone* or French *chanson*, while her use of vibrato recalled the tradition of classical music. In any case, her voice clearly defined her gender as unquestionably female. Finally, due to her vocal abilities and the rapid development of her career, she appeared to the audience as a music professional, a woman who was *just as important* for the ideology promoting a 'progressive' Yugoslavia as were her male colleagues. In this sense, it could be said that Kesovija's body revealed a type of materiality that was typical for singers of popular music in Yugoslavia during the 1960s: to most members of the audience, it was materialized – to a certain extent – 'outside' her body, at the same time both connected with it and detached from it, due to the technologies of reproduction and radio.[26] Although there was nothing typically Mediterranean in her physical appearance but this trait could be found, whenever she sang 'Dalmatian music', both in her voice and her way of singing.

26 Certain forms of the subversion of gender norms – possible, according to Butler, precisely due to their reiteration in different ways – were present in the visual appearances of popular West European singers who had access to entertainment TV programs, like Mina (Anna Maria Quaini), who was famous for her open questioning of the traditional bourgeois role of women, or Rita Pavone, whose image was that of an androgynous teenaged girl with short hair and 'boyish' looks.

Ljiljana Petrović and Zorana Lola Novaković

Petrović (Bosanski Brod, Serbia, 1939) and Novaković (Belgrade, Serbia, 1935) were among the most popular singers of light music, mostly singing covers of famous hits from the sixties, though they also performed some original songs by Yugoslav composers. Both are famous as Yugoslavia's representatives at the Eurovision Song Contest: in 1961, Petrović sang *Neke davne zvezde* ('Some Ancient Stars') and finished in eighth place, while Novaković finished in fourth place a year later with a song entitled *Ne pali svetla u sumrak* ('Don't Turn the Lights On at Dusk').

The Mediterranean sound of their music came mostly from Italian, Spanish (or more broadly 'Latino'), and Greek songs that they sang in various arrangements. For example, the hit song *Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini*,[27] sung by Brian Hyland and covered numerous times, became very popular in Yugoslavia as well and was performed by numerous artists, most famously by Ljiljana Petrović and Đorđe Marjanović (who also translated the lyrics and the title as *Bikini sa žutim tačkama*). The original track, composed for male voice and orchestra, introduces the 'seaside atmosphere', with some elements of Caribbean music (mostly in the rhythm) and a prominent role given to the brass section, also making possible associations with Latino or Mexican music. In the version sang by Ljiljana Petrović, the Latino element was enhanced by singing the song as a cha-cha-cha with brass instruments and extensive use of percussion, which also made it sound more Mediterranean. The lyrics were also changed to the first person, as if Petrović were singing about something that had happened to her on the beach. However funny and light it might seem, this track actually touches on an important issue concerning the female body. Namely, the lyrics tell a story – from a man's point of view – about a young girl (who seems to be mocked by the storyteller) wearing a bikini – an itsy bitsy one with yellow polka dots– to the beach for the first time and who feels uncomfortable, "afraid that somebody would see" her exposed body. In other words, the theme of the song is quite contemporary, touching on what Lora Malvi later called the 'male gaze' and the shift that began to occur in the way society looked upon (semi-)nudity, or women showing off their bodies, from a presumption of immorality to a situation where girls who refused to free themselves from old-fashioned views were considered 'shy'. As for Petrović's interpretation, it can be described as sweet, clear, tender and 'girly', allowing the listener to believe that the song was sung by a sweet and shy young girl, which Petrović was around the time the song became a hit. Like Kesovija, Ljiljana Petrović's vocal range was

27 Music and lyrics written by Paul J. Vance and Lee Pockriss. The song reached #1 on the Billboard Hot 100 on August 8, 1960.

very wide, her technique excellent, and the song also reveals her ability to act out the story with her voice. Thanks to the changed lyrics, the perspective of the song was changed and its mocking tone was effectively removed. Her visual appearance mostly followed the same norms of required neutrality and elegance as in the case of Tereza Kesovija.

The Greek song composed by Manos Hatzidakis, *Deca Pireja* ('Children of Piraeus'), was also very popular in Italy. It was covered by both Ljiljana Petrović and Lola Novaković in different characters: Petrović's version was closer to Latino, with extensive use of brass instruments and percussion to emphasize the characteristic rhythm, while the version sung by Novaković kept the original Greek features of slow tempo and the extensive use of string instruments (imitating the sound of the Greek bouzouki, the chief symbol of this music). Novaković's gender performativity was in the same mode as that of Petrović: excellent technique and a wide vocal range, a sweet lyrical timbre, and lyrics dedicated mostly to love and other subjects usually considered light, like summertime on a Mediterranean beach.[28] She also presented herself as a sensitive, tender, and sophisticated young woman. The audible aspect of her identity was coupled with an elegant and simple appearance, short hair (in blond curls during the seventies), and a rather humble attitude. In other words, the focus was on her vocal abilities and not her looks, her voice being something of a 'transmitter' of her body and 'responsible' for the performativity of gender. Both Petrović and Novaković had large vocal ranges, with techniques revealing closeness to the norms of Italian *canzone*, as well as some jazz. At the time, the gender of singers was not crucial for the development of their career or the choice of their songs. Popular Italian, Spanish, or Greek songs were sung by men and women alike, and songs originally sung by men were often covered by women and vice versa. Hits from other Mediterranean countries were also sung by Radmila Karaklajić, Nada Knežević, Beti Jurković, Gabi Novak, Elvira Voća, Nena Ivočević, Đorđe Marjanović, Vice Vukov, Dušan Jakšić, Dragan Toković, Marko Novosel, Ivo Robić, and many others. In every case, the emphasis was on the music and the quality of the performers' voices; their looks were much less important. It can therefore be said that when light music was performed for the public, a high level of gender equality was achieved.

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As visual media culture developed and influences of the Western music industry became stronger from the late sixties onward, singers began to receive more attention from magazines and television producers, which resulted in their visual images

28 As against more 'serious' issues like politics and social criticism.

becoming ever more important. This change was also supported by the increasing popularity of rock 'n' roll, which was heavily dependent on the appearance of the performers; the idea that popular music is made to be seen as well as heard has by now become a rule in the music industry. At the end of the seventies, and especially during the eighthies, as light music lost its popularity to rock and roll, singers like Ljiljana Petrović, Tereza Kesovija, and Lola Novaković slowly began to change their public images. Petrović and Novaković gradually left the scene as the 1970s passed and new singers became increasingly popular, but Kesovija continued with her work and is active to this day as a singer of light Mediterranean music. She also kept refining her image of a classy, elegant, evergreen singer, emphasizing more and more her femininity and stylishness. Thus the gender performativity that was mainly achieved via sound in the sixties became outdated.[29] Women who played or sang rock music seemed to pay more attention to their looks. One good example is the group Sanjalice ('The Dreamers'), who released their first album in 1964, and whose gender performativity was strongly influenced by British beat groups, some of which were comprised exclusively of women, like The Liverbirds or The Debutants.

In other words, the female gender performativity of singers of light music in Yugoslavia in the 1960s is an example of female emancipation which lacked the element of sexual revolution that came to define both rock music and popular music in recent decades in the struggle for women's rights.

CONCLUSION

Given this brief look at songs performed by singers of 'light' music in Yugoslavia in the sixties, it appears that the most important aspect of the performativity of female gender was the singer's voice and the music she performed. Gender performativity was strongly dependent on the music, and the visual aspects of popular music were less important then than they are today. The gender performativity of female singers at the time was split between the visual and the vocal sphere. In this sense, Mediterranean music played an important role in the formation of the female gender of Yugoslav singers. It was used by some, like Tereza Kesovija, to represent the local, in her case the region of Dalmatia, while at the same time it pointed to Yugoslavia's connection with the West and the 'progressiveness' of the regime that allowed and sponsored the development of popular music. The field of light music can also provide insight

29 The next generation preferred rock music to light music, and most of those who achieved great popularity were male rockers who emphasized their masculinity, like the members of Bijelo Dugme, Korni grupa, Vatreni poljubac, or Riblja čorba.

into the position of women in Yugoslav society, revealing that the performativity of the female gender kept happening in between the idea of the singers as emancipated women with successful careers and the traditional gender roles that presented them as sensitive, elegant and 'feminine'. In the final analysis, the performativity of gender being enacted through the light music scene in the 1960s offered an image of women who were not concerned with subverting the norms established by the popular music of other Western cultures. In other words, the (Western) norms concerning both gender performativity and the performance of music were reiterated by these singers and transferred to the context of Yugoslavia to be once again established as norms.[30] Thus, it can be said that both the musical and gender performativity were conventional when viewed from an international perspective; yet – to make matters somewhat more complex – when understood in the local Yugoslav context, this development can also be interpreted as a sign of progress.

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30 I do not wish to imply that Western influences were simply pasted into a new context. What is important is to consider the complex processes that defined this transfer from one culture to another.

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"MY BEAUTIFUL DALMATIAN SONG": (RE)CONNECTING SERBIA AND DALMATIA AT CONCERTS OF DALMATIAN PERFORMERS IN BELGRADE

Ana Petrov (Belgrade)

Abstract: *Less than a decade after the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1991, some musicians from the former country started giving concerts in new post-Yugoslav spaces, provoking divergent reactions. One particular kind of musician has drawn the attention of audiences in Serbia: musicians from Dalmatia whose music is recognized as "typically Dalmatian". Even though the texts of many of these songs refer to Dalmatia (and Croatia) itself, to a town in Dalmatia, or to Dalmatian music (such as* Dalmatinska lipa pismo moja *[My Beautiful Dalmatian Song]), this kind of music was never marked as "nationalistic" or "Croatian" in Serbia and former Yugoslavia. On the contrary, it provokes positive feelings related to universal categories (love, past, youth, summer), and can also trigger specific Yugonostalgic recollections. I here discuss the reception of Dalmatian music in contemporary Serbia by pointing to ways in which the concept of Dalmatian music has changed since Yugoslav times, and by showing how these changes correspond with divergent political contexts that have shaped the ways this music is listened to. I analyse two kinds of concerts held in Belgrade in 2000s: those clearly labelled as Dalmatian, such as* More, more: Veče dalmatinskih pesama *(Sea, sea: An Evening of Dalmatian Songs), and those given by various singers from Dalmatia.*

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This article examines the reception of Dalmatian music and of performers from Dalmatia in contemporary Serbia. By discussing the potential political implications of enjoyment of these concerts, my aim is to show how they provoke multifarious reactions and how they help to encourage a certain (more or less) sentimental remembrance of the past. To understand the relevance of this phenomenon, it is first necessary to explicate the position and the cultural meanings of Dalmatia, especially in socialist Yugoslavia; secondly, it is crucial to define what in fact Dalmatian music is, or what it is supposed to be, and what kinds of associations it can evoke. After discussing Dalmatia and its music, I will examine the reception of this kind of music in Serbia in 2000s.

