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EDİTÖRDEN / EDITORIAL

Dear Readers,

We are delighted to present a special issue of the *Conservatorium* focusing on “Balkan Music and Dance”. This issue is dedicated to our dear and respected colleague, Prof. Dr. Selena Rakočević (1971–2022). It encompasses 12 valuable contributions from the fields of ethnochoreology, ethnomusicology, and musicology, all of which delve into themes significant to the music and dance of Southeast Europe. As many as 8 of the 12 contributions relate to a bilateral scientific cooperation project with which Selena Rakočević was also associated: *Exploring the Tracks of Balkan Culture: Serbian–Turkish Connections in Music and Dance from Ottoman Period until Today (TRackeRS)*. In editing this special issue of the journal, project leaders have attempted to highlight the connections and adaptations of music and dance forms originating from these two present-day countries as well as the legacies received by ethnic communities from related former countries such as the Ottoman Empire and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Liz Melish and Nick Green, long-term researchers of this region, attend to ethnochoreological studies of the Romanian-Danube Gorge in their article. These authors were accorded the privilege of conducting field research in this area with Selena Rakočević on several occasions. Their paper guides readers through her works dedicated to this area and represents a distinctive contribution to this special issue.

Selena Rakočević mentored Katarina Nikolić’s accomplishment of her work, which extends the corpus of scientific literature on the *kolo u tri* dance genre. Nikolić also overviews the musical variety specific to Bosnia and Herzegovina and populations of Bosnian-Herzegovinian origin in other regions. The recognition of *kolo* as a representative UNESCO intangible cultural heritage of Serbia is one of the greatest contributions to Serbian national culture by a team that included Selena Rakočević.

Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin’s long-term investigations of Bosnia-Sanjak immigrants in Türkiye yielded a study that historically and socially contextualizes and ethnochoreologically classifies the dances of this community.

Zdravko Ranisavljević affords a different perspective on this theme in an article based on a smaller sample of Bosnia-Sanjak associations from Istanbul. His analysis of several dances from the choreographies tries to establish connections with similarly named dances in Serbia.

Marija Dumnić Vilotijević observes choral singing in the same sample of Bosnia-Sanjak associations from Istanbul, particularly referencing two urban folk musical practices, the *sevdalinka* and a newly composed folk song, as paradigmatic examples of a turning toward Ottoman and Yugoslav heritage.

Mehtap Demir Güven’s study is based on a small sample. It examines the musical traditions of Bosniaks from Novi Pazar in the context of the revitalization of Ottoman heritage.

Ivana Medić takes the music entrepreneurship model into account in presenting the Roma musical family from Western Serbia. The Cicvarić family was historically crucial to the development of urban folk music in Serbia.

Nathan Bernacki employs the interonset interval method to meticulously analyze hemiolitic metrics, i.e., the commonly found ratio of 2:3 in metrorhythmic structures in the Balkans. He focuses on the Pirin-Macedonia region in Bulgaria using selected examples.

Belma Oğul systematizes Selena Rakočević’s publications. Oğul’s perspective as a researcher from the Balkans from another school of ethnomusicology is especially valuable. Her paper presents selected texts that we hope will encourage new researchers interested in the dance traditions of the Balkans to read Selena Rakočević’s rich oeuvre.

İdris Ersan Küçük’s report is shorter, but it showcases Selene Rakočević’s robust interest in field research in the Eastern Black Sea Region of Türkiye. However, her ideas about studies of dance similarities remain unfathomable.

Zdravko Ranisavljević and Dunja Njaradi, Selena Rakočević’s final two collaborators at the Faculty of Music of the University of Arts in Belgrade, Serbia, offer their memories of her biography and its importance to their careers, as well as to ethnochoreology in general.

We express deep gratitude for the thorough scrutiny of the reviewers of the papers published in this special issue and the editorial staff of the journal. We hope that the papers will inspire more historical and ethnographical research initiatives on one of Selena Rakočević's missions, exploring the music and dances of the Balkans.

Abdullah Akat and Marija Dumnić Vilotijević
Co-Guest Editors

Dance and Festivals in Serbian Villages along the Romanian Danube Gorge: Contextualizing Selena Rakočević's Research

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to frame and contextualize Selena's research between 2010 and 2019 in villages with a Serbian population situated in the Danube Gorge in Romania and in particular the village of Sviña (Svinica). Selena's research focus was on the community dance practices and local customs and festivals, and especially interethnic/cross-cultural sharing between the Serbians and Romanians living in this area. In order to provide this contextualization this paper draws on the concept of positionality encompassing historical, geographical, political and cultural facets, and that identities can be multiple, shifting and situational. After setting the historical background for the Danube Gorge, it discusses local customs in this area especially those during the pre-Lenten carnival, Easter celebrations and the regular contemporary cultural events organized in these villages. The final detailed section contextualizes the contemporary dance practices in social settings where a local identity is portrayed versus the preference for performing Serbian dances as a way of representing Serbian identity in presentational contexts.

Keywords: Dance, interethnic-relations, Romanian Danube Gorge

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Introduction

Selena visited villages on the northern bank of the Danube river in Romania that have a Serbian population to undertake research on many occasions between 2010 and 2019. Her research focus was on the community dance practices and local customs and festivals, and interethnic/cross-cultural sharing between the Serbians and Romanians living in this area. This paper aims to contextualize Selena's research and publications within a wider framework. In order to provide this contextualization, it draws on the concept of positionality (Sheppard, 2002) and that identities can be multiple, shifting and situational (see Wilson & Hastings, 1998, p. 13).

Sheppard uses the concept of positionality "to describe how different entities are positioned with respect to one another in space and time" (Sheppard, 2002, p. 318), and in the case of the Danube Gorge villages we suggest that their positionality encompasses historical, geographical, political and cultural facets that are discussed below. These connections in the Danube Gorge are complex and subject (reason) dependent and can be seen most clearly within Selena's work in the Danube Gorge village of Svinița.

Sheppard suggests that positionality is first "a relational construct" where an agent (in this case the people living in a village) "depends on her or his position with respect to others as in network theory"; secondly this dependency gives rise to reciprocal "power relations" and thirdly "positionality is continually enacted in ways that both reproduce and challenge its preexisting configurations" (Sheppard, 2002, p. 318; see also Mellish, 2014, p. 17).

Culturally the Danube Gorge villages are situated in an interethnic zone of cultural interference, between the Romanian Banat Mountains, and southwestern Oltenia, and the eastern Serbia region of Timok across the Danube. People living in this area, although ascribing to a particular Serbian or Romanian ethnicity often adopt flexible situational identities (Barth, 1969, p. 10; Wilson & Hastings, 1998, p. 13) when it comes to taking part in customs and attending dance events (see Manos, 2003, p. 21).

For the people from Svinița, their concept of collective identity draws on their geographical location and historical past in the Danube Gorge, and their positionality is maintained politically via links with the surrounding villages and their local mayor, the county officials for Mehedinți county, and the Union of Serbs of Romania based in the regional capital of Timișoara. The positionality of the village is also placed within their friendship network with villages in the immediate vicinity, across the border within Serbia, and villages in other regions of Romania with which they have established twin village relationships.

Danube Gorge Villages – A Brief History, Involving Location, and Positionality

The river Danube passes through a narrow gorge where it forms the border between southwestern Romania and northeastern Serbia (known in Romania as *Clisura Dunării* and in Serbian as *Banatska* or *Đerdap Klisura*). The route along the gorge has been a thoroughfare since before the neolithic times (Dinu et al., 2007 Radovanovic, 1996, pp. 1–16; Tasić et al., 2011) and in more recent times a line of around thirty villages were established along the course of this route on the northern bank of the Danube, stretching from the flat lands to the west around Bela Crkva in present-day Serbia along the course of the river Nera that flows into the Danube then eastwards along the Danube to the town of Orșova (see Figure 1).



Figure 1. Map of Danube Gorge villages

From as far back as historical records exist these villages, along with villages in the foothills above the river, have been inhabited by a population of mixed ethnicities, Romanians, Serbians, and from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Germans and Czechs. Although there have been population movements over time, there are still active populations with Serbian ethnicity in the villages of Socol, Belobreșca, Radimna, Moldova Veche, Pojejena, Măcești, Liubcova and Svinița, with the latter being the most eastern of the villages whose inhabitants identify themselves as Serbians¹.

After the area was destroyed by the Ottoman army in 1738 the villages along the Danube were rebuilt. In 1764 after the Ottoman army finally withdrew from this area, Austria formed three border infantry regiments, each with 12 companies to control the military border (Marin, 2009, p. 20)². The western end of the Danube Gorge was occupied by the Illyrian (Serbian) border regiment and by 1774 the Wallachian-Illyrian border regiment controlled the area around the town of Orșova in the east and the villages between Orșova to Svinița (see Draskić, 1971, p. 9). In this period there were population movements into the area of Czechs, Germans, and the so-called “Bufeni” from Oltenia in southern Romania who were employed as forestry workers and in the mining industries.

The center of the fluvial border of the Austrian administration that was responsible for supervising the river traffic was situated in the village of Svinița (Svinița, 2013) until 1873 when the border regiments were dissolved. The river only became navigable in this part in 1830 and between 1837 and 1840 a tarmac road was constructed along the northern river bank (Draskić, 1971, p. 8) that linked the city of Orșova at the eastern end of the Gorge to the village of Baziaș situated close to the 1918 Romanian–Serbian border that was established following the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

In the years following the drawing of the borders a customs agreement was made between the Romanians and the Yugoslav authorities that encouraged cross-Danube trade and cooperation and the people living on both sides of the river regularly crossed it for both trading purposes and village celebrations, especially after 1937 when a “regular line of flat bottomed boats was established in several places in the Gorge” (Stanojlović, 1938, p. 27, 48; Rakočević, 2015a, p. 118). This cross-border cooperation continued after the World War II, especially during the planning and construction of the Iron Gates Dams and Hydroelectric power station in the 1960s and 1970s.

In 1970 the lower slopes of the Gorge were flooded during the making of the Iron Gate hydroelectric plant. This affected the villages on the eastern end of the Gorge. The old town of Orșova was submerged together with the island of Ada Kaleh, and eight other villages³. This resulted in around 23,000 people needing to be relocated (Varan & Crețan, 2018), either into newly built houses on a higher position on the shores of the gorge as in the case of Svinița, or moved into adjacent villages such as those from the village of Tisovița who were settled in Svinița (Rakočević, 2012, p. 249).

Prior to the flooding teams of researchers from both the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade and the Institute of Folklore in Bucharest visited the villages that were due to be flooded to undertake ‘rescue’ archaeological, ethnographical and sociological research⁴. The results of their research were published in the Romanian *Atlasul Complex Portile de Fier* [*The Iron Gates Complex Atlas*] (Milcu et al., 1972) and five articles in the Serbian journal *Zbornik radova* (Nedeljković, 1971). These publications provide interesting ethnographical snapshots of life in these villages before this major disruption in people’s lives. The Serbian team focused on the villages of Svinița and Liubcova with their Serbian populations whilst the Romanians investigated all the villages from Baziaș to Orșova, and the island of Ada Kaleh concentrating on the villages that were scheduled to be submerged when the dam was opened⁵. Hence the research of the two teams only overlapped in the villages of Liubcova and Svinița.

During the 40 years following the flooding the villages towards the eastern end of the Gorge and, particularly Svinița, became more isolated as during the 1980s all border crossings were tightly controlled. Also from the 1970s young people began to move to the towns, first for education at the high school in Orșova 40 km to the east of Svinița and later for university education or work in the large cities, especially Timișoara.

¹ In the Banat Gorge, there are the following villages, starting from the Nera river that flows south to the Danube, and along the Danube from west to east (Serbian names are brackets): Lescovița (Leskovic), Zlatica (Zlatica), Lugovet, Socol (Sokolovac), Baziaș (Bazijaš), Diviçi (Divič), Belobreșca (Belobreška), Radimna, Șușca (Suška), Pojejena (Srpska Požežena/Rumunska Požežena), Măcești (Mačević), Moldova Nouă (Nova Moldava), Moldova Veche (Stara Moldava), Coronini (Koronini), Sfânta Elena (Sveta Jelena), Gornea, Sichevița, Liubcova (Ljubkova), Berzasca (Brzaska), Drencova, Cozla, Svinița (Svinica), Eibenthal, Baia Nouă, Dubova, Eșelnița, Orșova.

² Between 1765 and 1768 three new Military Border subdivisions were formed: the Illyrian Border Regiment, the German Border Regiment and a Wallachian Battalion reinforced by later additions (Marin, 2009, p. 20). Draskić reported that “[t]here were 3,378 soldiers in the Wallachian-Illyrian battalion, who performed their military service in national dress and paid the land tax with benefits” (Draskić, 1971, p. 10).

³ Eight villages submerged: Tisovița, Ogradena, Pescari, Plavișevita, Coramnic, Jupalnic, Tufări, and Vărciorova.

⁴ “The immediate cause for the intensive archaeological research of the Iron Gates region from 1960, was the building of the first dam on the Danube River [...] It was therefore urgent to survey the banks of the Gorges and around Ključ and to organize rescue excavations in order to save as much archaeological material as possible in a rather short time. A number of archaeological teams from Yugoslavia took part in the research on the right bank, while teams from Romania worked on the left bank of the river” (Radovanović, 1996, p. 3).

⁵ According to Anca Giurchescu the villages researched by the Romanian team “Berzasca (1966), Dubova (1966), Eșelnița (1966, 1967), Ogradena (1966), Pescari (1966), Plavișevita (1966), and the island Ada Kaleh (1966, 1967), Coramnic (1967), Hovița (1967), Jupalnic (1967), Liubcova (1967), Sichevița (1967), Svinița (1967), Tufări (1967), and Vărciorova (1967)” (Giurchescu, 2015, p. 24).

This period was also marked by the absence of any ethnographic research into this area by either Romanian or Serbian ethnographers, until around 2010 when the Serbian researchers became interested in exploring the music and dance practices along the Gorge, and a few years later teams of researchers from Romania and Vienna interested in food and linguistic identifiers also visited these villages.

By 2010 the new road built along the north bank of the Danube after the flooding was almost impassible due to regular rock falls. Around 2016 it was rebuilt but although the area is becoming developed for tourism with the construction of many new pensions along the banks of the Danube, travel is still subject to temporary interruptions due to new rock falls, the most recent in January 2023 which has resulted in the road being closed for at least six weeks while the necessary work is undertaken to stabilize the rock faces (Szendrei, 2023).

Selena's Research among the Serbians Living in the Danube Gorge

Selena first visited this area in 2010 and made regular trips until 2019 especially to the villages of Moldova Veche (situated on the banks of the Danube towards the western end of this area) and the village of Svinița, together with colleagues from various institutes of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, and some of her students from the Faculty of Music in Belgrade. Between 2011 and 2015 her research was funded by the Serbian Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development under the project *Musical and Dance Tradition of the Multiethnic and Multicultural Serbia* and later (2017) by the Union of Serbs in Romania (Rakočević, 2018, p. 294).

Selena's main aim was "observing and documenting contemporary dance and music practice during contemporary cultural events" and during these research trips her work included "participatory observation of village celebrations and evening dance events, which are called *balls* by local Romanians (Serbian: *bal* or *igranka*)" (Rakočević, 2013). She recorded extensive video footage of the dancing and musicians, and made informal and formal interviews of the dancers and musicians:

In addition to recording previous forms of traditional music and dance, I was very much interested in both the Romanian and the Serbian contemporary musical and dance practice of this border region and I was impressed by its vitality and variety. Opportunities for dancing in all the villages in the Danube Gorge are still very common and frequented. Dance events [...] which involve a large number of people are village and church holidays (Romanian: *ruga*; Serbian: *slava*), but also other traditional celebrations linked with the Orthodox Christian calendar. (Rakočević, 2015a, p. 120)

The many papers she wrote based on this research covered topics including: *Dancing in the Danube Gorge: Geography, Dance and Interethnic Perspectives* (Rakočević, 2015a), *Dance Practice Specifically in the Village of Svinița* (Rakočević, 2012), *Dance, Place, and Cross-cultural Exchange Dance Practice of Village Svinica (Romania)* (Rakočević, 2014a), *Interpreting Culturality: Dance Practice of Svinița Village* (Rakočević, 2014b), *Field Research of the Easter Balls in Svinița: Challenges of Dance/Music Experience and Ethnography* (Rakočević, 2015b), *Writing Movements and Music: Hora de Pomană in Ethnochoreological/Ethnomusicological Narrative* (Rakočević, 2015c), *Igra za Bog da Prost: Interethnic, Genealogical and Semantic Aspects of Dedicating the Dance to the Dead in the Village of Svinița* (Rakočević, 2017), and *Dance in Contemporary Carnival Events in this Area: Socio-political Implications of Dance and Dance Movements in Contemporary Carnival Events* (Rakočević, 2020).

Her intention was to write a book on the dances of the Serbian people living in the villages along the Gorge as this has not been covered in other Serbian publications but this remained an uncompleted work.

Occasions for Dancing during Customs and Festivals and in the Danube Gorge Villages

Many parallels can be found in calendrical and lifecycles customs practices in villages on both sides of the Danube, from Bela Crkva to the eastern end of the shared border between Romania and Bulgaria, which indicates that the people's movements across the river were a regular occurrence in the past rather than the river forming an insurmountable boundary.

The 1938 monograph of the Gorge mentions that people crossed the Danube in boats to take part in village celebrations (Stanojlović, 1938, p. 48) and later especially during the later years of the communist period, when border crossings were closed, people living along the Gorge in Romania were still able to access Yugoslav television and radio. Even nowadays the internet signal is much stronger from the Serbian side so in order to avoid high roaming charges it is essential to turn off roaming unless one has a Serbian mobile.

Kostić commented in his 1971 paper that "[t]he annual customs of the Serbian population in the villages of Svinica and Lupkova [...] are slightly different from the customs in the Yugoslav Banat, eastern and southern Serbia" (1971, p. 71). He, and the Romanian researchers from this time, also draw attention to distinct differences between the customs in these two villages, which reinforces the histories of these two villages as being different from each other despite

being situated only 30 km apart. The majority of these customs do not form the subject of this paper which focuses on Selena's research. However, it is worth noting that the people from Liubcova and those from Svinița practice a different bundle of calendrical and life cycle customs that can be linked to different populations elsewhere more than to each other.

Svinița customs include those linked to shepherding – measuring the milk in spring and taking the sheep up to the higher pastures, making sacred breads, and consecrated water, for example, before the World War II in Svinița at Epiphany the priest went down to the Danube and threw a cross into the water and the young men present would jump into the river to take it out (Kostić, 1971, p. 77). This custom is widespread in Serbia, southern Romanian and northern Bulgaria along the Danube, but is not found in Liubcova or other Danube Gorge villages with the exception of Moldova Nouă (Afronie, 2017).

Fărșang (carnival) is celebrated at the commencement of Easter Lent in Liubcova but Kostić confirmed that there was no recollection of this taking place in Svinița (1971, p. 78). He mentions that the only pre-Lenten custom practiced in Svinița was called the “Tudor horse” (*Tudor konj*) or *Marca Konjata* (Kostić, 1971, p. 79; see also Giurchescu, 2015, p. 42). This custom appears to link with Todorovden celebrated in northern Bulgarian villages along the Danube (see Todorova, 2021). Also Giurchescu (2015, p. 38–39) comments that the existence of the custom, *hora de pomană* in Svinița, a Serbian village (but not in Liubcova) is unusual as elsewhere it is only found in non-Slavic speaking communities including other villages in Romanian Banat, southern Oltenia and across the Danube with the Vlach populations in northeast Serbia and northern Bulgaria (see Mellish & Green, 2022).

***Fărșang* (Carnival) in Danube Gorge Villages**

Many villages in the Banat region annually celebrate the end of winter and the coming of spring at Lent, the commencement of the pre-Easter fasting period, with carnivalesque events mostly known as *fărșang* (spelt in various ways) the name coming from German⁶. These celebrations can be informal local (somewhat disorganized) events, or organized events funded by local village councils (Mellish & Green, 2020, p. 132). Kostić gives a description of carnival (*Fărșang*) in Liubcova around 1970:

In Ljupkova in Bela Nedelja from Monday to Wednesday, which is called ‘dlepeljiva’, there are ‘fasanges’. [...] It is a masked procession, the participants of which are also called ‘Turks’. They disguise themselves by smearing their faces with black paint and wearing masks — ‘lorfas’ made of paper and leather with beards and mustaches, made of wool. In addition, they wear fur coats turned upside down and are girded with clappers. They hold crooked sticks in their hands – ‘crosses’. ‘Fashangas’ go around the village, singing and having fun. In the procession, two men disguised as a bride and a groom go with musicians, as in a real wedding. On Wednesday, they bury one of the dead, which corresponds to the burial of the dead in other parts of our country. [...] The ‘dead man’ is placed on a ‘nooila’ or cart followed by the priest, [...] and the entire funeral procession. In those songs, the sexual theme predominates, and it is related to the cult of fertility. The procession goes to the cemetery where the dead person is symbolically buried. (Kostić, 1971, p. 78)

In recent years along the Danube Gorge carnivalesque events regularly take place in the villages of Liubcova, Coronini, Măcești, Socol, Moldova Veche, and the town of Moldova Nouă, organized by both the Romanian and Serbian communities⁷. During the daytime “disorganized masked characters roam around villages, in informal processions calling at houses and making rowdy noise in the streets, especially at crossroads. The participants can be dressed as participants in a mock (inverted) wedding or a mock funeral in which case they usually carry a ‘hearse’ containing a ‘corpse’ known as the *Fășangul* that can be either a dummy or a living person dressed up in ‘suitable’ clothes. The participants wear a wide range of masks portraying a range of ‘dodgy’ characters” (see Mellish & Green, 2020, p. 135).

The biggest events are held in the town of Moldova Nouă where the town hall continues to fund *fărșang* celebrations annually on the Sunday prior to the commencement of Lent. In this case for some years the previously week-long events are condensed into one afternoon when two processions take place representing a mock wedding and a mock funeral, that finally meet in the central park where dancing accompanied by live music takes place (see Mellish & Green, 2020, p. 137).

⁶ German sources date the word back to the 13th century, and give its derivation as from the word *fastenschank* which means “the last serving of alcoholic beverages before Lent” (The German Way and More, 2018).

⁷ Folea in his 2007 article on *Interculturalitate around Moldova Nouă* explains the differences between the Romanian and Serbian *Fărșang* celebrations in that the Romanian celebrations take place on Sunday, Monday and Tuesday, and the Serbian on Monday, Tuesday and the following Saturday, although he comments that “[d]uring this festival (*carnavalul mastilor*) one does not know who is under the mask: Romanian, Serbian or Gypsy, and as they are together at the ball that ends the event” (2007, p. 5). News items on *Fărșang* in Măcești and Liubcova in 2019 report that on the morning of the first day of *Fărșang* groups of masked characters go from house to house in the villages, where they recite ironic poems appropriately created for their hosts (Neagu, 2019a). “Another group goes to the main road and where they stop cars and dance and demand money from the drivers” and on the final day of *Fărșang* in the evening a ball is held at which they consume the food and drink collected during the house to house visits” (Neagu, 2019b). Note both reports include links to excellent video footage.

Events change over time and are dependent on the provision of funding. In the smaller adjacent village of Moldova Veche (Stara Moldova) that has a core Serbian population Selena records that “[d]aily processions in this village were organized in 2011 for the last time (on Clean Monday), while evening balls still happen on Clean Monday and/or Saturday” (Rakočević, 2020, p. 131).

The majority of *fărșang* events finish with an evening masked *bal* that is held in the local village hall (*camin cultural*) or school. These indoor events are attended by all generations of locals, with mostly children and young people wearing masks that represent zoomorphic creatures, the ugly and the beautiful or topical characters. In some cases the masked people form a small group who act out a playlet characteristic of the masked characters they are portraying. Prizes are awarded for the best mask or group of masks. In villages that continue the daytime tradition of processions through the village the masked characters end up at the *bal* and are the main participants in the dancing (unlike at balls held at other times of the year when the majority of those present join in the dancing).

Selena attended the evening *fărșang* balls in Moldova Veche (Stara Moldova) on several occasions, and wrote about her observations of *The Role and Semantics of Dance and Dance Movements of Masked Participants* during these events (see Rakočević, 2015a; Rakočević, 2020)⁸. She recorded that in 2011:

The evening celebration included a local show which consisted of sequences of various cabaret-style, stage performances and the masked ball. The stage performances, mostly folk dance choreographies and funny sketches, but also vocal, instrumental, and modern dance pieces, were prepared by the local youngsters [...] both local Romanians and Serbians” (Rakočević, 2015a, p. 121) and during the masked ball the dances include “various dance practices, which belong both to the contemporary Romanian and Serbian round-chain dance practice [...] which demonstrated that the contemporary dance practice of the Danube Gorge is complex and hybrid in itself. (Rakočević, 2015a, p. 125)

Positionality of Svinița in the 21st Century

The village of Svinița was first mentioned in documents in 1437 which recorded the existence of the citadel Cetatea Trikule (Pro-Mehedinți, 2013, p. 4). Svinița, according to Stanojlović in his monograph of the Banat Clisura (Danube Gorge), was (re-)settled in 1735 (1938, p. 112) and developed into a border center under the Austrian administration to supervise the fluvial traffic. The village monograph notes that the population of the village since its foundation was recorded in the 1930 census as being over 90% Serbian (Pro-Mehedinți, 2013, p. 5). Until the 1960s marriages mostly took place between the villagers, with Pantelić reporting in 1971 that marriages with Romanians from neighboring villages had recently become more common (1971, p. 51).

The village of Svinița has several cultural markers that draw outsiders’ interest; as a village with a majority population of Serbian ethnicity situated within Romania it is of interest to both researchers from Serbia as a ‘minority’ village within the border of Romania, and those from Romanian in respect of its minority position. Secondly, the origins of the old Slavic dialect of Serbian spoken in Svinița has been explored by several generations of academics including in 2016 the VLACH vanishing language group based in Vienna⁹. Thirdly, the local produce and cuisine that has a combination of Serbian and Romanian influences, interests academic groups researching food and cuisine (including the FOODie group with academics based in Bucharest and Timișoara) and, also the local production of figs and the annual fig festival draws an interested audience of tourists to the village. Finally networking by the local mayor has led to Svinița being twinned with a long list of villages along the Gorge, and from other parts of Romania, Serbia and Macedonia¹⁰.

According to the village website Svinița is “a Serbian center isolated in a network of Romanian villages on the banks of the Danube, not integrated into a certain ethnographic zone of populations of that origin” (Svinița, 2013). This statement gives insight into the interest of the Belgrade researchers in Svinița culture because “the villagers maintain cultural practices that are not found in other communities with Serbian identity” (Mellish, 2014, p. 24) and Selena’s aim to “explore relationships between the specific geographical position of the village of Svinica in Romania and the dance practice of its inhabitants and to look at issues of cross-cultural exchange in the village” (Rakočević, 2014a).

Easter Customs in Svinița

At Easter 2013 Selena organized a fieldwork trip for the members of the Sub-Study Group on Field Research Theory and Methods of the ICTM Ethnochoreology group to observe Easter customs in Svinița. The call for participation listed the main aims of the fieldwork as:

⁸ In a different article Selena also wrote about the masked ball in the village of Grebenac situated on the Banat plain in Serbia that has a Romanian minority (Rakočević, 2016). She refers to the work of Naumović when she mentions that the “inhabitants of Grebenac maintain the *fărșang* ritual as a means of strengthening their own cohesion and unity, but at the same time for gaining higher visibility and better positioning in the surrounding society” (Rakočević, 2020, p. 124) this statement also being valid for the *fărșang* celebrations in the Danube Gorge.

⁹ For more information about the community, see <https://www.oeaw.ac.at/vlach/>.

¹⁰ Dražina in Prahova country, Stei in Hunedoara country and Armeniș in Caraș-Severin county.

- Observing and documenting the custom of dedicating a dance to the dead,
- Observing and documenting contemporary dance practice,
- Revealing and exploring different ethnic perspectives both of the performers (insiders) and researchers (outsiders) considering the customary practices. (Giurchescu, 2015, p. 25).

The group attended the Easter Orthodox service in the village church and took part in a procession from the church to a shrine in the lower part of the village and the village graveyard where the priest blessed the family graves. They joined a local family for a custom of pouring water in remembrance of a deceased relative, and took part in a competition for breaking colored eggs, and recorded and participated in dancing during the evening balls held on Sunday and Monday evenings (Rakočević & Mellish, 2015a, pp. 9–10).

On the Monday evening (2nd day of Easter) at the start of the evening *bal*, the mayor organized a *joc de pomană*¹¹ in memory of his deceased parents. A *joc* or *hora de pomană* is the custom of dedicating a dance in remembrance of a deceased relative that usually takes place during a community cultural event. In Svinița it can take place on the second day of Easter or at *Rusalii* on the occasion of the local church Saint's Day.

Following this trip Selena published the edited book *Dance, Field Research and Intercultural Perspectives: The Easter Customs in the Village of Svinița* (Rakočević & Mellish, 2015b) in which the participants wrote about their perspectives on the shared experiences during the short period they stayed in the village.

The participants (see Figure 2) in this fieldwork included Anca Giurchescu, doyenne of Romanians ethnochoreology and in her mid-80s at the time. This was Anca's first visit to the area of the Danube Gorge since 1966–1967 when she was one of the team of researchers from the Institute of Folklore in Bucharest, who undertook rescue ethnographic research prior to the building of the Iron Gates dam and the flooding of the villages situated below the level of the new water course. Her chapter in the book included her reflections on her previous time in the Gorge:

In my memories, Svinița (that together with Liubcova were considered Serbian villages) comprised only two streets aligned along the Danube (about 2–3 km). From the top of the hill the cemetery dominated the village reminding people of their transient existence. Close to the water there were gardens and fields: Everybody had a (low) garden near the Danube and a *colibă* (cottage) up in the mountains. [...] [T]he new houses were built on the hill and therefore, the old cemetery that once was above is now placed below the village. In spite of being rather new the village, escaping standardization, preserved its character. Clean and well-kept each house has its own "soul" in combining tradition with novelty. (Giurchescu, 2015, p. 24)



Figure 2. Easter 2013: Participants in Svinița fieldwork

¹¹ In Svinița this custom is known as *joc de pomană* whereas elsewhere it is more often called *hora de pomană*. Giurchescu explains that the term "*joc de pomană*" is mainly found in southern Banat. This may be connected to the fact that in Banat the Sunday dance was referred to as *jocul satului* rather than *hora satului*" (Mellish, 2015, p. 71).

Festivals in Svinița

Similar to all the villages along the Gorge and in the rest of Romania, Svinița has an annual calendar of funded festivals that draw outsiders' attention to the village. These are linked to local customs, the church calendar, or more recently established festivals, such as ethnicities or food festivals.

The main annual festivals in Svinița are:

- *Rusalii* (50 days after Orthodox Easter) including the 'Festival of the twinned villages' (*Festivalul înfrățirii*) and the 'Day of Svinița' (*Zilele comunei Svinița*),
- 'Festival of the Danube villages' (*Festivalul Satelor Dunărene*) in mid-July,
- 'Fig festival' (*Festivlual smochilor*) on the last weekend in August.

Selena first visited Svinița in 2011 for the annual 'Fig festival', returning twice in 2012, at *Rusalii* and for a wedding in September, in 2013 at Easter, in 2016 at *Rusalii* when she presented the book that resulted from 2013 fieldwork and again in September, in August 2017 and a final visit in July 2019 for the Danube villages festival. During all her visits to the village she was greeted with respect by the locals because of her interest in the village and her academic position in Serbia.

The 'Fig festival' is the most prominent festival in the Svinița calendar. Fig trees were planted in Svinița during Ottoman times (Sălceanu & Curici, 2012, p. 302) and the local micro-climate is considered responsible for their special quality. Locals make the figs into preserves, jam, brandy (*rachia*) or wine ready for the 'Fig festival' when the local produce is displayed and prizes are awarded for the best products. The program for the day includes a costume parade in the afternoon followed by a short performance by the Svinița ensemble Dunav, and invited dance groups from the Serbian villages in the Danube Gorge and other locations in Romania. This is followed by an evening ball during which both locals and the members of the visiting ensembles join in with the dancing (Rakočević, 2012, p. 251).

Rusalii weekend (50 days after Orthodox Easter) incorporates several celebrations in Svinița. On the Saturday the 'Festival of the twinned villages' (*festivalul înfrățirii*) takes place (2019 was the 10th edition). This event includes sports contests, a costume parade, dance performances by the participating groups and an evening *bal* accompanied by musicians from Romania and Serbia. Delegations including sports teams and dance groups from villages that have formed a friendship bond with Svinița are invited to take part. This usually includes those from the Danube Gorge, Serbia and the twinned villages of Drajna (Prahova country) and Stei (Hunedoara country).

The following day, *Rusalii* Sunday is the annual celebration for the village saint. In Banat this day is usually referred to as *ruga* or *nedeia* or as in Svinița is known as the day of the village *Zilele comunei Svinița*. In the morning a church service is held to honor the village saint after which local families return home for a celebratory meal. In the evening the locals gather in the school playground and awards are given to members of the community who have made a special contribution during the past year. In 2016 this formal part of the evening included the presentation of the book *Dance, Field Research and Intercultural Perspectives: The Easter Customs in the Village of Svinița* (Rakočević & Mellish, 2015b). This was followed by a performance by the local children's school groups and ensemble Dunav. The day closed with fireworks on the bank of the river and a *bal* with local musicians that lasts until the morning.

The 'Festival of the Danube villages' (*Festivalul satelor Dunărene*) is held annually in mid-July and is the longest-running festival in Svinița reaching its 41st edition in 2019 the occasion of Selena's last visit to Svinița. The program for the day includes sports competitions, a communal meal, a costume parade and a performance by local Serbian and Romanian dance groups from the Danube Gorge villages followed by an evening *bal* (Pro-Mehedinți, 2013, p. 11).

Community Dances in the Danube Gorge

The focus of Selena's work was recording and studying the community dance repertoire of the Danube Gorge villages and mainly those with Serbian populations. In 2013, during the ICTM Ethnochoreology Sub-Study Group visit to Svinița, her research perspectives on the Serbian Banat traditions were juxtaposed with the authors' work on the Romanian Banat traditions and Anca Giurchescu's decades of research in Romania and especially her early 1970s research in the lower Gorge villages. In 1972 Anca Giurchescu recorded that:

The existing repertoire of dances in the Iron Gates Zone, especially in its old substrata, shows a series of characteristics which are within the framework of the choreography specific for the Danube zone. Over time, a strong influence has been exercised on the structure of this repertoire, as well as on the local dances, from the zone of Caransebeș. (1972, p. 246)

She follows with a description specific to the Serbian villages:

In the (Danube Gorge) localities with a population of Serbian origin (Svinița and Liubcova), a number of Serbian dances that are done with

some stylistic variation co-exist beside the repertoire of Romanian dances. Among these, the dances belonging to the older local fund are in the course of disappearing. They were replaced by Serbian dances with a wider circulation, practiced especially by the younger generation. (1972, p. 246)

At Easter 2013, when it came to the evening ball the authors found that “the melodies played were familiar tunes from the Banat mountain zone. The dances were only slightly different from the repertoire from nearby villages, and many of the songs were the latest favorites from the well-known Timișoara singers” (Mellish & Green, 2015, p. 10). The aim of the authors, as ethnochoreologists was to unravel the history of the community dancing in the Danube Gorge in terms of borrowings, acknowledged ethnic attribution, and performance of ethnicity in the localities. In the case of Svinița, as Selena observed the local dancing can be termed as interethnic:

However, even though the multiethnic character is kept within the official narrative about the Gorge, the communal dancing of its inhabitants clearly showed the opposite: that the notions of their ethnic identities are suppressed in the favor of their interethnic permeation. (Rakočević, 2015a, p. 126)

When observing the currently popular dances during the community events, Rakočević reports that at the Moldova Veche (Stara Moldava) masked ball the dance cycle was *șota*, *vlaško kolo* (also known as *četvorka*), *șestica* which is also known as *moravac*, *žikino kolo* and *užičko kolo*, then prior to the masks contest, the Romanian dance *brâul* and finally the last dance was named by the musicians simply as *kolo* (Rakočević, 2015a, p. 125). Until 20 years ago, in Măcești (Mačevic) the first dance was most often *žikino kolo* followed by *sitno kolo*, then a *mađarac*, and, it was recorded in Moldova Veche that they started with a *mađarac* (Rakočević, 2018, p. 296).

In 2013 at our joint fieldwork experience in Svinița (also observed at events in the following years in Svinița) the sequence of dances started with *brâul* (which was the case for both the *joc de pomană* custom and the community balls) followed by *žikino kolo*, *četvorak*, *ardeleana*, *învârtita* and *de doi* (Rakočević, 2017, p. 1269).

Giurchescu's research (1972) only included two villages of predominantly Serbian ethnicity, Liubcova and Svinița. In this work she records the dances *hora*, *brâul* and *sârba* of the old strata dance cycle as the dances within community customs at all the locations. The newer dance cycle of Banat Romanian couple dances *ardeleana*, *de doi* and *învârtita* was not completely adopted by the early 1970s, and the integration of the two cycles into *brâul*, *ardeleana* and *de doi* which is now the norm was only starting to happen.

This follows a theme of popular dances being borrowed or adopted into the local community repertoire. In 1972 Giurchescu listed various dances all of which are linked to neighboring regions that were fading from popularity, and these are now not included in community dancing: *poșovaica* and *tandăra* from Banat; *ropota*, *rustemul*, and the new strata *bordeiul* mostly likely from Oltenia; *tudorka* and *bătuta* most likely linked to the Vlach of northeast Serbia and *durdevka* from the Serbian repertoire.

Selena mentions *moravac*, or *șestica*, as the Banat dance to this popular Serbian melody, arrived in the Danube Gorge villages in the decades after the World War II (Rakočević, 2018, p. 300) and that *malo kolo* and *mađarac* from the wider Serbian Banat repertoire have been fading from practice during the last twenty years (Rakočević, 2018, p. 299). This theme of adopting dances from the Serbian repertoire includes most recently the Kosovo Albanian dance *shota* which gained great popularity in Serbia in the 1970s but only crossed the border in to Romania in the 1990s (Rakočević, 2012, p. 256) and continues to gain popularity among the Romanian population.

Žikino kolo was adopted among the Serbs in Banat and the Danube Gorge after the World War I (Rakočević, 2015a, p. 124). Although this dance is linked to the area of central Serbia (Rakočević, 2017, p. 11) by the form typical for *kolo u tri*, interestingly *žikino kolo* in the Danube Gorge conforms to the local step pattern structure in common with the local *hora* and *brâul* (Green, 2015, p. 130) and their local *kolo*, but not the *kolo u tri* pattern.

This reveals a possible old strata dance structure from the older practices in the wider area. The same step pattern construction (1101 in Leibman notation of step weight changes (Leibman, 1992)) is nearly universal in the locally specific dances from Pădureni (Hunedoara regions of Transylvania) south through the Banat mountains to the Vlach of north east Serbia (see also Giurchescu, 2015, p. 33–37) specifically in this region the old strata dances *hora* and *brâul* plus the local version of *žikino kolo*, and the fast couple dance *de doi* and *četvorka*. The later, *četvorka*, is an interesting adoption, that can be attributed to the Vlachs of northeast Serbia through the local popular title of *vlaško kolo* and as the musicians call it *walachian kolo*. Structurally and functionally this dance has the same place in the Vlach community as *hora* or *brâul*, yet it was not danced on the north side of the Danube until the 1990s when it was probably adopted in Svinița (Rakočević, 2015a, p. 123). More recently there is another variant of this dance popular with the youth in the Danube Gorge.

The inclusion of this regional dance structure into the dance practices in the Serbian communities might also be recorded in the past repertoire that Rakočević discovered during interviews in Serbian. In Svinița older informants talk

of a dance *sitnana* (Rakočević, 2017, p. 6, 10) that was danced before the 1990s in place of the current dance named *brâul* which is actually a Svinița specific structural variant of the typical Romanian *brâul*, whereas the reconstructed *sitnana* is identical in dance and melodies to old-style Romanian *brâul* (Luchin, 2021, p. 14). Similarly during the second half of the 20th century in Moldova Veche the dance *vlaško moldavsko kolo* (also called *staro kolo*) was practiced in Moldova Veche, this dance being identical to a symmetric version of *brâul*, but is no longer performed (Rakočević, 2018, p. 303). Beyond the Gorge, in wider Banat communities, their version of *kolo* to Serbian melodies follows the same structural pattern, as do the Romanian *hora* and the Vlach *hora*. Our interpretation of this analysis is that the repertoire of dances done by the people in the Danube Gorge villages and surrounding regions during their social gatherings reveals a mixed repertoire with a basis that cannot be categorized as Serbian or Romanian. It is a specific local repertoire that belongs to what the Romanian ethnographers term as an ‘interference zone’.

Presentational Dance

On the first evening in Svinița at Easter 2013 the researchers attended a presentational performance by the village ensemble Dunav who performed several choreographies from Serbia. They proudly discussed their participation in festivals in Romania and in Serbia with the researchers saying that they preferred to dance the Serbian choreographies, although they included local dances in their repertoire (see Mellish, 2014, p. 22).

In a recent paper on the *Politics of Representation, Identity and Minorities as Portrayed through Local Dance in the Banat Region* (Mellish & Green, 2021, p. 183) the authors observe that during the various cultural events, local and international festivals in which the various ethnicities participate they (the group leaders) chose the material to perform based on three parameters “the representation that the dancing is portraying, the context in which the dancing takes place, and the adaption of the dancing to the context” (Mellish & Green, 2021, p. 181). In the case of ensemble Dunav from Svinița by performing suites of dances from Serbia they set themselves aside as ‘different’ when participating in festivals and events within Romania (including their own festivals) as they represent one of the co-located ethnicities. Conversely, when they travel to festivals in Serbia by performing Serbian dances, they are demonstrating inclusiveness with their Serbian ‘brothers’. In their case their leaders choose to represent their Serbian ethnicity as the collective identity they perform in the context of presentational performances as they deem that this is the most appropriate and will give them access to wider opportunities for participation (see Mellish & Green, 2021, p. 183).

