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Music, Sound and Ecology

Ob sedemdesetletnici ICTM in dvajsetletnici KED Folk Slovenija.
Glasba, zvok in ekologija

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Svanibor Pettan

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Marking the 70th Anniversary of ICTM and 20th Anniversary of CES Folk Slovenia: Music, Sound and Ecology

With this issue of the Musicological Annual, we celebrate the 70th anniversary of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM, founded in 1947 in London) as well as the 20th anniversary of the Cultural and Ethnomusicological Society Folk Slovenia (founded in 1996 in Piran). At the time of publishing of the current issue, the headquarters of both societies are located at the Department of Musicology, Faculty of Arts of the University of Ljubljana. ICTM is the leading international association of ethnomusicologists and has its office in Ljubljana from 2011 until 2017, while CES Folk Slovenia is a professional Slovenian association as well as the national branch of the ICTM. During the aforementioned period, I – the guest editor of this Musicological Annual – am serving as Secretary General of ICTM and President of CES Folk Slovenia.

Since 2011, both societies, the Department of Musicology at the University of Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts, the Institute of Ethnomusicology at the Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts and the cultural Institution Imago Sloveniae are organizing an international symposium at the end of every August, which is part of the music festival Nights in Old Ljubljana Town. The presentation of scholarly papers at the symposium is generally complemented by music, usually in the form of concerts. The past events covered the following thematic frameworks: *Encounters between Traditional Music and Dance and European Musical Culture in Various Places and at Various Times* (2011), *Whither Accordion? Accordion and Traditional Music* (a roundtable discussion was organized instead of a symposium, 2012), *Music and Protest in Various Parts of the World* (2013), *Music and Otherness* (2014), *Music and Ecology* (2015) and *Audiovisual Ethnomusicology* (the first symposium of the ICTM study group with focus on this field, 2016).

In addition to reflecting the growing interest in sound in the context of interactions between humans and their inclusive local and global environments, the multidisciplinary symposium *Music and Ecology* (2015) also offered a great opportunity for the discussion of environmental strategies and planning, questions regarding policy legacies, sustainable development, and power relations from the perspective of music

and sound. We paid attention to the moves in scholarly research that contribute to the development of study fields such as acoustic ecology, soundscape ecology, ecomusicology, zoomusicology, ecoacoustics and sound studies. The presentations covered a vast array of different geographical and cultural spaces like Australia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Peru, Slovenia, Serbia, Sri Lanka, Switzerland, Taiwan, Vietnam and the United Kingdom.

A group of six scholars – carriers of the international research project City Sonic Ecology – presented selected aspects of the soundscapes of Bern (Britta Sweers), Ljubljana (Ana Hofman, Mojca Kovačič), and Belgrade (Srđan Atanasovski, Marija Dumnić, Ivana Medić). Most of their reworked contributions are available in this issue of the Musicological Annual. The emphasis is on police sounds (Atanasovski), soundscapes with religious overtones (Kovačič), conflict between from bottom-up and top-down reculturisation initiatives (Medić), as well as the creation of nostalgic soundscapes (Dumnić). The next three articles focus on connections between ecology and sound art in the works of some contemporary artists (Jonathan Gilmurray), the artistic response of a Taiwanese indigenous community to the legalized pollution of its habitat (Wei-ya Lin), and cultural

Udeleženci simpozija Glasba in ekologija, Ljubljana, 2015.
Participants of the symposium Music and Ecology, Ljubljana, 2015.

Z leve/From the left: Amra Toska, Huo Ta-Hsin, Ana Hofman, Andrea Vrekalić, Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona, Teja Klobčar, Matt Brennan, Wei-Ya Lin, Mojca Kovačič, Ljubica Ilić, Jonathan Gilmurray, Britta Sweers, Carlos Yoder, Svanibor Pettan, Bernd Brabec de Mori, Srđan Atanasovski, Marija Dumnić, Ivana Medić, Huib Schippers.

differences between rural and urban settings in Bosnia and Herzegovina in reference to the places where traditional music is performed (Amra Toska). The following two contributions are not based on the symposium presentations; they were added later due to the topical relationship and relevance for the theme of this issue. Each of them addresses the effect of sound on human wellbeing, using different approaches and referring to very different environments and situations. The first of these articles focusses on Sri Lankan traditional rural practice (Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona), while the second deals with the modern phenomenon of sound therapy with gongs in Slovenia (Albinca Pesek and Tomaž Bratina). The closing article offers a reflection on the (in)adequacy of the existing categories in scholarly research of the social uses of sound and takes us into the domains of zoomusicology and ecomusicology (Marcello Sorce Keller).

For different reasons, several authors of the symposium papers have not prepared their contributions for publication in this issue, and this includes my own introductory paper. Thematic frameworks of their presentations were: intangible cultural heritage in the context of an environmentally-conscious project with global implications (Huib Schippers), old dichotomy between nature and culture in light of new arguments (Ljubica Ilić), the analysis of proclaimed sustainability in the context of a festival (Matt Brennan), sonic interactions between people and their environments in the contexts of neoshamanism and popular culture (Bernd Brabec de Mori), and music, ecology, and existence (Kjell Skyllstad).

Ob sedemdesetletnici ICTM in dvajsetletnici KED Folk Slovenija: glasba, zvok in ekologija

S to številko *Muzikološkega zbornika* proslavljamo 70-letnico Mednarodnega združenja za tradicijsko glasbo (International Council for Traditional Music, ICTM, ustanovljenega v Londonu leta 1947) ter 20-letnico Kulturnega in etnomuzikološkega društva Folk Slovenija (ustanovljenega v Piranu leta 1996). V času izzida te številke imata oba društva sedež na Oddelku za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani. ICTM je vodilno mednarodno združenje etnomuzikologov, ki v Ljubljani domuje v obdobju 2011-2017, KED Folk Slovenija pa je slovensko stanovsko združenje in hkrati naša nacionalna podružnica ICTM. Gostujoči urednik te številke Muzikološkega zbornika opravljam v omenjenem obdobju dolžnosti generalnega sekretarja ICTM ter predsednika KED Folk Slovenija.

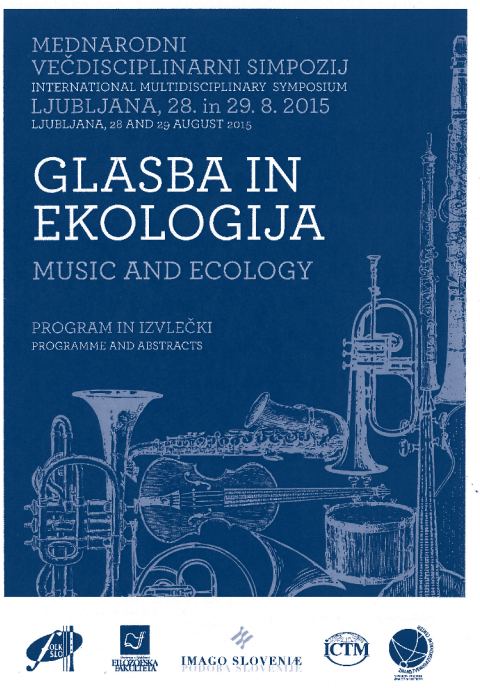
Oba društva ter Oddelek za muzikologijo Filozofske fakultete Univerze v Ljubljani, Glasbenonarodopisni inštitut ZRC SAZU in ustanova Imago Sloveniae od leta 2011 naprej, konec vsakega avgusta, organizirajo mednarodni simpozij, ki poteka v sklopu glasbene festivalne prireditve Noči v stari Ljubljani. Predstavitve znanstvenih prispevkov na simpoziju se praviloma tematsko dopolnjujejo z glasbenimi vsebinami, najpogosteje v koncertni obliki. Tematski okvirji skozi minula leta so bili naslednji: *Stiki med tradicijsko glasbo in plesom ter evropsko glasbeno kulturo v različnih okoljih in obdobjih* (2011), *Kam bi s to harmoniko? Harmonika in tradicijska glasba* (2012; takrat smo izjemoma namesto simpozija organizirali okroglo mizo), *Glasba in protest v različnih delih sveta* (2013), *Glasba in drugačnost* (2014), *Glasba in ekologija* (2015) ter *Avdiovizualna etnomuzikologija* (2016; prvi simpozij ICTM-ove študijske skupine za to področje).

