International Journal *of* Euro-Mediterranean Studies

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MEDITERRANEAN SCHOLARLY COLLABORATION IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PANDEMIC

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The year 2020 was characterized by the outbreak of Covid-19 and also by the recognition of a close interconnectedness between societies, human fragility and resilience at the same time. The Euro-Mediterranean region is a prime example of such manifestations and a living laboratory reflecting the role of scholarly communities (our audience in this journal) in those developments.

The most obvious change we have witnessed in the year 2020 is a huge re-organisation of how we move, work and socialize. Most of our work, from teaching, researching and scholarly exchange has shifted to screens and online communication. Travel came to a standstill in the spring wave of the pandemic and has hardly resumed since.

The promulgation of the arrival of digital transformation seemed to materialise within weeks, presenting both opportunities and challenges for higher education and research, including in the endeavour to strengthen cooperation in the Euro-Mediterranean area. On the one hand, visiting lectures, webinars and participatory digital events have widened the opportunities for exchange and expanded the collaboration. Indeed, as most events taking place online are free, their accessibility is almost unlimited. In fact, for many of us, these opportunities have outperformed our capacities to follow them.

On the other hand, the challenge is that the capacities of professors and researchers to take part in the digital world differ. As is often the case, the emergent opportunities are widening the gap in the use of online resources for individuals, institutions and countries, raising concerns of the formation of new form of inequality due to varying internet infrastructure and skill set of the faculty in how to use resources effectively. In addition, scholars have come to recognise the limits of a digital contact and its inability to replace the benefits of human presence, face to face discussions and networking. In part, this can be explained by the fact that much of online education or scientific event organisation and knowledge sharing is still not capitalizing entirely on the opportunities offered by the digital transformation. Yet in part, these limitations serve as reminders of the irreplaceable role of human contact in education and collaboration. We expect a great deal of new knowledge in this area, as important studies are emerging on the impact of online education.

Another key change we have witnessed is an enhanced visibility of and indeed, the need for science in public affairs. Scientists have come to the fore, as many governments established consultative expert groups to provide scientific advice to policy responses related to Covid-19, and entrusted them with the development of the vaccine. To deliver, the scientific and scholarly community has demonstrated unprecedented levels of urgency, and interdisciplinary and international collaboration at a speed never seen before. Some of this hard work was supported by large sums of rapidly mobilized funding, but in major part it was also fuelled by genuine enthusiasm. However, also here a large gap has appeared between the richer labs able to pursue excellence and those struggling to keep afloat with minimal resources. Focusing more on the long-term, research and innovation are presented as a means for economic recovery, but despite this evidence, the flow of actual investments into these sectors will vary widely across countries. A different challenge faced by the entire region, is to have scientific opinion (with all its shortcomings of uncertainty) heard and valued, and have it inform the policies in a transparent and democratic way, rather than abused to support impulsive or autocratic governance.

The very emergence of the pandemic, and the failure to have avoided it, points to a weakness within the scientific community - namely in convincing policymakers to act on evidence. The scientific urge to respond to emergencies of climate change, biodiversity loss and various types of pollution continuously fails to materialise. The scientific community had cautioned of the transmission of a zoonotic disease, driven by increasing human intervention into wildlife habitats. The medical community had also warned of the ill-preparedness of the public health sectors for large-scale incidents. Similarly, it had been long known that long-term air pollution, or the heavy presence of PM10 and PM2.5 particles in the air, is known to lead to respiratory disease; during the Covid-19 pandemic, air pollution was proven as one decisive factor in the spread of the virus and the deaths it led to. Here, countries are surprisingly uniform: no one has escaped the bad scenarios becoming a reality while poor preparation cannot be linked just to material resources or human capital. Science invariably seems to struggle to act as a factor in decision-making. That should certainly change if we are to avoid bigger disasters, related to collapses of ecosystems or climate change, in a region that is infamous for putting heavy pressures on natural resources, including the Mediterranean Sea, and is also one of the fastest-warming regions in the world.

International co-operation in research, education and innovation offer countries a channel to strengthen both the quality of research and to foster solutions to common challenges, such as those outlined above, as well as to societal issues, such as migration and youth unemployment. The sharing of data, knowledge and research outputs have become more crucial than ever to overcome the global pandemic. Local or regional responses should take place with an awareness of embeddedness in global trends, while drawing on global knowledge.

One of the most stable, reliable and unchallenged ways of effective regional and international cooperation in research and education is through academic journals, especially when these are widely accessible. The International Journal of Euro-Mediterranean Studies (IJEMS) remains as relevant as ever in the transformations towards digital and sustainable societies of the future. At IJEMS, we stand to highlight the significance of regional cooperation (or lack thereof) in addressing topics of interest to the Euro-Mediterranean region. We showcase the shared heritage, opportunities and challenges of the Euro-Mediterranean region, or highlight various starting points that require locally-specific responses. We stand to facilitate collaboration among scholars, established and emerging, towards sustainable societies. While this is a much shared academic effort, IJEMS's role is to channel this mission into the Euro-Mediterranean region, while sustaining the idea of this space as a region.

Since the first issue, IJEMS has tied its objective unequivocally to open access. Today, open access journals are the rise like never before, but IJEMS has always remained loyal to this mission of providing full open access *without processing charges* for all authors. As such, we remove all practical barriers to cooperation to the prospective authors. We will continue to be dedicated to this principle even as we transition to the online submission system in early 2021, thanks to the continuous financial support by Euro-Mediterranean University (EMUNI). This attests to the importance that EMUNI ascribes to IJEMS as a central instrument of its mission – regional cooperation in higher education.

JOURNAL DEVELOPMENTS

The present issue is the first to be prepared under the coordination of myself as the new Managing Editor of IJEMS, while retaining the existing Editorial Board. The issue has suffered from the effects of the epidemic in terms of time management regarding the majority of scholars, including the reviewers. The delay in the issue is a stark reminder of the absolutely invaluable role that reviewers play in the production of IJEMS. We are deeply grateful to the community of IJEMS reviewers and very much hopeful to expand it, as we keep on receiving manuscripts from an incredibly wide spectrum of disciplines. An additional level of complexity is posed by our editorial policy that also seeks to ensure a balance in regional representation in the review process, meaning that we try to have each manuscript evaluated by two reviewers from different parts of the region.

In identifying potential reviewers and the promotion of the journal to the new potential authors, we are particularly reliant on our Advisory Board. Here too, we are very grateful to the active members of the Advisory Board who identify and seize opportunities for strengthening the journal. To ensure a flow of fresh ideas and enthusiasm, we will be revamping our Advisory Board in the first half of 2021 and are on the lookout for new individuals dedicated to the idea of Euro-Mediterranean regional cooperation. If you are one of them, please respond to our call to be issued in the coming months.

The journal has introduced a slight revision to the categories of articles it accepts. We continue providing key attention to scientific articles, but we also invite review articles that highlight events, reports or books that are significant for the cohesion of the region. We would like to make a special mention of a category that we have introduced to make the journal in its printed version more visually appealing. *Impression* aims at offering an opportunity for reflection over what the Euro-Mediterranean region is (about). We have solicited a photo for this first occasion, but look forward to receiving suggestions in the future.

The other major development of the journal will be a transition to an online system of submission. Due to the financial investment related to such a step, IJEMS is a latecomer to this standard practice of today's journals. It is thus with great expectations that we await this particular effect of digitisation on our own work. Online submission is meant to significantly facilitate the processing for the authors, editors and reviewers and we hope to have it work to make the journal even more attractive in the future.

IN THIS ISSUE

This issue features, as usual, a variety of themes and disciplines. We start off with a mini symposium collection on the influence of the Mediterranean on music(al performances) in the geographical area of ex-Yugoslavia. We offer three articles presenting cross-cultural exchanges in musical traditions. The purpose of this collection, as per the proponent of the Symposium, Dr. Boštjan Udovič, was not only to provide an insight into cultural flows in selected countries of post-Yugoslavia (Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia), but also to show that they are part of a wider phenomenon- in this case, of shared heritage in the Mediterranean region, even if this is shared indirectly and with interruptions. The collection of articles revisits the notions of both the "Mediterranean" (expanding our gaze to the countries that are outside the typical explorations of the region) and "heritage" (as music and its impacts continue to undergo change).

Lana *Šehović* Paćuka takes us to the Sarajevo of the late 19th century, when the city transitioned from Ottoman Empire rule to that of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which brought about also a new cultural context. Part of the change was the emergence *a la franca cafés*, in which female musicians took centre stage – presenting a contrast to a more conservative socio-cultural environment, in which women were expected to conform to more restrictive social norms.

The piece by Vesna Peno and Ivana Vesić shows how in the period after the dissolution of Yugoslavia, Serbian Orthodox Church music returned to the Byzantine chant. They note that while modern Serbia is not bordering the Mediterranean Sea, it remains embedded in the Mediterranean though Serbian new traditionalism, which seeks inspiration from the tradition of Byzantine cultural patterns.

Ivana Tomić Ferić and Vilena Vrbanić explore the musical sources and collections in Dalmatian museums. They demonstrate the connections between Croatian, Dalmatian and (Central)European musical culture, and propose to conceive Croatian musical culture not only as a mixture of Mediterranean, Dalmatian, Slavic, Italian, German and Hungarian cultural patterns, but also as an imprint of the interweaving of these influences.

Boštjan Udovič analyses the role of musical pieces on the building of statehood using the case of Slovenia. He explores the official anthem and the socially-constructed, unofficial anthems, in which certain musical figures from traditional Mediterranean musical culture are used. He sees a potential for the 'state craft-ness' of music, but only in so far as it has the power to attract and to convince, i.e. when its legitimization is built bottom-up.

Following the musically-centred collection, the article by Eulália Santos and Fernando Oliveira Tavares takes us to the theme of financial literacy and financial risk. Their study explores the links between sociodemographic and professional variables, and financial education, arguing in favour of financial education in order to improve well-being.

Finally, the issue features a review summary of the Network of Mediterranean Experts on Climate and Environmental Change (MedECC) Report on drivers and consequences of climate and environmental change, written by Abed El Rahman Hassoun and colleagues. The report is the first-ever assessment of its kind focusing specifically on the Euro-Mediterranean region, and is the product of international collaboration among researchers. Since challenges in the environment are becoming as tangible as they can be with real socio-economic implications, the inclusion of a review with a heavy scientific base is justified in this journal, which has predominantly attracted contributions from the social sciences and humanities. We hope this review will inform and sensitise our readership about the scope of environmental change and, together with the rest of the articles in this issue, present reasons for continuous scholarly collaboration within this context.

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SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: ACTIVITIES OF PROFESSIONAL FEMALE ARTISTS IN A LA FRANCA CAFÉS OF SARAJEVO

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The tradition of visiting cafés in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina dates back to the period of Ottoman rule. With the change to Austro-Hungarian administration, the previously rooted habits started shifting, and Sarajevo started getting *a la franca* cafés, whose trademark was the light music of cabaret and operettas, typical of the late 19th century European context. The phenomenon of professional female musical artists performing independently or within ensembles, known as *Damennkapelle*, is linked to these cafés, which are mostly located in the central part of the city. This phenomenon was a novelty in the socio-cultural as well as musical context of the environment, where very strict social norms were regularly imposed on women. Although these were mostly female settlers from other parts of the empire who performed in travelling ensembles, their artistic engagement changed the local perception of women performing on café stages. Therefore, female ensembles often enjoyed a reputation of local stars, allowing them equal representation in the labour market in relation to all-male ensembles and groups.

Key words: Austria-Hungary, Sarajevo, *a la franca* cafés, professional female artists, women's ensembles

A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF SARAJEVO IN THE LATE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The end of the 19th century is remembered in the socio-cultural context of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a period of comprehensive change brought about by the political turmoil related to the change of rule. The Congress of Berlin decided to give the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire (1463–1878) to the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1878–1918), which irreversibly changed the socio-political as well as cultural context of this Balkan country (Besarović 1987; Donia 2006). The shift to a structured Westward-oriented system brought with it the tendency to follow the new trends in social life. The visual identity of Sarajevo changed, the city infrastructure was modernised, the electricity network, water supply, sewerage and city transport were developed, while the city centre was decorated with new buildings such as the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart and the City Hall. The transformation of Sarajevo into the administrative centre of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina required professional staff, which eventually resulted in mass immigration of foreigners, who changed the demographics, and indirectly also the socio-cultural habits. Therefore, the involvement of settlers may be considered a crucial factor in shaping the new social and cultural atmosphere, which was oriented towards Western European trends (Sparks 2014: 34–35). This new atmosphere implied practicing public forms of social life, such as widespread parlour culture, the organisation of public entertainment events and performances, the appearance of cinematographers and cinematographic projections, the arrangement of city picnic areas and amusement parks appropriate for trendy socialising, public sporting events, as well as an increasing number of printing houses and bookshops, which kept on their shelves literature and periodicals reporting on the bourgeois lifestyle of European cities (Paćuka 2014: 30–33).

In this context, Henrik Renner (1900) described Sarajevo in his 1896 travelogue as a city that was acquiring a European face, which, among other things, started to be very clearly reflected in the lifestyle practiced by pro-European members of society. Renner noted that one of the more important forms of public socialising modelled on European metropoles was visiting city picnic areas and spa resorts. In this sense, the spa resort Ilidža, situated in the vicinity of Sarajevo, in addition to Vrelo Bosne and Butmir, became the gathering places of city dwellers, the working class and the broader population.[1] On Sundays, overcrowded picnic areas were usually reserved for *teferič* (picnics), performances and other entertainment events. Ilidža was becoming increasingly recognised as a place for practicing sports, such as croquet, lawn tennis and its carrousels, but also horse races, which were typical for Butmir.

It is interesting that the café culture, which flourished at the time, played a prominent role in the overall Europeanisation of the socio-cultural life of the capital. Cafés began to open in the city centre, in the vicinity of fancy shops with large windows promoting European luxury products and the so-called *a la franca* style[2], which was becoming increasingly present in the streets of Sarajevo. However, when it comes to the cafés of Sarajevo, attention has to be drawn to the fact that the tradition of gathering was not completely new, but rather that the institutions had taken took a different, oriental form before and were locally commonly known as *kafanas*.

THE TRADITION OF SARAJEVO'S KAFANAS

The culture of visiting *kafanas* in Sarajevo as a form of entertainment, socialising and gathering dates back to the time of

1 It is important to clarify that in the period of Ottoman rule Ilidža was already known for its hot springs and numerous elements of Turkish culture such as oriental homes, mosques and bridges, which were already present at this time, but the modernisation of Ilidža in the European sense started with the Austro-Hungarian administration.

2 *A la franca* dressing style relates to the style of dressing following the latest European fashion. This style was mostly pursued by settlers, and subsequently also by reputable and wealthier representatives of the domestic population.

Ottoman rule. *Kafanas* from the Ottoman period had a different social reputation than cafés, which emerged in the period of Austro-Hungarian rule, and one of their main features was the oriental or traditional musical practice.[3] However, with the transition under Austria-Hungary, gatherings in cafés acquired a completely new character, and hence the former *kafanas* located in the old part of town and the Baščaršija district, characterised by the traditional musical practice of Bosnia and Herzegovina, became known as *a la turca* cafés.[4] As expected, the *kafanas* of this type were mostly frequented by the local population, who did not identify with the musical culture brought by Austria-Hungary because it represented a foreign and unknown element. On the other hand, *a la franca* cafés began to open as their counterpart – a symbol of settlers and foreigners arriving in increasing number to Bosnia and Herzegovina.[5]

The introduction of *a la franca* cafés in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina was a consequence of adaptation to European trends in the 19th century, followed by economic development, modernisation and socio-cultural change. Therefore, cafés evolved into places for social activities with multiple functions,

3 Oriental musical practice implied musical expressions shaped under the influence of tonal relations and instruments (šargija, zurna, etc.), which were introduced in the period of Ottoman rule. It was also common practice for military musicians (*mekteri*) to play for people when off duty with their military orchestras (*mehterhane*). The most common traditional musical genre performed at *kafanas* was *sevdalinka* (Rihtman 1982: 11–12).

4 For more on this topic, see Talam and Paćuka (2018: 75–87).

5 The division between *a la turca* and *a la franca* cafés was widely accepted in Sarajevo and Bosnia and Herzegovina in general, and visiting one or the other depended on personal preferences, as well as the social and cultural habits of the individual. Apart from the general differences in the sense of social norms of conduct and cultural atmosphere, music was one of the elements that had a crucial influence on the number of guests and popularity of a café (or *kafana*). Music was what drew visitors to one side or the other, which is evident from musicians' requests submitted to the State Government for work permits (Paćuka 2014: 51).

where visitors could find relief from the rigid social norms and a pleasant atmosphere for drinking coffee, playing chess, or reading newspapers and light literature (Talam and Paćuka 2018: 79). Such gathering places were often an environment where different social and business deals were made, but also where various technical achievements characteristic of the 19th century or the early 20th century were promoted. It was precisely in the Vienna café of *Hotel Evropa* in Sarajevo that the first presentation of Edison's phonograph was held in front of approximately 30 people in 1890 (NN, 1890: 3). The journalists and audience were delighted with the productions of the phonograph, particularly the musical ones. The aforementioned practice continued in subsequent years, including gramophone singing productions by Konrad Friedrich in 1908 at the same hotel (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine 1908, Šf. 21).

In this sense, cafés were recognised as places for learning about new European trends, but also as an excellent starting point for their dissemination among the public. Moreover, following European trends, Sarajevo's *a la franca* cafés could be defined as the so-called "third place" according to the historian of urban sociology Roy Oldenburg. Oldenburg (2013: 7–23) says that one of the common characteristics of social life in European cities in the 19th century is exactly the practice of visiting cafés, which were in third place on the priority list in an individual's life, immediately after the workplace and the privacy of one's home. Unlike the environment of the workplace or home, where one had to comply with clearly defined social norms, cafés were less conventional, and were therefore often the gathering places for visitors from different social classes – both the working class and bourgeois circles. Therefore, patrons included both government officials, low-ranking soldiers, merchants, journalists, workers and craftsmen, as well as representatives of the intellectual elite finding their inspiration in this atmosphere. In addition to serving as places for socialising, cafés also played the role of introducing a completely new European appearance – oriented towards the consummation of fashionable trends characteristic of European cities of that time. Accordingly, regular visits and socialising in popular city cafés, such as *Hotel Evropa*, *Café Abbazia*, *Café Central* and *Café Mareinhof* (NN 1899: 206–207), were a sign of social prestige among the bourgeois class. However, one of the more important characteristics that differentiated many of these cafés from those of the Ottoman period was the attitude towards women, as well as their presence and performances in those cafés.

FEMALE ARTISTS IN SARAJEVO'S A LA FRANCA CAFÉS – NEW VIEWS ON WOMEN'S PROFESSIONAL MUSICAL ACTIVITY

Cafés, which spread in Sarajevo on a daily basis, were a space of interaction not only on a social and cultural level but also from the perspective of gender. Equally to men, women could be found in this environment both in the role of female visitors as well as in the role of performing female artists. This was new in the socio-cultural and musical life of Sarajevo, although scarce sources dating before the Austro-Hungarian administration[6] report in favour of the fact that women performed in Sarajevo's cafés as interpreters of the traditional music. This type of public activity, at least concerning women of local origin, was not viewed with appreciation – burdened by the social dogmas imposed on women's conduct in the public (Paćuka 2019: 116). However, the change of the socio-cultural climate caused by the arrival of settlers brought new trends. Women of foreign origin visited cafés more frequently, attracted by the pleasant atmosphere and the need to socialise, while many of them also earned a living playing or singing in cafés. Moreover, this evolved into a specific phenomenon as the permits issued by the State Government indicate that *a la franca* cafés were one of the segments of professional musical life where women, along with music teaching, achieved full dominance. Although the described practice could already be seen in the European context as early as the 18th century (Moore Whiting 1999: 11), it was

6 For more about the circumstances of the musical life in Sarajevo under Ottoman rule, see Bašeskija (1997) and Martić (1990).

new for for the local circumstances, partly due to the altered perception of women's professional artistic work within these contexts. Concretely, thanks to their performances in the cafés of Sarajevo, female settlers were able to express their creativity, which brought them a professional reputation and quite often, the status of local stars. On the other hand, this phenomenon was also complementary to the gradual emancipation of women, which increased their need for independent work by which they could ensure their own livelihoods.[7]

With respect to all of the above, the question raised is who were the women who performed in the city's *a la franca* cafés and what were their musical productions. Based on the work permits issued, we can conclude that the women and girls working in the *a la franca* cafés came to Sarajevo from different parts of the Empire—Croatia, Austria, Germany, Bohemia or Hungary – and would stay there for a longer or shorter period of time, depending on the amount of work.[8] Moreover, for many of them Sarajevo was only a stopover on their route through different parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In this sense, for example, several female artists submitted in August 1906 a request to the State Government to approve the musical productions at the Sarajevo café Loyd, one of the most popular gathering places for settlers at that time. One of them was actress and singer Sofija Jovanović, who performed in Belgrade and Pula before going to Sarajevo. In her request for a work permit submitted to the State Government, Jovanović stated explicitly that her artistic

7 For more information on women's social position, see Paćuka (2019: 48–53).

8 The attitude of the authorities towards travelling groups was restrictive, requiring musicians to obtain official work permits from the State Government. The validity period of the permit was 3 or 6 months, after which a new permit had to be requested. The rules that had to be fulfilled were strict, and the permits were granted only for limited areas. If musicians wanted to perform in another city or area within Bosnia and Herzegovina, they had to inform the State Government and wait for a permit to be issued. To receive concessions, they had to pledge that their activities would not be directed against the interests of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

productions, which included acting and singing, would "comply fully with the orders and regulations" of the State Government for Bosnia and Herzegovina (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine 1906: šf. 22–237). This and similar request lead us to conclude that the nature and content of performances were reviewed strictly against compliance with the general cultural policy of Austria-Hungary in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and had to be devoid of any national or other socio-political connotations.

Although independent performances were part of the musical practice of Sarajevo cafés, even more frequently girls and women performed in chamber ensembles, which were usually accompanied by a male member. An illustrative example is the case of cymbalist Irena Genée, who together with violinist J. Reyam interpreted fashionable waltzes and polkas at the Café Marienhof on Wednesdays, starting from October 1919 (NN 1910: 5). Although artistic performances like this had their audience and admirers, they were only an ephemeral phenomenon for the Sarajevo musical stage, whereas more lasting and serious activity was performed by women's singing and instrumental ensembles.

Performances by women's ensembles in Sarajevo were most frequent in the period of 1905–1918. The popularity of these ensembles is supported by sources showing that all important cafés in the city (the *Kaiser Krone*, *Café Grum Hoff*, *Café Lohner*, *Café Abbazia*, *Hotel Evropa* and *Café Marienhof*) hired women's ensembles for a longer period, which evidently contributed to the flourishing café business. Generally, the internal organisation and programme selection of the ensembles stationed in Sarajevo did not differ greatly from ensembles around Europe in the late 19th and early 20th century. As a rule, these travelling/visiting ensembles and the person managing them had to request a work permit from the State Government. Ensembles were most often led by men, addressed as *Kapellmeister*, bandmaster or director, and their main duty was to ensure regular performances, rehearsals, finance and accommodation for the entire ensemble (Kaufmann 1997: 303–317). It was quite common for ensembles to consist of or include members of the same family, while the Kapellmeister was usually the husband or a relative of one of the members. An illustrative example was the musical ensemble Černý, led by Czech Kapellmeister Josef Černý, a relative of ensemble members Katarina and Ana Černý (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, ZVS 1908: šf. 21 21/350). This ensemble performed successfully at the *Kaiser Krone* during 1908, which was proven by the regular announcements of the owner Franjo Poznić in the daily press about the activities of the women's ensemble and news related to the café.

Figure 1: *Newspaper announcement for the Černý ensemble*

Source: NN (1908: 4).

Nevertheless, there were also exceptions to this rule, and in certain situations women could led their ensembles. Usually, they were the widows, sisters or daughters, who would take care of the ensemble after the death of the Kapellmeister. In this context, women were viewed as legitimate female successors of the family business, which they would take over unless there were close male relatives. However, it is interesting that Sarajevo's *a la franca* cafés showed certain deviations in this regard, and some of female members were not always in the closest kinship. In this sense, an interesting request was sent to the State Government by Kapellmeister Marija Vrbicka from Žiželice in Bohemia, whose ensemble included Božena Kosova, Marija and Milada Junkert, Emilija Mič, Emilija Jerabek, Ludvika Pešek and Ferdinand Hanzlik. The ensemble performed in Sarajevo in 1907/1908–1912 (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, ZVS 1908: Materie, šf. 21 21/6). With regard to the programme orientation of ensembles and the nature of musical production, it is evident that the repertoires covered a wide range of genres, from *Schrammelmusik* and light music to arrangements of more demanding musical pieces by famous European composers.

The first two groups were the most frequent repertoire choice of ensembles, so a trend emerged among Sarajevans of that time to visit cafés where Schrammelmusik was performed.[9] Female Schrammel ensembles in Sarajevo were particularly popular among settlers of Austrian origin, who enjoyed the sound of Viennese tunes interwoven with folk elements. Fans of this type of musical expression could listen to them in places like Café Lohner, where concerts of this genre were held every day (NN 1912a: 6) The *Damen Schrammel Quartet* had a series of remarkable performances, and according to newspaper articles would entertain patrons with an excellent selection of Schrammel melodies performed at a praiseworthy interpretative level (NN 1912b: 7).

However, most female ensembles performing in the city were known for lighter, tuneful and less complicated musical programmes, which were popular among Sarajevans and followed the main substance of Biedermeier in terms of content. In most cases, these were pieces by European composers that were popular at the time but are now forgotten, arranged for

9 The genre Schrammelmusik was developed by brothers Johann and Josef Schrammel, who in the second half of the 19th century, together with George Dänzer and Anton Strohmayer, established an instrumental ensemble (two violins, contraguitar and clarinet) with the aim of creating a unique musical genre inspired by the richness of Viennese folk music. Viennese dances, such as waltzes and polkas, inspired the Schrammel brothers to create authentic melodies whose popularity grew steadily at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The music created by the two brothers and the other members of the ensemble soon got the name Schrammelmusik, which also became a synonym for simple and tuneful melodies derived from folk (Globetrotter 2019).

singing or purely instrumental, depending on the performing ensemble. As such repertoire selection made up the largest part of the musical practice of cafés, all significant cafés had their permanent female ensembles, who performed regular concerts to entertain their patrons. In this sense the following ensembles were particularly respected: Černy, *Elvira*, *Biró*, *Vienna female ensemble Wirth*, *Wiener Elite-Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich*, *Symphonie Damenkapelle* and *Bettina*.[10] Although these ensembles enjoyed significant popularity among city circles, *Wiener Elite-Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich*, which played the Marienhof in 1913 and 1914, attracted attention in particular from the cultural and artistic public at that time. Led by Rudolf Hans Dietrich[11] and his wife, the band toured Europe, including fashionable resorts like Nice, where Dietrich's operetta *The Carnival in Nice* premiered in 1908. With a repertoire focused on pieces by its Kapellmeister and by European masters such as Richard Wagner, Ruggiero Leoncavallo, Giacomo Puccini, Giuseppe Verdi, Charles Gounod and Johann Sebastian Bach, the ensemble soon earned the appreciation of local artists—mostly amateur composers focusing on popular musical genres, military band directors in Sarajevo, as well as a few professional artists who were prominent on the musical scene at that time.