As Selena comments, although the same dynamic and fluid situation is seen with both the Romanian and Serbian dance practices over the past century, in performances on stage they are markers of ethnicity:

Although the dance practice of the Serbs in the Danube Gorge must be seen as changing, dynamic and fluid, within the heterogeneous repertoire it is possible to single out dances that in the past represented the ethnic marker of the Serbs in this area, and which even today the performers consider the identification basis of their own cultural identity. (Rakočević, 2018, p. 303)

However, conversely as Anca commented, when dancing socially at community events in Svinița:

Almost all young people (including the dancers of Dunav) took part with great enthusiasm and an impressive energy at the village *joc*, demonstrating that the current dances of the traditional repertoire are still an integral part of the youth dance culture. It has to be stressed that as long as the local dance repertoire is practiced by the young generation in the existent social contexts, the traditional dance culture is still alive and has a chance to survive. The survival of dancing as a social practice is due to its capacity of transformation and adaptation to new and constant changeable circumstances and aesthetic norms due to the impact of globalization. (Giurchescu, 2015, p. 29)

Conclusion

Selena visited the Danube Gorge many times and wrote extensively on her research in papers published both within Serbia and internationally. She wrote in total almost 20 papers in the period between 2012 to 2020 that provided detailed descriptions of the customs and dances done at community events together with discussions on interethnic relations, cross-cultural exchange interpretations of culturality, geography and place. Her work gives a reflection on the historical, geographical, political and cultural facets of the positionality of the Danube Gorge villages and their dances. This reveals how the people from these villages adopt flexible local identities that can be multiple, shifting and situational that are, in the case of Svinița, based on the notion that their ancestry is ‘different’ from the inhabitants of the surrounding area (see also Mellish, 2014, p. 24), even though it is clear that their customs, music and dance practices have continued to exchange and merge with cultural practices of the surroundings.

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The Vocal-Instrumental Dance Form *Gara*: Vital Manifestation of Dance Genre *Kolo u Tri* within the Wedding Ritual in Serbia*

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* This paper is a revised version of my student paper written in 2016 under the mentorship of Selena Rakočević at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade (Nikolić, 2016), updated as a result of the project bilateral cooperation *Exploring the Tracks of Balkan Culture: Serbian–Turkish Connections in Music and Dance from Ottoman Period until Today (TRackeRS)* which Selena was a member initially. The project is supported by the Ministry of Science, Innovation and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia and the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Türkiye TÜBİTAK (2022–2024). This work is my last written narrative touched by the sharp thought and warm words of my dearest mentor, Selena Rakočević (1971–2022), just before her departure to the heavenly realm. Her wish was to publish it.

ABSTRACT

Kolo u tri is a dance genre characterized by a lateral symmetric eight-measure dance pattern movement and its four-measure phrase in the dichotomous organization. The appearance of this genre is recognized through numerous names, melodies, and sometimes specific kinetic contents (the most famous are *moravac*, *užičko kolo*, *Žikino kolo*). One of the manifestations of the dance genre *kolo u tri* is also a vocal-instrumental dance form – *gara* (pl.: *gare*). *Gara* includes simultaneous singing of improvisatory lyrics by the singer, instrumental accompaniment by an orchestra, and kinetic performance of an eight-measure dance pattern which are standard features that belong to the genre *kolo u tri*. Based on empirical information documented at the wedding ritual in the village Stajićevo (Banat area, North Serbia) in 2016, this paper will illustrate and define the essential structural-formal features from a dance perspective. Moreover, the paper will do a poetic and musical analysis to show all characteristics of this syncretic form composed of words, music, and movements.

Keywords: *Gara*, *kolo u tri*, Banat area

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Introduction

Kolo u tri is a concept that is often the subject of discussion, reflection, and conceptual transformation in Serbian ethnochoreology. Ethnochoreology was established as a scholarly discipline within the university context in Serbia by Olivera Vasić (Rakočević, 2015b, p. 35), who defined the *kolo u tri* as a concept of dances with identical formal and structural features or similar kinetic content in 1984 (Vasić, 1984; Vasić, 2002). This initial conceptualization has transformed from a group of specific dance forms of similar content to an independent dance type or dance form. One of the recent theoretical explanations applied in this paper comes from a doctoral dissertation by the Serbian ethnomusicologist and ethnochoreologist Zdravko Ranisavljević (Ranisavljević, 2022). Ranisavljević defines *kolo u tri* as a dance genre characterized by a laterally symmetrical eight-measure structure of movement pattern. The eight-measure includes the four-measure phrases in a dichotomous organization (Ranisavljević, 2022, p. 21). The manifestations of this dance genre are realized through a plethora of different names, melodies, and sometimes kinetic content.

The vitality of the integral dance genre *kolo u tri*, with a focus on some of its most widespread forms of appearance (*moravac*, *užičko kolo*, *Žikino kolo*, *kukunješte*), resulted in the inclusion of the *kolo* on the UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2017 (*kolo*, traditional folk dance, 2017; Rakočević & Ranisavljević, 2018; Ranisavljević, 2022, p.1). The sustainability of this dance form, as one of the key criteria of this feat, is seen in the lesser-known example of the appearance of the *kolo u tri* genre, which is according to my interpretation the vocal-instrumental dance form *gara*. The *gara* includes the simultaneous singing of verses by an engaged singer, instrumental accompaniment of an orchestra, and kinetic performance of an eight-measure pattern that, according to its formal and structural characteristics, belongs only to the dance genre *kolo u tri*.

Critical interpretation of the *gara* syncretic form is grounded in the empirical knowledge acquired during the fieldwork on the wedding ritual at the village Stajićevo in North Serbia (Banat region) in 2016¹. Until now, the syncretic form *gara* has been mentioned very little, and only in the academic and scientific domain mainly by ethnomusicologists from Bosnia and Herzegovina considered as *gara*'s origin territory (see Panić Kašanski, 2012; Vučićević, 2016; Pandurević, 2017; Guja, 2017). However, the form of *gara* in the Banat area has not been studied in the ethnomusicological and ethnochoreological literature in Serbia. Thus, this paper used information documented during field research to analytically examine and define *gara* as a vocal-instrumental dance form. The main goal of the work was to show and outline the essential structural-formal peculiarities of the dance component of the *gara*, such as briefly illustrating the poetic and melodic components. The relationship between music and dance is verbally presented with the prior auditory observation of recordings. By comparing the selected samples, the work explored the peculiarities that the specific syncretism of words, melody, and movement brought to the widely represented dance genre *kolo u tri*. However, the focus on the dance component was due to the general focus on this form's musical and poetic components. At the same time, the kinetic perspective was neglected and taken for granted.

Brief Review of the *Gara*'s Development

Vocal-instrumental dance form *gara* developed in the second half of the 20th century (the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s) in the Sarajevo-Romanija region (Bosnia and Herzegovina). The *gara* was an essential segment of the musical repertoire of the participatory practice of this area (Vučićević, 2016, p. 435)². Ethnomusicological scope mainly considers the *gara* as a musical genre, only associating it with the Sarajevo-Romanija region and North-eastern Bosnia. However, with modern communication, it is now recognized as extremely popular in a wider geographical area (Pandurević, 2017, p. 110). By the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, the *gara* significantly expanded to other parts of the Republic of Srpska (see distribution map in Vučićević, 2016, p. 436, figure 1).

The media visibility and popularization of *gara* by certain performers (Zoran Kulin, Žare and Goci band, and others) significantly expanded its scope of distribution at the beginning of the 21st century. In addition, the media wave caused the popularization of *gara* in Banat, where immigrants from the Sarajevo-Romanija region settled during the 20th century. Because of this, *gara* became the leading cultural text performed at various types of festivities such as weddings, 18th birthday celebrations, and baptisms (Đubić, 2016, p. 1). Nowadays, it is a widespread and popular genre, mostly considered as a musical genre only, due to its strong lyric recognition. Therefore, it appears at social events, celebrations and parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia³.

¹ Selena Rakočević (2015a) defined a wedding as the unity of two separated rituals: the sacral/secular act of marriage and the celebration ritual.

² The ethnomusicologist Sofija Vučićević pointed out that this form was performed often in the pre-war period (in the 1980s) as part of various types of festivities (2016, p. 435).

³ The available video recording on the YouTube platform shows the usual atmosphere and contexts of *gara* performance (see Zeljko HD, 2020).

Methodological Frame – From Collecting to Analyzing

The initial point for interpreting the *gara* was the empirical data collected during fieldwork in 2016. The fieldwork included the methodologies of a structured interview with the singer Đurađ Ćubić⁴, informal interviews with wedding guests, filming, and observation of the wedding ritual (the act of marriage and celebration). Video recordings were crucial for answering the settled goals⁵. Firstly, the researcher carefully observed the flow of the event, music and dance patterns; while secondly, notating the basis for the *gara* patterns by the Labanotation method (Knust, 1979; Hutchinson Guest, 2005). The Labanotation included notating the individual dance realizations (Bakka & Karoblis, 2010, p. 172–173)⁶ of the most talented and salient male and female dancers at the wedding. Those notations lead to the structural and formal analysis.

The structural analysis of dance, which is music-centric, is based on the analytical principles of Selena Rakočević, where the kinetic component of dance is viewed within the framework of the general level – the dance pattern, and the special level – the step pattern (Rakočević, 2011, p. 35–37)⁷. Visual observation and structural analysis of video recordings illustrated the presence and role of gender, positioning and use of space, formations, holding, body language, style, etc. A significant focus was devoted to the basic eight-measure dance unit during the analytical process. In contrast, during the analysis, the phrase level of the step pattern dance (four measures) was considered due to unfavorable conditions for filming caused by a narrow space and a large number of participants. The formal analysis of the dance component of the *gara*, on the other hand, was modified to fit the original setting. The level of changes that occurred in the motifs considered as the minor kinetic-rhythmic units, are marked in the analysis of the ethnomusicologist Dimitrije Golemović (1984, p. 29), supplemented by the signs designed by Sanja Radinović in order to mark the level of changes more minutely (2011, p. 268)⁸.

Along with this formal analysis, the analyzed segments were exposed to the method of formal kinetic analysis according to Zdravko Ranisavljević's settings and the numerical scheme of the *gara* within the dance genre *kolo u tri* (2022, p. 47). According to Ranisavljević, the kinetic form represented the kinetic content, the identification of which enables the interpretation of the specific dance within the broader dance tradition (2022, p. 51). In other words, determining the kinetic form of the dance at the wedding in Stajićevo indicates the identification of specific dance realizations and specific kinetic content in specific contextual circumstances and their positioning within the genre of the *kolo u tri*. The kinetic form is shown with a numerical representation that, in addition to numbers in its schematic representation, also contains plus signs (+) as a marker for changing the direction of movement and a comma (,) as a marker for stopping movement or dancing in one spot (Ranisavljević, 2014, p. 430; Ranisavljević, 2022, p. 31).

The Features of Lyrics

The name *gara* has two semantic meanings from the broader genre contexts. The first one is a young woman with black hair, whereas the second meaning represents the engine of a train on a narrow-gauge railway that was also called a *gara* in “slang speech” (Guja, 2017, p. 121). However, the first meaning is more popular and presented in the *gara* genre.

The main features of *gara*'s lyrics are the decasyllabic verses and improvisatory and variable contents. The content, always different according to the singer's inspiration, has to fit with the model of the decasyllabic verses. The decasyllabic verses are often grouped as even-rhymed couplets that constantly repeat, or they can appear in a group of four sung verses without repetition, forming a structurally meaningful whole. In addition, the content of the lyrics consists frequently of love or erotic themes, which, according to Dragica Panić Kašanski, give the possibility of expressing thoughts outside everyday borders, values, and ethics (2016, p. 1). The *gara*'s verses often speak about the homeland, old heroes, but also that are sometimes forbidden from current topics such as social events and the political situation (Guja, 2017, p. 121). In that way, the poetic component of the *gara* provides the possibility of free expression without any judgments, mainly because of its humoristic character.

⁴ Đurađ Ćubić is a resident of the village Banatski Despotovac in the Banat region but he was originally from Sarajevo-Romanija. An important fact is that he was not a permanent member of the band that played at the celebration in Stajićevo but was invited as a specially invited guest (singer) because he usually performs *gara* and songs of the Sarajevo-Romanija settlers (Đubić, 2016, p. 3). The other singer was Slobodan Radanović who accompanied Đurađ in two-part singing.

⁵ See the video recording documented by the author during the fieldwork. This video recording was crucial for all movement analysis and interpretations incorporated in this paper (Nikolić, 2023, <https://youtu.be/OJ2dvFjWKwE>).

⁶ Dance realization is a concept coined by the Norwegian ethnochoreologist Egil Bakka and the Lithuanian philosopher Gediminas Karoblis. According to those two authors, dance realization is the specific performance of a particular dance making it the only available and valid source for analysis (Bakka & Gediminas, 2010, p. 172–173).

⁷ Structural-formal analysis of Selena Rakočević was inspired by the ideas of structural/formal analysis of György Martin and Ernő Pesovár and collective work by the Study Group on Ethnochoreology of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM), such as its revised version presented by Anca Giuruchescu and Eva Kröschlowlá (Kaeppler & Dunin, 2007; Giuruchescu & Kröschlowlá, 2007).

⁸ All analysis are attached to the notations in the Appendix.

Đurađ Ćubić, the singer who performed the forms of *gara* at the wedding in Stajićevo, pointed out that the theme of the songs was always the same: “most often they are humorous, mocking songs, in which the singer can make jokes with individual guests” (2016, p. 1). This singer stated that each *gara* was different depending on the context, and individual to whom a particular verse was dedicated. According to Đurađ Ćubić, it is necessary to study the most significant individuals at a celebration in order to create new lyrics (2016, p. 1). For example, the ‘main star’ of the observed wedding was the groom’s Uncle Pero because of his temper and tipping the musicians. So, many verses were dedicated to him. An interesting fact is that Uncle Pero also wrote lyrics and gave them to the singer. Here are the lyrics about Pero derived from the video recordings of the author’s archive (Nikolić, 2023):

“Oj, moj Pero, da šta bude tebi,
Tri godine zapjevao ne bi.
Sinoć Pero doš'o sa terena,
i doćero pasata crvena.
Nije lola ko vozi renola,
već pasata sa petoro vrata.
Imam ženu, ime joj je Bosa,
Ona mene po kafani nosa”.

These verses cannot be translated because they would lose their meaning, the verse structure in the decasyllabic, and the rhyming. Here is a combined interpretation and literal translation of the previously shown lyrics in the Serbian language. The singer Đurađ Ćubić begins by singing the lyrics with a direct address to Pero, saying, “Oh, my Pero, if something happens to you, I would not sing for three years”. In this way, the singer articulates the importance of Pero as a subject of the song. The singer continues with lyrics speaking humorously about Pero’s good finance, using the well-known verses “Oh, tavern, where are your doors? Pero just arrived with his salary”. He articulates how Pero and his tips are very welcome. He continues to spread the story of Pero’s wealth by mentioning the car brand he drives: “Pero arrived from the field yesterday and drove the red Passat. No one is a reveler who drives a Renault but a five-door Passat”. These kinds of verses were lined up with a mixture of the verses written directly by Pero, such as “I have a wife named Bosa, she always carries me around the tavern”⁹. Although the lyrics are variable and improvisatory according to the singer’s inspiration, some distichs often appear to have a kind of chorus role during the performance.

Based on the examples, the singer is the one who creates the *gara*, grounded on previously learned templates related to the usual metric of the verse. Simultaneously, the content solely depends on current inspiration and the situationally changing social relations at the performance time. The singer must have information about the participants of the social event, in this case, the wedding ritual, and observe the events carried out at the moment of performance. Established couplets in the chorus have the role of rest for the performer until he produces the poetic content, or, in this case study, the guest gives the lyrics to him.

Music Features

The music component of the syncretic *gara* form is not this paper’s primary focus, but it does interpret some essential characteristics of the chosen case study. First, the band performed at the wedding included eleven musicians – six singers and five instrumental players (accordion, keyboard, violin, guitar, and drums)¹⁰. Not all the musicians were standard members of the band. For example, two singers and a violin player were invited because of their knowledge of the Sarajevo-Romanija region. Both singers were originally from that region.

Audio observation of recordings reports that the musical features included the shift of vocal-instrumental and instrumental parts. The instrumental solo part relates to the violin. The instrumental parts (preludes) often include musical elements of the traditional heritage from the Sarajevo-Romanija region (Guja, 2017, p. 121). In the instrumental part at the moment of the accompaniment, the voice has only a harmony function giving the singers necessary chords where the accordion, keyboard, and guitar have an essential role. The drums perform various rhythmical progressions within the 2/4 meter.

A significant feature of singing in *gara* is the two-part singing, known in Serbia as *pevanje na bas* (singing at the bass). That kind of singing consists mostly of parallel thirds during the phrases and finishing in the fifth at the cadence.

⁹ The translation was made by the author according to the original lyrics given beforehand in the paper (Nikolić, 2023).

¹⁰ An ethnomusicologist Zorana Guja mentioned that the instrumental accompaniment in the past consisted of a tambour/drum, guitar, and accordion, while a violin joined later. Today it is mainly performed on keyboards, accordion, and violin (2017, p. 121).

Solo parts, on the other hand, are mostly at the beginning of melodies when the singer performs the leading part, after which the second singer joins. Rarely are the singers singing solos throughout the entire musical unity.

Analyses of the musical component illustrated inconsistencies at different levels of this vocal-instrumental form. One of the inconsistencies occurred during the alternating vocal-instrumental and instrumental segment, where the singer does not wait for the end of the instrumental phrase each time but starts singing before its end. When the singer begins the vocal-instrumental part earlier, the musicians stop the instrumental phrase and continue to accompany the singer in the way they accompanied him in the previously sung stanzas.

Another incongruity existed in the relationship between the vocal-instrumental or instrumental phrase and a movement pattern phrase. Through video and auditory observation, the dancers ignored the beginning and end of the musical phrase. They started and ended the dance parts at their discretion while not listening to the musicians. At the same time, the musicians also did not observe the dancers and their kinetic flow. The singers tailored their musical and literal structures independently of what happened on the dance floor. It is understood as strictly directed toward the wedding participants waiting to hear new lyrics. That information narrates the independence of the singer and their focus on dancing and instrumental performing.

Thus, based on the observed inconsistencies, the kinetic dance, vocal, and instrumental parts represent three independent units. At the same time, they are mutually complementary flows in the immediate dance performance. The performance of the *gara* excludes any borders between the singer and audience, while the connection between dancers and singers is achieved through the verbal discourse (Pandurević, 2017, p. 111). However, the melody, with minor variations, embellishments, and expansions, remained the same. In contrast, the distributive two-part rhythm in 2/4 meter remained unchanged from the beginning to the end of the performance. The distributive two-part rhythm and tempo parameters played a crucial role in the synchronization of musicians and dancers.

Kinetic Component: Structural and Formal Analysis

The first part of the kinetic analysis is dedicated to the structural and formal aspects of dance patterns of the vocal-instrumental dance form *gara*. According to Selena Rakočević, the first level of the analysis is ‘the highest level’ of kinetic structuring and will be presented through the scheme: kinetics–space–time (see table in Rakočević, 2012, p. 38). It includes the examination of the movements of different parts of the body (kinetics); location, formation, and connection of the dancers (space); and the rhythm and meter of the dance realizations (time) (Rakočević, 2012, p. 38).

The first, kinetic layer, of the *gara* performance includes, the domination and richness of the leg movements. The plethora of leg movements included in the dance process of the *gara*: one as a kind of weight transference, i.e., supports; and two ‘free’ leg movements, i.e., gestures (see examples no. 2, 5, 8) (Rakočević, 2011, p. 37; Fügedi, 2016, p. 18). Both types of movement appear in different movement directions – right and left forward, right and left side, right and left backward. The combination of those movement directions creates the group of motives at the support level of the movement such as a *preplet*, *varalica preplet*, etc.¹¹. Those motives are often segments of the *kolo u tri* genre in general. Observations of the hand movements which are not dominant while dancing shows that the most frequent position of the hands is their release close to the body. Sometimes, during *gara* dancing, there were hand movements as ‘jolting’ and ‘shaking’ of slightly bent elbows, both in male and female dancers (see examples 4, 6).

Analysis of the second layer defined by Selena Rakočević – space, showed that the dancers were positioned according to the improvised dance floor space that was setup by the restaurant. The space between the tables and chairs, and musicians, were dedicated to the celebration of the wedding ritual and dancing. The dancers did not have any order in formation in gender or age. Instead, they linked together in an unspecified order in the open and winding circle. The dancers connected in several ways: one for the arms let down the body, two hand in/through, called *prodiranje*, and three by combining the two previously explained ways. With all three ways of linking, the movements in space took place in a circle and freely created a winding circuit.

Lastly, the examination of the third layer – time, indicates that the meter of the *gara*, as already mentioned in the musical part, is 2/4 meter. It is well-known in emic discourse as the ‘*đvojka*’ meter with the strong double organization where the upbeat is highlighted. The tempo of the integral performance is dominantly allegro between 126 and 140 MM). Speaking broader about the time concept, the *gara* generates long-term dancing with breaks only when the musicians stop to play in general. Often, the *gara* starts *attacca* with the previously played dance or song and continues with the other dance or song. The *gara* takes approximately 10 minutes, according to the singer’s inspiration and his shifts with the solo violin. However, this is not a standard as it is a very improvisatory segment of this form.

¹¹ Preplet includes the sequence of three movements: the right leg in the place, left leg right forward, right leg right backward (can be repeated laterally); the varalica preplet includes the sequence of the right side movement of right leg, right backward with left leg and left forward with right leg (can be repeated laterally).

Before discussing the layer of movement patterns or steps, this paragraph illustrates the main features of its formal shaping. The *gara* step pattern consists of two motifs: one an initial one-measure ‘a-motif’ and two one-measure ‘b-motif’ repeated three times accurately or with variations. In this way, three repetitions of the b motif create the syntagmatic group of b-motif. These two motifs are in a dichotomous relationship within the four-measure phrase by shifting as dynamic and static fragments. The variety above, and the variability of movements specifically exist in the syntagmatic group, where the three-step movement occurs in the most diverse variations. Moreover, much more frequent changes occur at a lower hierarchical level of motives. The initial a-motif is the most often repeated verbatim or with less frequent changes. At the same time, the b-motif consists of plenty of variations in terms of its three-measure syntagmatic group.

A specific layer of kinetic composing of the *gara* concerns the pattern of movements (Rakočević, 2011, p. 38; Rakočević, 2012, p. 38). Previously mentioned, the variability of the leg movements is the result of the dancers’ inspiration at specific moments. Male dancers were exceptionally talented in the examined case study of the wedding in the village of Stajićevo. The variety of gestures also contributed to the diversity and uniqueness of the performance. Along with the unrepeatability of combinations of different support steps and gestures (right forward, sideways, in place), the movements could also be performed with accentuated touching the ground with the toes, whereby the feet were horizontally rotated to the right or left (see examples 4, 5, 9).

A significant feature of the kinetic realizations is the body rotation of the dancers at 45 degrees during the static part of the pattern ‘in the place’. The dancers often rotate to the left side at 45 degrees, then turn back to the right at 90 degrees, and lastly 45 degrees to the left. Often, the dancers articulate that rotation with the upper part of the bodies. The body rotation as one of the visually noticeable and recognizable features of the *gara* performance was especially manifested in the interpretation of the leader of the circle (the so-called *kolovođa*), regardless of the dancer’s gender. The primary organization of movement in space was realized by the direction of movement right forward and left forward. These direction paths contributed to the lateral movement in space, whereby, due to slightly longer steps to the right, there was a noticeable progression to the right side. Progression to the right side represents one of the fundamental characteristics of performing the broad genre *kolo u tri*.

An additional result in the variety is the diversity of the metro-rhythmic shaping of the step pattern. The most common metro-rhythmic pattern of the initial a-motif is two quarter notes (crotchets). At the same time, realizations often encounter a group of quarter note and syncope figure in the analyzed dance. The contrasting b-motif (most often the syncope figure) appears in various metro-rhythmic patterns: one as a group of one quarter note and syncope figure, two as a group of two-quarter notes, and three less often as a group of one quarter note and two eighth notes. The syntagmatic group, formed by three repetitions of the b-motif, is identified by an identical metro-rhythmic pattern that occurs in all three repetitions with some deviations (see examples 4, 7, 8).

The other analytical method of formal analysis relates to the numerical illustration of the *gara* kinetic form. This method derives from the theoretical postulates of kinetical formal types proposed by Zdravko Ranisavljević (2022, p. 26). The application of Ranisavljević’s method displays the appearances of different formal models within the *gara* realizations at the wedding in Stajićevo. The most frequent model is 1,3 + 1,3 – dancing one measure, stopping at the place and dancing three measures in the spot, changing the direction (sign +), and then dancing the same in the opposite (left) direction. The asymmetric composition of this model consists of alternating two motifs performed in space and place: the initial a-motif and b-motif, which creates a three-measure syntagmatic group with its repetition. Zdravko Ranisavljević identifies this formal model as the most present within the dance genre *kolo u tri* in the territory of Serbia with 57% (2022, p. 57).

The second formal model appearing in the *gara* dance realizations is 2,2 + 2,2. That model consists of dancing two measures in the space and two at the spot, changing the direction (to the left), and repeating the same laterally. An important feature that can be minutely observed at the motif level is the discrepancy between the motifs and the lateral direction path of movement that defines the *kolo u tri*. The incongruity occurs before the change contrasting motifs’ performance or, more precisely, between the initial a-motif and the syntagmatic group. The movement in space started by the initial a-motif continues in the first measure of three repetitions of the b-motif within the syntagmatic group. The observation of the motif level and the direction paths narrates that the started path a-motif continues with the first appearance of b-motif followed by stopping in place. In that case, the scheme would be precisely expressed as $1^{1/3}, 2^{2/3} + 1^{1/3}, 2^{2/3}$, closer to the 2,2 + 2,2 model. However, the first appearance of the b-motif still cannot be attached to the a-motif, although they have the same path direction. That is caused by the identical metro-rhythmic patterns in all three repetitions of the b-motif. Thus, the metro rhythm is crucial in defining the syntagmatic group and providing it autonomy. Identical metro-rhythmic pattern undeniably acts as a unifying factor of the syntagmatic group, which has

a contrasting function concerning the initial a-motif. Anyhow, the *gara* form includes mainly the most representative type of formal composition (1,3) what confirm it as one of the manifestation of the *kolo u tri* genre.

Final Thoughts

To conclude, this paper proved the three segments that constitute the *gara* form. It does have a lyrics component, music and kinetic movements. Thus, the *gara* is a syncretic vocal-instrumental dance form. The common trait that connects all three levels of the *gara* syncretic form is the improvisatory character within established postulates and formal features. The structural level of the kinetic component is improvisatory by the ornamenting of different gestures, various motives of support legs, and different rotations of the whole body. The music is improvisatory as an arbiter exchange of the vocal and instrumental parts of the musicians (mainly between singers and leading instruments such as violin or accordion), as well as the music phrases that the leading instrument plays. Lastly, the lyrics component is improvisatory due to the content that the singer creates at the moment of singing, or by combining it with well-known verses. Hence, all three components represent the product of the inspiration of the dancers and musicians, especially the singer who creates and builds the lyrics. Furthermore, all mentioned elements, depending on the context and current performing inspiration of the individual, continuously change and transform depending on the situational environment. Thus, the *gara* only partially gets its mold in some perspectives.

The interpretation settled the initial goal of this paper of identifying the kinetic component that the kinetic component of the vocal-instrumental dance form *gara* identifies as a dichotomous structure in which moving in space and dancing in place alternate, with a peculiar mismatch of motifs and path directions. A-motif includes moving and continues with the appearance of the second b-motif. Therefore, the conclusion imposed that the metro-rhythmic pattern is the primary criterion for separating and contrasting the initial segment and the segment performed in place. Hence, the initial segment represents the a-motif exclusively. In contrast, although the movement in space takes place, the next segment consists of the syntagmatic group of b-motif grouped based on the identical metro-rhythmic pattern of type 1. Finally, motives and directing paths represent two independent parameters. The breakdown of the initial a-motif and the syntagmatic group is in the present model of the analyzed dance realizations: 1,3 + 1,3. This information confirms the fact that the 1,3 + 1,3 model appears as the most represented model within the highly different variant structures of the dance genre *kolo u tri* (Ranisavljević, 2014, p. 430).

The dance realizations of *gara* performed at the wedding ritual in Stajićevo, used as a case study in this paper, undoubtedly represent one of the paradigmatic manifestations of the *kolo u tri* dance genre. Apart from the plain sustainability of the *kolo u tri* dance genre, the musical-poetic component represents a viral and vital branch of newly composed music performed independently in various places intended for entertainment (cafes, clubs, etc.). Therefore, I believe that *gara*, a syncretic vocal-instrumental dance form, has a multifaceted potential for study from the perspective of all its components.

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APPENDIX¹²

Figure 1 shows two musical staves with labanotation and formal analysis. The left staff has a tempo marking of cca 30cm and a note value of cca 137. The right staff also has a tempo marking of cca 30cm and a note value of cca 137. Both staves show a 4/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat. The labanotation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Below each staff is a formal analysis consisting of a 4-measure phrase: 'a b bv1 bv2' for the left and 'a b b1 b1' for the right, with '1 1 1 1' below. At the bottom of each analysis is a rhythmic notation '1, 3' followed by a musical staff with notes.

Figure 1.

Figure 2 shows two musical staves with labanotation and formal analysis. The left staff has a tempo marking of cca 35cm and a note value of cca 137. The right staff also has a tempo marking of cca 35cm and a note value of cca 137. Both staves show a 4/4 time signature and a key signature of one flat. The labanotation includes notes, rests, and dynamic markings. Below each staff is a formal analysis consisting of a 4-measure phrase: 'a b bv1 bv2' for the left and 'av bv3 bv3 bv3' for the right, with '1 1 1 1' below. At the bottom of each analysis is a rhythmic notation '1, 3' followed by a musical staff with notes.

Figure 2.

¹² All attached examples include the labanotations written by the author and formal analysis. They were the base of all interpreted information verbally shown in the text.

2/4

cca 120

cca 30cm

A
8

4
a b b1 b1
1 1 1 1

4
ā b b1 b1
1 1 1 1

1, 3

1, 3

Figure 5.

2/4

cca 120

cca 30cm

A
8

4
a b b1 bv
1 1 1 1

4
ā1 b bv 1 b1 v
1 1 1 1

1, 3

1, 3

Figure 6.

$\bar{|}$ = cca 34cm ♩ = cca 120
 A
 8
 $\overset{A}{4}$
 a b bv1 bv $\overset{A}{4}$
 ā b̄.1 bv1.v b1.1
 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
 1, 3 1, 3

Figure 7.

$\bar{|}$ = cca 30cm ♩ = cca 120
 A
 8
 $\overset{A}{4}$
 a b bv1 bv.1 $\overset{A}{4}$
 ā v̄ b̄ bv.1 bv.1
 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
 1, 3 1, 3

Figure 8.

\square = cca 28cm ♩ = cca 120
 A
 8
 -A- -Av-
 4 4
 a b bv1 bv2 à b bv3 bv1 bv2.v
 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
 1, 3 1, 3

Figure 9.

\square = cca 30cm ♩ = cca 120
 A
 8
 -A- -A-
 4 4
 a b bv1 bv2 à b bv bv.v
 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
 1, 3 1, 3

Figure 10.

Traditional Dances of the Serbia Sandžak Region Migrants in Türkiye

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ABSTRACT

In this study, the socio-cultural interaction of Turkish–Serbian traditional dances will be analysed within the context of historical socio-political relations between the Anatolian and Balkan peninsula regions. Based on field research conducted in Serbia and Türkiye since 2008, morphological partnerships or dissociations in traditional dances will be identified. Our sources mainly come from the limited information acquired through samples from the Sandžak region in Serbia and from the migrant Sandžak Bosniaks living in the cities of Istanbul, Izmir and Bursa in Türkiye. In particular, the dance structure of the people who have migrated to Türkiye from Serbia in the last 50 years will be mentioned. In addition, the traditional dance structures of the Muslim people who live in Serbia’s Sandžak region (today in Serbia’s Raška District) will be examined.

Keywords: Sandžak, migration, traditional dance

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Introduction

Many different dance and music forms are seen in the Balkans, where people from different ethnic identities live. However, it has been observed that common values have been formed due to acculturation in areas that are geographically close and have a common history. “Acculturation is what a person learns in other cultures or what a society receives from others and the mutual impact of different societies. The theory of acculturation also suggests that even if one of the groups is dominant, both systems are affected by this cultural relationship and have been modified” (Güvenç, 1991, p. 126). As in many other areas of life, manners, moral values, ceremonies and traditions have created common forms over time by influencing each other. A similar culture, dance and music tradition has formed among the peoples of different ethnic identities and cultures living together in the Balkans.

The term ethnicity is perceived as a ‘privilege of society’, which is thought to fill the social gaps encountered during the identification of society as a whole. “This term allows us to move from specific and ‘authentic’ questions ‘in’ music about identifying signs concerning identity and move towards questions like how social actors native to locality use music to install boundaries and protect the differences between ‘us’ and ‘them’, and how terms such as ‘authenticity’ are used in the proving of the necessity of these boundaries” (Stokes, 2013, p. 128). Today, the concept of ethnic dance is used to point out its distinct elements which separate it from the general dance culture within dominant cultures.

Local environments in which the traditional dances of a society are formed and performed come from a specific geographical area. When the geographical setting changes for certain reasons, while locations, boundaries, and identities are collectively reconstructed in the positioning process, individuals can use music and dance in the determination of their unique identity. With the idea that dance symbolises social boundaries, migrating societies recognise traditional dances not only as static symbolic objects, but as a context for the realisation of a new dance formation. Folk dances play an important part within the contexts of in-society communication, educational services for cultural transmission, social location determination, social order determination and the establishment of national community consciousness in ‘exchanged societies’.

The expansion of the Ottoman Empire from Africa to Central Europe led to massive population changes with migrations. This caused a change in the ethnic cultures of the societies within the empire by virtue of the fact that they were influenced by each other. “Directly proportional to state strategies, at times, an Ottoman environment was tried to be created in conquered countries with the people sent from Anatolia. And at other times, the people who contravened with the administration were subjected to forced migration” (Özbilgin, 2009, p. 271).

Throughout the history of the ‘Sandžak region’ various terms have been used to describe its location. The current administrative geographical term is ‘Raška District’. “Located between Serbia, Montenegro and Kosovo triangle, the Sanjak region is an important crossroads. The Sanjak (Sandžak) region is a region where Bosnians live intensely, and Serbia and Montenegro are located within its borders. The Sanjak region includes towns such as Tutin, Rožaje, Sjenica, Novi Pazar, Priboj, Bijelo Polje, Nova Varoš, Plav, Berane. Its center is Novi Pazar (New Market). Approximately 86% of its population consists of Muslim Bosnians” (Sümbüllü & Feyzi, 2022, p. 553).

By the 20th century, a reverse migration from the Balkans to Anatolia of Muslim or Turkish populations had begun to take place. Yugoslavia’s first internal migration movement to other Balkan lands and partially towards Anatolia started with the Russo–Turkish War of 1877–1878 called the ‘93 *Harbi*’ (War of 93). It continued with the Balkan War of 1912–1913, and took place at individual and family level between 1923 and 1951, at mass level between 1952 and 1967 and again at individual and family level between 1968 and 1996 when the movement of migration was towards Anatolian territory (Bandžović, 2003, p. 22; Tekin, 2018, p. 250).

Five hundred years of uninterrupted cultural interaction has had a major impact on the dance and music culture of Turkish and Serbian peoples living in this area. The mass migration of different ethnic communities, especially in the 20th century, as a result of new political schemes established in the Balkans and Türkiye, has brought a great cultural diversity and wealth to the lands they came to. Even today cultural ties between Serbia and Türkiye are seen to be increasing. With the contribution of global communication, it is evident that a high level of cultural interaction between the dance traditions of the Turkish and Serbian people continues to flourish.

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

Migration, Forced Migration

Migration, both individually and extensive, is the act of changing one’s place of residence due to political, social and/or economic reasons. Etymologically, it is defined as “the act of moving from one country to another or from one settlement to another due to economic, social, or political reasons by individuals or communities” (TDK, n.d.). Conceptually, it is the establishment of new lives in different regions by communities who, voluntarily or forcefully,

moved away or were removed from the regions they lived in due to their economic conditions, social structures and social life¹. Migrations, which were initially caused by factors such as the desire for better nutrition, shelter, security and climate, later started to happen for cultural, political, economic, religious, educational and industrial reasons (Akıncı et al., 2015, p.62). Migration includes a process that influences and transforms socio-cultural and economic relations as well as geographic and social environment change. In addition, it draws both sides into a whole new network of relationships. Briefly, migration is evaluated as the entirety of processes which starts with a change in perception, continues with a change of place and concludes with the adaptation to the arrived place (Aydemir & Şahin, 2018, p. 147).

The migration phenomenon has been classified by several disciplines in terms of scope, content and qualification according to its causes, purpose and objectives (Günay et al., 2017, p. 38). It is defined as “internal migration” or “external migration” depending on whether it is in or out of the social system (Tekeli & Erder, 1978, p. 17). Migration can take place due to people’s own choice (voluntary migration) or due to people being subjected to the imposition of an authority (forced migration).

“Forced migration is the settlement to another region from the populated area without the will of the population due to reasons such as war, natural disaster or oppression. During the process of the establishment of new states in Anatolia and the Balkans, especially in the late periods of the Ottoman Empire, forced social migrations took place. During this time, millions of people were displaced under the name of ‘ethnic group’ ” (Özbilgin et al., 2017, p. 27).

Cultural Identity, Cultural Memory

Identity is the process of self-creation and the cultural, religious, political and economic describing of ‘the self’ by a person in their social construction. In the fields of anthropology and sociology, the concept of identity includes adjectives such as collective or cultural. In this study, the use of the concept of ‘cultural identity’ is preferred in terms of the ethnochoreology discipline. Cultural identity is the answer to the question ‘Who are we?’ by a group or community with shared values in response to the individual’s question ‘Who am I?’. Cultural communities transfer their shared values, languages, experiences and worldviews by influencing each other; they create common meanings and build their cultural identity by reinforcing their sense of belonging (Tevfik, 2014, p. 22).

Although memory roughly means ‘the ability to remember’, there are deep meanings to memory, and with them, new meanings are gained. While we cannot determine how the common mind that decides what needs to be remembered works, the memories that are recorded, the ones that are memorized, the ones that are kept in mind are altered according to the needs of the age. This has been the case from pre-history to the electronic cultural phase (Demir, 2012, p. 185).

The study of memory is an interdisciplinary social phenomenon in which the concept of human memory is treated physiologically, psychologically and socially through the retention of vital segments of life in the mind. It is structured by remembering and it is always connected to space and time because time and space are the basic conditions for the establishment of belonging and ownership. Communities create spaces as a basis for their identity and past, creating a symbolic common life between the group and their space (Assman, 2015, p. 43). Communities guarantee their belonging through memorable places. The change or destruction of the spatial areas and the separation of the individual from those areas will change the concepts of belonging and ownership. An individual’s personal memory, which is the person’s connection to the past, makes references to the future, and undergoes changes by concrete and abstract new images, such as sound, smell and appearance, belonging to the new location it is in. Traditional dances exist within cultural memory in their renewed form through collective selection and elimination and through the diversity of images created in memory by changing time, space and possession, by concrete or abstract transformations.

Cultural memory studies, seen today as a rich data field, were ignored before the 1990s due to the claim that they were not scientific by virtue of their subjectivity, manipulability, and lack of having documentary quality (Depeli, 2011). In the 1990s, the progress of social sciences towards being interdisciplinary led researchers to focus on cultural memory. Since cultural memory is a determinant of concepts such as belonging, individuality and identity and due to its acceptance of sustainability, it can be said that intangible cultural data and ethnographic materials are key elements in the transfer of cultural memory. Traditional dances, a means of communication, accumulate in individual and cultural memory within the continuity of the past, present and future. Ethnology, cultural anthropology and ethnochoreology concentrate on abstract and tangible (intangible) images being transferred through cultural memory in the form of traditional dances taking shape in the body through collective consensus.

¹ For more information please see from the Preface in Toros, A. (2008). *Migration in Troubled Regions*. Authors Hisae Nakanishi, Ibrahim Sirkeci, Hatem Cabbarlı. Ankara: Kozan Ofset. Retrieved from https://www.academia.edu/15217802/Sorunlu_Bolgeleerde_Goc-Migration_in_Conflict_Areas Access Date: 26.02.2020.

In this study, material from traditional dance research is discussed in terms of concepts of cultural identity and cultural memory. The role of traditional dances in rebuilding the identity of migrants is revealed through cultural analysis. Oral history studies on traditional dance enable access to data that illuminates the causality of many social elements, such as group identity, location, and belonging in the cultural memory of the participants. It is seen that dancing has an important function in transferring the migrant identities and cultural memory from the older to newer generations.

Traditional Balkan Dances in Türkiye

Given that migration societies come from many parts of the Balkans and have been placed in different regions of Anatolia, there is difficulty in identifying and classifying the traditional dances of these migrating societies. Dances of migrants that have interacted with local dance traditions throughout the hundred-year process differ in shape and structure in different regions today. It can be seen that their diversity increases depending on many factors. Therefore, it is necessary to remind the reader that all the determinations given in this section are generalisations based on research among Balkan migrant societies.

Balkan dances can be divided into two classes according to their formal characteristics:

1. Hand-held *hora* dances: Danced by linking hands or shoulder-held, arranged in a half circle.
2. Non-hand-held *karşılama* dances: Danced in two opposing rows and with symmetrical steps.