Večdisciplinarni simpozij *Glasba in ekologija* leta 2015 je poleg tega, da odseva naraščajoče zanimanje za dojemanje zvoka v kontekstu odnosov med ljudmi in njihovimi celostnimi lokalnimi in globalnimi življenjskimi okolji, ponudil odlično priložnost za razpravo o ekoloških strategijah, o okoljevarstvenem načrtovanju, o politikah dediščinskih vprašanj, o trajnostnem razvoju ter o odnosih moči z vidika glasbe in zvoka. Zanimali so nas premiki v znanstvenem raziskovanju, ki se odražajo na razvoju študijskih področjih kot so akustična ekologija, ekologija zvočnih krajin, ekomuzikologija, zoomuzikologija, ekoakustika in študiji zvoka. Predstavitve so zajele različna zemljepisna in kulturna okolja in sicer Avstralijo, Bosno in Hercegovino, Peru, Slovenijo, Srbijo, Šrilanko, Švico, Tajvan, Vietnam in Združeno kraljestvo.

Skupina šestih znanstvenikov – nosilcev mednarodnega raziskovalnega projekta Zvočna ekologija mesta – je predstavila izbrane aspekte urbanih zvočnih krajin Berna (Britta Sweers), Ljubljane (Ana Hofman, Mojca Kovačič) in Beograda (Srđan Atanasovski, Marija Dumnić, Ivana Medić). Večina dodelanih prispevkov je na voljo v tej številki Muzikološkega zbornika. Poudarki so na policijskih zvokih (Atanasovski), na

versko konotirani zvočni krajini (Kovačič), na kofliktu med rekulturizacijskimi pobudami od spodaj navzgor in od zgoraj navzdol (Medić) ter na ustvarjanju nostalgičnega zvočnega okolja (Dumnić). V nadaljevanju so na primeru sodobnih ustvarjalcev in njihovih del predstavljene nekatere izmed povezav med ekologijo in zvočno umetnostjo (Jonathan Gilmurray), umetniški odziv tajvanske staroselske skupnosti na legalizirano onesnaževanje njihovega življenskega habitata (Wei-ya Lin) ter kulturne posebnosti podeželja in mesta v Bosni in Hercegovini glede na prostore izvajanja tradicijske glasbe (Amra Toska). Naslednja dva članka ne temeljita na simpozijskih prispevkih; dodana sta naknadno na podlagi tematske sorodnosti in relevantnosti v sklopu ostalih razprav v tej številki. Oba obravnavata vpliv zvoka na človekovo počutje, sicer z različnimi pristopi in v popolnoma drugačnih okoljih in situacijah. V prvem primeru gre za šrilanško tradicijsko obredno prakso (Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona), v drugem za novodobni fenomen zvočne terapije z gongi na Slovenskem (Albinca Pesek in Tomaž Bratina). Zaključni članek ponuja premislek o (ne)ustreznosti obstoječih kategorij pri znanstveni obravnavi družbene rabe zvoka in nas popelje v domene zoomuzikologije in ekomuzikologije (Marcello Sorce Keller).

Več avtorjev simpozijskih referatov iz različnih razlogov le-teh ni pripravilo za objavo v tej številki Muzikološkega zbornika, vključno z mojim uvodnim prispevkom. Naj



Naslovnica simpozijske knjižice Glasba in ekologija, Ljubljana, 2015
Cover page of the Music and Ecology symposium booklet, Ljubljana, 2015

le omenim tematske iztočnice njihovih prispevkov: nesnovna kulturna dediščina v luči ekološko ozaveščenega projekta z globalnimi implikacijami (Huib Schippers), stara dihotomija med naravo in kulturo v luči novih argumentov (Ljubica Ilić), obravnava proklamirane trajnostnosti v festivalskem kontekstu (Matt Brennan), zvočna interakcija med ljudmi in okoljem v kontekstih neošamanizma in popularne kulture (Bernd Brabec de Mori) ter glasba, ekologija in obstoj (Kjell Skyllstad).

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Rhythmanalysis of the Policescape: The Promise of an Ecological Turn in the Practice of Soundscape Studies*

Analiza ritma policijske krajine: obljuba ekološkega preobrata v praksi študija zvočnih krajin**

Prejeto: 19. avgust 2016
Sprejeto: 7. oktober 2016

Ključne besede: zvočna krajina, analiza ritma, policijsko nadzorovanje, Henri Lefebvre, Jacques Rancière

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Keywords: soundscape, rhythmanalysis, policing, Henri Lefebvre, Jacques Rancière

IZVLEČEK

Na podlagi koncepta *analize ritma*, katerega avtor je Henri Lefebvre, zagovarjam ekološki preobrat pri izvajanju študij zvočnih krajin, kar naj bi zagotovilo subjektu – poslušalcu oziroma *analizatorju ritma* – osrednji položaj v sklopu raziskave. Ponujam kritično (pomarksistično) »analizo ritma« zvočne pokrajine pejsaža »policinga«, kot ga je definiral Jacques Rancière.

ABSTRACT

Employing Henri Lefebvre's concept of *rhythmanalysis* I argue for an ecological turn in practicing soundscape studies, which would entail putting the subject – the listener, or "rhythmanalysist" – in the centre of research. I offer a critical (post-Marxist) "rhythmanalysis" of soundscape of landscape of "policing" (concept developed following Jacques Rancière).

* The paper was written as a part of the project *Serbian Musical Identities within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (no. 177004 /2011–2016/) funded by the Ministry of Education and Science of Republic of Serbia. The research also benefited from the project *City Sonic Ecology: Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade* (2014–2017) funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation within the SCOPES programme and the postdoc scholarship project *Urban Soundscapes of Vienna: Between Entrainment and Resilience* awarded by the Scholarship Foundation of the Republic of Austria (2016). Earlier versions of the parts of this article were presented at conferences *Music and Ecology* (August 2015) and *Between Universal and Local: From Modernism to Postmodernism* (September 2015, both held in Ljubljana).

** Članek je nastal v okviru projekta *Serbian Musical Identities within Local and Global Frameworks: Traditions, Changes, Challenges* (no. 177004 /2011–2016/), ki ga financira Ministrstvo za izobraževanje in znanost Republike Srbije. Raziskavo je omogočil tudi projekt *City Sonic Ecology: Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade* (2014–2017), ki ga financira Nacionalna znanstvena fundacija Švice (Swiss National Science Foundation, SNSF) znotraj programa SCOPES (2014-2017) ter postdoktorska štipendija projekta *Urban Soundscapes of Vienna: Between Entrainment and Resilience*, ki ga financira štipendijski sklad Republike Avstrije (2016). Zgodnje različice prispevka so bile predstavljene na konferencah v Ljubljani in sicer *Music and Ecology* (Avgust 2015) ter *Between Universal and Local: From Modernism to Postmodernism* (September 2015).

The Practice of Soundscape Studies: From Acoustic Ecology to Sound Heritage

From its beginnings, soundscape studies have nurtured an ecological dimension of its research. Unlike "music studies", understood in a very broad sense, which have aimed at turning our attention towards the singularity of a music work or a music event, soundscape studies were concerned with the plurality, the "leftovers", the noise and the ubiquitous sounds to which little awareness is given. The basic question which was put forward by R. Murray Schafer, widely considered as the founding pioneer of the discipline, "what is the relationship between man [*sic*] and the sounds of environment and what happens when those sounds change"[1], is itself a deeply ecological question. Jacques Attali in his aboundedly cited essay *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* similarly claims that "by listening to noise, we can better understand where the folly of men [*sic*] and their calculations is leading us, and what hopes it is still possible to have"[2]. It, thus, seems obvious that ecological perspective is deeply embedded in soundscape studies, in respect that they study (1) sonic *environment* and (2) relations and interactions between humans and sounds, while (3) understanding and approaching to the phenomenon of sound in a non-discriminatory fashion (in other words, ignoring, overriding or arguing against the binaries of music–noise, culture–nature, etc.). However, observing the current practice of soundscape research[3], as well as certain trends in historical soundscape studies,[4] one can note a strong emergence of what I will label as *conservationism paradigm*. Instead of a study of an "extraordinary music event", these soundscape studies practices are now offering us a study of a sound event which is (at least described as) *ordinary*, but is still place-bound and positioned as a unique occurrence. By the dint of the researcher's microphone, this sound event is thus "conserved" as an audio recording, but it is at the same time isolated from its ecological context and even placed into a new one. Indeed, the projects which aim at enabling the listener "to explore the sounds of the city wherever [she or he is]"[5] are not only creating new spatial economies of the sound, but can also potentially restructure the way we listen to the environmental sound and its "ordinary" occurrence, guided by the proliferation of interactive "soundscape maps". Even more interesting is the alliance which is being forged between the soundscape and heritage studies, as through high-profile projects which "consider the sound as a living heritage, which must be preserved and enhanced because of its fragility"[6], recording of the ordinary sound becomes closely related to tourist and heritage industry.