10 According to available sources in the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina and periodicals, other less noticeable ensembles also performed in Sarajevo's *a la franca* cafés during the time of Austro-Hungarian rule, such as the Female Ensemble G. Brih (1905), the Female Tambura Ensemble Rohrbaher (1911) and the Vienna Female Ensemble Schierer (1918).

11 Rudolf Hans Dietrich (Vienna, 9 December 1880–Vienna, 24 November 1940) was an Austrian composer and publisher. He completed studies at the Vienna Conservatory, and served as the first President of the Association for the Promotion of Viennese Folk Art, and was an active member of a Kapellmeister association. His prominent pieces include: Ein Wiener Fiaker (Singspiel), Der Carneval in Nizza (operetta), Wiener Volkskunstmarsch, Frühauf-Marsch (marches) (Musiklexion 2019).

Figure 2: *Wiener Elite-Damenorchester*

Source: NN (1925)

According to Risto Pekka Pennanen (2016: 117), the ensemble performed at the Marienhof in 1913 pieces by Commissioner Ferdinand Warmersperger[12], a singer and member of the *Männergesangverein*, stationed in Sarajevo from as early as 1880. Those songs by Warmersperger's that were performed included: *Valse Charles, Krondorfer Marsch, Ernst Marsch*, which he dedicated to Marienhof owner Ernest Ružić (Pennanen 2016: 10), and *Gavotte*, which was inspired by the artistic work of Kapellmeister Tony Dietrich (NN 1914a: 4). In fact, the ensemble, which played the Marienhof every day, differed from others by including in its repertoire pieces by local composers and directors, such as Christoph Fuchs[13]. The move was very well received by the audience and musical professionals, who, noticing that R.H. Dietrich were performing local authors' composi-

12 Ferdinand Warmersperger was the second choirmaster of the Männergesangverein in 1915–1918, and he often participated in the group's concerts, singing pieces from famous operas or *Liedertafel* songs (Paćuka 2014: 100, 103).

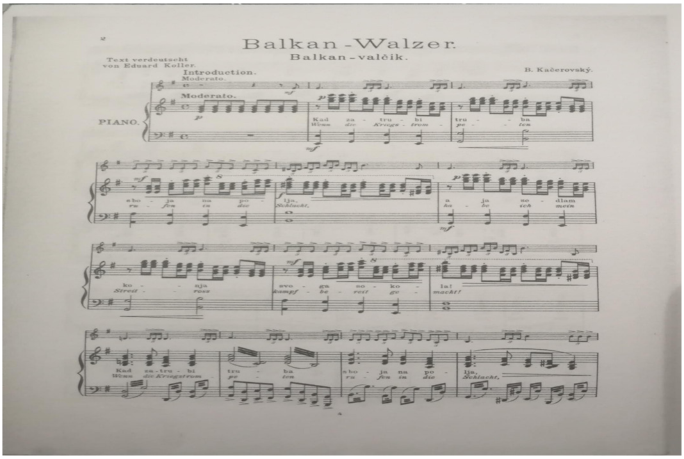
13 Christoph Fuchs was the director of the military orchestra of the 90th Infantry Regiment (Paćuka 2014: 172; NN 1914b: 3).

tions, also started to dedicate their own pieces to the ensemble. In this sense, military band director Josip Chladek Bohinjski[14] composed in 1914 the concert waltz *Ohne Lieb' kein Leben* specifically for the ensemble, and it was performed together with Warmersperger's *Krondorfer Marsch* at one of the concerts held at the Marienhof (NN 1914c: 4). These efforts, which received great approval from the local press, culminated after *Balkanski valčik* by Bogomir Kačerovský[15], originally written for voice and piano, which was included in the ensemble's repertoire (NN 1914d: 4). By including Kačerovsky's composition (published in the edition of Jaromir Studnička) in their concerts, the Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich demonstrated that they were invested in the local musical scene. Moreover, this was a way for the ensemble to support the local composers, helping their pieces reach a wider audience.

14 Josip Chladek Bohinjski (Jesenice/Brežice, 4 February 1879–Maribor, 7 February 1940) worked in Sarajevo as the director of the orchestra of the 22nd Infantry Regiment from 1914 to 1918. Apart from his success as a conductor, Chladek also proved himself as an educator, teaching music and singing at the Great Gymnasium Sarajevo from 1919 to 1923, after which he was transferred to Banja Luka (Paćuka 2016: 18–19; Špendal 1974: 142).

15 Bogomir Kačerovský was born in Litomyšl (Bohemia) on 7 November 1873. When he was two years old, his family moved to Croatia (Petrinja), where he spent his childhood and completed his primary education. There he attended the King's Teacher Training School (1889–1893), after which he moved to Zagreb to obtain a degree in music teaching and singing from the Croatian Music Institute (1896). After finishing his studies, he worked as a primary school music teacher in Cerovac (1893), Nova Gradiška (1896) and then Sarajevo, where he moved to in 1898. In the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kačerovský engaged in rich artistic and pedagogical activity, teaching music subjects at the Teacher Training School and the Great Gymnasium, where he also led the school choirs and orchestras. Apart from his pedagogical achievements, Kačerovský also achieved success on an artistic level, acting as a reputable Kapellmeister of *Trebević*. He stayed in Sarajevo until 1917, when he moved to Zagreb, where he remained until hi death in 1945 (Milić 1998: 20–21; Paćuka 2014: 252; Hadžić 2009: 159–163).

Figure 3: *Balkanski valčik, Bogomir Kačerovský*



Source: Historijski arhiv Sarajevo (O-FM-18)

After the acclaimed Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich, Café Marienhof hosted another female ensemble whose activity left a mark on the popular music scene of Austro-Hungarian Sarajevo. The ensemble *Bettina* was active in the midst of World War I, from 1915 to 1918 to be precise. Since the ensemble was comprised of women, who were not subject to mobilisation, they were able to perform regularly in the war-afflicted Sarajevo, enjoying significant popularity, while the press reported that all the seats were filled at their concerts. Bettina was one of the rare ensembles that stayed together during World War I. They were acclaimed for quality programmes including arrangements of masterpieces by well-known European composers. Moreover, the ensemble organised a series of opera nights, which featured performances of instrumental pieces and arrangements of the most famous arias composed by the likes of Giuseppe Verdi, Felix Mendelssohn, Giacomo Meyerbeer, Gaetano Donizetti, Gioachino Rossini, Pietro Mascagni and Bedřich Smetana.[16] In

16 The full programme of one of the opera nights was: "1. Hochzeitsmarsch aus 'Sommernachstraum' von Mendelssohn. 2. Fantasie aus der

1918, Bettina held numerous successful theme evenings, including one dedicated to Verdi's opus, where the following segments from the composer's most significant operas were played:

> I. Szene und Quinttet aus der Oper "Maskenball"; II. Troubadour-Fantasie aus der gleichnamingen Oper; III. Ouverture zur Oper "Nabucco"; IV. Fantasie aus der Oper "Traviata"; V. Fantasie aus der Oper "Rigoletto": VI. Fantasie aus der Oper "Aida" (NN 1918b: 5).

The mentioned programmes made up only part of the rich musical activity of Bettina and other female ensembles that performed in Sarajevo. Their popularity was a phenomenon related to the socio-cultural circumstances of that time, burdened with social roles and gender divisions. However, the pro-European spirit, for which the appearance of female artists on the concert stages of cafés had already been witnessed since the 18th century, made an unquestionable impact on the circumstances of musical life in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In fact, the musical practice of *a la franca* cafés evolved over time into centres fostering popular genres of Western European musical culture, where women were the focus as the main bearers of musical expression oriented towards popular and tuneful melodies appropriate for bourgeois and working-class circles, as well as for their understanding of musical art.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the context of the socio-cultural and musical life of Bosnia and Herzegovina, performances of professional female artists in Sarajevo's *a la franca* cafés were a new form of music consumption

Oper 'Traviata' von Verdi. 3. 'Maritana' Ouverture von Wallace. 4. a) Szene und Quintett aus der Oper 'Maskenball' von Verdi; b) Gnaden-Arie aus der Oper 'Robert der Teufel' von Meyerbeer. 5. Fantasie aus der Oper 'Regimentstochter' von Donizetti. 6. Ouverture aus der Oper 'Barbier von Sevilla' von Rossini. 7. Intermezzo aus 'Cavaleria Rusticana' von Mascagni; Sextett aus 'Verkaufte Braut' von Smetana. 8. Fantasie aus 'Bohéme' von Puccini" (NN 1918a: 5).

brought into being by the Austro-Hungarian takeover. Making a living as professional female artists in a country which at the turn of the 20th century was at the crossroads between East and West – marking its turn in orientation towards pro-European standards – women did ultimately succeed in earning their own place in the labour market, which, in spite of strict social norms, recognised them as professional female artists. Although they were mostly female settlers performing for different social classes (workers, merchants, administrative staff, soldiers or members of the upper class), their artistic expression significantly enriched the concert and musical scene of the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina—and in a way that had not been practiced in the daily musical life of Sarajevo. Performing on concert stages independently or as part of female ensembles, female artists sang and played famous melodies that brought the musical practice of Western Europe closer to the broader population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their reception was also significant, and many ensembles (e.g. Bettina, Damenorchester R.H. Dietrich) were treated as local stars. At the same time, it also changed the perception of women's role on the concert stage, demonstrating that in certain segments of musical activity they could be equal to men. This opened a completely new chapter in the history of music in Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a focus on valuing professional female artists and their place in the development of musical life.

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SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

RETURN OF SERBIAN CHANT TO BYZANTINE TRADITION

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The article examines the specific phenomenon of the return of Serbian Orthodox Church music to Byzantine chant in the turbulent period of the early 1990s. The framework for the study is an analysis of a unique movement among younger generations of Serbian believers for the revival of ecclesiastical heritage in church art, particularly music. This paper highlights: (1) the reasons behind a deep spiritual crisis that preceded affirmation of Byzantine chant, (2) (in)correct perceptions of Eastern Christian tradition and heritage among Serbs actively engaged in the liturgical life of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the 1990s, and (3) some pros and cons of the unique musical tradition of the Eastern Church and the national variants of church singing, such as the Serbian church chant. The article concludes that even in today's circumstances, the Orthodox Serbs who ground their national identity in Eastern Christian/ Byzantine religious heritage regardless of the existing borders of the Serbian state – have a reason to consider themselves a part of Byzantine and Mediterranean Europe.

Key words: church chant, Byzantium, Serbian Orthodox Church, national and spiritual identity, sacred tradition

INTRODUCTION

In complex social and political circumstances following the break-up of Yugoslavia in the early 1990s, it appeared logical that Serbian people felt a sort of imperative to turn to the past and research their history. As it could be expected, the leading figures of the nation entangled in war conflicts used this for different platforms and with various methods and agendas. Revitalisation of tradition(s) also became evident in several domains. The categories of opposites that could not be avoided at such a time – eternal vs transient, national out of conviction vs national out of interest – also led to a more intensive search for spiritual identity. In combination with the need to find its place again and/or (re)define the collective spiritual identity of the Serbian nation in that period, a particularly notable trend emerged in a form of more intensive religious identification of the younger generation of Serbs with Orthodox Christianity. Despite growing up in the Yugoslav reality, most young people were fully aware of the inevitability of the collapse of previously valid Yugoslav ideals, many of which were artificially imposed and hardly or not at all achievable. Standpoints relying on historically attested values of the Serbian church, as well as on newly discovered answers to existential and ontological dilemmas, drew the attention of many young people in Serbia to Orthodoxy. Those who dedicated the focus of their being to liturgical life strove to reach the deepest values of ecclesiastical tradition, which resulted in the specific revival of church art—painting, architecture and also music. This article focuses primarily on the revival of the ancient Byzantine chant in the liturgical life of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the early 1990s. It presents the reasons for a deep spiritual crisis that preceded the affirmation of the traditional Byzantine chant. Moreover, it reveals the (in)correct perceptions of Eastern Christian tradition and ecclesiastical heritage among Serbs actively engaged in the Serbian Orthodox Church in the 1990s. It also presents some pros and cons of the unique musical tradition of the Eastern Church and the national variants of church singing, such as the Serbian church chant.

THEORETICAL-CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

The "case" of the Serbian return to its "national", that is Orthodoxy as a striking and highly provocative religion, was directly related to the research of one's heritage, but also included facing the falsehoods and half-truths associated with it in the previous decades. Existing sociological and anthropological research testifies to different aspects of manifestations of this "new" religiousness and declared religious affiliation among Serbian population at the end of the previous century, but also to contrasting forms of religious nominalism, pastoral needs and expectations, more expressed through equating religious and national sentiments, a (lack of) social engagement of the Serbian Orthodox Church, as well as its political instrumentalisation, and so on. A theological discourse – although essential to most issues pertaining to sociological observation – was either missing or highly disputable, if not outright false. The situation was similar with research related to the new-old phenomena in the spheres of church architecture at the turn of the millennium: fresco and icon painting, religion-inspired fine arts, as well as church and art music whose creators turned to the characteristic Eastern Christian melodic tradition, or were inspired by motifs from the national history. Regardless of whether avoiding the theological approach and not using its findings in the scientific sphere may be justified in one-sided and single-discipline research of phenomena related to the Serbian church, it is undeniable that, even with all the evident changes in the social reality, theology has remained inferior in the Serbian academic scene, having been suppressed in Serbia and Yugoslavia since World War II due to the rise of communist ideology and later under socialism. As in previous decades, a prevalent view is that exploring/researching Serbian medieval history – which is inextricably linked to the history of the Orthodox Church – as well as the Church's mission, its status in contemporary society, politics and culture, church art in general, both in the past and present, does not require scholars to be acquainted even with the basic postulates of Orthodox Christianity. Moreover, invoking Orthodox dogmatic and ethical principles and exposing mystagogical familiarity is disqualified as the influence of "private and personal affiliation, which should not interfere with the scientific principles" (Pavićević 2009: 1414).

Taking liturgical and dogmatic aspects into consideration proves to be necessary particularly when interpreting the reception of artistic forms and practices in liturgical music that expressed a strong link to "Byzantinism" at the turbulent turn of the millennium.[1] This multi-layered paradigm, upon which Serbian culture was shaped in the distant past, gained relevance again in the observed period, although one could say its influence on modern Serbian culture never completely disappeared. It is important to note that the second half of the 20th century was marked in turn by distancing from the Byzantine legacy and return to Byzantine models. In the period between WWII and the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the revitalisation of the "Golden Age" was mostly suppressed and marginalised on Serbian territory. The motto "down with the past", as a tool of Communist ideology, had an impact on the entire Yugoslav entire culture policy. Any turn to the past, especially to the Middle Ages and medieval mysticism, was strictly condemned in public discourse

1 Despite the well-known and justifiable reasons that link Byzantium and anything Byzantine to a historically common strategy of *damnatio memoriae* (erasure of memory; Petrović 2013) and a whole range of other negative connotations, this paper will use this as an imposed and inevitable convention that has been accepted by scholars. Moreover, we are deeply convinced that the renaming of the Eastern Roman Empire as Byzantium enabled the introduction of the "second" history which attributes to Eastern Roman rulers a geopolitically and culturally inferior influence, which represented, in the course of its millennium-long lifetime and in the least negative interpretation, a "gloomy epilogue to the glorious Roman past". From Hieronymus Wolf, who used the term Byzantium in the title of his 16th-century collection of documents *Corpus Historiae Byzantinae*, and French King Luis XIV, under whose patronage scholars analysed and elaborated Wolf's collection in the late 17th century into a 34-volume history of Byzantium in Latin and Greek, and all the way to later Western interpreters of Roman history such as Edward Gibbon, the tendency is to equate Byzantinism with obscurantism, conservatism and barbarianism (Geanakoplos 2003: 333–350).

(Đilas 1948: 34–35). Historically based patriotism, which glorified the past, was considered backward and churchly, while national liberation based patriotism, aimed at the national struggle and independence, was the only right and respectable cult. Research into the positions of the church and its hierarchs in Serbian history presented publicly in writing or orally during the communist and socialist period has not yet been conducted. However, it is clear that only since the 1980s have individual bishops been speaking more openly of the Byzantine roots of Serbian religious identity.

ANALYSIS

An evident turn towards Byzantium and the Middle Ages in Serbia can be noticed in different artistic domains directly before 1989. The year marked an important anniversary that mobilised the entire Serbian public scene, from the political to the church and the cultural, and stirred long suppressed national emotions. This was the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo between the Serbian-led Christian army and the invading Ottomans. On this occasion, the earthly remains of Great Martyr Lazar, Prince of Serbia, who led the Serbian army in the battle, were returned from Vrdnik Monastery in northern Serbia to the Ravanica Monastery, which he himself had built as his resting place. The main celebration was organised at Gazimestan, the site of the battle. This important national event along with the continuation of the construction of St. Sava Memorial Temple in Belgrade which took place in 1984 set off a wave of interest in medieval Serbian and Byzantine legacy, and has become a direct and indirect inspiration for the creative work of numerous Serbian artists (Vesić and Peno 2020).

In the early 1990s, a group of mostly newly baptised young believers (neophytes) in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia, strove for a special, liturgically and theologically articulated perception of the Byzantine model, on which the medieval Serbian national culture was shaped. The protagonists of this movement, wishing for a return to the original roots of church art, came from different walks of life but were mainly artists and well-educated young people, mostly born in Belgrade (J. Jovanović 2011: 189). They came together on their own initiative, without official institutional support from the Serbian church, which was based on a shared need to build their own spiritual identity on the original teachings of the Orthodox Church. The rebirth of interest in religious truths followed, as a natural consequence, of the deep spiritual crisis that had been present in the Serbian society for a long time. Losing the stability of previous values also brought about a quest for what was labelled in church practice as tradition. An encounter with patristic literature and experiences taken from the liturgical practices of other local churches, particularly those in the Balkans, allowed the younger generation of Serbian theologians and believers to name more freely the factors of distortion and deviation from the Orthodox sacred tradition.

The return to the thought of Holy Fathers, which freed Orthodox theology from the rigid academic theological system[2], also initiated an exploration of/into forgotten liturgical traditions, both in terms of liturgy as well as in overall – conditionally speaking – liturgical externalities: hymnography, visual art and singing. Immediately before and especially during the extremely tense social conditions, the abovementioned community of young believers launched the restoration of traditional techniques of painting frescoes and icons (Mitrović 2014: 87–103), as well as church chanting. In respect to chanting, their role models were Athonite monks,[3] whose tradition

2 Florovsky characterised the influences of Western scholasticism on the Orthodox theological system, which were present since the 16th century, as the "Babylonian captivity" of the Orthodox Church. Already then did the foundations on which the Church stood diverged: theology—the law of faith (*lex credendi*) and liturgy—the law of prayer (*lex orandi*) (Cf. Florovsky 1997: 107, 64; Γιανναρά 1992: 96).

3 Apart from a series of different audio materials available, the first monographic study on Vikentije, monk, scribe and chanter from the Hilandar Monastery, was published in 2003, with facsimiles of his calligraphic neumatic manuscripts (*cf.* Peno 2003).

emerged from the late Byzantine musical legacy, and was systematised into a stable theoretical and neumatic notation system in the first decades of the 19th century. This reform referred mainly to the simplification of neumes, which were then used to re-transcribe traditional melodies, but it also included the standardisation of an eight-mode (*octoechos*) scale system and rhythm. In all other local Orthodox churches in the Balkans, except the Serbian church, this type of chant was used in the church services. Ethnophyletistic temptations, which marked the history of local churches in the Balkans during and after the Ottoman rule and brought an aversion for the Hellenic element, and especially a generally low Serbian interest in cultivating the art of chanting were the two main reasons why Serbian chanters of the 19th century did not adopt the reformed neumatic notation. However, the monophonic chant they used at the time, and which started being transcribed in the European staff notation in the mid-19th century, also stemmed from the unique late Byzantine chant. Except for a different language, it had no unique characteristic features that would be originally Serbian. Despite numerous testimonies of various problems in chanting practice, the stereotype of an original and exceptionally beautiful Serbian national tradition of church music spread, without much grounding in reality, and has remained in effect to this day. From the middle of the 19th century, the first educated Serbian musicians started harmonising traditional monophonic tunes on the European basis, creating a repertory of multipart church music, which over time gained equal status in Serbian liturgy to the traditional chants (Peno 2016: 87–150).

It is evident that the singing in the churches of the Serbian capital – and even more so in smaller communities – did not meet the aesthetic criteria nor the spiritual needs of the worshippers who took the initiative to start a revival of Byzantine/medieval Serbian art, religious fine arts and chanting. Deeply aware of the fact that affiliation with the Orthodox Church entailed an identity that is not limited by any biological, social, cultural or other conditions, they tied their interests in the field of music to the Balkan and more broadly speaking the Eastern musical tradition. It was there that they recognised the continuity of common elements from the time of Byzantium during the Ottoman period and up to the present (Todorova 2006: 310; 339; 342). The unique melodic feel of this music led workshippers to the exploration of both religious and secular melodies. On these grounds, they had no doubt as to whether it was appropriate for Serbian liturgical needs to adapt Greek or Bulgarian sources, which they used in chanting at first. The "Byzantines" – as they often referred to themselves and as they were pejoratively named by those opposing any change in the established music practice – used the same method as the rest of the Orthodox nations or communities of Orthodox denomination in other nations of the world, where renaissance of Byzantium in church chanting can be observed in recent times. In other words, just as Russians, who have a long independent chant tradition, have no issue with adapting melodies from contemporary Greek neumatic chant collections to Church Slavonic, the same has been done by minority Orthodox communities in Western Europe, including Finland, France, Germany, and so on (Olkinuora 2011: 133–146).

By analogy of the established use both in colloquial speech and scholarly discourse throughout the modern Orthodox world, the Serbian "reformers" also used the term Byzantine for the chant, the inclusion of which they strove for in Serbian liturgy. In respect of historical and artistic legacy, the attribute "Byzantine" has two meanings: first, relating to the Byzantine Empire, and second, the characteristics that distinguish the religious creative heritage of Byzantium – since it was not Byzantium that created the Orthodoxy, but rather vice-versa since the Orthodox religion had been its cornerstone for ages (Meyendorff 1982: 9). This concept, although questionable from scientific perspective in many aspects, bears legitimacy in the liturgical context. The practice of church chanting does not become petrified, nor is it static. It is primarily cultivated through oral tradition, and is marked by extraordinary dynamism, characteristic of the unchangeable yet always new course of church services. Therefore, the term "Byzantine" can be used as a synonym for "church" chant, or the singing that may find its place in the church in accordance with the criteria of liturgical dogma (Στάθης 1972:

389–438). With ecclesiastical connotations, neume chanting also became known among Serbian chanters of the 1990s as "traditional", with the term referring to the sacred tradition, both ancient and more recent, but it was also an eschatological ideal, serving in the liturgy in the present as a reflection of the world to come.

Although its limited reach meant it could never be a threat to the established liturgical music of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the resonance of the Byzantine revival was met with a great backlash from certain clerics and laymen.[4] The decisive reasons against the new-old type of chanting were and remain emotional aesthetic preferences and ethnophyletism. To justify the exclusive use of the official "Serbian" liturgical music – although in practice it had been in serious crisis for two centuries if not more (Peno 2012: 167–181) – non-scientific interpretations of historical data were used, along with value judgements derived from them. Moreover, personal musical taste and habits, but above all national sentiments, prevailed in statements against the so-called Greek chant, which was presented as an opponent to Serbian liturgical tradition. To make the paradox even greater, comparative analyses of melodies from Greek neumatic collections from the late 19th century with analogous Serbian melodies in five-line staves have shown a high level of similarity, with the differences between them mainly originating from the very nature of the two notation systems – the possibility of indicating different sizes of the so-called natural intervals in neumes, while they cannot be articulated as clearly in staff notation, which is based on tempered tuning (Peno 2008: 101–125). Furthermore, it is worth noting that Russian influence – particularly present in choral liturgical literature performed in

4 A notable number of Byzantines chose monastic life, so they transferred their chanting experience to others in the monasteries where they lived. Byzantine chant is actively cultivated in a few monasteries in Serbia and Montenegro, where a great majority of Orthodox churchgoers belong to the Serbian Orthodox Church (only a fraction of them have declared their affiliation with the noncanonical and unrecognised Montenegrin Orthodox Church).

churches that have their own choirs – was in no way seen as problematic, unlike the post-Byzantine and pan-Balkan ones.

In an effort to minimise the continuity of the Eastern chanting tradition – from Byzantine to post-Byzantine and modern Greek, but also Bulgarian, Romanian and the singing practices of Arab Orthodox Christians and other nations – the supporters of the national Serbian musical tradition linked each and every melody written down in the 19th-century reformed neumatic notation exclusively to the present-day Greek church. In this way, they proved persistent in their aversion to their Hellenic Orthodox brothers that Serbs had felt for centuries preceding the formation of their own nation state. Namely, the complicated and problematic relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople and its exponents under the Ottoman rule, the Phanariot bishops, was long used as justification for opposing Orthodox Greeks. Although the jurisdiction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople was non-canonically forced on other Orthodox nations, including the Bulgarians, in the same way, the negative experience had become deeply ingrained in the Serbian ecclesiastic memory. In the case of music it became the justification for the demonstration of individuality within the universal body of the Orthodox Church (Šmeman 2007: 482).

Referring to long outdated scholarly theses, the opponents to the revival of Byzantine chant most commonly emphasized oriental musical influence that allegedly changed the ethos of post-Byzantine chanting and severed the link it had with the original Byzantine musical style. This was an interpretation disseminated at the beginning of the 20th century by pioneers of Byzantine musicology in the West (Peno 2011b; 2015). Even though the modern musicology has solved many of the problems regarding methodological approaches and overcome the false interpretations of the oriental character of post-Byzantine tradition, Serbian opponents to Byzantine chant until recently continued to reiterate irrelevant information about the supposedly oriental characteristics of Eastern Christian chant (chromatic elements, melisma, nasal singing, etc.) in close scholarly circles and in different social fora. The ideological attitude also comes to light in the tendentious disregard of more recent scientific findings that do not fit the preselected concept on the one hand, and one the other, one-sidedly highlights the research that played the preservation of Serbian national identity at the heart of singing ahead of scientific truths. Moreover, questioning the deeply rooted opinions is seen as dangerous, unpopular, and is often even anathemised.

The said emotional and nationalistic pathos, and the psychological criteria of personal preference, were accompanied by referring to the "national", that is Serbian, hallmarks when assessing the appropriateness of one and inappropriateness of the other type of musical expression in the services of the Serbian Orthodox Church.[5] Attributing the role of creator of a particular kind of church singing to the nation was part of the national ideology of the 19th century, which entire Serbian art had to serve (Peno and Vesić 2016: 135–136). The romantic national zeal of that age was accompanied by a tendency to equate national and religious expression, "so that Orthodoxy became a national rather than theological category" (M. Jovanović 1987: 148). The expression of the national soul and religious feelings of the Serbian nation were declared by contemporary missionaries of nationalism as criteria under which "Byzantine" music had no place under the arches of Serbian churches. Here, it is important to stress that they absolutely ignored the scientifically proven fact that the "national", Serbian church chanting only lost its original Byzantine character in the second half of the 19th century in a process by which – in accordance with Europeanised aesthetic criteria – it was "purified" of all oriental (i.e. Byzantine) melodic ornaments that were "superfluous" and "distasteful", or even "repugnant". These are the precise adjectives used by the most renowned Serbian composer and church chant transcriber of the second half of the 19th century, Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, when describing his process of writing

5 Some archpriests of the Serbian church even banned the use of "Greek" chanting in liturgy in their dioceses. However, unlike Byzantine chant, Byzantine legacy in icons and frescoes is well established in the Serbian church, and is not met with any resistance or shock.

down the melodies without the ornaments and effects he could hear from chanters of his era (Stojanović Mokranjac 1908: 10–11). Thus, we can see that the Eastern musical element/feel had to be forcefully removed from the traditional chanting in the Serbian Church so that a new tradition could be formed in accordance with the European musical taste under the label of "Serbian national tradition", which would grant it the official legitimacy of originality and antiquity. This is how idealisation of the past led to the scholarly affirmation of a stylised history of Serbian church music, where romantic stereotypes of the tradition's originality were cemented as axiomatic (Peno 2016: 16–17; 161–164).