In the performance of Balkan dance in traditional environments, an order of dancing is observed. In this order, it is seen that the dances towards the end of the dance cycle have a faster tempo than the first ones danced. In the traditional environment of Balkan dances, these are played in an order with the later dances played at a faster pace than the earlier dances. In addition, the three stages of each dance, which can be called the introduction, development and conclusion, have increasing changes in pace. Dances can also have only two stages, slow and fast. When moving from one dance to another, the dances stop. This gives the opportunity for the dancers to prepare for cross-dance transitions with different *makams* within a musical context. Moreover, the metronomic differences seen at the start and end of dances in different rhythmic structures are eliminated, allowing the new dance to start at a faster pace than the end of the previous dance.

In the Balkanic dance repertoire in Anatolia, the music diversity is greater than the movement diversity. The fact that some dances can be accompanied by multiple tunes and the inconsistency of the names between the dances and the tunes can create confusion. According to statements from members of the instrumental team who we interviewed, the migrants dance the same patterns of movement to different music and with different names.

Until the 1990s, in hand-held dances, men and women would form separate lines even though they danced in the same space. This has changed today, and both men and women can be seen dancing together in the same lines.

In mixed dances in traditional environments, a male dancer is seen leading the line. The dance is led by a highly capable dancer who is first in the sequence. If there are different people who are talented in different dances, the good dancer takes the handkerchief and takes over when that dance starts. This indicates that dances are danced with leaders changing. Regarding the age and status of the dancers for dances facing each other, it is considered inappropriate for a young dancer to face an older one, unless they are related. Young people join the dances at the end of the line in hierarchical order, meaning that the dancers are hierarchically sorted by proximity to the musicians. Master dancers are located in front of the musicians because the drummer follows the lead dancer's foot movements, leading the rhythm of the dance. The drummer changes the tune in the dance, depending on the command of the team's leader. The leading dancer guides the band and the dancing group. Musicians have to speed up and slow down the dances according to the dancer in charge. Actions other than what the lead dancer commanded are seen as an insult.

In the light of social situations, the patterns and styles of movements, form of interpretation, gender, age, affinity, marriage etc. in traditional dances determine the social level of the communication among individuals, and between individuals and groups. Due to its effective power, dance can also be used to plan, protect or change a social system based on the ideology and socio-political interest of a group (Giurchescu, 1994, p. 15). In a social sense, traditional entertainments with dances form an educational service for cultural transmission, an ideal indicator for the notification of the social structure, and they are thus an important tool for the creation of social consciousness (Özbilgin, 2014, p. 91).

The kinaesthetic actions of the dance function as a bearer of meaning and as a way of building thoughts, supporting narrative elements, and strengthening the impact of the message. In terms of communication, dancing transforms meaningful or encrypted body movements, facial expressions, music, verbal expressions and social rules into hierarchically meaningful products. For example, the *Temenna Alma Geleneği*, seen in immigrant societies from Novi Pazar, is a dance ritual where the bride declares that she will obey the family by adhering to traditions. The bride dances around her mother-in-law with movements that have meanings. She kisses her mother-in-law's hand three times

by making symbolic gestures to symbolise respect during the dance. These patterns of behaviour shown in dance by the bride to her mother-in-law mean 'I will respect you and my husband (your son)'. After the *Temenna Alma* the mother-in-law measures the degree of acceptance of her daughter-in-law by giving one hand or two hands to the latter so that she can kiss her.

For Balkan immigrant communities, dance is a national element that unites all communities in the context of national culture, as well as the continuity of ethnic culture. For example, for Balkan immigrants, entertainment organised when soldiers depart for the army plays an important role in the internalisation of political concepts such as homeland, freedom and nation among young generations. Today, it can be seen that many symbols that highlight Turkishness are used in the celebrations of Balkan immigrants. Performing traditional Balkan dances is intended to strongly emphasize their Muslim and Turkish identity. For example, usage of the Turkish flag when dancing is considered to be a symbol of 'Turkishness'.

Migrant communities from different parts of the Balkans who came to Türkiye in the 20th century have been organised under geographical names that identify their ethnic identities (Bayraktar, 2014). In these structures, both the region where they came from and the region where they settled are prominent in their identification. For example, the name 'Istanbul Anatolian Side Bosnia Sandžak Social Aid and Culture Association' also indicates that there are other Sandžak Bosniaks in Istanbul. The organisation of Balkan communities is seen as the creation of groupings that refer to geographical and cultural differences. However, Balkan migrant organizations tend to gather different ethnic migrant communities under a single identity of a Balkan immigrant. According to them, migrants who previously lived in closed societies in small settlements are increasingly distant from the closed society structure due to current technological and global conditions. The idea that the prevalent urban structures have led to cultural erosion is a dominant opinion. Preserving cultural identity requires small groups to unite in order to build a greater power. With this idea, Balkan immigrants have been trying to develop a holistic rhetoric under the definition of belonging to the general Balkan immigrant community that shares the same fate. In this way they seek to ignore cultural differences within themselves. Under the concept of 'cultural unity' versus cultural erosion, it is seen that there are large interactions and partnerships in the context of dancing among Balkan migrant communities with different dance divisions. Popularised traditional dances like *pajdushko horo*, *Damat halayı*, *Ramo Ramo* are co-performed by all Balkan immigrants, regardless of their ethnic origin, especially in the light of current dance modes.

Bosnia Sandžak Traditional Dance Culture in Türkiye

Various communities living in the same period in Anatolia and the Balkans, along a path of migration throughout history, have interacted with each other, transferring their products, their beliefs, their traditional values to each other, and have had a multicultural structure. The Sandžak region (Raška district currently, where the Bosniak Sandžak communities live) is one of the featured geographies where multiculturalism is seen. By way of example, Oğul (2019, p. 188) mentions heroes such as Jusuf Mehonjić from Sandžak, and other Muslim heroes, such as Reco, Dizdar Agha, and Musa Kesić found in epic tales, which were conveyed by the immigrants to Türkiye, so that they keep the feelings towards their former homeland alive. In the context of ethnicity and cultural identity, different perspectives have been used to define Bosniaks living in a complex cultural spiral. According to Turkish researchers, local communities that collectively became Muslim after the Ottoman Empire conquered Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1463 are called 'Bosniaks'. Prof. Dr. Aydın Babuna states that the term Bosniak in the Ottoman state was first used by the governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Topal Osman Pasha (1861–1869). The Bosniak concept was officially used in the Austrian-Hungarian administration after 1878 as a separate national identity. Bosniaks described themselves as *Turčin* (Turkish) or Muslim during this time. In the early 20th century, Bosniaks were considered as 'Muslim Serbs or Croats' in the political order of the Balkans. In the socialist period, 'Bosniak' was initially not recognised as an ethnic identity. However, the Bosniak ethnic identity was reintroduced in the 1971 census. Finally, the Bosniak identity officially gained international acceptance after the 1995 Dayton Agreement (Babuna, 2022, p.50).

Bosniaks started migrating to Anatolia from the 19th century, due to ethnic and religious conflicts. The migration of Bosniaks to Anatolia is recorded by historians as comprising five major mass migrations. During this period, which starts with the Treaty of Berlin (13 July 1878) and ends with the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1992), the dancing elements of Bosniak communities migrating to Anatolia further enriched the multi-layered cultural colour of traditional dances in Türkiye. This has contributed to the formation of the multicultural 'syncretic' system of cultural policies in the Republic of Türkiye.

Today, Bosniak Sandžak communities in Türkiye perform their traditional dance in their traditional celebrations. In addition, efforts to continue to revitalise dance traditions in the organizations of solidarity and charity associations for Sandžak migrants have increased. In events such as festivals and special occasions, the extensive use of traditional dance culture as a symbol of cultural identity is prominent. In this context, cultural and solidarity associations collaborate with academic units to keep their group identities and cultural memories alive by conducting practical and theoretical studies on traditional dance.

In this article, two different perspectives were developed to determine the traditional dance repertoire of Bosniak peoples from a morphological perspective. First, the dance performance in traditional environments of Bosniak communities was studied. The dances covered under the second title come from the dance repertoire of the folk dance groups in Sandžak associations.

Sandžak Region Balkan Dances Performed in Traditional Dance Environments

In this study, in order to determine traditional dance structures in the Sandžak region, dance traditions in Sandžak migrants' social environments were observed through participant observation. For example, women's dances performed in the women's entertainment held in Izmir on 27 August 2021 were recorded through participant observation. Balkan dances performed during the henna night for Selin Bozkurt, living in Urla İzmir, whose mother's side is from Bosnia and whose father's side is from Novi Pazar, were analysed and classified. In keeping with traditional practices, the bride changed into three different outfits during the entertainment. The traditional rituals which took place included a performance of the *Temenna* the henna ceremony itself. The *Temenna* tradition is a ritualistic dance practice, seen only among Balkan immigrants, that represents the loyalty of the bride as an individual to her mother-in-law and to her husband. Popular dances, local Anatolian dances and local Balkan dances were also performed.

On that particular henna night, during the woman's entertainment, a total of six different dance motifs and step patterns in the context of Balkan dances were used. All the dances showed the women to be dancing in an anti-clockwise circle with their hands held.

In addition, Sandžak dances were reviewed online via netnographic methods (Catterall & Maclaran, 2001, p. 228–237) to make general observations on Bosniak dances. The dances at the activity organized by the Bursa Bosnia and Herzegovina Charity, Solidarity and Culture Association on 29 January 2018 were analysed.

Our analyses of Bosniak dances were brought to a close with discussions on 31 August 2022 with the head of the youth organisation of the Izmir Bosnia and Herzegovina Culture Associations Federation, Aykut Taylan Varlı, when detailed research was done on Bosniak dance culture. As a result of the analyses, two main types of dance structure were identified in traditional environments.

A- Dances with stable step patterns to different music

These are the dances created by fitting a specific stable step pattern to the rhythmic structure without being dependent on the music. For example, a 6 measure basic *halay* step, performed to both 7/8 metric and binary rhythm music.

B- Dances whose movements are built depending on music

Dances where the changes in step structure are dependent on the parts of the music and where a step pattern is completed with the end of a musical pattern. *Damat halayı* can be given as an example.

Basic Step Motifs of Traditional Bosniak Dances

1. Basic Walking

- Two metric walking steps, comprising 4 units: step right and point, step left and point.
- Four metric walking steps, created by tripling the first step, comprising 4 units: stepping right-left-right-pause, stepping left-right-left-pause.

2. *Halay/Shota* step, a six metric step pattern: walk (right), walk (left), step right, pull left to 1st position, step left, pull right to 1st position. Commonly danced in Türkiye, and known as *basic kolo* in Serbia.

3. Symmetric walking step, four metric pattern: walk (right), walk (left), walk (right), step left, pull right to 1st position, and repeat symmetrically to form 8 units.

4. *Çâçak* step; the basic asymmetric *halay* step pattern has an added 'step and pull to 1st position' making the repeated pattern symmetric: [*halay* pattern] + step right, pull left to 1st position, and repeat in symmetry to form 16 units.

Allegro (♩ = 128)



Figure 1. Two Metric Basic Step

Allegro (♩ = 150)

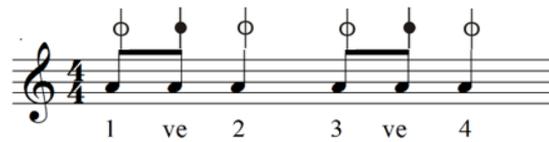


Figure 2. Four Metric Basic Step

Allegro (♩ = 120)

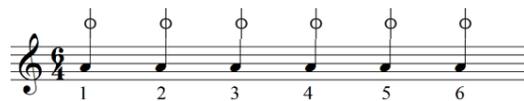


Figure 3. Basic Halay/Shota Step

It is often seen that the construction of Bosniak traditional dances consists of a combination of the four key motifs mentioned above. For example, *rijetko* is a tripled variation of the *çâçak* step and is called *topčino* (slow), *rijetko* (medium speed) and *užičko* (fast) dances from slow to fast as the dance's metronome value changes. The *rujmari* dance is a combination of a two-stroke basic step of the *çâçak* pattern. Similarly, the dance called *Yusufo kolo* is a dance performed by playing with a partner four times as a result of 'four' repeated symmetrical walking steps.

The traditional dance repertoire of the Bosniak communities in Türkiye is performed by internalising their own dances as well as the dances of other Balkan communities. The *Damat halayı*, *Arabaya taş koydum* and *pajdushko* dances, frequently performed by Macedonian migrant communities, are seen as indispensable to the traditional dance

Andante (= 78)

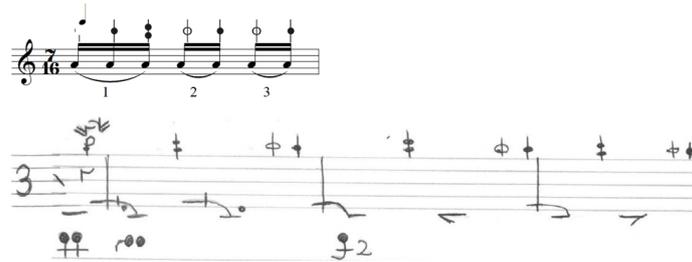


Figure 4. Basic Halay Step (7 Metric)

Allegretto (♩ = 115)

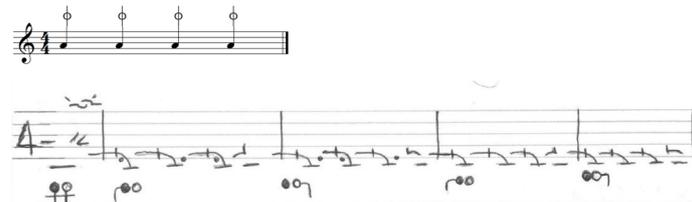


Figure 5. Four Metric Symmetric Walking Step

Allegro (♩ = 149)

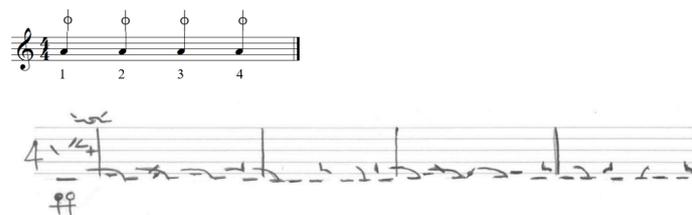


Figure 6. 16 Metric Symmetric Çâçak Step

Moderato (= 104)

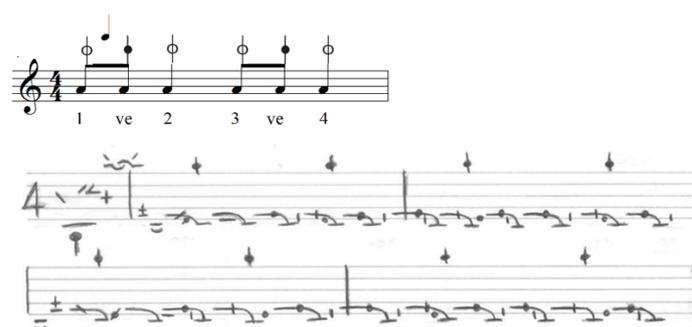


Figure 7. Rijetko (Topcino/Rijeko/Užičko Kolo)

repertoire of Bosniak Sandžak communities. The *Ramo Ramo* dance, which is frequently danced by Bulgarian migrants today, is also among the most popular dances in traditional Bosniak entertainment.

Our research showed that the symmetrical step order is mainly used in the traditional environment of the Bosniak dance in the Sandžak region. Depending on the level of pleasure the dance atmosphere gives to people during the performance, the steps of the dancers can be diversified with skipping, jumping and similar motifs, producing a wide range of combinations of personal improvisations without disrupting the basic form of dance.

Allegro (♩ = 150)

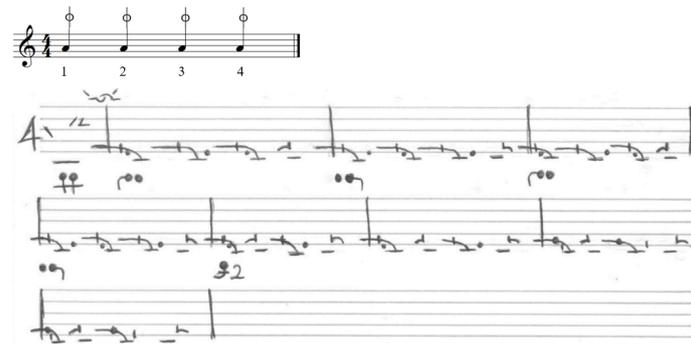


Figure 8. Rujmari

Presto (♩ = 120)

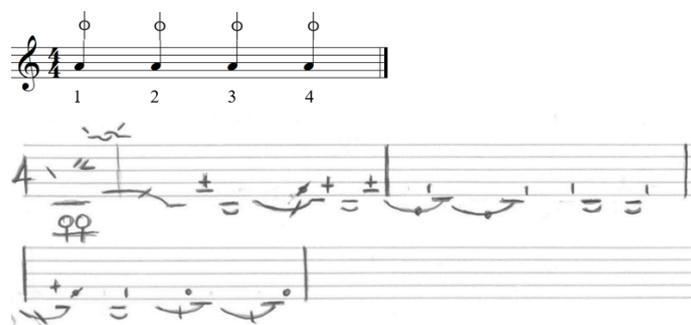


Figure 9. Krimino Asymmetric 12 Metric Hopping

Allegretto (♩ = 115)

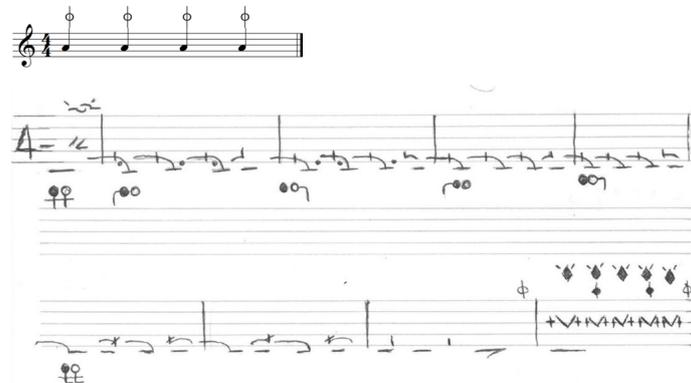


Figure 10. Damat Halayi Half Asymmetric

Allegro (♩ = 144)

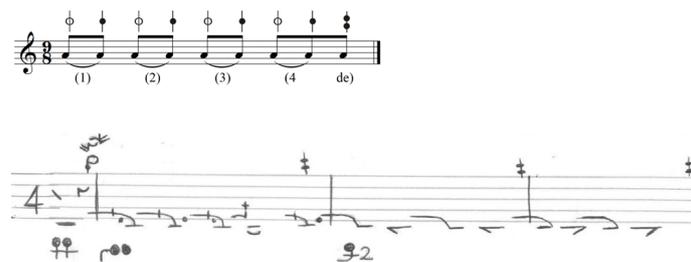


Figure 11.9 Metric 3 Step Asymmetric (Arabaya Taş Koydum)

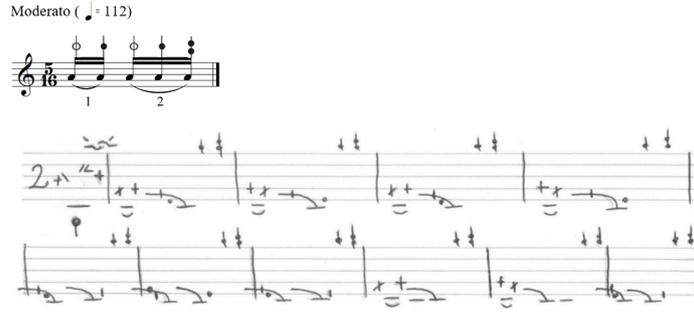


Figure 12. Paydushko Asymmetric

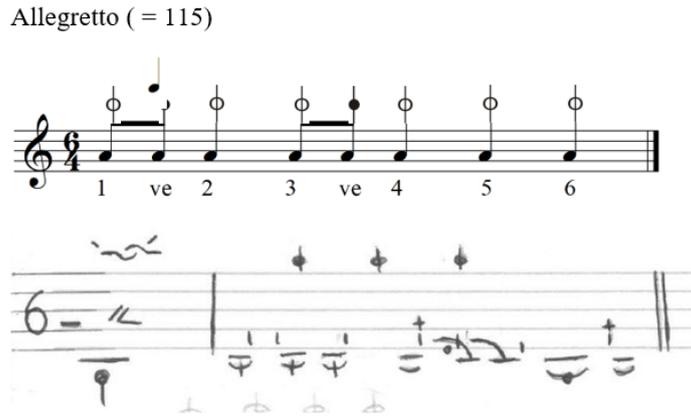


Figure 13. Asymmetric Novi Pazar Tursko Kolo - Gayda

Sandžak Region Balkan Dances Performed in Folk Dance Works

In order to determine the dance repertoire of the Sandžak region folk dance ensembles, this study conducted research through participant observation of the activities of the Istanbul Pendik Sandžak Bosniaks Association and the Izmir Sandžak Bosniaks Association folk dance groups. In addition, meetings with folk dance instructors were recorded. The dance staging of the Sandžak folk dance communities was reviewed over the internet to allow us to make a general deduction on the dance staging and choreography of Bosniak folk dance teams. The dance repertoire was determined by studying the Bosniak folk dance ensembles in the Teferič and Pita festivities of the Sandžak Bosniaks Charity, Solidarity and Culture associations. As a case study, the rehearsals of the Istanbul Bosnia Sandžak Social Assistance and Cultural Association Children's Folk Dance Ensemble on 27 August 2021 were recorded through participant observation. Information about the staged dances was compiled through discussions with the folk dance instructors about the dance repertoire.

Conclusion

Traditional dance in migration societies serves as an important social factor in the context of social communication, cultural transmission, determination of social and economic hierarchy and the establishment of a community consciousness based on belonging. The analysis of the dance culture of migration societies contributes to understanding the social structure, given that one of the most important symbols depicting cultural identity is traditional dance.

Today, the Sandžak region Bosniak dances are grouped under a separate classification with its unique structure within the Turkish dance culture. Cultural dances of Bosniak communities, which were displaced as a result of migration, can be addressed in two main contexts.

Firstly, traditional dances are owned as a national identity. Bosniak migrants have a political commitment to the dances of the geography that they have been separated from under the psychology of 'return to motherland'. For them, traditional dance is an identity that shows ethnic existence in the motherland. Therefore, it can be said that Bosniak societies show more intense interest in intellectual national values in traditional dance environments. Also signs and symbols that reveal Turkish identity are widely used.

Secondly, Bosniaks own their traditional dance as an indicator of their ethnic society. Ethnic societies set boundaries

between them by restricting their relations with external societies due to disparity and common experience. They clearly demonstrate their commitment to the 'inner group' by separating themselves from the 'outer group'. The argument is that as long as they are successful in maintaining their differences, it will be possible to maintain their own identity. In environments surrounded by different cultural structures, Bosniaks resist interaction and change, and the existence of a desire to preserve traditional culture in the form of a closed society is observed. Bosniak societies use their dance to communicate messages with internal and external groups, including political-ideological, educational, religious and economic features that define their ethnic culture.

The dances in Sandžak migrants' cultural memory play an important role in the context of cultural identity, in remembering the past, positioning the present and moving expectations into the future.

The basic functions of traditional dances in the cultural memory of migrant people can be classified under three main topics:

- to remember the network of archaic symbolic systems that ensure the internal integrity of the group and ensure the continuation of their traditions
- to emphasize the difference between other groups by drawing their boundaries with other cultures
- to ensure the social integration of the new generation in the self-awareness of Bosniak culture within the socio-economic system that becomes hybrid and globalised.

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The Role of Traditional Dances in the Creation of the Bosniak Ethnic Identity in Istanbul

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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the current presentational dance practices of Bosniaks in Istanbul. In May 2022, field research was carried out in two Bosniak associations in Türkiye's metropolis of Istanbul with the aim of determining the dance and music repertoire practiced by the members of these associations. The research collects basic information about the aforementioned community in relation to the interpretations of the (re)creation of the Bosniak ethnic identity in Türkiye. In a broader sense, this process should be understood in light of the complex historical, sociocultural, and sociopolitical relations between the country regions of Türkiye and the Balkans. This paper presents basic information and theoretical interpretations about the Bosniak associations' presentational dance repertoire in Istanbul.

Keywords: Bosniaks, kinetics dance form, presentational practices

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Introduction

Bosniaks¹ started migrating to Anatolia in the 19th century as a result of ethnic and religious conflicts. The migration of Bosniaks to Anatolia is recorded by historians as comprising five major mass migrations². During this time, which includes the period from the Treaty of Berlin (July 13, 1878) to the dissolution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (November 29, 1945–April 27, 1992), dance elements from the Bosniak communities that migrated to Anatolia have further enriched the multi-layered cultural color of traditional dances in Türkiye.

The founders of the Bosniak associations in Istanbul had moved to Türkiye in the second half of the 20th century. The majority of this population originates from the anthropogeographical region of Raška in Serbia (Petrović, 2010), which is called Sandžak by the local community as a reference to the Ottoman period in the history of this region. The administrative center of this region is Novi Pazar. The geographic location of Novi Pazar is defined by the mountain massifs of Golija and Rogozna, the Pešter-Sjenica plateau, and the river Raška, which runs through the city. Novi Pazar was founded in the 15th century. The city's foundations were laid by Isa-beg Ishaković, who had 'a complex of buildings constructed' (i.e., a mosque, a caravanserai, a hammam, and 56 shops) near the town of Ras (Kahrović-Jerebičanin, 2014, p. 17). The city grew as an artisanal and mercantile center that has largely remained to this day. The Ottoman rule of Novi Pazar lasted quite some time until the First Serbian Uprising in 1804, when many Serbs moved away as a large number of Montenegrins and Herzegovinians came to settle in the city. Large migrations also occurred following the Congress of Berlin in 1878. In other words, while the Muslim population left the city, it was then settled by people from Montenegro, Herzegovina, Bosnia, and central Serbia, as well as by a number of Circassians (Kahrović-Jerebičanin, 2014, p. 25). After the Balkan Wars, Serbs liberated Novi Pazar from Turkish rule in 1912 (Kahrović-Jerebičanin, 2014, p. 26). With World War I came Austro-Hungarian rule, replaced by the Kingdom of Yugoslavia after the war. Interestingly, Novi Pazar during all those years was home to a large number of Jews who'd been exiled by Germans after World War II (Kahrović-Jerebičanin, 2014, p. 27). During this period, Novi Pazar was settled by people from Pešter, Golija, Bihor, Rogozna, and the valley of the river Lim.

My research in Istanbul collected basic information about the Bosniak community from Novi Pazar and its surroundings in relation to the interpretation of the (re)creation of their ethnic identity in Türkiye. Members of Bosniak associations practice newly-composed folk music from the former Yugoslavia (predominantly from Bosnia and Herzegovina) and the traditional dances of various regions. As a rule, folk songs are performed in a massive participatory context, while traditional dances are predominantly performed in a presentational (stage) context. The dance repertoire is rehearsed with children who attend primary school (ages 7–14) and functions as a part of various stage programs. This practice shares basic characteristics with the dance practices of the cultural-artistic societies of former Yugoslavia that still exist in this area. Children are taught by what one would describe as the choreographer, a person who has experience as a dancer in ex-Yu amateurism. Namely, the people who lead the dance groups said they had been members of various cultural-artistic societies in Yugoslavia before coming to Istanbul.

The recorded dance repertoire is presented in the form of a choreography of traditional dances lasting about 6 minutes. The mentioned choreography form in an ideological sense refers to the lost traditional dance practice and has the aim of preserving the dances (as per Andriy Nahachewsky [Nahačevski], 2012). This kind of stage performance currently practiced in Serbia is included in the concept of preserving intangible cultural heritage and involves presenting and interpreting heritage (Rakočević & Ranisavljević, 2021). Since its beginnings in the mid-20th century as initiated by the *Kolo* Foundation of the Folk Dances and Songs Ensemble of Serbia in 1948 and by the work of choreographer Olga Skovran, choreographic practices in Serbia have been predominantly based on the idea of preserving traditional dances and their kinetic forms. In the ethnochoreological practices in Serbia, the dances and kinetic forms have previously been explained using the terms "types of dances" (Janković & Janković, 1949, p. 45) and "dance types" (Vasić, 2002, pp. 266–274), while current ethnochoreological practices make use of the theoretical concept of formal types, or formal types of kinetics (Ranisavljević, 2022). By applying this concept, one can say that the stage presentation of traditional dances in Serbia, as well as in the wider territory of former Yugoslavia, predominantly involves adhering to the formal types of kinetics recorded in the field. Repertoires of amateur cultural and artistic societies in this region, as well as those of professional ensembles, are largely based on the ethnochoreological concept of dance dialects, which refer to anthropogeographical entities (i.e., dance zones according to Ivančan, 1971 or ethnochoreological entities according

¹ The term Bosniaks is the construct of the political context regarding the first decade of the 21st century in ex-Yugoslavia territory.

² Yugoslavia's first internal migration movement to other Balkan lands and partially toward Anatolia started with the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878, continued with the Balkan War of 1912–1913, and took place at the individual and family levels between 1923–1951, at a mass level in 1952–1967 and again at the individual and family levels between 1968–1996 (Tekin, 2018).

to Vasić, 2011), with integrated individual smaller anthropogeographical areas. These entities differ according to the predominant recognizable formal types of kinetics.

In the era of safeguarding intangible cultural heritage based on the idea of preserving the continuity of traditional kinetic forms while referencing specific traditional dance (kinetic and music) content, the presentational dance practices in the territory of Serbia and former Yugoslavia have become a medium for preserving intangible cultural heritage. Consequently, through the practices in cultural and artistic societies, dance heritage becomes an instrument in the creation of national identity (Rašić, 2022). In the same way, Bosniaks in Istanbul use dance practices to create their ethnic identity. A detailed analysis of the dance repertoire in the case of one of the two largest Bosniak associations indicates a specific hybrid identity for this community. Through the performance of dances that refer to the wider area of the so-called Sandžak, this community clearly expresses its ideological affiliation.

The choreography performed by the children in this association involves the following six dances: 1) *čačak*, 2) *Po potoku sitna riba* [Small Fish in the Stream] (a popular song from Novi Pazar), 3) *čoček*, 4) *a la turka*, 5) *gajdarsko oro* (*oro gajde*), and 6) *kunješte*. The kinetic components will occur the focus of the dance analysis, which is the main carrier of the semantic meaning. The musical examples represent the original general-purpose recordings, which in this sense have a lower semantic potential.

The Traditional Dance *Čačak*

Čačak is a traditional dance that is performed in the live participatory practice of southeastern Serbia (the Sandžak region is located on the opposite side of Serbia in the south-west). This dance has a characteristic ten-measure asymmetrical basic step pattern (like the Bulgarian *horo*) and is usually performed in a round-chain dance formation. In the performance of the group from the Bosniak association, the kinetic pattern of *čačak* is realized 1) as a symmetrical step pattern of two measures to the right and two measures to the left, then four measures to the right and four measures to the left, as well as 2) as a solo dance formation. The basic indicator of *čačak* in this case is the melody. This group simply used the most famous melody of this dance in the sphere of choreographic folklore in Serbia. Radojka Živković (1923–2002) recorded this melody on the accordion in the mid-20th century³. *Čačak* has many different melodies that are combined during the performance in Serbia's current participatory practice.

The Popular Novi Pazar Song *Po Potoku Sitna Riba*

One of the basic characteristics of the dance tradition in Novi Pazar is dancing accompanied by song. The song *Po potoku sitna riba* is the most popular song in current practices in Novi Pazar and a specific symbol of the musical tradition of Novi Pazar. The kinetic patterns of the dances with song accompaniment, in both participatory and presentational practice, as a rule imply a three-measure basic step pattern and a round-chain dance formation. In the performance of the dance group from the Bosniak association in Istanbul, the kinetic pattern with the song *Po potoku sitna riba* was realized as 1) a symmetrical step pattern of two measures to the right and two measures to the left, or 2) in a solo dance formation.

The Melody *Čoček*

Čoček in Serbia is primarily a part of the brass orchestra repertoire in the Vranje region of southeastern Serbia, where *čoček* is predominantly performed by the Roma people using very specific trumpet melodies in 4/4 rhythm and a slow tempo. *Čoček* in Novi Pazar is performed with different melodies that are usually played on a keyboard with the characteristic Latin American rhythm known as the Rumba. The kinetic pattern of *čoček* in the participatory practice in Novi Pazar implies a symmetrical basic step pattern (2+2) and a dual formation of 1) a pair formation of a man and a woman, and 2) a round-chain dance formation that circles around the separated pair (Ranisavljević, 2022). In the performance of the dance group from the Bosniak association in Istanbul, *čoček's* kinetic and musical patterns refer to the participatory practice of Novi Pazar, with a difference in the parameter of the dance formation. In the case of the Bosniak association, this was a solo formation. Knowing that *čoček* has a same rhythm as a Turkish *köçek* (4/4) as well as very similar melody patterns is important.

The Dance *A la Turka*

The *a la turka* dance from Novi Pazar, being a so-called old Turkish dance, is not very present in the current dance practices in Serbia. More precisely, it is typically performed only by educated dancers. According to Nazim Ademović,

³ Suvosr. (2012, October 11). Radojka Živković – *Čačak kolo* [Video]. YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9IWO9V3Bv_0

a dance choreographer from Novi Pazar, *a la turka* is a dance suitable for competition, which is why in the first half of the 20th century it was performed separately in male and female communities, in pairs of two men or two women (Ranisavljević, 2014). A few versions of *a la turka* are found to have been recorded in the literature. The terms *jedno* (Turkish: *bir* [one]), *dvoje* (Turkish: *iki* [two]), and *troje* (Turkish: *üç* [three]) refer to different elements that are added to the basic step pattern, such as stomps, triple-steps, or hops.

Performing *a la turka* as well as other old Turkish dances in the urban environment involves a few skilled dancers dancing separately in the center of a circle formed by an open mixed round chain dance. These individuals perform a specific dance to appropriate music accompaniment, while the other dancers in the outer *kolo* commonly perform a uniform three-measure step pattern. In the performance of the dance group from the Bosniak association in Istanbul, *a la turka*'s kinetic and musical patterns directly refer to the participatory practices from Novi Pazar, with a difference in the parameter of the dance formation. In the case of the Bosniak association, it again was a solo formation. The referencing of Turkish by using the term *a la turka* is a consequence of the need for religious and ethnic differentiation in the Muslim community of Novi Pazar. This differentiation is explicitly realized in the form of the names of dances (e.g., *a la turka*), the specific types of performed kinetics (e.g., soft dancing), and elements of folk costumes.

The Melody *Gajdarsko Oro (Oro Gajde)*

Gajdarsko oro, also known as *oro gajde*, is a little-known instrumental number recorded in the mid-20th century by the Macedonian accordionist Kočo Petrovski (1926–1988), and then by the Serbian accordionist Dušan Radetić (1923–1967) in 1962. This melody clearly refers to Macedonian traditional music, but its rhythm and tempo are in some ways more closely resemble the Bulgarian *horos* than the Macedonian *horos*. The Bosniak association in Istanbul can be assumed to have chosen this piece because of its attractive melody, rhythm, and fast (*presto*) tempo. This dance group realized the kinetic pattern of this performance with the melody of *gajdarsko oro* identical to most other dances: 1) as a symmetrical step pattern of two measures to the right and two measures to the left, and 2) in a solo dance formation.

The Dance *Kukunješte*

The *kukunješte* dance is one of the most popular dances of the earlier dance tradition in central Serbia. The name of this dance was first recorded in the literature in 1876 (Milićević, 1876). *Kukunješte* is not present in the current participatory dance practice, but it is very often included in the choreographies of traditional dances from central Serbia. The ethnochoreology literature of the second half of the 20th century has many versions of *kukunješte* with different basic step patterns and melodies. The basic common characteristic of all *kukunješte* versions include an eight-measure kinetic form with two dichotomous lateral kinetic phrases (1.3+1.3 patterns) and performed in a round-chain dance formation. The dance group from the Bosniak association in Istanbul performed the version with the melody called *arapsko kukunješte*, which is the most popular melody in choreographic folklore in Serbia⁴. The kinetic pattern of *kukunješte* is realized without referring to the source as 1) a symmetrical step pattern of two measures to the right, two measures to the left, then four measures to the right and four measures to the left, and 2) in a solo dance formation.

Based on the kinetic and musical analysis of the selected dances, the main criterion for their identification can be concluded to be the musical component. In other words, the dances performed within the stage programs of the Bosniak associations in Istanbul refer to the original melodies of particular dances, while their kinetic component (primarily kinetic format) has been changed and retains no basis in its traditional heritage (except for fragments of *a la turka* and *čoček*). Specifically, the dance patterns of *čačak*, the songs from Novi Pazar, *čoček*, *gajdarsko oro*, and *kukunješte* do not correspond to the original kinetic forms of the referenced dances. In the dance tradition of Serbia, the basic step pattern of *čačak* as a rule has 10 measures. The songs from Novi Pazar are most often performed on the basis of a three-measure step pattern, while *čoček* is performed as an improvisation, and *gajdarsko oro/oro gajde* has no authentic step pattern. In addition, *kukunješte* has a recognizable pattern of 8 measures (like the *kolo* dance, currently the most popular dance in Serbia). Specifically, the kinetic forms of the five dances from the analyzed choreography are based on the universal formal principle of symmetry.

Kinetic form represents the basic fundamental indicator of dance heritage on stage (Ranisavljević, 2022). For example, the processes of registering elements of dance heritage on the National Lists of Intangible Cultural Heritage and various UNESCO lists are primarily based on identifying a dance through its kinetic form. Using the notion of kinetic form, one may identify concrete relationships between local and regional traditions⁵.

⁴ One example is the choreography *Narodne igre iz Šumadije* by Desanka Đorđević (see Ranisavljević, 2011).

⁵ For example, a pattern with a three-measure kinetic form in Serbia is known as *lako kolo*; however, this form is represented in the wider area of south-eastern Europe (as well as in Türkiye) under different names of individual dances, with different melodies and variations in kinetic content.

The dance repertoire practiced in the Bosniak associations in Istanbul, or more precisely the kinetic patterns, does not overtly correspond to the kinetic forms and dance formations of traditional heritage. At this moment, the question of reference relations arises. Namely, what is the source of the dance kinetic patterns of the analyzed dances? By looking into the traditions of choreographic folklore in Serbia (see Bajić-Stojiljković, 2019; Ranisavljević, 2011, 2018), one can conclude the use of the principle of symmetry to create new dance patterns accompanied by well-known traditional melodies to have been the basic characteristic of creators in the amateurism of Belgrade (the capital of Serbia) in the second half of the 20th century. Stepping away from traditional kinetic forms in this practice had the meaning of distancing oneself from rural tradition with the aim of creating a new Yugoslav stage art. This type of choreography is based on universal symmetrical basic step patterns (e.g., 2+2, 4+4, 8+8), well-known melodies from traditional dances, and universal kinetic motifs (e.g., basic triple step, crossing step, hop up, hop down). The case of the group from the Bosniak associations in Istanbul performing all dances in a solo formation implies a separation from the round-chain dance formation as an immanent formation of the referenced dance traditions and a closer relation to the current dance practices of Novi Pazar where solo dancing is popular (e.g., in *čoček*).

The stage dance practices in the Bosniak associations from Istanbul is motivated by the idea of preserving ethnic dances, but the concrete selection of dance repertoire implies a non-referential creative process. In other words, it represents a hybrid practice in which the following are represented: 1) the melodies of the dances of southeastern Serbia (i.e., *čačak*), Novi Pazar (i.e., songs and *čoček*), and central Serbia (i.e., *kukunješće*); 2) a popular instrumental melody from Macedonia (i.e., *gajdarsko oro*), and 3) only one specific dance from Novi Pazar (i.e., *a la turka*). If one looks at the analyzed presentational dance practices together with the live participatory music practices in Bosniak associations, this community can be concluded to have created its own ethnic identity based on the Yugoslav ideological heritage. In this process, they have used the iconic symbols of former Yugoslavia (and other places) that they still recognize as their own, such as the most popular dance melodies and composed songs, as well as particular elements of the dance heritage of Novi Pazar (i.e., dance and dance formation), as markers of local identity (i.e., Bosniaks from the so-called Sandžak region).

Traditional dance in migration societies serves as an important social phenomenon in the context of social communication. Today, the so-called Sandžak region's Bosniak dances are grouped under a separate classification with their unique structure within Turkish dance culture. Bosniak migrants have a political commitment to the dances of the geography that they were separated from under the psychology of a return to the motherland. For them, traditional dance is an identity that reveals their ethnic existence in the motherland, and they own their traditional dance as an indicator of their ethnic society. In environments surrounded by different cultural structures, Bosniaks resist interaction and change, and a desire to preserve traditional culture in the form of a closed society is observed to be present. Bosniak societies use their dances to communicate messages to internal and external groups and include the political, ideological, educational, religious, and economic features that define their ethnic culture.

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Urban Folk Music Legacy from Former Yugoslavia in Contemporary Istanbul

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In honor of dear Prof. Dr. Selena Rakočević (1971–2022). Memory eternal!

ABSTRACT

This article presents initial observations from the fieldwork in Istanbul in 2022, where short-term research of immigrant communities from former Yugoslavia was conducted within the project of bilateral cooperation, *Exploring the Tracks of Balkan Culture: Serbian–Turkish Connections in Music and Dance from Ottoman Period until Today (TRackeRS)*. Nowadays, these communities are specific because of their atypical migration direction, from Serbia and former Yugoslavia – toward the East. They cherish their traditions through choirs, and nostalgically remember their homeland through two types of urban folk music related to Serbia (and former Yugoslavia) – *sevdalinka* (which evokes their Ottoman ancestry) and *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (‘newly-composed folk music’, which evokes their Yugoslav reality from the time of their youth). The article examines the role of these popular folk music practices, their potential in safeguarding the culture of origin (especially because of the threatening oblivion of the language), as well as the potential for social cohesion in choral singing.