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1 R. Murray Schafer, *Our Sonic Environment and the Soundscape: The Tuning of the World* (Rochester VT: Destiny Books, 1994), 3–4.

2 Jacques Attali, *Noise. The Political Economy of Music*, transl. by Brian Massumi (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 3.

3 I refer specifically to *practices* of soundscape research, which are often stepping over the narrow bounds of scholarship and are also visible outside academia. The *theory* of soundscape (and sound) studies, however, often does provide an innovative thinking on the ecological trail; cf. Pinch and Bijsterveld 2012, Thompson and Biddle 2013 and García Quiñones, Kassabian and Boschi 2013, specifically Grimshaw 2012, Biddle 2013, Rai 2013, etc.
Soundscapes Rostock, 2010–2011, accessed on May 1, 2016, http://www.soundscapesrostock.de/.
Limerick Soundscapes, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.limericksoundscapes.ie/.

4 John M. Picker, *Victorian Soundscapes* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

5 Limerick Soundscapes, accessed May 1, 2016, http://www.limericksoundscapes.ie/.

6 European Acoustic Memory, 2013, accessed on May 1, 2016, http://map.europeanacousticheritage.eu/.

It is clear that what conservationism paradigm of soundscape research practice is actually aimed at is changing relationship towards public sound in terms of accessibility, preservation, and even inscribing value. What it does not contribute to, and in that respect betrays the ecological paradigm of soundscape studies, is understanding the politics of sonic immersion, "intimate listening"[7] or "listening to the longue durée"[8]. In this article I argue that by betraying the ecological paradigm, soundscape studies are in the danger of losing their critical potential. Namely, arguing for ecological understanding of listening, listening as a continuous process, is not only a mere philosophical exercise but a prerequisite in understanding the operations of the social machines of subjectification.[9] As machines operate through numerous albeit limited points of "coding", in other words, singular events – such as the music or sound events studied in (ethno)musicology – listening only to these singularities would leave us hopelessly shackled in the doings of the machine. Understanding listening from the ecological perspective, however, would offer a different understanding of production of meaning in the social space and time, which would, on one hand, help us analyse how the social machine operatively succeeds in "smoothing" the listener[10], and, on the other, it would face us with a leftover, a non-signified materiality obscured by the narratives[11], which, by force of its own materiality, holds the potential of the escape. As Félix Guattari notes, ecology in this sense has the potential to question "the whole of subjectivity and capitalistic power formations".[12]

Romanticism Out of Joint: Henri Lefebvre and Rhythmanalysis

In order to develop an ecological method of soundscape research practice, I will employ the concept of *rhythmanalysis* proposed by the French philosopher and sociologist Henri Lefebvre in his last major book originally published in 1992 (*Elements de rythmanalyse: Introduction a la connaissance de rythmes*, translation in English by Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore as *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*[13]). I choose to address Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis for two reasons: firstly, I believe that there is an overriding commitment in Lefebvre writing to an ecological understanding of the social reality, and, secondly, I recognize a potent practical perspective in the manner

7 Ian Biddle, "Quiet Sounds and Intimate Listening: The Politics of Tiny Seductions," in: Thompson and Biddle 2013, 206–222.

8 Deborah Kapchan, "Learning to Listen: The Sound of Sufism in France," *The World of Music* 51 (2009): 65–89. Deborah Kapchan, "Slow Ethnography, Slow Activism: Listening, Witnessing and the Longue Durée," Keynote paper presented at 12th Congress of the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore, Zagreb, Croatia, 21–25 June 2015 (SIEF2015).

9 Gilles Deleuze, and Félix Guattari. *Anti-Oedipus. Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, transl. by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983).

10 William Bogard, "Smoothing Machines and the Constitution of Society," *Cultural Studies* 14 (2000): 269–294.

11 Srđan Atanasovski, "Consequences of the Affective Turn: Exploring Music Practices from without and within," *Musicology* 18 (2015): 65.

12 Félix Guattari, *The Three Ecologies*, transl. by Ian Pindar and Paul Sutton (London and New Brunswick, NJ: Athlone Press, 2000), 52.

13 Henri Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, transl. by Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore (New York: Continuum, 2004).
Both in the French and in English edition, the "Essai de rythmanalyse des villes méditerranéennes" ("Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities"), originally published in 1986 and co-authored by Catherine Régulier, was included in the volume (Lefebvre and Régulier, 2004).

Lefebvre describes the work of a prospective "rhythmanalysist" which can serve as a trailblazer in soundscape research practice.

With a clear footing in non-orthodox Marxism Lefebvre's writings can be succinctly summarized as a quest to answer a single question – what is the locus of the true reality. Therein Lefebvre openly advocates a "new romanticism" which would help us grasp the issues of the contemporary world,[14] one might say an "ecological romanticism", an understanding of the social reality which would go beyond semiotic analysis of singular coded events and endeavours to grasp the lived experience. Subverting the theoretical milieu of his day, Lefebvre's discourse goes against creating fixed and ostensibly novel theoretical concepts and instead works by exploring the world through ironical twists on traditional notions. However, he nevertheless becomes heavily embroiled in key questions of postmodernist debates, namely, in conceiving the ways to think of radical immanence. The trail of irony which leads to thinking on/in immanence is most visible in Lefebvre's study on the "production of space".[15] For Lefebvre, space is a key concept precisely because of its material irreducibility which makes it impossible to disentangle not only singular coded events from the non-signified materiality, but also the very sign, or signification process as such, from its physical materiality. To describe this, Lefebvre ironically plays with the concept of representation, distinguishing between "spatial practice", "representations of space" and "spaces of representation",[16] which he offers as nodes of three-part dialectical analysis, and he also subsequently eloquently reaffirms his position in *Rhythmanalysis*:

> *If there is difference and distinction, there is neither separation nor an abyss between so-called material bodies, living bodies, social bodies and representations, ideologies, traditions, projects and utopias. They are all composed of (reciprocally influential) rhythms in interaction.*[17]

Lefebvre's study on "rhythmanalysis"[18] is a work in which he explicitly draws inspiration out of music, and a three-part dialectical model is accordingly reformulated to encompass "melody–harmony–rhythm".[19] However, it quickly becomes clear that Lefebvre does not wish to discuss music as the cannon of art works, but music and sound as means of aestheticizing and dis-alienating the lived reality. Thus, the key question which Lefebvre poses in relation to music and sound is whether musical time coincides with the "lived time", that is, whether musical time is inextricably sociospatial or it resides in the transcendent reality of music as art and/or institution. Not surprisingly, Lefebvre renounces the possibility of the existence of imaginary time that exists

14 Henri Lefebvre, *Introduction to Modernity: Twelve Preludes, September 1959 – May 1961*, transl. by John Moore (London and New York: Verso, 1995), 239 ff..

15 Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, transl. by Donald Nicholson-Smith (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

16 While Nicholson-Smith translates "les espaces de représentation" as "representational spaces" (Lefebvre 1991), other scholars favour the more literal translation (cf. Elden 2004b, 206).

17 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 43.

18 Lefebvre takes the phrase "rhythmanalysis" from philosophers Lúcio Alberto Pinheiro dos Santos (1931) and Gaston Bachelard (1964).