CONCLUSIONS

Like history, culture in general, including Serbian church art, fell victim to different discontinuities (Palavestra 1982: 10–11), ideologies and canons, forced or self-imposed devaluation, insufficient preservation, marginalisation and inappropriate channelling of the specificities of its own identity (Jovanović, 2011: 33). Both the distant and recent Serbian past have been subject to divergences from valuations and interpretations, as well as to the creation of "new memory" and a self-imposed strategy of erasure from memory (*damnatio memoriae*). The described attitude of the defenders of Serbian national monophonic chant, who, at the same time, opposed the Byzantine chant, reflects an uprooting from the Orthodox background. And it is precisely this background that ensures an objective perception of the past, free from all aspects of social and cultural conditionality, along with giving content and meaning to the Orthodox heritage as a sacred tradition (Šmeman 1997: 13). The complex role of sacred tradition in the history of Christianity, including the Orthodox Church, is already evident from numerous texts by Church Fathers. One of its definitions could be that sacred tradition is the continuity of the unique ethos of the Church that is based on the foundations of the Orthodox faith. The unique sacred tradition of the Church represents the main hermeneutical principle and method with which anything in church life, and also church art, is to be approached. Orthodoxy has a long history, and history is a channel of transferring sacred tradition, the continuity and identity of the "one, holy, catholic and apostolic Church" (Florovsky 1993: 59). Nevertheless, tradition is not limited to the past, nor is the past its content. The eschatological perspective, the view in light of the "age the come", articulates the difference between what has proved in the past (in tradition) to be successful and in harmony with the Christian ideal, and what has proved to be a failure (in the original sense of the Greek word αμαρτία, i.e. "sin") or deviation from the Christian ideal.

Numerous and diverse are the reasons that affected the spiritual aspect of modern Serbian history and its divergence from the Christian tradition. "The spiritual thread is systematically (voluntarily) uprooted, and it is short-sightedly or insultingly directed" (Popović 1988: 21). Bearing in mind that already at the time of the birth of the Serbian nation state in the first half of the 19th century reviving elements from the past and sacred tradition were viewed among Serbs as a "sign of empty traditionalism and backward provincialism" (Cvijić 1991: 391),[6] it is not surprising that today part of the Serbian nation is intensively searching for its place on the European map, not remembering its spiritual foundations, or even fearing them.[7] The other part of Serbs whose Orthodox identity ensures enthusiasm for artistic research of the past even in the times of crisis, and who judge their lives and the life of their nation through the lens of sacred tradition, protect the positive memory of Byzantium and

6 Renowned scholar Jovan Cvijić wrote in 1907 how some of his influential Serbian contemporaries were mocking Serbian patriotism, considering it a lower-order emotion.

7 It is very illustrative to take a look at the results of a psychological study of the attitudes of Serbian students to Byzantium and Byzantine culture conducted in the 1990s. It established that most students had a negative attitude towards Byzantium, even if they could not explain the reasons for their views. Moreover, none of the respondents confirmed the link between the Serbian and Byzantine cultures (Panić 1993: 255–265)

the reality of the world to come to which it aspired. Such Serbs have no problem belonging to "Byzantine Europe".[8] Through this Byzantine link, they also belong to the Mediterranean, regardless of the newest geographical borders.[9] In the rich civilizational legacy of the Byzantine commonwealth nations, as well as in their own national heritage, they will discover their benefits time and again.

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8 According to certain analysts of political and social relations in Eastern Europe, Byzantium continues to have some sort of political entity to this day. In this sense, there is talk of the "situation in Byzantine Europe" and "Byzantine countries of Eastern Europe" (Bakić-Hajden 2003: 80; Monti 2004: 45).

9 The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (shortened as FR Yugoslavia or simply Yugoslavia), comprising the Republic of Serbia (together with its two autonomous provinces Kosovo and Metohija, and Vojvodina) and the Republic of Montenegro, was formed in 1992, after the breakup of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. It started in 1991 with the secession of Slovenia and Croatia, followed by Macedonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, which led to the Yugoslav Wars (1991–1995). In 2003, the country was transformed into the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, until the parliament of Montenegro declared independence on 3 June 2006. The Republic of Serbia automatically became a separate state without direct access to the Adriatic Sea. This formally removed it from the list of Mediterranean countries (for questions on Mediterranean, see Bojinović Fenko 2015).

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SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

CROATIAN MUSICAL HERITAGE AS PART OF EURO-MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE: ART MUSIC INSTRUMENTS IN DALMATIAN MUSEUMS

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The article provides insight into musical sources, collections and instruments throughout the territory of Croatia today, and particularly in the historical province of Dalmatia. The aim is to discover new, previously completely unknown information about Dalmatian musical heritage, as well as European musical heritage preserved in Dalmatia, which testifies to the connection of Croatian musical sources to Central European and Mediterranean musical and cultural circles. Centred on instruments of art music preserved in Dalmatian museums, the research is a contribution to the evidence about the continuity of musical culture in the region. These instruments are a reflection of the rich and developed Dalmatian musical history, the complexity of which stems from a tradition of folk and sacred music that spans centuries and is permeated with various influences. On the other hand, they are evidence of close relations between Dalmatia and Europe, in the past and the present. This also highlights the relevance of the research presented here, in which instruments – as concrete results of intercultural interactions – have been analysed in a broader musicological and cultural context for the first time.

Key words: musical heritage, Dalmatia, Euro-Mediterranean culture, musical instruments, art music, Dalmatian museums

INTRODUCTION

When exploring the musical past, we often see that archival sources are all that we have left. Contemporary reading of sources should be a kind of dialogue between the past, historiography, and today's cultural context. "What? How? For whom? Why?" are just a few of the constant questions facing researchers trying to interpret the past, as well as in the attempt to preserve heritage and raise awareness of collective memory and identity (cf. Bojinović Fenko 2015; Cugnata 2018). "Only when the present becomes the past and the future becomes the present can we discern which is which," said American musicologist and music historian Richard Taruskin (1988: 157), referring to the fate of musical sources and artefacts (sheet music, books about music, musical instruments, etc.). When the archival dust has been brushed aside, these sources become part of contemporaneity, transforming themselves from historical facts into their aesthetical counterparts ("transhistoric"), adapted to the rules of "live music" and to the system of existing and living canons (Gligo 2002: 11–28). Delving into the complexity of those changes is the basic purpose of this research. Moreover, it attempts to revive and re-evaluate the musical traces of the past, provide them with a place in the present, and offer incentives for upgrading them in the future.

Like the divisions of the county itself, the music of Croatia was subject to two major influences: Central European, predominant in central and northern parts of the country, and Mediterranean, prevailing in the coastal regions of Dalmatia and Istria. The versatility of the musical culture of the broader Dalmatian area is a reflection of centuries of well-groomed and widely influenced folk, church and artistic musical performance. In order to clearly identify this complexity, it is necessary—besides recording and examining the spoken and live musical tradition—to collect and interpret the tangible musical heritage stored in churches, monasteries, museums, private or archival cultural institutions across the coast, which contain a large number of musical manuscripts and prints, as well as musical instruments and books about music that have been completely unexplored to date and are unknown to the public.

The focus of this paper will be on the representation of musical artefacts throughout the territory of Croatia today, and particularly in the historical province of Dalmatia. It will further analyse, as a case study, musical instruments kept in Dalmatian museums, aiming to discover new, previously completely unknown information about Dalmatian musical heritage, but also European musical heritage preserved in Dalmatia, which testifies to centuries of continuity of musical culture in the region and to the connection of Croatian musical sources to Central European and Mediterranean musical and cultural circles. As examples of intercultural interactions, instruments will be analysed in the broader cultural context of Croatian and European musical history.

From the historical perspective, the relations of Croats with other Western European and Mediterranean countries were prolific and diverse, displaying the cultural identity of a nation that has assimilated elements of different traditions, located at an intersection of many civilisational circles and influences. Exploring the cultural convergences of different geographical spheres and corridors, we will try to answer how the musical influences from the Euro-Mediterranean region interlaced with local features and individual endeavours, confirmed that by building a recognisable distinctiveness, and how Croats, as the "Bulwark of Europe" (Schiffler 2008: 262), have contributed to European spiritual communion.

HISTORICAL MUSICAL SOURCES AND ARCHIVES IN DALMATIA: THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

Historical musical archives in Dalmatia have been kept in dozens of different institutions, such as monastery and convent libraries of various Catholic orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, Benedictines), cathedral archives, parish churches' archives, collections kept in local museums, scientific libraries, general historical archives and in private collections. The most representative among them are: (a) the archives of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, which contain some 7,500 items belonging both to church music and secular music of the last period of the Dubrovnik Republic; (b) the archives of the Split Cathedral and the City Museum of Split. The Musical Archives of the Split Cathedral contain some 1,700 items of mostly church music used in the Cathedral and composed by local (e.g. Julije Bajamonti, Ante Alberti, Ivan Jeličić) and foreign (e.g. Benedetto Pellizzari) *maestri di cappella*. The rather small collection of the Split City Museum with some 200 items reflects mainly the musical tastes and practices of local patrician families, including a small collection of works by composers of the Mannheim school. These archives cover mostly late Baroque, Classicist, and early Romantic music, dating back to approximately between 1750 and 1850 (Tuksar 1992: 119–140). Along with Dalmatian and other Mediterranean (mostly Italian from all major regions) music, these archives also include Central European music (mostly works by Mozart, Haydn, Pleyel and some "Kleinmeister" music), mostly dated from the 1770s on. Despite the fact that a majority of the musical material preserved in Dubrovnik fonds is of Italian origin, we should emphasize that Dubrovnik was also a rare centre in the Croatian coastal area to which – through established diplomatic and commercial relations with countries other than Italy – music material from other sources obviously found its way, especially to noble families. The most well-known and versatile among them was the family Sorgo (Sorkočević), particularly composers Luka Sorgo (1734–1789) and his son Antun (1775–1841). These rare Croatian musicians of noble birth from the late 18th century, highly educated and erudite with an encyclopaedic interest, who owned copies of manuscripts and sheet music not only by Italian composers but also by Haydn, Glück and Mozart.

From known and preserved data, we must highlight another multifaceted scholar—Split's polymath and composer, Julije Bajamonti (1744–1800), one of the most erudite and progressive figures in Croatian history. With respect to his work, the networking and intertwining of Croatian–European cultural (and musical) relations were particularly intense. In Padua, where he obtained a doctorate in medicine in 1773 and probably continued his musical education by taking private lessons, Bajamonti had the opportunity to meet, hear, analyse and transcribe the valuable achievements of Italian and other composers, especially those from Germany (e.g. Pellizzari, Paisiello, Stamitz, Mozart, Glück), who essentially determined his own creative expression. He brought numerous scores from Italy, both his own, as well as transcripts and adaptations of other works, which prove that he was relatively up to date and fairly open to formal innovations that fluctuated on the western coast of the Adriatic.

The third important archival institution in Dalmatia storing a collection of musical materials are the State Archives of Zadar, founded in 1624 as the Archive of the Governor-General (Italian: *Archivio generalizio*) with the authority to care for the documents created in the office of the governor-general of Dalmatia. Only in the second half of the 19th century, when the scientific role of the Zadar Archives strengthened, were the first acquisitions of materials made that were not administrative or judicial and in which one could expect to find individual or groups of documents that contained scores and other sources for music history. Over time, the number of such documents and collections increased, so today many of the institution's items and collections containing sources for the history of music can be highlighted as most significant and best explored. At the end of this short review, we should also mention archives of significance on the island of Hvar: the Cathedral Archives and the Hvar Heritage Museum in Hvar, as well as the Archives of the Dominican Monastery in Stari Grad, which has a valuable and very extensive musical collection of about 421 archive units, including works by local composers (Josip Raffaelli, Ambro Novak) as well as prominent European counterparts (Bach, Händel, Haydn, Mozart, Verdi).

Apart from sheet music, there are also many books about music that provide strong evidence on the involvement of Croatian musical sources in European circles—for example Bajamonti's treatise *Il medico e la musica* published in Venice in 1796 as a contribution to the thesis about the connection between poetry, music and medicine, and his *Music dictionary*, the first encyclopaedically conceived dictionary of music compiled on native soil with its 300 entries from the fields of musical theory and organology (Tomić Ferić, 2013: 379–386). Moreover, different writings on music also reflected confrontations with encyclopaedist ideas, such as *Carmina. Satyra XXII: Musica* (Padua, 1816) by the conservative nobleman Junije Resti from Dubrovnik (Tuksar 1995: 167–179).

The last group of musical artefacts consists of musical instruments kept at various cultural institutions, mostly in museums, considered one of the key elements in studying musical culture of a particular region. Unfortunately, this very important type of musical artefact – at least from the musicological perspective – has not been studied systematically to date. The following chapters deal with the cultural, historical and social context of art music instruments preserved in Dalmatian museums, the importance of which goes beyond regional and national frameworks to a transnational level, far exceeding the borders of Croatia.

ANALYSIS: ART MUSIC INSTRUMENTS IN DALMATIAN MUSEUMS

Musical instruments that are now kept in museums were among the main preconditions of music-making at the time of their use. From the musicological point of view, they can be considered one of the key primary sources in studying the musical culture of a particular area. Unfortunately, due to historical circumstances, two world wars, the Croatian Homeland War, and to some extent, lack of care and a degree of ignorance, a large part of such heritage in Croatia has been destroyed and lost forever. Old instruments used to be seen as a constraint on musical development; repairing and maintaining them was not considered cost-effective, so they were replaced with more modern, perfected and less expensive versions. More valuable instruments would often remain in private hands, as part of the family inheritance. Those in museums often got there by chance, and not as a result of systematic collection. It is not surprising that there is a rather modest number of art music instruments in Croatian museums' holdings. Nevertheless, they still represent an interesting link in the research of musical culture of Dalmatia from the 18th to the 20th century. The following paragraphs present the results of research into art music instruments in museums of ten Dalmatian coastal cities, towns and settlements: Zadar, Biograd na Moru, Šibenik, Trogir, Kaštela, Split, Škrip on the island of Brač, Stari Grad on the island of Hvar, Korčula, and Dubrovnik.

Northern Dalmatia: Zadar, Biograd na Moru and Šibenik

Only four art music instruments are kept at the Zadar City Museum of the National Museum Zadar, which is indeed a very small number for a city that was the political, cultural and social centre of Dalmatia with quite a strongly developed musical culture. The instruments date from the period when Zadar (Italian: *Zara*) was under Austria, that is from the fall of the Republic of Venice in 1797 to its final dissolution after World War I, with a short period of French rule between 1806 and 1813. These instruments are: a square piano, built around 1800 in Venice by Luigi Hoffer; Leopold Schnabel's grand piano, built around 1860 in Vienna; Joseph Proksch's grand piano, built in 1893 or soon thereafter in Liberec, in the north of the former Czech Kingdom; and a *Valsonora* zither, made around 1910 by the company *Meinel & Herold* in Klingenthal (the Free State of Saxony, Germany). Apart from being the oldest musical instrument in the museum's holdings, the square piano is of special culturological value since it came from the summer house of the Zadar noble family Lantana in Sutomišćica on the island of Ugljan. The Lantana family belonged to the small circle of the most powerful Zadar families throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. The summer house was built in 1686 by Count Marco Antonio de Lantana (born in 1653), and historically had an important role in the cultural and political life of Zadar. Until the mid-18th century, the ceremonies of Venetian governors-general of Dalmatia handing over their duties took place there (Stagličić 2001: 159–164). The summer house was adorned with a diverse inventory of furniture, works of art, decorative items and books. German writer Ida von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld (1815–1876), who visited it in 1852, wrote about its beauty in her travelogue *Aus Dalmatien* (Reinsberg-Düringsfeld 1857). The devastation of the summer house after World War II completely changed its appearance. The rich collection of paintings and antique furniture was mostly lost. The piano, in a heavily damaged state, was bought for the museum. It can be assumed that it was purchased at the time of Colonel Giuseppe Lantana (1762–1842), father of five (Kolić 2007: 424), and was used by his children for their musical education, which was an integral part of education in noble families during this period.

The Local History Museum of Biograd na Moru holds eight brass instruments (six trumpets, a flugelhorn and a tenor horn) that belonged to the Biograd na Moru (Italian: *Zaravecchia*) City Brass Band. They were made in the first third of the 20th century in Czechoslovakian factories *V. F. Červený & Söhne* (Hradec Králové), *Lignatone* (Schönbach, since 1946 Luby) and *Josef Lídl* (Brno), then *Fratelli A. M. Bottali* from Milan and *Franjo Schneider* from Zagreb. All of them represent affordable instruments, the kind that were used by city brass bands. Although not of particularly high artistic value – they are neither very old nor rare – they still provide (at least partly) an insight into the structure of the Biograd na Moru City Brass Band in the past. Some of them were bought for the City Brass Band specifically, others probably seized from the enemy in the final operations of World War II liberation, and thus bear direct witness to the political problems that this area encountered. The Biograd na Moru City Brass Band was founded on 22 November 1907. It developed under the wing of the Croatian Falcon Society in Biograd na Moru, established on 1 September 1907, and together with it played a significant role in the cultural and social life of the city (Božulić 2008: 7–8). It operated until 1913 during its first period of work when, due to the beginning of World War I, it temporarily ceased to work (Božulić 2008: 28–29). It did not function during the first Italian occupation of Biograd na Moru in 1918, when the instruments were hidden in people's houses, and was only restored after the liberation in 1923 (ibid.: 42–45). It was then active until the outbreak of World War II, when it was disbanded and a large number of its members finished in jail, concentration camps or in hiding. Italian troops occupied Biograd na Moru on 13 April 1941. The instruments were hidden until the Italian capitulation on 8 September 1943, after which they were taken by Partisan resistance troops.

Šibenik (Italian: *Sebenico*) was ahead of other cities in terms of collecting musical instruments, and due to this, the Šibenik City Museum has the largest, most relevant and diverse collection of its kind in Dalmatia, (currently) consisting of 41 items. The role of musical pedagogue and organologist Božidar Grga (1942–2019) needs to be specifically highlighted. His professional counsel, knowledge and enthusiasm helped make this collection richer while he played an essential role in the preservation of this part of musical heritage of the greater area of Šibenik. In the mid-sixties, he gave the initiative for the arrival of the first keyboard instruments to the museum. Today, it has 12 items from this group: a square piano, five fortepianos, four grand pianos and two upright pianos. Most of them originate from Vienna, confirming the impact of the Austrian capital on the cultural and musical life of Šibenik, as well as the highly developed piano manufacturing there. The maker of the square piano, probably built in Vienna around 1840, is unknown (Lambaša 2009: 17–18). The five fortepianos (early wing-shaped pianos with hammers) from the first half of the 19th century make the collection of keyboard instruments at the Šibenik City Museum relevant, not only for regional, but also for national cultural heritage. Four of them were built by highly appreciated manufacturers of the time Wilhelm Löschen (around 1820), Franz Bayer (around 1835) and Mathias Müller (around 1840) from Vienna, and Giovanni Heichele (around 1820) from Trieste. The manufacturer of the fifth fortepiano is unknown, but the way it is made indicates that it came from Vienna and was built around 1820. Two grand pianos, built in Vienna in the second half of the 19th century, follow the fortepianos on the timeline. The first one was produced by Franz Hartl around 1860, and the second one by Ernest Hlanatsch sometime between 1870 and 1886. One Edmund Luner grand piano was also built in Vienna, in 1900. One upright piano was constructed in Vienna around 1860 by Benedict Filippi, and the second in Berlin around 1900 by Carl Strauss. The youngest instrument is a modern *Petrof* grand piano, built in 1984 in Hradec Králové, former Czechoslovakia. This museum also keeps string instruments (two violins), plucked string instruments (a lute guitar, two mandolins, seven different types of tamboura, six zithers) and wind instruments (a clarinet, a bassoon, three ocarinas, two trumpets), three accordions and one drum kit. The impact of Vienna is also reflected in zithers. Small and portable, with a gentle sound and eye-catching ornaments, zithers provided their owners with many joyous musical moments.

Central Dalmatia: Trogir, Kaštela, Split, Brač and Hvar

A 1798 inventory of the Garagnin family from Trogir (Italian: *Traù*) includes a spinet on the fifth floor of their palace (Celio Cega 2005: 60–61). Since 1963, the Garagnin family palace has accommodated the Trogir Town Museum, which has a modest collection of four instruments, not related to this family. All of them are wind instruments. The oldest one is a clarinet, a woodwind instrument made in the workshop of Pietro Antonio Piana in Milan around 1840. Brass instruments are represented by two signal trumpets and one tuba. The first signal trumpet, made in the second half of the 19th century, is of unknown origin. The second signal trumpet was made in the 1920s or 1930s in Franjo Schneider's workshop in Zagreb. The tuba was made in the 1920s in Graz, in Adolf Stowasser's workshop, and was purchased in Ludwig Horn's shop in Apatin, in the north-east of Bačka (the Province of Vojvodina, Serbia). Although these instruments are of modest quality and preserved in poor condition, they are very interesting with regard to local musical life. The clarinet belonged to Mihovil Slade-Šilović (1826–1913), a member of the City Brass Band (Italian: *Banda civica*), with the first registered public performance in 1846 (Buble and Slade-Šilović 1984: 7). Following in its footsteps, the National Music Trogir brass band, the owner of the tuba before it came to the Trogir Town Museum, was founded in 1871. With the outbreak of World War II, National Music Trogir found itself in serious trouble. Not wanting to leave musical manuscripts and prints to the mercy of the enemy, members of National Music Trogir hid them in their homes. In June 1941, the occupiers ordered the members to join the Italian brass band Dopolavoro. Although the pressure was hard, the musicians refused to join the band. In 1948, National Music Trogir resumed work (ibid.: 27–33) and is still active nowadays.

There are also notable musical instruments kept in the Museum of the Town of Kaštela (Italian: *Castelli*) – in the Arts and Crafts Collection in Kaštel Lukšić, and the Regional Collection in Kaštel Sućurac. The former has three items, one of them having been used by a noble family for salon music-making, while the other two come from musical societies (i.e. wind orchestras) and are related to group music-making. A grand piano and upright piano represent keyboard instruments in the collection. The grand piano was built by Eduard Mauder in Vienna around 1860. It belonged to the noble family Cippico from Kaštel Štafilić, and was bought from the family's descendants, brothers Vinko and Sven Cippico. The upright piano was built at the workshop *Boisselot Fils & C.ie* in Marseilles between 1893 and 1897. It was previously used by the Zrinski Croatian Musical Society from Kaštel Stari, the oldest cultural institution in Kaštela, established in 1852. The youngest instrument is a transverse flute, made in the former Czech Kingdom around 1910. It was donated to the Biranj Croatian Musical Society from Kaštel Lukšić by Czech doctor Henrik Šoulavy (1878–1960), the pioneer of organized tourism in Kaštela. This society held its first public performance in 1894 (Vuletin 2012: 145). In the summer months, the society performed at Šoulavy's boarding house, which he opened in 1909 and which registered more than 50,000 overnight stays until 1938 (Acalija 2016: 15–19). The second collection in Kaštela also consists of three musical instruments: again two keyboard instruments and one wind instrument. The first is a reed organ that was built in 1913 at the workshop of organ maker Ivan Kacin (1884–1953) in Ljubljana, now Slovenia. The *Kawai* upright piano was made in Hamamatsu, Japan, in 1970. The flugelhorn was produced at Vaclav Schramm's workshop in Celje, now Slovenia, in the 1930s. Just as the upright piano and the flute from the Arts and Crafts Collection were used by the wind orchestras from Kaštel Stari and Kaštel Lukšić, the flugelhorn belonged to St. George's Town Brass Band from Kaštel Sućurac, established in 1909, which confirms a highly developed amateur music scene in the town of Kaštela.

When it comes to music in Split (Italian: *Spàlato*), we can also find preserved historical data related to musical instruments. Guitars and violins were most often used in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Tartaglia family owned a spinet in 1784. A 1757 inventory of canon Ivan Petar Pisenti mentions various instruments: an oboe, a cello and six guitars (Božić-Bužančić 1982: 141–145). The Split City Museum, located in the Papalić Palace, keeps eight instruments, which is somewhat of an exception with regard to the extremely rich and developed musical history of the city. The oldest square piano was built in London in 1809 or 1810 by Thomas Tomkison (around 1764–1853), who was one of the most renowned British piano makers of his time. His pianos were exported to India, North and South America, as well as Australia (MacSween, 2014: 12–16). Interestingly, this square piano is the only instrument of British origin in all Croatian museums. Friedrich Konrad Ehrbar (1827–1905), an Austrian maker of German origin, built the grand piano in the Austrian capital in 1874. It was played by Antonietta Kamber (1903–1984), the spouse of historian and translator Vladimir Rismondo (1902–1994). She also took piano lessons with the pianist Vinka Čipin from Split and singing lessons with the composer Josip Hatze. The upright piano was built in the Trieste workshop *L. Magrini & Figlio* in 1908. The phonola (mechanical musical instrument) was produced at the beginning of the 20th century at the *Ludwig Hupfeld* factory in Leipzig. The violin was bought from the workshop of Alfons Frantisek Vávra in Prague, but it was made between 1928 and 1938 in one of the factories in Schönbach (Luby since 1946) in the west of former Czechoslovakia. The zither by Joseph H. Gschwenter was made in Innsbruck between 1873 and 1894 and the memorial trumpet was also produced in Austria in 1917, and was used by the cities of Dubrovnik and Kotor as an award for soldiers in World War I for success on the battlefield. The bandoneon was made in Saxony between 1900 and 1920.

Figure 1: *Split City Museum, square piano, Thomas Tomkison, London, 1809 or 1810*

Source: Zlatko Sunko (n.d.)

The Island of Brač Museum in Škrip, the oldest settlement on the island, holds seven musical instruments. The most prominent piece among them is a square piano, built by Michael Mariacher in Venice around 1820. Research shows that it was used by Giuseppina Larco (born in 1895), originally from Italy. She was married to Josip Definis (born in 1881), who in 1900 emigrated from Brač (Italian: *Brazza*) to Tocopilla, a city in the Antofagasta Region in the north of Chile (Derado and Čizmić 1982: 413). The square piano was her dowry. Although the Definis intended to return to Brač soon after their wedding in 1914, they did not come back until 1926. They spent about six years on the island, and after having used all of their financial resources they returned to Chile. It can be assumed that this square piano travelled the following route: Venice (place where it was built) – Santa Margherita Ligure (where Giuseppina Larco was educated)–Tocopilla (where she moved with her parents) – Sutivan (where she moved with her husband). The problem of immense emigration from Brač touched the story related to this square piano, however, thanks to the (even if only temporary) return of its owners, it arrived on the island. It was fully restored to its former glory at the Heferer Art Workshop in Zagreb in 2017 and can be used for playing today. Just like in Zadar, the Brač Museum holds a *Valsonora* zither made at the *Meinel & Herold* factory in Saxony around 1910. It is not known who produced the basprim, a type of tamboura that is slightly bigger than the prim, dating from the turn of the century. The remaining four items are brass instruments. The tuba and the helicon were made in the city of Hradec Králové in the late 19th century at the already mentioned workshop of Václav František Červený and his sons Jaroslav and Stanislav. The tenor horn was produced at Tito Belati's factory in Perugia, Italy, between 1908 and 1930. These three instruments used to belong to the Supetar Brass Band, established in 1877. Finally, the flugelhorn was manufactured by Egid Glassl in Chomutov, in the northwest of former Czechoslovakia, around 1930.