Keywords: *Sevdalinka, novokomponovana narodna muzika*, urban folk music

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Introduction

The main motif of the Serbian team working on the project *Exploring the Tracks of Balkan Culture: Serbian–Turkish Connections in Music and Dance from Ottoman Period until Today (TRackeRS)* was to initiate a demystification of the ‘Ottoman’, ‘Turkish’ and ‘Eastern’ inherited influences in Serbian folk music, especially attributed to urban folk music genres. Another aim was to examine ethnographically contemporary field situation regarding Serbian–Turkish music and dance connections. The project *TRackeRS* addresses a wide period of asymmetrical influences in culture, albeit with limited sources available – covering the centuries starting from the Ottoman rule, but predominantly from the second half of the 19th century until today. Inspired by “post-Eurocentric historical thinking” (Strohm, 2018, p. XIII), we use available historical sources and also gather ethnographic primary sources in an attempt to establish a dialogue between two national ‘ethnomusicological schools’. Our aim is to write histories of direct relations of music cultures at the periphery of Europe, having in mind diachronic focuses on political circumstances such as late Ottoman rule, the independence of Serbia after the liberation, the monarchist Yugoslavia, socialist Yugoslavia, the 1990s wars in former Yugoslavia, and today’s status of ‘the diplomatic relations at the highest level in modern history’ between Serbia and Türkiye (MFA, 2021; Politika, 2022). In these periods there were different cultural contacts and each one of them can be a fruitful topic – starting from the curiosity for establishing mutual coexistence in the past in several regions, or cultural understanding today, which altogether resulted in the presence of available data which we endeavor to collect. At the same time, the lack of information could lead to questions which will remain unanswered, such as the oblivion of Ottoman heritage, on the one hand, and the assimilation of Slavic minorities’ cultures, on the other.

These relations are especially interesting if the problematization of Orientalism and Balkan studies context is applied¹. The Balkans’ position of ‘Orient within Europe’ brought through various historical interpretations of the region’s geographical borders, political renaming (Southeastern Europe), and division (resulting in the establishment of the so-called Western Balkans), whose axis is related towards the previous Ottoman Empire and heritage and today embodied in Türkiye. Contemporary states in the Balkans are rooted in national renaissance paradigms, and their independencies were gained with immanent tendencies of national growth and neighboring conflicts. However, our idea was to search for commonalities in music and dance practices, according to the perspective that cultures in the Balkans have shared heritage and the necessity for international collaborative research².

This article presents the results of initial short-term fieldwork, which was held in Istanbul in 2022, where we met immigrant communities from former Yugoslavia who, having lived in Türkiye for several decades, still cherish their traditions and nostalgically remember their homeland through two types of urban folk music related to Serbia (and former Yugoslavia) – *sevdalinka*, which for them evokes their Ottoman ancestry, and *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (Eng: newly-composed folk music), which evokes their Yugoslav reality from the time of their youth.

The Setup of Collaborative Research in Istanbul

Although every ethnographic research is collaborative (in terms of direct interaction during the fieldwork), with this project we wanted to improve professional collaboration in our region and to research topics that are interesting to the two teams in the partnership, and also with an awareness that so far it had been impossible to research these topics without international cooperation. This project crosses national and language boundaries (although through communication in English) and implies an aim for scientific reciprocity. So far, through the project, we had mutual study visits, which included the external addition of three historians’ lectures from both sides who are experts in Ottoman–Serbian relations and written sources about culture, joint conference, as well as the plan for the publications (such as this special issue). Above all, we have bilateral ethnomusicological, musicological and ethnochoreological collaboration for research of primary sources about folk music and dance. The planned collaboration can be described as follows: “We might sum up collaborative ethnography as an approach to ethnography that deliberately and explicitly emphasizes collaboration at every point in the ethnographic process, without veiling it – from project conceptualization to fieldwork and especially through the writing process. Collaborative ethnography invites commentary from our consultants and seeks to make that commentary overtly part of the ethnographic text as it develops” (Lassiter, 2005, p. 16). Our realization of collaborative research in these politically sensitive circumstances included: the definition of common project goals, fieldwork facilitation by Turkish team members, with accompanied field expeditions supported by translations, consultations during data analysis, a team approach (among Serbian ethnomusicologists, ethnochoreologists, musicologists, as well

¹ Especially metaphorical interpretation of the area between the East and West: Bakić Hayden, 1995; Todorova, 1997; Bjelić and Savić, 2002 etc.

² Local ethnomusicological and musicological discourse about the Balkans produced important edited volumes (e.g., Peycheva & Rodel, 2008; Despić, Jovanović, & Lajić Mihajlović, 2011; Medić & Tomašević, 2015; Medić 2020; proceedings of ICTM SG for Southeastern Europe from 2008 onwards: cf. ICTM SEE, 2023), and even before that, the region has been an interesting topic for foreign researchers, and most of them are from the USA and the UK (e.g., Buchanan, 2007; Laušević, 2007; Bohlman & Petković, 2011; Samson, 2013).

as bilateral group teamwork, and we also formed bilateral micro teams after that). Toward the end of the project, we will develop a common shared database (with recorded material and literature), which will foster the production of individual research results.

In the first phase of this project, a four-member Serbian team (Dr. Katarina Tomašević, Dr. Ivana Medić, Dr. Zdravko Ranisavljević and Dr. Marija Dumnić Vilotijević as the Principal Researcher) visited Istanbul in May 2022. We were in search of the legacy of Serbian/Yugoslav immigrants, but we did not find it – the lack of tangible historical musical sources (scores and recordings) was the first obstacle. That is why we turned to ethnographic fieldwork with the associations. On that occasion, we did not focus on examining their minority ethnic self-identifications, hence we did not directly enquire whether they were of Slavic origin (although their country of origin and the language that they used strongly suggested that they were), or of Turkish origin (because, at the time of their emigration from Yugoslavia after World War II, Yugoslavia was also home to Muslims of other ethnicities, including Turks). Instead, we focused on music and dance performances as forms that are similar to the heritage that is known today in the area of former Yugoslavia, especially in Serbia.

Bosna–Sandžak Associations and Migrations to Istanbul

As explained to us during the lecture by the historian Dr. Cengiz Çağla, at the beginning of the 20th century, Serbs were members of a higher social stratum in Istanbul, which implied their Western worldview in this cosmopolitan city, their affiliation to the Greek Orthodox Church, and preservation of some customs (e.g., customs related to weddings and *slava* celebrations), but later on, they were affected by assimilation. Therefore, we focused on recent immigrants from the present-day southwestern Serbian region of the Raška District, who are of Muslim faith and do not self-identify as ethnic Serbs. During our short-term research, together with a three-member team from Türkiye (Dr. Abdullah Akat, Dr. Belma Oğul and Dr. Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin), we visited two main associations in Istanbul which serve as gathering places for immigrants and their descendants who originate from former Yugoslavia. Our fieldwork with the Pendik association was more rewarding during this visit because we had the opportunity to be present, to record their singing and dancing (audio and video), and finally to participate in one choir rehearsal. With both choirs' conductors (Selahattin Bilir from the Türkiye Bosnia–Sanjak Association, from the European side of Istanbul, and Reşat Sipahi from the Istanbul Anatolian Side Bosnia–Sanjak Social Assistance and Culture Association) I had separate semi-structured interviews in the Serbian language (S. Bilir, personal communication, May 16, 2022; R. Sipahi, personal communication, August 9, 2022). Both conductors were born in former Yugoslavia in the mid-20th century and came to Istanbul as children; they do not have any formal musical education, but Bilir has a career as a vocal soloist in Turkish art music (he described it to me as *turski sevdah* – Turkish music genre similar to *sevdalinka*). In addition to these two conductors, in both associations, we met leading persons and we were present at children's folk dance rehearsals (which was a research topic for ethnochoreologists from both teams).

Türkiye Bosnia–Sanjak Association (*Türkiye Bosna Sancak Derneği*) was the first established association, founded in 1989 in the Yıldırım neighborhood of Bayrampaşa District of Istanbul. It operates in the social and cultural fields and has the status of Associations Operating in the Public Interest by the Council of Ministers. On the 30th anniversary of its establishment, it took the word 'Türkiye' at the beginning of its title with the approval and decision of the Turkish Ministry of Internal Affairs. The association aims to ensure the cooperation and solidarity of its members in the socio-cultural field, in addition to finding jobs, shelter, and support in the field of education for the compatriots who have recently migrated to the Republic of Türkiye. The association has been actively involved in charity activities since the first day and carries out cultural activities. As was presented to us at this association, the first arrivals from the area of former Yugoslavia were in the 17th century. There were several bigger waves of migrants and refugees, displaced into today's Türkiye: after the Congress of Berlin (1878), the Balkan Wars (1912–1913), World War I (1918), during the 1950s and 1960s when Yugoslav authorities tacitly supported the emigration of poverty-stricken Muslims to Türkiye via (North) Macedonia³, and finally during and after the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s. The former two groups are today the majority among the population which originates from the area of former Yugoslavia.

³ As Ejup Mušović claimed in his detailed research: "The emigration of Sandžak Muslims to Türkiye was intensive from 1953 to 1957 and from 1965 to 1971. In the beginning, Sandžak Muslims immigrated to Macedonia, where they stayed temporarily and continued to Türkiye because it was easier to get a release from citizenship there" (Mušović, 1979, p. 113). It should be explained that it was also the period when the so-called *gastarbeiters* emerged in Yugoslavia – namely, numerous citizens of Yugoslavia went abroad, especially to Western countries, with the idea to earn a certain amount of money that would help them to resolve existential issues in the homeland. Their staying was often long (even lifelong) and their second and third generations would be born in that country – nevertheless, the *gastarbeiters'* transition was never completed and they stayed "trapped" between two countries and cultures (Rašić, 2022, pp. 16–17). In the aforementioned periods, it was noticeable that low-qualified men were mostly going to foreign countries, and in 1963 there were official 'Instructions' about temporary employment of Yugoslav workers in Western Europe (Rašić, 2022, pp. 22–23).

The second association, the Istanbul Anatolian Side Bosnia–Sanjak Social Assistance and Culture Association (*İstanbul Anadolu Yakası Bosna–Sancak Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Kültür Derneği*) was founded in 1992. According to information from their TV program, the first Bosnian settlement in Pendik was established in 1956 (during our visit, we noticed that the entire neighborhood is marked with symbols of ‘the Balkans’ through the naming of restaurants, shops, and small business places after typical personal names and toponyms). Ejup Mušović visited immigrant communities in Istanbul and Bursa in 1968 and 1973 and gave illustrative observations about the hard beginnings of these communities in the new environment:

Muslims from Sandžak, who emigrated to Türkiye in the post-war period⁴, settled in the following cities: Istanbul, Bursa, Adapazarı and Izmir. Almost none of them settled in a Turkish village. Overall, they were poorly received there and experienced huge disappointments. [...] They formed special settlements on the outskirts of the mentioned cities: Kuçukoj, Pendik – in Istanbul, Budža – in Izmir, etc. They built houses there, with the help of loans that they obtained under very unfavorable conditions. [...] As soon as they built houses, men went to Western European countries to look for jobs. Women and children, even as young as twelve, were employed in private factories, working for twelve hours a day for low wages. [...] A large number of immigrant children remained out of school; the number of those who attended secondary schools is quite small, and those who studied can be counted on the fingers of one hand. There they took new surnames: Aksoy (bright genus), Yıldız (star), Demir (iron), Ak-Bayrak (bright flag), Sancaklı (Sandžaklije), etc. They had nothing in the Serbo-Croatian language: schools, press, cultural-artistic associations or anything else, so they were exposed to absolute Turkization. The life of the majority of Muslims who emigrated to Türkiye is difficult and arduous, but it is not worse and more difficult than the life they had in Sandžak at the time of emigration. (Mušović, 1979, p. 115)

Both associations are today important nodes for Slavic immigrants from Türkiye’s west. The Anatolian side association organizes many cultural activities and opens some courses such as folk dance, painting, chess, rug weaving, etc. They have a small library, conference hall, classrooms, wedding/performance hall, and lounge including a small ethnographic exhibition area. There are several important remembrance days for the association (such as Srebrenica Commemoration, 11th May Sanjak Flag Day, Islamic holidays, Çanakkale Martyrs Remembrance Day, and some other Turkish national days and festivals – based on the information available in their bulletins)⁵.

Liminality between Ottoman and Yugoslav Lost Homelands

Members of these communities have complex identifications, and the main ones are: religious – they are Muslims, and migrational – they emphasize their origin and, to a lesser degree, their liminal position and its consequences. They are voluntarily gathered in associations that are named after and based on a legacy of ‘Bosna’ (part of Bosnia and Herzegovina) and ‘Sandžak’. The former refers to the Ottoman administrative district Sandžak of Novi Pazar, which existed from 1865 to 1912, when it was divided between Serbia and Montenegro after the end of Ottoman rule. ‘Sandžak’ is today used by Bosniaks (which is an ethnic category today, mostly declared in the state Bosnia and Herzegovina, defined by religion) as an unofficial synonym for the Raška District in Serbia. So, the prior homeland of members of these communities, even their citizenship in some cases, is usually in Serbia, Montenegro, or Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their Turkish identity is marked by their religion, names, use of language, and finally by today’s living place and citizenship. Except that, in the exhibited forms of expression of their cultural identity which were present during fieldwork (e.g., music, pictures, and costumes), there are obvious references to Ottoman legacy. As Belma Oğul wrote after her research of ‘Balkan communities’ in Istanbul, they “have common emotions constituted by their earlier social and political connections with the Ottoman State (Bosna and Herzegovina 1463–1878), later dispersed family members living both in Türkiye and Bosnia, Montenegro, Serbia. In other words, they consider themselves as sharing the same ancestry. The fact that Islam and Turkishness are considered as equivalents in the Balkans gives the feeling of common consanguinity” (Oğul, 2019, p. 181). Their migration toward the East, which is close geographically, but above all to the perceived historical homeland, encouraged an interesting theoretical interpretation of Oğul: “Migrants have mixed and contradictory feelings about the old and new homeland since they are influenced by emotions, caused by the similarities and differences within both homelands; therefore, they may feel the belonging to more than one homeland. So, we can call this kind of mobility the ‘interhomeland migration’” (2019, p. 190).

The thing that attracted me the most in the given field situation was the openness of members of the associations with whom I had contact toward our Serbian–Turkish project, which actually evoked an understanding of their migration, but also revealed their essentially Yugoslav narrative in the present-day middle and older generations. Namely, during our meetings they often underlined the aspect of ‘togetherness’ through recalls of ‘our’ (*naše*, which avoids ethnical naming and carries the implication of understanding): ‘our homeland’ (despite the fact that Yugoslavia fell apart), ‘our

⁴ Here is described post-World War II period.

⁵ I cordially thank Prof. Dr. Abdullah Akat (from the State Conservatory of the Istanbul University, the Principal Investigator from the Turkish team at the project *TRackeRS*) for the general information about both societies and their activities, which were originally in the Turkish language.

ancestry' (despite historical ethnic and religious clashes), 'our language' (despite recent stratification and state-political renaming of some languages), 'our music', and 'our dance'. In addition, they recognized our professional, institutional and bilateral interest in common music and dance practices as very welcome. It should be mentioned that our choir hosts did not perceive our joint professional project in a neo-Ottoman-Empire light – their nostalgia was more restorative than reflective, to use Svetlana Boym's (2001) terminology.

In this situation, their Yugoslav narrative was essentially Yugonostalgic, although with implied significant deflections in terms of religion. This narrative is based on the idea of 'brotherhood and unity' and longing for a distant homeland, not on longing for a complex socialist past and (at the moment of research) without consumerist mythologizations of Yugoslavism which are present in various forms and levels in post-Yugoslav countries (more in Volčič, 2007; Velikonja, 2010). In terms of migration from socialist (non-aligned) Yugoslavia as 'neither-East-nor-West', this community is interesting because it migrated to the east, opposite of the majority of economic migrants of the time, although this time we did not focus on their Yugoslav memories.

Affective Potential of *Sevdalinka* Choirs

The main activities of the associations which were in our focus are music and dance (more about the importance of choreographed dances of Yugoslav diaspora in Austria: Rašić, 2022), and they are organized similarly to 'cultural-artistic societies' (*kulturno-umetnička društva*), known all over former Yugoslavia, in order to make a cultural bridge to the homeland and preserve its memory and their identity from before their arrival to Istanbul. My focus on this occasion was on '*sevdalinka* choirs', which are present in both associations. This type of choir is known in other locations as well: in Serbia (in Novi Pazar), in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and there is data in the literature about Sweden (Talam, 2019). These choirs sing in unison and have instrumental harmonic-rhythmical accompaniment (accordion, keyboard, melodic parts of violin and/or clarinet may be added, for example). Inspired by existing ethnomusicological literature about amateur activist choirs from the post-Yugoslav space (Hofman, 2020a), here we should point to the function of these choirs as social groups in the communities. According to Ana Hofman, choir singing has a special affective capability: "Collective singing and listening are able to affectively mobilize and even unify people with often different stances and opinions into one sonic collectivity. Choir members value the erasing of the boundaries between the singers and the audience as a special quality and purpose of their performances. In order to make the performance more inclusive they invite people to join in and interact with the listeners in between songs" (Hofman, 2020b, pp. 4–5).

During our visit on May 16th, 2022, the choir of the Pendik Association had a rehearsal. For example, among others, they performed the song *Harmoniko moja*, written and recorded by prominent Serbian accordionist Milutin Mića Stojanović in 1964. In comparison to the original version, this sad love song addressing the accordion is performed in double-rhythm in a slightly more vivid character, with body movements typical for participatory performance, to use Thomas Turino's term (2008) – swinging in the rhythm (in some upbeat examples accompanied with hands clapping). Also, this instrument is in the communities perceived as 'Serbian'. Namely, the accordion in Serbia enjoys a special popularity in folk music performance (both as a solo instrument and as accompaniment), and it had a great expansion after World War II in mass media. Gradually, the number of performers increased and new styles of playing emerged, with a special appreciation of virtuosity (more in Ivkov, 2016).

This choir was established in 2003 or 2004 by its conductor Sipahi and several other men who liked to sing *sevdalinka*. However, I noticed that it is changed today – the majority of singers are women, middle aged and older. This leads to several interesting points. As Sipahi said to me, the choir is a place for women to gather. This was similar to female members of cultural-artistic societies in Yugoslavia (according to Hofman, 2010). But at the same time, this gender and age structure is an obstacle for the conductor to make more serious steps – namely, they do not attend rehearsals regularly because of obligations at home. In contrast, in this choir men have the roles of instrumentalists and leaders. The purpose of this choir is participatory gathering in order to keep cultural contact with or evocation of the homeland, with a particular repertoire that implies knowledge of the language, and at the same time to embody the affective potential of nostalgia by collectivity and "high energy, passion and emotional and bodily investment (*naboj*)" (Hofman, 2020a, p. 97), to which I would add – entertainment and recreation.

The choir of the European-side association was established in 2018, but they paused their activity during COVID-19 restrictions. Their motivation is to travel and give concerts at festivals (presentational performances, in Turino's terminology) and they are satisfied with their successes in that activity thus far – by that time, they had performed five or six concerts. Bilir emphasized to me that he observes music as 'international', i.e., with a border-crossing capacity. As he explained, there were eight male and eighteen female members, and four members of the accompanying orchestra (two accordions, one violin, and one clarinet). So, this group was mixed in terms of the singers' gender.

The choirs consist of amateurs, with open membership, so their unison aesthetic can be interpreted as an additional tool to achieve social unity with music. It is interesting how conductors reflect on it. For Sipahi, it is a consequence of their limited capability for any complex intervention (also in terms of ornamentation), while for Bilir it is proof of the choir's good quality because it is harder to achieve a compact unison sound.

Both choirs have had rehearsals at the same time – every Tuesday, starting at 8 pm. The rehearsal of the Pendik Association is structured as singing of 20–30 songs in continuo (starting at 8 pm and going until 11 pm sometimes). However, at that moment they did not have a satisfying level of performance for festivals and they would like to improve their knowledge and motivation by better accordion playing and rejuvenation of the ensemble. The Bayrampaşa Association has a repertoire currently of around 30 songs and the conductor described them as the songs which both they and their audience like.

From the aspect of heritage preservation, it is interesting that transmission to the next generation will not be easy because their children and grandchildren speak Turkish (very few of them speak Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian languages). However, children are directed toward *folklor* (a dance training group, the particular one in Pendik was established in 1995 or 1996), where they are motivated to sustain their heritage through non-verbal methods, i.e., instrumental and dance practices. Dance repertoire is gathered around choreographies based on *kolo* (a very popular dance and representative ICH of Serbia, performed in various social gatherings and celebrations, based on interlinked dancers usually in a semi-circular line who are moving according to a particular steps-pattern of *kolo u tri*) and combinations of some basic steps motifs.

The Repertoire of Urban Folk Music: *Sevdalinka* and Newly-Composed Folk Music

The repertoire of these associations is based on regional popular music which I refer to as ‘urban folk’ music when discussing traditions in Serbia (cf. Dumnić Vilotijević, 2018). Urban folk music synthesizes various local musical genres, it is widely accepted, practiced and transmitted within broader social strata, orally and by various media, and the most important performance context is in taverns. It is different from global popular music because it encompasses national practices that were immanent to urban environments in a wider diachronic continuum (its development has been traceable from the 19th century onwards). In examples from Serbia, I noticed general characteristics which are perceived as a local adaptation of both West European (temperament, instrumentation, harmonization, square forms) and Eastern influences (scales with augmented second hemiolic metro-rhythm, Turkish loanwords). Songs that these associations perform belong to two genres: *sevdalinka* and (in their terminology) *narodna*⁶.

The etymology of *sevdalinka* is from the Turkish language — *sevdah* in Serbian translation means “love, love longing, love exaltation” (Škaljić, 1966, p. 561), originally ‘black bile’, but it can be described as melancholic love, and *sevdalinka* is a song in that mood and generally about that theme. However, *sevdalinka* was very hard to define in 20th century ethnomusicology and there are two main directions in doing that: the first one regards it as music that originates from Bosnia and Herzegovina (this is advocated especially among Bosnian ethnomusicologists) and the second one as ornamented kitschy music of sad character (this reception was common before World War II). One fresh perspective should review what concrete influences existed and acknowledge fascination with the Orient among Serbian poets, embodied in lyrics about fatal love, beautiful and mysterious women and with the use of Turkish words, but also about *sevdalinka*'s dissemination by Belgrade-based publishing and broadcasting houses (more about Serbian roots of the genre in Tomić, 2017). In any case, I had the impression in this particular field that *sevdalinka* is perceived as a folk song typical for Bosniak communities (although it is not de facto limited to it). Conductors distinguished as valuable the interpretation style and recorded repertoire of Safet Isović (1936–2007), a famous male performer of *sevdalinka*.

⁶ In one unofficial songbook in the Anatolian side association (made by a choir member) there were typed lyrics (basically in Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian languages, but in Turkish transliteration) of the following songs: *Ah, moj Aljo; Blago suncu i mjesecu; Crven fesić; Čudna jada od Mostara grada; Dani dugi, svaki ko godina; Karanfil se na put sprema; Karanfile, cvijeće moje; Kiša pada, trava raste; Oj, djevojko pod brdom; Sinoć ja i moja kona; Sve behara i sve cveta; Tamna noći, tamna li si; Volim, majko, siroticu; Trepeljka trepetala; Harmoniko moja; Moj zumbule; Moj dilbere; Oj, Safete, Sajo Sarajlijo; Oj, golube, moj golube; Jutros mi je ruža procvetala; Sejdefu majka buđaše; Sjela Hajra kraj bunara; Sanak me mori; Sjavna zvijezdo; Sve behara i sve cveta; U đul bašči kraj šimšira; U čaršiju poslala me nana; Je l ti žao što se rastajemo; Zvezda tjera mjeseca; Bulbul mi pjeva, ruža mi cvjeta; Hadžina Fata, izadi na vrata; Snijeg pade na behar na voće; Sarajčice, hajdemo; Zapjevala sojka ptica; U Stambolu na Bosforu; Proljeće na moje rame sljeće; Voli, voli srcem; Čudila se, aman, ja; Misli Mile da je meni žao; Oj, javore, javore; Mogu l, Hanko, noćiti; Ja sam čovjek od meraka; Svi mi kažu da moj dragi pije; Rosna livada, trava zelena; Moj dragane, što me zaboravljaš; Sudbina te meni dala; Ječam žela (bresanske devojke); Moj behare; Kahvu mi, draga, ispeci; U lijepom starom gradu Višegradu; Oj, golube, moj golube; Kakve Ajka crne oči ima; Mehmeda majka budila; Haj, došla Drina; Dani dugi, svaki ko godina; Prolazi jesen, na pragu je zima; Kad pogledam sa bedema; Bulbul mi pjeva, ruža mi cveta; Nad izvorom vrba se nadnijela; Mila majko, šalji me na vodu; Razbolje se srce moje; Put putuje Latif aga; Od izvora dva putića; Blago suncu i mjesecu; Dela Fato, dela zlato; Vihor ružu niz polje tjeraše; Bosno moja, divna, mila; Razbolje se sultan Sulejman; Anadolko; Šećer Mujo i bjesede tvoje; Platno bjeli Sarajka djevojka; Moja draga, moja mila; Kolika je u Prijedoru čaršija; Srdo moja, ne srđi se na me; Oj, djevojko pod brdom; Tamburalo momče uz tamburu; Stade se cvjeće rosom kititi; Sjela Hajra kraj bunara; Sviće, sviće rujna zora; Otkako sam sevdah svezio; Kaharli sam, večeralo nisam; Svi su ljudi isti; Kaži, Namko, otkud si; Gledaj me, draga; Kad odlaziš, sunce milo; Kad sam pošo, Cveto, u tuđinu; Sabah zora; Sarajevo, od sevdaha grade; Mnogo lijepih cura ima; Jahao sam konje, ašikovo, pio; Jedna reka u mom kraju; Kćeri moja. Turkish songs were: *Samanyolu, İzmirin daglarında*.*

The members of the associations equally and eagerly perform *narodne pjesme* (folk songs) which belong to the genre of so-called ‘newly-composed folk music’ i.e., *estrada* songs written in a folk-style⁷. It is usually repertoire from the 1960s–1980s, but through the interviews, it was obvious that members of the Balkan associations and their offspring also listen to more recent popular folk music, especially from Serbia. Although this genre of music is not exclusively Serbian (neither in terms of the ethnicity of its authors and performers, nor the location of the recording houses, not to mention that it is popular all over the Western Balkans and its diaspora), they referred to it as ‘Serbian’, especially if the songs are in a steady even metro-rhythm and accompanied by accordion. The findings of Ljerka Vidić Rasmussen (2002) should also be mentioned here because she has distinguished three characteristic ‘styles’ within this genre: Serbian, Bosnian and Romani (the last one was not noted during this fieldwork). These songs’ “lyrics tended to be realistic representations of existentialist and romantic sentiments that thrived on the condition of emotional unfulfillment, typically unrequited love” (Vidić Rasmussen, 2002, p. XVIII), and their main function is entertainment. NCFM actually owes its existence to one more type of migrants – those who came mainly because of jobs from the villages to the cities. The ‘Easternness’ of this genre was explained in two ways: the majority of the audience was in the southeast of the former Yugoslav federation (the republics of Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Macedonia) and the performance itself was colored by an ‘orientalist’ singing style (Vidić Rasmussen, 2002, p. XIX). The conductors of the choirs pointed out famous singers of the genre: Šaban Šaulić, Dragana Mirković, Miroslav Ilić. What I found to be especially interesting is the Yugonostalgic potential of NCFM in the Istanbul context in addition to the usual description of e.g., YU rock or other popular music genres related to *zabavna muzika* (entertainment/light music)⁸. Actually, in diaspora communities, popular folk music has huge importance, from *turbofolk* up to today’s genre of *trepfolk*, which is basically oriented toward the ‘Balkan’ market, i.e. former Yugoslavia and its diaspora (usually in the West). Although ethnomusicologists often regard ‘newly-composed’ folk music and its derivatives as worthless and kitsch, this type of popular music apparently has become a non-ignorable Serbian export, especially NCFM.

Conclusion

With the *TRackeRS* project, we aim to demystify ‘Ottoman influences’ in Serbian music, but also to document elements of Southern Slavic music and dance in Türkiye (most obvious in the language), which has survived cultural assimilation until today. In the last process, the individual memories of music and displacement should be examined in more detail, in order to better understand the intersection of ethnic identities in music and dance in Istanbul’s Balkan associations. Special attention will also be devoted to collaborative research of Romani musicians’ communities both in Serbia and in Türkiye because they represent another musical bridge between today’s national cultures. If the music and dance of ‘Balkan’ associations are representing liminality between Ottoman and Yugoslav legacies, Romani music and dance practices would be read in the key of cultural mobility.

This research was the first opportunity to observe the music and dance of Yugoslav immigrant communities in Istanbul in the light of mutual influences of Türkiye and Serbia. After doing preliminary fieldwork with the immigrant communities in both the European and Anatolian parts of Istanbul, the importance of *sevdalinka* choirs’ effort to express and preserve their pre-immigration identities with music and dance should be emphasized. It is marked with nostalgia for a distant homeland, historical Ottoman ancestry, and concrete Yugoslav origin. Their choral and *folklor* (i.e. dance) gatherings contribute significantly to the social cohesion of immigrant communities, as well as to the safeguarding of sung language and bodily-dance patterns, especially to the successor generation. The genres of *sevdalinka* and *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (NCFM), despite the fact that they are perceived with ethnical demarcations (the former regarded as ‘Bosnian’, the latter as ‘Serbian’), demonstrated the potential of crossing boundaries and coexistence. This confirms that urban folk music can be observed in the light of joint regional practice and that it requires the development of regional research in the Balkans.

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⁷ This interpretation of the term ‘folk’ is the opposite of the usual ethnomusicological meaning in local ethnomusicologies, which in that context implies rural folk music of assumed archaic origin.

⁸ See also Petrov, 2016, where the reconciliation and musicians’ border crossing in concerts in the post-Yugoslav space is described.

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Tradition as a Useful Tool: New Patterns of Culture among the Bosniaks in Novi Pazar

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Within the scope of the project, the first field study data were provided by Abdullah Akat and Zdravko Ranisavljević in Novi Pazar in June 2022.

ABSTRACT

This article focuses on the KUD Mladih Novi Pazar Youth Culture and Art Association and the FolklorDaire music group, which play an active role in culture and music in Novi Pazar, Serbia. The core question that I try to understand in the context of these two cases is as follows. As new cultural patterns are formed, how do they gain sources of spirit, intellectual basis, and enthusiasm for practice? At this point, when I consider the historical and geographical positions of Novi Pazar, I underline that cultural and musical behaviors refer to tradition. Basically, I argue that tradition plays a role in the musical and cultural behavior of the city of Novi Pazar as a useful tool in both cases. Theoretically, I prioritize the concept of cultural intimacy borrowed from ethnography and the concept of revitalization movements in order to be able to explain the new cultural patterns produced based on the concept of tradition. The first fieldwork in Serbia, Novi Pazar provided data on getting to know the region, observing musical practices, ongoing cultural structures, and conducting in-depth interviews with active musicians in cultural music movements. In the second stage, netnography, an online research method, was used to study two refined samples.

Keywords: Novi Pazar, cultural intimacy, revitalization movements

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Introduction

The city of Ras, which was the capital of the first Serbian state, started to change both in terms of settlement and culture with the conquest by the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 14th century (Aruči, 2013, p.468). In the second half of the 14th century, Ras was renamed Trgovište, and a new fortification was formed near it, which was named Novi Pazar in 1461. Novi Pazar was established as a new city in the region by Gazi İsa Bey İshakbeyoğlu in 1459–1461, next to the old settlement that had been used by Illyrians, Romans, Byzantines, and Serbs. That is why its name is Novi Pazar (*Yeni Bazar*). In this process, some of the Turkish and Muslim people who came to Serbia from Anatolia and other Ottoman lands were settled in the region. In addition, many local Christian people converted to Islam for different reasons (Hacısalihioğlu, 2009, p.121–126). The peoples who lived for four hundred years under the rule of the Ottoman Empire have a common cultural heritage in terms of daily life practices, architecture, and language interactions. Novi Pazar and its surroundings are a region with a rich historical background, characterized by two prominent historical narratives. In medieval times, it was known as the region of Raška (Old Rascia) with the capital Ras, which held significant importance as the capital of the Serbian kingdom, the heart of the Serbian principality, and the center of the Orthodox Church. It served as a stronghold against the impending Ottoman domination, representing the last bastion of resistance against Ottoman rule. On the other hand, the region is also recognized as Sandžak, an Ottoman administrative entity. The borders of Sandžak were subject to frequent shifts, influenced by the political and military ambitions of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian governments. The dynamic nature of the region's boundaries reflects the complex historical context in which it existed (Luke, 2018). These two historical accounts shed light on the underbelly of multi-ethnic and religious conflicts that have shaped the region. The coexistence of these narratives highlights the diverse and intricate nature of Novi Pazar's history, characterized by the interplay of different cultures, religions, and political powers.

Serbia today exhibits significant ethnic diversity. The population includes various ethnic groups, including Serbs, Hungarians, Croats, Roma, Slovaks, Bunjevci, Romanians, Ruthenians, Montenegrins, etc. These ethnic groups have different cultural traditions, languages, and customs, contributing to the multicultural fabric of the country. The Muslim community in Serbia is a significant part of the country's religious and cultural landscape. The community is diverse, consisting of various ethnic backgrounds, including Bosniaks, Albanians, and Roma, among others. Mosques and Islamic cultural centers are present in different parts of the country, serving as places of worship, community gathering, and cultural activities (Đurić-Milovanović & Đorđević-Crnobrnja, 2021). Ethnic identity and self-identification play a significant role in shaping the social, cultural, and political dynamics within the country (Raduški, 2023). The Bosniaks in Serbia have a strong connection to their Islamic faith and maintain their cultural traditions and practices, primarily because of the historical past during which they, as a Slavic people, accepted Islam. During the 20th century, Slavic Muslims searched for their identity, changing their names, until 1993, when they officially became Bosniaks. Serbs and Bosniaks use languages that are considered different dialects of the same language group. This language, which is differentiated into Bosniak and Serbian, actually references the same cultural codes and history (Catić, 2009, pp. 413–427).

The term Balkan, rather than a regional, geographical area, represents an area formed by many states shaped by different cultures and civilizations. It is not a coincidence that the definition the Balkan area is used instead of Southeastern Europe in cultural studies of the region. The area has its own cultural diversity and character in terms of language, religion, and behavior, because, rather than being a region, we are talking about productions that are distinctive in terms of cultural patterns and nuances, but intricate in terms of cultural layers (Lajić-Mihajlović & Jovanović; 2012, pp. 13–14). In her work, historian Maria Todorova (2009, pp. 29–36, 119, 184) introduces the concept of 'Balkanism' to describe a set of negative stereotypes and perceptions associated with the Balkan region. These stereotypes include notions of barbarity, tribalism, backwardness, inefficiency, and unpredictability. Todorova contrasts these perceptions with idealized classical and Judeo-Christian values, as well as the commitment to modernity found in Western European societies. Todorova's analysis highlights the tendency to view the Balkans through a lens of otherness, emphasizing the region's perceived deficiencies and deviations from Western European norms. This portrayal of the Balkans as a region plagued by inherent flaws and lacking in progress serves to reinforce a sense of superiority and exceptionalism among Western European societies. The phrase 'Balkan studies' is regularly employed in cultural studies, anthropology, sociology, and musicology to refer to the interdisciplinary field of study devoted to the Balkan region (Ficher, 2009; Kaser, 2014). In this context, literature on music and dance refers to the region geographically while discussing the difference between Balkan music (Medić, 2020) and music in the Balkans (Samson, 2013). Furthermore, there have been debates on the geopolitical axis, religious and ethnic interpretations, and assessments of contemporary music. The music culture of Novi Pazar is not isolated from ethnomusicological assessments in the Balkan region and Serbia.

My theoretical approach in this paper is composed of all of this geographical and historical data on the topic. Music and dance are the most prominent indications of cultural output in Novi Pazar, a city with a rich historical past, geographical integrity, and cultural diversity in southwestern Serbia. The information I have illuminates the notion of tradition as a beneficial instrument for creating cultural patterns that open the door to the new. What I am trying to emphasize with the examples of music and dance is that, although different cultural patterns emerge from different methods and practices, they both rely on the idea of tradition. Music and dance revised the long-held values associated with traditions. The concept of tradition is not just a reference to practices. It has implications that can be interpreted in terms of history, geography, ethnicity, language, faith, and selfhood. These foundations give to music and dance a sense of security as they develop new cultural patterns.

What is the meaning of tradition as a useful tool? Tradition is not a static and rigid concept but rather a dynamic and evolving phenomenon (Shils, 1981). It is through questioning and challenging tradition that it can be revitalized and adapted to the changing needs and values of society (Asavei, 2021, p. 131–132). This perspective aligns with the idea that tradition is not a monolithic entity but rather a complex and multifaceted system that encompasses various cultural practices, beliefs, and values. ‘Tradition as a tool’ refers to the concept of utilizing or employing traditional practices, customs, or beliefs as a means to achieve certain goals or outcomes. It suggests that traditions can be intentionally employed or manipulated to serve specific purposes, whether they are social, cultural, political, or economic. Rather than being seen as static or fixed, traditions are viewed as dynamic and adaptable tools that can be utilized strategically to address contemporary challenges or meet specific objectives. This perspective recognizes the agency and flexibility of traditions, allowing them to be employed as resources or strategies in various contexts.

When I observe these two fundamental examples, according to my initial impressions, it becomes evident that the cultural domains of dance and music, where new patterns are created, contain references deeply rooted in tradition that encompass all aspects of life. My fieldwork data reveals a recurring pattern where a significant number of sentences I encounter begin with phrases such as ‘this region’, ‘this geography’, ‘our history’, ‘our cultural heritage’, and similar expressions. This highlights that tradition serves not only as a foreground for inherited beliefs, but also as a directional tool that evolves and persists within dynamic institutional and political contexts.

In order to focus on the two original examples that are the subject of this article, in addition to the initial data obtained from fieldwork, I opted for the online research technique of netnography. Through this approach, I conducted in-depth interviews with my source Emina Brunčević to understand the activities of the KUD Mladih Novi Pazar Youth Culture and Art Association. In addition, I conducted interviews with two members of the FolklorDaire ensemble, Mersija Ramović Kolašinac and Muammer Hajdarpašić. I attempted to write about two different cases with varying interpretations based on traditional patterns. KUD Mladih Novi Pazar draws inspiration from traditional codes, showcasing cultural intimacy, and the FolklorDaire, through their performances, engages in revitalization movements that can be understood within the framework of Ottomanism, Turkishness, and Islam.

KUD Mladih Novi Pazar Youth Culture and Art Association

“We are [the] only group who research and represent both culture and tradition.

For example, choirs...or church music...or ilahi’s...”

(E. Brunčević, personal communication, August 04, 2022).

KUD Mladih Novi Pazar was established in September 2017. The association has a total of 550 members in several groups. The association can be described as a unifying platform that brings together young individuals based on a shared cultural foundation. Within this association, young people from diverse cultural backgrounds within the country can appreciate the variations in costumes, dance forms, and music as expressions of cultural diversity. This ability to interpret and embrace cultural differences is a distinct advantage for KUD Mladih Novi Pazar, representing a national privilege. The members of the association find a sense of cultural intimacy in their performances and rehearsals, stemming from their shared Balkan heritage and connection to Novi Pazar. In this case, tradition emerges as a valuable tool for fostering cultural intimacy and establishing patterns of unity. According to Emina Brunčević:

The entire folk cultural heritage of Novi Pazar is very diverse and rich, just like other varieties of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. Therefore, Novi Pazar has a long and rich history of cultural and artistic associations. [...] It has both a geographical indication and a heritage attributed to the Balkans. (personal communication, August 04, 2022)

The oldest culture and art association in Novi Pazar was founded in 1908. After the World War II, there was great increase in a number of culture and art associations (in 1950, there were 21 folk dance groups in Novi Pazar and Deževa). The ones that produced the most important results were Mladost, which was founded in 1977 but merged with

the Culture-Art Association under the Oslobođenje Public Education Center in 1983, and the City Folk Dance group, which was founded in 1978 and closed in 2016 (Aksić & Pantović, 2017).



Figure 1. KUD Mladih Novi Pazar [Photograph], personal archive of Emina Brunčević, August 2022.

According to Emina, the artistic and pedagogical work of the association is based on tradition. Traditional dances and music are the basis of stage adaptations and choreographies that they perform, as well as traditional singing. The tradition of the Balkan people is both unity and common cultural heritage.



Figure 2. KUD Mladih Novi Pazar dance groups in Serbian and Bosniak-style costumes [Photograph], personal archive of Emina Brunčević, August 2022.

Emina highlights the shared vision and purpose that comes with being from Novi Pazar. She emphasizes the importance of preserving and reinforcing this foundational knowledge in their present-day productions. In doing so, she underscores the significance of nurturing cultural intimacy between Serbs and Bosniaks.

[...] The tradition of community and coexistence among the residents of Novi Pazar, along with the harmonious neighborly relations, particularly in terms of shared traditions, art, and culture, serves as a behavioral model that requires nurturing and development in today's context. This serves as the primary objective of our ensemble: to promote and cultivate the tradition and culture of both Serbs and Bosniaks, fostering their successful coexistence [...]. (E. Brunčević, personal communication, August 04, 2022)



Figure 3. Stylistic adaptation of Serbian and Bosniak dances and music on stage (choreographer Ibiš Kujević) [Photograph], personal archive of Emina Brunčević, August 2022.