19 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 12. Stuart Elden, "Rhythmanalysis: An Introduction," in: Lefebvre 2004, xi.

outside the social space, by which he also waives the possibility of the existence of "meaning" as transcendental in relation to the material rhythm of the body.[20] However, while renouncing the ontological otherness to music and sound, Lefebvre is insisting on a new form of their aesthetic otherness, that is, aesthetic autonomy. Discussing the autonomy of music in relation to the spoken word,[21] the author truly speaks in favour of the existence of aesthetic autonomy in relation to the semantic. Similar to the architecture in terms of space,[22] music is the one that aestheticizes time, and its ethical and cathartic social role is not "the other" in relation to the aesthetic, but it is precisely contained therein. Music and sound open the possibility of aestheticizing the contradictions of the lived, the possibility of performative misinterpretations which hold the potentiality for subversion and de-alienation.[23] Needless to say, this aestheticization of the moment is not to be achieved through music art as an institution of bourgeois provenance, on the contrary, the frames of music art as an institution hinders this mission and only the destruction of art as institutional practice and translation of the aesthetical to the everyday experience of an individual (as the locus of "permanent revolution") can resist the dialectics of alienation.[24]

For Lefebvre the concept of *rhythm* serves to establish the repetition and repetitive organisation as the cornerstone of the everyday experience. Rhythm connects the "rational laws" of the capitalist society with "the carnal", "the body" of the subject. As the flow of production, rhythm at the same time organizes the bodies and exposes the organization of the flows of capital:

> *Rhythms. Rhythms. They reveal and they hide. Much more diverse than in music, or the so-called civil code of successions, relatively simple texts in relation to the City. Rhythms: the music of the City, a scene that listens to itself, an image in the present of a discontinuous sum. Rhythms perceived from the invisible window, pierced into the wall of the façade... But next to the other windows, it is also within a rhythm that escapes it...*[25]

Exposing the rhythm is a task which Lefebvre assigns to "rhythmanalyst". On one hand, his task is light, as nothing is hidden to him and the doings of the capitalist society are inescapably exposed through the rhythm on the plane of material immanence.[26] On the other, his methods are so removed from the standard methods of social or anthropological research that the competencies of researcher as such need to be revisited:

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20 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 60.

21 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 62.

22 Henri Lefebvre, *Toward an Architecture of Enjoyment*, ed. by Łukasz Stanek, transl. by Robert Bononno (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).

23 In this sense one should read Lefebvre's statement that "by and through rhythm, music becomes worldly [se mondialise]" (Lefebvre 2004, 65).

24 Henri Lefebvre, *S onu stranu strukturalizma*, transl. by Frida Filipović (Beograd: Komunist, 1973), 210.

25 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 36.

26 "Might there be hidden, secret, rhythms, hence inaccessible movements and temporalities? No, because there are no secrets. Everything knows itself, but not everything says itself, publicises itself. Do not confuse silence with secrets! That which is forbidden from being said, be it external or intimate, produces an obscure, but not a secret, zone" (Lefebvre 2004, 17, emphasis removed).

> *[The rhythmanalyst] will listen to the world, and above all to what are disdainfully called noises, which are said without meaning, and to murmurs [rumeurs], full of meaning – and finally he will listen to silences. [...] The rhythmanalyst will not have [...] methodological obligations [of a psychoanalyst]: rendering oneself passive, forgetting one's knowledge, in order to re-present it in its entirety in the interpretation. He listens – and first to his body; he learns rhythm from it, in order consequently to appreciate external rhythms. His body serves him as a metronome.*[27]

From the perspective of soundscape studies, there are four striking and particularly useful points on which Lefebvre insists in his description of rhythmanalyst and rhythmanalysis as a research method:

A) *Practice* – However unlikely this might be at the first, having this abstract, poetic and theory-saturated text in mind, Lefebvre insists that rhythmanalysis is essentially a practical discipline, as every critical theory ought to be if it wishes to produce an effect. Even further, the social mechanisms which make us think separately of "practice" and "theory", "research" and "knowledge", are exactly the mechanism through which capitalist society keeps obscuring its own reproduction.[28] Rhythmanalyst preforms his analysis by "catching a rhythm" and perceiving it "within the whole", arriving "at the concrete through experience".[29]

B) *Body* – Proclaiming that "at no moment" could "the analysis of rhythms" afford to lose "sight of the body", Lefebvre insists that the research has to be both centred on body and to be performed as an embodied activity. In other words, the body is not only an object of analysis, it is an analytical toolkit, serving as a "metronome".[30] In order to produce critical knowledge, the researcher must think "with his body, not in the abstract, but in lived temporality".[31]

C) *Listening* – It might not come as surprise that the key method of rhythmanalysis is listening. However, having in mind the scope of the tasks which rhythmanalysis is to meet, that is, the analysis of the totality of social space and time, resorting to listening not only as a prime, but virtually as the *only* method which the researcher is to use, is, to say at least, a drastic move. It is clear that we speak about a different kind of listening, which can't be described neither as "attentive", nor as "casual": the rhythmanalyst "is always 'listening out', but he does not only hear words, discourses, noises and sounds; he is capable of listening to a house, a street, a town as one listens to a symphony, an opera".[32] Musicology and ethnomusicology are the disciplines which are probably most prone to having listening – also usually described as "close listening" – as the methods of their research.[33] But even these disciplines are repeatedly struggling to include other, "scientific" methods in order

27 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 19.
28 Henri Lefebvre and Catherine Régulier, "Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities," transl. by Stuart Elden and Gerald Moore, in: Lefebvre 2004, 87.
29 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 21.
30 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 19. Stuart Elden, 2004a, "Rhythmanalysis: An Introduction," in: Lefebvre 2004, xii.
31 Lefebvre, *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*, 21.
32 Lefebvre and Catherine Régulier, "Attempt at the Rhythmanalysis of Mediterranean Cities," 87.
33 For current debates on listening in musicology see Dell'Antonio 2004.

to vindicate their position in the social field, whether it is the written methods of music analysis or various forms of structured ethnography. Listening to a town as one listens to a symphony can be a task of musicologists, but in order to answer it, they must renounce the research object of their discipline ("symphony", that is, a musical work of defined scope), while retaining their competences (or, one might add, transforming close listening into "ecological listening"). In this regard, Lefebvre shows a path towards rhythmanalysis as a "post-musicology".[34]

D) *Silence* – Insistence on purportedly meaningless murmurs and, even more, on silence is a striking feature on Lefebvre's essay and probably the most damaging to the previously described conservational paradigm of soundscape research practices, for it is the silence, that is, the ecology of the sound event, which is therein disregarded. For Lefebvre, listening to silence in its full extension in which it surrounds the sound is what is necessary if one wants to grasp the social significance of the sound, listening to rhythm basically coming down to listening to sounds *and* silences. It is this silence, the non-sounding ecology of the sound event, the non-signified materiality, which unravels the "secret" of the rhythm. One might also be tempted to compare this silence with "empty space" and to recall that Lefebvre's adamant assertion that there is no such thing as "objective, neutral and empty space" is part and parcel of his critique of the semiotic models which disregard the very brute materiality of space and time.[35]

With these lessons I now turn to the sonic policescape as the body of my analysis.

Policescape and the Act of Listening

Soundscape research practices often involve elaborate planning of the act of recording, performed with high definition audio devices. The act of recording then postpones the moment of analysis, transforming soundscape research into the study of the *recording* – the mediated sound event which is already outside its environment and whose properties are inevitably distorted – and not the sonic environment as such. In this exercise of rhythmanalysis, performed in Belgrade (September 2015 – March 2016) and in Vienna (April–May 2016), I give the primacy to the non-mediated listening of extensive temporal reach. Sound recording and reproduction and "sound diary" are used as assisting, secondary tools. In terms of recording, the preference is given to audio recording devices which are non-obtrusive to wear and which can record extensive swaths of time (e.g. between four and twenty hours), even when resulting in recordings of low definition. "Sound diary" is kept as a written record of the observed properties of sonic ecologies. The research is primarily envisioned as autoethnography, but is additionally supported through a pool of selected interlocutors, which are subjected to in-depth interview and asked to use same tools in everyday listening.

The main task of this rhythmanalysis was locating the mechanisms of *policescape*, understood as the urban soundscape and landscape of policing. Namely, distinguishing

34 For listening as a method in ethnography see also Erlmann 2004.

35 Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 36, 154.

between the realm of politics and police, Jacques Rancière broadens the notion of policing from the system of security in order to encompass all actions which are performed in order to prescribe (and inscribe) the social labels and "identities"[36] onto certain groups and individuals. While what is commonly understood as "politics" is today mainly practiced exactly as negotiations between groups which already assert their (class, national, ethical, religious) identity, often with the sole demand of continual assertion of this identity, for Rancière, the very act which foreruns these negotiations, the hierarchical differentiation of classes with different responsibilities and privileges is exactly what hinders the political and renders our world the world of policing instead the world of politics. In other words, it seems impossible to enter the political struggle without being already captured by the "police", that is, by the systems of identification and categorization through which the society operates.[37] Drawing on this understanding of policing, I define policescape as an corporeal system of physical devices which are out in motion with an aim to capture the bodies of the individuals through their sensory capacities, such as vision, touch, smell and, last but not the least, hearing. Policescape is a materiality, *res extensa*, an agent which impacts the body without mediation and instructs them how to adopt their responsibilities and privileges, expected patterns of behaviour and prescribed practices of the body. Aspects of policescape as such might relate to different notions of group "identities", such as religious, class, etc., but one of the key features of the policescape remains *extension*, its indiscriminative affecting of the individual bodies (even when it appears discriminative) which are left to negotiate their relation to it.