The Stari Grad Museum on the island of Hvar (Italian: *Lesina*), located in the Biankini Palace, holds three musical instruments: two upright pianos and a zither. The first upright piano was built by Jean Léonard Allinger (1804–1882) in Strasbourg around 1860. In 1998, the museum received it as a gift from violinist Radovan Lorković (born 1932), son of renowned Croatian pianist Melita Lorković (1907–1987), who bought it from an antique shop in Basel, Switzerland. That upright piano is—after the *Boisselot Fils & C.ie* upright piano at the Museum of the Town of Kaštela—the second keyboard instrument of French origin in Croatian museums. It is placed in a salon that belonged to a noble landowner family Gelineo Bervaldi, concretely to Petar Gelineo Bervaldi (1807–1866). In 2007, the salon was donated to the museum by his great granddaughter Jerka Dumanić (1909–2007) from Split. At that time, the museum became richer for another upright piano, one built by *L. Magrini & Figlio.* Compared to the upright piano from the same workshop in the Split City Museum, this one is slightly younger having been built in 1915. The Museum on Hvar—just like those in Zadar and on Brač—owns a *Valsonora* zither from the *Meinel & Herold* factory in Saxony. It is exhibited in the Captain's Room, which revives the most grandiose period of Stari Grad, the second half of the 19th century when seafaring was in full bloom.

Southern Dalmatia: Korčula and Dubrovnik

The Korčula Town Museum, located in the Ismaeli-Gabrielis Palace, keeps a fortepiano built in 1819 in the well-known

Viennese workshop *Nannette Streicher née Stein*, founded in 1802 by Nannette Stein Streicher (1769–1833), daughter of piano maker Johann Andreas Stein (1728–1792) and wife of pianist and composer Johann Andreas Streicher (1761–1833). Her fortepianos were often played by composers and virtuosos, such as Carl Maria von Weber and Ludwig van Beethoven, who was also her close friend (Latcham 2007: 53–55). This particular fortepiano was bought in 1839 by Angelo Boschi (1790–1854), a member of a well-respected family from Korčula (Italian: *Curzola*) and originally from Sicily, for his son Ivan (Giovanni) Boschi (1821–1902). It enabled Ivan Boschi to perform a diverse musical repertoire in the salon of his palace in the middle of Korčula. Ivan Boschi's music collection in the Korčula Town Museum bears witness to the extent of his musical interests and dedication to music (Kraljević, 1997: 74). It is also important, because it provides a direct and detailed insight into the repertoire that could be performed on Nannette Streicher's fortepiano. Most of the musical manuscripts and prints were intended for the piano, with possible accompaniment on a melody instrument (e.g. clarinet), or for the organ since Boschi also was a cathedral organist (Očić and Jankov, 2008: 9). As an initiator of musical life in his town, Boschi tried to bring the musical culture of Korčula closer to those of other (larger) Dalmatian centres, such as Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik. In addition, he wanted to bring into his own environment the spirit of culture and practice that was present on the other side of the Adriatic. This fortepiano is also valuable because not many keyboard instruments from the first quarter of the 19th century are preserved in Croatia, let alone restored (this one was restored at the Atelier Pavlinić in 2019), and as such, it belongs to the historical and cultural heritage of the city and island of Korčula.

Another fortepiano that is not only important within the local and national but also the international framework, is certainly that in the Cultural History Museum in Dubrovnik, located in the Rector's Palace. The fortepiano was built in Vienna around 1790 by Anton Walter (1752–1826), one of the best and most renowned piano makers of his time, not only in Vienna, but Europe in general. A member of the Dubrovnik noble family

Pucić (Pozza) bought the fortepiano in Vienna. The family's genealogy indicates that it could have been the diplomat, physicist and mathematician Nikola Lucijan Pucić-Sorkočević (Nicola Luciano di Pozza Sorgo; 1772–1855). His wife Jelena (Elena) Luisa (1784–1865) was a poet and composer, and came from the noble family Ragnina. Six of her songs for vocal performance with accompaniment on the harpsichord or piano are kept in the music archives of the Franciscan Monastery in Dubrovnik. These compositions are of simple musical expression, characteristic of amateur musicians of that time, and are set to verses of Pietro Metastasio (Katalinić 2006: 67–69). The fortepiano is said to have arrived in Dubrovnik in the mid-19th century, and was bought for the Dubrovnik Museums in 1949 as a relatively well-preserved instrument in original condition (Gjukić-Bender 2012: 7). It remained in original condition until 2005 when its restoration was entrusted to Robert Brown's workshop in Oberndorf bei Salzburg. There are two more keyboard instruments in the Dubrovnik Museums that were built in Vienna: Mathias Müller's square piano (around 1825), and Alois Kern's grand piano (1867). The string instrument group is represented by a harp and a guitar, both made in Dubrovnik. The harp was made in 1790 by Antonio Bertolini, who might have been of Italian origin judging by his last name, but could also have been a (naturalized) citizen of Dubrovnik. The guitar was made in 1828 by Antonio Bino, who was born in Trieste in 1799 as research shows, and died in Gruž in 1861. This is probably the oldest guitar made in Croatian lands by a naturalized guitar maker. The Dubrovnik Museums also keep 14 wind instruments: a transverse flute, a piccolo, a recorder, an oboe, four clarinets, a bassoon, a horn and four fanfares (as an obvious symbol of Dubrovnik's liberty—*libertas*). They were mostly made in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. All of them originate from the Austro-Hungarian Empire and fashioned in workshops in Vienna (Wolfgang Küss) and Kraslice (Johann Michl, Willy Köstler, Wenzel Stowasser's sons).

Figure 2: *Dubrovnik Cultural History Museum, fortepiano, Anton Walter, Vienna, ca 1790*

Source: Božidar Gjukić (n.d.)

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The analysis of the musical instruments in Dalmatian museums is a contribution to the research of primary musical sources and musical culture of this area, and each particular location expands upon knowledge about the degree to which music was present in everyday life and in special circumstances. Musical instruments as museum exhibits are often "accidental" and unjustly neglected. However, they are much more than just objects. First of all, they are travellers who started their journey in domestic and foreign workshops to reach their players and museums later on. Moreover, they are one of the key primary sources for studying the musical culture of Dalmatia. When we observe these instruments together with the content of the music played in particular locations and in concrete situations, such as details on the musicians, repertoire and reception, we receive a comprehensive picture of musical life in these places. Furthermore, they are evidence of a strong connection between Dalmatia and Europe, in the past and the present. Viewed as a whole, the presented instruments in Dalmatian museums were built over the period of almost two centuries—from 1790 to 1984. They are a testimony to the rich and developed musical history of Dalmatia, whose various layers stem from centuries of cultivated and widely imbued traditional, church and art music. They prove and confirm its continuity, as well as the inclusion of Croatian sources into Central European, Western European and Mediterranean musical and cultural circles. As evidenced by the presented instruments, Central European influences originated in the territories of present-day Austria (Vienna, Graz), Czech Republic (Brno, Chomutov, Hradec Králové, Kraslice, Liberec, Schönbach), Slovenia (Celje, Ljubljana) and Croatia (Zagreb, Dubrovnik, which is actually closer to the Mediterranean cultural circle). Western European influences are German (Berlin, Klingenthal, Leipzig), French (Marseilles, Strasbourg) and English (London), and the Mediterranean influences are primarily Italian (Milan, Perugia, Rome, Trieste, Venice).

In the context of Dalmatian cultural heritage, it is important to emphasize that the most prolific influence came from the western Adriatic coast, that is from Italy and its Mediterranean rootedness and heterotopia. Many Italian composers lived and worked on the eastern shores of the Adriatic (Benedetto Pellizzari in Split; Tommaso Resti, Angelo Maria Frezza, Domenico Antonietti, Giuseppe Valente in Dubrovnik; Giovanni Cigala, Luigi Basinello in Zadar), as well as a number of Croatians (not only musicians) who were educated at Italian universities, acquiring knowledge that marked them permanently (Jerolim Alesani, Nikola Strmić, Julije Bajamonti, Luka Sorkočević, Josip Raffaelli, etc.). Some of them returned to their country and spread ideas and insights they encountered during their stay and studies at some of the cultural/university centres of Italy, while others remained there as professors or scientists, contributing to the overall development of European sciences (e.g. the famous naturalist Josip Ruđer Bošković, or the prominent Dubrovnik Benedictine Anselmo Banduria, who studied in Italy and then spent most of his life in Paris, as well as Giovanni Giornovichi/Ivan Jarnović, violinist and composer of probable Croatian origin, who was baptized in Palermo and achieved Europe-wide fame). Another Dalmatian expat, Stephano N., known as Spadina, found his way to Poland, while his works were printed in the Netherlands, France and England. An exceptional figure in this sense is violinist and composer Giuseppe Michiele Stratico, a representative of a Croatian-oriented family from Zadar but of Greek origin, who made a career in Tartini's orchestra, where he composed a large number of symphonies, chamber music pieces and violin concerti (Katalinić 2004: 51–52).

Research on the centuries of connections between Croatia and Italy has inspired numerous scientific studies, which more or less, reflect the diversity and multi-layered Croatian–Italian relations by drawing networks of mutual influence on their richness and diversity, opposites and dualities. In recent decades, the results and methods of cultural studies and post-colonial theory have considerably influenced the study of Croatian–Italian cultural relations by opening up new possibilities when approaching this area. In his book, *Orientalism*, considered one of the fundamental texts of post-colonial theory, Edward W. Said (1978) analyses primarily British and French colonialism and their relationship with the Orient, but he also raises different questions on which post-colonial theory is based: universality and difference, the relationship between the centre and the margin, identity, hegemony, otherness, language, national feeling, ethnicity, autochthony, and the relationship between knowledge and power. Many of these questions can also be raised in studying Croatian–Italian relations, but it is necessary to bear in mind the specificity of the historical and cultural context.[1] The concept of the Other, as defined by post-colonial theory, characterised by asymmetry in the context of Croatian–Italian relations, would refer to the subaltern Other,

1 When Larry Wolff (2001: 8–9) speaks about Venice, Dalmatia and the Slavs, he uses the terms "demi-Orientalism" and "semi-colonial", concluding that, in spite of the ideological articulation of its difference, in Dalmatia both Italian and Slavic elements were present. He also points out the geographic vicinity of Dalmatia, which finally resulted in forming the balance of differences and similarities with regard to Venetian Italy. Wolff quotes Matvejević (1990: 16), who described the Adriatic as "a sea of intimacy".

that is, to the Otherness as the condition of being subaltern in relation to the trans-Adriatic Italian culture. However, due to the specificity of Croatian–Italian relations, which cannot be simply reduced to the relationship between the dominant and the subaltern culture, but are more complex and characterised by geographic closeness and continuous contact, it is useful to introduce the term *close Other* in the analysis. The contacts with the trans-Adriatic *close Other* continued for centuries between the two shores of the Adriatic Sea, independently and sometimes in spite of the changing frontiers and political circumstances, producing ties and representations of similarities and recognition, which contribute to mutual understanding and enhance dialogue.

It is difficult to estimate the strength of the centripetal force with which Venice, Padua, Trieste, Rome and Naples influenced music activities outside the centre, both in Italy and in Dalmatia. However, it is more than certain that the encounters, permeation and transformation of cultural traditions of the eastern and western Adriatic coasts happened directly – by direct transmission of tradition and influence – from teachers to students, and indirectly through exchange of instruments, scores, repertoire and music books (Katalinić 2004: 54). Such acquisitions have found new implementations and have become models, transplanted and imitated in the new environment.

Croatian musical culture was formed under the influence of these circles (not only Italian and more broadly Mediterranean, but also Central European) and their mutual interweaving. As the Mediterranean prong of Central Europe, where different European cultural areas overlap – the Austro-Hungarian, Venetian, Slavic and Ottoman—and where Roman and Byzantine legacies are still very visible, Croatian (musical) culture has been enriched by these multiple influences, while maintaining a strong individual identity. In the spheres of cultural history –from literature, through to the arts and music – the contacts and intertwining of the Mediterranean and Central European cultural circles integrated with specific elements of the local heritage, went through modifications and formed new traditions when confronting the new space and new conditions.

This is what gives current relevance to the research presented here, in which instruments of art music in Dalmatian museums—as concrete results of intercultural interactions—were analysed for the first time in a broader musicological and cultural context.

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SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

(UN)OFFICIAL ANTHEMS AS A MEANS OF THE NATIONAL DIPLOMATIC/STATECRAFT MOMENTUM: THE CASES OF ZDRAVLJICA, HEJ, BRIGADE AND VSTAJENJE PRIMORSKE[1]

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The article deals with the importance of (un)official anthems for statecraft in Slovenia. An analysis of the emergence, development and structural incorporation into the affairs of the state and its diplomacy for the Slovenian national anthem *Zdravljica*, as well as two unofficial anthems, *Hej, brigade* (Ljubljana) and *Vstajenje Primorske* (the Primorska Region), reveals that a song can only become an important source or means of statecraft if it is accepted by social groups, and its 'statecraftness' must develop following the bottom-up principle. Only this way can a song gain the social legitimacy needed for it to become an effective means of creating, shaping and developing the diplomatic/statecraft momentum of a country internally and externally.

Key words: statecraft, anthem, Zdravljica, Vstajenje Primorske, Hej, brigade

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INTRODUCTION

Outside the religious context, the term anthem normally refers to a clearly distinguishable musical genre related to nations and states, and is inherently linked to the concept of statecraft. Its main role is a symbolic representation of a polity—be it organised as a state or not, a quasi-government unit or other entity—while its core purpose lies in creating an abstract conception of connectedness in a particular societal group that is supposed to share certain characteristics. These can be political, cultural, economic or other (Kočan 2019). The purpose of an anthem is thus to create a sense of a lowest common denominator binding individuals to a particular social (or state) community.

Although anthems are now largely related to statehood and statecraft, the term derives from the word antiphon (originally Ancient Greek ἀντίφωνα, *antíphōna*), a hymn of praise sung responsively, usually in a religious context. Similarly, the terms used in many other languages are derived from the Greek ὕμνος (*hýmnos*). With the Renaissance, and especially the Enlightenment, God and king (chosen by God) started being replaced by the state (as a new subject of praise and loyalty), and this became particularly relevant with the rise of nations in mid-19th century, when anthems became the main musical tool of strengthening statehood and statecraft (Kmecl 2005). In this sense, anthems are largely related to political discourse, as national anthems, and the term itself normally implies a reference to a state, nation or a distinct group of people. Consequently, the religious sense is becoming less common, and the political meaning is growing more prevalent. This is confirmed by frequently asked questions, such as whether people should applaud after a national anthem is performed, whether an anthem can be changed, or if a song can only be an anthem if this is set down in the constitution or law, on which occasions and how an anthem should be performed, as well as other common questions focusing on the symbolic aspects of (national) anthems rather than the content (Arbeiter and Udovič 2017; Arbeiter 2019).

All this sets the scene for our discussion on the position of the anthem in Slovenia as a symbol connecting individuals and social groups at the level of statehood and state-building. Here, we must underline particularly the symbolic role of anthems. In practice, an anthem is "just" a song with or without lyrics,[2] and lyrics can even be changed (e.g. the German national anthem). However, setting anthems in the context of diplomatic/statecraft activities opens up the questions of symbolism and the symbolic aspects in an anthem, as well as those deriving from it. An anthem in the context of the diplomatic/statecraft momentum is not only a piece of musical art, but bears broader connotations as it creates a fictional community that the anthem brings together (and which feels the anthem). This social group is bound together by certain shared characteristics (language, identity, state, nation, culture, etc.; see Bojinović Fenko 2015; Cugnata 2018), which in fact make this community (Deutsch 1970; Anderson 1995). On the other hand, exactly this creation of community by the anthem in turn re-creates the anthem, since the community created by the anthem in turn makes the anthem. This means the anthem is created and re-created in this dynamic flow, and it is precisely this closed continuum (Brglez 2008) which makes it an increasingly important (perhaps even the main) momentum of the diplomatic/statehood system of individuals, social groups and the state as an organised political community (Lukšič 1997).

Based on this, we can ascertain that for contemporary communities—whether organised or not—an anthem is something unique, something that in fact allows a diplomatic and statecraft momentum to emerge. The statecraft aspect lies in the fact that the national anthem (along with the flag) defines *prima facie* a state's statehood and statecraft; and the diplomatic aspect is that the national anthem, as well as its performance, derivations and connotations, can significantly impact the establishment, formulation and development of diplomatic relations between

2 Such an example is the *Ode to Joy* (from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony). As the anthem of the Council of Europe and the European Union it is performed without lyrics (despite attempts to set it to text), while it was also used between 1974 and 1979 as the national anthem of Rhodesia with lyrics starting with "Rise, O Voices of Rhodesia".

states. In this context, we can see that an anthem is absolutely not merely a musical piece, but rather that its musical value is of secondary importance. Primarily, a national anthem is an essential element (and at the same time an instrument) of statecraft.

The aim of this article is to analyse three songs that have, each in their own way, become anthems in Slovenia – one became the official national anthem (*Zdravljica*), while two have reached the status of unofficial anthems (*Vstajenje Primorske* and *Hej, brigade*). Although some may contest the status of *Vstajenje Primorske* and *Hej, brigade* as 'anthems', our selection is substantiated by the response of individuals when these two pieces are performed. Their specific nature lies in that (in respective parts of Slovenia) many individuals meet their performance with the same level of respect and statecraft-related symbolism as they do with the national anthem *Zdravljica* (standing up, singing along, expressing emotions, etc.). Of course, having anthems outside the official national one is not specific to Slovenia (similar unofficial anthems include Strauss's *An der schönen, blauen Donau* in the case of Austria, Verdi's *Va, pensiero* for Italians, *Rákóczi-induló* for Hungarians, and *Bože, čuvaj Hrvatsku* for Croats, if we only take a look at Slovenia's neighbours), but it is relevant for our analysis to link these three examples, as they establish some sense of groundwork for the diplomatic/statecraft system in Slovenia.

The article consists of three parts. The introduction, outlining the issue, is followed by the theoretical framework, which operationalises statecraft and establishes the framework for the discussion on music as a means (and constituent element) of statecraft. This section uses the methods of critical analysis, discussion and synthesis to present the understanding of statecraft and define its relation to a state's prestige and reputation, as well as determine its capability to instrumentalise music as one of its means. The theoretical part is followed then by an analysis of the three selected cases, which is based mainly on the historical development method, participant observation, analysis of audio-visual material and coupling of data aimed at obtaining the most comprehensive insight possible. The article concludes with a discussion on the findings and suggestions for further research.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HOW TO DEFINE STATECRAFT

Statecraft is extremely broad and therefore, hard to define (Baldwin, 1985; Sprout and Sprout, 1971). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that various authors use it in a completely different sense. David Baldwin (1985: 8) defines it as follows:

> Statecraft has traditionally been defined as the art of conducting state affairs. Such definition, of course, could include both foreign and domestic dimensions of public policy; but in contemporary usage the term has been virtually abandoned by students of domestic affairs. Among students of foreign policy and international politics the term is sometimes used to encompass the whole foreign-policy-making process, but more often it refers to the selection of means for the pursuit of foreign policy.

Holsti (1976: 293) understands it as limited to the foreign-policy activity of a state. An even narrower interpretation can be found with Anderson (1977: vii), who describes statecraft as "an old north European word for the science of government", adding that the concept of statecraft "suggests that some aspects of the practice of politics have the form of a craft or an art and they require skill, technique, and judgement". Of course, we can analyse and define statecraft, but we must first determine who its principal actors are, what are its principal means, and which channels are used to pursue it.

With regard to the principal actors of statecraft, Anderson (1977) identifies them especially in governments, while Baldwin (1985) expands this definition to those running state affairs, which does not necessarily mean governments. It can include liberation movements, NGOs, transnational organisations, companies or anyone with the authority to legally (not necessarily legitimately) enter the processes of pursuing statecraft. If the principal actor of statecraft is the category of political decision makers, the means of statecraft are much more fragmented. Traditionally, they are divided into three categories – political, economic and coercive means – but in modern social relations we should add at least the means of cultural and public activity. Both the means and the actors are objective factors defining statecraft. However, of course, objective/given factors are not enough to explain the functioning of statecraft, so we must add to the system of defining statecraft also the subjective factors, or the factors depending on political decision making.

Awareness that statecraft is important and those running the state must see it is crucial if we wish for statecraft to have any effect. Similarly to prestige, statecraft in itself has no meaning or impact. An awareness of the importance and possible activities within statecraft does not come by itself. On the contrary, it is a process that requires two things: education, and a sense of the state, its reputation and prestige. Regarding the education of those running the political life and the state, it was stressed already by Plato (1987: 126–128) that the guardians (rulers) should (a) have a keen perception (a sense for politics, the state and statecraft—A/N), (b) have speed, be high-spirited and courageous, (c) foster peace among their citizens, (d) have a disposition of a philosopher, and (e) be subject to continuous education. Having a sense for the state and *acting politically* means that political decision makers have the capability to manage the middle ground between pragmatism and ideology when it comes to political issues. It is inevitable that anyone managing political issues must constantly make decisions, and decisions are not always rational, but are sometimes also predominantly ideological. In this sense, statecraft should also be understood as a combination between the ideological and the pragmatic components. While the ideological component is more pronounced in its establishment, formulation and development, the pragmatic component is linked more to its results (Kateb 1964; Harriss 1963).

However, a *conditio sine qua non* to even consider statecraft is an expression of the need of a political decision maker for statecraft. Therefore, the establishment of statecraft is not something that is determined by external variables, but rather an internal need of a political decision maker that arises at a certain point and initiates the emergence of statecraft. The turning point is entirely subjective and bound to the individual. The individual must make a (conscious) decision to take the harness of statecraft and to establish, formulate and develop it responsibly. A conscious decision does not mean living and fostering statecraft only through one prism, but in all aspects of one's political activity. Statecraft thus becomes more than just a result; it is part of all political decisions.

It is logical that statecraft, once it is established, has its own characteristic features conditional on its temporal, spatial and programmatic dimensions. The temporal dimension defines the formulation of statecraft, or as Caldwell (1996: 660) points out, the condition for statecraft to develop into a successful activity is the readiness of the society to formulate the foundations for the design and realisation of statecraft. For a society to formulate these foundations, it must be "prepared to deal effectively with its problems while also protecting its future [and this] requires consensus on priorities along with organizations and policies appropriate to these purposes" (Caldwell 1996: 661). Within the temporal component of statecraft, it is crucial to find consensus on the fundamentals, and then steer and shape it to make it relatively permanent.

Apart from the temporal, the spatial component is also highly important for understanding and defining statecraft. This dimension determines how statecraft is understood, and what are its main and supporting elements. In this context, Tashjean (1973: 380) points out that the theory of statecraft has developed the most in Europe, but its roots have taken hold around the globe – from prehistoric civilisations to India, China and the Arab states. He believes that the basic lines of statecraft are the same everywhere, regardless of geography.

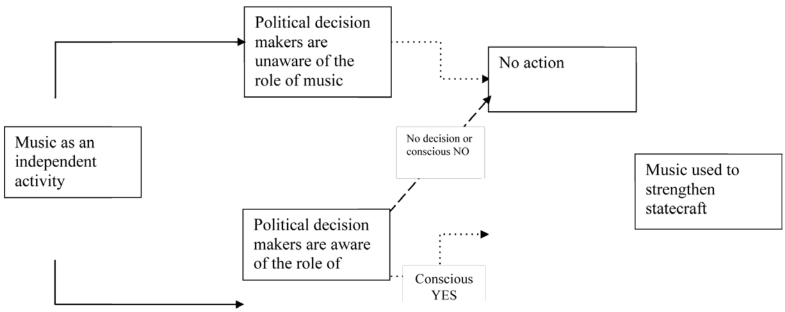
The programmatic dimension of statecraft develops in different areas where society, through its relations, decides to develop. Although so-called key areas are highlighted when establishing, formulating and developing statecraft, these areas are nevertheless set in a hierarchical order. The most important areas are the ones that must be covered by all key statecraft actors, while the specific areas are also important for establishing, developing and pursuing statecraft, but their relatively lower importance in the entire system of statecraft means it is enough if they are covered by only certain actors (cf. Caldwell 1996: 661–662). In consequence, the programmatic setup of statecraft is inherent to all the underlying values of political organisation and social relations, but at the same time remains above them, meaning that it is both hierarchical and instrumentalised. Nevertheless, the reason for this may lie in its process-related and dynamic nature, making it uniform on the outside although it changes constantly on the inside.

Another key aspect to understanding statecraft lies in the framework of its establishment: it is about power, which takes different shapes in social and international relations. The classical (realist) frame of thought sees power mainly as *hard power*, i.e. relational power, where subject A can force subject B to do something (Strange 1988/1994). Yet the disintegration of the bipolar international order also changed the perceptions of power. Instead of coercive power, new sources have started emerging, such as soft power, normative power and smart power (Nye 2004a, b, c; Manners 2009; Zupančič and Hribernik 2011; Zupančič and Udovič 2011). These forms of power do not affect the other side directly, but indirectly, using different approaches, including the element of establishing attraction (cf. interpreting as a source of power; Žigon 2017; Maček 2019), which is the main source of soft (creative) power (Bojinović Fenko 2014). According to Barnett and Duvall (2005: 20ff), the main characteristic of creative power is that it abandons the institutional system and relations, focusing mainly on the processes in society.

And where does music fit in this context? Music, as one of the muses, has its own distinctive features. It has its external and internal autonomy, as well as its functions. The link between music and statecraft implies that statecraft instrumentalises music. Of course, turning music into a means of statecraft is not a one-time event, but a multiphase, continuous and perpetuated process. A political decision maker can instrumentalise music into a means of statecraft, but must nevertheless constantly make sure that it also remains independent. The fact that music can serve as an effective means of statecraft is evidenced already in the dedication of the song collection *Cantiones, quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur* (1575) to Queen Elizabeth I, where William Byrd and Thomas Tallis wrote that music was "indispensable to the state". On a symbolic level, this is also confirmed by Nicholas Hilliard's portrait of Queen Elizabeth I playing the lute. Butler (2015: 15–19) notes that the painting is uncommon, since women of the upper class did not play the lute, which was a symbol of sensitivity to earthly passions.

Udovič (2017: 187–190) notes that, along with awareness of the importance and power of music, its successful use in statecraft also requires a conscious decision of the political decision maker to use it for this purpose, or as he calls it: *willingness for action* (Figure 1).

Figure 1: *The relationship between music, awareness of its potency and its use*



Source: Udovič (2017: 189).

The instrumentalization of music and placing it in the statecraft toolbox thus depends on the awareness of the importance of music and a conscious decision of political decision makers to use music as a means of soft power to strengthen statecraft at home and abroad, but above all to strengthen its basic components—the internal and external prestige, reputation, greatness and position of their state.