THE POSITION OF DALMATIA AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF DALMATIAN POP MUSIC

Dalmatia is a coastal region in Croatia bordering on the Adriatic Sea. The Dalmatian coast was one of the main features of a common Yugoslav cultural space, a perfect holiday destination and the centre of many cultural manifestations and musical festivals. However, the process did not happen spontaneously; the development of tourism and culture along the Yugoslav coast was an element of state policy which included a few associated strategies.

In the early 1950s the Yugoslav government introduced a social tourism program designed to "turn workers into tourists" with the help of state-sponsored excursions and the establishment of subsidized holiday centres, most of which were located on the Adriatic coast.[1] This program also reflected an important aspect of the cult of labour: the emergence of leisure practices under the auspices of the state. This leisure aspect was important not only for true leisure activities, such as holidays, but also became a central component of youth experience as well as an object of interest to the planners of voluntary labour activities who sought to attract young people while upholding core Yugoslav communist principles. Social tourism was promoted by means of financial privileges, such as price reductions and annual holiday allowances (paid leave was a constitutional entitlement) and the construction of special holiday centres for workers.[2] All these elements helped to create and promote the "new socialist man" – a concept that embodied an ideal of the modern worker, who was efficient at work and organized in holiday planning. Additionally, the state tourist development program also recognized that the principle of *bratstvo i jedinstvo* ('brotherhood and unity')[3] could be realized through the peaceful coexistence of contented workers relaxing at the beach. Hence, the promotion of tourism was seen as a means of creating Yugoslav awareness among the population.[4] The average Yugoslav was thus given the opportunity to visit the seaside regularly, which almost always meant going to the Croatian Adriatic coast.

1 Igor Duda: "Workers into Tourists: Entitlements, Desires, and the Realities of Social Tourism under Yugoslav Socialism", in: *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side: A History of Tourism in Socialism (1950s–1980s),* eds. Hannes Grandits and Karin Taylor. Budapest: Central European University Press, pp. 33–68. Cf. Dragan Popović: "Youth Labor Action (*Omladinska radna akcija*, *ORA*) as Ideological Holiday-Making", in: Ibidem, pp. 279–303.

2 Combined with the European twentieth-century idea that no one should spend holidays at home, and taking Yugoslav living standards and the level of economic development into account, these two stipulations constituted a perfect setting for social tourism. Karin Taylor and Hannes Grandit: "Tourism and the Making of Socialist Yugoslavia: an Introduction", in: Ibidem, pp. 303–334.

3 The concept was at the core of socialist Yugoslav politics, based on the idea that the peoples of Yugoslavia represented one socialist nation (and not just a mixture of a few different national units).

4 Grandits and Taylor, *Yugoslavia's Sunny Side*, p. 6.

Along with this process of holiday promotion, and in fact as a part of it, a Yugoslav popular music culture emerged in the 1950s through the development of local festivals, radio programs and a recording industry.[5] A number of important music festivals were founded in Yugoslavia in the second half of the twentieth century: *Zagreb* in 1953, *Opatija* in 1958, *Melodije Jadrana Split* ('Adriatic Melodies Split') in 1960, *Beogradsko proleće* ('Belgrade Spring') in 1961, and *Vaš šlager sezone* ('Your *Schlager* of the Season') in Sarajevo in 1967,[6] all off them labeled as Yugoslav popular music festivals and modelled after the *Sanremo festival*.[7] Local popular music at that time was usually referred to as *zabavna muzika* (music for fun, "entertainment" or "light" music). Jazz, pop, and by the end of the 1950s, rock and roll were the styles of popular music that were being listened to in Yugoslavia and around the world. The Yugoslav popular music scene was characterized, on one hand, by compositions and performances that were recognized as "typical", "expected", and "appropriate" for Yugoslavia, and, on the other hand, by music disparaged for being under "foreign", "Western", or "inappropriate" influences. Throughout the 1950s, Yugoslavia's cultural and political elites called for the development of a Yugoslav popular music culture with domestically produced songs that would not only meet people's needs for entertainment and better reflect everyday life in Yugoslavia but would also remain in line with the state ideology.[8]

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5 By the late 1950s, the institutional foundations for a Yugoslav popular music culture were set: radio and television stations, festivals and record companies were all ready to produce and promote the soundtracks that would accompany the subsequent decades of Yugoslav history. Cf. Jelena Arnautović: *Između politike i tržišta: Popularna muzika na Radio Beogradu u SFRJ*. Beograd: RTS, 2012.

6 The above-mentioned are just the most representative. The complete list includes numerous festivals founded in the 1960s across the whole Yugoslav territory, among them *Slovenska popevka* ('Slovenian song'), *Skoplje* ('Skopje') and *Akordi Kosova* ('Chords of Kosovo'). Furthermore, there were many regional festivals, such as: *Melodije Istre i Kvarnera* ('Melodies of Istria and Kvarner', not located in one place) and *Festival dalmatinskih klapa* ('Dalmatian *klapa* festival' in Omiš). For a complete listing of the festivals in Yugoslavia cf. Ana Perinić: "Galebovi umiru pjevajući: stereotipi dalmatinske zabavne ljubavne pjesme", in: *Split i drugi: Kulturnoantropološki i kulturnoistorijski prilozi*, eds. Ines Prica and Tea Škorić. Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2007, pp. 82–83.

7 Cf. Dean Vuletić: "Generation Number One: Politics and Popular Music in Yugoslavia in the 1950s", *Nationalities Papers* 36 (2008), p. 871.

8 Ibidem, p. 861. The development of a Yugoslav popular music culture at this time was not only rooted in international cultural trends but also shaped by the domestic and foreign policies pursued by the ruling League of Communists of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav communists' behavior in international affairs was politically decisive for the development of Yugoslav popular music in the 1950s. Most important was their split with the Soviet Union and its Eastern European satellites in 1948, when the Communist Information Bureau expelled Yugoslavia from its ranks and withdrew all of its economic and technical aid after Yugoslav leader Josip Broz Tito refused to submit to Soviet political domination. Soon after, the communist party abandoned a Soviet-style cultural politics that had condemned popular music as a cultural, political, and social threat from the West; now that it sought economic and political support

Some of the most prominent festivals of Yugoslav popular music took place in coastal towns and were usually named after them (*Split*, *Opatija*). The *Opatija Festival*, launched in 1958 and conceived as the premier showcase for Yugoslav popular music, attracted composers, musicians, singers and songwriters from all over Yugoslavia, and thus came to be seen as the first pan-Yugoslav popular music festival. Opatija had long been one of the most glamorous destinations on the Adriatic, and before World War I it was a popular coastal resort for the Austro-Hungarian élite. In 1958 it brought together a new élite for a new purpose; the *Opatija Festival* was conceived by its organizer, the state broadcaster Yugoslav Radio and Television, as an event designed to promote domestic pop. The first popular music festival in Yugoslavia was the *Zagreb Festival*, which began in 1953; but the *Opatija Festival* was the first to be conceived as a pan-Yugoslav event. The location of the festival also suggested that it had not only a cultural but also a geopolitical significance: situated in a region that had been part of Italy during the interwar period, the *Opatija Festival* symbolized the intensification of cultural relations between Yugoslavia and the West in the 1950s, and it was even modelled on Italy's leading popular music festival in Sanremo.[9] The Split festival also helped to create music stars in Yugoslavia, some of whom hold this status even today. Dalmatian music, heard at the seaside and usually during the summer, was promoted as an acceptably Yugoslav music and celebrated in the festivals organized in the coastal region, especially in Split, which was clearly designated "the sea festival".[10]

DALMATIAN STEREOTYPES: WHAT MAKES MUSIC SOUND "DALMATIAN"?

There are specific links between geographical regions and the kinds of music they produce, and Dalmatian music was shaped from the very beginning to

from the West, it opened up Yugoslavia to Western cultural influences. Thus, during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s Yugoslavia was deemed more open to Western culture than other socialist countries, going through a process of "Americanisation", and producing a very specific culture that seemed to make it "the West of the East". Radina Vučetić: "Rokenrol na Zapadu Istoka. Slučaj *Džuboks*", *Godišnjak za društvenu istoriju* 13 (2006), pp. 71–88. Cf. Ana Petrov: "A Window towards the West: Yugoslav Concert Tours in the Soviet Union", in: *Serbian Music: Yugoslav Contexts*, ed. Melita Milin and Jim Samson. Belgrade: Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 2014, pp. 127–142.

9 Dean Vuletić: "The making of a Yugoslav popular music industry", *Popular Music History* 6 (2011) 3, p. 270.

10 Many Croatian coastal festivals helped to promote *klapa* singing, as well as constructing the concept of the Mediterranean. Cf. Nevena Škrbić Alempijević and Rebeka Mesarić Žapčić: "Croatian Coastal Festivals and the Construction of the Mediterranean", *Studia ethnologica Croatica,* 22 (2010), pp. 317–337.

reflect specific elements. The development of tourism and the promotion of the Dalmatian coast as a perfect holiday destination were founded on certain stereotypes associated with this region, referring to gender, landscape and soundscape. In addition to the obvious natural beauty and cultural landmarks that could be found in all tourist guides in the second half of the twentieth century, there was also a very popular myth that supposedly helped in the promotion of the region: the myth of Dalmatian lovers, known as seagulls. This stereotype was strong enough to be found in most of the texts of the Dalmatian songs, as well as in the image of Dalmatian male performers. For instance, the Split festival was instantly recognizable by the image of the performers, who were dressed casually, in accordance with the identity of the vagabond or Mediterranean lover they were singing about, with obligatory characteristics that included dark, usually longer hair, moustaches, and sometimes golden jewellery.[11] The actual seagull (the bird) became a symbol of the freedom, loneliness, and wandering intangibility of the lyric subject in the songs, i. e. the singer himself.[12]

Another stereotype refers to the landscape. The cover photos of most of the Dalmatian performers' albums regularly depict landmarks and symbols of Dalmatia. There is no difference between the albums that actually include songs about Dalmatia and those that just have love songs. The love of a woman is thus firmly connected with the love of one's country. In other words, love songs are rarely just love songs; they usually have at least implicit national connotations. The plots of the texts often deal with love for the *zavičaj* (homeland), for a specific place, a town or an island, or for the whole Dalmatian region in general. If not about a concrete location on the Dalmatian coast, then the songs address the Mediterranean landscape, the sea and its related lifestyle. There are so many songs about Split that it is considered the most sung-about city in Croatia.[13]

Additionally, Dalmatian music is itself imbued with musical stereotypes that date from its inception. Modelled after Italian music, it contains *canzone*-like melodies; these are sometimes accompanied, or performed solo by a group of *a cappella* singers called *klapa*;[14] the texts are either about love or about Dalmatia

11 Majda Vojniković: "Galebovi", in: *Leksikon yu mitologije*, http://leksikon-yu-mitologije.net/galebovi/ (accessed on May 30, 2015).