KUD Mladih Novi Pazar brings together the traditional knowledge of the Balkans with the cultural codes of Novi Pazar, with the goal of preserving and promoting Serbian national values. Cultural intimacy serves as a significant aspect of their work. Herzfeld (2005, p. 3), calls this cultural intimacy, “[t]he recognition of those aspects of cultural identity that are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality”. The association provides a platform where Bosniak and Serbian children and young individuals residing in the city come together on the same stage. Through the expressive mediums of dance figures, music, and costumes, the members of the KUD Mladih Novi Pazar engage in a process of exploration and learning that leads to a profound understanding and appreciation of their shared cultural heritage rooted in tradition. These artistic elements serve as powerful tools for delving into the depths of history, allowing the participants to connect with the narratives, customs, and values that have shaped their collective identity. By immersing themselves in the rich tapestry of their cultural traditions, they not only gain knowledge but also develop a profound sense of connection and pride in their shared cultural legacy. This process of exploration and learning through dance, music, and costumes fosters a deeper understanding and appreciation of their cultural heritage, strengthening their bond as a community and preserving their traditions for future generations. In my perspective, the paradigm of tradition can be regarded as a valuable and restorative tool. It establishes a space for cultural intimacy that resonates in the present. In contemporary times, it plays a significant role in shaping new cultural patterns. The initiatives grounded in tradition establish a flexible framework that promotes convergence and cultivates a profound sense of intimacy.

FolklorDaire Ensemble

Based on the information provided by Mersija Ramović Kolašinac and Muammer Hajdarpašić, FolklorDaire is a dance and music ensemble that was established in Novi Pazar in 2016. The group actively participates in various cultural events and ceremonies organized by the Muslim minority, including henna nights (*kına*), circumcision ceremonies (*sünnet*), and marriage ceremonies (*düğün*). During these rites of passage, FolklorDaire incorporates a range of cultural symbols, adding depth and significance to the festivities. In these parades, FolklorDaire orchestrates a series of customary rituals that commence from the moment the bride, groom, or circumcised child first enters the community. These parade rituals, accompanied by music, dance, costumes, and traditional instruments, embody cultural codes that are deeply rooted in Bosniak traditions. The incorporation of these elements serves to enrich the cultural significance and symbolism of the parades, creating a vibrant and immersive experience for all participants.

The FolklorDaire ensemble is composed of two male members who skillfully play the *tapan* (a type of drum also known as *davul*), accompanied by a minimum of four female members who play the *daire* (a circular drum also known as *def*). FolklorDaire has established themselves as specialists in delivering exceptional performances at a wide range of celebratory events within the Bosniak community. They prepare their shows according to the wishes of the families who invite them, but most of the time, they direct the families on how the ceremony should be. Mersija underlines “[...] We provide information on many subjects such as making [the] bride cry songs and applying henna, especially at henna nights [...] only on henna nights, when henna is applied to the bride’s hand, traditional folk songs are performed without instruments to [cause people to] shed tears and make her cry [...]” (M. Ramović Kolašinac, personal communication

June 19, 2022). In Haris Hadžić's (2015, p. 102) empirical study on the rites of passage of Bosniaks in the region of Sandžak, it was found that these rituals are closely connected to Islamic tradition and customs. According to Emina (E. Brunčević, personal communication, August 04, 2022), the ceremonies held in Novi Pazar today are closely tied to Ottoman culture, and the rituals performed during these ceremonies are shared among Muslims throughout the Balkans. Brunčević highlights the enduring influence of Ottoman traditions on the contemporary practices observed in Novi Pazar and emphasizes the widespread nature of these rituals among Muslim communities in the region. While these customs remain an important part of Bosniak wedding ceremonies, they have undergone some modifications in urban settings (Hadžić, 2015, p. 108). The influence of city life has brought about changes in the way these customs are practiced and perceived. Symbols such as the Qur'an, Ottoman Sandžak Flag, fez, shalwar, throne, and henna songs sung among women hold significant meaning within the Bosniak community, representing traditional codes and cultural heritage. However, the evolution of these practices from traditional customs to extravagant displays in contemporary ceremonies held at hotels and restaurants can be seen as a manifestation of revitalization movements.



Figure 4. At the commencement of a wedding ceremony, the bride and groom make their grand entrance into the hall accompanied by the FolklorDaire group. Folklordaire [@folklordaire]. (n.d.). Posts [Instagram profile]. Instagram. Retrieved August 4, 2022, from <https://www.instagram.com/folklordaire/>



Figure 5. As part of a henna night ceremony, women from the FolklorDaire group participate in a special ritual where they place the Qur'an on the bride's face and delicately apply henna to her hands. This symbolic act holds deep cultural and religious significance, representing blessings, protection, and the start of a new chapter in the bride's life. Folklordaire [@folklordaire]. (n.d.). Posts [Instagram profile]. Instagram. Retrieved August 4, 2022, from <https://www.instagram.com/folklordaire/>



Figure 6. A moment from the henna night ceremony. The women of the FolklorDaire group encircle the bride, engaging in a captivating dance while holding daire instruments in their hands. FolklorDaire [@folklorDaire]. (n.d.). Posts [Instagram profile]. Instagram. Retrieved August 4, 2022, from <https://www.instagram.com/folklorDaire/>



Figure 7. Sunnet ceremony. The circumcised child sits on the throne and enters the hall like a sultan. FolklorDaire [@folklorDaire]. (n.d.). Posts [Instagram profile]. Instagram. Retrieved August 4, 2022, from <https://www.instagram.com/folklorDaire/>

Wallace (1956) defines the revitalization movement as “a deliberate, organized, conscious effort by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture”. According to this perspective, members and leaders of societies actively and intentionally pursue revitalization when their fundamental needs are unmet. Through a deliberate and conscious effort, they aim to create or anticipate a more fulfilling culture as a result of organized attempts to revive and restore the deteriorated aspects of their previous culture. In this context, FolklorDaire should not be regarded as a mere entertainment group established by young individuals from Novi Pazar who contribute to the transient aspects of popular culture and the entertainment industry. While FolklorDaire may not operate based on a deliberate principle, their aspirations extend beyond mere entertainment. The vibrant rituals and ceremonies observed within the Bosniak community can be understood as expressions of revitalization movements, both for those who create them, like FolklorDaire, and for those who participate in them. These cultural phenomena are supported by the influence of Balkan policies that incorporate Muslim, Turkish, and Neo-Ottomanist concepts. Additionally, the film, television, and music industries originating from Türkiye and spreading globally play a significant role in highlighting the community’s ancestry, religion, and ideological messages, thereby exerting a profound impact.

FolklorDaire draws upon its cognitive power from tradition and enduring cultural codes while organizing the more spectacular and visible processions of the Bosniak community. With this example, I want to emphasize that the revitalization movements of the Bosniak community in Novi Pazar can be interpreted as efforts to repair the disruptions they have experienced in the history and geography of the Balkans, particularly in the history and geography of Serbia. The community explores labyrinthine paths to bring historical, societal, and identity-related voids to a more satisfying level.



Figure 8. In a family photo from the circumcision, members of the FolkloreDaire ensemble are prominently featured, adorned in a fez, and holding the traditional musical instruments the *tapan* drum (*davul*) and *daire* tambourine (*def*). Folklordaire [@folklordaire]. (n.d.). Posts [Instagram profile]. Instagram. Retrieved September 10, 2022, from <https://www.instagram.com/folklordaire/>

Conclusion

This article draws inspiration from the initial encounters with a significant and extensive project. It primarily encompasses the initial observations made during fieldwork in Novi Pazar. The focus of this study centers around two notable examples that play an active role within the cultural milieu of Novi Pazar. One of these examples pertains to the commendable efforts of the KUD Mladih Novi Pazar. The other example involves the FolklorDaire ensemble, which is prominent in organizing events in Novi Pazar.

The topics that I have tried to emphasize in the article are interconnected concepts, like links in a chain. The concept of tradition, which I cannot think of independently from the history and geography of the region, plays a triggering role in shaping the societal attitudes that exist today. I define all of these as elements that constitute tradition. Therefore, the historical background of Novi Pazar, the influence of the Ottoman Empire, the prominence of Balkan studies in the region, and the concept of Balkanism sequentially form the foundation of my research field and theoretical perspective. These form the foundation of the cultural fabric that allows me to approach my two cases within the framework of tradition. Tradition internalizes the geographical fabric and history in which it is formed, interacts, transforms, and persists. The concept of tradition could have been extensively discussed in this article. However, I chose to draw attention to the dynamic formation of tradition, which is an argument I frequently make. It has a cycle of continuity, loss, growth, occasional disappearance, and subsequent reproduction. Therefore, it has a highly useful and flexible pattern. For the two cases I have presented as examples, traditions serve as the foundation of ‘things’. This is because traditions persist parallel to the historical memory of the region, in line with political and economic changes. They are a valuable tool to evoke memory, identity, cultural practices, music, dance, and more in the present day, and to create space for the formation of new cultural patterns. Traditions not only foreground inherited beliefs but are also tools of orientation that evolve and persist in dynamic, institutional, and political contexts.

The sources of tradition seem to be a very useful tool for KUD Mladih Novi Pazar, which is the first example in my case study, in terms of cultural intimacy and the formation of new cultural patterns. Why this association, which appeals to children and young people, seeks to restore this sense of cultural intimacy is a separate and profound geopolitical question. However, at this point, I would like to express my opinion that the region’s need for the restoration of their cultural heritage for a shared future can be linked with Serbia’s policies designed in accordance with its national values, particularly regarding multiculturalism and minority rights. The new cultural patterns staged by KUD Mladih through their choreographies, music, costumes, and dance can serve as markers of cultural intimacy for Bosniak and Serbian youth.

FolklorDaire Ensemble, which plays an active role in rites of passage such as weddings, henna nights, and circumcision ceremonies, holds a significant position in the cultural life of Novi Pazar, particularly for the Bosniak community. This ensemble serves as another remarkable example in my case study. In this particular instance, it was evident to me

that the Bosniak community orchestrated ‘extravagant’ and ‘symbolically rich’ festivities on significant occasions. The traditional rites of passage, which had mostly been conducted in homes or local neighborhoods, are now being organized in hotels and restaurants. In this regard, cultural practices in rural areas have become more organized and systematic. During these ceremonies, the FolklorDaire Ensemble, serving as a reminder of traditional themes, carries out various practices that resonate with the core values of the Bosniak community. Examples such as accompanying the circumcised child brought into the hall on a throne during circumcision ceremonies, and dancing with drums and tambourines during the entrance of the bride and groom to the hall demonstrate the grandeur and splendor integrated into traditional rites of passage adapted to urban life. Symbols such as the Qur’an, Ottoman Sandžak Flag, fez, shalwar, throne, and henna songs are indispensable elements of these performances.

The Bosniaks of Novi Pazar are actively engaged in a deliberate, organized, and conscious endeavor to construct a more satisfying culture. The dynamic rituals and ceremonies witnessed within the Bosniak community can be interpreted as manifestations of revitalization movements, encompassing both the creators of these traditions, such as FolklorDaire, and the individuals who actively engage in them.

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The Cicvarićs as Pioneers of Cultural Entrepreneurship in Serbia

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ABSTRACT

In this article, I focus on the activities of the Cicvarićs, a notable Roma music family from the western Serbian town of Šabac. I begin by overviewing cultural entrepreneurship and its characteristics and then provide the context for a discussion of the Cicvarićs' activities as regards the traditional role of Roma musicians in Serbia and the musical life of Šabac at the time. Following a discussion of their repertoire and the innovative business practices that they introduced, I conclude by highlighting the aspects of their work that can be assessed today as examples of cultural entrepreneurship. I conceptualize the Cicvarićs as pioneers of cultural entrepreneurship in Serbia, paying attention to the notions of supply and demand, economic development, and historical processes of producing, distributing, and consuming urban folk music in Serbia.

Keywords: Cultural entrepreneurship, the Cicvarić family, Šabac

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Introduction

Research into the history of cultural industry and its development in the fields of production, distribution, and consumption of music and dance, especially in the ‘peripheral’ parts of Europe which are rarely the subject of international academic scrutiny, is still in its early stages. In this article, I wish to highlight aspects of the cultural entrepreneurship in the domain of traditional music and dance in Serbia and Yugoslavia, from the mid-19th century until the second half of the 20th century. I am particularly concerned with the sphere of private entrepreneurship in the area of urban folk music, and I will use the Cicvarić family orchestra as a case study. I discuss the activities of this notable ethnic Roma family whom I regard as the early pioneers of cultural entrepreneurship in Serbia and Yugoslavia in the second half of the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries. By overviewing the Cicvarićs’ professional activity, I wish to highlight several problems, such as the connection of cultural industry practices with constantly changing political-economic and cultural realities; the development of certain business models; and the positioning of artists and their products locally, nationally, and internationally. The activities of the Cicvarić family within shifting political and cultural contexts enable a conceptualization of the notions of supply and demand, economic development, as well as historical processes of producing and distributing folk music in Serbia. I will first offer a brief overview of cultural entrepreneurship and its characteristics formulated many decades after they were intuitively adopted and developed by the Cicvarićs. I will also provide a context for their activities by discussing both the traditional role of Roma musicians in Serbia and the musical life of Šabac at the time when the Cicvarićs began their activities. Following a discussion of their repertoire and the innovative business practices that they introduced, I will conclude by highlighting the aspects of their work that could today be assessed as examples of cultural entrepreneurship.

My sources include archival material stored at the Intermunicipal Historical Archive of Šabac, as well as literature on the topics of the cultural and entertainment life of old Šabac (Jevtić, 1985), the famous people from the city of Šabac and the entire Podrinje region (Šašić, 1998), a comprehensive history of old urban folk music in Serbia (Dumnić Vilotijević, 2019), a collection of lyrics of songs performed by the Cicvarićs and other musicians from Šabac compiled by Vladan Kuzmanović (2018), who also prepared an online phonoarchive of available digitized audio recordings made by the Cicvarićs (Kuzmanović, 2023), as well as a first-hand testimony of one of the ‘heirs’ of the Cicvarićs, Serbian violinist and composer Milutin Popović Zahar (Popović Zahar & Devura, 2013). Additional literature encompasses ethnological, ethnomusicological, and musicological studies on the activities of Roma musicians in various Serbian towns.

Cultural Entrepreneurship

The term ‘culture’ in the broadest (anthropological) sense encompasses all spiritual, social, and material goods in synchronic and diachronic perspectives, while in a narrower (economic, commercial and/or administrative) meaning it can be equated to ‘cultural industry’, encompassing its institutional frameworks, investment in cultural goods, their distribution and promotion. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines cultural and creative industries as activities “whose principal purpose is production or reproduction, promotion, distribution or commercialization of goods, services and activities of a cultural, artistic or heritage-related nature” (EY, 2015). The terms closely related to the cultural industry are ‘creative services’ or ‘creative economy’, which are often used interchangeably (Hajkowicz, 2015).

‘Cultural industry’ applies to all segments of culture that can be adapted to certain markets, distributed and monetized; its expansion is the inevitable result of the development of the market economy. The term was introduced by Adorno and Horkheimer in 1947 in the chapter “Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception” from the book *The Dialectic of Enlightenment* which was written for the purpose of critiquing processes of standardization of many areas of culture. Adorno and Horkheimer argued that culture in a capitalist society functions like an industry in producing standardized goods to be consumed, thus transforming their cultural values into economic values (Horkheimer & Adorno, 1989, p.128). Although their understanding of the cultural industry is overly critical (and has itself been extensively critiqued), it was nevertheless very influential.

Cultural industry is one of the key factors in popularizing the cultural, market, and geographic characteristics of a certain state which are thus differentiated, instrumentalized and commercialized, and then offered to both local and global markets as products. Thus, every country or nation, i.e. its recognizable cultural legacy, can become a competitive brand in the regional and global markets. Anything can become a brand – from cultural heritage, national and local histories, legends and myths, cuisine, and geographic or ethnic characteristics.

While closely related to the cultural industry, the term ‘cultural entrepreneurship’ has a more positive connotation. An entrepreneur creates a product or service that people will buy, as well as an organization to support that effort,

bearing the risk of failure. Cultural entrepreneurs thus transform various types of culture into saleable business ventures. Andrea Hausmann and Anne Heinze provide a comprehensive and useful compilation of definitions of cultural entrepreneurship (Hausmann & Heinze, 2016), several of which are important for the present discussion: first, the identification of cultural entrepreneurs as “resourceful visionaries, generating revenues from culturally embedded knowledge systems and activities” (Kavousy et al., 2010, p. 228); then, their characterization as individuals who create new cultural products, who are oriented towards assessing opportunities and having to find innovative ways of doing business (Scott, 2012, p. 243), and who “organize cultural, financial, social and human capital, to generate revenue from a cultural activity” (Aageson, 2008, p. 92). While researching cultural entrepreneurship in developing countries, Toghraee and Monjezi observed several problems which are of importance here, namely “education issues, poverty, and lack of related institutions” (Toghraee & Monjezi, 2017, p. 1). They also observed that there are “weak steps and stages for promotion, branding, distribution, and ownership support of cultural productions due to not only lack of integration but also a lack of artists’ knowledge about these processes” (Ibid.).

All these points are valuable for the study of the Cicvarićs’ activities in the newly liberated 19th century Serbia, which had to take immediate steps towards self-modernization and try to ‘catch up’ with the rest of Europe which, by that time, had already embraced the capitalist economic system. The musicians of the Cicvarić family played a decisive role in creating a music market in the emerging civil society in 19th century Serbia. Completely unintentionally and without any knowledge of the marketing principles and branding strategies, the Cicvarić family established a lasting ‘brand’ of Serbian and Balkan Romani *kafana* (tavern) music at the turn of the 20th century, which has continued to be associated with Serbian popular music until the present day¹.

Roma Musicians in Serbia

For many centuries in Serbia, but also in other European countries, the Roma people have been socially, economically, educationally, and politically marginalized and segregated. In spite of this, sociologist and Romologist Dragan Todorović highlighted that Romas in Serbia constitute a historically autochthonous minority with clear determinants of ethnic, cultural, and religious identity, including their music:

In the absence of written language and ethnic territories, the talent and feeling for playing music is a centuries-old cornerstone of Roma status identification and existential survival globally. [...] Being excluded from all emancipatory movements, they were left to perfect the skills in which they excelled: playing instruments, singing and dancing. It was only thanks to their lively notes and singing voices that they were accepted among ‘Gadže’ [non-Romas]² without prejudice and fear. [...] The musical culture was transmitted from one generation to another and became a recognizable sign of the Roma ethnicity. (Todorović, 2020, p. 617–618)

Todorović also highlights that their “nomadic and stateless destiny gave birth to a specific philosophy of life ‘to be, not to have’” (Ibid.), paradigmatically sublimated in the voices of famous Roma singers such as Šaban Bajramović (1936–2008), Esmā Redžepova (1943–2016), Usnija Redžepova (1946–2015), or Ljiljana Petrović-Buttler (1944–2010).

In the nascent urban society of the newly liberated 19th century Serbia, Roma musicians were present at all social events and festivities, in taverns and other entertainment venues. Although without formal education, their natural talent was cultivated within the community and contributed to their social acceptance: “The magic of their melodies concealed grief, sadness and bitterness of the hurt and marginalised people, the muted pain of the minority eager to be accepted and recognised by the majority” (Ibid.).

The first important study of the Roma musicians at the turn of the 20th century was published by Tihomir R. Đorđević (1868–1944), whose doctoral dissertation was an ethnographic study of the Roma people in Serbia. This dissertation was first published in German (Gjorgjević, 1903; 1906), and some excerpts were translated into Serbian and published in Đorđević’s numerous studies and articles. However, the integral text of the dissertation was published as a Serbian translation only in 2021 (Đorđević, 2021). Đorđević was the first researcher who pointed to the cultural industry aspects of Roma music-making:

In comparison to Serbian folk music, Romani music occurs as a product. Gypsies appear as professional players, musicians, artisans who do their work for remuneration, and who sell music as a commodity, just like any craft product is sold. The gypsies have their own musical instruments, completely different from the folk instruments: violin, *zurle*, *šarkija*, drum and tambourine. (Đorđević, 1910, p. 7)

Đorđević also asserted that Roma musicians were ready to sell any type of music, whichever their customers requested – be it Serbian rural folk music, urban folk music, foreign music, or anything else. Thus, he correctly identified their

¹ On this customary (but not always justified) equation of Balkan and Romani folk music in the international context see: (Gligorijević, 2020; Medić, 2020).

² See (Todorović, 2014, p. 72).

entrepreneurial and market-oriented incentives, related to the dialectic of supply and demand (although he did not specifically label them as such, because at the time when he wrote his dissertation these terms were largely unknown in Serbia). However, Đorđević remarked that the Roma often ‘corrupted’ the music they were playing, by changing the lyrics, accentuating them incorrectly, or adding excessive ornaments to the melody, thus revealing his unconscious bias. Nevertheless, Đorđević praised the Roma for being the first authentic music professionals in Serbia and also for transmitting their skills within their community, from parents to children.

Ethnologist Andrijana Gojković, who wrote numerous articles on the customs and practices of the Roma people related to singing, playing and dancing, singled out three categories of Roma music:

- music performed within their closed Roma circles (unavailable to the non-Romas), which could be regarded as their ‘authentic’ music;
- music of the non-Roma populace from their immediate surroundings, i.e. the Roma version of the folk music of the local non-Roma population; Gojković calls this type ‘professional’ Roma music;
- the newly-composed *estrada* (popular) Romani music, written, recorded, and performed by the Roma themselves (Gojković, 1989, p. 401).

Danijela Zdravić Mihailović correctly observes a peculiar ‘counterpoint’ of Romani and Serbian music, which have influenced each other throughout their parallel history: “On the one hand, Roma musicians strive to adapt to the given time and space, but under the guise of their authenticity, which is related to the manner of interpretation; on the other hand, music in Serbia is being modernized and updated, conquering a new sound space through modern technologies and instruments” (Zdravić Mihailović, 2020). Todorović also argues that “a cemented awareness of the Roma as eternal ‘borrowers’ from other cultures overlooks the Roma as autonomous creators. Their primordial interculturalism made them permanently able to joyfully incorporate the sounds and tones of the territories they were passing by and to offer them back as natural ingredients of their own identity inheritance” (Todorović, 2020, p. 618).

‘Little Paris’

When Knez (Prince) Miloš Obrenović (1780–1860) succeeded in liberating the first parts of Serbia from the centuries-long Ottoman rule, its populace was largely illiterate, with a still strong Oriental lifestyle and worldview. This newly liberated, yet uneducated and backward mid-19th century Serbia still wanted to catch up with the rest of Europe and adapt to the European concept of life. The beginning of the creation of a new, bourgeois society began in small border towns. The first wealthy merchants were livestock traders, who accumulated wealth by exporting pigs, sheep, and cattle to Austria-Hungary, across the river Sava. The initial accumulation of capital, as well as the exporters’ increasingly close contact with the European way of life, changed the lifestyle of the new generation, which gradually accepted many ideas and customs of Western civilization. The newly affluent Serbian merchants began to send their sons and daughters to receive a higher education, primarily in the countries of Central Europe. Located on the right riverbank of Sava and in close proximity to the Austrian border, Šabac was among the first Serbian towns to decisively head towards Europe. The original types of rural folk entertainment such as *posela*, *prela*, *kola* and similar small social gatherings with singing and dancing, were soon replaced by balls, dance parties, variety and theatrical shows, concerts by military music chapels, singing societies and other amateur music societies, as well as guest performances by notable foreign solists and ensembles (Jevtić, 1985).

In Šabac, Prince Miloš Obrenović enthroned his youngest brother, Prince Jevrem Obrenović (1790–1856), a man who was very much inclined to the European way of life. He brought foreign (mainly Czech) music teachers to Šabac, to educate members of the nascent bourgeois class. These musicians transformed the musical taste of the educated population, introducing them to European classical music and opera. Furthermore, by teaching the musically talented Serbian youth, they raised the overall level of musical culture and left a lasting legacy. Two of the most notable Czech musicians who worked in Šabac were Joseph Schlesinger and Robert Tollinger³.

Joseph Schlesinger [Serbian spelling: Josif Šlezinger] was born in Sombor, then in Austria-Hungary, in 1794, and died in Belgrade in 1870. He was a Czech Jew, who is nowadays widely considered the founder of Serbian musical culture in the early 19th century. He worked in Sombor, Novi Sad, Šabac, Kragujevac (then the capital city of the newly liberated Serbia), and finally in Belgrade. Schlesinger worked in Šabac between 1829 and 1831, when he moved to Kragujevac at the invitation of Prince Miloš himself. There he established a court band [*Knjaževsko-srbska banda*] and became its first *Kapellmeister*⁴.

³ Aside from Schlesinger and Tollinger, many other Czech musicians worked in Šabac, e.g. Jaroslav Herle, Emil Pokorný, et al.

⁴ More on Schlesinger’s life and work in: (Vasiljević, 1989, p. 40).

Robert Tollinger was another important Czech musician who worked in Šabac. Born in 1859 in Hluboka on the river Vltava, he moved to Šabac as a young man, where he studied at the Šabac Grammar School. He studied cello at the Prague Conservatory and graduated in 1879. He worked in Zagreb, Kikinda, Cetinje and Prague, before returning to Šabac in 1902, where he worked as a choral and orchestral conductor, music teacher, composer, and multi-instrumentalist. He often performed with Jewish pianist Ruža Rosenberg-Vinaver (1871–1942). At the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Belgrade Singing Society, the Šabac Singing Society, under the baton of Robert Tollinger, won first place, after which they embarked on an international tour. Tollinger died in Šabac in 1911⁵.

Many of these Czech musicians became acquainted with Serbian folklore and began to use its elements in their compositions and arrangements. The opening of the first theatres (and later cinemas) and the establishment of the singing societies and military music chapels followed shortly. The first pianos were brought from Austria to Šabac to the salons of sons and daughters of wealthy merchants. Although this development towards 'Europeanisation' was belated and slow, once started it could not be stopped. As a border town, Šabac took the lead in this trend towards realigning Serbia with European standards, to the extent that it provoked the envy of Prince Miloš Obrenović, who often reprimanded his younger brother Jevrem for so unreservedly accepting the customs and cultural values of the Catholic West.

Another important part of Šabac's social and entertainment life took place in taverns [Serbian: *kafane*, i.e. coffee houses]. At the beginning of the 19th century, Šabac already had numerous taverns, and the new ones were opened regularly, bringing their number close to one hundred. The most well-known ones included 'Casino', 'Devet direka' [Nine Pillars], 'Paris', 'Gradska pivnica' [City Brewery], 'Tešmanovića kafana', 'Velika gostionioca' [The Great Inn], etc. These taverns became the sites where the entire commercial and social life of Šabac took place, as described by historian and *tamburitza* player Vesna Dobrivojević:

People from Šabac gathered in taverns to socialise, do business, read the daily press and take part in political discussions; illiterate peasants would often ask literate people to write complaints, petitions and lawsuits for them. In taverns, people ate, drank, had fun, fought, mourned the loss of loved ones or unhappy loves, sang and celebrated various occasions (for example, Omer Cicvarić played at the birthday celebration of Prince Jevrem Obrenović's son Miloš in 1829). The famous family orchestra Cicvarić, with 58 members throughout 7 generations, used *šargija*⁶, *ćemane*⁷, *tamburitza* and drums. . . Today, the tradition is preserved by a small number of *tamburitza* bands and the *tamburitza* orchestra Bisernica of the amateur cultural-artistic society Abrašević, from which you can hear the authentic sounds of the *tamburitza* and feel the old spirit of the bohemian Šabac. (Simić, 2016)

Aside from live music, provided both by local bands and touring ensembles, including *tamburitza* orchestras, jazz orchestras and such, the entertainment in the taverns of Šabac also included comedy acts, magicians, dancers, clowns, and – prostitutes (Jevtić, 1985, p. 19). Šabac also had the first public gambling house called 'Evropa' [Europe], a luxurious building in the city center, where the richest merchants of Šabac gambled for large sums, and even the king Milan Obrenović (grandson of Miloš Obrenović) himself played cards with the Šabac natives. Gambling was so widespread that in 1845 Toma Vučić Perišić imposed a ban which stated that the police could prohibit card games and other types of gambling if they assessed that it was becoming harmful (Jevtić, 1985, p. 22). The Šabac marketplace was packed full day and night. Due to this vivid day- and nightlife, Šabac was nicknamed 'Little Paris' (and later in the 20th century, 'Serbian Nashville', due to its lively local music scene).

While the Cicvarićs were not the only music family that emerged from the Šabac taverns⁸, they were the ones whose vivid playing style turned Šabac into a regional center of bohemian life and helped establish the 'Little Paris' brand. These musicians gradually won the hearts of royalty, politicians, the intellectual elite, writers, professors, and artists, as well as ordinary people, artisans, merchants, and workers.

The Cicvarić Family as Pioneers of Cultural Entrepreneurship

The Cicvarićs were a Muslim Roma family from Šabac, who originated from the Šabac Mahala⁹. The family was long-lived. They played and sang in different ensembles from the mid-19th century until the 1960s, with seven generations of musicians going through the family band, including Baka, Salko, Mujo, Omer, Began, Loso, Tulo, Mema, Pinja, Penco, and many others, who transmitted their musical skills from father to son. The Cicvarić bands also included relatives, friends, and neighbors from the Šabac Mahala, but they always played a dominant role in the band

⁵ More on Tollinger's life and work in: (Šašić, 1998, p. 304–309; Kokanović Marković, 2019).

⁶ A long-necked lute.

⁷ A chordophone instrument similar to the violin, belonging to the Persian-Arabic family of string instruments.

⁸ Other notable families include the families Milić, Ibrić, Zejić (who were all related to the Cicvarićs and lived in the same mahala), as well as the band led by Vasa Stanković Andolija, who was a Gypsy of Orthodox faith. (Jevtić, 1985, p. 19)

⁹ From Arabian *māhallā*, meaning a settlement; in this case, a Roma settlement.

as creators of the repertoire, songwriters and arrangers, as well as the purveyors of their distinctive singing and playing style.

While there are no written records on how these Muslim Gypsies, who probably arrived in Šabac from present-day southern Serbia, North Macedonia or Montenegro via Bosnia (Kuzmanović, 2018, p. 82) became musicians, an orally transmitted legend about the beginnings of this musical family has survived to this day. It goes back to the time when the Turks ruled the Šabac fortress on the river Sava. Among them was a Turkish *dizdar* [commander] who played an old *ćemane*. Because of his unrequited love for a *kaurkinja* [a Christian woman], he slammed the instrument on the floor in anger and broke it. This was observed by a young man from his service, allegedly Omer Cicvarić, who picked up the broken parts and secretly took them home to reassemble them. After repairing the instrument, he taught himself to play it, and then his brothers and relatives followed suit (Anon, 2018; Kuzmanović, 2018, p. 75). After they obtained some more instruments, they started playing and singing together. The Cicvarićs first started appearing in their neighborhood, playing and singing to their relatives and friends, and then in small taverns in Šabac Mahala, which soon became too small to accommodate all those who wanted to see and hear them. Soon they were hired to play at prestigious Šabac hotels and taverns, at city balls, weddings and celebrations, as well as at gatherings of the wealthy townspeople and their guests, thus commercializing and professionalizing their initially amateur activity. In the beginning, the band members wore traditional clothes – handmade pants, shirts and belts, a *fermen* [hand-embroidered vest], embroidered knee-high socks and *opanci*¹⁰ (Figure 1.). Later, as their local and international reputation grew, they adopted European clothes (Figure 2.).



Figure 1. The Cicvarićs in traditional clothes [Photograph], The InterMunicipal Historical Archive of the City of Šabac.

Musical Style and Cultural Entrepreneurship

The Cicvarićs were musically illiterate, but they learned their skill from their elders. The band founder Omer Cicvarić was born either in 1795 or 1796, because an 1863 source found by Vladan Kuzmanović states: “Omer Cicvarić, 67 years, wife Šana, 50, sons Alija, locksmith, 21, Bego, musician, 19, daughters-in-law...” (Kuzmanović, 2018, p. 75). Based on the previously cited information that Omer Cicvarić played at the celebration of the birth of Jevrem Obrenović’s only son Miloš in 1829 (Simić, 2016), the broken-violin-anecdote must have happened in the late 1810s or early 1820s, if by 1829 Omer was already a proficient performer. According to Vladan Kuzmanović, the ‘golden era’ of Šabac’s nightlife was marked by three generations of the family band, each led by one family member: Omer Cicvarić (the band lasted until his death in 1870), Bego Cicvarić (Omer’s son; the band lasted until 1901), and Baka Cicvarić (Bego’s son; the band lasted until 1913, its activity interrupted by the Balkan Wars). Baka Cicvarić was a notable musician, who was nicknamed Baka Slavuj [Nightingale] for his very pleasant voice and extremely skilled playing on the violin. His band included his three brothers Mujo, Omer Jr. and Began. Omer Cicvarić’s other grandson Osman, nicknamed Loso (the son of Alija Cicvarić) began to play in his cousin Baka’s band and became a famous musician in his own right. All of

¹⁰ Traditional handmade spiked leather shoes.



Figure 2. The Cicvarićs (sitting on the floor in the front row) in European clothes [Photograph], The InterMunicipal Historical Archive of the City of Šabac.

them were singers, instrumentalists and arrangers, and Baka Cicvarić was the main songwriter (Kuzmanović, 2018, p. 75).

Although Omer Cicvarić lived for almost 75 years, the average lifespan of the Cicvarićs was much shorter, approximately 50 years. A total of seven generations of the Cicvarić family band(s) played throughout the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. Since the Cicvarićs played together with their relatives and neighbors from the Šabac Mahala, the families Zejić, Milić and Ibrić, who all lived in the same street (Avde Karabegovića), the band would sometimes bear the name of the family that was the most numerous at that point – for example, from 1918, the musicians who survived the Great War gathered in three bands, led by Zejo Zejić, Ibro Milić and Mujo Milić¹¹.

According to Milan Jevtić, a chronicler of Šabac's entertainment life, at the turn of the twentieth century, the town's bohemian elite was led by the famous writer Janko Veselinović (1862–1905), an amateur musician himself. He would often party until the early morning with Baka and Salko Cicvarić, who performed his favorite songs. In turn, Veselinović made it possible for the Cicvarićs to perform in Belgrade's famous Skadarlija district and other bohemian haunts. Thanks to this exposure, many protagonists of the Serbian art scene of that time wanted to get to know Šabac and its musical life, and there are well-known testimonies of many writers, poets and painters who appreciated the Cicvarićs, including Stevan Čalić, Mihailo Petrov, Rade Drainac, Trifun Đukić and others (Jevtić, 1985, p. 19). Additionally, the Slovenian composer who lived and worked in Serbia, Davorin Jenko (1835–1914), included many of the Cicvarićs' songs in his theatre plays with dancing and singing, such as the very popular 'play with music' *Dido* [Rascal], based on Veselinović's eponymous theatre play.

The Cicvarić's repertoire included arrangements of popular melodies from all over the Balkans, Central and Eastern Europe, as well as their original compositions – some of which are now considered folk 'standards' and have long entered repertoires of contemporary folk music ensembles. They can also be regarded as chroniclers of the time in which they lived. Their original repertoire consisted mainly of love songs and dances, including the stories of the love affairs of famous people from Šabac and the sweet life of the city's *nouveau riches*, such as: *Prošetali šabački trgovci* [Šabac Merchants Went for a Walk], *Rujna zora* [Red Dawn], *Igrali se konji vrani* [Black Horses Were Playing], *Oj, devojko moja* [Oh, My Girl], *Mila moja Kata* [My Dear Kata], *Jelena, momo* [Jelena, Girl], *Angelina, bela Grkinjo* [Angelina, a Beautiful Greek Woman], *Moj komšija ćer udaje* [My Neighbor's Daughter Is Getting Married], *Oj javore* [Hey, Linden Tree], and the widely known *Cicvarića kolo* [The Cicvarićs' round dance] (without lyrics) (Jevtić, 1985, p. 19)¹². Kuzmanović argues that they invented a new genre of lyrical folk songs – *hymns*, with subgenres such as humorous, lascivious, or merchants' hymns. According to this author, the Šabac *hymn* is an extended type of *romance* with lyrics about someone's reputation, the city's glory, urban and national pride, and such (Kuzmanović, 2018)¹³.

¹¹ According to the inscription on one of the photographs taken in Belgrade Skadarlija, in front of the tavern *Zlatno bure* [Golden Barrel], preserved in the private collection by L. Kuzmanović, the band led by Ibro Milić consisted of Alija Ibrić, Baka II Cicvarić, Amid Cicvarić, Memiš Kardić, Mema Jovanović, Musa Jovanović, Milarem Gardić, Osman Loso Cicvarić, Ibro Milić, Nurija Garić and Omer Penco Cicvarić. Available at Wikimedia Commons, <https://sr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Датотека:Cicvarići1.jpg> (accessed 15 May 2023).

¹² Many of the songs originated by the Cicvarićs have been recorded by other ensembles such as *Stari zvuci* [Old Sounds] or *Dilber* [Lover], and released on LP records (Milošević, 2019).

¹³ Since Kuzmanović is an amateur researcher, he does not support this claim with a scientific analysis that would prove the specific features of Šabac hymns, as opposed to different types of lyrical folk songs.

The Cicvarićs' repertoire also included songs that commented on the social and military events of that time, starting from the early songs commenting on the centuries of Turkish rule, such as *Na sramotu Begi i Mus-Agi* [The Shame of Bega and Mus-Aga] or *Razvilo se ravno polje prilepsko* [The Battle of the Prilep Field], followed by patriotic (mainly tragic, but sometimes humorous or rebellious) songs written in response to the invasion of the Austro-Hungarian army, such as *Kapetan Đoka* [Captain George], *Na Šabac je udario Švaba* [Šabac Was Attacked by the Germans] or *Dodi, Švabo, da vidiš* [Come and See, You German]. In all, the songs performed by the Cicvarić spanned the Turkish period, the Annexation, the Serbian-Turkish wars, Balkan Wars I and II, and the Great War. In all these songs, the Cicvarić revealed themselves as true patriots. Although they preserved their Muslim names and faith, they also celebrated Serbian national and religious holidays, participated in all national victories and defeats of the Serbian people, and died as soldiers together with their Serbian comrades. For example, in 1912, Baka's younger brother Mujo Cicvarić signed up as a volunteer in the Sixth Šabac Regiment of the Serbian Army during the Balkan War I. He brought both his rifle and his violin to the front, and his courage and his songs made him famous in Kumanovo. Unfortunately, he contracted cholera in the trenches and died (Anon, 2018). Another brother Began Cicvarić was killed in the Balkan War II in 1913 (Kuzmanović, 2018, p. 77). The Cicvarićs were honored when, in 1918, they were invited to Belgrade to take part in the central ceremony to celebrate the breakthrough of the Thessaloniki Front and perform in front of the King, the Liberator Petar I Karađorđević and other nobility; and at the end of 1918, they also joyfully welcomed the Serbian Army in Šabac. Later, the Cicvarićs were the first musicians to sing a moving dirge on the occasion of the death of King Aleksandar Karađorđević who was assassinated in Marseille in 1934. Queen Marija personally thanked them with a letter for this gesture of love and loyalty (Anon, 2018).

The Cicvarićs became synonymous with entertainment because they knew how to build up the atmosphere and keep their listeners in a good mood throughout the evening. According to written testimonies and the available recordings, they would begin their performance with slower songs, ballads and *sevdalinkas*, and then move on to more dynamic songs, until they reached the climax. Based on the available recordings, the Cicvarićs sang their songs in a responsorial style: the main singer would lead the melody, and other band members would join in, usually singing in unison or in parallel octaves or sometimes parallel thirds¹⁴. Although the Cicvarićs' richly ornamented and exaggerated style of interpretation is nowadays considered archaic, the same type of responsorial singing in unison has been preserved by bands who perform in the Belgrade tourist district Skadarlija until the present day (Dumnić Vilotijević, 2019). When it comes to the Cicvarićs' instrumental compositions, such as round dances, these unfolded as countless repetitions of one or two melodic-rhythmic models, with occasional melodic variations, while maintaining a steady pace, so that people could dance.

The Cicvarićs introduced another practice that has been preserved to this day, namely, the custom that the audience should adorn the musicians with money and gold. Every evening the Cicvarićs were lavished with money, which they continued to spend in the same tavern after the gig was over. Although they initially established their reputation by performing in the numerous taverns in Šabac, they later went on to perform at elite hotels, city balls, weddings, celebrations, private parties of wealthy citizens, and even important state events, in the Serbian capital of Belgrade and in many other cities in Serbia and abroad, including Budapest, Paris and Prague, where they made their first record. They served as their own managers, who booked gigs and tours, at a time when Serbian society at large barely had any concept of concert promoters or cultural management.

The Cicvarićs made about twenty gramophone records with about fifty songs between 1909 and 1922, with a mixture of their original compositions and a selection of what could be dubbed 'Balkan standards', including Turkish, Macedonian and Bosnian popular songs, but also many other types of songs that belong to the repertoire of old urban folk music¹⁵. They also recorded instrumental potpourris or garlands. Some of their best-known instrumentals include the famous melodies *Svilen konac* [Silk Thread] and *Nizamski rastanak* [Nizams' Farewell]. These melodies are often regarded as works of anonymous folk composers or attributed to Vlastimir Pavlović Carevac (1895–1965), the famous violinist and lawyer from Belgrade, a long-term leader of the Folk Orchestra of the Radio Television of Serbia. However, Milutin Popović Zahar (b. 1938), another violinist and lawyer, and a long-time researcher of the Cicvarićs' legacy, testified that Carevac himself admitted that he had 'borrowed' these instrumentals from the Cicvarićs. Carevac also

¹⁴ There are numerous recordings of the Cicvarićs available on Youtube and other platforms, e.g. *Angelina, bela Grkinja* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-f3yOKI7xrQ&t=11s>, *Moj komšija čer udaje* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eFS-cMjodyc>, *Rujna zora* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hk5r-4ArsfY>, *Mila moja Kata* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m3do524hJ1A>, *Sarajevka kolo* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vm28kkkcVsk>, *Cicvarića kolo* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J4mukcdEpr4>, and a selection of mp3 songs compiled by Vladan Kuzmanović, including *Jelena momo* [Jelena, girl], *Ja prodadoh konja vrana* [I Sold a Black Horse], *Svu noć mi soko prepeva* [A Hawk Was Singing All Night Long], *Oj, devojko moja* [Oh, My Girl], *Sremsko kolo sa poskočicama* [A round dance from Srem, with exclamations], *Igrali se konji vrani* [Black horses were playing], *Sedi gidi Saro*, etc. https://archive.org/details/vladankuzmanovic_ahoo1. In spite of the low quality (by today's standards) of these recordings, it is easy to discern the Cicvarićs' distinctive interpretation style and indisputable vocal and instrumental virtuosity.