EMPIRICAL STUDY: THREE CASES OF HOW AN (UN) OFFICIAL ANTHEM EMERGED

Introduction: the Framework of Slovene Nation-Building – From the Bottom Up

The current Slovene ethnic territory has gone through different stages in history. At the time of increased national awakening, most Slovenes were divided among three provinces of the Austrian Empire–Carniola, Styria and the Littoral (partly also Carinthia). Greater mobilisation and national awareness were spurred on by the French Revolution, and in particular, the interim period of the Illyrian Provinces, which speeded up the homogenisation of the Slovene nation. After the Congress of Vienna, the system in the Habsburg Empire may have returned to the old tracks, but the national awakening of Slovenes and other nations in the multi-ethnic empire continued. Since the Slovene ethnic territory was still under the great influence of religious authorities, it was precisely the clergy who led the so-called mapping of the Slovene nation (cf. also McCrone 1998: 53). This was the context of the creation of numerous myths, customs and folk traditions, as well as a reinvention and re-interpretation of historical facts to add a national character. This did not develop on its own, but rather in relation to the other—in this case the Slovene was defined as something that was not German (cf. Hobsbawm 1983), or as Štih (2005: 232) describes it, "*Sprachgeschichte*" (language history) becoming "*Volksgeschichte*" (national history).

Not much changed after the dissolution of Austria-Hungary. Slovenes left the "prison of nations" (as the empire was later unjustly demonised) with Anton Korošec's catchphrase "Majestät, es ist zu spät" ("It's too late, your Majesty"; Bister 1992: 258), hoping that aligning with other South Slavic nations would bring them the much desired national emancipation. However, this was not the case. The 6 January Dictatorship after 1929 even went in the opposite direction, establishing an idea of a uniform Yugoslav nation, which ran contrary to the desires of Slovenes (Kardelj 1969). Only after WWII, and particularly with the federalisation of Socialist Yugoslavia in 1974, did the emancipation of Slovenes as an ethnic community and nation truly take hold. Another pushback against this came with attempts at reintroducing centralisation in the 1980s (Dragan 2018), which were, however, unsuccessful. Slovenia declared independence in 1991 and established a state "by the people and for the people", which was confirmed by the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia in the Constitution, which states that "Slovenia is a state of all its citizens and is founded on the permanent and inalienable right of the Slovene nation to self-determination" (Article 3, paragraph 1).

Naturally, the nation's gradual emergence from the bottom up also had an impact on national and local symbols, which is especially evident after 1945, when the National Liberation Struggle (the Partisan WWII resistance movement) assumed the position of a would-be religion (Pirjevec 2020), receiving the most attention by society, and at the same time, having everything subjected and focused on it. This "religious" function of the National Liberation Struggle also became an important driving force of people's actions, their thinking and emotions (creating the so-called new socialist man; cf. Duraković 2016)—an element that is still strongly present in the countries of former Yugoslavia.

Zdravljica – From a Choral Piece to the National Anthem

The first two composers to set France Prešeren's poem *Zdravljica* (A Toast) to music were Davorin Jenko (1862; *Zdravljica za glas in klavir—A Toast for voice and piano*) and Benjamin Ipavec (1864; *Napitnica za solo, klavir in zbor—A Toast for soloist, piano and chorus*). Jenko went for repetitive form, using the first, second, third, fifth and sixth stanzas, while Ipavec used only the first stanza (Cigoj Krstulović 2005: 13). Some 40 years later, in 1901, poet Anton Aškerc took issue with the fact that there were so few musical renditions of the poem: "This 'Zdravica' would be a much more beautiful and more natural Slovene Marseillaise than the inappropriate 'Naprej', if only we were to find a composer who would put together the right tune that would be rousing and uplifting" (Aškerc 1901: 67). This call seems to have struck a chord with Stanko Premrl, who published two of his compositions in the magazine *Novi akordi* (New Chords) in 1906, one of which was *Zdravljica*. This composition did not gain much resonance until ten years after its publication. With the changing times and the advent of WWI, Stanko Premrl was becoming an increasingly important national composer. At the peak of war, two of his vocal pieces were particularly popular: *Zdravljica* and *Slovenska govorica* (The Slovene Language). While F–Lj wrote of the latter in newspaper *Slovenec* (1916: 2) that it "was very effective, no less with its lyrics [...] as with its soft music that is almost not heated and rousing enough given the spirited text", their popularity turned already within a year. Commenting on a concert given by the choir Glasbena matica, Premrl wrote: "The song that was received with the most enthusiasm was my 'Zdravica', the simplest of songs that is already somewhat older, and one that I did not even think would ever be performed in concert" (Premrl 1917: 353). Sources show that Premrl's rendition of *Zdravljica* became well established among the people. It was reportedly sung in both camps during WWII—the Communist-led Partisan resistance movement and the anti-Partisan Home Guard—and after the war it first started being mentioned informally as the Slovene national anthem.[3] A symbolic breakthrough when *Zdravljica* gained primacy over the unofficial Slovene anthem *Naprej, zastava slave!* (often shortened to *Naprej!*) came in 1948, when publisher Državna založba Slovenije marked the anniversary of the poet's death with a monograph entitled *Prešernov dan, naš kulturni praznik* (Prešeren Day, our cultural holiday), which featured Premrl's *Zdravljica* twice, with a score for a mixed choir and one for a male choir. Cigoj Krstulović (2005: 22) writes that *Zdravljica* in itself "symbolised not only the Slovene culture, but also the national consciousness. Only here starts the true history of *Zdravljica* as the Slovene national anthem, which was spontaneously adopted as such even before it was [legally] institutionalised."

3 Another musical rendition of *Zdravljica* that was said to be popular among the Partisans was that of Makso Pirnik, which Ciril Cvetko (1974: 19) claims "successfully competed in popularity with the eponymous composition by Premrl" (although we have certain doubts as to this).

The path to its institutionalisation began with the shifts in Yugoslavia that turned the country into a federation. In light of the creation of a new structure in Yugoslavia in 1972, the Socialist Alliance of Working People put out a call for proposals for the national anthem. The following songs were proposed: *Naprej, zastava slave!* (Forward, Flag of Glory!) by Davorin Jenko, *Domovina naša je svobodna* (Our Homeland is Free) by Viktor Mihelčič, *Naša zemlja* (Our Country) by Marjan Kozina, *Hej, brigade* (Hey, Brigades) by Matej Bor, *Zdravljica* by Stanko Premrl, *Slovenci kremeniti* (Steadfast Slovenes) arranged to a Macedonian folk tune, *The Internationale* by Pierre De Geyter, *Mati, Slovenija* (Mother, Slovenia) from Radovan Gobec's cantata *Pesem o svobodi* (Song of Freedom), and *Moj dom* (My Home), now the Czech national anthem (ibid.). *Zdravljica*, *Naprej!* and *Naša zemlja* were shortlisted (Paternu 2005). With respect to Premrl's *Zdravljica*, Dragotin Cvetko wrote that it "is a beautiful piece, but is not appropriate, because it is an explicitly choral composition and cannot be sung by masses", adding that it was "somewhat complicated in terms of melody. Also with respect to harmony, I doubt that every choir could sing it, and moreover—if I may say so—it stagnates in some of the passages, and lacks that lively tempo. It is not that simple, nor is it really as ceremonial as would become of an anthem, although it is nice to listen to" (Cvetko 2005). Since the relevant authorities could not reach a consensus, another round of discussions on the national anthem was conducted at a later stage.

After the Constitution for the republic was passed in 1974, stipulating in Article 10 that the "Socialist Republic of Slovenia has an anthem defined by law", the discussion on the national anthem of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia resumed in the Republic's Assembly. An expert group came to an agreement to have *Zdravljica* as the anthem, but they chose the version by Ubald Vrabec, not Premrl (Humer 2005). Then politicians listened to both versions, by Premrl and Vrabec (Kmecl 2005). When it seemed already that the latter would be selected, a member of the coordinating body said: "People may think what they will, yes, but Premrl's was still more beautiful" (Humer 2005). Once again, *Zdravljica* was not officially confirmed as the anthem of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Vladimir Bračič then proposed to the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia to choose Jenko's *Naprej, zastava slave!* as the anthem, but they did not do so, because Premrl's *Zdravljica* had already been generally accepted as the unofficial anthem. Evidence of this can be found in two anecdotes. The first is a rock version of Premrl's *Zdravljica* by the band Lačni Franz from the mid-1980s, which was met with great enthusiasm by the youth.[4] The band's frontman Zoran Predin remembers that Lačni Franz received many letters of thanks from primary school teachers that "children are now learning Zdravljica on their own, without having to be forced to do so, so we are very grateful" (Kopina 2010). The second anecdote is related to a celebration of the fourth centenary of the death of reformer Primož Trubar, the author of the first printed books in Slovenian, held in his home village of Rašica. Kmecl (2005) remembers the event like this:

> In 1986, on the 400th anniversary of Trubar's death, when there was a big celebration in Rašica, I remember quite well we said we would stand up when they started singing [*Zdravljica*]. Since if we have a ceremonial song with which we identify, then we should also act as becomes of a national anthem. And so, there were maybe about ten of us standing at first, and then the old Vidmar[5] looked around at what was going on, and he understood immediately what it was about and stood up as well. Then the entire audience stood up, everyone who was there at that Trubar ceremony.

From there on to declaring *Zdravljica* the national anthem, there was only one more logical step. The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia adopted and declared the relevant amendments to the 1974 Constitution on 27 September 1989. Constitutional Amendment XII stipulated in Article 1: "The anthem of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is 'Zdravljica'."

4 The version by *Lačni Franz*, which was on the band's 1987 album, was banned at first, and the cassettes finished in a bunker instead of music stores.

5 Josip Vidmar, literary critic and one of the leaders of the Communist Party in Slovenia.

Although technically speaking the Constitution did not define the specific version, everything was clear in practice. A few months later, on 22 February 1990, the National Assembly proposed an anthem bill, and its accompanying explanation reads:

> The Constitutional Amendment stipulates that the anthem of the SR of Slovenia is "Zdravljica", but not that it is the Zdravljica written by Prešeren and set to music by Premrl. Although there is no doubt as to the version, it seems that when discussing and adopting this amendment all the previously open questions related to the Slovenian anthem were not delved into.

The bill was adopted unanimously. When Slovenia declared independence, the national anthem was set down in the Constitution, which states in Article 6 that the national anthem of the Republic of Slovenia is *Zdravljica*, but the exact song and its use are defined in more detail in the *Act Regulating the Coat-of-Arms, Flag and Anthem of the Republic of Slovenia* (Official Gazette 64/1994).

Hej, Brigade – From a Partisan Song to the Unofficial Anthem of Ljubljana

Hej, brigade (Hey, brigades) is one of the most well-known Slovene WWII songs. According to its author Matej Bor (real name Vladimir Pavšič), it was written sometime between the summer of 1941 and autumn of 1942. There are different variations in the lyrics as well as the melody. The exact circumstances of its creation are unclear from Bor's written recollections, but he recounts: "The motif came spontaneously, with the melody preceding the text, but the rhythm came first. Listening to the Partisan machineguns echoing in the surroundings of Ljubljana and up to the hills around Polhov gradec, I felt a yearning for the woods…in other words, for the freedom that was there in spite of all the problems, but not in Ljubljana" (Matoz, 2014). While Bor claims he was the one who came up with the melody, official history says the author of the melody was composer France Šturm, and it is supposed to have been sung for the Partisans for the first time by his wife Bogdana

Stritar.[6] Šturm's tune did not become popular, which is why Bor tried with his own, which Partisans started singing (Cvetko 1974: 47). Despite what Cvetko writes, it remains unclear who is the author of the melody known to this day. Formally, Franc Šturm is cited as the author, although it seems the melody, not only the lyrics, also came from Bor, while some sources also cite Radoslav Hrovatin as the author. This song is probably one of the cases of which Cvetko (1985: 6) notes that the melodies of Partisan songs changed through time, so the version of *Hej, brigade* that we know today is different than the one by Bor, and also different to that sung after the war (in the choral arrangement by Karol Pahor). In short—something in between.

Why did *Hej, brigade* become the unofficial anthem of Ljubljana? Mostly likely because of the lyrics, as one of the verses mentions Slovenia and its capital Ljubljana. The verse starts with "Čez poljane požgane / Tja do bele Ljubljane" (Across the scorched plains / All the way to white Ljubljana), and concludes with a line referring to Slovenia: "Na Slovenskem smo mi gospodar!" (We're the masters of Slovene lands!). And what makes *Hej, brigade* the unofficial anthem of Ljubljana? Participant observation and reviews of available audio-visual sources have shown that the visitors of events in Ljubljana where the song is performed stand up already with the sounding of the first few bars. Unlike with the national anthem, *Hej, brigade* is not only listened to, but involves active participation. It is also interesting to observe the dramatic structure usually used by conductors when performing this song in Ljubljana (it is not used elsewhere in Slovenia). This dramatic structure consists of two phases: the first phase includes the first two verses where the tempo is relatively fast and the conductor faces the musicians, but in the third verse ("Čez poljane požgane…"), which refers to Ljubljana and Slovenia, the conductor slows down the tempo and the audience takes active part in the performance (by singing along, clapping to the rhythm, or both). The song is followed by an applause.

6 Reportedly it was first sung as a solo by Bogdana Stritar accompanied by an accordion in Stare Žage for the Levstik Brigade (or maybe the Prešeren Brigade), before Italy capitulated (Križnar 1992: 64).

Vstajenje Primorske – From a Propaganda Song to the Unofficial Anthem of Primorska

The lyrics of the song *Vstajenje Primorske* (The Rise of Primorska) were written as a poem by lawyer and Partisan fighter Lev Svetek, alias Zorin, on 6 January 1944 at Križna gora near Col, after having climbed a nearby peak and seeing the entire Primorska Region spread before him (Černigoj, 2013; Zorin, 2013). He read the poem to his fellow fighters, and they loved it, but it took almost a quarter of a century until it was put to music.

In 1968, a big celebration was being prepared to mark the 25th anniversary of the capitulation of Italy in WWII and the resulting reunification of the Primorska Region with the rest of Slovene territory. The ceremony would take place in Nova Gorica, which also celebrated the 20th anniversary of its establishment. A delegation from the city decided that something special and unique should be prepared for the occasion, so they asked composer Rado Simoniti (also a native of the Primorska Region) to compose a special song that would rouse emotions with the people of this region (Cigoj, 2013). Simoniti initially said it was too late, but later decided to nevertheless put together a song using the poem by Lev Svetek, whom he had known since they were students and fellow resistance fighters.[7]

The song is made up of two parts. The first part is an original verse by Rado Simoniti, while the second part (chorus) is taken from Fran Venturini's song *Bazovica*, which was written in memory of four Slovene early anti-Fascists who were executed by the Italians in Basovizza (near Trieste) in 1930, which Simoniti also wrote explicitly about when the piece was published. However, a careful analysis demonstrates that already Venturini's chorus already paraphrases a Christian hymn to Mary entitled *Ti, o Marija* by Angelik Hribar[8] (see Figure 2).

7 Archival documents even include a letter by Rado Simoniti to Lev Svetek, asking him to correct certain passages, because the original text could not be put to music in a sensible way.

8 The song is also known in Croatia as *Djevi Mariji*.

Figure 2: *Corresponding passages from Ti, o Marija, Bazovica and Vstajenje Primorske*

Source: Cerkvene ljudske pesmi (1978: n. 390), Venturini (1954), Moški zbori (1968: 1–2)

Nevertheless, the song *Vstajenje Primorske* was received with great approval at the said ceremony in 1968. Its popularity grew so big that it even overshadowed Venturini's *Bazovica*, which became evident at a 1978 ceremony in Komen, where "a crowd of over a hundred people simply rose to their feet" at the chorus (Merlak 2013). It was then that the song earned the title of the anthem of Primorska. Participant observation and analysis of audio-visual footage have shown that people still stand when the song is performed. The only difference with this song is that people in the Primorska Region always rise for the chorus only, while in other parts of Slovenia, particularly in Ljubljana, many stand up already when the song starts. The song is always followed by an applause. A particularly interesting case was a 2016 basketball match between the clubs Sixt Primorska from Koper and Helios Suns from Domžale (central Slovenia), when some 300 singers staged a flash mob, singing *Vstajenje Primorske* during the match. Even the spectators on the side of Helios Suns stood up for the chorus, despite being fans of the other team (KK Koper – Primorska 2016).

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of this article was to analyse the diplomatic/statecraft momentum of the national anthem and two unofficial anthems in Slovenia. Our findings can be summarised in three main points:

1. All three of the analysed songs used as (un)official anthems in Slovenia became that through the bottom-up principle. Scholars and politicians did not initially perceive Premrl's *Zdravljica* as national anthem material, nor was *Hej, brigade* written as an anthem for the capital, and the same goes for *Vstajenje Primorske* and its position in the Primorska Region. Based on this, we can establish that for the diplomatic/statecraft momentum to develop, it is important that a particular musical piece be accepted among the people. People must feel it and take it as their own.
2. All three songs developed the diplomatic/statecraft momentum, not only internally, but also externally. Standing up for

the two unofficial (local/regional) anthems testifies to the strong symbolism of the two songs within their respective areas. With respect to *Vstajenje Primorske*, we could almost say its symbolic importance exceeds its regional character and partly merges into national-level statecraft. This is an important finding, which can—in reference to Figure 1—serve political decision makers in their pursuit of statecraft.

3. Musical analysis reveals that all three songs are fundamentally different. While Premrl's *Zdravljica* creates an anthemic feeling with a fourth from the dominant to the tonic (an anthemic interval), neither *Hej, brigade* nor *Vstajenje Primorske* opens with such an interval (*Hej, brigade* progresses from the mediant to the tonic, and *Vstajenje Primorske* progresses up from the tonic to the mediant in a minor scale), but the chorus of *Vstajenje Primorske* does start with a descending fourth, which leaves a similar anthemic impression as an upward fourth. This might be one of the reasons the chorus seems so majestic and likable.

Of course, we are aware of the limitations to our discussion. If we wished to analyse anthems as a source of the diplomatic/statecraft momentum, we would also need to consider other unofficial anthems, including songs by the Avsenik brothers, which are certainly part of the diplomatic/statecraft repertoire. Apart from this limitation, further analyses should also take into consideration the broader context of how the songs analysed were created (composing because of a need, due to circumstances, or commissioned compositions), as well as other related songs that are or could be used as elements of statecraft in Slovenia. Finally, we should also establish foreign influences, particularly the influences of neighbouring musical traditions, and test our findings diachronically against the time when the songs came to being.

Regardless of these limitations and suggestions for further research, our findings lead to the conclusion that all three analysed works have the potential for integration in the national system of statecraft. Aside from *Zdravljica*, which is by definition a symbol of statecraft and the state's diplomatic activity, *Hej, brigade* and *Vstajenje Primorske* could also be better and more ambitiously incorporated in the national statecraft system. This discussion opens up the possibility for increased awareness of political decision makers about this, with a conscious decision for the next possible step. And the future will tell if this step is in fact taken.

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SCIENTIFIC ARTICLE

THE LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE OF FINANCIAL LITERACY AND RISK OF THE PORTUGUESE

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The themes of financial literacy and financial risk have been the subject of systematic study in recent decades, as inescapable variables that characterize the individual's financial performance, and it also emerges as a factor for maintaining social well-being. The purpose of the present study is to study the level of knowledge of literacy and financial risk of the Portuguese and to ascertain whether sociodemographic and professional variables interfere in the levels of literacy and financial risk knowledge. The methodology used is quantitative, and the measurement instrument is based on a questionnaire survey that assesses the levels of knowledge of literacy and financial risk. The sample consists of 830 Portuguese individuals, from different regions in mainland Portugal, over 18 years of age. The results show that Portuguese individuals have a higher level of knowledge of financial literacy than financial risk, the levels of knowledge of financial literacy are satisfactory and the levels of knowledge of financial risk are low. It is also noteworthy that individuals who have a educational background in the area of management or similar have higher average levels of knowledge of financial literacy. With increasing age and level of training there is also an increment in the levels of knowledge about financial literacy and on the best way to manage financial risk. So, there is a need for financial education initiatives that involve all the contributors to financial knowledge.

Key words: financial literacy, financial risk, financial education, financial decisions, financial well-being

INTRODUCTION

Financial literacy and financial risk have been gaining importance in people‘s daily lives. This is due to new and increasingly complex financial products, to the subprime crisis in 2008, and, more recently, to the financial and economic impact of the Covid-19 pandemic. There is no manner to universally define and measure financial literacy, according to Ouachani, Belhassine and Kammoun (2020). However, financial literacy can be understood as the degree of mastery of key concepts that provides people with capacity and trust to manage their personal finances conveniently. Financial literacy is characterized as the ability to read, analyze, manage and communicate the financial aspects of everyday life of individuals who are at the level of their material well-being. It can also be explained as the level of knowledge about the characteristics of markets, their instruments, their regulation, their institutions, and as the competence to use the acquired knowledge in the financial area. Several studies focus on the definition and the measure of this concept. Different items are used in the literature and are typically related to the study topics. The used calculation methods differ across the different studies.

In human perception, risk is often associated with loss. On the other hand, it is also associated with the number of investors concerned by the impact on the results of any future events. The risk is therefore subjective, and its perception is influenced by several factors, including cognitive, emotional, demographic and personality (Aren and Zengin 2016). Better financial knowledge leads investors to gain greater risk tolerance, as it is indicated by Bannier and Neubert (2016). These authors point out that this is not only because of a greater ability to analyze information, but also because investors become more able to make riskier and higher-return investments.

Ayadi, Challita and Groen (2019) found empirical evidence that all southern and eastern Mediterranean countries are falling behind EU Mediterranean countries, regarding financial development, which is defined as the improvement of functions in the financial area, like pooling of savings, risk diversification, and allocating and monitoring capital for productive investments. The authors compared all African southern and eastern Mediterranean countries with a sample of seven EU Mediterranean countries, of which the most financially developed one was Spain, and the least financially developed country was Cyprus. For the authors, economic growth and the creation of jobs in that region is affected by the exclusion of financial services by families and micro, small and medium companies. This indicates the authors' view on these two different concepts: economic growth and financial development. It is clear that there is a symbiosis between both, because economic growth depends heavily on financial development. According to them, it is necessary to invest in financial education enhanced for the least qualified ones, because there is a lack of financial education in part of the population, which stops them from understanding and using financial services efficiently.

In all populations it is important to characterize standards of literacy and financial risk and to measure its levels, in order to define training strategies, training areas and population groups with greater training needs. This characterization/measurement should be carried out continuously, in order to identify the registered progress and to improve the implemented strategies. Portugal is an adequate case study, not only because students who are not from economic areas graduate without having financial training, but also because the level of indebtedness of the Portuguese families and of the Portuguese State is high (Bank of Portugal 2011; 2016).

This article aims to study the level of knowledge of financial literacy and financial risk of the Portuguese and to ascertain whether sociodemographic and professional variables interfere in the levels of literacy and financial risk knowledge. To materialize these objectives, after this introduction, the article presents the literature review and in the third section the methodology. In the fourth section, results and their discussion are presented, in particular the levels of knowledge of financial literacy, financial risk and statistically significant differences. At the end, the conclusions are presented.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The themes of literacy and financial risk are indispensable issues in the area of human development, with several studies that refer to its importance.

Studies on the importance of financial literacy

Authors Mandell and Klein (2009), Grifoni and Messy (2012) and Ward and Lynch (2018) mention that people with more knowledge and financial skills can make better decisions. Lusardi and Tufano (2015) and Calcagno and Monticone (2015) conclude that financial literacy is especially important when financial products are complex. Ignorance of the world of finance leads to wrong decisions and represents significant costs. Klapper, Lusardi and Panos (2013), Lusardi (2015) and Letkiewicz, Lim, Heckman and Montalto (2019) also understand that people with strong financial skills make better work planning and savings for retirement, have a lower level of indebtedness and save more. The authors noted that households with strong financial skills generally increase their savings levels at times of economic recession.

People with better financial literacy can more easily withstand economic shocks, not requiring credit, avoiding over-indebtedness, which allows for financial security and contributes to the economic development of societies (Lewis and Messy 2012; Sucuahi 2013; Cossa, Magdalene and Mota 2018; Siyanbola 2018). As far as consumption is concerned, Rahmandoust et al. (2011) and Akhtar and Liu (2018) wrote that consumers with better financial literacy make better decisions for themselves and their families, and increase their economic security and welfare. Ayadi (2013) states that, besides its effect on growth, developing an inclusive financial system for people with different levels of financial literacy may have a positive impact on equality, giving poorest individuals opportunities to save up and credit which is needed in their lives.

Authors Gouws and Shuttleworth (2009) and Ahmed, Rahmandoust and Noreen (2018) mentioned that, in the business world, change is sudden and that information circulates at the speed of light. Only with evolved financial literacy can the balance between the relevance of information and its ability to perceive and interpret it be established.

In addition to the previously presented studies, others such as Gorbachev and Prado (2019) and Potrich and Vieira (2018) conclude that more experience and more financial literacy lead investors to acquire greater risk tolerance. The authors‘ understanding is that by increasing the level of financial literacy and by having greater ability to analyze information, the investor improves the ability to make riskier and more returnable investments. Lusardi and Mitchell (2014) studied the level of education and training of parents and their impact on their children‘s financial literacy. Zulaihati, Susanti and Widyastuti (2020) refer that financial alphabetization positively influences the financial behaviour of professors.

Variables studied in financial literacy

Financial literacy studies are referenced to several variables, such as: gender, age, level of education, region, marital status, professional situation, income level, training in economics/finance, financial experience and knowledge, employment and profession (Fonseca et al. 2012; Santos, Silva and Gonzalez 2018; Bannier and Schwarz 2018). According to the life cycle theory, age is one of the most important factors, in terms of loan markets (Modigliani and Brumberg 1954).

Abreu and Mendes (2009), Bharucha (2019), Deenanath, Danes and Jang (2019) and Kuntze, Wooldridge and Whang (2019) studied the knowledge of financial investors and their levels of financial literacy, and related this correlation to the impact on the likelihood of wealth accumulation and retirement planning. Windfried (2017) explains that Millennials from the European Union consider creating a personal budget to be important but require advice on financial services.

For Pacheco, Ribeiro and Tavares (2016) and Tavares, Almeida and Cunha (2019) the factors with impact on financial literacy are: (i) the financial education and training taught by the family during childhood and adolescence, (ii) the education and financial training taught by school during childhood and adolescence,

(iii) perceptions about savings, and (iv) understanding the price of money. However, Finke, Howe and Huston (2016) and Hanson and Kalthoff (2018) understand that essential notions about stocks, risk diversification and portfolio management are needed. Related to this topic Knoll and Houts (2012) and Lusardi and Mitchell (2014) underline the importance of being capable of analyzing interest rates, inflation, risk diversification and sales discount, while Potrich and Vieira (2018) and Salem (2019) highlight issues such as inflation, interest rate, value of money in time, risk, diversification, stock market, credit and government bonds and financial literacy.

The degree of financial literacy has an impact on wealth accumulation and future financial life planning. There is basic knowledge of financial literacy that should be taken into account. Aspects such as knowledge for dealing with interest rates, inflation rates, risk diversification, perceptions of savings and understanding of financial markets are unavoidable variables in the level of financial literacy. In a study conducted by Garg and Singh (2018) the financial literacy of young people is studied, relating it to socioeconomic and demographic factors. Ranyard et al. (2020) refer that, in England, financial education became compulsory at schools in 2014, and that curricular plans include interest rates, credit, forms of payment, inflation, savings, and investments.