12 Perinić: "Galebovi umiru pjevajući", pp. 88–89.

13 Ibidem, p. 87.

14 Ethnomusicologists usually define *klapa* singing as a traditional Dalmatian group singing, whereby it is possible to distinguish two types of *klapas*: a traditional folk *klapa*, an informal group of friends, usually brought together by similar interests, age group or occupations; and a festival *klapa*, a formally organised group with regular rehearsals and performances. Cf. Joško Ćaleta: "Klapa Singing, a Traditional Folk Phenomenon of Dalmatia", *Narodna umjetnost* 34/1 (1997), p. 127. *Klapa* singing has also undergone many transformations, becoming a part of the pop music

itself, as well as about loving Dalmatia. Although the 'sea-like' sound is most closely associated with the music's lyrics, it is not just the words of the songs that matter, but also the qualities of the vocals and the very language used in them. In addition to the texts, the sea stereotype is modelled with the language idiom, since a specific kind of Croatian language was expected. Unlike *Zagreb* or even *Opatija Festival* (which was organized on the seaside), *Split* was a festival strictly connected thematically with the sea, which led to a specific linguistic stylization, i. e. the sea idiom.[15] The songs were regularly sung in Dalmatian dialect, whether or not the performer was in fact from this region. Even the diction, the accent and the timbre were expected to be imitated.[16]

Despite their direct link to a part of Croatia, *klapa* singing and the songs about Dalmatia were never considered nationalist, nor were they ever forbidden or even controversial in socialist Yugoslavia, even though at that time the promotion of a national (as against a Yugoslav) identity was highly problematic. At a time when Yugoslav identity was promulgated elsewhere, including in music, the words 'Croatia' or 'Croat' were stigmatized as being chauvinist and nationalist, and Croatian national culture was fragmented into various regional ones. As the Croatian singer Vice Vukov put it, "You were then allowed to be a Dalmatian or a Zagorac,[17] but not a Croat".[18] The same attitude to nationalism was present

arrangements. On the transformations of this type of singing cf. Maja Povrzanović: "Dalmatinsko klapsko pjevanje, promjene konteksta", *Etnološka tribina* 12 (1989), pp.89–98.

15 On the language politics in the music festivals in Croatia cf. Ivo Žanić: "Kako govori more? Jezična konstrukcija Dalmacije u hrvatskoj zabavnoj glazbi", in: *Aktualna istraživanja u primijenjenoj lingvistici: Zbornik radova s 25. međunarodnog skupa HDPL-a održanog 12-14. svibnja 2011. u Osijeku*, ed. Leonard Pon, Vladimir Karabalić, and Sanja Cimer. Osijek, Hrvatsko društvo za primijenjenu lingvistiku, 2012, pp. 185–197.

16 The rule concerning the proper language idiom was regularly followed. Many singers from other parts of Yugoslavia performed many times at the Split festival (Miki Jevremović from Belgrade and Kemal Monteno from Sarajevo, to mention only two), always changing their accent accordingly.

17 Zagorac is an inhabitant of Zagorje, the northern Croatian region.

18 Vice Vukov: *Tvoja zemlja: sjećanja na 1971*. Zagreb: Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, 2003: p. 70. Vukov was involved in *Hrvatsko proljeće* ('Croatian spring', a 1970s movement that tried to gain more independence for Croatia within socialist Yugoslavia), both with his music and as a member of the editorial board of *Hrvatski tjednik* ('Croatian Weekly'). One of his performances that was marked as nationalist happened at the Split festival in 1967 when he appeared dressed in a traditional costume from Zagorje and addressed the audience with comments about this "beautiful Croatian national costume of ours". He continued to perform during Croatian Spring, but was soon prohibited from most national radio and TV stations in Yugoslavia, remaining, however, popular in Croatia. For more on the subject cf. Dean Vuletic: "The Silent Republic: Popular Music and Nationalism in Socialist Croatia", in: *EUI Working Papers*, *MWP* 20 (2011); http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/18635/MWP_Vuletic_2011_20.pdf?sequence=1 (accessed on September 1, 2014).

with regard to Serbian (musical) identity. If in Croatia love for Dalmatia was construed as acceptable, in Serbia it was Vojvodina. It is thus noteworthy that in 1979 the famous Serbian musician and lyricist Đorđe Balašević (from Novi Sad, Vojvodina) was a rare exception at the *Split festival* for singing in Serbian dialect (and not in Dalmatian, or even Croatian). In the "Evening of Dalmatian chanson" he won the first prize with a song entitled *Panonski mornar* ('A Sailor from Pannonia'),[19] which signalled that Vojvodina (as a part of the territory that used to be Pannonia) was another acceptable region that would not be associated with national connotations.[20] Thus, the potentially problematic national categories of Serbia and Croatia were dealt with by fragmenting these national entities into their constitutive regions.[21]

DALMATIAN CONCERTS IN BELGRADE IN THE 2000s

Less than a decade after the break-up of Yugoslavia in 1991, musicians from the former country started giving concerts in new post-Yugoslav spaces, provoking a variety of reactions, some affirmative (warm welcomes and acceptance) and others that included protests and petitions against the resurgence of the Croats in Serbia.[22] One specific profile of musician drew the attention of the audience in Serbia – musicians from Dalmatia whose music is recognised as "typically Dalmatian". As one of the most popular holiday destinations for tourists from Serbia in the period of socialist Yugoslavia, the Dalmatian coast was also one of the main elements of a common Yugoslav cultural space, and it has been transformed into one of the crucial sites for producing a common post-Yugoslav cultural memory.[23]

Dalmatian music is one of the Yugoslav cultural products that has survived its contested historical past and is now incorporated into the cultural context of

19 Pannonia was an ancient province of the Roman Empire extending over what is now north-western Serbia, western Hungary, northern Slovenia, northern Croatia, eastern Austria, western Slovakia and northern Bosnia and Herzegovina.

20 In the 1990s the concept of Mediterranean identity developed from a typically region-based identity to become an important factor in the formation of the national identity of today's Croats. As Ćaleta argues, most of the Croats "see their identity rather as part of Mediterranean identity – Adriatic – or Central European identity – sub-Alpine, Pannonian – than as Balkan identity – Dinaric". Joško Ćaleta: "The Ethnomusicological Approach to the Concept of the Mediterranean in Music in Croatia", *Narodna umjetnost* 36/1 (1999), p. 186.

21 Cf. Vuletic: "The Silent Republic".

22 On the issues related to the former Yugoslav musicians' concerts in Belgrade cf. Ana Petrov: "The Songs We Love to Sing and the History We Like to Remember: Tereza Kesovija's Come Back in Serbia", *Southeastern Europe* 39/2 (2015), pp. 192–214.

23 Cf. Stef Jansen: *Antinacionalizam: etnografija otpora u Zagrebu i Beogradu*, trans. Aleksandra Bajazetov-Vučen. Beograd: XX vek, 2000, p. 229.

post-Yugoslav times. Its 'come-back' was rather spontaneous and unproblematic, unlike the recent history of certain other musical genres and musicians in Serbia.[24] Focusing on the cultural politics of nostalgia, I argue that in the production of an idealized past, Dalmatian music sounds like the sea; former Yugoslavs hear it in this way, and their post-Yugoslav collectivity is produced and strengthened by what they hear. I do not wish to claim that there is a certain 'natural' sound of Dalmatian music that provokes positive reactions; I prefer to explore how Yugoslav culture has shaped the ways in which certain kinds of music is heard, i.e. how culture makes the music 'sound' Dalmatian by provoking associations with the sea and specifically with the Adriatic coast. Thus, I want to show the relevance of a theoretical consideration of the ideological potential of sound in certain cultural politics. Furthermore, although of great importance, such regional associations are not the only factors that makes this music work as it does. I here draw on research that deals with the ways certain kinds of music sound (supposedly 'naturally', i.e. due to the intrinsic characteristics of the music itself) in accordance with their cultural backgrounds.[25] In my research, I do not deal (or at least not only) with the ways in which music reflects a particular cultural politics, but rather focus on the productive ideological functions of this sort of music, arguing that the common Yugoslav background contributes to the formation of specific kinds of post-Yugoslav collectivities.[26]

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24 In contrast to the artists who strove to transgress the borders of national music markets, many other famous musicians adamantly refused to perform in Serbia after the wars, the best known of them being Oliver Dragojević, Tereza Kesovija, and Dino Merlin. All of them declared publicly that they did not plan to give concerts in Serbia ever again. Their statements about refusing to perform in Belgrade were often covered in the Serbian press, which led to the creation of a latent but clearly expressed negative attitude towards these musicians in public discourse. However, some of them eventually decided to give concerts in Belgrade, including Tereza Kesovija (from Croatia) and Dino Merlin (from Bosnia and Herzegovina). Not surprisingly, their change of mind provoked strong public reactions, marking the concerts as high-risk events. The most controversial were the musicians who were actually or supposedly politically engaged during the war, or those who were on some other level politically marked, regardless of their extreme popularity in Serbia. Petrov "The Songs We Love to Sing".

25 Geof Mann shows how "raced sound is surely among the more effectively imposed 'obviousnesses' that constitute ideology's 'effects': there is little in contemporary American popular culture more 'obvious' than the 'colour' of music". Because of the complex cultural and historical background, it is now literally possible to 'hear', as the author asserts, "the blackness of hip-hop or soul, the whiteness of heavy metal or country". Geof Mann: "Why does Country Music Sound White? Race and the Voice of Nostalgia", *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 31/1 (2008), p. 77.

26 Rather than using the terms 'community' or 'collective', I choose the term 'collectivity', which implies the flexible and non-permanent nature of a specific group of people. Cf. John Urry: *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century*. London: Routledge, 2000.

An important segment of my analysis (in addition to the research on the official media discourses) concerns the role of the audience, understood not as a passive mass but as an active, volatile, and transient group of individuals joined together by the act of listening to the same music.[27] The collective feelings experienced by the audience make it possible to identify the individual's experience of place, which arises in part from the capacities of his or her body to produce and sense the atmosphere around it through the music that is performed. This kind of analysis, in which concerts as sites serve to shape collective feelings through a collective body, is based, on the one hand, on an understanding of the capacity of the body to sense, and, on the other, on the capacity of all bodies to affect others through gestures, bodily movements, and voice.[28] Since we are moved by the "proximity of others" and "we feel with and for others",[29] my analysis prompts me to pose the following questions: if emotions are sociable, what is the role of music in the process of being sociable in a concert space, and how does the music affect the remembrance of the past and the experience of (past) places? I analyse the ways in which such collectivities are formed in a concrete space, at a certain time, as a result of listening to the same music.[30] Considering the narrative about the past according to which concerts have constituted a sort of continuation of Yugoslav culture, I argue that concert spaces can be construed as channels for reconnecting collectives, although not all of them function in the same way.