¹⁵ For more information on the old urban folk music repertoire, see (Dumnić Vilotijević, 2019).

instructed Zahar to write lyrics for these melodies in order to preserve them. Zahar indeed wrote lyrics to *Svilen konac* and a new arrangement for *Nizamski rastanak*, which are still performed today (Popović Zahar and Devura, 2013). Although their activities chronologically predated the processes that established the cultural industry in Serbia and its commercially successful genres, as songwriters who wrote and performed their own material to meet popular demand, the Cicvarićs can be considered the early pioneers of composed music in the spirit of the folk music tradition of Serbia and the Balkans, which ultimately led to the birth of the immensely successful commercial genre of *novokomponovana narodna muzika* [the newly-composed folk music] in the second half of the 20th century¹⁶.

The last band leader was an exceptional musician, Osman Penco Cicvarić, the son of Mujo Cicvarić, who was at their helm from the 1930s to his death in 1965. Under his leadership, the band performed regularly in Belgrade's Skadarlija, in Hotel Lav in Ljubljana, and in many other places. The death of Penco marked the end of 'Little Paris' and all that it entailed.

Conclusion

As we have seen, the Cicvarićs' multigenerational and multifaceted activity embodied many aspects of cultural entrepreneurship highlighted in the introduction, including the connection of cultural industry practices with constantly changing political-economic and cultural realities, the development of certain business models, and the positioning of artists and their products locally, nationally, and internationally. Regarding the first point, the Cicvarićs aptly adapted to the changing political-economic and cultural realities, as documented by the changes in their repertoire and their active participation in all important events of the time, including wars and postwar celebrations or mournings, changes of royal dynasties, changes in the social structure of the nascent Serbian bourgeois society, and so on. Being active participants in these events, the Cicvarićs felt the need to contribute by writing their own songs, not just to meet demand, but also to pay tribute to notable people of their society, from war heroes to famous artists and bohemians. By so doing, they acquired the status of true chroniclers of their times¹⁷. Additionally, their activities enable us to consider aspects of supply and demand, resulting in the development of certain business models, some of which are still preserved today – such as self-management, the transmission of skill from elders to their offspring, the establishment and development of a successful family 'brand' without any actual theoretical knowledge of marketing principles, establishing a specific type of an all-night tavern performance which is still practiced in Belgrade Skadarlija and other landmarks of Serbian nightlife, organizing domestic and international tours, or making commercial gramophone records and thus preserving their artistry for posterity. The Cicvarić also contributed to cultural diplomacy, not just by performing a repertoire from different parts of what was to become the Kingdom of SCS/Yugoslavia and uniting the peoples of different backgrounds, religious confessions and cultural legacies, or by participating in important political events of the time and contributing to the acceptance of certain individuals and their political roles, but also by performing for the most diverse audiences, bridging the gap between royalty, intellectual elites, and the common people and thus erasing class barriers. Over the course of more than a century of the family band's existence (in all its numerous incarnations and with different band leaders), their impact and legacy were felt both locally, in their native town Šabac, nationally, in the newly liberated Serbia, and internationally, throughout Europe, where they were associated with 'Little Paris' and its vivid nightlife.

¹⁶ On the genre of the newly composed folk music in Yugoslavia see: (Vidić Rasmussen, 1995, p. 241–256; Rasmussen and Beard, 2020).

¹⁷ Vladan Kuzmanović provides plenty of information on the origin of some of the songs that the Cicvarićs wrote and/or performed, and the people immortalized by them (Kuzmanović, 2018, p. 83–122).

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Microtiming Analysis of Two Dance-Songs from the Pirin-Macedonia Region of Bulgaria

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ABSTRACT

The non-isochronous meters of the Balkan Peninsula are traditionally described in ethnomusicological literature through notation indicating a 2:3 beat ratio underlain by a series of isochronous subdivisions. Within the Balkans, this theory of meter can be traced back to early twentieth century Bulgarian musicology and possibly even before, yet has not been revised or amended until relatively recently. However, recent microtiming studies nuance representations of meter that surpass the capacities of traditional Western notation through IOI (interonset interval) analysis. Through an IOI analysis of two dance-songs from villages in the Pirin-Macedonia region of Bulgaria, I show that the presumptive fixed proportions of the 3-beat ‘long-short-short’ meter (7/8, 3+2+2 in musicological terminology) of both songs do not align with and cannot be described by a 2:3 beat ratio. These quantitative findings are then contextualized in the metric perspectives of both conservatory-trained musicians and village musicians in order to assess possible epistemological obfuscation, and theorize potential revisions to theories of Balkan non-isochronous meters.

Keywords: Dance, meter, analysis

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Introduction

A 2:3 beat ratio has been used to describe the metrically non-isochronous music of the Balkan Peninsula. Originally proposed by musicologist Dobri Hristov (1913) in his essay *Ritmichnite osnovi na narodnata ni muzika* (*The Rhythmical Bases of Our Folk Music*), this convention still informs much scholarship of these meters in contemporary North American and European ethnomusicology¹. However, in my experience as a dancer, performer, and listener of this music, I have noticed some dance music in the transnational Macedonian region in which beats do not strictly align with this ratio. In following recent microtiming analyses that challenge the description of metric phenomena through a fastest isochronous subdivision (Kvifte, 2007; Polak, 2010; Johansson, 2017), this article analyzes two recordings of *horovodni* (dance-songs) from the Pirin-Macedonia region in a three-beat long-short-short meter as a means to nuance analytical conventions of Balkan non-isochronous meters.

My quantitative findings are then used to speculate at the possibility of political influence on timing practices. The 2:3 beat ratio and its origin in Bulgarian musicology was and is propagated by folk music institutions created during Bulgaria's socialist period (1944–1989). Almost all English-language monographs concerning Bulgarian folk music of this period have demonstrated that the ways in which performers renegotiate their positionality in relation to institutional and village contexts amongst others, are important in determining what and how music is performed (Rice, 1994; Buchanan, 2006; Silverman, 2012). This reality represents and constitutes the interpenetrating quality of the contexts in which musicians work in and around. In other words, the relationship between folk music institutions and village musical settings can be characterized as entangled and spectral. In the present analysis, timing data is situated in this web through examining the similarities and differences in how musical temporality is discussed in these environments. This verbal evidence is far from definitively proving a connection between musical context and timing practice, but could possibly serve as an insight into the influences and power dynamics between state-sponsored folk music institutions and village musical settings. To begin, I review pertinent terminology and recent literature.

Definitions

Frequently used terms throughout this study such as folk music, village, conservatory, and Macedonia should be clarified. I use the term 'folk music' instead of traditional music or any adjacent term as it is a translation of *narodna muzika* (lit. people's music), the Bulgarian term for the type of music analyzed in this study. This term encompasses various meanings depending on political and historical contexts, but here I use the catch-all definition used by modern Bulgarians, referring to "wedding music, *obrabotki* [arranged folklore], and village music" (Kirilov, 2015, p. 9).

I often refer to a conservatory to village spectrum when contextualizing my findings. 'Village' is a musical setting in which music is an aural tradition, played by musicians who are largely non-professional at occasions characteristic of Bulgarian village life such as working bees, harvests, seasonal/religious celebrations, weddings, and others. However, throughout the twentieth century Bulgaria underwent massive socio-cultural shifts under the Socialist government beginning in 1944 until its fall in 1989. Within this period, Bulgaria became an increasingly urban society, partly due to mass migrations from villages to urban centers spurred by the socialist government's land reclamation policies. As a result of this rural depopulation, most of the occasions for village music stated above are currently few and far between and on the verge of extinction, with their associated musical practices, if alive, existing de-contextually as staged folklore performances.

However, even though pre-1944 village style music has progressively decreased over the decades, it was the original source material for many conservatories and professional folk ensembles, and can still exist to this day, albeit increasingly rarely. Government-operated *chitalishta* (Reading Rooms/Cultural Centers) have brought some form of Western-influenced music education to these villages, but its reception over the decades has been mixed and has not entirely erased pre-institutionalized musical conceptions. Due to this history, modern-day village music is an amalgam of traditional practice with influence from Bulgaria's socialist period. Accordingly, the usage of the word 'village' in this study refers to the practices and epistemologies of village musicians that preceded and endured socialist influence.

'Conservatory' refers to any of the centers of folk music education originally established by the Bulgarian socialist government that combine folk music and dance with various elements of Western musicology and music theory, as well as Soviet choreographic practice. The main institutions for such education include the secondary schools for folk music in the town of Kotel and Shiroka Lūka village, and the Academy of Music, Dance, and Fine Arts in the city of

¹ According to Rice (2000, p. 196), this essay first appears in a Western European language in a German translation of Vasil Stoin's *Būlgarska narodna muzika: Metrika i ritmika* (*Bulgarian Folk Music: Meter and Rhythm*) in 1927.

Plovdiv, among others. Students in these institutions read ensemble arrangements of folk music, recite folk melodies in fixed-do solfège, dictate Western melodies and functional harmony, learn Western music theory, and take classes such as ‘Bulgarian Musical Folklore’. This curriculum was designed to prepare musicians to be effective ensemble performers in state-sponsored professional folklore ensembles such as Ansambul Trakia, Ansambul Pirin, and Ansambul Filip Kutev. These institutions and ensembles were a creation of the socialist government in the mid-twentieth century as a part of a political agenda to: (1) ‘elevate’ folk music to the level of Western classical music, (2) promote Bulgaria as an ethnically uniform state, (3) integrate rural and urban populations through staged performances of village-style music, and (4) cultivate national pride in folk traditions (Rice, 1994, pp. 174–183). Since the fall of Bulgaria’s socialist government in 1989, these folk conservatories and professional ensembles still remain, but are increasingly devoid of socialist party ties or ideologies.

The term ‘transnational Macedonian region’² describes the region containing the country of North Macedonia, parts of Southeastern Serbia, the province of Greek-Macedonia, and the region of Pirin-Macedonia in Bulgaria. The history of Macedonia and its boundaries is a topic of constant political dispute in the Balkans, as seen through the aforementioned quartering of territory bearing its name. However, this transnational region contains similar musical characteristics across borders such as the metric phenomena I present below, representing the blurred, porous, and fluctuating nature of boundaries throughout the Balkan Peninsula. With these terms clarified I will now define musical vocabulary concerning temporality in Bulgarian folk music.

Meter

In the vast realm of what can be considered ‘Bulgarian folk music’, the definition of the word ‘meter’ is one that is constantly in flux, especially when traversing the village to conservatory spectrum of musical epistemologies. These two poles manifest even in the Bulgarian translation of the word ‘meter’, as musicologists generally use the term *razmer*, and village musicians have been documented using the word *takt* (pl. *taktove*). While *razmer* seems to refer to a written time signature, *takt* can refer to a wide range of temporal phenomena. For the purposes of this study, I define meter as how musicians and dancers coordinate the temporality of musical phenomena³. Investigating meter in a political context also reveals how changes in musical thought brought on by the institutionalization of folk music after 1944 influence how the music itself is perceived and performed. To illustrate these changes I discuss perspectives of musical temporality in Bulgarian village and folk conservatory contexts as well as instances in which the two intertwine.

With regard to village musicians, *takt* and tempo are the most common verbally recognized dimensions of musical time. In Mark Levy’s 1985 PhD dissertation on *gajdari* [bagpipers] from South-Central Bulgaria, he states that village musicians use *takt* to mean ‘rhythm’, ‘meter’, ‘tempo’, and ‘beat’, and is used to connect musicians and dancers (p. 236). In a village setting, the relationship to the beat level and its accompanying dance steps is an important consideration, as playing for dancers is a common context for village musicians. *Takt* therefore can be understood as a holistic organizing principle, existing between sonic and choreographic dimensions.

Emphasizing its importance within village metric epistemology, tempo is described by Rice (1980, p. 62) as “the only element of musical time discussed explicitly by Bulgarian singers. They compare performances along a scale from slow (*bavno*) to fast (*burzo*)”. For example, a three-beat long-short-short meter (described by musicologists as 7/8, 3+2+2) at a slow tempo ([Audio-Visual Example 1: *Shirto*](#)) is a different dance than at a faster tempo ([Audio-Visual Example 2: *Ginka*](#)), with this difference additionally marked through varying dance names and implicit melodic and rhythmic tendencies between the two (Angelov, 2018; Bulg Folk, 2012). Defining qualitative categories such as slow or moderate-fast is difficult, as different regions have different tempo-related standards. Generally, musicians have described to me that the regions of Dobrudzha (Northeast), Stranzha (Southeast), and Rhodope (South-central) have relatively slower dances than the regions of Thrace (Central), North Bulgaria, Shop (West), and Pirin-Macedonia (Southwest). While discussing these accounts, it is also worth recognizing the danger in overgeneralizing a monolithic ‘emic perspective’ of Bulgarian or Balkan musical time. Even between *gajdari* from the same region, Levy describes differences in the description of *taktove* of dance songs sharing the same musicological metric description (1985, pp. 237–238). However, recognizing the similarities between varying accounts of village musical temporality is productive in assessing their entanglement and differences with conservatory perspectives.

² This area is also commonly referred to as geographic Macedonia.

³ I use temporality here as a catchall term that encompasses rhythm, beat, tempo, and other dimensions of musical time.

Conservatory-trained musicians recognize a layer of meter that is not present in the village conception, the subdivision level, as meters before 1944 were never described through the enumeration of subdivisions by folk musicians. This was a consequence of the institutionalization of Bulgarian folk music, and this method of describing Bulgarian meters remains to this day within musicological circles (Rice, 1994; Buchanan, 2006). Contemporary professionally trained folk musicians describe ‘short’ and ‘long’ beats as consisting of two and three subdivisions respectively. References to subdivisions can be seen on the pages of folk orchestra arrangements through time signatures, and musicians will explain how a *Kopanitsa* (11/8, 2+2+3+2+2, moderate-fast) has five main beats with eleven isochronous subdivisions. This conservatory perspective of meter also takes into consideration some of the same characteristics as on the village level, such as number of beats (in this case how subdivisions are grouped), tempo, and regional characteristics. Also, while I know no case of village musicians using the term *razmer* to describe the temporal aspect of their music, I have observed conservatory trained musicians use the word *takt* to refer to a ‘measure’ or ‘beat’, as this term was also used by Bulgarian musicologists such as Dobri Hristov, Manol Todorov, and Mikhail Bukoreshtliev in the early 20th century, along with *razmer*. The term *takt* is likely borrowed from German musicological terminology, indicating that some sort of institutional influence on village musical terminology must have been present before the establishment of state-sponsored conservatories.

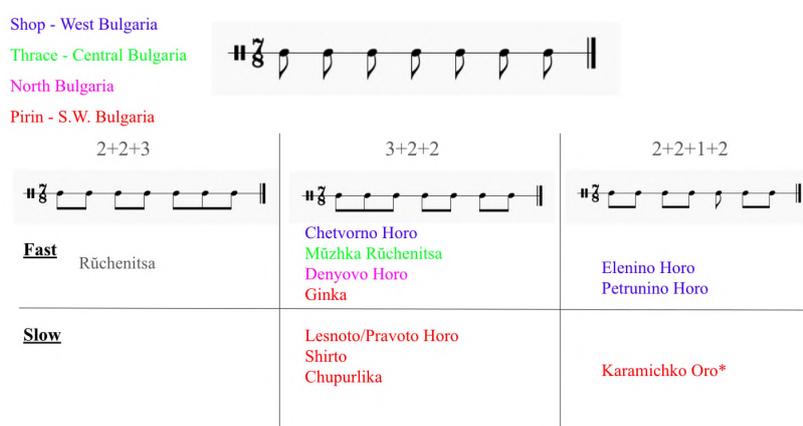


Figure 1. Conservatory-Trained Musicians' View of a 7/8 Meter

Figure 1 shows how modern conservatory-trained musicians conceive of meters containing seven subdivisions^{4, 5}. This metric conception combines musicological aspects such as the subdivision level, with certain aspects of village metric epistemology including tempo, ethnographic region, non-isochronous beat level that corresponds with dance steps. Even though *Ginka*, *Denyovo horo*, *Mūzhka rūchenitsa*, and *Chetvorno horo* are from different ethnographic regions with different dances, the number of subdivisions, subdivision grouping, relative tempo, and the intracyclic possibilities of when dancers step are the same. However, at the village level there has been somewhat of a clash between these two metric conceptions, aptly summarized by Levy (1985, pp. 236–237):

The use of Western numerical time signatures (in this case, 2+2+2+3/8, or 9/8) is foreign to unschooled village *gajdari* [bagpipers]. The conception of additive meters as being composed of groups of twos and threes, adding up to five, seven, or nine, etc., is a conception imposed by schooled outsiders. Numerical metric designations, like other aspects of Western music theory, have become known to village *gajdari* in the contexts of folk music schools and ensembles. *Gajdari* often try to reconcile their native conception of the meter— in terms of the main beats or dance steps— with their usually vague understanding of Western time signatures.

Therefore, the degree to which these epistemologies of musical time have mixed differs on both the conservatory and village level. Furthermore, due to the absence of a uniform metric framework between these contexts, the question of whether or not the implications of Western notation accurately apply to village-style dance music should be scrutinized, as this analysis will demonstrate.

⁴ The rightmost column of a 2+2+1+2 subdivision does not conform to London's metric well-formedness rules (London, 2012). For an in-depth discussion of this grouping, see Goldberg's *What's the Meter of Elenino Horo?* (2019).

⁵ *Ruchenitsa* is gray because it is found in all ethnographic regions of Bulgaria. *Karamichko oro* has an asterisk because there is no predominant name for this meter. This title references just one dance mainly found in North Macedonia that can be classified by a slow 2+2+1+2 subdivision grouping. Nonetheless, I found it necessary to provide an example here to show that this category does exist, despite it being more popular outside of Bulgaria.

Literature Review

The appropriateness of using a 2:3 ratio to describe non-isochronous Balkan meters first appeared in English in the mid-twentieth century. In Alice Singer's 1974 article *The Metrical Structure of Macedonian Dance*, while describing the difficulty of assigning numerical meters to particular dances, she states that "even within a single piece of music, the tempo may begin slowly, and by the end be quite fast. The difficulty is further compounded by *the fact that the absolute duration of the units often do not make a perfect 2:3 ratio*" (Singer, 1974, p. 386; emphasis added). Though this observation was made in passing towards relating metric patterns to dance movements, Singer momentarily went against decades of Balkan musicological research and transcription practice in claiming that some Balkan non-isochronous meters are not governed by a strict 2:3 beat ratio. This observation also may have supported her choice of describing these meters qualitatively; for example, instead of describing a *Rúchenitsa* with a 2+2+3 7/8 meter, she simplifies the description to QQS (quick-quick-slow).

The first to quantitatively address the accuracy of the 2:3 beat ratio was Dirk Molaents in his article *Perception and Performance of Aksak Metres* (2006), in which he uses IOI (inter-onset interval) measurements to determine beat proportions in certain recordings of Bulgarian folk music. His results suggest microstructures to non-isochronous meters that deviate from a 2:3 ratio, although these deviations are not consistent between performers, nor occasionally throughout an individual performance. From these microstructural findings, Molaents concludes that different performances of dances in the same meter "can follow a completely different timing scheme" (2006, p. 167).

IOI analysis in the context of Balkan performance is also found in Daniel Goldberg's *Timing Variations in Two Balkan Percussion Performances* (2015), which investigates two recordings of dance music in a slow 7/8 (3+2+2) meter. He finds that the duration of each beat category changes in relation to its position in the phrasal structure of a performance. In this analytical frame, each beat is isolated in order to determine the relative lengthening or shortening of beats throughout a performance, an aspect that is obscured if every beat is described in proportion to its respective cycle. Goldberg finds that there are statistically significant trends in the changes of average beat durations corresponding to the location of a measure within a larger phrase structure. He does not comment much on proportional aspects of these data, due to the focus on beat durations. Goldberg in a later article *What is the Meter of Elenino Horo?* (2019) uses IOI analysis to show how multiple performances of *Elenino horo* (Eleno's Dance) align with a 7/8 (2+2+1+2) meter, as opposed to other metric interpretations asserted by musicians and musicologists⁶. Here, he also comments on the applicability of a 2:3 ratio more generally, "many songs and pieces of instrumental dance music from Bulgaria feature repeating sequences composed of two categorically different durations, short and long, with a ratio of *approximately 2:3*" (2019, p. 69; emphasis added).

The scope of the present article's claims is limited to English-language literature, however, it is worth briefly mentioning *Quantitative Investigation of Temporal Microdeviations in Greek Asymmetric Meters* by Peninta, Campouropoulos, and Papadelis (2008) in which the authors carry out a similar analysis to that of this study. They measure the beat IOIs in many recordings of Greek traditional music that feature a three-beat long-short-short meter, and find that there is a consistent tendency for the third beat (the second 'short' beat) to be slightly longer than the second beat. This style of analysis to my knowledge has not taken place in the realm of Bulgarian or Macedonian musicology.

In summary, microtiming possibilities within Balkan traditional music have been occasionally recognized since the 1970s, but only recently have been analyzed further in order to articulate these subtleties. This recent trend may be due to developments in Digital Audio Workspace technology, and the possibility these technologies bring to detach "metric theory from notation of rhythm" (Goldberg, 2019, pp. 84–85). Outside of studies regarding Balkan folk music there has also been an uptake in microtiming analyses within North American and European ethnomusicology circles concerning Malian djembe music, Scandinavian fiddle music, and others (Kvifte, 2007; Polak, 2010; Johansson, 2017). I see the analysis presented below not only as a part of a move to nuance perceptions of Balkan non-isochronous meters beyond the 2:3 ratio, but also as a part of this rise in microtiming analyses that challenge some tenets of Western metric theory.

Procedure

This analysis involves two recordings of village music from the Pirin-Macedonia region of Bulgaria. The first is *Malka moma vada kopa* (Little Lady Vada Digs; [Audio Example 1](#)), a song from the village of Lúzhnitsa. The song

⁶ Goldberg (2019) argues for a subdivision grouping of 2+2+1+2 instead of 2+2+3 because four dance steps per cycle are performed, one of which occurs on the singleton fifth subdivision.

is performed by two *tambura* (eight-string double coursed lute) players and a women's choir, the Women's Folklore Group of Lŭzhnitsa Village (Bozhilova, 2017). The second is *Oi le Kale* (Oh, Kale; [Audio Example 2](#)), a song from the village of Kremen in the same region, performed by the Women's Folklore Group of Kremen Village, also with *tambura* accompaniment and a *kaval* (traditional flute) (Karapachov, 2018). These songs are both performed in the characteristic melody-drone diaphonic style of the region, defined by Kirilov as one of the oldest textures found in Bulgarian folk music (Kirilov, 2015, p. 10). Amateur village groups like these were referred to as *kolektivi* and were originally a creation of the Bulgarian socialist government in the 1950s to 'preserve' certain styles of pre-1950s rural music at the non-professional village level. These songs and their accompanying dances were traditionally performed at seasonal festivals, weddings, and other common occurrences for village music making, but now mainly persist in staged folklore performance settings. Both of these songs were recently posted to YouTube by Bulgarian accounts that post hundreds of videos of village-style folk music, but the actual date and context of these recordings is unknown. I selected these two songs in particular because their meters share the same musicological description (7/8 3+2+2), but to my ear exhibit two distinct beat proportions that both escape accurate description through a 2:3 ratio.

First, the IOIs between beats in a sampling of each song were measured. For *Malka moma vada kopa*, 54 consecutive cycles were measured totaling 162 IOIs, and for *Oi le Kale* 48 consecutive cycles were measured totaling 144 IOIs. In all samples, IOIs between *tambura* strokes were measured, whether the section was instrumental or vocal. The reasons for this choice were that: (1) the *tambura* onsets fall on each beat, (2) these onsets are present throughout both vocal and instrumental sections, and (3) the *tambura* strokes show the clearest waveform in the Reaper Digital Audio Workstation used in this measurement⁷. IOIs were marked first by tapping along to put the markers in roughly the right location, followed by two rounds of manual revision adjusting each marker to a point in the corresponding waveform. The IOIs for each song were then divided into the categories Beat 1, Beat 2, and Beat 3. Each cycle was then proportionally stretched by dividing each beat by its respective cycle length, and an average representative cycle was generated through averaging each of these proportionally adjusted beat categories. These singular representative cycles are then used to compare the timings of these songs with the timing of an exact 7/8 meter.

IOI Analysis

On the left side of Figure 2 are the durations of all IOIs measured for *Malka moma vada kopa* (MMVK) grouped into three-beat cycles, and on the right are these timings proportionally adjusted. The average durations for Beats 1, 2, and 3 are 321 ms, 246 ms, and 272 ms respectively, with an average cycle duration of 839 ms⁸. The average beat proportion of these cycles is 38:29:33⁹. Figure 3 again displays durations on the left and the proportions on the right for *Oi le Kale* (OLK). The average beat durations for Beats 1, 2, and 3 are 399 ms, 229 ms, and 272 ms, with an average cycle length of 900 ms¹⁰. The average beat proportion of these cycles is 44:26:30¹¹.

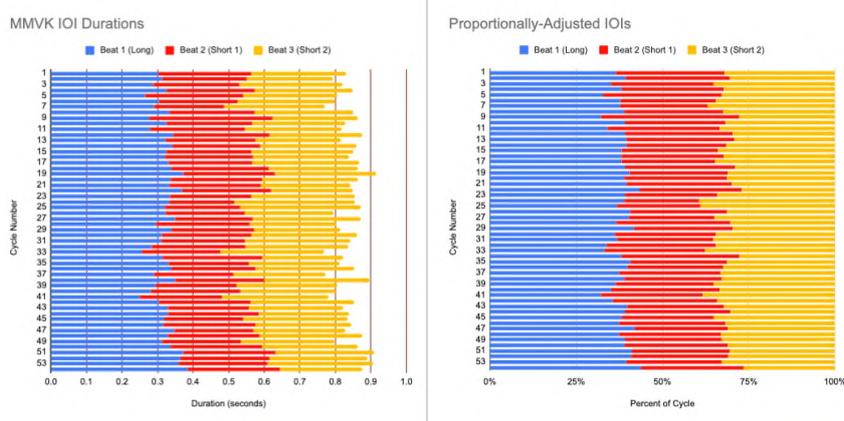


Figure 2. IOI Durations (Left) and Proportions (Right) for *Malka moma vada kopa*

⁷ Reaper is a professional-grade Digital Audio Workstation (DAW) developed by Cockos Inc., similar to popular DAWs such as Logic and Ableton.

⁸ The standard deviations for MMVK's durations are 29 ms (Beat 1), 24 ms (Beat 2), 24 ms (Beat 3), and 35 ms (Average Cycle Duration).

⁹ The standard deviations for MMVK's beat proportions are 2.6% (Beat 1), 2.7% (Beat 2), and 2.8% (Beat 3).

¹⁰ The standard deviations for OLK's durations are 35 ms (Beat 1), 28 ms (Beat 2), 29 ms (Beat 3), and 40 ms (Average Cycle Duration).

¹¹ The standard deviations for OLK's beat proportions are 2.9% (Beat 1), 3.3% (Beat 2), and 2.8% (Beat 3).

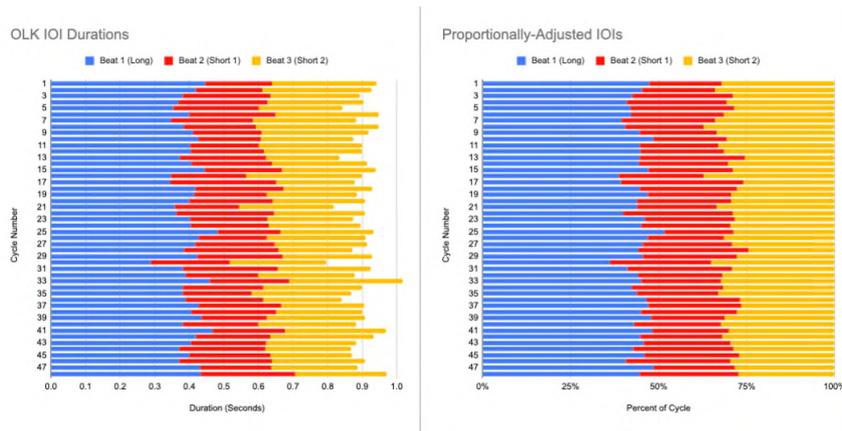


Figure 3. IOI Durations (Left) and Proportions (Right) for *Oi le Kale*

To compare these proportions with those of a 2:3 beat ratio, Figure 4 juxtaposes a grid of seven equally spaced subdivisions with the proportion data of both songs. In *Malka moma vada kopa* there is a tendency for most beats to land before those predicted by a 7/8 (3+2+2) timing, with a shorter Beat 1, and the remaining cycle length split unequally with Beat 2 often shorter than Beat 3. In the case of *Oi le Kale*, Beat 1 is close to that of a 7/8 timing, however Beats 2 and 3, much like *Malka moma vada kopa*, demonstrate a tendency for a shorter second beat in comparison with the third.

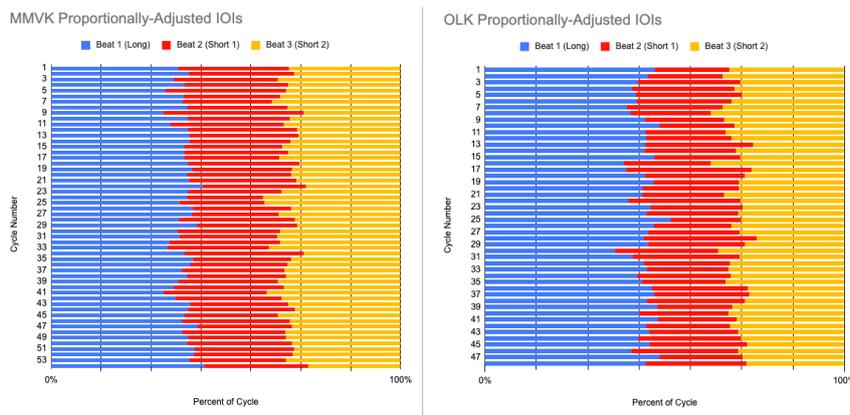


Figure 4. IOI Proportions for Both Songs underlain with 7/8 Grid

To explore the relationship between Beat 2 and Beat 3, Figure 5 shows the proportions of these two beats on their own. In *Malka moma vada kopa* 44 out of the 54 cycles (82%) have longer third beats, while in *Oi le Kale* 39 out of the 48 measured (81%) feature a longer third beat. The degree to which Beat 2 is shorter than Beat 3 differs, as *Malka moma vada kopa* has an average ratio of Beat 2 to Beat 3 of 0.91, while with *Oi le Kale* this ratio is 0.86.

When comparing the proportions of *Oi le Kale* and *Malka moma vada kopa* together, *Malka moma vada kopa*'s first beat is about 6% shorter than that of *Oi le Kale*. *Malka moma vada kopa*'s second and third beats are 4% and 2% longer respectively than *Oi le Kale*'s beat proportions (see Figure 6).

To give an example of how these proportions sound, [Audio Example 3](#) beats these three proportions eight times starting from eight repetitions of an exact 7/8 timing, followed by *Malka moma vada kopa*'s proportion, and finally the proportion of *Oi le Kale*. In both songs, Beat 1 is the longest by far, and Beat 3 is slightly longer than Beat 2. Curiously, this tendency of a slightly shorter Beat 2 in relation to Beat 3 within a three-beat long-short-short meter was also found in Peninta et al.'s (2008) and Goldberg's (2015) microtiming studies conducted on Greek and Macedonian music in the same meter.

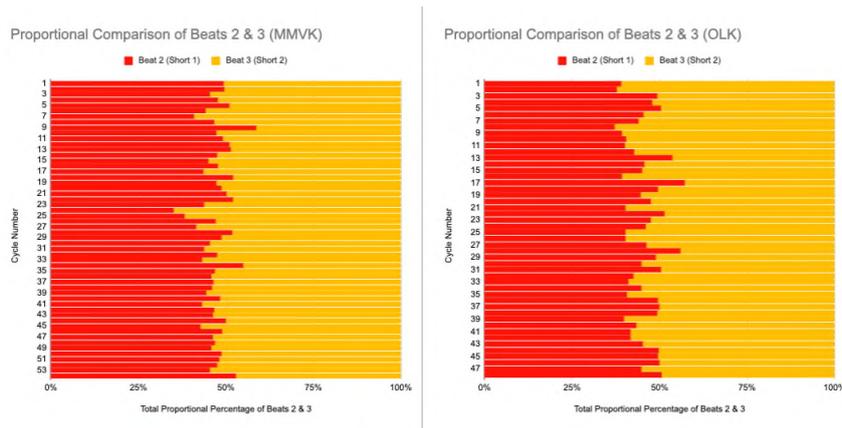


Figure 5. Proportional Comparison of Beats 2 and 3 in Both Songs

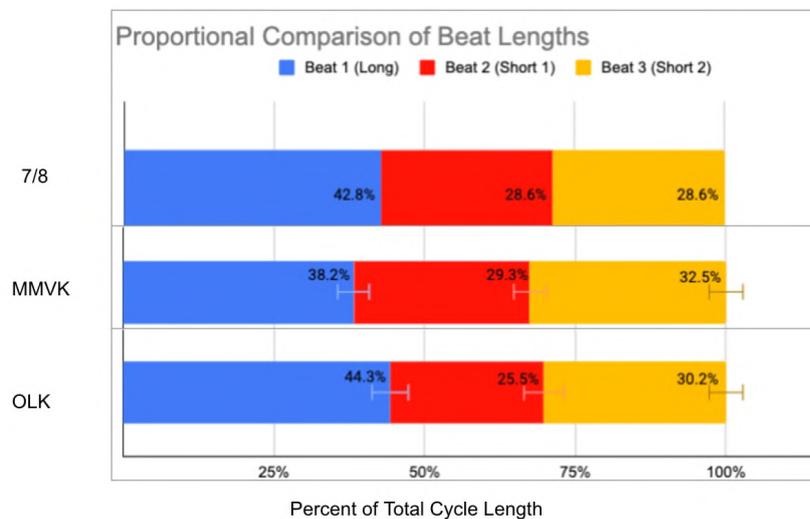


Figure 6. Proportional Comparison of Average Beat Proportions

The microstructure of this meter and the non-alignment of beat onsets with a 7/8 grid indicate that these timings cannot be characterized by a strict 2:3 ratio coordinated by an underlying series of isochronous subdivisions. Before discussing these findings from the viewpoints of conservatory-trained musicians and village musicians, I will first consider the text setting and corresponding dance.

Lyrical and Choreographic Analytical Angles

A possible interpretive angle concerns the text setting of the songs. Speculatively, the more equal distribution of the beat durations in *Malka moma vada kopa* as compared to *Oi le Kale* could be attributed to the number of syllables per measure, as *Malka moma vada kopa* alternates between two and three syllables per measure, while a majority of the measures in *Oi le Kale* have only two syllables. One could argue that because there are more often three syllables per cycle in *Malka moma vada kopa*, these syllables could have a tendency to be more equally distributed across the measure, such that 38:29:33 could be seen as closer to 33:33:33 (3/8, equally distributed) than 42:29:29 (7/8, unequally distributed). Similarly for *Oi le Kale*, because there are more often only two syllables per measure, they could have a tendency of equal distribution: 44:26:30 could be seen as closer to 50:25:25 than 42:29:29. However, I would like to leave this explanation in the realm of speculation, as there is no reason to assume a tendency towards equal syllabic timing distribution. Many other songs from this region feature two to three syllables per line that are either not in a long-short-short meter (Audio Example 4), or if in a long-short-short meter, feature a much stricter 2:3 beat ratio (Audio Example 5) (Trio Karadzovska - Topic, 2014; Bozhilova, 2017).

Syllabic explanations for the existence of non-isochronous meters in Bulgarian folk music have been proposed by Kremenliev in his article *Types of Bulgarian Folk Songs* (1956), where he attributes the meter of 14/16 ($9/16 + 5/16$) to the accentual pattern of the syllables in the song *Bekviya*. “The metre is most unusual: it consists of two groups – $9/16$ ($2+2+2+3$) + $5/16$ ($2+3$), for a total of $14/16$. The pattern has resulted from the stress of the words, the qualitative accent falling on syllables that are strong in speech. As is common in Bulgarian folk music the setting is verbal” (Kremenliev, 1956, p. 359)¹². However, this and other syllabic connections made by Bulgarian musicologists are used mainly to describe the basis of beat non-isochrony, and do not describe or theorize about beat timings other than those of a 2:3 ratio.

Choreographically, this difference between an isochronous $7/8$ and the data presented is of no consequence for dancers, as the possibilities for stepping in Bulgarian folk dance is limited to the onset of each beat. For example, in this three-beat long-short-short meter there are only three possible times in which dancers can step per cycle, as there are only three beats. In other words, no matter the relative durations of the meter’s long and short beats, dancers will step accordingly. This phenomenon should be distinguished from the lead dancer-musician interaction commonly found in the transnational Macedonian region, as these song’s cycle durations are too short for the musicians to time each beat in accordance with the lead dancer’s steps. For instance, compare the metric feeling of *Malka moma vada kopa* and *Oi le Kale* to this recording of *Makedonske horo* (Macedonian Dance) ([Audio Example 6](#)), performed by an ensemble from the same region. In this recording, the cycle durations of this long-short-short meter are much longer and are felt more loosely. This metric feeling of the performance’s first half may be due to the coordination of beat timings with the steps of the lead dancer.

Contextualizing the Data

As stated above, Bulgaria’s state sponsored recontextualization of folk music as a spectacle for the stage required musically literate, conservatory trained performers to read from the scores of government-approved arrangers (Rice, 1994; Buchanan, 2006). Throughout their conservatory education, musicians learned to conceive of dance music through Western time signatures implying a 2:3 beat ratio informed by the work of Bulgarian musicologists such as Dobri Hristov, Vasil Stoin, and Stoyan Dzhudzhev. While this ratio may at times function as an approximation, the continued use of Western notation with its implication of subdivision-level isochrony cannot describe important metric nuances such as those articulated in the present study. The institutions that use these texts still exist to this day, albeit less entangled with political ideology, and produce musicians such as Stoimen Dobrev.

Stoimen is a *kaval* player and an example of a modern-day conservatory-trained working musician. He underwent conservatory training at the Academy of Music, Dance, and Fine Arts in the city of Plovdiv, later taught music theory at the secondary school for folk music in the village of Shiroka Lūka, and is the choir director of the National Folklore Ensemble ‘Pirin’. On a personal level he was my teacher in Bulgarian folk music for two years while completing my undergraduate degree in the town of Blagoevgrad. When asked about the meter of these two songs, he said both were in $7/8$, but performed *neritmichno* (arrhythmically). The onset timings of these songs were near enough to be considered $7/8$, but in his view also different enough to be marked as not strictly $3+2+2$. For Stoimen, these timings are a deviation from an ideal $7/8$, a participatory discrepancy perhaps, a perception informed by his conservatory background.

However, this perspective does not fully take into consideration the view of the village musicians. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I myself did not have the opportunity to ask the musicians of these particular ensembles about their conceptions of meter (*takt*). Therefore, I return to the discussion of Bulgarian village conceptions of meter documented in the work of Mark Levy (1985) and Timothy Rice (1980, 2000).

As previously described, Levy documents village musicians’ metric understanding as one that emphasizes the beat level, and is not governed by an underlying stream of subdivisions. “*Gajdari* [bagpipe players] generally conceptualize the various dance meters in terms of the dance steps. In the *svornato* [$9/8$ $2+2+2+3$], for example (Fig. 5b), each ‘measure’ has four steps, or four main beats, with the fourth beat longer than the rest” (Levy, 1985, p. 236). This beat-level choreographic connection is made explicitly clear by one musician who described to Levy that the *takt* originates in the dancers’ feet, and its purpose is to link the musician and the dancer (Levy, 1985, p. 236). Rice (1980, p. 63) describes a similar sentiment among singers in the Shop region in Western Bulgaria, finding that “[the] number of pulses (5, 7, 9, 11) is not an emic feature of Bulgarian meters, whereas metrical groups, accentuation, (and perhaps others) probably are”. And later generalizing this observation to all Bulgarian village musicians, Rice (2000, p.203) states, “If you ask them [Bulgarian village musicians] to count out the meter, which they don’t, they either can’t do it at

¹² Other Bulgarian musicologists such as Stoyan Dzhudzhev (1970) have taken to ancient Greek poetic forms to theorize how these meters came about.

all or, if they tried, would count the recurring unequal beats rather than the equal pulses, so they would count 5 (2+3) as 2, 7 (2+2+3) as 3, 9 (2+2+2+3) as 4, and 11 (2+2+3+2+2) as 5". In theorizing the broader implications of this metric conception, Rice (1980, p. 64) draws comparisons between the musical epistemology of the Debarčani of Macedonia and that of Bulgarian village musicians through the work of Christopher Marshall:

He argues (p. 17 of ms) that "each [musical] piece is seen as a concept, a single entity apprehended by the *akil* [mind] as a total Gestalt. The concept of structure is foreign to this epistemology..." This approach to a song as a totality helps to explain why sub-strophic form, the size of intervals, the precise character of ornaments, and the number of beats per measure are not analyzed; they cannot be analyzed by a 'mind' that 'grasps' the song as a whole, unbreakable concept.

I would add that the *takt*'s choreographic correspondence also supports Marshall and Rice's claims of a holistic approach to village musical epistemology, as through this perspective music and dance are seen as inextricable from one another.