Shen, Lin, Tang and Hsiao (2016) report that people with better financial literacy tend to exhibit more positive attitudes in resolving financial disputes, and so they have higher levels of financial well-being. On this topic, the authors Taft, Hosein, Mehrizi and Roshan (2013) conclude that there is a positive correlation between age, financial literacy and financial well-being. Moreover, the highest level of financial well-being is associated with financial literacy. A higher level of financial literacy leads to lower financial concerns and reduces the fear of making these decisions. This point of view is not shared with Stolper and Walter (2017). These authors conclude that the level of financial literacy is different when we compare low and high-income people. In the study which was conducted for Germany, the authors observed that young people, the elderly, and low-income people have low literacy levels and as such are propense to make financial mistakes, and therefore, age is not a relevant factor.

In Bannier and Neubert's view (2016), financial literacy is relevant in the assumption of financial risks, but there are differences between men and women. According to the authors, in order to reduce the gender gap in investment patterns, financial literacy and risk tolerance for females need to be increased.

Moreover, Aren and Zengin (2016) identified a correlation between financial literacy and investment preferences. They also concluded in their study that financial literacy was higher in men than in women and that single women tend to take more financial risks than married women. The availability to take on financial risks was also studied by Chu and Wang (2017). The authors found a strong correlation between financial literacy and risky behaviours in financial assets. They concluded that the more financial literacy there is, the less courage there is to take risks by households with a higher financial level, because they are more careful with investments. Thus, it is important to separate all the aforementioned variables, such as gender and marital status, to recognize which ones are the most relevant to investment patterns and risk tolerance.

Based on the defined objectives and the review of the literature carried out in the present study, the following hypotheses related to the knowledge of financial literacy and financial risk with sociodemographic and professional variables were elaborated and which will be tested in the empirical part are:

- Hypothesis 1: There is a positive correlation between knowledge of financial literacy and knowledge of financial risk.

  This hypothesis has the support of the authors Gorbachev and Prado (2019) and Potrich and Vieira (2018).
- Hypothesis 2: Men have a higher level of financial literacy and know how to deal better with risk.

  This hypothesis is based on the authors Aren and Zengin (2016) and Bannier and Neubert (2016).
- Hypothesis 3: Individuals who have training in the area of Management and alike areas have a higher level of financial literacy and risk management.

Hypothesis 3 is formulated based on Lusardi and Mitchell (2014); Tavares et al. (2019); Garg and Singh (2018) and Chu and Wang (2017). Note that, by "Management and alike areas", we mean degrees in Management, Economics, Finance, and Accounting. These are areas we decided to group, because all include Mathematical Finance, Statistics and Portfolio Management, which are relevant subjects for this study.

- Hypothesis 4: With increasing age, knowledge about financial literacy increases.

  Hypothesis 4 is based on the authors Santos et al. (2018) and Bannier and Neubert (2016).
- Hypothesis 5: With increasing the level of training, the levels of knowledge of financial literacy and knowledge about financial risk increase.

  This hypothesis has the authors Garg and Singh (2018), Potrich and Vieira (2018) and Salem (2019).
- Hypothesis 6: Individuals working on their own or others have better levels of financial literacy and risk management.

  Hypothesis 6 is based on the authors Bharucha (2019) and Kuntze et al. (2019).
- Hypothesis 7: A higher level of financial literacy and knowledge of financial risk is associated to a higher level of income.

  This hypothesis is supported by the authors such as Santos et al. (2018), Knoll and Houts (2012), and Salem (2019).

METHODOLOGY

Population and Sample

The target population of the present study are the Portuguese over 18 years of age. Portugal already held, by the Bank of Portugal, two surveys assessment of financial literacy. The first one was held in 2010 and the second one in 2015 (Bank of Portugal 2011; 2016). The results of the surveys, over time, allow us to evaluate the results of previously implemented actions and to analyze the changes in behavioral patterns in financial decision making. In the second survey, 30 countries participated, and Portugal in the aggregate indicator of financial behavior was in 8th place, in the aggregate indicator related to financial attitudes was in 5th place and in the aggregate indicator of financial knowledge was in 13th place. Regarding the global financial literacy indicator (sum of the results of the three indicators described above), Portugal appears in 10th place. The data collection process used to survey the participants consisted on the application of the stratified non-probabilistic sampling method, in which the application of the questionnaire was national. The idea was obtaining identical groups with and without training in the field of Management and alike areas. Thus, the sample consists of quotas (more or less identical) of some characteristics of the population study (gender, marital status and training in the area of Economics and alike) in a non-random manner, to ease the operation of the entire process and to reduce the associated costs.

After data collection, it was verified whether the questionnaires were complete, and the existence of outliers was also analyzed, leaving the sample constituted by 830 individuals with characteristics of the study population, most of them male (59.3%). The age of the respondents varies between 18 and 71 years, with a mean of 37 years (SD = 12.04). As for marital status, we have to 50.3% of individuals are single, separated, divorced or widowed and 49.6% are married or are non-married partners. Regarding the level of education, 1.9% have a level of education lower than or equal to 9th grade, 22.7% have secondary education, 50.0% have a Bachelor's degree and 25.4% have a Master's or a PhD. In regard to the area of school training, 56.7% of respondents have training in the area of Management or similar. As for the professional situation of individuals, 12.8% are self-employed workers, 62.3% are workers on behalf of others, 17.6% are students or trainees, 2.7% are unemployed and 1.9% are retired or pensioners. On the net household's annual income, 14.5% have an annual income of less than €10,000.00; 29.9% have a yield between €10,001.00 and €20,000.00; 20.8% between €20 001.00 and €30 000.00; 17.8% between €30,001.00 and €45,000.00; 9.0% between €45,001.00 and €60,000.00 and 8.0% have a gross annual income of more than €60,000.00.

Data Collection Instruments

The questionnaire survey consisted of three parts. The first part consisted of the sociodemographic profile of respondents (gender, age, marital status, level of education, training area, professional situation, annual illiquid income), the second part assessed literacy knowledge levels and the third part referred to the levels of knowledge of financial risk. To assess the levels of knowledge of financial literacy, according to the literature review, 11 multiple choice questions were used (Table 1), where each question has a single correct option that is marked bold.

Table 1: *Questions Assessing Knowledge of Financial Literacy*

Q1- Imagine that the interest rate of your savings account is 1% per year and inflation of 2% per year. After 1 year, you would be able to buy: (A) more than today with the money in this account (B) exactly the same as today with the money in this account (C) **less than today with the money in this account** (D) I don't know
Q2- Do you think the following statement is true or false? "Bonds are usually riskier than stocks". (A) True (B) **False** (C) I don't know
Q3- Considering a long period of time (e.g. 10 or 20 years), which asset described below usually gives the highest return? (A) Savings accounts (B) **Stocks** (C) Bonds (D) I do not know
Q4- Typically, which asset described below displays the largest fluctuations over time? (A) Savings accounts (B) **Stocks** (C) Bonds (D) I do not know
Q5- When an investor applies his money in different assets, the risk of losing money is: (A) High (B) **Low** (C) It is indifferent (D) I do not know
Q6- Do you think the following statement is true or false? "If you were to invest €1,000 in a stock fund, you could have less than €1000 when you withdraw your money." (A) **True** (B) False (C) I don't know
Q7- Do you think the following statement is true or false? "A stock fund combines the money of many investors to buy a variety of stocks." (A) **True** (B) False (C) I don't know

Q8- Do you think the following statement is true or false? "A 15-year mortgage typically requires higher monthly payments than a 30-year mortgage, but the total interest paid during the lifetime of the loan will be lower." (A) **True** (B) False (C) I don't know
Q9- Suppose you had €100 in a savings account and the interest rate was 20% per year and you never raised money or interest payments. After five years, how much would you have in that account in total? (A) **More than 200 €** (B) Exactly €200 (C) Less than €200 (D) Do not know
Q10- Which of the following statements is correct? If someone buys company B bonds: (A) It owns a part of company B (B) **He lent money to company B** (C) He is responsible for the debts of company B (D) None of the above options (E) I don't know
Q11- Suppose you owe €3,000 on your credit card. You make a minimum payment of €30 per month. With an annual rate of 12% (or 1% per month), how many years would it take to eliminate your credit card debt if you didn't make additional new purchases? (A) less than 5 years (B) between 5 and 10 years (C) between 10 and 15 years (D) **never** (E) I do not know

The options marked bold are the correct ones.

To evaluate the knowledge levels of financial risk, according to the literature review, 4 multiple choice questions were used (Table 2), where each question has a single correct option that is marked bold.

Table 2: *Questions Assessing Financial Risk Knowledge*

Q12- Imagine we launched a given six sides a thousand times. From 1,000 times released, how many times do you think the given would come as an even number? Of the values below, what is the most likely result? (A) 157 (B) 298 (C) **512** (D) 754 (E) 919 (F) The above answers are all equally likely (G) I do not know
Q13- In the National Lottery, the chances of winning a prize of 10 € are 1%. What is your guess about how many people would win a €10 prize if 1,000 people buy a single lottery ticket? (A) 1 (B) 2 (C) **10** (D) 100 (E) 110 (F) The above answers are also likely to (G) I do not know
Q14- If 5 machines take 5 minutes to make 5 toys, how long would it take 100 machines to make 100 toys? (A) 1 minute (B) **5 minutes** (C) 10 minutes (D) 100 minutes (E) 1000 minutes (F) 1 day (G) None of the above options (H) I don't know.
Q15- In a lake, there are water lilies. Every day, the number of waterliates in flower doubles. If it takes 48 days to bloom the whole lake, how long would it take the baby flowers to cover half the lake? (A) 16 days (B) 24 days (C) 25 days (D) 32 days (E) 26 days (F) 22 days (G**) 47 days** (H) I don't know.

The options marked bold are the correct ones.
Source: Own elaboration

Procedure

The questionnaires were applied between March and April 2019. These were presented to participants accompanied by a small introductory summary that defines the objectives of the study and ensures that the information provided is anonymous and confidential.

To process the data, IBM SPSS Statistics 25 software was used, and descriptive statistics techniques were used to describe the sample and to perform a descriptive analysis of some variables that characterize literacy knowledge financial and financial risk. The statistical inference technique was used to compare means between groups (Student's t-test to compare two paired samples, Student's t-test to compare two independent samples, ANOVA to compare three or more independent groups and whenever significant differences were found using ANOVA, the Tukey multiple comparison test was used) and to study the relationship between variables (Pearson or Spearman correlation). It is noteworthy that the statistical assumptions for the application of the different tests were previously analyzed, which allowed their application with confidence (Hair et al. 2014; Marôco 2018; Pestana and Gageiro, 2014).

To calculate the size of the effect of the differences in the groups' averages, Cohen's square eta was used. According to Pallant (2013), Cohen's square eta values can be classified as: 0.01 (weak), 0.06 (moderate) and 0.14 (strong). In the evaluation of the magnitude of correlations, Cohen criteria (Pallant 2013) were chosen: a low correlation when $0.10 \leq |r| \leq 0.29$, moderate correlation when $0.30 \leq |r| \leq 0.49$ and high correlation when $|r| \geq 0.50$.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Levels of Knowledge and Financial Literacy and Financial Risk

From the 11 questions which assessed the levels of knowledge of financial literacy and the 4 issues which assessed the levels of financial risk knowledge, 15 new binary variables were obtained, which indicate if the individual got each of the questions right or wrong (with each correct answer was assigned 1 point and in case it is incorrect was awarded 0 points).

Table 3 shows the number of individuals who responded correctly to each of the 15 questions and their percentages. The questions that obtained the highest percentage of correct answers are related to knowledge of financial literacy and are question Q6 (80.2%, n = 666) and question Q1 (70.2%, n = 583). It should be noted that questions relating to financial risk knowledge have low percentages of correct answers, with the highest percentage obtained in question Q13 (44.8%, n = 372), which shows that people have difficulty doing basic calculations with percentages, as is the case with 1% of 1,000. The descriptive results show that it is important to adopt strategies to improve the financial knowledge (literacy and risk) of the population, for example, making the curricular unit of financial education in schools compulsory, as it was already adopted in 2014 in England (Ranyard et al. 2020).

Table 3: *Number of Correct Answers and Their Percentage per Question*

	Questions	*n*	%
Knowledge of Financial Literacy	Q1	583	70.2
	Q2	539	64.9
	Q3	220	26.5
	Q4	635	76.5
	Q5	526	63.4
	Q6	666	80.2
	Q7	548	66.0
	Q8	574	69.2
	Q9	447	53.9
	Q10	399	48.1
	Q11	94	11.3
Knowledge of Financial Risk	Q12	261	31.4
	Q13	372	44.8
	Q14	267	32.2
	Q15	184	22.2

Source: Own Elaboration

To obtain the variable "knowledge of financial literacy", the sum of the scores which were obtained in the 11 binary variables was performed, which indicated whether the individual got the first 11 questions right or wrong (Q1 to Q11). Thus, the variable knowledge of financial literacy can take values on a scale between 0 (missed all issues) and 11 (hit all issues) points. To obtain the variable "level of knowledge of financial risk", the sum of the scores obtained in the 4 binary variables was performed, which indicated whether the individual hit or missed questions Q12, Q13, Q14 and Q15, so that the variable knowledge of financial risk can take values on a scale between 0 (got all questions wrong) and 4 (got all questions right) points. Then, in order to make comparisons, among the variables knowledge of financial literacy and knowledge of financial risk, both variables were converted to the same measurement scale, a scale of 0 to 20 points was chosen.

To classify the level of knowledge of financial literacy and financial risk of the 830 individuals, a tripartite division was considered, with their cutoff points 6.67 and 13.33, that is, an interpretation based on a „traffic light", through the levels of knowledge, namely: low knowledge (red: values ranging from 0 to 6.67), satisfactory knowledge (yellow: values ranging from 6.68 to 13.33) and high knowledge (green: values ranging from 13.34 to 20). This methodology has been used in psychosocial risk studies, in which in the "traffic light" interpretation, green identifies a favorable situation, yellow an intermediate situation and red a risk situation (Silva et al. 2012). Thus, table 4 shows that individuals have good knowledge about financial literacy, since 45.8% are classified as having satisfactory knowledge and 38.8% high knowledge. Knowledge of financial risk is considered low, as most have low levels (61.8%). Given the average values obtained and table 4 data, the level of knowledge of financial literacy of sample individuals can be classified as satisfactory and the level of knowledge of financial risk can be classified as unsatisfactory. A strategy based on developing a financial system for people with different levels of financial literacy can have a positive impact (Ayadi 2013). Therefore, people can gain ability to use financial services more efficiently, contributing to the development of societies and the economy.

Table 4: *Descriptive Statistics of Knowledge of Financial Literacy and Financial Risk*

	Knowledge of Financial Literacy		Knowledge of Financial Risk	
		%		%
Low	128	15.4	513	61.8
Satisfactory	380	45.8	153	18.4
High	322	38.8	164	19.8

Through the application of the Student's t-test to the variables "knowledge of financial literacy" and "knowledge of financial risk", there were statistically significant differences ($t(829) = -23{,}521$, $p < 0.001$). The magnitude of the mean differences has a large effect size (squared eta = 0.40) according to Pallant (2013). Thus, it can be inferred that Portuguese individuals have higher levels of knowledge of financial literacy ($M = 11.46$, $SD = 4.87$) than knowledge of financial risk ($M = 6.53$, $SD = 6.31$). Although the knowledge of financial literacy is greater than the knowledge of financial risk, the Portuguese government must implement measures to support training in schools and in families to improve the levels of financial literacy (Tavares and Almeida, 2020) and in this way, according to Bannier and Neubert (2016), increase the knowledge of financial risk. It is urgent to improve the knowledge of financial risk, taking into consideration the answers that the respondents gave to the survey. These included key concepts of Financial Mathematics and Statistics, which indicates a lack of training in these areas.

Testing Hypotheses

From the application of Pearson's correlation, it can be verified that there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between knowledge of literacy and financial risk ($r = 0.44$, $p < 0.001$), and the correlation is classified as moderate according to Cohen's criteria (Pallant, 2013), which means that higher levels of knowledge of financial literacy are associated with higher levels of financial risk knowledge, which empirically supports the Hypothesis 1, corroborating, with the results of the studies of Gorbachev and Prado (2019) and Potrich and Vieira (2018).

To find out if there are significant differences in knowledge of financial literacy and financial risk between two independent samples (men and women, singles/divorced/widowed/married, /non-married partners, people who have training in the area of management or similar and people who are not) Student‘s t-test was used. There were statistically significant differences between men and women in the knowledge of financial literacy (t(828) = 9,840, p < 0.001) and in knowledge of financial risk (t(781.65) = 7,424, p < 0.001). The magnitude of the average differences, according to Pallant (2013), has a moderate effect size for the knowledge of financial literacy (squared eta = 0.10) and for the knowledge of financial risk (squared eta = 0.06). There were no significant differences in knowledge of financial risk (t(828) = -1,097, p > 0.05) between single/divorced/widowed individuals and married/non-married partners, but there are statistically significant differences between single/divorced/widowed individuals and married/non-married partners in the knowledge of financial literacy (t(828) = -5,033, p < 0.001). The magnitude of the average differences, according to Pallant (2013), has a low effect size for the knowledge of financial literacy (squared eta = 0.03). There were also statistically significant differences in knowledge of financial literacy (t(700,124) = 7,452, p < 0.001) between those who have training in the area and those who do not have, and the magnitude of the mean differences presents a square eta of 0.06, which according to Pallant (2013) is considered a moderate effect size. There were no significant differences in knowledge of financial risk (t(828) = 0.764, p > 0.05) among those who have training in the area and those who do not have. From the application of statistical tests and by observing the descriptive measures of Table 5, it can be inferred that in terms of knowledge of literacy and financial risk, men are the ones with the highest average levels, which empirically supports the Hypothesis 2, corroborating the studies of Aren and Zengin (2016) and Bannier and Neubert (2016). In terms of knowledge of financial literacy, it is possible to infer that married individuals or non-married partners have higher average levels and it can also be inferred that individuals who have training in the area of management or similar are those who present higher average levels. In regard to the knowledge of financial risk in the groups of variables marital status and training in the area of management, it can be stated, from a sample point of view, that individuals married or unmarried partners and those who have training in the management area present higher average levels, which is proven with the basic studies Lusardi and Mitchell (2014); Tavares et al. (2019); Garg and Singh (2018) and Chu and Wang (2017). Thus, the Hypothesis 3 is empirically sustained only for the knowledge of financial literacy.

Through the application of Pearson's correlation, there is a statistically significant and positive correlation between age and knowledge of financial literacy ($r = 0.22$, $p < 0.001$), which indicates that when age increases, the levels of knowledge of financial literacy also increase. This correlation is of low magnitude (Pallant, 2013). Statistically significant differences were found between age and financial risk knowledge ($r = 0.03$, $p > 0.05$).

Table 5: *Descriptive Measures of Knowledge of Literacy and Financial Risk*

		Knowledge of Financial Risk		Knowledge of Financial Literacy	
Sex	Male (= 492)	7.80	6.43	12.76	4.67
	Female (= 338)	4.67	5.63	9.56	4.52
Civil State	Single/Divorced/ Widower (n = 418)	6.29	6.13	10.63	4.74
	Married/Unmarried partners (n = 412)	6.77	6.48	12.30	4.86
Training in the area of Management	Yes (= 471)	6.68	6.15	12.55	4.37
	No (= 359)	6.34	6.51	10.03	5.13

Using IBM SPSS Statistics 25 software became the age variable into a new variable called age group with 4 age groups (from 18 to 26 years, from 27 to 36 years of age, aged 37 to 46 years and over 47 years), Levene's test revealed the homogeneity of variances, which led to the application of ANOVA, with significant differences in knowledge of financial literacy between the four age groups ($F(3, 826) = 13{,}434$, $p < 0.001$). The magnitude of the average differences, according to Pallant (2013), has a low effect size for the knowledge of financial literacy (squared eta = 0.05). Regarding knowledge of financial risk, no statistically significant differences were found between the four age groups ($F(3, 826) = 0.079$, $p > 0.05$).

Through the application of Tukey's multiple comparison test, there were significant differences in the knowledge of financial literacy between the age groups aged 18 to 26 years ($M = 10.31$, $SD = 4.68$) and from 37 to 46 years ($M = 12.21$, $SD = 4.72$), of the 18 at 26 years and over 47 years ($M = 12.66$, $SD = 5.04$), from 27 to 36 years ($M = 10.38$, $SD = 4.68$) and from 37 to 46 years ($M = 12.21$, $SD = 4.72$) and from 27 to 36 years and over 47 years old, demonstrating the formation of two groups. Thus, there is a group with the lowest literacy knowledge levels, whose age is between 18 and 36 years of age with an average value of less than 10.5 and there is another group with the highest literacy knowledge levels whose age group is above the 37 years with an average value above 12, which empirically holds the Hypothesis 4 proving with the basic studies Santos et al. (2018), and Bannier and Neubert (2016). Age is one of the most important factors, in terms of loan markets (Modigliani and Brumberg 1954). Age is one of the most important factors in terms of loan markets (Modigliani and Brumberg 1954). Thus, the inclusion in curricular plans of a curricular unit of financial education in schools is very important, so that in the future young people will have financial knowledge so as not to get into debt and be able to make savings to have a decent life when they retire.

The application of Spearman's correlation allows to verify that there is a statistically significant and positive correlation between the level of education and knowledge of financial literacy ($r = 0.28$, $p < 0.001$) and between the level of education and knowledge of financial risk ($r = 0.17$, $p < 0.001$), which means that with an increment on the level of training, the levels of knowledge of literacy and financial risk also increase, which empirically holds the Hypothesis 5 proving with the basic studies of Garg and Singh (2018), Potrich and Vieira (2018) and Salem (2019). Both are classified as low magnitude correlations (Pallant 2013).

Regarding professional situation, it is intended to compare, in terms of knowledge of literacy and financial risk, the three most representative groups: self-employed (n = 106, 12.8%), employee-employed (n = 517, 62.3%) and student or trainee (n = 146, 17.6%). Levene's test revealed the homogeneity of variances, which led to the application of ANOVA, verifying the existence of significant differences in the knowledge of financial literacy between the three professional situations ($F(2, 766)$ = 14,039, $p < 0.001$). The magnitude of the average differences, according to Pallant (2013), has a low effect size for the knowledge of financial literacy (squared eta = 0.04). Through the application of Tukey's multiple comparison test, there were significant differences in knowledge of financial literacy among students or trainees (M = 9.69, SD = 4.60) and self-employed (M = 12.56, SD = 4.54) and between students or trainees and workers on behalf of others (M = 11.75, SD = 4.80), and workers on their own or on behalf of others obtaining higher average levels of knowledge of financial literacy when compared to the students or trainees. Regarding knowledge of financial risk, there were no statistically significant differences between the three professional situations ($F(2, 766) = 0.804$, $p > 0.05$). However, from the sample point of view, individuals working on their own or others have higher average levels of knowledge of financial risk, which is evidenced by the studies of the authors Bharucha (2019) and Kuntze et al. (2019). Thus, the Hypothesis 6 is empirically sustained only for the knowledge of financial literacy.

Through the application of Spearman's correlation, there was a statistically significant and positive correlation between illiquid annual income and knowledge of financial literacy (r = 0.35, $p < 0.001$) and between gross annual income and knowledge of financial risk ($r = 0.22$, $p < 0.001$), so it can be inferred that the higher the annual gross income, the higher the levels of knowledge of literacy and financial risk, which empirically holds the Hypothesis 7 proving the with the basic studies of the authors Santos et al. (2018); Knoll and Houts (2012) and Salem (2019). According to Cohen's criteria (Pallant 2013), the first correlation is classified as moderate and the second as low.

CONCLUSIONS

Knowledge of literacy and financial risk are two important variables that characterize the financial performance of an individual. The level of knowledge of financial literacy of Portuguese individuals can be classified as satisfactory and the level of knowledge of financial risk can be classified as unsatisfactory. The respondents had some difficulties in simple calculations with percentages.

Based on the results obtained, it can be inferred that there is a positive and statistically significant correlation between knowledge of financial literacy and knowledge of financial risk, which means that higher levels of literacy knowledge are associated with higher levels of knowledge of financial risk, which can help individuals make better decisions. Portuguese individuals have a higher level of knowledge of financial literacy than knowledge of financial risk.

In the present study, as in other studies, some sociodemographic and professional variables interfere in financial literacy. When analyzing differences between men and women, in terms of knowledge of financial literacy and financial risk, it turns out that men are the ones with higher average levels. Knowledge of financial literacy is higher in individuals who have training in the area of management or similar. In terms of the variable marital status, individuals married or unmarried partners have average levels of knowledge of financial literacy. Self-employed workers or workers on behalf of others have a higher average level of knowledge of financial literacy when compared to students or trainees. The levels of knowledge of financial literacy increase with age, higher levels of training are associated with higher levels of knowledge of literacy and financial risk and higher annual illiquid incomes are associated with higher levels of knowledge of literacy and financial risk.

The present study shows that it is necessary to intervene in the training of young people, that is, to reinforce financial education in schools, in order to improve knowledge of literacy and financial risk. Thus, young people will be prepared to start their savings plans and future projections sooner and will be able to make better financial decisions. In order to verify the previous requirement, it is also necessary to invest in teacher training so that they can change/improve the way they transmit knowledge of literacy and financial risk to young people. In the future, it is intended to compare, for the Portuguese population, the levels of knowledge of financial literacy with the perception of individuals regarding their financial literacy.

There is a need for financial education initiatives that involve all the contributors to financial knowledge. These financial knowledge programmes must be implemented at schools, universities, urban and rural areas, and promoted by media campaigns. Still, there should be developed e-learning platforms to use basic financial services. Apart from the studies conducted by the Bank of Portugal, this study is relevant for Portugal in the matters of financial literacy and financial risk of the population. The questionnaire that was utilized allows to define the exact areas where people have more difficulties, which may be useful for policymakers, because it clarifies which topics require more work. It should be noted that this questionnaire survey has a high number of answers and that it is the first academic study on the topics of financial literacy and financial risk. The conclusions presented may help the creators of financial education policies to adopt actions which were already implemented in other Euro-Mediterranean countries, where studies like ours have been conducted before, with similar conclusions. Besides that, governments must facilitate financial education to increase the level of alphabetization regarding capital market. It is necessary to improve public consciousness on the management of financial resources through financial education, in order to better financial knowledge, and especially long-term planning, such as retirement planning and the behaviour of the financial investment. Something important that has not been explored in this study is the role of financial education in financial welfare.

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REVIEW ARTICLE

THE CHANGING MEDITERRANEAN BASIN THROUGH THE LENS OF MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS

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The different components of the Mediterranean Basin (land, coast, and sea) are undergoing significant changes due to multiple anthropogenic pressures, including climate change, pollution and other factors. The 1st Mediterranean Assessment Report (MAR1), produced by the Mediterranean Experts on Climate and environmental Change (MedECC) and based on available scientific literature, provides a coherent and comprehensive synthesis of the status of the Mediterranean Basin, its main drivers and their impacts on both ecosystems and human dimensions, with a focus on water, food, energy, ecosystems and ecosystem services, development, health and human security. The report is the first multidisciplinary, trans-boundary assessment produced for this region and provides significant input to inform policy at regional, national and local levels. Its groundbreaking nature lies in the scope of the scientific assessment as well as in displaying the regional capacity to coordinate existing fragmented efforts in the region. The report highlights risks and possible response strategies that may help to increase the resilience to the effects of climate and environmental change. The conclusions show that effective policy responses, as well as in support of Sustainable Development Goals, encompass both strengthened mitigation of climate and environmental change and enhanced adaptation to their impacts. Socio-economic factors of poverty, inequalities and gender imbalances presently hamper the achievement of sustainable development and climate resilience in Mediterranean countries.