I will single out two kinds of concerts held in Belgrade in the 2000s: those clearly labelled as Dalmatian, the most typical being *More, more: Veče dalmatinskih pesama*, and those given by various singers from Dalmatia. It should be emphasized that within both groups there are different kinds of performances. In the first group there were actual concerts, held in proper concert halls, such as the aforementioned *More, more* (held in the concert hall Sava centar in 2010), or the concerts of certain *klapa* groups (such as the concert of Klapa Cambi held in Dom sindikata in 2013); but there were also evenings of Dalmatian music in restaurants, including a menu and the atmosphere of a town in Dalmatia or some other part of the Croatian coast.[31] In the second group, similar

27 My research involved participant observation, combined with in-depth interviews, as well as the investigation of media reports related to the events.

28 Cf. Ana Petrov: "Popular Music and Producing Collectivities: The Challenges of Audience Research in Contemporary Musicology", *Musicology* 18/8 (2015), forthcoming.

29 Sara Ahmed: "Sociable Happiness", in: *Emotion, Space and Society* 1 (2008), p. 10.

30 For details regarding audience research from the above-mentioned perspective, cf. Petrov: "Popular Music and Producing Collectivities".

31 In the prominent old Belgrade restaurant Šaran ('Carp'), located on the riverbank, a traditional *Hvarski dani* (The Days of Hvar) has been held annually, during which a restaurant from the Dalmatian island of Hvar is the guest in the restaurant's kitchen usually for the whole month. During this time, the usual musical ensamble from Šaran switches from its regular repertoire to

differences can be noticed – on the one hand, there were concerts in concert halls, on the other in clubs.[32] Additionally, it should be emphasized that the performances in Belgrade were given both by old Yugoslav stars (musicians who had built their careers in Yugoslavia)[33] and by new, post-Yugoslav stars from Dalmatia, whose appearance and music were apparently imbued with connotations and implications similar to those attached to their older colleagues (such as Goran Karan and Petar Grašo). With this in mind, it is clear that rather divergent types of performances and performers can be grouped under the label 'Dalmatian music'. However, all of them are connected with Dalmatia (with all its possible historical, cultural, and musical meanings), the very place that marked this kind of music from its beginnings, i.e. from the moment it was promoted as a sort of Yugoslav popular music. I will focus on two representative examples, one from each of the groups mentioned.

The concert *More, more: Veče dalmatinskih pesama*

The concert under the title *More, more: Veče dalmatinskih pesama* was held in the prominent Belgrade concert hall Sava centar in December 2010.[34] It was a themed concert that included the well-known *klapa* groups Kampanel and Kumpanji along with some very popular musicians, some of them being old Yugoslav pop music stars such as Meri Cetinić, or well-known performers of Dalmatian music (Tedi Spalato, Vinko Coce), as well as those who were popular in the last two decades in the territory of the former country (such as Goran Karan, one of the musicians imbued with the typical image of the Dalmatian seagull). The repertoire was focused on music recognized as 'traditional' Dalmatian music, including many

Dalmatian and Croatian (and even general pop) music.

32 Popular musicians usually perform in both places: they give concerts usually once every two years, while performing in clubs meanwhile. For instance, Goran Karan, a very popular post-Yugoslav musician from Dalmatia, has given concerts regularly since 2005 in the concert hall Sava centar, but he also performed in the small Belgrade club *Kasina*. Even though his music is not of the traditional Dalmatian kind, he is recognized as a Dalmatian pop music singer, with songs that sometimes refer to this region, some of which include *klapa* singing. He has often given concerts on the occasion of March 8 (Women's Day), some of them advertised as connected to Dalmatia. For instance, in 2010 his concert was announced in a popular Serbian newspaper as "The Sounds of Dalmatia for its Ladies". Cf. "Zvuci Dalmacije za sve dame", *Blic Online*, 8 March 2010, http://www.blic.rs/Zabava/Vesti/179804/Zvuci-Dalmacije-za-sve-dame (accessed on May 30, 2015).

33 One of the most famous among them is Tereza Kesovija, whose big come-back concert in 2011 was controversial since she had sworn never to perform in Belgrade, that is, in Serbia after the wars. However, the concert was a success and an extremely emotional event for both the singer and the audience. Since then she has performed many times in Belgrade in divergent solo or group concerts, and she is present in the press and on TV shows in Serbia. Thus, for her the situation has been completely normalized and reconstructed as it was before Yugoslavia broke up.

34 The concert was named after a famous song by Meri Cetinić.

songs about Dalmatia itself. The concert was labelled in the press as "a huge event", announced as a performance of "authentic creations from former Yugoslavia".[35] Tedi Spalato and Vinko Coce, both known as 'typical' Dalmatian singers, were announced as the "giants of Dalmatian music",[36] and their performance was especially singled out for comment, together with Meri Cetinić, one of the so-called "Yugoslav divas".[37] The *klapa* groups were also hailed as "the proof of the authenticity of Dalmatian atmosphere" and the makers of the "true sea festivity".[38]

The atmosphere that evening can be described as follows: the audience gave a warm welcome to the Dalmatians, obviously remembering Dalmatia itself and its music. Since Dalmatia was popular tourist destination in Yugoslavia and Dalmatian music was promulgated at the festivals on the Croatian coast, it is not surprising that many members of the audience recalled the past. Although the texts of many of these songs refer to Dalmatia itself, to a town in Dalmatia, or to Dalmatian music, this kind of music has never been marked as 'nationalist' or 'Croatian' in Serbia. On the contrary, it evokes positive feelings involving universal human categories (love, the past, youth, and summer).[39] The audience was in a nostalgic mood, remembering their own past holidays in Dalmatia, but also the past as characterized by love among people from different (ethnic, religious, or regional) backgrounds. This specific (historical) link made possible the "affective atmosphere" at the concert,[40] namely the link constructed between real past experiences in Dalmatia and the 'sound' of that

35 "Zvezde dalmatinske pesme u Beogradu", *Blic Online*, 26 November 2010, http://www.blic.rs/Zabava/Vesti/219977/Zvezde-dalmatinske-pesme-u-Beogradu (accessed on June 1, 2015).

36 Idem.

37 In May 2012 a concert called *Dive* ('Divas') was given in Sava centar by Gabi Novak, Meri Cetinić, and Tereza Kesovija. In the press the event was described as the come-back of the "Yugoslav divas". Aleksandar Nikolić: "Gabi, Meri i Tereza: povratak jugoslovenskih diva", *Blic Online*, 29 April 2012, http://www.blic.rs/Zabava/Vesti/319641/Gabi-Meri-i-Tereza--povratak-jugoslovenskih-diva (accessed on June 3, 2015).

38 "Veče dalmatinskih pesama u Centru Sava", http://www.rts.rs/page/magazine/sr/story/431/Muzika/801838/Ve%C4%8De+dalmatinskih+pesama+u+Centru+%E2%80%9ESava%E2%80%9C.html (accessed on June 6, 2015).

39 In Croatia, Dalmatian music can be (but it is not necessarily) labelled as implicitly nationalist. As I pointed out, it was not regarded as such during the time of the socialist Yugoslavia, but its connotations changed in the 1990s when, after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, there was a need to redefine national (musical) identity. Cf. Miroslav Mavra i Lori McNeil: "Identity Formation and Music: A Case Study of Croatian Experience", *Human Architecture: Journal of the Sociology of Self-Knowledge* 5/2 (2007), pp. 1–20.

40 I draw on Teresa Brennan's concept of "affective atmosphere". According to Brennan, atmosphere is the same as 'environment' and it literally 'gets into the individual' – something becomes present that was not there before, but that did not originate *sui generis*: it was not generated solely or sometimes even in part by the individual organism or its genes. Teresa Brennan: *Transmission of Affect*. New York: Cornell University Press, 2004, p. 1.

region. Thus, the music significantly contributed to this 'loving atmosphere', since it was the kind of music that people had heard during their time in Dalmatia in the Yugoslav era. 'Love discourse' thus played a role in the re-narrativization of the past, according to which the concerts represented a continuation of the Yugoslav 'Golden Age' through a kind of Yugonostalgic narrative.[41] This narrative is characterized by the promulgation of a love discourse and extremely affective reactions, sometimes involving ignorance about the wars, as well as clearly expressed pleasure in the songs, and a common link with love for the former country. This was often verbalized by the performers and the audience and displayed somatically with tears of joy. Additionally, people commented on the past by connecting certain songs with their youth and their lives in the former country, often mentioning specific holidays (the season, the year) in Dalmatia, which were specifically recalled when I asked certain members of the audience why they found this music so emotional. These associations were fully justified and evoked by the music itself.[42] In addition to their comments, I also noted that the people in the audience were mostly middle-aged and older, obviously belonging to the generations that had actually lived most of their lives in Yugoslavia, which meant that they had almost certainly spent their holidays on the Adriatic coast. From this perspective, it is quite clear that the contested (war) past was not relevant for this audience.

The event's nostalgic atmosphere can be seen as consisting of two parts. On the one hand, there was certainly an escapist dimension: it was a performance of divergent recollections of the past, since the concert space served as a place for producing memories of past summers in Dalmatia; on the other hand, it can be said that it was a specific site of a "projection of hope",[43] since it was also a means

41 There is extensive research debating the concept of Yugonostalgia. Although highly controversial and full of contradictions, the term can be generally understood as "nostagia for Yugoslavia" and for the lost "golden age". Monika Palmberger: "Nostalgia Matters: Nostalgia for Yugoslavia as Potential Vision for a Better Future", *Sociologija* 4 (2008), p. 359. Regarding musical practices in post-Yugoslav spaces, Yugonostalgia can refer to the capacity of (ex-Yugoslav) music to construct and (re)interpret the Yugoslav past (cf. Petrović 2007). Some authors have a more critical approach to the Yugoslav musical past, interpreting it as manipulation of this nostalgia. Zala Volčič: "Yugonostalgia: Cultural Memory and Media in the Former Yugoslavia", *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 24/1 (2007), pp. 21–38.

42 The talk among the people in the audience during the singing at such events (most of the former Yugoslav performers provoked such reactions) included comments on the past as a time when they had enjoyed life, since in those days there was more traveling, socializing, and love than there is today. Their discourse was characterized by formulations such as "remember the time when" or "those were the times of". They often gave very precise details about friends in Dalmatia or old loves from the youth.