By the nature of sound, the sonic policescape cuts across social and physical barriers, which makes it one of the most potent vehicles of imposing and replicating patterns of cultural hegemonies. Our bodies appear as passive hearing objects which become entrained by apparatuses of hegemony, engulfed in their full extent before even having a chance to provide resistance. By hearing, not only that our own bodies become part of the capitalistic system, but we also allow the sound to structure our daily existence, imposing the categories of private–public, activity–passivity, spaces of democracy – spaces of obedience. How does policescape achieves this, how does it render bodies of individuals into passive, "willing" subjects[38] capable of being affected but at the same time renouncing their will to affect, to embed themselves into the sonic environment in unexpected or non-proscribed way? In order to answer this question, I will discuss two point which proved to be especially important in my analysis:

A) *The public/private divide* – The separation of the spheres of public and private is one of the cornerstones of the capitalist society. It not only underpins the class-structured social space regulated through the paradigm of "security", maintaining the relations of inequality and protecting the property, both private and public. It also creates a promise of a personal, private sphere which should be available to each individual. The gated community available to the high echelons of the society

36 Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity'," *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47.

37 Jacques Rancière, *On the Shores of Politics*, transl. by Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1995). Oliver Davis, *Jacques Rancière* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2010), 74 ff.

38 Frédéric Lordon, *Willing Slaves of Capital: Spinoza and Marx on Desire*, transl. by Gabriel Ash (London and New York: Verso, 2014).

is transformed into utopian ideal of the private spheres which each individual tries to recreate in their own lived experience, inevitably failing in this respect.[39] If the ultimate benchmark of success and moral ideal in the neoliberal society is (equally impossible and transient) absolute financial independence and self-sufficiency,[40] then achieving an ownership over the absolute private sphere which cannot be violated becomes its ultimate fetish, an ultimate point of desire. The utopia (or, one could argue, dystopia) of the gated community as the point of desire actively structures how the individual body hears and listens on two levels: firstly, by delineating the lived space into the spheres of "public" and "private", and, secondly, distinguishing between "public" and "private" sounds. Although sonic event such as church bells or police sirens, seen as public, overrides enclosures of thin walls and windows of one's private sphere, inside this enclosure they are heard with apparent ignorance, as mere information at most, while in the public sphere they can command the body into religious devotion or into state of vigilance. In opposition, sounds produced by traffic or even privately owned audio reproduction equipment are commonly ignored as an invisible drone or at most a nuisance in the outside space, only to be scathingly detested once they encroach into one's private sphere. This is not to say that policescape is innocuous when ignored, in fact exactly the opposite is argued: policescape is reaffirmed when it achieves what could be labelled "patterned interpellation", that is, when it enters the patterns of ignoring and responding, effectively structuring our understanding of social space. The desire of gated community not only serves to limit our ambitions to freedom and political intervention, it also serves to antagonise individuals and preclude creating coalitions in the social space. Finally, the systematic and thorough imposition of public/private divide serves to destroy and prevent from appearing the space which is outside – or beyond – this divide, that is, the *common* space.[41] If only beyond public and private the *urban* as the space of political can appear, then it becomes obvious that policing is not precluding the Ranci rian political solely through discursive processes of identification and codification, but precisely through the *res extensa* of the policescape.

B) *Horror silentii* – As we have seen on the example of the public/private divide, policescape dictates the rhythm of individuals' daily life through creating spatiotemporal categories which structure the mechanisms of interpellation. While public/private divide is arguably the most deeply rooted, other examples of such categories in opposition can be provided, and possibly traced back to the public/private: work/leisure, commuting/habitation, just to name few important. Each of these categories materializes in space and time and policescape provides sensuous reminders of our identity and function in each of them. As the sound reproduction

39 Interestingly, in a passing reflection in his essay on surrealism, Walter Benjamin ascribes the "virtue" of privacy, that is, the "discretion concerning one's own existence", to the aristocracy, which is then being imitated by the petty bourgeoisie (Benjamin 1979, 228). While it is undoubted that privacy has been the object of desire in different historical circumstances, one could argue that it is precisely the bourgeoisie and the advent of capitalism which brought forward the present notion of privacy that can be mass produced and available not only to the few of the ruling class (Colomina 1996).

40 Judith Butler, *Notes Toward a Performative Theory of Assembly* (Cambridge MA and London: Harvard University Press, 2015), 14.

41 Michael Hardt, and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009). Cesare Casarino and Antonio Negri, *In Praise of the Common: A Conversation on Philosophy and Politics* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008). Stavros Stavrides, *Common Space. The City as Commons* (London: Zed Books, 2016).

technologies becomes ever more available, the sonic environment often becomes the prime mechanism of this reminder. So called elevator music provides rhythm to our activities in a way which is in many respects similar to early steam engines providing ever-increasing rhythm of factory production.[42] This might not ostensivly seem as an imposed practice, as we often consciously use different sonic ecologies to self-structure the everyday: the music one chooses to listen at work is different from the music one chooses to listen at homes or in the free time. I would argue that one of the main mechanisms by which sonic policescape operates in this respect is *horror silentii*, that is, a fear of silence, which results in a continuous race to sonically encompass each of the everyday situations in which one may find themself. However, even then, swaths of our spatiotemporality remain silent, both in what is regarded as public and private spaces, not (yet?) engulfed by the sonic policescape, filled by silence or the sounds ("murmurs") of nature we usually disregard. *Horror silentii*, thus at this point operates most forcibly through sonic commodification of "threshold spaces".[43] It is these spaces which are aggressively transformed into the spaces of commercial activities, dictating our behaviour as one of the customer, whether it is Muzak-featured duty-free shopping zones which are less than a footstep away from the boarding pass or border control at the Vienna and Belgrade airports, or the speakers of cafes at the central Trg republike in Belgrade which are pointed outwards, transforming the portions of the adjacent street and square into the appendages of its commercial activities. One must note that the effectiveness of the sonic commodification of threshold spaces is not to be measured by the produced profit as such, the prime object of this process is stifling the potential for the political which is embedded into the threshold. Notoriously and unjustly referred as non-spaces,[44] thresholds have the proclivity of transforming themselves into the commons, not in spite but precisely because of their apparent non-eventfulness and ordinariness. What the mechanisms of horror silentii here does is preventing the individual becoming of a commoner, and in the same time an incipient political subjects, already goading it into the role of customer.

Ultimately, by exploring the ubiquitousness of listening, one is also impelled to ask if there are political agency and ramifications of the act of listening as such. If policescape fears the silence, it also fears the subject who is *listening* to the silence, as this subject is always a step closer to becoming a commoner. In words of Salomé Voegelin, "silence provides the condition to practise a signifying language that takes account of its sonic base: it embraces the body of the listener in its solitude, and invites him to listen to himself amidst the soundscape that he inhabits.[45] On the end, if it is exactly listening to the silence and the murmurous noise what destabilizes the policescape, then this listening has to be deeply environmental, ecological, and it is a task of soundscape research to trace its occurrence as a promise of the political.

42 Andreas Malm, *Fossil Capital: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming* (London and New York: Verso, 2016), 188–191.

43 Stavrides, *Common Space. The City as Commons*.

44 Marc Augé, *Non-Places. Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity*, transl. by John Howe (London and New York: Verso, 1995).

45 Salomé Voegelin, *Listening to Noise and Silence. Towards a Philosophy of Sound Art* (New York and London: Continuum, 2010), xv.