Key words: climate change, environmental change, resources, ecosystems, adaptation, society

INTRODUCTION

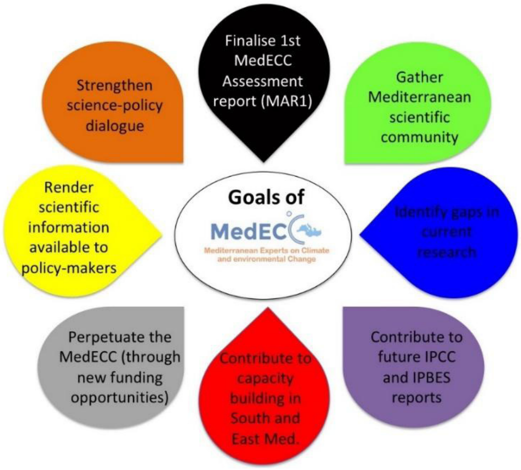
All sub-regions of the Mediterranean Basin, on land and in the sea, are impacted by recent anthropogenic changes in the environment (MedECC 2020). Greenhouse gases emissions, generated by various anthropogenic activities since the industrial revolution, are changing the climate patterns worldwide, with exacerbated trends in the Mediterranean compared to other areas (Cramer et al. 2018). In the Mediterranean, annual mean temperatures on land and in the sea are now approximately 1.5 °C higher than in pre-industrial times and they are projected to rise until 2100 by an additional 3.8-6.5°C for a high greenhouse gas emissions scenario (RCP8.5), and by 0.5-2.0 °C for a scenario (RCP2.6) compatible with the UNFCCC Paris Agreement (Lionello et al. 2014), due to both local and global scale drivers (Cherif et al. 2020). Extreme events are already detectable in different Mediterranean subregions and they are projected to increase in duration, intensity and frequency on land and in the sea, affecting resources and the livelihoods of millions of people living in this region (Coma et al. 2009; Pausas and Millán 2019). Although the consequences of recent environmental change are threatening all Mediterranean nations, a comprehensive and reliable assessment of the risks has been lacking in impactful scientific reports such as those provided by the Intergovernmental Panel on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (IPBES) and the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). Consequently, significant efforts are still needed for knowledge transfer from scientists to policy-makers in order to make the necessary decisions and implement tangible actions in the Mediterranean (Diffenbaugh et al. 2007; Maiorano et al. 2011; Hare et al. 2011; de Sherbinin 2014; Guiot and Cramer 2016; Lionello et al. 2018; Cramer et al. 2018; Pausas and Millán 2019). Thus, the need to focus on the Mediterranean Basin in the context of recent environmental changes was the core idea behind the 1st Mediterranean Assessment Report (MAR1), written to provide science-based guidance to multiple actors involved in tailoring a response to climate and environmental changes, and to reduce associated risks for communities and natural ecosystems in the Mediterranean region.

MedECC NETWORK: THE BASELINE OF 1ST MEDITERRANEAN ASSESSMENT REPORT (MAR1)

The MedECC network was formed in 2015, based on the realization that the shared history and the close connections between countries and regions bordering the Mediterranean, call for strong cooperation with respect to adaptation to, and mitigation of, ongoing environmental change – however, efforts in that direction have been poorly coordinated. Existing assessments cover only parts of the region, some topics and were scattered in various outputs. Substantial scientific knowledge and monitoring data made available by certain research institutions around the Mediterranean was not capitalized on, resulting in an insufficient guidance to policy at regional, national and local levels. The Mediterranean did not follow the course of some other regions and global bodies in producing a relevant scientific basis for policy. Endeavors in institutional coordination and funding led to the establishment of the MedECC network and the launch of scientific work. The MedECC scientific assessment of climate and environmental change is supported by the Union for the Mediterranean, in cooperation with Plan Bleu (UNEP/MAP Regional Activity Center).

MedECC currently consists of approximately 600 independent scientists from 35 countries working towards a regional science-policy interface for climatic and other environmental changes across the Mediterranean, with clear goals summarized in Figure 1.

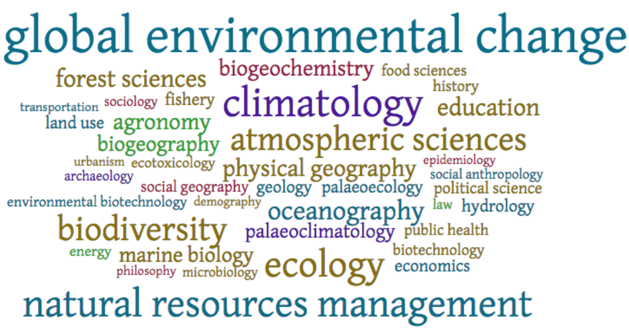
Figure 1: *Goals of MedECC*



Source: MedECC (2020)

MedECC members come from all Mediterranean sub-regions, with a broad and diverse range of scientific backgrounds (see Fig. 2), covering physical, chemical, biological, societal and economic aspects of the Mediterranean.

Figure 2: *Scientific disciplines of MedECC members*



Source: MedECC (2020)

MedECC's collaborative regional work with a global relevance is embodied through the MedECC vision that valorizes the shared space of peace, development and human rights to better understand climate change and environmental patterns and their effects in the Mediterranean basin to ultimately provide solutions. For this reason, MedECC has been co-awarded the 2020 North-South Prize of the Council of Europe (CoE 2020).

MAR1 assesses current knowledge as it emerges out of the existing body of scientific research. Although it is a regional study, its results may provide useful conclusions on a global scale, as the Mediterranean Basin is always considered as a 'hot-spot' (Pérès 1967; Garrett 1994; Giorgi and Lionello 2008; Coll et al. 2010), and a test basin where all global phenomena occur with more remarkable trends (Garrett 1994; Robinson et al. 2001). Hereafter, we summarize the methodology used during the MAR1 drafting, its structure, and its main findings.

METHODOLOGY OF THE MAR1 REPORT

Scoping, Drafting and Review

In order to produce a detailed outline of MAR1, a scoping event was held in 2016, and received the COP22 label. The drafting process of MAR1 (Fig. 3) was a collaborative work that comprises around 190 authors from 25 countries distributed between Coordinating Lead Authors (CLAs), Lead Authors (LAs) and Contributing Authors (CAs) from various Mediterranean sub-regions. CLAs and LAs were selected based on self-nominations in reply to the call by the MedECC Steering Committee (SC). Afterwards, CAs were invited by chapters' CLAs according to the needed expertise to cover the widest possible range of disciplines. The drafting process was based on a compilation of the existing knowledge through a synthetic analysis of mainly peer-reviewed literature and national institutional or government reports and statistics, with some synthetic figures being plotted in the process with no additional research undertaken by the authors. A scientific literature database was maintained by the MedECC Secretariat and was made available to all report authors (Lange et al., 2020).

Since the early stages of the report drafting, chapters have been subject to scientific reviews, allowing suggestions and amendments by scientific experts. A first internal review of the First Order Draft (FOD) involved the SC and the authors of the report, and the Second Order Draft (SOD) was submitted to external scientific reviewers. Moreover, a Summary for Policymakers (SPM) was finally submitted to stakeholders, representing the governments and partner institutions through the Union for the Mediterranean (UfM) and United Nations Environment Programme / Mediterranean Action Plan (UNEP/MAP) to review the clarity and the coherency of the messages.

Structure and Uncertainties

The report starts with a background about the context and the importance of such assessment efforts (chapter 1), before detailing the main drivers of change in the Mediterranean Basin – which are mainly linked to climate, pollution, land and sea uses, and non-indigenous species (chapter 2), their effects on its resources, water, food, energy (chapter 3), its marine, coastal and terrestrial ecosystems (chapter 4), and society - mainly development, health and human security (chapter 5), while lastly, providing a few case studies and success stories that can be used to manage future risks and improve socio-ecological resilience (chapter 6).

Throughout the report, scientific confidence in its findings is indicated based on the consistency of evidence and the degree of agreement of the scientific community, summarized by the terms “high”, “medium” and “low” confidence. Additionally, the report adequately communicates scientific uncertainties, confidence, and the likelihood of outcomes in the material used (see chapter 1; Lange et al. 2020).

Figure 3: *The front page of the MAR1*

Source: MedECC (2020)

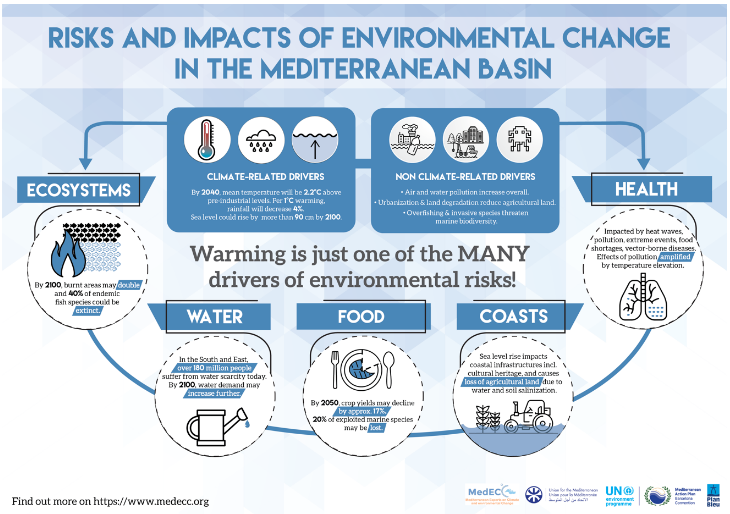
RESULTS

Detailed results of the huge literature compilation can be solicited in MedECC (2020), including a Summary for Policymakers (SPM) that has been fully adopted by policymakers, governments, decision-makers and stakeholders after a plenary consultation about the SPM on 22 September 2020. Here, we briefly highlight the main results. Risks and impacts of climate and environmental change on the different components of the Mediterranean Basin are also summarized in Figure 4.

Drivers

Four broad domains of change drivers are considered in MAR1 (chapter 2; Cherif et al. 2020), such as climate change and variability, pollution, land and sea use changes and non-indigenous species. It is clear that the Mediterranean Basin is likely very vulnerable to climate change, as demonstrated by observations: the annual mean temperatures are now 1.54°C above the 1860-1890 level at basin-scale (high confidence); there is a decrease of winter precipitation over various sub-regions since the second half of the 20th century (medium confidence); conditions became drier, especially in the warm season and over the southern areas (medium/high confidence); sea surface temperatures increased between +0.29 and +0.44°C per decade (high confidence) and sea water pH decreased by -0.08 units since the beginning of the 19th century (medium confidence), while marine heat waves have become longer and more intense (high confidence). In addition, the rate of change of direct drivers can be influenced or altered by indirect drivers (MEA 2005; Nelson et al. 2006), such as demographic, economic, sociopolitical, cultural, religious, technological, legislative and financial drivers. Understanding all types of drivers is essential to effectively managing the risks posed to the environment and human societies by climate change, air and water pollution, land and sea use changes and the arrival of non-indigenous species. The projections of main climate and non-climate-related drivers are summarized in Figure 4.

Figure 4: *The main messages of MAR1 related to risks and impacts on climate and environmental change on the different components of the Mediterranean Basin*



Source: MedECC (2020)

Resources

For *water*, climate change, in interaction with other drivers (mainly demographic and socio-economic developments), has mainly negative consequences for the water cycle in the Mediterranean Basin, including reduced runoff and groundwater recharge, increased crop water requirements, increased conflicts among users, and increased risk of overexploitation and degradation of water resources. These impacts, leading to water scarcity, are influencing over 180 million people in the South and East countries (high confidence), and will be much more important for global warming, with temperature increases higher than 2°C (Fig. 4; Fader et al. 2020). For *food*, climate change and extreme events (i.e., heat waves, droughts, floods, sea level rise, etc.) are threatening the food security of Mediterranean nations (high confidence) by causing crop yield losses/failures, crop quality reduction and impacts on livestock. Climate projections show an increasing risk on the food production system in the Mediterranean Basin, such as a 17% decline of crop yields by 2050 (medium confidence) (Fig. 4; Mrabet et al. 2020). *Energy*-wise, the report has demonstrated a steady rise of approximately 1.7% each year of the primary energy consumption in the Mediterranean Basin from 1980 to 2016, attributed to a steady increase in the consumption of oil, gas, nuclear and renewables, and caused by changes in demographic, socioeconomic (lifestyle and consumption) and climatic conditions in the region (high confidence) (Drobinski et al. 2020).

Ecosystems

Climate change is affecting all Mediterranean ecosystems (marine, coastal and terrestrial; Balzan et al. 2020). For *marine ecosystems*, the results show an increase of species listed as vulnerable (21%) and endangered (11%), increasing signs of "tropicalization" of Mediterranean fauna and flora (medium confidence), and more literature exposing the effects of climate change consequences (i.e., warming, acidification, heat waves, etc.) on all marine trophic chain components, from its primary producers to its marine mammals (high confidence). Projections show that numerous species extinctions would occur, i.e., 40% of endemic fish species will be extinct (Fig. 4) and natural habitats of numerous commercially valuable species will be modified by the end of this century, which would have many repercussions on marine ecosystems' services, such as tourism, fisheries, climate regulation, and ultimately, on human health (medium confidence). For *coastal ecosystems*, climate change and anthropogenic pressures are impacting various coastal ecosystem regimes (lagoons, deltas, salt marshes, etc.) and coastal infrastructures, affecting thus the flow of nutrients towards the sea, as well as the magnitude, timing and composition of plankton blooms, which significantly increase the number and frequency of jellyfish outbreaks (high confidence), and could have negative impacts on fisheries. Extensive urbanization added to climate and environmental change is also expected to threaten coastal ecosystems, mainly in the southern realm of the Mediterranean (medium confidence). For *terrestrial ecosystems*, fast and great biodiversity changes have been detectable in the Mediterranean over the past 40 years compared to other areas of the world. On the southern Mediterranean shore, the ecosystems are at risk of fragmentation or disappearance due to human pressure from clearing and cultivation, overexploitation of firewood and overgrazing (high confidence). Drylands are undergoing an overall increase in surface in response to climate change and extensive land abandonment, while 48% of the Mediterranean wetlands were lost between 1970 and 2013, with 36% of wetland dependent animals in the Mediterranean threatened with extinction (medium confidence). Projections indicate negative impacts on terrestrial biodiversity, forest productivity, burned areas [up to a 40% increase for 1.5°C warming, and up to a 100% increase compared to current levels for 3°C warming by the end of the 21st century (high confidence) ; Fig.4], freshwater ecosystems and agrosystems with decreased hydrological connectivity, increased concentration of pollutants during droughts, changes in biological communities as a result of harsher environmental conditions, and a decrease of biological processes such as nutrient uptake, primary production, or decomposition.

Society

All the above-mentioned changes are affecting directly and indirectly the human *health* of Mediterranean populations in different ways, depending on population density, level of economic development, food availability, income level and distribution, local environmental conditions, pre-existing health status, and the quality and availability of public health care (high confidence) (Paz et al. 2020). Moreover, climate change and extreme events may have negative impacts on the mental health of people directly affected by consequences, i.e., loss of homes, destruction of settlements and damage to community infrastructure (high confidence). Therefore, sustainable *development* strategies and innovations (such as climate proofing infrastructures) are key to address the needs of current and future generations, by utilizing natural resources in ways that preserve and sustain them, and ensuring equitable access to those resources in the present and the future (high confidence). However, poverty, inequalities and gender imbalances relate both directly and indirectly to the achievement of sustainable development in Mediterranean countries (Dos Santos et al. 2020). All these changes may influence *human security*, generating additional conflicts and threats linked to water, food, health and others. It is likely that climate change could further exacerbate political instability in the poorest parts of the Mediterranean Basin (medium confidence) (Koubi et al. 2020).

Managing future risks and building socio-ecological resilience

Finally, MedECC (2020) sheds light on the importance of managing future risks by highlighting: 1- the current understanding on the trajectory, intensity and spatial extent of future risk for the principal hazards, and associated policy considerations of the region, 2- the current management and adaptation approaches, and prevalent governance frameworks for coping with these risks, 3- a range of examples of adaptation and mitigation for sectorial approaches, while considering case studies from Mediterranean-type environments. A number of innovative and successful practices for achieving sound and sustainable development in countries of the Mediterranean Basin are proposed therein, while highlighting the crucial role of developing joint, region-wide, and integrated management and adaptation approaches that treat multiple hazards in a holistic manner is of utmost importance for sustainable development in the entire region (Vafeidis et al. 2020).

CONCLUSIONS

Based on a synthetic compilation of the existing knowledge in literature, MAR1 highlights the main drivers affecting the Mediterranean Basin, their current effects on resources, ecosystems and society, as well as the projected trends and risks in the context of climate and environmental changes. The outcomes show that more effective policy responses will imply both, strengthened mitigation of the drivers of climate and environmental change such as greenhouse gas emissions, but also enhanced adaptation to impacts. Poverty, inequalities and gender imbalances presently hamper the achievement of sustainable development and climate resilience in Mediterranean countries. Culture is a key factor to the success of adaptation policies in the highly diverse multicultural setting of the Mediterranean Basin. Policies for climate adaptation and environmental resilience potentially infringe on human rights - they need to account for concerns such as justice, equity, poverty alleviation, social inclusion, and redistribution. To support policies for sustainable development with scientific evidence concerning climate and environmental change, a synthesis of current scientific knowledge, covering most relevant disciplines, sectors and sub-regions is presented by the 1st Mediterranean Assessment Report (MAR1). The findings of MAR1 constitute a foundation for meeting sustainable development needs whilst informing strategic planning and investment at the regional level. The report also provides innovative and successful case studies that would improve the socio-ecological resilience of the different Mediterranean components to resist climate change impacts and ultimately, satisfy the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (UN SDGs).

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ABSTRACTS

AT THE CROSSROADS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST: ACTIVITIES OF PROFESSIONAL FEMALE ARTISTS IN A LA FRANCA CAFÉS OF SARAJEVO

Lana Šehović Paćuka

The tradition of visiting cafés in the capital of Bosnia and Herzegovina dates back to the period of Ottoman rule. With the change to Austro-Hungarian administration, the previously rooted habits started shifting, and Sarajevo started getting *a la franca* cafés, whose trademark was the light music of cabaret and operettas, typical of the late 19th century European context. The phenomenon of professional female musical artists performing independently or within ensembles, known as *Damennkapelle*, is linked to these cafés, which are mostly located in the central part of the city. This phenomenon was a novelty in the socio-cultural as well as musical context of the environment, where very strict social norms were regularly imposed on women. Although these were mostly female settlers from other parts of the empire who performed in travelling ensembles, their artistic engagement changed the local perception of women performing on café stages. Therefore, female ensembles often enjoyed a reputation of local stars, allowing them equal representation in the labour market in relation to all-male ensembles and groups.

Key words: Austria-Hungary, Sarajevo, a la franca cafés, professional female artists, women's ensembles

IJEMS 13 (2): 11 – 28

RETURN OF SERBIAN CHANT TO BYZANTINE TRADITION

Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić

The article examines the specific phenomenon of the return of Serbian Orthodox Church music to Byzantine chant in the turbulent period of the early 1990s. The framework for the study is an analysis of a unique movement among younger generations of Serbian believers for the revival of ecclesiastical heritage in church art, particularly music. This paper highlights: (1) the reasons behind a deep spiritual crisis that preceded affirmation of Byzantine chant, (2) (in)correct perceptions of Eastern Christian tradition and heritage among Serbs actively engaged in the liturgical life of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the 1990s, and (3) some pros and cons of the unique musical tradition of the Eastern Church and the national variants of church singing, such as the Serbian church chant. The article concludes that even in today's circumstances, the Orthodox Serbs who ground their national identity in Eastern Christian/Byzantine religious heritage regardless of the existing borders of the Serbian state – have a reason to consider themselves a part of Byzantine and Mediterranean Europe.

Key words: church chant, Byzantium, Serbian Orthodox Church, national and spiritual identity, sacred tradition

IJEMS 13 (2): 29 – 44

CROATIAN MUSICAL HERITAGE AS PART OF EURO-MEDITERRANEAN CULTURE: ART MUSIC INSTRUMENTS IN DALMATIAN MUSEUMS

Ivana Tomić Ferić, Vilena Vrbanić

The article provides insight into musical sources, collections and instruments throughout the territory of Croatia today, and particularly in the historical province of Dalmatia. The aim is to discover new, previously completely unknown information about Dalmatian musical heritage, as well as European musical heritage preserved in Dalmatia, which testifies to the connection of Croatian musical sources to Central European and Mediterranean musical and cultural circles. Centred on instruments of art music preserved in Dalmatian museums, the research is a contribution to the evidence about the continuity of musical culture in the region. These instruments are a reflection of the rich and developed Dalmatian musical history, the complexity of which stems from a tradition of folk and sacred music that spans centuries and is permeated with various influences. On the other hand, they are evidence of close relations between Dalmatia and Europe, in the past and the present. This also highlights the relevance of the research presented here, in which instruments – as concrete results of intercultural interactions – have been analysed in a broader musicological and cultural context for the first time.

Key words: musical heritage, Dalmatia, Euro-Mediterranean culture, musical instruments, art music, Dalmatian museums

IJEMS 13 (2): 45– 66

(UN)OFFICIAL ANTHEMS AS A MEANS OF THE NATIONAL DIPLOMATIC/STATECRAFT MOMENTUM: THE CASES OF ZDRAVLJICA, HEJ, BRIGADE AND VSTAJENJE PRIMORSKE

Boštjan Udovič

The article deals with the importance of (un)official anthems for statecraft in Slovenia. An analysis of the emergence, development and structural incorporation into the affairs of the state and its diplomacy for the Slovenian national anthem *Zdravljica*, as well as two unofficial anthems, *Hej, brigade* (Ljubljana) and *Vstajenje Primorske* (the Primorska Region), reveals that a song can only become an important source or means of statecraft if it is accepted by social groups, and its 'statecraftness' must develop following the bottom-up principle. Only this way can a song gain the social legitimacy needed for it to become an effective means of creating, shaping and developing the diplomatic/statecraft momentum of a country internally and externally.

Key words: statecraft, anthem, Zdravljica, Vstajenje Primorske, Hej, brigade

IJEMS 13 (2): 67– 90

THE LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE OF FINANCIAL LITERACY AND RISK OF THE PORTUGUESE

Eulália Santos, Fernando Oliveira Tavares

The themes of financial literacy and financial risk have been the subject of systematic study in recent decades, as inescapable variables that characterize the individual's financial performance, and it also emerges as a factor for maintaining social well-being. The purpose of the present study is to study the level of knowledge of literacy and financial risk of the Portuguese and to ascertain whether sociodemographic and professional variables interfere in the levels of literacy

and financial risk knowledge. The methodology used is quantitative, and the measurement instrument is based on a questionnaire survey that assesses the levels of knowledge of literacy and financial risk. The sample consists of 830 Portuguese individuals, from different regions in mainland Portugal, over 18 years of age. The results show that Portuguese individuals have a higher level of knowledge of financial literacy than financial risk, the levels of knowledge of financial literacy are satisfactory and the levels of knowledge of financial risk are low. It is also noteworthy that individuals who have a educational background in the area of management or similar have higher average levels of knowledge of financial literacy. With increasing age and level of training there is also an increment in the levels of knowledge about financial literacy and on the best way to manage financial risk. So, there is a need for financial education initiatives that involve all the contributors to financial knowledge.

Key words: financial literacy, financial risk, financial education, financial decisions, financial well-being

IJEMS 13 (2): 91– 116

THE CHANGING MEDITERRANEAN BASIN THROUGH THE LENS OF MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS

Abed El Rahman Hassoun, Joel Guiot, Katarzyna Marini, Wolfgang Cramer

The different components of the Mediterranean Basin (land, coast, and sea) are undergoing significant changes due to multiple anthropogenic pressures, including climate change, pollution and other factors. The 1st Mediterranean Assessment Report (MAR1), produced by the Mediterranean Experts on Climate and environmental Change (MedECC) and based on available scientific literature, provides a coherent and comprehensive synthesis of the status of the Mediterranean Basin, its main drivers and their impacts on both ecosystems and human dimensions, with a focus on water, food, energy, ecosystems and ecosystem services, development, health and human security. The report is the first multidisciplinary, trans-boundary assessment produced for this region and provides significant input to inform policy at regional, national and local levels. Its groundbreaking nature lies in the scope of the scientific assessment as well as in displaying the regional capacity to coordinate existing fragmented efforts in the region. The report highlights risks and possible response strategies that may help to increase the resilience to the effects of climate and environmental change. The conclusions show that effective policy responses, as well as in support of Sustainable Development Goals, encompass both strengthened mitigation of climate and environmental change and enhanced adaptation to their impacts. Socio-economic factors of poverty, inequalities and gender imbalances presently hamper the achievement of sustainable development and climate resilience in Mediterranean countries.

Key words: climate change, environmental change, resources, ecosystems, adaptation, society

IJEMS 13 (2): 117– 132

RÉSUMÉS

À LA CROISÉE DES CHEMINS ENTRE ORIENT ET OCCIDENT : LES ACTIVITÉS DES ARTISTES FÉMININES PROFESSIONNELLES DANS LES CAFÉS A LA FRANCA DE SARAJEVO

Lana Šehović Paćuka

La tradition de fréquenter les cafés dans la capitale de la Bosnie-Herzégovine remonte à la période de la domination ottomane. Avec le passage à l'administration austro-hongroise, les habitudes précédemment ancrées ont commencé à changer et Sarajevo s'est dotée de cafés *a la franca*, dont la marque de fabrique est la légère musique des cabarets et opérettes, typique du contexte européen de la fin du XIX^e^ siècle. Le phénomène des professionnelles féminines de la musiques qui se produisent indépendamment ou au sein d'ensembles musicaux, connu sous le nom de *Damennkapelle*, est lié à ces cafés, qui sont pour la plupart situés dans la partie centrale de la ville. Ce phénomène est une nouveauté dans le contexte socioculturel et musical de l'environnement, où des normes sociales très strictes sont régulièrement imposées aux femmes. Bien qu'il s'agisse principalement de femmes venues d'autres parties de l'empire qui se produisent dans des ensembles itinérants, leur engagement artistique a changé la perception locale des femmes qui se produisent sur les scènes des cafés. Par conséquent, les ensembles féminins jouissaient souvent d'une réputation de vedettes locales, ce qui leur permettait d'être représentées à égalité sur le marché du travail par rapport aux ensembles et groupes exclusivement masculins.

Mots-clés: Autriche-Hongrie, Sarajevo, cafés a la franca, artistes féminines professionnelles, ensembles musicaux féminins

IJEMS 13 (2): 11 – 28

LE RETOUR DU CHANT SERBE À LA TRADITION BYZANTINE

Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić

L'article examine le phénomène spécifique du retour de la musique de l'Église orthodoxe serbe au chant byzantin dans la période turbulente du début des années 1990. Le cadre de l'étude est une analyse d'un mouvement unique parmi les jeunes générations de croyants serbes pour la renaissance de l'héritage ecclésiastique dans l'art de l'Église, en particulier la musique. Ce document met en évidence : (1) les raisons d'une profonde crise spirituelle qui a précédé l'affirmation du chant byzantin, (2) les perceptions (in)correctes de la tradition et du patrimoine chrétiens orientaux chez les Serbes activement engagés dans la vie liturgique de l'Église orthodoxe serbe dans les années 1990, et (3) certains avantages et inconvénients de la tradition musicale unique de l'Église orientale et des variantes nationales du chant d'église, comme le chant d'église serbe. L'article conclut que même dans les circonstances actuelles, les Serbes orthodoxes qui fondent leur identité nationale sur l'héritage religieux chrétien/byzantin oriental – indépendamment des frontières existantes de l'État serbe – ont une raison de se considérer comme faisant partie de l'Europe byzantine et méditerranéenne.