43 Miško Šuvaković: *Umetnost i politika: Savremena estetika, filozofija, teorija i umetnost u vremenu globalne tranzicije*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2012, p. 223.

for remembering the "good old times" which in fact could be brought back simply by returning to Dalmatia. I here concur with the approach to nostalgia as a potent agent of change. In positing a ''once was'' in relation to a ''now'', nostalgia can create "a frame for meaning, a means of dramatizing aspects of an increasingly fluid and unnamed social life".[44] Thus, songs from our past lives are nostalgic since they conjure up images of "the love we once had",[45] but they also testify about new collectivities made on the spot, produced by listening to the same music together.[46]

The idea of transnational values was deeply embedded in the concept of Dalmatian music from the start of its promotion as a kind of Yugoslav pop music. Thus, even songs with explicitly Dalmatian lyrics, such as *Dalmatinska lipa pismo moja* ('My Beautiful Dalmatian Song') would never be considered controversial when performed in Belgrade. However, together with other products of Yugoslav cultural space, popular music underwent political recontextualizations during the dissolution of the country. One specific song performed that evening, a typical traditional Dalmatian *fešta* (festivity) song, was subjected to a symptomatic recontextualization during the war years. This is a famous song entitled *Večeras je naša fešta* ('Our festivity is tonight'), often sung during festivities in Dalmatia, and even nowadays often performed when a festival atmosphere is desired. However, during the war, the song gained a new version: it was reappropriated by sport fans and became a traditional song for the matches played between the teams of the former Yugoslav republics. The song is about a party with wine and songs, and the text stresses that anyone who does not join in the singing is not a Dalmatian:

> Večeras je naša fešta
> večeras se vino pije
> nek' se igra nek' se piva
> jer ko ne piva Dalmatinac nije.[47]

The song sung in the 1990s by supporters of the Serbian national sports teams kept the same melody, but the verses they sang referred to their pleasure at the

44 Kathleen Stewart: "Nostalgia – a Polemic", *Cultural Anthropology* 3/3 (1988), p. 227.

45 For a similar analysis of nostalgia in music, cf. Mann: "Why does country music sound white?", pp. 73–100.

46 For an approach to nostalgia as a potent category rather than an escapist tendency, cf. Tanja Petrović: *Yurop: Jugoslovensko nasleđe i politike budućnosti u postjugoslovenskim društvima*. Beograd: Fabrika knjiga, 2012, pp. 122–154.

47 Tonight is our festivity,
The wine should be drunk
Let's dance, let's sing
Because the one who doesn't sing is not a Dalmatian.

killing of Croatian president Franjo Tuđman:[48] "Večeras je naše veče, / Večeras se Tuđman peče".[49] The song gained popularity after an incident during the European basketball championship in 1995 when the Yugoslav team won a gold and the Croatian team a silver medal. During the final ceremony, when the hymn *Hej, Sloveni* ('Hey, the Slavs')[50] was played, the Croatian team left the hall in protest. A few days later, during the official reception organized in Belgrade to honour the Serbian winners, one of the players on the Serbian team, Dejan Tomašević, while addressing a crowd in front of the City Hall who had come to welcome the winning team, sang the altered Dalmatian song, which was greeted by cheers from the audience.[51] This, however, was not the only performance of the song – it was regularly used when necessary to provoke the opposing team during sport matches in the 1990s and later.

Given this re-contextualization of the song, it could be expected that its performance in Belgrade might be interpreted as a provocation. This presumption is confirmed by the fact that Vinko Coce actually tried to change the text, avoiding any mention of Dalmatia. However, he did not succeed in this intention because the audience in the hall was loudly singing the original text, having no problem enunciating the words: "the one who doesn't sing is not a Dalmatian". Although Coce started to sing "Ko ne piva taj za društvo nije",[52] the audience was simultaneously singing the original words, so that one could hear both the words "is not for company" and the words "is not a Dalmatian".[53] The audience's singing was accompanied by the *klapa* finally leading to Coce singing alone his version of the text, which he eventually changed, going back to the original song. Some members of the audience even laughed because of this alteration, continuing to sing the verses they knew. With the war context in mind, I wondered if it it were possible that the altered song was actually not so well known. However, since both sports and the war received intense media coverage during the 1990s, it is very unlikely that people were not aware of the re-contextualization of the song.

48 There is also a Croatian version with the name "Sloba" (referring to Slobodan Milošević) instead of Tuđman.

49 "Tonight is our night, / Tonight Tuđman is burned".

50 The hymn of the former socialist Yugoslavia, still used by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia – as Serbia and Montenegro were known until 2006. Even though it was still in use rather long after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, it was officially considered highly inappropriate since its text promotes the unity of the Slavs.

51 The event is available on the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AZExsJ9fI88 (accessed on June 3, 2015).

52 The one who doesn't sing is not for company.

53 The scene is available on: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6eImlJvPu1o (accessed on June 6, 2015).

Still, they simply did not connect these two versions, associating the fan version only with the problematic sports fans. This was exactly what I was told when I discussed the issue with some of the people in the audience: even those who had heard about it did not connect the original song with the problematic sports incidents, nor would they have any problem singing the song that evening in Sava centar. It can be concluded that in the audience there was a (re)production of the stereotypes (the sea, love, Dalmatia, the music), and there was also a clear reference to the past (here meaning the Yugoslav past and not the 1990s war past). Also, it is evident that the real contexts of the songs were neutralized and the audience was transported into an ideal, imaginary realm. By imaginary realm I mean that the obviously Yugonostalgic audience understood the music in the context of bygone days which were no longer possible in any context other than an event such as a themed concert of Dalmatian music.

DALMATIAN PERFORMERS IN *BAŠTA KOD JUGE* ('THE GARDEN AT YUGA'S')

The term 'Juga/Yuga' is a kind of a pet name for Yugoslavia, mostly used in nostalgic narratives according to which everything was once better than it is now. The 'Juga' in the present instance is the Hotel *Jugoslavija*, one of the oldest luxury hotels in the former country and a symbol of the Yugoslav era. It opened in 1969 as one of the grandest hotels in the region, and hosted celebrities and high officials visiting Belgrade. During the 1999 NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, the hotel was hit by missiles, damaging the west wing. Part of the hotel was used as a barracks for paramilitary forces during the 1990s. One wing was reopened as the Grand Casino Beograd, and a part of the former main hotel entrance is now a place called the Intergalactic Diner. The venue *Bašta kod Juge*, placed directly at the Danube bank, was opened in 2013 as a restaurant during the daytime and a club at night, in the style of a typical Mediterranean club in the coastal region. It has a very specific position, being almost a part of the spooky building of the hotel *Jugoslavija*. The performers in this club have often been Croatian stars, especially Dalmatian ones, which can be connected to the club's distinctive 'sea' atmosphere. One of the performers was a Dalmatian singer who gained popularity in the 1990s and has embodied the stereotypical seagull image: Petar Grašo, who performed there once in 2013 and again in 2014.

Reflecting on the atmosphere he was bringing to Belgrade in an interview given for the organizers of the event in 2014, the singer stated the following:

> Donosim Dalmaciju, odnosno dalmatinsku glazbu, možda bolje rijeći mediteransku, jer ja nisam klasična dalmatinska glazba, ne, ja sam, zapravo,

> više more, ja sam more. Postoji uticaj Italije, ali, da, ja donosim more u Beograd. Dakle, večeras, osjetićete more. Ima dovoljno sunca u Beogradu, ali nema mora, tako da ja donosim more sa sobom vječeras.[54]

He continued to produce this 'sea discourse' in abundance during his performance. The atmosphere, which for me was highly intriguing, had a very specific latent Yugoslav connotation (with the hotel in the dark behind the singer), that was different from the one I mentioned in my first example. There were many younger people in the audience, and some of them told me that they simply did not relate this place or the music to Yugoslavia. For them, it was just regular Belgrade clubbing. For others, on the other hand, recollections of both 'Yugoslavias' (the country and the hotel) were rather vivid. Thus, this happening was a spot for intertwined and mixed collective feelings. There was less cultural memory involved during the performance and more real contemporary Serbian clubbing culture. However, the stereotypes were certainly present, especially in the singer's discourse and in the official media discourse (for instance, in the reviews of Grašo's performance) – this singer connected himself explicitly with Dalmatia, which for him mostly meant the sea. Dalmatia in this context could not be understood as a holiday destination in the same way it could in socialist Yugoslavia, but rather as a destination that is nearby and very attractive.

The (Yugo)nostalgia promulgated in the former case had no place in such an atmosphere. It could be said that there was an idea of music as a 'universal' category, together with an idea of 'universal' love that transcends meanings attached to the Yugoslav past. The comments on this event were significantly different, since the people in the audience claimed that they were interested solely in the music, and attached no other historical meaning to the songs. Most of them were in their early twenties, and did not even recognize the issue I was interested in – they were unfamiliar with the symbolic value of the place where the garden was located, and even with the existence of Dalmatian music as such. They seemed reluctant to acknowledge any connections between this music and contested historical events. Instead, they claimed and behaved not only as if nothing (bad) had happened in the past, but also as if the music they were listening to that evening did not signify anything beyond itself. In other words, this event, even though connected with the sea and with Dalmatia, represents an example of the new post-Yugoslav atmosphere that rejects any potential connections with either socialist Yugoslavia

54 "I am bringing Dalmatia, that is Dalmatian music, maybe better to say Mediterranean, because I'm not the classical Dalmatian music, no, I'm actually more the sea, I'm the sea. There is an influence of Italy. But, yes, I'm bringing the sea to Belgrade. So, tonight, you will feel the sea, there is enough sun in Belgrade, it's hot enough, but there is no sea, so I'm bringing the sea with me tonight". Cf. https://www.facebook.com/bastakodjuge.official (accessed on July 1, 2014).

or with the wars that broke up the country, since the audience referred 'just' to the music without any ideological implications, enjoying it from a position of 'nonparticipation' in political issues.[55] Thus, they did not think that they were giving their support to a Croatian singer who might be a symbol of the continuity between Yugoslav and present times; they simply wanted to enjoy listening to "good music" and "have fun".[56]

CONCLUDING REMARKS: (RE)PRODUCING (POST-)YUGOSLAV COLLECTIVITIES

In conclusion, I would like to explore some of the possible interpretations and implications of these phenomena. I asked a simple question: Dalmatia in Serbia? What is it today? Is it a sort of nostalgia, a reinterpretation of the past, or a symptom of a new era? As I have tried to show, it is, or can be, depending on the context, all of the above. My second case study is even more provocative to discuss within the (post-)Yugoslav context. The concept of Dalmatian music has been continually changing over time, but its latest transformation appears to illustrate the current state of (post-)Yugoslav cultural memory. Even though the people in the audience admitted that there could be vague Yugoslav implications related to this music (however, the 'sea' or 'Mediterranean' atmosphere was mentioned), one cannot escape the problematization of a new phenomenon: the afterlife of Dalmatian music. Having been promoted in Yugoslav times, this kind of music requires positioning within the context of Yugoslav culture. Despite the absence of a nostalgic mood, the Dalmatian sea atmosphere was still present at *Bašta kod Juge*, the same atmosphere this music evoked a half century ago, which finally calls into question the existence of all the stereotypes embodied in this kind of music.