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POVZETEK

Vse od svojih začetkov je študij zvočnih krajin gojil ekološko dimenzijo. Toda če si ogledamo sedanje prakse raziskav zvočnih krajin, opazimo porast nečesa, čemur pravim paradigma konservativnosti, po kateri se zvok dojema kot obliko dediščine, ki naj se jo ohrani in poveličuje. V pričujočem članku poskušam dokazati, da je s tem, ko se izneverimo ekološki paradigmi, ogrožen kritični potencial študija zvočnih krajin. Argumentacija v smeri ekološkega razumevanja poslušanja, poslušanja kot neprekinjenega procesa, namreč ni zgolj filozofska vaja, ampak močno kritično orodje za razkrivanje delovanja socialnih mehanizmov subjektivizacije. Za to da bi razvil ekološko metodo v raziskovanju praks zvočnih krajin, bom uporabil koncept analize ritma, kakor ga je predlagal francoski filozof in sociolog Henri Lefebvre. Z gledišča študija zvočnih krajin obstajajo štiri izredno jasni in uporabni vidiki, na katerih vztraja Lefebvre, ko opisuje analitika ritma in analizo ritma: a) praksa – analiza ritma je po svojem bistvu praktična disciplina, takšna, kot naj bi bila vsaka kritična teorija, ki želi doseči nek učinek; b) telo – telo ni samo predmet raziskave, temveč tudi analitično orodje, saj mora raziskovalec poslušati »s svojim telesom, ne v abstraktnosti, ampak v doživeti časovnosti«; c) poslušanje – s tem ko določi poslušanje za edino pravo metodo, ki naj jo raziskovalec uporablja, Lefevbre tlakuje pot k analizi ritma kot »post-muzikologiji«.; in d) tišina – za Lefebvra je posluh za tišino v svoji celotni razsežnosti, po kateri tišina obdaja zvok, tisto nujno, če želimo dojeti socialni pomen zvoka. V tej vaji analize ritma, kakor je bila izvajana v Beogradu (od septembra 2015 do marca 2016) in na Dunaju (od aprila do maja 2016), dajem prednost ne-posredovanemu poslušanju širokega časovnega dosega. Raziskava je v prvi vrsti zamišljena kot avtoetnografija, s tem da je dodatno podprta z nizom izbranih sogovornikov. Glavni namen analize je bil locirati mehanizme policijske krajine, razumljene kot urbane zvočne krajine in krajine policijskega nadzorovanja. Izhajajoč iz Rancièrovega razumevanja policijskega nadzorovanja, definiram policijsko krajino kot širok sistem fizičnih prijemov, ki ciljajo na to, da ujamejo telesa posameznikov preko njihovih čutnih zmožnosti. Zaradi narave zvoka zvočna policijska krajina preči socialne in fizične prepreke, kar iz nje naredi eno najmočnejših načinov, kako vsiliti in zamenjati vzorce kulturnih hegemonij. Pojasnjujem dva vidika, ki sta se izkazala kot posebej pomembna v analizi: a) javna/zasebna ločnica in njen potencial, da strukturira načine, kako poslušamo in slišimo in b) horror silenti in zvočna komodifikacija predprostorov. Zaključim s tem, da so prav posluh za tišino in različni hrupi tisto, kar destabilizira policijsko krajino, kar lociranje in analizo te vrste poslušanja povzdigne v pomembni nalogi študija zvočne krajine.

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"Sacred Noise": The Case of the *Ezan* in Ljubljana*

»Duhovni hrup«: primer *ezana* v Ljubljani**

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IZVLEČEK

Prispevek obravnava stanje, v katerem anticipacija novega zvoka v javnem prostoru spodbuja politične, družbene in ideološke polemike. Prikaže kako je religijski zvok *ezana*, muslimanskega klica k molitvi, še preden se je vključil v zvočnost mesta Ljubljane, razburil javnost, na kakšen način so se vzpostavile politike moči v družbenih in verskih domenah ter kakšni diskurzi nasploh spremljajo zvočnost muslimanov v Sloveniji.

ABSTRACT

This paper considers the situation in which the anticipation of a new sound in public space gives rise to political, social, and ideological debates. It demonstrates how the religious sound of *ezan* (the Muslim call to prayer) caused public discomfort even prior to becoming a part of Ljubljana's soundscape, how power politics affected society and its religious sphere, and what kind of discourses take place in regard to the sounds associated with the Muslims in Slovenia.

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The past decade was marked by growing international interest in sound studies.[1] These studies explore how sounds construct time, place and space[2] and how specific acoustic environments reflect the historical, cultural, religious, social or political order of a particular space. A specific sound often interests researchers when it gains more attention from the community than other sounds. Some sounds (including anticipated sound) become the centre of a broader public debate, whereby a negative attitude towards sound is often encouraged and manipulated and, in connection with the context (for instance, political or religious), sound is presented as an annoying, foreign, threatening etc.

In recent decades there have been a great many public debates and research studies on public religious sounds and the way they cross the border between the religious and the secular and between public and private space. Questions have been raised of their social, political and ideological relations to various segments of society. One such religious sound that has also been part of a public debate is the Muslim call to prayer, or *ezan*.

This study focuses on one specific religious sound and its relation to a space and community: the sound of the Muslim call to prayer, or *ezan*,[3] and the city of Ljubljana and its inhabitants. However, since Ljubljana does not have a mosque or a minaret (as a place for public sound production), the subject of this research is not yet actually part of the city's soundscape; therefore, this research observes the interaction between the space/community and the sound as it is imagined. This is why the case study that forms part of this paper uses a discursive analytical approach to communication in online media texts and in online forums and blogs. The first part of the article presents already established knowledge, theories and concepts on the relations among religious sounds, place, space and community; the second focuses on the context in which the inhabitants evolved their relation to the imagined sound and other religious sounds. The tracking of public means of communication reveals many discourses that are re-

1 The foundations of sound studies were laid in the 1960s and '70s by the Canadian educator, musician and environmentalist Raymond Murray Schafer (see his project and book *The Tuning of the World*, New York: Knopf, 1977). Contemporary sound studies (including eco-musicology and acoustic ecology or acoustemology), especially those driven by musicologists, ethnomusicologists and anthropologists, are concerned with the interaction of sound, space, humans and animals, as well as the individual's experiences of sound. But the relation of music to religious sounds that function as sound signals (like bell ringing and *ezan*) is very much undefined in scholarly discourse, even more so in light of the fact that these sounds are nowadays created technologically. However, if we follow the concept of music ecology that "attempts to contextualize music as sound and relate musical sound-material to other sonic realities", this question is not of vital importance. Maria Anna Harley, "Notes on music ecology as a new research paradigm", published February 3, 2007. Accessed on April 11, 2016, http://wfae.proscenia.net/library/articles/harly_paradigm.pdf.

2 Raymond Murray Schafer called the combination of sounds in an environment a 'soundscape', in analogy to the term 'landscape'. Criticism of his approach, which is primarily sound-centred and physically distanced from agency and perception, has led to an understanding that listening to sounds is an "engagement with place and space-time". Steven Feld, "Acoustemology," in *Keywords in Sound,* ed. David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015), 15.

3 Various variants such as *adhan* or *azon* are used in the Islamic world; however, I use the word *ezan*, as it is used in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is the cultural connection explored in this paper. The *ezan* is traditionally recited five times a day by the muezzin, a person appointed at a mosque to recite the prayer. Islamic theology does not consider *ezan* to be musical expression; nevertheless, the muezzin is chosen for his singing or vocal skills, and the *ezan* is performed as a melodious tune. The ezan is traditionally recited or performed from the minaret, a tall, slim tower that is separate from or architecturally connected to the mosque. In contemporary times, the physical presence of the muezzin is most often replaced by loudspeakers broadcasting a recording of the *ezan*. Through examples in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ankica Petrović also explains that *ezan* can be influenced by a local traditional singing style. See more on the musical expression of *ezan* in Ankica Petrović, "Paradoxes of Muslim Music," *Asian Music* 20/1 (1989): 130–131.

lated to or even outweigh the issue of the Islamic sounding. This paper shows what is communicated and how it is communicated through people's relations to the currently imagined sound of *ezan* in Ljubljana's soundscape.

Religious Sounds, Church Bell Ringing, *Ezan* and Their Relation to the Acoustic Space and Acoustic Community

Scholars have developed different theoretical concepts to understand the relation of a certain sound to other sounds that form the everyday acoustic environment or 'acoustic space'. Applying Murray Schafer's concept to religious sounds in urban space, a 'soundmark' or a community sound is a sound characteristic of the city and has a special cultural and historical meaning for the community. On the other hand, it is a 'sound signal', a sound that carries a message for the individual or the community. The message can be symbolic (reminding people of their pious obligations) as well as temporal (reminding people that it is time to pray, marking the time of day).[4] While in major acoustemological and soundscape studies like R. Murray Schaffer's *Tuning of the World*, Barry Truax's *Acoustic Communication* or Steven's Feld *Time of Bells*[5] bell ringing is shown to be an important and salient soundmark in contemporary Europe, the position of the *ezan* is different. *Ezan* is the sound of a religious and ethnic minority, i.e. the Muslim community in Slovenia, which has so far been relatively invisible in public space. The *ezan* would become the second public religious sound in Ljubljana, alongside the dominant sound of bell ringing.[6] It would therefore be a new and different sound in the city.