Since the recordings analyzed in this study are from village ensembles most likely consisting of musicians with little to no conservatory training, these beat proportions are likely representative of the beat-level metric understanding described by village musicians in Rice's and Levy's accounts. Combining this perspective with the data of this analysis suggests that the beat categories of 'short' and 'long' take on a more qualitative than quantitative meaning, and could refer to a range of timings that are not limited to that of a 2:3 ratio. Also, given the connection of these meters with dance, this range of ratios does not hinder dancers' ability to coordinate their steps, as almost all Bulgarian folk dances step to the beat level, not the subdivision level.

Conclusion

The two main findings of this analysis are: (1) a possible microstructure of village music from the Pirin-Macedonia region that features a three-beat long-short-short meter, wherein the first beat is the longest and the third beat is slightly longer than the second; and (2) the beat onsets of these songs are not governed by an exact 2:3 ratio coordinated by a series of isochronous subdivisions. I take the stance that describing the meter of these songs with a 7/8 3+2+2 time signature, the convention in Bulgarian musicology, obscures both of these findings. However, despite my position, perhaps the most intriguing aspect of these songs is the multitude of perspectives and theoretical approaches concerning their meter. For institutionalized folk music settings they are a deviation from an ideal ratio, at the village level they are representative of a local metric epistemology, and for the analytical ethnomusicologist they are another example of how musicians metrically coordinate without reference to a common fastest subdivision.

This copresence of viewpoints also invites an opportunity for them to inform each other, particularly due to the perspectival obfuscation caused by the musicological conception of these meters. In place of a 7/8 3+2+2 description of these songs, a beat level description such as 'a three-beat long-short-short meter' combined with the observed microtiming trend could bring specificity and nuance while retaining comprehensibility. Nevertheless, I advocate for close attention when analyzing and engaging with the meters of the transnational Macedonian region, for space in between the stimulus of this music's non-isochronous meters and the response of assigning them a 2:3 ratio.

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Selena Rakočević's Contributions to Southeastern Europe Dance and Music Studies

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ABSTRACT

Selena Rakočević was a distinguished scholar of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, with a focus on traditional music and dance in Southeastern Europe, especially Serbia. Her extensive research has advanced understanding of the cultural practices and traditions of the region. Rakočević has conducted fieldwork in various parts of Southeastern Europe, including Vojvodina and Banat. Her research has included investigations into the mortuary ritual in the village of Svinița, dance movements in Southeastern Banat, and the musical practices of the Banat Bulgarians. In addition to her fieldwork, Rakočević has contributed to the field of ethnomusicology through her writing. This paper discusses Rakočević's literature to reveal her contributions to the region of Southeastern Europe based on her ethnographic, practical, and theoretical knowledge of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology. Her studies can be categorized under five topics: recent studies in ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology, the ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological approaches of SFRY, fieldwork studies in a theoretical framework, her fieldwork executed especially in the regions of Vojvodina and Banat, and *kolo* dancing as the cultural heritage of Serbia. Rakočević also reviewed books by ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists, some of which are included in this article. Her legacy continues to inspire new generations of scholars.

Keywords: Selena Rakočević, Southeastern Europe, ethnochoreology

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Introduction

Selena Rakočević was a well-known scholar in the fields of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology. Her extensive research explored various aspects of traditional music and dance, with a particular focus on Serbian culture in the former Socialistic Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY). Her work has significantly contributed to the understanding about the role of music and dance in the cultural practices of Southeastern Europe.

In 2008, I had the pleasure of meeting Rakočević at the first meeting of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe held in Struga, North Macedonia. Her work was fascinating to me, especially her approaches to the issues surrounding the dance and music of Southeastern Europe. Since the early 1990s, Rakočević had been an active researcher in this field, and I have witnessed her impressive dance and music abilities, as well as her smooth use of Laban notation at social gatherings of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe, the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology, and many other occasions. As the successor to the Janković Sisters and Olivera Vasić, whom I also had the honor of meeting, she was highly skilled in the dance and music of Southeastern Europe, and her theoretical and practical approaches were informed by her ethnographic fieldwork.

In this article, I review Rakočević's literature to discuss her contributions to Southeastern Europe based on her ethnographic, practical, and theoretical knowledge of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology. Her studies can be categorized under five intertwined titles. These are recent studies in ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology in general, the ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological approaches of the former SFRY and their current reflection, fieldwork studies in a theoretical framework, her fieldwork executed especially in the Vojvodina and Banat regions, and *kolo* dancing as the cultural heritage of Serbia. Rakočević had also reviewed books by ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists, some of which I have included in this article.

Recent Studies in Ethnochoreology and Ethnomusicology

According to Selena Rakočević (2020a, 2020b, 2021), ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology have undergone significant changes in recent years due to technological advancements, globalization, and the COVID-19 pandemic. The pandemic has had a significant impact on these fields, as social and physical distancing have influenced how dance and music are performed, transmitted, broadcasted, and researched. The ontological and epistemological bases of the field need to be discussed, given that the nature of dance and its sources of knowledge have changed under the conditions of being transmitted on screens over the Internet. Communication in virtual space has become the only practical option for establishing professional relations, and digital ethnography has become the primary research method in all humanities, including ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology. The broadcasting of music and dance via the Internet has transformed mediascapes and initiated numerous questions related to the reexamination of the ontological and epistemological foundations of these fields.

In addition to the pandemic's impact, ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology have faced challenges due to globalization and the increasing prevalence of digital media. Scholars have had to adapt to changing circumstances and develop interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary perspectives to engage with the global flows of sociocultural change. The ongoing need to adapt to changing circumstances, to develop interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary perspectives, and to engage with the global flows of sociocultural change will continue to be significant challenges for ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists. Despite the challenges they face, scholars continue to engage in research, often with the support of international partners and organizations. The abolition of funds for various project financing has been a severe setback of the economic and political transition in Serbia and the region and has resulted in scholars facing increasingly limited resources for their work. The interdisciplinary nature of these fields allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the cultural context in which dance and music exist, with recent studies having shown how ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology can work together to provide a more complete picture of the cultural context of dance and music. However, the tendency of research areas branching out has intensified in recent years under the influence of prevailing postmodern trends toward particularization, interdisciplinary discussions, and the establishment of transdisciplinary perspectives. Moreover, researchers can view these circumstances as confusing and disorienting factors, especially for younger researchers who need to determine and establish individual research paths at the beginning of their academic career regardless of the discipline.

The Ethnochoreological and Ethnomusicological Approaches of SFRY

The academic community of the former SFRY has made significant contributions to the study of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology. Scholars have dedicated their lives to studying and preserving traditional music and dance, leveraging

the region's rich cultural heritage. Selena Rakočević had published extensively on these studies of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology, as well as on the notable researchers in this field such as Sisters Janković, Vlado Milošević, Olivera Mladenović, Olivera Vasić and Nice Fracile and their contributions in the former SFRY and other post-socialist countries.

One of the most important historical sources for studying ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology in the former SFRY is the Janković sisters' legacy, whose archive is located in the National Library of Serbia. It contains valuable material related to the work of Danica (1898–1960) and Ljubica Janković (1894–1974), the first researchers in Serbia dedicated to noting, collecting, and studying folk dances. Their work is seen in the book *Narodne igre [Folk Dances]*, whose first edition was published in 1934, and is considered the beginning of ethnochoreological research in Serbia (Rakočević, 2001, 2013d, 2014b, 2015c, 2018a, 2019a, 2020a). Rakočević also organized the fourth symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe in Serbia in 2014, which was dedicated to the work of Danica and Ljubica Janković due to 2014 marking multiple anniversaries, such as 80 years since publishing their first book (1934), 50 years since publishing the eighth volume of *Narodne igre* (1964), 120 years since the birth (1894) of Ljubica Janković and 40 years since her death (1974), as well as 40 years since Ljubica, as a dance scholar, had been proclaimed a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

Vlado Milošević (1901–1990) was a notable ethnomusicologist from the former SFRY. He was a professor from Banja Luka, a member of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and author of numerous articles on Serbian traditional music and the Balkans. He was also a performer of traditional music and had composed several albums of traditional Bosnia and Herzegovinian, especially Serbian music. His research focused on the cultural and historical context of traditional music, as well as on the musical structures and forms of traditional song and dance (Rakočević, 2004).

Olivera Mladenović (1914–1988) was another significant ethnochoreologist in Serbia who'd primarily graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, but was professionally dedicated to researching traditional dances throughout her life. Mladenović continued and developed the methods for researching the traditional dances of the Janković sisters and largely contributed to the development of this discipline in Serbia. Her scientific contribution consists of opening up the historical discourse of dance research through archival work that critically examined conceptual and terminological ethnochoreological approaches and expanded the narrow folklore aspects of research toward observing current dance phenomena and interpreting them within a broader social and cultural context (Rakočević, 2013d, 2014c, 2019a, 2020a).

Olivera Vasić (1947-2015) was another notable ethnomusicologist and ethnochoreologist from the former SFRY. Vasić's approach to folk dance investigation was based on field research in distinct geographical areas of Serbia, to which she applied a mixture of interview and participant observations. She notated several hundred individual dances through Labanotation and systematized them according to functional and contextual criteria. She published numerous papers devoted to various subjects, from ritual dances to different forms of performing folk dances in contemporary Serbian society, and her research has expanded the scope of ethnochoreology in Serbia (Rakočević, 2013d, 2015c, 2018c, 2019a, 2020a).

Nice Fracile (b. 1952) is another notable ethnomusicologist from the former SFRY and a professor at the Academy of Arts at the University Novi Sad. His primary focus of scholarly concern is a comparative study of the traditional music of Serbians and Romanians in Vojvodina based on a diachronic analysis of the recordings and notations made by various authors during the 20th century. Besides Serbian and Romanian traditional music, he has also conducted comparative studies of the vocal musical traditions of other ethnic groups in Vojvodina and Serbia. His research focuses toward a comparative survey of asymmetrical rhythms as a fundamental common morphological element of the musical cultures of the Balkans (Rakočević, 2014d, 2018b, 2019a).

The works of these scholars have contributed to a greater understanding of the cultural, historical, and social context of traditional music and dance in Serbia and Southeastern Europe. Their legacy continues to inspire new generations of scholars in the field of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology, who are exploring new directions in these fields, from the integration of new technologies to the incorporation of new theoretical frameworks just like Selena Rakočević did.

Fieldwork in Ethnochoreology and Ethnomusicology

Fieldwork conducted in the disciplines of dance and music is essential for gaining a comprehensive understanding of the complex and dynamic nature of dance performances and their relationship with musical components. Selena Rakočević introduced theoretical approaches for this methodology, which is rooted in the interdisciplinarity of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology (Rakočević, 2015d, 2017b). These disciplines share the theoretical premise that the relationship between the kinetic and musical components of dance is not only unbreakable but also interactive.

Therefore, understanding this relationship is crucial for comprehending the cultural significance of dance and music in different communities.

As she had argued, the importance of researchers' individual experiences has been emphasized in recent decades. Also, comprehensive methods of participant observation remain a central and unifying aspect of fieldwork in ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology. The use of multiple methods of fieldwork, such as observation, participation in the performance process, filming, conducting interviews, and writing field notes, can provide researchers with an in-depth understanding of the cultural and historical significance of dance and music in various communities.

Selena Rakočević's field research on musical and dance practices in the village of Svinica (Svinița) in Romania provides an excellent example of the usefulness of participation in dance performance. She argued for the advantages of participating in the dance performance, as researchers can gain personal kinetic/auditory experience while simultaneously perceiving dance movement and dance music. Combining different methods of field research can also enhance cognitive processes, and considering the borders between ethnochoreological and ethnomusicological fieldwork is essential.

Rakočević's variety of field research methods was her most striking approach and represents an advantage rather than a weakness of the interdisciplinary approach. Researchers can build their post-field ethnochoreological/ethnomusicological narratives upon the information they record during fieldwork, with particular emphasis being placed on the processes of memorization (visual, auditory, and kinetic) when applying the method of participation in the dance performance. One's ability to memorize plays a crucial role in comprehending the cultural significance of dance and music.

Her contributions to field research methodology were based on her approximately 35 years of experience with fieldwork in Southeastern Europe on various aspects of dance and music, especially the one in Banat region which is currently divided into three countries, with eastern Banat lying in western Romania, western Banat in northeastern Serbia, and a small part of northern Banat in southeastern Hungary. As a result, revealing some of her articles about her fieldwork experiences will be important.

Dance and Dance Movements in Contemporary Carnival Event in Southeastern Europe: Case Studies from Romania, Serbia and Macedonia (Rakočević & Mellish, 2020c) is a comparative ethnographic review of presentational evening performances and participatory dance events called *balovi* [balls] within the contemporary manifestations of carnival celebrations. The study analyzes the structural and stylistic aspects of dance and dance movements incorporated in these dance events, with a focus on the sociopolitical implications of their various ironic and parodic connotations. Rakočević's study highlights the importance of fieldwork in gaining a deep understanding of the cultural implications of dance and dance movements in carnival events.

Ethnochoreological Research: Dance Practice of the Village of Svinica (Romania) and Igra za bog da prost': interetnički, genealoški i semantički aspekti namenjivanja plesa pokojniku u selu Svinica [Igra za Bog da Prost': Interethnic, Genealogical and Semantic Aspects of Dedicating the Dance to the Dead in the Village of Svinița] (Rakočević, 2013b, 2017e) explore the mortuary ritual known as *joc* (also *ora* or *hora*) *de pomana* in Svinița, the southern area of Romanian Banat. The studies involve devoting a dance to the deceased person that takes place within a dance event lasting for several hours. The studies examine the genealogical and semantic aspects of the ritual's kinetic and musical components and highlight the importance of fieldwork in gaining a deep understanding of the cultural and historical context of the mortuary ritual in the village of Svinița.

Dancing in the Danube Gorge: Geography, Dance, and Interethnic Perspectives (Rakočević, 2015b) looks at the dance practices of Romanian and Serbian villagers along the Danube Gorge. The study examines the contemporary dance practice of this region and challenges the notion of geographical place considered in the sense of a distinct culture area. The study also emphasizes the significance of the role of fieldwork in understanding the complex and diverse musical practices of ethnic minorities.

Modaliteti interkulturalnosti: plesanje u svadbenom ritualu Srba u Banatu [Modes of Interculturality: Dancing Within the Wedding Ritual of the Banat Serbs] (Rakočević, 2012) and *Musical Practice of the Banat Bulgarians: A Brief Geopolitical Mapping* (2013a) focus on the Banat Bulgarians (i.e., the Palčeni), a distinct ethnic minority group who settled in the Banat region in the 18th century. The study presents a brief geopolitical mapping of the musical practices of the Palčeni in relation to their country of origin, as well as on the Banat multiethnic and multicultural environment. The study emphasizes the significance of the role of fieldwork in understanding the complex and diverse musical practices of ethnic minorities.

In her paper titled *Past in the Present: Contemporary Manifestations of the Custom Revena* (Rakočević, 2013c), she comments that the custom of *revena*, like many folkloric performances, has changed its form and function in many communities. However, her fieldwork study showed that this custom had remained unchanged in the village of Taraš in Vojvodina. The custom of *revena* allows women to exceed the limits of behavior imposed by patriarchal society and

functions as “a kind of emotional release and a way of balancing asymmetrical gender relations” (Rakočević, 2013c, p. 132). The term *revena*, with its Persian and Turkish origins, also displays the influence of Ottoman rule on language and way of life.

Kolo Dance: A Vital Symbol of Serbian National Identity

Kolo dance, also known as *kolo u tri*, is a traditional Serbian dance that has been popular for decades. Since World War II, it has been a vital symbol of Serbian national identity, representing the country's rich cultural heritage. The dance has been recognized as an important cultural element by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and has been added to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity in 2017. Selena Rakočević played a significant role in this recognition through the administrative works she carried out with UNESCO, as well as through her studies, some of which are mentioned below.

Kolo dance is an essential part of Serbian culture passed down from generation to generation. The dance is performed at various events, such as weddings, festivals, and other celebrations. It is a unifying force that brings people together and strengthens the sense of community due to its chain form. *Kolo* dance is not only a genre of entertainment but also a way of preserving the country's intangible cultural heritage. *Kolo* has undergone many changes over the years but remains an integral part of Serbian culture. While it has been adapted to fit modern times, its fundamental structure and essence remain unchanged. *Kolo* dance is an excellent example of how cultural traditions can evolve while still retaining their core values. (Rakočević & Ranisavljević, 2018d; Rakočević & Ranisavljević, 2019b).

The paper *Kolo in Vojvodina: Visible and Invisible Structures in Traditional Dance Practice* (Rakočević, 2008) describes the different types of *kolos* in Vojvodina, including asymmetrical and symmetrical structures, as well as a *kolo* based on a combination of several dance patterns. While some structures were lost over time, the symmetrical eight-bar structure became dominant in the second half of the 20th century. *Kolo* has also become an important symbol of Serbian and Yugoslav culture and is used today mainly as a nostalgic expression of traditional values.

Despite facing various theoretical and practical challenges, *kolo* dance has continued to be popular in local communities, and its significance has not waned. The particularities of knee movements have been identified, and Rakočević (2019c) has also proposed adequate notations. *kolo* dance has been an important part of Serbian and Yugoslav culture for many years and continues to be a significant part of the country's cultural heritage.

Selena Rakočević's Reviews: An Ethnochoreological Perspective

Rakočević's reviews cover a broad range of topics, including the contributions of various scholars to dance analysis and applied ethnochoreology. In her 2007 review of Jelena Jovanović's edited book *Musical Heritage of Serbs, Šokci and Karaševci in Romania*, Rakočević noted the comprehensive collection of traditional music recorded by Sava Ilić. However, Rakočević pointed out the questionability of the classification based on textual criteria due to a lack of data on the actual function of most songs. Her review highlighted the importance of contextualization and interdisciplinary approaches in ethnochoreological research (Rakočević, 2007). In her review of Andriy Nahachewsky's book, *Ukrainian Dance: A Cross-Cultural Approach*, she highlighted Nahachewsky's comprehensive and original approach in defining dance as a form, context, and meaning of activity. Furthermore, her review recognized the value of Nahachewsky's book as a well-structured and gradual presentation of Ukrainian dance, making it a valuable contribution to the discipline (Rakočević, 2014a). Rakočević's review of *Imaging Dance: Visual Representations of Dancers and Dancing*, edited by Barbara Sparti and Judy Van Zile, emphasized the interdisciplinary approach to the identification, description, and interpretation of diverse content presented in visual artistic works. The book provides readers with a rich and detailed exploration of visual representations of dance, offering new insights and perspectives on dance iconography (Rakočević, 2015a). In her review of the ninth book in Ljubica and Danica Janković's series *Narodne igre*, Rakočević highlighted the importance of field research and interdisciplinary approaches in ethnochoreological investigation. She acknowledged the significance of the book's ethnography and notations of dances from several regions in the western and central parts of the present-day Republic of North Macedonia, as well as two theoretical articles by Ljubica Janković on the epistemological and methodological issues of dance research (Rakočević, 2017c). Rakočević's review of the book *Foundations of Hungarian Ethnochoreology: Selected Papers of György Martin* written by Fügedi, Quigley, Szónyi, and Sándor (2020) recognizes Martin's contributions to dance analysis and applied ethnochoreology. She noted the book to be a valuable resource for scholars interested in the study of traditional folk dance. Her review emphasized the importance of documentation and collection of traditional dances in ethnochoreological research (Rakočević, 2022). The post-socialist countries have been marked by turbulent, uncertain, and confusing realities due to intense EU integration

processes and the prevalence of neo-liberal cultural values. Scholarly literature has discussed the Balkan ethno-pop genre of popular music from the transitional times of East European countries, especially Serbian *turbo-folk*, Bulgarian *chalga*, and Turkish *arabesk*; however, *manele* in Romania was the subject of the first English-language volume. Her review titled *Popular Music Genre in Interdisciplinary Narratives: Manele in Romania* (Rakočević, 2017d) about the book Beissinger, Rădulescu, & Giurchescu (2016) *Manele in Romania: Cultural Expression and Social Meaning in Balkan Popular Music* offers elaborate discussions of all the discursive layers of *manele* that cover a wide range of its musical, kinetic, poetic, and performative features; interpretational and contextual singularities; cultural meanings; and aesthetic values. The book comprises nine chapters, and the accompanying website provides illustrative materials by displaying musical features of *manele*, their geographical dissemination, and visual and performative peculiarities in the private and public sphere to visually reinforce the arguments put forward by the authors. Finally, Rakočević's review (2017a) of Susan Leigh Foster's (2011) *Choreographing Empathy: Kinesthesia in Performance* emphasizes the importance of studying the sensory experience of dance, as well as the universal principles of dance and its relationship to culture and history. Foster's theory provides insight into the complex relationships among dancers, choreographers, and audiences and offers a multidisciplinary approach to the study of dance. Herewith, Rakočević's reviews provide valuable insights into the discipline of ethnochoreology. They emphasize the importance of documentation, contextualization, and interdisciplinary approaches in the study of dance traditions from different regions and cultures. These reviews serve as valuable resources for scholars interested in the field of ethnochoreology, providing a comprehensive and critical analysis of various publications in the field, and as indicators of her extensive knowledge about the literature of the related discipline.

Conclusion

Selena Rakočević has made significant contributions to ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology. Her research provides a valuable resource for scholars and researchers in the field, and her work will undoubtedly continue to have a significant impact on the disciplines of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology for years to come. Her contributions to these disciplines are crucial for anyone interested in the history and culture of Serbia and the former SFRY and the role of scholarship in shaping national identity and especially for those interested in the theoretical, methodological, and practical approaches to these disciplines in general. Rakočević's interdisciplinary approach to research has opened up new avenues for exploring traditional music and dance in a changing world, and her work raises important questions about the challenges facing scholars in these disciplines and the need to adapt to changing circumstances. For example, the impact of COVID-19 has transformed the way ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists conduct research, teach, and exchange knowledge.

In addition to her contributions to ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology, Selena Rakočević was also an accomplished dancer and musician. Her practical experience in these fields provided a unique perspective that enriched her research. She was also a dedicated teacher and mentor who shared her knowledge and expertise with students and colleagues alike. Her legacy lives on through her many publications and the impact she has had on the field of ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology.

Overall, Selena Rakočević's contributions to ethnochoreology and ethnomusicology have been significant, and her work has paved the way for future research in these fields. Her interdisciplinary approach to research and her critical perspective on the role of dance and music in shaping national identity have been instrumental in advancing the study of traditional music and dance in Southeastern Europe.

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Dance Research Report: Trabzon & Artvin 2018

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ABSTRACT

Anatolia has a profound dance tradition. Turks who migrated from Central Asia established a new civilization in Anatolia, thereby adding to the cultural characteristics of civilizations from ancient times. The acceptance of Islam also plays an important role in the establishment of this civilization. Dance is an important expression of identity and one of the cultural components of Anatolia. The concept of traditional Turkish folk dances today has been the focus of attention of many researchers both from Türkiye and abroad. The joint work of Turkish and Serbian dance researchers, which started in the late 1940s and early 1950s, was interrupted for many years. With the encouragement of Selena Rakočević, one of the important dance researchers, Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg, Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin and İdris Ersan Küçük came together, and international research was carried out in the Black Sea region many years later. The research that they carried out is reported in this article.

Keywords: Trabzon, Artvin, ethnochoreology

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Introduction

The academicians gathered in Trabzon for the III. International Music and Dance Studies Symposium organized by Trabzon University State Conservatory between 17–20 October 2018. At the end of the symposium, a plan was created to conduct research in traditional dance environments in Trabzon and Artvin. A group, which provides traditional dance training in the center of Trabzon, was chosen as the research object to visit on October 19, 2018. The community, whose full name is Trabzon Youth Sports Club Association (*Trabzon İmece, Gençlik Spor Kulübü Derneği*) still meets in an apartment near Ganita and it is known as the *İmece Association* for short. A visit was made to the association building on the Tabakhane slope, where the study was carried out, with a group of researchers consisting of Selena Rakočević, Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg, Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin and İdris Ersan Küçük.

Interviews and rehearsal shootings were held in the training hall of the *İmece Association*. A team of 13 girls and another of 13 boys each rehearsed their show. Then the same teams performed again with their teachers, while the names of the dances were called out for the camera during the shooting. The girls' team was accompanied by Çağatay Tahmaz and the boys' team was accompanied by Tolga Şamlı. The age group of both groups was between 12 and 17. The girls' team performed the *horon kurma*, *Haçka atlaması*, *düz horon*, *Sürmene sallaması* and *Maçka izme horonu*, while the boys' team performed the *horon kurma*, *sallama* and *sıksara*, respectively. Then, interviews were held with *kemençe* player Selim Seyis and trainers Çağatay Tahmaz and Tolga Şamlı who accompanied both groups. In this interview, Selena Rakočević was asked by whom the girls' movements were created. Çağatay Tahmaz stated that the arrangement of these girls' dances was carried out by his father Hüseyin Tahmaz¹ in the early 2000s in the light of the information received from Ömer Parlak who is a *zurna* and *kaval* player from the Sürmene district of Trabzon.

Another one-on-one meeting with Selim Seyis took place. The subject of this meeting was about the performance of the *kemençe*. First, a *yol havası* sample was recorded and then Selim was asked how he started playing the *kemençe*. It turned out that playing the *kemençe* had been his father's² profession, so Selim started playing when he was a child, first by copying the movements with bean sticks and by singing from his mouth. Information was given about the *yol havası* that had been played at the beginning of the visit, particularly regarding the typical occasions when it would be played. The researchers were told that it was performed during the journey from the village to the hamlet and from the hamlet to the plateau during transhumance (Gedikoğlu, 2016, p. 386). The transhumance is a tradition in which the *horon* and *kemençe* find their natural environment. This tradition covers the summer months and festivals are held in the middle of this period. The main aim of transhumance is for the benefit of livestock, but in recent years it has also become a touristic feature. Festivals are held in the middle of the transhumance period and a very productive atmosphere is created for dance in the high plateaus (Duman, 2011, pp. 489–493). This atmosphere was re-enacted for us with the *kemençe* performance of Selim Seyis and *horon* performances of İbrahim Aydın, Tolga Şamlı, İdris Ersan Küçük and Çağatay Tahmaz. This started with a short *horon* consisting of the *horon kurma*, *sallama* and *sıksara* series. Finally, Tolga Şamlı played the *zurna* and İbrahim Aydın played the *davul* (drums) and provided a sample of the melodies accompanying this series of dances. The *davul* and *zurna* are very suitable instruments for outdoor performances of the *horon*. These instruments are capable of raising crowded circles with their high decibel volume in the high plateaus (Selimoğlu, 1997, pp. 104–108).

After the proceedings in Trabzon came to an end, İdris Ersan Küçük, Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin and Selena Rakočević set off on 20 October 2018 for the town of Borçka in Artvin with a private vehicle. The research group, which participated in a wedding held at the *Harika* Wedding Hall in the Arhavi district of Artvin while on route, made various recordings and observations here. This wedding hall is a large venue suitable for dancing, built with today's architecture. The show was performed at the wedding by a team organized by folk dance teacher Ersin Altın for income, and the stages of the wedding were all caught on camera as part of the research. First, the bride and groom came into the middle of the hall with slow steps walking between sparklers and performed the couple dance, called the 'first dance', accompanied by dim lights and romantic Turkish pop music. As is well known, the word 'romantic', which was translated into Turkish from the word 'Romance', meaning poetic in old French, has the feature of adding emotional meanings such as love and melancholy to the word that comes before it (Say, 2008, p. 86). Romantic Turkish pop music usually consists of love-themed songs using Latin instruments played in bolero or rumba rhythm. The popular feature of songs in this style can be explained by the fact that they gain the forefront in a short time and are forgotten as quickly as possible (Erol, 2017, p. 79). After the couple had danced, the official wedding ceremony was held in the presence of the witnesses by the couple answering 'yes' into a microphone. This was followed by a cake ceremony and gifting ceremony. At

¹ Hüseyin Tahmaz is one of the pioneers of Trabzon and Giresun region's *horon* masters. Especially his choreographic works on women dances are well known around the conservatories and folk dance associations. He is retired from Karadeniz Technical University as a folk dance teacher.

² Hasan Seyis is a famous *kemençe* player of Akçaabat district of Trabzon and he is father of *kemençe* player Selim Seyis.

the wedding of the young couple the Artvin folk dance team, composed of 6 girls and 6 boys, took the stage and performed a dance choreographed by folk dance teacher Ersin Altın. The girls in the team also took part in the henna party. Afterwards, *Roman* dances were performed by 6 girls. The team performed *Atabarı*, *kız horon*, *Acara horon*, *deli horon*, and finally *Hemşin (Ğhtom)*³, accompanied by playback music. While the *Roman* dance and Artvin folk dance is typically performed in the form of a stage for the bride and groom to watch, the *Hemşin horon* at the end of the show, where the live performance is performed with the *tulum*, is attended by all the guests. The *tulum* instrument is known as a military tool according to Turkish written sources in the 13th century and in archaeological findings from the Assyrian period (Küçük, 2023, p. 27). Today, the *tulum* accompanies the dances in the region in which easy movement sentences are performed based on long repetitions in the form of a circle. An important point that researchers agree on is the need to see the dance in the natural habitat in which it is typically performed. This wedding was an example of the commercialization of dance and reflected the practices of city life. According to research about 35 years ago, weddings in Artvin last 3 days. On the first day, there is a henna night, the next day is a wedding procession, and then there are two days of entertainment, which continues with the tradition of the *makar* table. Relatives of the groom request various gifts accompanied by rhymes at the wedding house, and the leading person who sings these rhymes is called a *makar* (Akman, 2002, p. 19). In this research, in contrast to what happened in the past, a performance of a *Roman* dance was seen. Thus, Selena's attention was drawn at this wedding to the sight of the *Roman* dance that she had previously observed in the Balkans. Although the *Roman* dance is not performed as a representation of local culture in Arhavi, it has found audiences in the context of the stage. As a result of this research, it was observed that the *Roman* dance is performed in a wide environment stretching from Serbia to Türkiye's Georgia border. Undoubtedly, Selena draws attention to the subject from an outside perspective that provides this awareness. At this point, it is necessary to mention the 'Lom's, the Black Sea gypsies living in Artvin, but there is no data that the *Roman* dance identified in this study is related to the dance culture of the Loms. This is because the Lom population in Artvin does not resemble the gypsy dance culture found in the Balkans. It is thought that the Loms were a group that moved to the north in the gypsy migration from India to the West (Chiladze, 2018, p. 6). For other Turkish researchers with an insider view, the other dances performed at the wedding, apart from the Artvin folk dances, were stage shows like Anatolian fire as part of the culture industry which is a theory of Frankfurt School (Adorno, 2021).

In shows like Anatolian Fire, the main element is the performance by ballet-trained bodies; furthermore it would be more accurate to state that the bodies that did not receive ballet training represent the artificiality of Anatolian Fire mannerism in their performances. Combining traditional dance with ballet is not a new idea, and it is known that this idea has been involved in the art policies of many governments for over half a century. For example, traditional dances are taught by Halil Oğultürk in the ballet department of the Ankara State Conservatory, one of the first ballet organizations in Türkiye. In 1952 the *Kolo* Ensemble from Belgrade performed at the Ankara Opera House. The Minister of National Education of the time, Ahmet Tevfik İleri, admired this group and was inspired by it. The group was led by Olga Skovran, and Halil Oğultürk was later assigned to establish such a group in Türkiye. Over a period of ten months, Halil Oğultürk studied and analyzed the *Kolo* group with Olga Skovran in Belgrade. When he returned to Türkiye, the minister of national education had changed and thus the establishment of a *Kolo*-like community did not take place for bureaucratic reasons (Oğultürk, 2007, pp. 138–140). Of course, Halil Oğultürk's experiences in Belgrade indirectly affected Turkish folk dances. In the light of this information, it is understood that the interaction of Turkish and Serbian dance research dates to the 1950s.

For this reason, it can be thought that this research, which Selena Rakočević encouraged us to conduct, will contribute to the cultural diplomacy between the two countries after many years. This research has not been financially supported by any official institution. The research was carried out with the motivation of professional dedication by some of the dance researchers who united for the purpose of the symposium, and it has been very productive.

Without waiting for the end of the wedding, the researchers moved to Borçka. They were hosted in the house of Türkan and Orhan Küçük, a couple in Borçka, and tasted the delicacies of Borçka's local cuisine. Selena closely observed an example of a secular family structure in Borçka, Türkiye. The next day, the research ended, and the return journey started. To summarize, a group preparing for a folk-dance competition in Trabzon was accompanied to the rehearsals. After this a wedding ceremony was witnessed in Arhavi, where the local culture has been kept alive, and finally, the research ended with an observation of daily life in Borçka. In the preparation of this report, we used camera footage personally taken by Selena Rakočević during the research and shared with İdris Ersan Küçük and Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin.

³ *Ğtom* is a Georgian word which means 'jumping' and a moment in the *Hemşin* dance but it is also used instead of name *Hemşin*. This *Hemşin* is different from Borçka *Hemşin* with its 7 time measure feature and is typically performed in Artvin region.

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Selena Rakočević (10/26/1971–5/18/2022, Belgrade)

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Ethnomusicologist and ethnochoreologist Selena Rakočević, PhD, an Associate Professor at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, left us prematurely on May 18, 2022, after a brief serious illness. Although interrupted in the prime of her research career, Selena Rakočević was an untiring worker not only in the field of ethnochoreology but also in ethnomusicology and paved the way for new generations of scholars. Her colleagues, associates, and admirers unanimously agree that she made a historic contribution to the humanities in this region. Her passion for traditional dance, which she cultivated in theoretical and practical interpretations, became a hallmark of her academic career.

Selena Rakočević spent her childhood and youth in Pančevo, where she finished primary and secondary music school. In 1990, she began her graduate studies in ethnomusicology at the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music, University of Arts in Belgrade. In 1995, she graduated with an average grade of 9.95 after defending her graduate dissertation entitled *Muzička tradicija banatskih Srba okoline Pančeva* [The Music Tradition of Banat Serbs in the Area of Pančevo]. In 2001, she defended her master's thesis *Vokalna tradicija Srba u Donjem Banatu* [The Vocal Tradition of Serbs in Lower Banat], which were both under the supervision of Dimitrije Golemović, PhD. In 2009 she received her doctoral degree after defending her dissertation *Tradicionalna igra i muzika za igru Srba u Banatu u svetlu uzajamnih uticaja* [The Traditional Dance and Dance Music of Banat Serbs in the Light of Their Mutual Relationships] under the supervision of Dimitrije Golemović, PhD, and Olivera Vasić, PhD.

She became a teaching assistant in ethnochoreology at the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music of the University of Arts in Belgrade in 1998, and remained in this position until 2010. She taught in the specialist field of ethnomusicology (while teaching ethnochoreology) from 2010 to 2016 and received the title associate professor in 2016. From 2011 to 2018, she was the head of the Department of Ethnomusicology. In addition to her employment at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, she was teaching ethnochoreology at the Academy of Arts in Novi Sad since 2010.

As a guest lecturer, she taught the courses *Reading Images of the Balkans*, which is a part of the Cultural Management and Culture Policy study program, at the University of Arts in Belgrade (since 2005) and *Dance Cultures of the World*, which was part of the Theory of Arts and the Media master's program, at the University of Arts in Belgrade (from 2019 to 2020). In addition, she gave a number of lectures in ethnochoreology (e.g., theoretical lectures and practical courses) at the following faculties abroad: Conservatorio Superior de Música de Vigo (Spain, 2018), World Academy of Music and Dance, University of Limerick (Ireland, 2018 and 2020), and Zhejiang Conservatory of Music (China, 2019). At the *International Conference Young Musicology*, which was organized by the Institute of Musicology of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in 2020, she gave a keynote lecture entitled *Challenges of Ethnomusicological and Ethnochoreological Research within the Ever Changing World. A View of a Scholar from Serbia*.

Selena Rakočević was one of the first ethnochoreologists and ethnomusicologists in Serbia to join the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) in the 1990s. Primarily active in the Study Group on Ethnochoreology and, eventually, in the Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe, she played a key role in the early implementation of global theoretical concepts and methodological postulates in Serbian science. At the height of her research career, she became known among ICTM-renowned scholars from this part of Europe and was recognized as a trailblazer by the Serbian scientific community. She was a member of the Organizer Committee of the Fourth Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe, which was held in Petnica, Valjevo in 2014.

Drawing on her professional credibility in foreign scientific circles, she worked tirelessly on forging links between Serbian scholars and the most distinguished authorities in ethnochoreology in the world. Toward this end, she organized a series of lectures by Colin Quigly (University of Limerick), Andriy Nahachewsky (Professor Emeritus at the University of Alberta, Canada), and Elsie Dunin (Professor Emerita at the University of Los Angeles) at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade in 2019. She also hosted the Third Symposium of the Sub-Study Group on Movement Analysis of the Study Group on Ethnochoreology by the ICTM entitled *Vertical Movements of the Centre of Gravity and Svikt Analysis*. The symposium featured 12 researchers from seven countries,

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including János Fügedi (Hungarian Academy of Sciences) and Egil Bakka (Professor Emeritus at the University of Trondheim, Norway). At her initiative, the Faculty of Music hosted the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology in 2010 in its first online roundtable entitled *Ethnochoreology in a Time of Social and Physical Distance*, which attracted 94 researchers from 34 countries.

The outstanding original contributions by Selena Rakočević to the development of ethnochoreology as an academic scientific discipline in Serbia include the following:

1. introduction of the term *traditional dance*, which replaced the earlier concept *folk dance*;
2. introduction of the term *ritual dance*;
3. conceptualization of the method of structural dance analysis with the establishment of analogous kinetic and music parameters;
4. modification of Labanotation in academic-level ethnochoreological education, which is in accordance with the latest global developments in the transcription of the kinetic dance component;
5. introduction of the descriptive transcription of the kinetic dance component in local scientific practice;
6. introduction of the transcription of integral dance performances, which replaced the transcription of only invariant patterns;
7. development of a separate system of the transcription of horizontal space patterns in choreographed folklore; and
8. the study of the concept of intangible cultural heritage within the field of traditional dance.

A passionate field researcher, Selena Rakočević spent nearly 30 years (from 1994 to her death) investigating the dance and music heritage of Banat Serbs. This research into culture on the Banat territory yielded the following works:

1. Monographs

- *Muzička tradicija banatskih Srba okoline Pančeva [The Music Tradition of Banat Serbs in the Area of Pančevo]* (1999);
- *Vokalna tradicija Srba u Donjem Banatu [The Vocal Tradition of Serbs in Lower Banat]* (2002);
- *Tradicionalni plesovi Srba u Banatu [The Traditional Dances of Serbs in Banat]* (2012);
- the published doctoral dissertation entitled *Igre plesnih struktura. Tradicionalna igra i muzika Srba u Banatu u svetlu uzajamnih uticaja [Interweaving Dance Structures. Traditional Dance and Music of Banat Serbs in the Light of Their Mutual Relationships]* (2011);
- *Festival kao strategija dijaloga [Festival as a Strategy of Dialogue]* (2014); and
- *Dance, Field Research, and Intercultural Perspectives: The Easter Customs in the Village of Svinița* (2015);

2. Audio publications

- *'Aj' na rogalj momče. Tradicionalne pesme Srba u Donjem Banatu [C'mon to the Corner, Boy. Traditional Songs of Serbs in Lower Banat]* (2005);
- *Putevima tambure: od srca Balkana do vojvođanske ravnice [The Tambour Road: From the Heart of the Balkans to the Plains of Vojvodina]* (2007); and *Nova stara gradska pesma [New Old City Songs]* (2007); and

3. Multimedia compact discs

- *Tradicionalni plesovi Srba u Banatu. Antologija. Etnokoreološki terenski video snimci [Traditional Dances of Serbs in Banat. An Anthology. Ethnochoreological Field Research Video Recordings]* (2014).

In addition, her bibliography contains an impressive number of scholarly papers published in the Serbian and English languages in the most diverse and prestigious journals and collections of papers, specifically more than 50 in Serbia and more than 30 abroad. She tremendously contributed to various papers to the reconstruction of the development of ethnochoreology as a scientific discipline in Serbia, which especially focused on the lives and work of Ljubica and Danica Janković, Olivera Mladenović, and Olivera Vasić.

Selena Rakočević continued the practice, introduced by Olivera Vasić, PhD, of educating students of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology on the performance of traditional dances (in ethnochoreology practical classes). The continuity of the ethnochoreological practice, which served as a basis not only for ethnochoreological education in the academic context but also for the system of informal education of dancers at the Centre for the Study of Folk Dances of Serbia (today, it is called the Centre for Research on and Preservation of Traditional Dances of Serbia [CIOTIS]), was, thus, preserved.

At the same time, Selena Rakočević developed an interest in choreographed folklore as a course under the same name was introduced in the ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology study program at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade in 2010. Since its introduction, many choreographers of traditional dances were given the opportunity to share their experiences with students during classes. The broadening of interest by Selena Rakočević in applied ethnochoreology led to her engagement at CIOTIS as a co-founder and a member of the Management Board. This aspect included activities as a member of various judging panels at choreographed folklore festivals, the most notable of which is the *European Review of the Serbian Folklore of the Diaspora and of the Serbs in the Region and the Diaspora*, as well as her work on projects developed by the Association of Cultural Artistic Societies of Serbia. A testimony to her great initiative in the field of choreography is the festival *Serbian Kolo*, which was organized

by the aforementioned Association. Apart from her activities in the sphere of traditional dances, she was the founder and editor of the 'world music' festival *Ethno.com*, which was organized by the Cultural Centre of Pančevo, across ten years.