I would like here to summarize the characteristics that unite all performances of Dalmatian music (whether those of traditional *klapa* singing or by performers from Dalmatia): firstly, "the language carries nostalgic weight", with "language" including both the vocal and musical qualities of the singing as well as the content,

55 Talking about "nonparticipation", Greenberg notes how it has been an expression of complex and sophisticated reactions to the changing sociopolitical context in postsocialist Serbia. Jessica Greenberg: "'There's Nothing Anyone Can Do about It': Participation, Apathy, and 'Successful' Democratic Transition in Postsocialist Serbia", *Slavic Review* 69/1 (2010), p. 41.

56 I was also faced with a revealing comment by a girl who was 26 at the time (just six years younger than me) about the relevance of the phenomenon I was researching. Commenting on what I had called the "intriguing transformation" of the hotel *Jugoslavija*, she stated that she did not see what I found so interesting and problematic about "a new clubbing space opening in front of some old hotel that just happened to be there". This interview was conducted before the performance discussed here, which took place on June 5, 2014.

i.e. the lyrics. Vocal and instrumental qualities can thus function as "markers of nostalgia", not because they are recognized as such and verbally expressed, but because of "the political-historical-geographical context through which they are inescapably communicated".[57] Even though Yugoslav connotations were not commonly recognized in the reactions to Grašo's performance, the 'sea', 'Mediterranean' and even a 'Dalmatian' sound was mentioned. This very sound of Dalmatia was created at the coastal festivals at a time when Yugoslavs went on regular holidays to Dalmatia. These new generations are at least old enough to remember the sound from their childhood, if not heard live then on tapes and CDs. Since Dalmatian music shares certain acoustic qualities that are always conceived of as the 'sea sound', they posit themselves as from another time, a 'once was'. Thus, an acoustic relation is constructed with the present that is implicitly retrospective and displaced, that is 'not assimilationist but revivalistic'.[58] To conclude, Dalmatian music, at least the type that was produced and promoted within popular music culture (mostly at festivals), is certainly one form of the cultural heritage of Yugoslavia, since Dalmatian music itself, including all its stereotypes, was at least partly a Yugoslav brand which,seems not to have vanished along with the country in which it was made. Furthermore, it is certainly important to identify the new (acoustic and architectural) phenomena of the current post-Yugoslav era: the construction of a 'sea' venue presenting the sound of Dalmatia right in front of an old hotel representing the former country in which this sound was constructed, next to the *Grand Casino* and the *Intergalactic Diner*. Nostalgic or not, the *Bašta kod Juge* phenomenon is most certainly a symptom of current post-Yugoslav cultural transformations.

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57 Mann: "Why does Country Music Sound White?", p. 87.

58 Stewart: "Nostalgia – a Polemic", p. 239. Cf. Mann: "Why does Country Music Sound White?", p. 87.

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NOTES ON THE MEDITERRANEAN MUSIC HERITAGE IN SLOVENIA: A CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract: *Historians are familiar with different processes of transfer in music history. Three forms of transfer are especially important: a transfer of meanings through music (the foundation of musicology as a discipline), an economic transfer of musical goods (from instruments and scores to recordings and performances), and a transfer of musical culture through different practices of what Christopher Small calls "musicking" (from school to media and social networks). Some music crosses borders easily, while other music remains more attractive on a local level. The relationship of identity to music, explored by Jules Combarieu in 1907 in a pseudo-Bach Sonata, and which Simon Frith (2004) calls the concept of "homology" in the context of popular music, can have a broad set of variables. This article discusses the question of a transfer of the Mediterranean to music from the perspective of a Slovene musicologist, or, more precisely, the transfer of the concept of the Mediterranean with regard to the music in Slovenia of the last fin de siècle.*

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INTRODUCTION: DEFINING THE RANGE OF THE MEDITERRANEAN MUSICALLY

One of Tullia Magrini's seminal papers is entitled: "Where does Mediterranean Music Begin?" The Mediterranean is addressed here not as a geographic location, but in terms of the historic connection of this space with a specific heritage. In 1992 Magrini initiated a study group within the International Council for Traditional Music devoted to an anthropological approach to Mediterranean music. Her work found several noteworthy reverberations in ethnomusicology.[1] Yet in spite of the geographical delineation of the territory, what she described as a "mosaic of

1 Goffredo Plastino (ed.): *Mediterranean Mosaic: Popular Music and Global Sounds*. London: Routledge (Perspectives on Global Pop), 2003; David Cooper and Kevin Dawe (eds.): *The Mediterranean in Music: Critical Perspectives, Common Concerns, Cultural Differences*. Lanham, Md.: Scarecrow Press (Europea: Ethnomusicologies and Modernities), 2005; Philip V. Bohlman, Marcello Sorce Keller and Loris Azzaroni (eds.). *Antropologia della musica nelle culture mediterranee. Interpretazione, performance, identità Musical Anthropology in Mediterranean Cultures. Interpretation, Performance, Identity*. Bologna: Clueb, 2008.

profoundly localized realities"[2] is present in the use of the Mediterranean concept to characterize aesthetically incomparable phenomena with no attention to analysis of the relations between musical and social variables:

> we can conclude that the term "Mediterranean" can actually have a much deeper meaning than its merely geographical one. When we study musical realities whose multiple facets demonstrate that this sea has been the instrument of an intense cultural interaction between countries of Europe, of Asia Minor and of Northern Africa, and that it has been the instrument for the circulation of ideas and values that cross the boundaries of nations and continents, then it can be agreed that, rather than to speak, for instance, of Italian, Tunisian or Turkish music, it is actually appropriate to use the term "Mediterranean". In this case we have the advantage of being able to allude with only one word to that collection of historical and cultural relations that has produced complex musical phenomena, phenomena that it would not be possible to analyse if not in the light of such relations.[3]

The Mediterranean engenders heterogeneous imagery: as a compilation of different aesthetics; as an ethical space with a number of stories about its "coherence" and "greatness",[4] in both positive as well as negative terms; and as a historical place with complexes of stories within stories. Magrini's "mosaic of profoundly localized realities" seems to hold true also for the epistemology of the Mediterranean, ranging from clearly demarcated aesthetic and social phenomena to the evasive and complex processes emerging from the past and comparable to other, geographically more distant facts. One of the most important issues for both musical practice and the cultural economy is that of identity: the relation between the musical poetics and the reception of the musical fact.

What does the Mediterranean mean locally, from the perspective of a Slovene musicologist?

MARE NOSTRUM

Almost thirty years ago, Marija Bergamo formulated her view of the Mediterranean:

> Mediteranski vidik, ne samo kot splošna, trajno plodna civilizacijska osnova evropske kulture, marveč tudi kot občasno izpostavljeno zaledje, navdih in

2 Tullia Magrini: "Where does Mediterranean music begin?", *Narodna umjetnost: Croatian Journal of Ethnology and Folklore Research*, 36/1 (1999), p. 175.

3 Ibidem, p. 180.

4 Fernand Braudel: *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, vol. 1., trans. Sian Reynolds. London: Collins, 1972, p. 14 .

> podnet ustvarjalnega snovanja, postaja v novejšem času tako v politično-ekonomskem kot v kulturološkem smislu […] spet izhodišče upanja. Upanja, da je mogoče prostor okrog nekdanjega "Mare nostrum", ki že dolgo ni več "središče sveta" in ne omike, ohraniti, znova povezati, utrditi in ponuditi za veljavno, življenjsko alternativo današnjemu univerzalizmu pa tudi okrepljenemu združevanju znotraj Evrope in ponovnemu preverjanju pojmov kot so "Centralna Evropa", "Srednja Evropa", "Vzhodna Evropa". […] Ne gre le za ohranitev prvobitnih temeljev evropske identitete, ampak tudi za novo umetnostno opredelitev pojmov "periferije" in "province" ter razvrstitev posameznih nacionalnih kultur z ozirom na sprejete definicije.[5]

Calling attention to the indefinability of the concept of 'Mediterraneanness', like many before her, Bergamo claims that 'Mediterranisms' in music are extremely inconvenient to outline; she hesitates to accept the substantialist argument pointing to stylistic features as identifiers of the Mediterranean. Instead, she references the Braudelian view that the 'Mediterranean' is a place of frictions between

> Zahod[om] in Orient[om]. Usoda jugoslovanskega prostora je, da mu je prav ta os stoletja določala življenje in snovanje. Na tem koščku sveta se križajo in spopadajo tri kulture, tri omike, trije načini mišljenja: krščanski, torej rimski svet, središče starega rimskega univerzuma, ki je postal katoliški in je segal do protestantskega sveta, nadalje islamski svet, tako zelo, v vsem svojem bistvu nasproten Zahodu, ter grški univerzum pravoslavja, v katerem se še na razne načine oglaša Helada.[6]

5 "The Mediterranean perspective – not only as a general, enduringly fruitful civilizational foundation of European culture but also as an exposed background, inspiration and a tinderbox of creativity – is becoming lately in a culturological sense […] again the starting-point for a hope. A hope that it is possible for the place around the former 'Mare nostrum' that has ceased to represent a 'centre of the world' and of cultural accomplishments to be reconnected again, strengthened and offered as a valid, vital alternative to today's predominant universalism, also to the invigorated unification within Europe and for a renewed verification of the concepts of 'Central Europe', 'Middle Europe', and 'Eastern Europe' […] This is not a matter of keeping the primeval foundations of European identity, but about finding new artistic definitions for the notions of 'periphery' and 'province' and the positions of individual national cultures with regard to the newly adopted definitions". (Translations are by the author). Marija Bergamo: "Mediteranski vidiki jugoslovanskega glasbenega prostora", *Muzikološki zbornik*, 23 (1987), p. 5. http://www.dlib.si/?URN=URN:NBN:SI:DOC-67Y41PPM (accessed on October 15, 2015).

6 "West and Orient. The destiny of Yugoslav space has been defined along this axis for centuries. In this part of the world three cultures are crossing, three etiquettes, three ways of thinking: the Roman world, the old Roman universe that became Catholic and continued through Protestantism; the Islamic world that is in its very essence different from the West; and the Greek universe of Orthodoxy which still echoes Hellas". Ibidem, p. 9.