Barry Truax, whose work follows and upgrades Murray Schafer's concept, emphasizes the role of sound's communicational process. For him, sound is a mediator between the acoustic environment or space and the listener and refers to the community of people for whom "acoustic information plays a pervasive role" in their lives. The sound that carries acoustic information has a "significant role in defining the community spatially, temporally in terms of daily and seasonal cycles, as well as socially and culturally in terms of shared activities, rituals and dominant institutions".[7] It is obvious that religious sounds fit this definition perfectly and that in traditionally Christian societies (like the Slovenian), church bell ringing provides an acoustic linkage between the acoustic community and the information that the ringing carries. Even though Truax emphasises the positive relationship between the sound and the acoustic community, this is not always self-evident. For example, a recent study of the relationship between Ljubljana's inhabitants and church bell ringing revealed that even though people recognise the acoustic information

4 Murray Schafer divides sounds into three categories: 'keynote sounds' as sounds from the background, 'sound marks' as sounds that define a certain environment and have a special meaning for the community and 'sound signals' as sounds that carry a special message for society. Schafer, *The Tuning of the World*, 9–10.

5 Steven Feld, *The Time of Bells* 2 (Santa Fee: VoxLox, 2004) and Barry Truax, *Acoustic Communication* (New Jersey, Ablex Publishing Corporation Norwood, 1984).

6 Ljubljana's everyday public religious sounding includes the sounds of one Orthodox and one Protestant church, which also use bell ringing as their main sonic public device. Occasional religious sounds in Ljubljana include those of the Hare Krishna community and the 'progressive spiritual' religious community, the Trans-Universal Zombie Church of the Blissful Ringing.

7 Truax, *Acoustic Communication*, 58.

conveyed by bell ringing, they can be annoyed by it.[8] In connection with that, we can also predict the acoustic situation around the location of the future mosque. The majority of the Muslim population does not live in the vicinity of the location, so they cannot even form the majority of the acoustic community. Thus, the sound will primarily be heard by a population that does not understand its acoustic information and does not even want to hear it. The existing acoustic community, living near the location of the planned mosque, will face two religious sounds - Catholic and Muslim – so the sound of *ezan* will physically and symbolically enter the acoustic range of the bell ringing.

A New Religious Sound in the City: Constructing a Place of Belonging and a Space of Power Relations

When the sound of the *ezan* enters the existing acoustic environment of the city as a minority religious sound, the power relations between the dominant and the marginalised group are established (or strengthened, if already established). Hayden and Walker,[9] who studied religious sites in the world that are shared or contested by different religious communities, have developed a model for measuring the dominance of a religion or religious community, using specific indicators. Even though their examples are connected to contexts with a long tradition of religious pluralism and their research is focused on specific religious sites that are shared by different communities, it became clear that the indicators of dominance they reveal are also part of the space I am researching.[10] Hayden and Walker discuss such indicators as 1. perceptibility, which includes the visibility, audibility and scale of the religious site, and 2. centrality, which refers to the "location within the settlement".[11] Throughout history, religious authorities wanted their religion to be presented as massive, centrally located and visible and audible at the greatest possible distance. So the height and number of church towers or minarets and the loudness of the bell ringing or the *ezan* visually and aurally reflect the dominance of one religion over another.

8 For a detailed study of Ljubljana, its inhabitants and their relation to bell ringing, see Mojca Kovačič, "Akustemologija zvonjenja," *Glasnik slovenskega etnološkega društva* 56/1, 2 (2016): 53–63.

9 Hayden and Walker developed the concept of 'religioscape' by drawing partly on Arjun Appadurai's idea of 'ethnoscape', which refers to the "distribution in spaces through time of the physical manifestation of specific religious tradition and the populations that build them". A specific religious tradition can also be physically manifested through religious sound. Robert M. Hayden and Timothy D. Walker, "Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 81/2 (2013): 399–426.

10 Hayden and Walker also developed a related concept of antagonistic tolerance (AT model) as a pattern of coexistence among different religious groups in which tolerance is meant as enduring the presence of the other but not embracing it so long as one group is clearly dominant over others. See Robert M. Hayden, "Antagonistic Tolerance: Competitive Sharing of Religious Sites in South Asia and the Balkans," *Current Anthropology* 43/2 (2002): 205–231. This concept was soon widely criticized as too general, one-sided or false. It was criticized mainly for its essentialist concept of identity, for ignoring the longer periods of lack of conflict at the same sites and for legitimizing religious nationalism. Various scholars oppose this concept with their studies on coexistence among different religious groups and on sharing common religious site, see Glenn Bowman (ed.), *Sharing the Sacra: The Politics and Pragmatics of Inter-Communal Relations around Holy Places* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2012) and Elazar Barkan and Karen Barkey (ed.), *Choreographies of Shared Sacred Sites. Religion, Politics and Conflict Resolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

11 Hayden and Walker, "Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces," 413.

While the presence of Muslims in Europe is no longer questionable, their visibility or audibility is still problematic or is even becoming more so. In many European cities, the construction, shape, height or visibility of the minaret and the broadcast of the Muslim call to prayer present a challenge to societies and politics, since these (along with Muslim cemeteries and the *hijab*) are the most noticeable signs of Muslim presence within society. In 2008 and 2009, the EU initiative "Religion and Democracy in Europe" was conducted and one of its studies focused on the problem of mosques in Europe. The study was directed by Stefano Allievi and conducted in different countries through Europe. The results and reports show that issues about mosques are present and acute in many European countries. As observed by Allievi, "the issue of mosques has led to more and more frequent disputes, debates and conflict, even in countries where such conflicts were previously unknown and mosques were already part of the landscape".[12] *Ezan* or *adhan* (the latter form is used more often in other EU countries) is part of each report that relates to a specific country. Allievi deals separately with the *adhan* as one of the elements of conflicts over mosques and stresses that, although the *adhan* is closely connected to the issue of minarets, it "affects another important aspect: that of 'acoustic space', a form of symbolic communication, which also has its traditions and its forms of dominance".[13] The 'stories' about the inclusion of *adhan* in a specific acoustic space in Europe are unique, and Allievi finds that, even if *adhan* is considered a constitutional right in a given country, it is local authorities that decide on the permission, volume, and frequency of the *adhan.* He presents the Netherlands as the only country that gave official recognition to *adhan* in 1987 and that gave *adhan* a position equal to that of bell ringing. The German Federation of Cities and Municipalities also recommended equal treatment on this issue, but Allievi stresses that the use of loudspeakers is still excluded from these rights and recommendations. But in both cases as well as in other countries, the performance of *adhan* is often permitted in a limited way (i.e. on Fridays in Norway, twice a day in Amsterdam). But there are many more examples of *adhan* not being practiced at all. On the one hand, Allievi notes that the issue of *adhan* must not be that central to the Muslim communities, as there are not many requests or disputes about it; on the other hand, though the "principles of religious liberty underpinning European constitutions make it is less easy to say no to mosques, refusal to allow the *adhan* is frequent".[14]

With the secularisation of public life and space, religious sounds not only question the dominance of one religion over another, but also the boundaries between religious and secular space, as well as between public and private space – the latter even more so with the electrification of bell ringing and the amplification of the sound of the *ezan* that have occurred in the last few decades. While automated bell ringing affects the urban soundscape more in an aesthetic sense (people sometimes point out that manual bell ringing produces a softer and gentler sound), the amplification of the *ezan* through loudspeakers would constitute an extension of the "acoustic profile"[15] of the

12 Stefano Allievi, ed., *Mosques in Europe. Why a Solution Has Become a Problem* (London, Alliance Publishing Trust, 2010).
13 Stefano Allievi, *Conflicts over Mosques in Europe. Policy Issues and Trends* (London: Alliance Publishing Trust, 2009), 48.
14 Ibid., 49.
15 Truax, *Acoustic Communication*, 59.

sound. The volume can also be controlled, which makes it easier to control the existing soundscape. Amplification also represents "a crucial rupture" and "ignites debates on the 'proper place' of religion in urban space"[16] in many cities throughout the world.