Mots-clés: chant ecclésiastique, Byzance, Eglise orthodoxe serbe, identité nationale et spirituelle, tradition sacrée

IJEMS 13 (2): 29 – 44

LE PATRIMOINE MUSICAL CROATE DANS LE CADRE DE LA CULTURE EURO-MÉDITERRANÉENNE : LES INSTRUMENTS DE MUSIQUE DANS LES MUSÉES DALMATES

Ivana Tomić Ferić, Vilena Vrbanić

L'article donne un aperçu des sources, collections et instruments de musique sur l'ensemble du territoire de la Croatie actuelle, et en particulier dans la province historique de la Dalmatie. L'objectif est de découvrir de nouvelles informations, jusqu'alors totalement méconnues, sur le patrimoine musical dalmate, ainsi que sur le patrimoine musical européen conservé en Dalmatie, qui témoigne du lien des sources musicales croates avec les milieux musicaux et culturels d'Europe centrale et de Méditerranée. Centrée sur les instruments de musique

conservés dans les musées dalmates, la recherche est une contribution aux preuves de la continuité de la culture musicale dans la région. Ces instruments sont le reflet de l'histoire musicale dalmate, riche et développée, dont la complexité provient d'une tradition de musique folklorique et sacrée, qui s'étend sur plusieurs siècles et qui est imprégnée d'influences diverses. D'autre part, ils témoignent des relations étroites entre la Dalmatie et l'Europe, dans le passé et le présent. Cela souligne également la pertinence des recherches présentées ici, dans lesquelles les instruments – en tant que résultats concrets des interactions interculturelles – ont été analysés pour la première fois dans un contexte musicologique et culturel plus large.

Mots-clés: patrimoine musical, Dalmatie, culture euro-méditerranéenne, instruments musicaux, musique, musées dalmates

IJEMS 13 (2): 45– 66

LES HYMNES (NON-)OFFICIELS COMME VECTEUR DE L'ÉLAN DIPLOMATIQUE ET POLITIQUE NATIONAL : LES CAS DE ZDRAVLJICA, HEJ, BRIGADE ET VSTAJENJE PRIMORSKE

Boštjan Udovič

L'article traite de l'importance des hymnes (non-)officiels dans la construction étatique en Slovénie. Une analyse de l'émergence, du développement et de l'incorporation structurelle dans les affaires de l'État et sa diplomatie de l'hymne national slovène Zdravljica, ainsi que de deux hymnes non officiels, *Hej, brigade* (Ljubljana) et *Vstajenje Primorske* (la région de Primorska), révèle qu'une chanson ne peut devenir une source ou un vecteur important de la construction nationale que si elle est acceptée par la société, et que son pouvoir performatif doit se développer selon un principe *bottom-up*. Ce n'est qu'ainsi qu'une chanson peut acquérir la légitimité sociale nécessaire pour devenir un moyen efficace de créer, de façonner et de développer la dynamique diplomatique et politique d'un pays à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur.

Mots-clés: construction étatique, hymne national, Zdravljica, Vstajenje Primorske, Hej, brigade

IJEMS 13 (2): 67– 90

LE NIVEAU DE CONNAISSANCE DE LA CULTURE FINANCIÈRE ET DU RISQUE CHEZ LES PORTUGAIS

Eulália Santos, Fernando Oliveira Tavares

Les thèmes de la culture financière et du risque financier ont fait l‘objet d‘études systématiques au cours des dernières décennies, en tant que variables incontournables caractérisant la performance financière de l‘individu, et elle apparaît également comme un facteur de maintien du bien-être social. L‘objectif de la présente étude est d‘examiner le niveau de connaissance de la finance et du risque financier des Portugais et de déterminer si les variables sociodémographiques et professionnelles y interfèrent. La méthodologie utilisée est quantitative, et l‘instrument de mesure est basé sur une enquête par questionnaire qui évalue les niveaux de connaissance de la finance et du risque financier. L‘échantillon est composé de 830 individus portugais, de différentes régions du Portugal continental, âgés de plus de 18 ans. Les résultats montrent que les Portugais ont un niveau de connaissance de la culture financière plus élevé que celui du risque financier, que les niveaux de connaissance de la culture financière sont satisfaisants et que les niveaux de connaissance du risque financier sont faibles. Il convient également de noter que les personnes ayant une formation dans le domaine de la gestion ou dans un domaine similaire ont un niveau moyen de connaissances en matière de culture financière plus élevé. Avec l‘augmentation de l‘âge et du niveau de formation, on constate également une augmentation des niveaux de connaissance en matière de culture financière et sur la meilleure façon de gérer les risques financiers. Il est donc nécessaire de mettre en place des initiatives d‘éducation financière qui impliquent tous ceux qui contribuent aux connaissances financières.

Mots-clés: culture financière, risque financier, éducation financière, décisions financières, bien-être financier
IJEMS 13 (2): 91– 116

L'ÉVOLUTION DU BASSIN MÉDITERRANÉEN SELON DES EXPERTS DE LA MER MÉDITERRANÉE

Abed El Rahman Hassoun, Joel Guiot, Katarzyna Marini, Wolfgang Crame

Les différentes composantes du bassin méditerranéen (terre, côte et mer) subissent des changements importants en raison de multiples pressions anthropiques, notamment le changement climatique, la pollution ainsi que d'autres facteurs. Le premier rapport d'évaluation de la Méditerranée (MAR1), produit par les experts méditerranéens du changement climatique et environnemental (MedECC) sur la base de la littérature scientifique disponible, fournit une synthèse cohérente et complète de l'état du bassin méditerranéen, de ses principaux moteurs et de leurs impacts sur les écosystèmes et les populations, en se focalisant sur l'eau, l'alimentation, l'énergie, les écosystèmes et les services écosystémiques, le développement, la santé et la sécurité humaines. Il s'agit du premier rapport d'évaluation multidisciplinaire et transfrontalier produit pour cette région, qui fournisse des informations inédites pour informer les politiques au niveau régional, national et local. Son caractère novateur réside dans la portée de l'évaluation scientifique ainsi que dans la démonstration de la capacité régionale à coordonner les efforts fragmentés qui sont fournis dans la région. Le rapport met en évidence les risques et les stratégies d'intervention possibles qui peuvent contribuer à accroître la résilience aux effets du changement climatique et environnemental. Les conclusions montrent que les réactions politiques efficaces aux changements climatiques et environnementaux, allant dans le sens des objectifs de développement durable, englobent à la fois une atténuation renforcée des changements climatiques et environnementaux et une meilleure adaptation à leurs effets. Les facteurs socio-économiques de pauvreté, d'inégalités et de déséquilibres entre les sexes entravent actuellement la réalisation du développement durable et la résilience au changement climatique dans les pays méditerranéens.

Mots-clés: changement climatique, changement environnemental, facteurs, ressources, écosystèmes, société, Méditerranée, adaptation, résilience

IJEMS 13 (2): 117– 132

POVZETKI

NA STIČIŠČU VZHODA IN ZAHODA: AKTIVNOSTI POKLICNIH UMETNIC V KAVARNAH FRANCOSKEGA SLOGA V SARAJEVU

Lana Šehović Paćuka

Kultura obiskovanja kavarn v glavnem mestu Bosne in Hercegovine sega nazaj vse do obdobja Otomanske oblasti. Z nastopom Avstro-Ogrske oblasti so se zakoreninjene navade začele spreminjati in v Sarajevu so se začele odpirati kavarne v francoskem slogu, za katere je bila značilna lahkotna glasba, kot sta denimo kabaret in opereta, tipična za konec evropskega 19. stoletja. Z dotičnimi kavarnami, ki so se v večini primerov nahajale v središču mesta, je povezan pojav poklicnih glasbenih umetnic, ki so delovale bodisi neodvisno bodisi znotraj zborov, poznanih pod imenom *Damennkapelle*. Njihovo delovanje je bilo novo tako v družbeno-kulturnem kot tudi v glasbenem smislu, saj je govora o okolju, ki je ženskam zapovedovalo zelo stroge družbene norme. Četudi je večina umetnic prihajala iz drugih koncev Avstro-Ogrske in so delovale v nekakšnih potujočih zborih, pa je njihov umetniški angažma utiral pot spremembam v dojemanju udejstvovanja žensk na kavarniških odrih. Ženski zbori so tako pogosto uživali sloves lokalnih zvezd, kar jim je omogočilo enake možnosti na trgu delovne sile v odnosu do moških zborov oziroma skupin.

Ključne besede: Avstro-Ogrska, Sarajevo, kavarne v francoskem slogu, poklicne umetnice, ženski zbori

IJEMS 13 (2): 11 – 28

POVRATEK BIZANTINSKE TRADICIJE V SRBSKE NAPEVE

Vesna Peno, Ivana Vesić

Članek se ukvarja s specifičnim pojavom povratka bizantinske tradicije v srbske pravoslavne napeve v zgodnjih 90ih letih 20. stoletja. Okvir študije predstavlja analiza gibanja med mlado generacijo srbskih vernikov za obujanje dediščine cerkvene umetnosti, predvsem glasbe. Članek izpostavi sledeče: (1) razloge za globoko duhovno krizo, ki je omogočala legitimacijo bizantinskih napevov; (2) (ne)pravilne percepcije zahodne pravoslavne tradicije in dediščine med Srbi, ki so bili aktivno angažirani v cerkveno življenje srbske pravoslavne cerkve v 90ih; (3) prednosti in slabosti edinstvene glasbene tradicije vzhodne pravoslavne cerkve in nacionalnih različic cerkvenega petja, kot so denimo srbski cerkveni napevi. V zaključku avtorici poudarita, da imajo pravoslavni Srbi, ki v današnjih okoliščinah izgrajujejo nacionalno identiteto na podlagi vzhodne krščanske/bizantinske cerkvene dediščine, ne glede na obstoječe meje srbske države, razlog za razumevanje sebe kot del bizantinske in sredozemske Evrope.

Ključne besede: cerkveni napev, Bizanc, Srbska pravoslavna cerkev, nacionalna in duhovna identiteta, posvetna tradicija

IJEMS 13 (2): 29 – 44

HRVAŠKA GLASBENA DEDIŠČINA KOT DEL EVRO-SREDOZEMSKE KULTURE: GLASBENI INŠTRUMENTI V DALMATINSKIH MUZEJIH

Ivana Tomić Ferić, Vilena Vrbanić

Namen članka je ponuditi uvid v glasbene vire, zbirke in inštrumente na ozemlju današnje Hrvaške, predvsem Dalmacije. Cilj je razkriti nove, predhodno neznane informacije o dalmatinski glasbeni dediščini, ter osvetliti pomen evropske glasbene dediščine, ki se hrani v Dalmaciji, ki potrjuje vez med hrvaškimi glasbenimi viri s srednjeevropskimi in sredozemskimi glasbenimi in kulturnimi krogi. Raziskava, ki je osredinjena na glasbila v hrambi Dalmatinskih muzejev, prispeva k dokazovanju stalnosti glasbene kulture v regiji. Glasbila odsevajo bogato in razvito zgodovino dalmatinske glasbe, ki jo sestavlja ljudska in posvetna glasba, oblikovana skozi stoletja in različne vplive. Glasbila prav tako odsevajo tesne pretekle in sedanje odnose med Dalmacijo in Evropo. Relevantnost raziskave je v tem, da so glasbila - kot konkretni rezultati medkulturnih odnosov - prvič sistematično podvrženi analizi v širšem muzikološkem in kulturnem smislu.

Ključne besede: glasbena dediščina, Dalmacija, Evro-sredozemska kultura, glasbila, umetniška glasba, dalmatinski muzeji

IJEMS 13 (2): 45– 66

(NE)URADNE HIMNE KOT SREDSTVO DIPLOMACIJE IN DRŽAVNIŠTVA: PRIMER ZDRAVLJICE, PESMI HEJ, BRIGADE IN VSTAJENJE PRIMORSKE

Boštjan Udovič

Članek obravnava pomen (ne)uradnih himn v Sloveniji za ustvarjanje državništva. Iz analize nastanka in razvoja ter strukturiranosti v državni in diplomatski ustroj *Zdravljice* (uradna himna Republike Slovenije) ter dveh neuradnih himn, *Hej, brigade* (Ljubljana) in *Vstajenje Primorske* (Primorska), lahko ugotovimo, da je za to, da neka skladba postane pomemben vir ali sredstvo državništva pomembno, da je sprejeta s strani družbenih skupin ter da se njeno održavljenje zgodi po načelu od spodaj navzgor. Le tako lahko določena skladba dobi družbeno legitimacijo, ki je potrebna, da lahko postane učinkovito sredstvo za ustvarjanje, oblikovanje in razvoj diplomatsko-državniškega momenta države navznoter in navzven.

Ključne besede: državništvo, himna, Zdravljica, Vstajenje Primorske, Hej, brigade

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STOPNJA FINANČNE PISMENOSTI PORTUGALCEV IN ZNANJU O FINANČNIH TVEGANJIH

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Tematiki finančne pismenosti in finančnih tveganj sta v zadnjih desetletjih podvrženi sistematičnim analizam kot dejavnika vpliva finančnega delovanja posameznikov ter kot dejavnika za ohranjanje družbene blaginje. Namen članka je analizirati stopnjo finančne pismenosti in finančnih tveganj na Portugalskem in ugotoviti, ali družbeno-demografski in poklicni dejavniki vplivajo na stopnjo finančne pismenosti in finančnih tveganj. V metodološkem smislu gre za raziskavo kvantitativne narave, pri katerem avtorja uporabljata anketni vprašalnik na vzorcu 830 portugalskih posameznikov iz različnih regij, ki so starejši od 18 let, s katerim vrednotita stopnjo finančne pismenosti in finančnih tveganj. Rezultati kažejo, da posamezniki v povprečju dosegajo višjo stopnjo finančne pismenosti kot stopnjo razumevanja finančnih tveganj, pri čemer je raven znanja finančne pismenosti zadovoljiva in raven znanja finančnih tveganj

nizka. Izpostaviti velja, da med posamezniki, ki so se izobraževali na področju menedžmenta oziroma sorodnih smeri, beležimo višjo stopnjo finančne pismenosti. Z leti in stopnjo izobraževanja se povečuje tudi nivo znanja finančne pismenosti in upravljanja s finančnimi tveganji. Obstaja potreba po povečanju števila pobud na področju finančnega izobraževanja, ki bi vključevale vse deležnike, ki prispevajo k znanju na področju financ.

Ključne besede: finančna pismenost, finančno tveganje, izobraževanje na področju financ, finančne odločitve, finančna blaginja

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SPREMEMBE SREDOZEMSKEGA OBMOČJA SKOZI PRIZMO STROKOVNJAKOV ZA SREDOZEMLJE

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Različni elementi Sredozemskega območja (celina, obala in morje) so podvrženi velikim spremembam zaradi različnih antropogenih procesov, vključno s podnebnimi spremembami, onesnaževanjem in drugih dejavnikov. Prvo poročilo o oceni Sredozemlja (MAR1), ki so ga pripravili Sredozemski strokovnjaki za podnebne in okoljske spremembe (MedECC), in je temeljilo na obstoječi znanstveni literaturi, ponuja koherentno in celovito sintezo statusa Sredozemskega območja, poglavitnih dejavnikov sprememb in njihovih vplivov na ekosisteme in človeške dimenzije, s poudarkom na vodi, hrani, energiji, ekosistemih in ekosistemskih storitvah, razvoju, zdravju in človekovi varnosti. MedECC je prvo transdisciplinarno poročilo za Sredozemsko regijo, ki daje pomemben prispevek za oblikovanje politik na regionalni, nacionalni in lokalni ravni. Njegova teža leži v obsegu znanstvene ocene, kot tudi v oceni regionalnih zmogljivosti za koordiniranje obstoječih naporov, ki jih zaznamuje fragmentiranost. Poročilo izpostavlja tveganja in potencialne strategije za njihovo zmanjševanje, ki bi krepile odpornost na negativne učinke podnebnih in okoljskih sprememb. Zaključki pokažejo, da učinkoviti politični ukrepi za zmanjševanje negativnih učinkov podnebnih in okoljskih sprememb, vključno s podporo Ciljem trajnostnega razvoja, predvidevajo okrepljeno blaženje podnebnih sprememb ter okrepljeno prilagajanje nanje. Družbeno-ekonomski dejavniki, kot so revščina, neenakost in spolne neenakosti trenutno onemogočajo doseganje Ciljev trajnostnega razvoja in podnebne odpornosti Sredozemskih držav.

Ključne besede: podnebne spremembe, okoljske spremembe, viri, ekosistemi, družba, prilagajanje

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ملخصات

في الطرق المتقاطعة بين الشرق والغرب: أنشطة فنانات محترفات في مقاهي "لا فرانكا" في سراييفو

لانا سيهوفيتش باشوكا

يعود تقليد زيارة المقاهي في عاصمة البوسنة والهرسك إلى فترة الحكم العثماني. مع التغيير إلى الإدارة النمساوية المجرية، بدأت العادات المتجذرة سابقًا في التحول وبدأت سراييفو في الحصول على مقاهي "لا فرانكا" والتي كانت علامتها التجارية الموسيقى الخفيفة للملاهي الليلية والأوبريتات كما كان دارجاً في أواخر القرن التاسع عشر في السياق الأوروبي. ترتبط ظاهرة الفنانات الموسيقيات المحترفات اللائي يعزفن بشكل مستقل أو ضمن فرق تُعرف باسم "دامين كابيلا" بهذه المقاهي التي تقع في الغالب في وسط المدينة. كانت هذه الظاهرة جديدة في السياق الاجتماعي والثقافي وكذلك الموسيقي، حيث كانت الأعراف الاجتماعية الصارمة للغاية تفرض بانتظام على النساء. على الرغم من أن هؤلاء كانوا في الغالب مستوطنين من أجزاء أخرى من الإمبراطورية الذين أدوا في مجموعات متنقلة، إلا أن مشاركتهم الفنية غيرت النظرة المحلية للنساء اللائي يؤدين على مسارح المقاهي. لذلك غالبًا ما تمتعت الفرق النسائية بسمعة النجوم المحليين مما أتاح لها التمثيل المتكافئ في سوق العمل مقارنة بالفرق والمجموعات الذكورية فقط.

الكلمات المفتاحية: فنانات محترفات، فرق نسائية a la franca النمسا-المجر، سراييفو، مقاهي.

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عودة الترانيم الصربية إلى التقليد البيزنطي

فيسنا بيرو، إيفانا فيسيتش

يدرس المقال الظاهرة المحددة المتمثلة في عودة موسيقى الكنيسة الأرثوذكسية الصربية إلى الترانيم البيزنطية في الفترة المضطربة في أوائل التسعينيات. إطار الدراسة عبارة عن تحليل لحركة فريدة بين الأجيال الشابة من المؤمنين الصرب من أجل إحياء التراث الكنسي في فن الكنيسة وخاصة الموسيقى. تسلط هذه الورقة الضوء على: (1) الأسباب الكامنة وراء الأزمة الروحية العميقة التي سبقت تأكيد الترانيم البيزنطية، (2) (في) التصورات الصحيحة للتقاليد والتراث المسيحي الشرقي بين الصرب المنخرطين بنشاط في الحياة الليتورجية للكنيسة الأرثوذكسية الصربية في التسعينيات، و (3) بعض إيجابيات وسلبيات التقليد الموسيقي الفريد للكنيسة الشرقية والمتغيرات الوطنية للغناء الكنسي، مثل ترانيم الكنيسة الصربية. يخلص المقال إلى أنه حتى في ظروف اليوم فإن الصرب الأرثوذكس الذين يؤسسون هويتهم الوطنية في التراث الديني الشرقي / البيزنطي بغض النظر عن الحدود الحالية للدولة الصربية - لديهم سبب لاعتبار أنفسهم جزءًا من أوروبا البيزنطية والمتوسطية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: ترانيم الكنيسة، البيزنطية، الكنيسة الأرثوذكسية الصربية، الهوية القومية والروحية، التقليد المقدس.

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التراث الموسيقي الكرواتي كجزء من الثقافة الأوور-المتوسطية: أدوات الموسيقى الفنية في متاحف دالماشيا

إيفانا توميتش فيريتش، فيلينا فربانيتش

يقدم المقال نظرة ثاقبة للمصادر الموسيقية والمجموعات والآلات الموسيقية في جميع أنحاء أراضي كرواتيا اليوم، وخاصة في مقاطعة دالماشيا التاريخية. الهدف هو اكتشاف معلومات جديدة لم تكن معروفة تمامًا من قبل حول التراث الموسيقي الدلماشي، فضلاً عن التراث الموسيقي الأوروبي المحفوظ في دالماشيا، والذي يشهد على ارتباط المصادر الموسيقية الكرواتية بالدوائر الموسيقية والثقافية في أوروبا الوسطى والمتوسطية. يتركز البحث على آلات الموسيقى الفنية المحفوظة في متاحف دالماشيا، ويعد هذا البحث بمثابة مساهمة في الدليل على استمرارية الثقافة الموسيقية في المنطقة. هذه الآلات هي انعكاس للتاريخ الموسيقي الدلماشي الثري والمتطور والذي ينبع تعقيده من تقاليد الموسيقى الشعبية والمقدسة التي تمتد لقرون وتتخللها تأثيرات مختلفة. من ناحية أخرى فهي دليل على العلاقات الوثيقة بين دالماشيا وأوروبا في الماضي والحاضر. يسلط هذا الضوء أيضًا على أهمية البحث المقدم هنا، والذي تم فيه تحليل الأدوات - كنتائج ملموسة للتفاعلات بين الثقافات - في سياق موسيقي وثقافي أوسع لأول مرة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التراث الموسيقي، دالماشيا، الثقافة الأورو-متوسطية، الآلات الموسيقية، الموسيقى الفنية ، المتاحف الدلماشية.

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الأناشيد الغير رسمية كوسيلة للزخم الدبلوماسي الوطني: حالات من مناطق متعددة

بوشتيان أودوفيتش

يناقش المقال أهمية الترانيم الغير رسمية لفن الحكم في سلوفينيا. يكشف تحليل ظهور النشيد الوطني السلوفيني Zdravljica وتطوره والتكامل الهيكلي في شؤون الدولة والدبلوماسية، بالإضافة إلى نشيدين غير رسميين، هيى بريجادا (ليوبليانا) وفستابيني بريمورسكي (منطقة بريمورسكا) أن الأغنية لا يمكن أن تصبح مصدرًا مهمًا أو وسيلة من وسائل فن الحكم إلا إذا تم قبولها من قبل الفئات الاجتماعية، ويجب أن يتطور "فن الحكم" وفقًا لمبدأ القاعدة. بهذه الطريقة فقط يمكن للأغنية أن تكتسب الشرعية الاجتماعية اللازمة لكي تصبح وسيلة فعالة لخلق وتشكيل وتطوير الزخم الدبلوماسي / فن الحكم في بلد ما داخليًا وخارجيًا.

الكلمات المفتاحية: فن الحكم، نشيد وطني، زدراوليسا، هيى بريجادا، فستابيني بريمورسكي

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مستوى المعرفة بالأدبيات المالية ومخاطر البرتغال

يوليا سانتوس وفرناندو أوليفيرا تافاريس

كانت موضوعات محو الأمية المالية والمخاطر المالية موضوع دراسة منهجية في العقود الأخيرة كمتغيرات لا مفر منها تميز الأداء المالي للفرد، كما أنها تظهر كعامل للحفاظ على الرفاهية الاجتماعية. الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو دراسة مستوى معرفة القراءة والكتابة والمخاطر المالية للبرتغاليين والتأكد مما إذا كانت المتغيرات الاجتماعية والديموغرافية والمهنية تتدخل في مستويات معرفة القراءة والكتابة والمخاطر المالية. المنهجية المستخدمة هي المنهجية الكمية، وتستند أداة القياس إلى مسح استبيان يقيم مستويات المعرفة بالقراءة والكتابة والمخاطر المالية. تتكون العينة من 830 فردًا برتغاليًا من مناطق مختلفة في البر الرئيسي للبرتغال، تزيد أعمارهم عن 18 عامًا. تظهر النتائج أن الأفراد البرتغاليين لديهم مستوى أعلى من الدراية بالمعرفة المالية مقارنة بالمخاطر المالية، وأن مستويات الدراية بالمعرفة المالية مرضية ومستويات المعرفة بالمخاطر المالية منخفضة. وتجدر الإشارة أيضًا إلى أن الأفراد الذين لديهم خلفية تعليمية في مجال الإدارة أو ما شابه ذلك لديهم متوسط مستويات أعلى من المعرفة بمحو الأمية المالية. مع تقدم العمر ومستوى التدريب هناك أيضًا زيادة في مستويات المعرفة حول محو الأمية المالية وأفضل طريقة لإدارة المخاطر المالية. لذلك هناك حاجة لمبادرات التعليم المالي التي تشمل جميع المساهمين في المعرفة المالية.

الكلمات الأساسية: محو الأمية المالية، والمخاطر المالية، والتعليم المالي، والقرارات المالية، والرفاهية المالية.
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حوض البحر الأبيض المتوسط المتغير من خلال عدسة خبراء البحر الأبيض المتوسط

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تخضع المكونات المختلفة لحوض البحر الأبيض المتوسط (الأرض، والساحل ، والبحر) لتغييرات كبيرة بسبب التأثيرات البشرية المتعددة بما في ذلك تغير المناخ والتلوث وعوامل أخرى. يقدم تقرير التقييم الأول للبحر الأبيض المتوسط (مار ١) الذي أعده خبراء البحر الأبيض المتوسط المعنيون بالمناخ والتغير البيئي استنادًا إلى المؤلفات العلمية المتاحة، توليفًا متماسكًا وشاملًا عن حالة حوض البحر الأبيض المتوسط، ومحركاته الرئيسية وتأثيراتها على كل من النظم البيئية والأبعاد البشرية، مع التركيز على المياه والغذاء والطاقة والنظم الإيكولوجية وخدمات النظم البيئية والتنمية والصحة والأمن البشري. التقرير هو أول تقرير تقييم متعدد التخصصات عبر الحدود يتم إنتاجه لهذه المنطقة ويقدم مدخلات مهمة لإعلام السياسات على المستويات الإقليمية والوطنية والمحلية. تكمن طبيعتها الرائدة في نطاق التقييم العلمي وكذلك في إظهار القدرة الإقليمية على تنسيق الجهود المشتتة الموجودة في المنطقة. يسلط التقرير الضوء على المخاطر واستراتيجيات الاستجابة المحتملة التي قد تساعد في زيادة المرونة في مواجهة آثار تغير المناخ والبيئة. تظهر النتائج أن استجابات السياسات الفعالة للمناخ والتغير البيئي وكذلك لدعم أهداف التنمية المستدامة تشمل التخفيف المعزز لتغير المناخ والبيئة وتعزيز التكيف مع آثارهما. العوامل الاجتماعية والاقتصادية للفقر وعدم المساواة وعدم التوازن بين الجنسين في الوقت الحاضر تعيق تحقيق التنمية المستدامة والصمود في وجه تغير المناخ في بلدان البحر الأبيض المتوسط. معدل.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تغير المناخ، تغير البيئة، الدوافع، الموارد، النظم البيئية، المجتمع، البحر الأبيض المتوسط ، التكيف، المرونة.

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Azure Window, Malta, September 2014, photograph by Mohammed El Razzaz

This natural bridge at Dwejra in the Maltese Island of Gozo collapsed in March 2017 during a storm.