In such a broad perspective one can say that momentarily it seems "windy" also in Slovenia. The whole culture is typically Mediterranean, although the concept is rarely mentioned in connection with music, and studied even more rarely. The respected academician Lojze Lebič (b. 1934) warns against the share of 'otherness' in today's musical culture: "How to open up and yet to some degree remain yourself will be one of the fundamental judgements in the future."[7]

He addresses the Slovene musical culture from the perspective of a cultural ecologist and recommends 'alertness' regarding the strong foreign cultural currents: "Slovenia should remain musically a widely open national state in the heart of Europe, but it may not be allowed to become a garbage dump for auditory-musical trash [glasbenozvočnih odpadkov]".[8] He suggests also the formation of a "music-cultural parliament", a "music museum", even a "music arbitration court".[9] These views seem at first glance rather ordinary. They are far from the radical position of Anton Lajovic (1878–1960), the omnipresent factotum of Slovene musical life between the wars and after 1940 a member of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, who in his infamous reflection "On the everlasting beauties and the poison of Beethoven's, Bach's and Wagner's works"[10] opted, without general assent, to 'leave aside' German music because of its too strong influence on the national. However, it is difficult to ignore the political connotations resounding from culturally engaged statements like these, and the message is clear in both cases: whatever music is officially favoured, it should be kept in harmony with the qualities pertaining to the nation.

Of course, the details of this 'Sloveneness' are changing; they are 'sailing' permanently on the sea of culture, as Rijavec (1991) noted. The irony is not in the fact that they both strive toward a certain quality, but in the mechanisms through which this quality is distilled. It would be difficult to imagine today something like the thirteenth (and the last) of the committees at work in the Reichsmusikkammer, the Arbeitsauschuss für Auslandsgastspiele; but the Slovene cultural administration offered a rather tragicomic story about defining the national music. The Ministry of Culture initiated a clumsy juridical formulation of Slovene music in spring 2015. Although momentarily still under discussion, the Ministry of Culture offered a "preparatory" formulation of Slovene music that, still unofficially, reads:

> music that is entirely or at least primarily in the Slovene language or in the Romani, Italian, or Hungarian languages, if the authors or performers are

7 Jože Kert (ed.): *Lojze Lebič. Od blizu in daleč*, vol. 2. Prevalje: Kulturno društvo Mohorjan, 2014, p. 14.
8 Ibidem, p. 15.
9 Ibidem, p. 21.
10 Anton Lajovic: "O večnih krasotah in o strupu Beethovnovih, Bachovih in Wagnerjevih del", *Slovenec*, 6 April 1924, p. 5.

> members of the Romani minority in the Republic of Slovenia, or the Italian or Hungarian minority in the Republic of Slovenia, with the exception of radio and TV programmes with predominantly instrumental music.[11]

It is not difficult to imagine, as one of the satirical commentators noted, that a juridical problem may arise if "one of 'our' coastal bands sang *Se bastasse una canzone* [by Eros Ramazzotti]",[12] or if a guest performer were to sing Verdi in Slovene. It seems as if the sole wish to define juridically all the variables of Slovene music and to find a proper place for each within the modern (national) cultural policy spreads a deep shadow around the national music, although this pragmatic conundrum came disguised as a facet of an erratic national interest.

The elusive national identity is certainly not elusive for those who may wish to point to concrete examples, or types, of Slovene music: the Oberkrainermusik of the Avsenik brothers, the avant-garde semi-formal group *Pro musica viva*, Dubravka Tomšič Srebotnjak, the group Laibach, trombonist and composer Vinko Globokar, the popular electronic music ensign DJ Umek, or the practice of choral singing as an entire segment of Slovenian musical culture, leaving the line open to eventual additions. However, the intention of the ongoing debate over the definition of Slovene music seems to fuel the historical opposition in defining national identity in music – the opposition between the contextual and the substantial argumentation of the national – instead of bringing a juridically pragmatic solution that would satisfy both sides as the very foundation of the national music concept. It is as if both poles could, or should, be equated. It seems actually that the social idea regarding the national resembles the debate over quality in aesthetics: they both have grown pale as more and more segments of musical practice have stood in the row for the medal. The idea of a Slovene music and the axiology of styles have both lost their meanings in a dense wood with a lot of (positively or negatively) outstanding trees.

In this rather contemporary sense in which the Mediterranean Basin is filled with Southern fugitives heading North, modern Slovene musical culture seems to fit into the line of Mediterranean heritage as a cultural space of tensions among a set of cultural issues connected with national identity and an axiological set of aesthetic variables. Some of these tensions are typically Mediterranean.

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11 G. C.: "Obvezno predvajanje novejših slovenskih skladb, ki jih izvajajo mladi glasbeniki", *Delo*, 9 July 2015.

12 Gregor Hrovatin: "Kaj je to: slovenska glasba", *Za-misli*, 1 June 2015, http://za-misli.si/kolumne/gregor-hrovatin/2315-kaj-je-to-slovenska-glasba (accessed on October 15, 2015).

MEDITERRANEAN MUSICS IN SLOVENIA

It is one of the central quandaries of twentieth-century musical Europe that the musical poetics (the means through which composers operate) and the aesthetic functions often have complex relations. The very concept of modernity is an idea of "commonalities and continuities", even "the extrusion of tensions latent in the Classical", as Julian Johnson suggests in his "sensible history of musical modernity".[13] As for the Mediterranean variables within our modernity and its "extrusion of tensions latent in the Classical", they may be sought on different levels of musical practice. As Marija Bergamo suggested, an approach to the 'Mediterranean tradition' could be expected "from at least three directions: from a perspective of musical material, from a position of the doctrine of the beautiful, and from the role of a game for creative processes and perception of music of the Mediterranean".[14] Maria Papapaulou has proposed a complementary three-part approach to the Mediterranean music, examining "the methods of construction of the musical style of 'Mediterranean music' from three points of view: science (anthropology of the Mediterranean), music production, and arts management in the broader context of globalization".[15]

If we confine ourselves at first to the level of music production and accept Bergamo's suggestion that there are two directions in which to search for "musical 'Mediterranisms'" – in the "ancient music-folklore segments" and "in the potent layer of the conscience (or sub-conscience) where the (pre)processed musical material articulates mentality without being founded on folklore, in an historic-cultural 'intussusception' or 'socio-historical constellation' that reaches for the 'cultural sediment of the descent'"[16] – there are two interesting examples to offer.

Mediterranean culture and music have also recently inspired musicological interest.[17] In its wide semantic meaning, Mediterranean music is nicely exemplified by the popular Slovene singers, Saša Lendero.[18] As one local reviewer noted:

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13 Julian Johnson: *Out of Time: Music and the Making of Modernity*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 4, 7, 10.

14 Bergamo: "Mediteranski vidiki", p. 14.

15 Maria Papapaulou. "'Μεσογειακή μουσική' ή 'μουσικές της Μεσογείου'; Εθνομουσικολογικοί προβληματισμοί στην εποχή της παγκοσμιοποίησης", in: Συμβολή στη μνήμη Γεωργίου Στ. Αμαργιανάκη (1936–2003). Athens: Tmīma Mousikōn Spoudōn Panepistīmiou Athīnōn, 2013, p. 73.

16 Bergamo: "Mediteranski vidiki", p. 14.

17 Cf. Primož Kuret (ed.): *The Mediterranean – source of music and longing of European romanticism and modernism*. Ljubljana: Festival Ljubljana, 2010.

18 An example of her music may be found at http://24ur.com/ekskluziv/glasba/plagiati-saske-lendero.html (accessed on October 15, 2015).

> Saša Lendero, one of the most popular and most often played singers in Slovenia, often encounters complaints that she has cleverly stolen some of her hits, or rather, that she plagiarizes them. This happened with the song *I am not going down to my knees* and *The Lioness* and her last hit *I will get over it on my feet*. [She replies to similar accusations:] "Of course I'm already accustomed to those complaints, but my songs are not plagiarism. I always state the authors of the original music, lyrics, and arrangements. Such speculations claiming that I have appropriated a song unfairly are unfounded. I see no controversy in arranging good songs. The vast majority of the Slovene musical hits are adaptations", says Lendero, and she's right. … It is clear that modern musical reproduction worldwide has proven that recycling old hits pays off – the pop queen Madonna has chosen Abba's legendary phrase for her hit *Hang up*.[19]

Similar phenomena are ubiquitous: a piece from one milieu may find its way into another milieu either through time (as the classical music heritage indicates) or else geographically and culturally (as the world music movement testifies and recently the concept of *translation* in music tries to explore in more detail, as may be concluded from http://translatingmusic.com). However, there are important differences in such transfers. If Saša Lendero translates the lyrics, or rearranges the music for different ensemble, she literally *transplants* a piece, and addresses a circle of what may be called intuitively common listeners – she literally transfers the geographically and culturally as yet unfamiliar into a more attractive content in another, different geographical and cultural milieu – and such processes can be found in many works related to traditional music. For instance, the composer Aldo Kumar (b. 1954) sometimes reaches toward Istrian musical idioms and incorporates them into his music, just as many composers have done with various elements of their musical heritage. The reviewer of Kumar's CD in which an 'Istrian connection' can be found described this relation in the following words:

> All the pieces on Kumar's CD are in a certain inspirational – or as [the writer] Milan Dekleva phrases it – even an erotic relation to Istria. Istria for Kumar is not only a musical quotation – some archaically sounding melody or odd set of rhythms. Istria is a mysterious landscape filled with the ecstatic spirituality of people who have lived there for centuries, in the raw sensuality of nature, where the greyness of the continent is mixed with the hot sun of the Mediterranean. In some older compositions on the

19 Jakob Kapus: "Tatica Saška Lendero?", *24ur.com (POP TV)*, 10 October 2008, http://24ur.com/ekskluziv/glasba/plagiati-saske-lendero.html (accessed on October 15, 2015).

> album, such as *Istrian suite* and *Istralia*, Kumar's attitude towards Istria is still idealized, garnished with some naivety and unnecessary pathos that keeps us from trusting his sincerity. The music is simple, transparent in design for its short sentences. The music plays smoothly with folk tunes and, at least in *Istralia*, is effectively orchestrated. Here Kumar turns out to be a true master, yet something similar – Slovene folk music in symphonic garb – can be heard since Bojan Adamič, Jani Golob, and other Slovene composers.[20]

The folk and folk-like tunes of the orchestral garment might easily be replaced with whatever identities one has in mind: with a 'foreign', 'lowbrow', 'elitist', 'old', or in a certain way 'embeddable' musical gesture capable of catching the attention of listeners as a sign, or even a symbol (of any kind). Here the overall procedure of transferring the Istrian tradition is obviously more confined than in Lendero's case: Kumar does not transfer, he reshapes only a segment of the culturally and geographically specific content and remoulds it according to his artistic volition. The 'original' has certain aesthetic values; there is hardly any cultural transfer in it: he remains within the confines of Western art music. His interpretation of the Istrian musical heritage is more a transfer from the folkloristic tradition to the classical concert environment, addressing what one could intuitively call a culturally informed listener.