Selena Rakočević's contribution to the wide academic community is evident in her involvement with national and international scientific and professional organizations as well as cultural and scientific institutions at home and abroad. Specifically, she was a member of the ICTM, a member of the International Council for Kinetography Laban, a co-founder and member of the Management Board of the CIOTIS, a member of the Society of Serbian Folklorists, a member of the editorial board of *Folkloristika* magazine, the chairperson of the Program Committee at the Fifth Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe (Blagoevgrad, Bulgaria, 2016), a member of the Program Committee at the Sixth Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe (Sinj, Croatia, 2018), and the chairperson of the Program Committee of the First Online Roundtable of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology (Belgrade, 2020).

She made a notable contribution to the preservation of the dance heritage of Serbs in Banat by participating in the submission of *malo kolo* for the National Register of Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Republic of Serbia in 2021. In this manner, she helped to promote the highest national interests in the sphere of cultural politics through her involvement in the campaign to inscribe *Kolo – traditional folk dance in Serbia* on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO in 2017.

The impressive biography of Selena Rakočević bears testament to her singular passion for the study on traditional dance and music. Her scholarly contributions, creative outputs, and professional activities form an inextricable part of her personality, which occupies a prominent position in the history of the humanities in this region. Her pedagogical approach was recognizable and involved a keen desire to continually pass on knowledge and encourage the young to pursue scientific work during and after their studies. Due to her dual engagement in science and pedagogy at the academic level, this university worker, despite being cut off at the height of her academic career, has earned eternal life through the work of future generations of scholars.

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In Memoriam, Selena Rakočević

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IN MEMORIAM

Professor of Ethnomusicology and Ethnochoreology Selena Rakočević, (1971–2022)

Selena Rakočević, a Professor of Ethnochoreology at the University of Arts in Belgrade Faculty of Music Department of Ethnomusicology, passed away on May 18, 2022 after losing a battle with a short but serious illness. The news found me while traveling to meet with the dance research network CoDa in Brussels. Upon arriving in Brussels, I found that the news had travelled faster than myself, and many colleagues from the network were shocked and saddened by her death. The news caused ripples among the professional communities of dancers, dance scholars, and ethnomusicologists in Serbia and across the world. Selena Rakočević left us too soon, but not before leaving a strong mark on international music and dance scholarship.

Born on October 26, 1971 in Belgrade, Selena Rakočević (née Litvinović) spent her childhood and youth in Pančevo. She received music education at primary and secondary levels, was an accomplished pianist, and was also a talented singer and performer within the pop and jazz music genres.

I met Selena in Berovo, Macedonia at the ICTM conference in 2012. I was a postdoc researcher at the University of Chester, a fresh graduate from the Lancaster University Theatre Studies Department. We took an instant liking to each other. Being a dance anthropologist interested in contemporary dance, Berovo marked a turning point for me, as for the first time I was confronted with a rich tradition of ethnochoreology, as well as ethnomusicology, dealing with various forms of traditional performance in Southeast Europe. Selena was my window into that world. On the other hand, direct and open as she was, she showed an immediate interest toward the different kinds of dance and different methodological traditions from my background. Our dialogue started in Berovo in 2012 and lasted for almost a decade. During this time, I joined the Department for Ethnomusicology in Belgrade and formed a team together with a colleague Zdravko Ranisavljević dedicated to developing multiple perspectives on dance research. We often passionately disagreed on matters, but those disagreements helped me immensely in clarifying my own research position over time. I matured as a scholar with Selena and was also a witness to her extraordinary skills as a pedagogue. She was admired and loved by the students to whom she'd dedicated a generous amount of time and patience. Most of all, she managed to pass on love and passion for dance as her passion for dance and teaching was matched only by her equal passion for life. Her days began at dawn. She was strongly dedicated both to her family (her two sons and husband) as well as to her scholarship. Apart from her many academic engagements, she performed at numerous national and international scientific meetings, collaborated with many artistic associations of the Serbian diaspora, and was a jury member at shows and festivals regarding traditional music and dance. Her colleagues from the ICTM group on ethnochoreology remember her as a great organizer and as someone who could make things happen. She wanted to collaborate and was always in dialogue with others. She ventured bravely forward with her ideas and allowed herself to be vulnerable. Even her last days were filled with passion and love for her work, her students, and her colleagues. Surrounded by the love of her family, she fought to the very end.

Research on the Banat Region (Vojvodina)

Selena Rakočević's academic thought showed remarkable developments over time. When I first met her, Selena Rakočević's pedagogical and scientific research interests were focused on the music and dance traditions of the Banat region in light of multiculturalism and the multiethnic context, as well as on the history of ethnochoreology as an independent scientific discipline. During the early years of her career, Selena Rakočević conducted rich research for her PhD in the Banat region, exploring its multilayered dance tradition over time and space, as well as certain aspects of ritual behavior known as folk theatre (e.g., the *revena* ritual from Taraš and the *kalušari* from Grebenac). In the good tradition of anthropology and ethnomusicology, Selena had

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her own dedicated fieldwork, a long-term research on dance in the village of Svinjica (Romanian: Sviñița) in the Danube Gorge in Romania. Populated by a Serb population, this village had remained quite isolated until very recently and proved for Selena to be a rich context for exploring heterogeneous and complex contemporary dance practices. She visited Svinjica regularly, usually around Easter or in August for the *Festival Smokava* [Festival of Figs], to observe rich dance events that accompanied these occasions. These dance events displayed a mixture of diverse repertoire, as well as diverse dance structures performed as predictable dance texts. The performers in these events mixed different dance practices, such as traditional Serbian and Romanian dances from Banat, traditional dances from Central and Northeastern Serbia, as well as couple and solo dancing typical for contemporary Romanian society. She remained forever immersed in the dynamic history of today's Vojvodina, a place that has affected the traditional heritage of Serbs in an outstanding trans-cultural manner. In this respect, a densely knitted net had appeared of the possible ways people dance, and its surface was shaped in accordance with the regions' cultural circumstances.

***Kolo* and Dance as Heritage**

Although Selena remained dedicated to the research of the Banat region, her research interests widened over time while simultaneously coming into greater focus. She moved onto the topics of dance politics in relation to the idea of dance as heritage, focusing in particular on the notion of safeguarding as a nexus of national and international debates on heritage and identity formation. She envisioned the role of ethnochoreology as an active participant in harnessing dance practice in order to reclaim the nation's heritage. In this respect, she is crucially noted alongside Zdravko Ranisavljević to have been responsible for the success in applying to have the traditional dance *kolo* from Serbia be inscribed on UNESCO's List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. This was certainly a result of her unwavering dedication to the application process, and I am certain this was also due to her extensive and long-lasting relationships with relevant stakeholders. Selena remained throughout everything dedicated to various communities of performance in Serbia and beyond. If such a thing as an academic ivory tower were to exist, she did not inhabit it. She continued her research into the aspects of safeguarding that were promoted by international organizations such as UNESCO and the way these are being translated into local politics and policies. She presented this string of research in a series of lectures for the Choreomundus program in Clermont, France in 2021.

Formal Analysis of Dance and Labanotation

The other aspect of her work she pushed forward was her special vision for the development of ethnochoreology. She envisioned ethnochoreology as an all-encompassing study of dance, or in her own words: "If it is understood broadly enough as a globally distinguished scholarly field no matter its diverse institutional histories, [ethnochoreology] has a potential for gathering together all diverse approaches to the exploration of dance as a creative human activity" (Rakočević, 2021, p. 44). Always keeping in mind the local context, she was interested in harnessing local schools of ethnochoreology in Serbia. Although ethnochoreology in Serbia had developed as an integral part of the European tradition of ethnochoreology, Selena Rakočević articulated a local tradition of ethnochoreology that relied on a strong emphasis on music and an extensive use of labanotation. Many colleagues who worked closely with Selena during that time can testify that Selena was very accomplished in using labanotation with the passion to further develop this expert knowledge.

Selena's last publication was a plenary she gave at the *Young Musicology Conference* in 2021 and is an extraordinary piece of academic overview on the discipline alongside her very reflective and personal travels through various disciplinary formations over the last couple of decades. In this speech she gave at the plenary (Rakočević, 2021, p. 36), Selena discussed the basic issues of ethnomusicology and ethnochoreology, which she described as sister disciplines, as research fields influenced by diverse multidimensional challenges of contemporaneity including the recent reality of doing field research on dance during the COVID-19 pandemic. This speech also relied on Arjun Appadurai's theoretical concepts of global flows, as it considered "how various modes of local and global socio-cultural processes influence our scholarly thinking and the ways we deal with traditional music and dance. Further paraphrasing Appadurai in thinking from the position of 'post-socialist' subjectivity" (Rakočević, 2021, p. 37), Selena gave her thoughts and experiences on having practiced ethnomusicological and ethnochoreological research since the mid-1990s to the very contemporary moment. However, in doing this, she adopted the basic methodological approach that tends toward polyvocality, including the views and standpoints of colleagues from Serbia and other former Yugoslav countries. This is a long, thorough, and extraordinary piece of work, and in a sense, Selena in her own words marked her lifetime of achievements with her defining features of precision, clarity, and humbleness in this piece.

Selena loved to travel. Her passion for ethnochoreology and her dynamic personality came to light at conferences and study group meetings. Wherever she went, she was always reaching out and making connections with local scholars and various kinds of scholarship. No matter how accomplished a scholar she became, she always wanted to learn more, and to learn from others. Since 2018, she had devoted herself significantly to the transmission of knowledge, the presentation of the Serbian ethnochoreological

school, and the spread of the Serbian cultural heritage from the perspective of pedagogy in the international framework. And as her colleagues, we can only endeavor to continue her work.

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TANIM

Konservatoryum-Conservatorium, İstanbul Üniversitesi Devlet Konservatuvarı'nın açık erişimli, hakemli, yılda iki kere Haziran ve Aralık aylarında yayınlanan, uluslararası, bilimsel dergisidir. Dergiye yayınlanması için gönderilen bilimsel makaleler Türkçe ya da İngilizce olmalıdır.

AMAÇ

Konservatoryum-Conservatorium, müzik, müzikoloji ve sahne sanatları alanlarında sanat pratiğini destekleyici bir teorik altyapının oluşmasına katkıda bulunmayı, bu alanlarla yakın ilişki içerisinde olan branşlarla disiplinlerarası çalışmalar yapmayı ve ülkemizin uluslararası akademik işbirliklerinde daha fazla pay almasına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlar. Bu amaç doğrultusunda derginin hedef kitlesini oluşturan akademisyen, araştırmacı, profesyonel ve öğrenciler ile ortak çalışmalar yapmak Konservatoryum-Conservatorium'un ana önceliklerinden biridir.

KAPSAM

Derginin odağını müzik, müzikoloji ve sahne sanatları oluşturur. Bununla birlikte KonservatoryumConservatorium, bu branşlarla ilişkili olan felsefe, göstergebilim, estetik, psikoloji, sosyoloji, biyomekanik, fizyoloji, nörobilim, elektroakustik, organoloji gibi alanlarla çağdaş akademik yaklaşımın öngördüğü türden disiplinlerarası çalışmalara açıktır.

EDİTORYAL POLİTİKALAR VE HAKEM SÜRECİ

Yayın Politikası

Dergiye yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makalelerin içeriği derginin amaç ve kapsamı ile uyumlu olmalıdır. Dergi, orijinal araştırma niteliğindeki yazıları yayınlamaya öncelik vermektedir.

Genel İlkeler

Daha önce yayınlanmamış ya da yayınlanmak üzere başka bir dergide halen değerlendirmede olmayan ve her bir yazar tarafından onaylanan makaleler değerlendirilmek üzere kabul edilir.

Ön değerlendirmeyi geçen yazılar iThenticate intihal tarama programından geçirilir. İntihal incelemesinden sonra, uygun makaleler Editör tarafından orijinaliteleri, metodolojileri, makalede ele alınan konunun önemi ve derginin kapsamına uygunluğu açısından değerlendirilir.

Bilimsel toplantılarda sunulan özet bildirimler, makalede belirtilmesi koşulu ile kaynak olarak kabul edilir. Editör, gönderilen makale biçimsel esaslara uygun ise gelen yazıyı yurtiçinden ve/veya yurtdışından en az iki hakemin değerlendirmesine sunar, hakemler gerek gördüğü takdirde yazıda istenen değişiklikler yazarlar tarafından yapıldıktan sonra yayınlanmasına onay verir.

Makale yayınlanmak üzere dergiye gönderildikten sonra yazarlardan hiçbirinin ismi, tüm yazarların yazılı izni olmadan yazar listesinden silinemez ve yeni bir isim yazar olarak eklenemez ve yazar sırası değiştirilemez.

Yayına kabul edilmeyen makale, resim ve fotoğraflar yazarlara geri gönderilmez.

Yazarların Sorumluluğu

Makalelerin bilimsel ve etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığı konusunda teminat sağlamalıdır. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telifle bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir.

Gönderilen makalede tüm yazarların akademik ve bilimsel olarak doğrudan katkısı olmalıdır, bu bağlamda "yazar" yayınlanan bir araştırmanın kavramsallaştırılmasına ve dizaynına, verilerin elde edilmesine, analizine ya da yorumlanmasına belirgin katkı yapan, yazının yazılması ya da bunun içerik açısından eleştirel biçimde gözden geçirilmesinde

görev yapan birisi olarak görülür. Yazar olabilmenin diğer koşulları ise makaledeki çalışmayı planlamak veya icra etmek ve/veya revize etmektir. Fon sağlanması, veri toplanması ya da araştırma grubunun genel süpervizyonu tek başına yazarlık hakkı kazandırmaz. Yazar olarak gösterilen tüm bireyler sayılan tüm ölçütleri karşılamalıdır ve yukarıdaki ölçütleri karşılayan her birey yazar olarak gösterilebilir. Yazarların isim sıralaması ortak verilen bir karar olmalıdır. Tüm yazarlar yazar sıralamasını Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formunda imzalı olarak belirtmek zorundadırlar.

Yazarlık için yeterli ölçütleri karşılamayan ancak çalışmaya katkısı olan tüm bireyler “teşekkür / bilgiler” kısmında sıralanmalıdır. Bunlara örnek olarak ise sadece teknik destek sağlayan, yazıma yardımcı olan ya da sadece genel bir destek sağlayan, finansal destek ve materyal desteği sunan kişiler verilebilir.

Bütün yazarlar, araştırmanın sonuçlarını ya da bilimsel değerlendirmeyi etkileyebilme potansiyeli olan finansal ilişkileri, çıkar çatışmasını ve çıkar rekabetini beyan etmelidirler. Bir yazar kendi yayınlanmış yazısında belirgin bir hata ya da yanlışlık tespit ederse, bu yanlışlıklara ilişkin düzeltme ya da geri çekme için editör ile hemen temasa geçme ve işbirliği yapma sorumluluğunu taşır.

Editör ve Hakem Sorumlulukları ve Değerlendirme Süreci

Editörler, makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirirler. Yayına gönderilen makalelerin adil bir şekilde çift taraflı kör hakem değerlendirmesinden geçmelerini sağlarlar. Gönderilen makalelere ilişkin tüm bilginin, makale yayınlanana kadar gizli kalacağını garanti ederler.

Editörler içerik ve yayının toplam kalitesinden sorumludurlar. Gereğinde hata sayfası yayınlamalı ya da düzeltme yapmalıdır.

Editör; yazarlar, editörler ve hakemler arasında çıkar çatışmasına izin vermez. Hakem atama konusunda tam yetkiye sahiptir ve dergide yayınlanacak makalelerle ilgili nihai kararı vermekle yükümlüdür.

Hakemler makaleleri, yazarların etnik kökeninden, cinsiyetinden, cinsel yöneliminden, uyruğundan, dini inancından ve siyasi felsefesinden bağımsız olarak değerlendirirler. Araştırmayla ilgili, yazarlarla ve/veya araştırmanın finansal destekçileriyle çıkar çatışmaları olmamalıdır. Değerlendirmelerinin sonucunda tarafsız bir yargıya varmalıdırlar. Hakemler yazarların atıfta bulunmadığı konuyla ilgili yayınlanmış çalışmaları tespit etmelidirler. Gönderilmiş yazılara ilişkin tüm bilginin gizli tutulmasını sağlamalı ve yazar tarafında herhangi bir telif hakkı ihlali ve intihal fark ederlerse editöre raporlamalıdırlar. Hakem, makale konusu hakkında kendini vasıflı hissetmiyor ya da zamanında geri dönüş sağlaması mümkün görünmüyorsa, editöre bu durumu bildirmeli ve hakem sürecine kendisini dahil etmemesini istemelidir.

Değerlendirme sürecinde editör hakemlere gözden geçirme için gönderilen makalelerin, yazarların özel mülkü olduğunu ve bunun imtiyazlı bir iletişim olduğunu açıkça belirtir. Hakemler ve yayın kurulu üyeleri başka kişilerle makaleleri tartışamazlar. Hakemlerin kendileri için makalelerin kopyalarını çıkarmalarına izin verilmez ve editörün izni olmadan makaleleri başkasına veremezler. Yazarın ve editörün izni olmadan hakemlerin değerlendirmeleri basılamaz ve açıklanamaz. Hakemlerin kimliğinin gizli kalmasına özen gösterilmelidir. Bazı durumlarda editörün kararıyla, ilgili hakemlerin makaleye ait yorumları aynı makaleyi yorumlayan diğer hakemlere gönderilerek hakemlerin bu süreçte aydınlatılması sağlanabilir.

Telif Hakkında

Yazarlar dergide yayınlanan çalışmalarının telif hakkına sahiptirler ve çalışmaları Creative Commons Atıf-GayriTicari 4.0 Uluslararası (CC BY-NC 4.0) olarak lisanslıdır. CC BY-NC 4.0 lisansı, eserin ticari kullanım dışında her boyut ve formatta paylaşılmasına, kopyalanmasına, çoğaltılmasına ve orijinal esere uygun şekilde atıfta bulunmak kaydıyla yeniden düzenleme, dönüştürme ve eserin üzerine inşa etme dâhil adapte edilmesine izin verir.

Açık Erişim İlkesi

Dergi açık erişimlidir ve derginin tüm içeriği okura ya da okurun dahil olduğu kuruma ücretsiz olarak sunulur. Okurlar, ticari amaç haricinde, yayıncı ya da yazardan izin almadan dergi makalelerinin tam metnini okuyabilir, indirebilir, kopyalayabilir, arayabilir ve link sağlayabilir. Bu BOAI açık erişim tanımıyla uyumludur.

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ETİK

Yayın Etiği İlke ve Standartları

Konservatoryum/Conservatorium, yayın etiğinde en yüksek standartlara bağlıdır ve Committee on Publication Ethics (COPE), Directory of Open Access Journals (DOAJ), Open Access Scholarly Publishers Association (OASPA) ve World Association of Medical Editors (WAME) tarafından yayınlanan etik yayıncılık ilkelerini benimser; Principles of Transparency and Best Practice in Scholarly Publishing başlığı altında ifade edilen ilkeler için adres: <https://publicationethics.org/resources/guidelines-new/principles-transparency-and-best-practice-scholarly-publishing>

Gönderilen tüm makaleler orijinal, yayınlanmamış ve başka bir dergide değerlendirme sürecinde olmamalıdır. Yazar makalenin orijinal olduğu, daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığı ve başka bir yerde, başka bir dilde yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmede olmadığını beyan etmelidir. Uygulamadaki telif kanunları ve anlaşmaları gözetilmelidir. Telifle bağlı materyaller (örneğin tablolar, şekiller veya büyük alıntılar) gerekli izin ve teşekkürle kullanılmalıdır. Başka yazarların, katkıda bulunanların çalışmaları ya da yararlanılan kaynaklar uygun biçimde kullanılmalı ve referanslarda belirtilmelidir. Her bir makale editörlerden biri ve en az iki hakem tarafından çift kör değerlendirilmeden geçirilir. İntihal, duplikasyon, sahte yazarlık/inkar edilen yazarlık, araştırma/veri fabrikasyonu, makale dilimleme, dilimleyerek yayın, telif hakları ihlali ve çıkar çatışmasının gizlenmesi, etik dışı davranışlar olarak kabul edilir.

Kabul edilen etik standartlara uygun olmayan tüm makaleler yayından çıkarılır. Buna yayından sonra tespit edilen olası kuraldışı, uygunsuzluklar içeren makaleler de dahildir.

Araştırma Etiği

Konservatoryum/Conservatorium araştırma etiğinde en yüksek standartları gözetir ve aşağıda tanımlanan uluslararası araştırma etiği ilkelerini benimser. Makalelerin etik kurallara uygunluğu yazarların sorumluluğundadır.

- Araştırmanın tasarlanması, tasarımın gözden geçirilmesi ve araştırmanın yürütülmesinde, bütünlük, kalite ve şeffaflık ilkeleri sağlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma ekibi ve katılımcılar, araştırmanın amacı, yöntemleri ve öngörülen olası kullanımları; araştırmaya katılımın gerektirdikleri ve varsa riskleri hakkında tam olarak bilgilendirilmelidir.
- Araştırma katılımcılarının sağladığı bilgilerin gizliliği ve yanıt verenlerin gizliliği sağlanmalıdır. Araştırma katılımcıların özerkliğini ve saygınlığını koruyacak şekilde tasarlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma katılımcıları gönüllü olarak araştırmada yer almalı, herhangi bir zorlama altında olmamalıdır.
- Katılımcıların zarar görmesinden kaçınılmalıdır. Araştırma, katılımcıları riske sokmayacak şekilde planlanmalıdır.
- Araştırma bağımsızlığıyla ilgili açık ve net olunmalı; çıkar çatışması varsa belirtilmelidir.
- İnsan denekler ile yapılan deneysel çalışmalarda, araştırmaya katılmaya karar veren katılımcıların yazılı bilgilendirilmiş onayı alınmalıdır. Çocukların ve vesayet altındakilerin veya tasdiklenmiş akıl hastalığı bulunanların yasal vasisinin onayı alınmalıdır.
- Çalışma herhangi bir kurum ya da kuruluşta gerçekleştirilecekse bu kurum ya da kuruluştan çalışma yapılacağına dair onay alınmalıdır.
- İnsan ögesi bulunan çalışmalarda, “yöntem” bölümünde katılımcılardan “bilgilendirilmiş onam” alındığının ve çalışmanın yapıldığı kurumdan etik kurul onayı alındığı belirtilmesi gerekir.

DİL

Derginin yayın dili Türkçe ve Amerikan İngilizcesi'dir.

YAZILARIN HAZIRLANMASI

Aksi belirtilmedikçe gönderilen yazılarla ilgili tüm yazışmalar ilk yazarla yapılacaktır. Makale gönderimi online olarak [http:// cons.istanbul.edu.tr](http://cons.istanbul.edu.tr) üzerinden yapılmalıdır. Gönderilen yazılar, yazının yayınlanmak üzere gönderildiğini ifade eden, makale türünü belirten ve makaleyle ilgili bilgileri içeren (bkz: Son Kontrol Listesi) bir mektup; yazının elektronik formunu içeren Microsoft Word 2003 ve üzerindeki versiyonları ile yazılmış elektronik dosya ve tüm yazarların imzaladığı Telif Hakkı Anlaşması Formu eklenerek gönderilmelidir.

1. Konservatoryum, İstanbul Üniversitesi Devlet Konservatuvarı'nın Haziran ve Aralık aylarında olmak üzere yılda iki defa yayınladığı bilimsel nitelikli hakemli bir dergidir. Haziran sayısı için 15 Mart, Aralık sayısı için 15 Eylül'e kadar başvuru yapılmalıdır.
2. Dergide; daha önce yayınlanmamış veya yayınlanma aşamasında olmayan, özgün, deneme ve derleme makaleleri yayınlanır. Yayınlanmamış tezlerden veya bildirilerden türetilen çalışmalar özet bölümünde bir açıklama dipnotuyla belirtilmelidir. Türkçe makaleler için Türk Dil Kurumu esasları dikkate alınmaktadır.
3. Makaleler; ana başlıktan sonra, giriş bölümünden önce, 150-200 sözcük arasında olacak şekilde, çalışmanın amaç, kapsam, yöntem ve ulaşılan sonuçlarını içeren, Türkçe ve İngilizce özet ile üç anahtar sözcük içermelidir. Özetleri takiben Türkçe makaleler için ayrıca 600-800 kelimelik İngilizce genişletilmiş özet yer almalıdır. İngilizce makalelerde genişletilmiş özet istenmez. Ana başlık, özet ve kaynakça başlıkları ortalanmış olarak kalın ve büyük harflerle; alt başlıklar, giriş ve sonuç başlıkları sola yaslı, kalın ve yalnız kelimelerin ilk harfleri büyük olarak yazılmalıdır. Makale, özetlerle birlikte, ana metin ve referanslar dahil, dipnotlar hariç olmak üzere asgari 3000, azami 6000 sözcük dolayında olmalıdır. Tüm yabancı kelimeler italik yazılmalıdır.
4. Makaleler A4 kağıt boyutunun bir yüzüne, tüm kenarlardan 2,5 cm. boşluk bırakılarak, Times New Roman yazı karakteriyle, 12 punto ve 1,5 satır aralığıyla iki yana yaslı olarak yazılmalıdır. Türkçe başlık 10 kelimeyi geçmemelidir. Alt başlıklar öncesinde satır aralığı konmalı, başlık sonrası paragraflar arasında boşluk olmamalı ve hiçbir paragraf girintili yazılmamalıdır. Dipnotlar kaynak gösterimi için değil ek bilgi vermek için kullanılmalı, sayfa altında numaralandırılmalı, 10 punto ve 1 satır aralığı ile iki yana yaslı olarak yazılmalıdır. Sayfa numaraları da 11 puntoyla, sağ altta yer almalıdır.
5. Yazarların adları makale başlığının bir satır sağ altında yer almalı ve yıldız (*) dipnotla unvanı, kurumu, adresi, telefonu, e-posta adresi verilmelidir. Yazara/metne özgü terminoloji ve/veya kısaltmalar ilk kullanımlarında dipnotla açıklanmalıdır.
6. Makalelerde yer alan görseller ve nota örnekleri kısa açıklamalarıyla birlikte ortalanmış olarak Şekil/Tablo 1. ... şeklinde numaralandırılmalıdır. Tüm görseller, baskıda çözünürlük problemi olmaması için minimum 300 dpi çözünürlükte ve JPG formatında ayrıca gönderilmelidir. Metin içerisindeki yerleştirmeler, gerektiğinde sayfa düzenine göre değiştirilebilirler.
7. Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makale ile birlikte yazar bilgilerini içeren kapak sayfası gönderilmelidir. Kapak sayfasında, makalenin başlığı, yazar veya yazarların bağlı oldukları kurum ve unvanları, kendilerine ulaşılacak adresler, cep, iş ve faks numaraları ve e-posta adresleri yer almalıdır (bkz. Son Kontrol Listesi).
8. Dergide makale içi atıflar ve kaynakça uluslararası APA formatına göre gösterilmelidir. Ayrıntılı bilgi için web sayfasında Kaynaklar bölümüne bakınız.
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10. Yayınlanan makalelerin her türlü sorumluluğu yazarlara aittir. Dergiye gönderilen makaleler hiçbir durumda geri gönderilmez.

Kaynaklar

Derleme yazıları okuyucular için bir konudaki kaynaklara ulaşmayı kolaylaştıran bir araç olsa da her zaman orijinal çalışmayı doğru olarak yansıtmaz. Bu yüzden mümkün olduğunca yazarlar orijinal çalışmalarını kaynak göstermelidir. Öte yandan, bir konuda çok fazla sayıda orijinal çalışmanın kaynak gösterilmesi yer israfına neden olabilir. Birkaç anahtar

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Konservatoryum – Conservatorium, metin içi alıntılama ve kaynak gösterme için APA (American Psychological Association) kaynak sitilinin 6. edisyonunu benimser. APA 6. Edisyon hakkında bilgi için:

- American Psychological Association. (2010). Publication manual of the American Psychological Association (6th ed.). Washington, DC: APA.
- <http://www.apastyle.org/>

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Kaynaklar metinde parantez içinde yazarların soyadı ve yayın tarihi yazılarak belirtilmelidir. Birden fazla kaynak gösterilecekse kaynaklar arasında (;) işareti kullanılmalıdır. Kaynaklar alfabetik olarak sıralanmalıdır.

Örnekler:

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(Esin ve ark., 2002; Karasar 1995)

Tek yazarlı kaynak;

(Akyolcu, 2007)

İki yazarlı kaynak;

(Sayıner ve Demirci, 2007, s. 72)

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Kitap

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Karasar, N. (1995). *Araştırmalarda rapor hazırlama* (8.bs). Ankara: 3A Eğitim Danışmanlık Ltd.

b) Türkçeye Çevrilmiş Kitap

Mucchielli, A. (1991). *Zihniyetler* (A. Kotil, Çev.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

c) Editörlü Kitap

Ören, T., Üney, T. ve Çölkesen, R. (Ed.). (2006). *Türkiye bilişim ansiklopedisi*. İstanbul: Papatya Yayıncılık.

d) Çok Yazarlı Türkçe Kitap

Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y. ve Sever, H. (2002). *Türkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme*. Ankara: Total Bilişim.

e) İngilizce Kitap

Kamien R., & Kamien A. (2014). *Music: An appreciation*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

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Bassett, C. (2006). Cultural studies and new media. In G. Hall & C. Birchall (Eds.), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (pp. 220–237). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

g) Türkçe Kitap İçerisinde Bölüm

Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi. M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi kitabı* içinde (s. 233–263). Bursa: Dora Basım Yayın.

h) Yayıncının ve Yazarın Kurum Olduğu Yayın

Türk Standartları Enstitüsü. (1974). *Adlandırma ilkeleri*. Ankara: Yazar.

Makale

a) Türkçe Makale

Mutlu, B. ve Savaşer, S. (2007). Çocuğu ameliyat sonrası yoğun bakımda olan ebeveynlerde stres nedenleri ve azaltma girişimleri. *İstanbul Üniversitesi Florence Nightingale Hemşirelik Dergisi*, 15(60), 179–182.

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de Cillia, R., Reisingl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society*, 10(2), 149–173. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002>

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Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 372, 2087–2096. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184>

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Al, U. ve Doğan, G. (2012). Hacettepe Üniversitesi Bilgi ve Belge Yönetimi Bölümü tezlerinin atıf analizi. *Türk Kütüphaneciliği*, 26, 349–369. Erişim adresi: <http://www.tk.org.tr/>

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Turner, S. J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly*, 27, 261–278. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07317131003765910>

f) Advance Online Olarak Yayımlanmış Makale

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867>

g) Popüler Dergi Makalesi

Semercioğlu, C. (2015, Haziran). Sıradanlığın rayihası. *Sabit Fikir*, 52, 38–39.

Tez, Sunum, Bildiri

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Sarı, E. (2008). *Kültür kimlik ve politika: Mardin'de kültürlerarasılık*. (Yayınlanmamış Doktora Tezi). Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara.

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Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. (UMI No. 9943436)

c) Kurumsal Veritabanında Yer Alan İngilizce Yüksek Lisans/Doktora Tezi

Yaylalı-Yıldız, B. (2014). *University campuses as places of potential publicness: Exploring the politicals, social and cultural practices in Ege University* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from: Retrieved from <http://library.iyte.edu.tr/tr/hizli-erisim/iyte-tez-portali>

d) Web'de Yer Alan İngilizce Yüksek Lisans/Doktora Tezi

Tonta, Y. A. (1992). *An analysis of search failures in online library catalogs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). Retrieved from <http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/tonta/yayinlar/phd/ickapak.html>

e) Dissertations Abstracts International'da Yer Alan Yüksek Lisans/Doktora Tezi

Appelbaum, L. G. (2005). Three studies of human information processing: Texture amplification, motion representation, and figure-ground segregation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B. Sciences and Engineering*, 65(10), 5428

f) Sempozyum Katkısı

Krinsky-McHale, S. J., Zigman, W. B., & Silverman, W. (2012, August). Are neuropsychiatric symptoms markers of prodromal Alzheimer's disease in adults with Down syndrome? In W. B. Zigman (Chair), *Predictors of mild cognitive impairment, dementia, and mortality in adults with Down syndrome*. Symposium conducted at American Psychological

Association meeting, Orlando, FL.

g) Online Olarak Erişilen Konferans Bildiri Özeti

Çınar, M., Doğan, D. ve Seferoğlu, S. S. (2015, Şubat). *Eğitimde dijital araçlar: Google sınıf uygulaması üzerine bir değerlendirme* [Öz]. Akademik Bilişim Konferansında sunulan bildiri, Anadolu Üniversitesi, Eskişehir. Erişim adresi: <http://ab2015.anadolu.edu.tr/index.php?menu=5&submenu=27>

h) Düzenli Olarak Online Yayınlanan Bildiriler

Herculano-Houzel, S., Collins, C. E., Wong, P., Kaas, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 105, 12593-12598. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105>

i) Kitap Şeklinde Yayınlanan Bildiriler

Schneider, R. (2013). Research data literacy. S. Kurbanoglu ve ark. (Ed.), *Communications in Computer and Information Science: Vol. 397. Worldwide Communalities and Challenges in Information Literacy Research and Practice* içinde (s. 134–140). Cham, İsviçre: Springer. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-03919-0>

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Çepni, S., Bacanak A. ve Özsevgeç T. (2001, Haziran). *Fen bilgisi öğretmen adaylarının fen branşlarına karşı tutumları ile fen branşlarındaki başarılarının ilişkisi*. X. Ulusal Eğitim Bilimleri Kongresi'nde sunulan bildiri, Abant İzzet Baysal Üniversitesi, Bolu.

Diğer Kaynaklar

a) Gazete Yazısı

Toker, Ç. (2015, 26 Haziran). 'Unutma' notları. *Cumhuriyet*, s. 13.

b) Online Gazete Yazısı

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c) Web Page/Blog Post

Bordwell, D. (2013, June 18). David Koepp: Making the world movie-sized [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/page/27/>

d) Online Ansiklopedi/Sözlük

Bilgi mimarisi. (2014, 20 Aralık). Vikipedi içinde. Erişim adresi: http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bilgi_mimarisi

Marcoux, A. (2008). Business ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.), *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-business/>

e) Podcast

Radyo ODTÜ (Yapımcı). (2015, 13 Nisan). *Modern sabahlar* [Podcast]. Erişim adresi: <http://www.radyoodtu.com.tr/>

f) Bir Televizyon Dizisinden Tek Bir Bölüm

Shore, D. (Senarist), Jackson, M. (Senarist) ve Bookstaver, S. (Yönetmen). (2012). *Runaways* [Televizyon dizisi bölümü]. D. Shore (Baş yapımcı), *House M.D.* içinde. New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting.

g) Müzik Kaydı

Say, F. (2009). Galata Kulesi. *İstanbul senfonisi* [CD] içinde. İstanbul: Ak Müzik.

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AIM

Conservatorium-Konservatoryum aims to contribute to the theoretical framework supporting art practice in the fields of music, musicology and performing arts, to include interdisciplinary studies in branches that are related with these fields, and to extend our country's share in international collaborations. In line with this aim, it is one of the priorities of Conservatorium-Konservatoryum to support collaborations among the academicians, researchers, professionals and students who constitute the target group of the journal.

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Music, musicology and performing arts constitute the main focus area of the journal. Besides, the journal welcomes interdisciplinary studies with contemporary academic approach, from from the fields related to the main focus area, such as philosophy, semiotics, aesthetics, psychology, sociology, biomechanics, physiology, neuroscience, electroacoustics and organology as well.

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The language of the journal is both Turkish and American English.

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b) Book Translated into Turkish

Mucchielli, A. (1991). *Zihniyetler* [Mindsets] (A. Kotil, Trans.). İstanbul, Turkey: İletişim Yayınları.

c) Edited Book

Ören, T., Üney, T., & Çölkesen, R. (Eds.). (2006). *Türkiye bilişim ansiklopedisi* [Turkish Encyclopedia of Informatics]. İstanbul, Turkey: Papatya Yayıncılık.

d) Turkish Book with Multiple Authors

Tonta, Y., Bitirim, Y., & Sever, H. (2002). *Türkçe arama motorlarında performans değerlendirme* [Performance evaluation in Turkish search engines]. Ankara, Turkey: Total Bilişim.

e) Book in English

Kamien R., & Kamien A. (2014). *Music: An appreciation*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Education.

f) Chapter in an Edited Book

Bassett, C. (2006). Cultural studies and new media. In G. Hall & C. Birchall (Eds.), *New cultural studies: Adventures in theory* (pp. 220–237). Edinburgh, UK: Edinburgh University Press.

g) Chapter in an Edited Book in Turkish

Erkmen, T. (2012). Örgüt kültürü: Fonksiyonları, öğeleri, işletme yönetimi ve liderlikteki önemi [Organization culture: Its functions, elements and importance in leadership and business management]. In M. Zencirkıran (Ed.), *Örgüt sosyolojisi* [Organization sociology] (pp. 233–263). Bursa, Turkey: Dora Basım Yayın.

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American Psychological Association. (2009). *Publication manual of the American psychological association* (6th ed.). Washington, DC: Author.

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a) Turkish Article

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b) English Article

de Cillia, R., Reisigl, M., & Wodak, R. (1999). The discursive construction of national identity. *Discourse and Society*, 10(2), 149–173. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010002002>

c) Journal Article with DOI and More Than Seven Authors

Lal, H., Cunningham, A. L., Godeaux, O., Chlibek, R., Diez-Domingo, J., Hwang, S.-J. ... Heineman, T. C. (2015). Efficacy of an adjuvanted herpes zoster subunit vaccine in older adults. *New England Journal of Medicine*, 372, 2087–2096. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1056/NEJMoa1501184>

d) Journal Article from Web, without DOI

Sidani, S. (2003). Enhancing the evaluation of nursing care effectiveness. *Canadian Journal of Nursing Research*, 35(3), 26–38. Retrieved from <http://cjr.mcgill.ca>

e) Journal Article with DOI

Turner, S. J. (2010). Website statistics 2.0: Using Google Analytics to measure library website effectiveness. *Technical Services Quarterly*, 27, 261–278. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/07317131003765910>

f) Advance Online Publication

Smith, J. A. (2010). Citing advance online publication: A review. *Journal of Psychology*. Advance online publication. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a45d7867>

g) Article in a Magazine

Henry, W. A., III. (1990, April 9). Making the grade in today's schools. *Time*, 135, 28–31

Doctoral Dissertation, Master's Thesis, Presentation, Proceeding

a) Dissertation/Thesis from a Commercial Database

Van Brunt, D. (1997). *Networked consumer health information systems* (Doctoral dissertation). Available from ProQuest Dissertations and Theses database. (UMI No. 9943436)

b) Dissertation/Thesis from an Institutional Database

Yaylalı-Yıldız, B. (2014). *University campuses as places of potential publicness: Exploring the politicals, social and cultural practices in Ege University* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from Retrieved from: <http://library.iyte.edu.tr/tr/hizli-erisim/iyte-tez-portali>

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Tonta, Y. A. (1992). *An analysis of search failures in online library catalogs* (Doctoral dissertation, University of California, Berkeley). Retrieved from <http://yunus.hacettepe.edu.tr/tonta/yayinlar/phd/ickapak.html>

d) Dissertation/Thesis abstracted in Dissertations Abstracts International

Appelbaum, L. G. (2005). Three studies of human information processing: Texture amplification, motion representation, and figure-ground segregation. *Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B. Sciences and Engineering*, 65(10), 5428.

e) Symposium Contribution

Krinsky-McHale, S. J., Zigman, W. B., & Silverman, W. (2012, August). Are neuropsychiatric symptoms markers of prodromal Alzheimer's disease in adults with Down syndrome? In W. B. Zigman (Chair), *Predictors of mild cognitive impairment, dementia, and mortality in adults with Down syndrome*. Symposium conducted at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

f) Conference Paper Abstract Retrieved Online

Liu, S. (2005, May). *Defending against business crises with the help of intelligent agent based early warning solutions*. Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference on Enterprise Information Systems, Miami, FL. Abstract retrieved from http://www.iceis.org/iceis2005/abstracts_2005.htm

g) Conference Paper - In Regularly Published Proceedings and Retrieved Online

Herculano-Houzel, S., Collins, C. E., Wong, P., Kaas, J. H., & Lent, R. (2008). The basic nonuniformity of the cerebral cortex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 105, 12593–12598. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.0805417105>

h) Proceeding in Book Form

Parsons, O. A., Pryzwansky, W. B., Weinstein, D. J., & Wiens, A. N. (1995). Taxonomy for psychology. In J. N. Reich, H. Sands, & A. N. Wiens (Eds.), *Education and training beyond the doctoral degree: Proceedings of the American Psychological Association National Conference on Postdoctoral Education and Training in Psychology* (pp. 45–50). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

i) Paper Presentation

Nguyen, C. A. (2012, August). *Humor and deception in advertising: When laughter may not be the best medicine*. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Psychological Association, Orlando, FL.

Other Sources**a) Newspaper Article**

Browne, R. (2010, March 21). This brainless patient is no dummy. *Sydney Morning Herald*, 45.

b) Newspaper Article with no Author

New drug appears to sharply cut risk of death from heart failure. (1993, July 15). *The Washington Post*, p. A12.

c) Web Page/Blog Post

Bordwell, D. (2013, June 18). David Koepp: Making the world movie-sized [Web log post]. Retrieved from <http://www.davidbordwell.net/blog/page/27/>

d) Online Encyclopedia/Dictionary

Ignition. (1989). In Oxford English online dictionary (2nd ed.). Retrieved from <http://dictionary.oed.com>

Marcoux, A. (2008). Business ethics. In E. N. Zalta (Ed.). *The Stanford encyclopedia of philosophy*. Retrieved from <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/ethics-business/>

e) Podcast

Dunning, B. (Producer). (2011, January 12). *in Fact: Conspiracy theories* [Video podcast]. Retrieved from <http://itunes.apple.com/http://itunes.apple.com/>

Egan, D. (Writer), & Alexander, J. (Director). (2005). Failure to communicate. [Television series episode]. In D. Shore (Executive producer), *House*; New York, NY: Fox Broadcasting.

g) Music

Fuchs, G. (2004). Light the menorah. On *Eight nights of Hanukkah* [CD]. Brick, NJ: Kid Kosher.

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