It seems that the Mediterranean has in recent decades become quite a fashionable cultural attraction for Slovenia, with the Mediterranean Festival for music in Izola since 2006, the Mediterranean International Folklore Festival (MIFF) since 2003 in Piran, or with the disc *Mediteran: Songs from the Mediterranean* (2013) by Klarisa Jovanović & Della Segodba, the newly established (2015) *Marjan Zgonc in klapa Mediteran*, the klezmer repertoire of *Kvartet Akord*, or the jazz ensemble Vid Jamnik & the Mediterranean Connection. Except for this last ensemble, the listeners to these performers may be said intuitively to enjoy their music as a very direct aesthetical imprint of the 'melos from Milos', music from the Aegean Sea often connected with pleasurable leisure experiences for many throughout Europe. The list could be prolonged in yet another aesthetic direction with a number of classical music examples incorporating certain segments of music that may be epitomized as Mediterranean, such as *Two Istrian Etudes, Ballabili in modo Istriano*, or *Sinfonia da Camera in Modo Istriano* by Danilo Švara (1902–1980); *Istrianka* for piano or *Three Istrian Preludes – Concert Etudes* by Karol Pahor (1896–1974); or the

20 Peter Kus, "TOLPA BUMOV / April 19, 2003, at 19:00 / ALDO KUMAR: Strastra (Edicije Društva slovenskih skladateljev, 2002)", Radio Študent 89,3 MHz, http://www.radiostudent.si/article.php?sid=1716 (accessed on October 15, 2015).

symphonic poems *Mar Saba* and *Jamal* by Marko Mihevc (b. 1957). Their listeners, intuitively speaking, enjoy an experience of highly elaborated aesthetic pleasure resembling the Mediterranean esprit, yet still imbued with a certain artistic 'Middle-European Initiative'.

The differences among these examples range from the direct dispersion of a certain style practiced in the Mediterranean region (folklore festivals, Klarisa Jovanović, *Marjan Zgonc and klapa Mediteran*), or a *reframing* of the key stylistic features of a folk-music tradition from the Levant (Marko Mihevc), to a more thorough *transfer* of specific segments of folk-music into a different genre (as with Karol Pahor, Danilo Švara, or Vid Jamnik & the Mediterranean Connection).

The question of art management, as well as perception, should be added to the discussion at this point: why accuse Lendero of 'intellectual theft' when she does not even pretend to be doing something original? And does the listener of Kumar really accept his *Istralia* as an interpretation of Istrian tunes? Moreover, what exactly is 'Mediterranean' in the jazz sessions of Vid Jamnik & the Mediterranean Connection? The differences between Lendero's and Kumar's work points to a difference between the cultural and aesthetic elements of interpreting, or rather transferring a certain musical practice (or segments thereof) from one place to another. On a general level, the process of musical transfer is ancient. Bela Bartók's concept of composing with folklore from 1931 is but one example of the typology of the processes through which an 'initial musical material' finds its way into different individual voices.[21] The various aesthetic idea(l)s indicating the other's voice can be found primarily in culturology and in philology-rooted discourses on intertextuality and music,[22] especially on post/modern, stylistically heterogeneous and heteronomous music and quotation in music. It is not the differences but the similarities – the fundamental compositional features and the perception thereof – on the basis of which differences between styles and genres may be studied, as

21 "The question is, what are the ways in which peasant music is taken over and becomes transmuted into modern music? We may, for instance, take over a peasant melody unchanged or only slightly varied, write an accompaniment to it and possibly some opening and concluding phrases. This kind of work would show a certain analogy with Bach's treatment of chorales". The second method is "the following: the composer does not make use of a real peasant melody but invents his own imitation of such melodies. There is no true difference between this method and the one described above". An the third way: "Neither peasant melodies nor imitations of peasant melodies can be found […] but it is pervaded by the atmosphere of peasant music. In this case we may say, he has completely absorbed the idiom of peasant music which has become his musical mother tongue". Bela Bartók: "The Influence of Peasant Music on Modern Music", in: Béla Bartók Essays, ed. Benjamin Suchoff. *Béla Bartók Essays*. Lincoln NE: University of Nebraska Press, pp. 341–344.

22 Cf. Peter J. Burkholder: "Intertextuality", in: *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.nukweb.nuk.uni-lj.si/subscriber/article/grove/music/52853 (accessed on November 3, 2015).

indicated by the research on musical universals that is oriented more toward the cognitive sciences.[23]

MEDITERRANEAN AS AESTHETICS – MEDITERRANEAN AS AN EPISTEMOLOGICAL CONCEPT

The question of the relation between the 'original' and the 'transferred' – one of the central questions of intertextuality as well as the discourse on musical universals – seems to be fairly dispersed through different research vocabularies of music scholarship. There is no systematic survey of the methodologies through which meanings are ascribed to music except that they waver between culturological and cognitive variables. Speaking generally in elemental aesthetic terms, there are four different relations between the idea(l)s and their appearance in a given composition. Saška Lendero *adopts* rather literally a whole genre of music from Greek culture into Slovene pop musical culture. Aldo Kumar creates from chosen tunes new pieces that are often unmistakably connected to their source; he *transfers* one specific idiom into another. Mihevc, on the other hand, successfully *reshapes* what seems to be the classical popular aesthetic heritage into concert pieces. To a certain degree, the folk-idiom seems for Švara a rather abstract structural *gesture* that undergoes certain *metamorphoses*. The question of the 'base' and the 'superstructure' – the question of *originality* and *authorial* surplus – indicates an identity issue with two sets of variables: the cultural and the aesthetic. If for Lendero the cultural question regarding copyrights and plagiarism is not an important artistic issue – her *performances* of the songs are all that she considers musically important – aesthetic capital is, for both Švara and Mihevc, to the contrary, deeply rooted in the cultural issues of the classical musical tradition.

There is an obvious methodological difficulty in advocating such a classification of different layers in terms of *adaptation*, *transfer*, *reshaping* and *metamorphosing*, since any concept of translation poses delicate issues given "the fuzzy boundaries between translation, adaptation and rewriting".[24] Moreover, it is difficult to leave aside the whole issue of a typically modernist quandary involving – and this holds true also for the examples given above – the many different tokens of a type called "contemporary hybrid music".[25] The 'Mediterranean' concept within Slovenia raises the same issue of postmodernity understood as a shopping list of heteronomous aesthetic features, or as a "maddeningly imprecise musical

23 Jean-Luc Leroy (ed.): *Topicality of musical universals / actualités des univers musicaux*. Paris: Éditions des archives contemporaines, 2013.

24 Sebnem Susam-Saraeva (ed.): *Translation and Music*, *The Translator*, 2 (2008), p 187.

25 Amy Horowitz: "Israeli Mediterranean Music: Straddling Disputed Territories", *The Journal of American Folklore*, 7 (1999), p. 450.

concept".[26] Yet these distinctions are proposed for the sake of a generic positioning of phenomena, and they are far from an exhaustive systematic analysis of the music in question and the epistemology involved. They merely serve to indicate the scope within which such 'links' between different Mediterranean aesthetics are conditioned by differing sets of aesthetic preferences, and by a rule of thumb that is also social. The social layer emerges as soon as one adds the concept of the "Mediterranean-Slavic variant of avant-gardism" as Andrej Rijavec and Ivan Klemenčič have labelled the work of Primož Ramovš (1921–2015).[27] Ramovš is a notoriously abstract, *textural*, *sonoristic* composer known for his numerous symphonic and concert works; he is reckoned as one of the central figures in non-programmatic instrumental music. The scope of 'Mediterranean-ness' in Slovene music today ranges from direct aesthetic (and textual) *translation*, through a set of *transfers* (adaptations, reshapings, metamorphosings, and similar cognitive transformations) to a rather abstract, global re/contextualization signalling certain 'spiritual' *qualia* in a music that has aesthetically rather sparse connections with the widespread traditional musical practices in the Mediterranean geographical areas. In this case, 'Mediterranean' serves as an interphase between 'modernism proper' (occidental, northern, German?) and 'southern' (oriental, popular?) music. It is as if the 'rational' and reflective North and the 'exuberant' and emotive South had once again found the right geographical coordinates for an encounter.

The musical examples cited above hopefully offer sufficient evidence to show clearly that composition is a process of transferring certain geographically and culturally relevant phenomena into a new aesthetic outfit, as it were. Although not many listeners in Slovenia know much about Greek traditional musical practices, Lendero's art of 'transplanting' musical pieces seems to be fairly acceptable as a commonly understood 'message'. To a certain extent, Kumar also composes with a similarly definable aesthetic: his 'source' is geographically closer to the Slovenes (Istria is partly within the Republic of Slovenia), and his own idiom belongs to the genre of what is today often described as a mixture of classical orchestral jazz and light music aesthetics. Mihevc's music widens the horizon toward the Orient, yet it does not change the perspective – just as the jazz ensemble Vid Jamnik & the Mediterranean Connection extend the possible connotations toward the Western and Southern regions of the Mediterranean Basin. For Primož Ramovš, however, it would be difficult to persuade a listener to grasp his music as an example of Mediterranean culture without substantial further explanation.

26 Jonathan D. Kramer: "The Nature and Origins of Musical Postmodernism", *Current Musicology*, 66 (1999), p. 7.

27 Andrej Rijavec: "K vprašanju slovenskosti slovenske instrumentalne glasbe", *Muzikološki zbornik*, 15 (1979), p. 11. Ivan Klemenčič: "Ljudska glasba znotraj umetne", *Traditiones*, 28 (1999), p. 278.

Even if in such cases a typology of 'cultural entities' may seem possible in music, it would be difficult to find any substantial relation between the poetological idea(l)s and the aesthetic appearances. It remains a cultural, case-specific, and contingent issue whether, for instance, the accordion has certain European, Russian, Balkan, or Mediterranean connotations.

If Lendero, Kumar, and Mihevc testify to the ubiquity of the common, age-old musical transfers between different geographical places and stylistic levels, Švara's and especially Ramovš's music remains a kind of aesthetical meta-space of elemental cognitive phenomena with a much smaller number of culturally devised 'signs'. It seems to resist the concept of 'transfer' if not observed within a historically informed context. It is itself a kind of a translation without the original. It pushes the geographically and culturally well-contextualized aesthetic narrativity toward an edge where music becomes an even more elusive phenomena of human narration than it is within the historically and culturally informed polystylism of Marko Mihevc or Kumar. In Švara and Ramovš the places and spaces from which their music sends its 'messages in the bottle' seem dispersed through issues of cognition as well as perception of music, through historical layers of comprehending music as an autonomous art as well as through the idea of music as a primeval, meta-cultural artistic medium.

The difference involved is an important one. Lendero, among others, exemplifies what may be described as Mediterranean music in its ability to reach aesthetic sympathies in a geographically and culturally somewhat different Central European milieu. Yet Ramovš's music seems to allow the concept of Mediterranean in music to be defined primarily, if not only, through an idea of the *inspirational, even mythically archetypal freedom* to combine different sounds; the aesthetic vicinity entirely replaces the strictly geographical. His musical poetics and aesthetics have hardly any apparent connections with the Balkan, yet they are obviously a part of it as well.

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