Islam as Part of Ljubljana's Religioscape

According to data from 2002,[17] 47,488 people identified themselves as Muslim (around 2.4% of the total population).[18] This makes Muslims the second-largest religious community in Slovenia, after Roman Catholics. The majority of first-generation Muslims in Slovenia are people from Bosnia-Herzegovina, followed by Albanians from Macedonia and Kosovo. They are mostly economic migrants who came during Yugoslav times or as refugees from the wars that marked the breakup of Yugoslavia.[19] As Špela Kalčić points out, Islam plays an important unifying role for them, "[representing] a common denominator on the basis of which a new ethnic identity is established, which is conceived as a transnational community of Muslims of different nationalities living in Slovenia and that comes mainly from the territory of the former Yugoslavia".[20]

Slovenia's Muslims are officially represented by the Islamic Community in the Republic of Slovenia, which is organisationally and nationally connected to Bosnia-Herzegovina.[21] Muslims of Bosnian nationality (as well as citizens from other former Yugoslav republics) do not have official minority status and their presence is a politically sensitive issue. Their numbers exceed those of the two officially recognised minority communities in Slovenia (Italian and Hungarian), but the political position is such that the status of the official minorities is related to the discourse of autochthony, i.e. the Hungarians and Italians have for centuries inhabited the territory of what is today Slovenia, for which reason they have been granted minority status and related rights. Nevertheless, because of the relatively 'invisible' presence of Muslims in public space, which is "restricted to the intimate intra-group",[22] Špela Kalčić asserts that Islam

16 Jelena Tošić, "The loudspeaker of faith in the 'calm' city: Islam and urban diversity in the contemporary Balkans," in *The Revival of Islam in the Balkans: From Identity to Religiosity (Islam and Nationalism)*, ed. Arolda Elbasani and Olivier Roy (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), 87.

17 The Statistical Office of Slovenia also has what it calls a census from 2011, but due to the automatic extraction of data from existing institutional registers, the questions of ethnicity and religion are not covered.

18 The relative nature of the 2002 census data should be emphasised, as a direct correlation between the definitions of 'nationality' and 'religion' is questionable for a number of reasons. Špela Kalčić, "Slovenski muslimani: kdo so, organiziranost in državnopravno normiranje v antropološki presoji," *Dve domovini: razprave o izseljenstvu* 26 (2007): 12–13.

19 Due to a lack of political will to integrate refugees, most of them moved back to Bosnia-Herzegovina after the war or have since moved to Western European countries, the USA or Canada. Kalčić, "Slovenski muslimani: kdo so, organiziranost in državnopravno normiranje v antropološki presoji", 10–11. For an anthropological analysis of the negative consequences of the 'temporary refugee protection' status that migrants from the former Yugoslavia obtained in Slovenia, see Natalija Vrecer, "Human Costs of Temporary Refugee Protection: The Case of Slovenia," in *A Captured Moment in Time: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences, Vol. 10*, ed. Adrianne Rubeli and Nina Vucenik (Vienna: Institut für Wissenschaften vom Menschen, 2000). Accessed on April 11, 2016, http://www.iwm.at/publ-jvc/jc-10-04.pdf.

20 Špela Kalčić, *Nisem jaz Barbika: Oblačilne prakse, islam in identitetni procesi med Bošnjaki v Sloveniji* (Ljubljana: Faculty of Arts, 2007), 17.

21 According to the 2004 figures, the Muslim community, which is officially represented by the Islamic Community in the Republic of Slovenia (ISRS), consists of 7,000 families, or around 28,000 people (see Ahmed Pašić, "Islam in moderni zahod: primerjalna študija integracije islamskih skupnosti v modern zahodne družbe", Ljubljana, MA thesis. University of Ljubljana, 2005, 71).

22 Kalčić, Nisem jaz *Barbika*: Oblačilne prakse, islam in identitetni procesi med Bošnjaki v Sloveniji, 8.

in Slovenia has never been strongly associated with Bosnian ethnicity; rather, it was and still is more connected to the global situation that leaves Muslims perceived as 'Others' within Europe, as terrorists, and to the current wave of asylum seekers within the 'migrant crisis'.[23]

The Muslim community first launched an initiative to build a mosque in 1969. Over the years, the idea of building a mosque grew into that of building a cultural and religious centre. Most of the initiatives have been opposed by local communities and, in one case, by a state institution as well. In 2001, the City of Ljubljana (MOL) agreed to the construction proposal and suggested a location. Owing to protracted bureaucratic procedures, the Slovenian Environment Agency did not give its consent to the proposed location until 2003. Shortly thereafter, City Councillor Mihael Jarc and his supporters began to collect signatures for a referendum on the construction, collecting around 12,000 signatures in one month. The initiative was rejected, with MOL and the Islamic community applying for a *constitutional review* of the initiative. The court explained its decision with reference to the constitutional right of religious freedom and religious equality:

> *the right to freely profess a religion includes the right of individuals and religious communities to individually or in community profess a religion in buildings that are usually and generally accepted (traditional) for the profession of their religion and the performance of their religious rites.*[24]

Soon afterwards, MOL withdrew its permission for the previously agreed location, giving such reasons as anonymous threats, problems in gaining land from the owners and the opposition of local inhabitants.[25] In 2003, public debate on the issue reached its peak. Since the parliamentary elections were to take place the next year, the pre-election period seemed to be a perfect time to activate a debate about the mosque. This debate was indeed used "for nationalistic political mobilisation".[26]

In 2006, the Muslim community was given a new location, and the contract for the sale of the land was signed two years later. In the meantime, the collection of signatures for a referendum initiative began again. While the wording of the first initiative had been directed towards the location of the planned construction and the construction itself, the second (again initiated by City Councillor Mihael Jarc, supported by the head of the Slovenian National Party Zmago Jelinčič) was concerned mainly with the visual appearance of the mosque – more precisely, the existence and height of the minaret. MOL rejected the referendum initiative as incomplete.

The position of the main Slovenian religious institution, the Slovenian Roman Catholic Church, has been largely invisible. However, former Archbishop Franc Rode did issue a statement in 2003, signalling his opposition to the mosque by saying that a church was a spiritual centre while a mosque was a political centre. This elicited strong

23 Detailed information on the migration of Muslims to Slovenia and the anthropological evaluation of statistics can be found in Kalčić, "Slovenski muslimani: kdo so, organiziranost in državnopravno normiranje v antropološki presoji", 7–29.

24 Decision U-I-111/04-21, 8 July 2007. Constitutional Court. Accessed on April 12, 2016, http://odlocitve.us-rs.si/documents/b7/8d/u-i-111-04-english2.pdf.

25 Ibid., 117–118.

26 Kalčić, *Nisem jaz Barbika: Oblačilne prakse, islam in identitetni procesi med Bošnjaki v Sloveniji*, 115.

negative reactions from the public and the media. Since then, the Church's comments on the issue have mainly invoked the spirit of tolerance towards other religions.

Construction of the Islamic religious and cultural centre has already begun. According to the project plans, the centre will cover 11,000 m^2. The minaret, which was already built at the time of the writing of this article, is 40 meters high. There are plans for the *ezan* to be broadcast, but details about its performance have not yet been presented. In response to journalists' questions about the possible intrusion of the *ezan* into the lives of the local residents, the mufti and Ljubljana's mayor argued that the sound would not be too loud and that "the land [was] located along the railway line and that the passing trains [were] louder."[27] This clearly indicated the Muslim community's wariness about breaching the subject of sound, as it revealed that the function of the *ezan* in Ljubljana's context would be of symbolic value for the Muslim community, meaning mainly a "declaration of existence in public space, and recognition thereof".[28]

Public Response to Religious Sound and Religious Power Relations

The chronology described above of the events and the relations of the community to the construction of the Islamic cultural and religious centre in Ljubljana clearly show the role of the aforementioned indicators of dominance in the space under discussion. The first location-related issue arose when the centre was planned for the western part of Ljubljana, near Ljubljana bypass and its route into the city centre. People argued that the location was the gateway to the city and that a mosque would give foreign visitors a false impression of what Ljubljana represented in religious and cultural terms. In other words, the mosque should not ruin "the central European *veduta* of Ljubljana nor could the subalpine landscape be mixed with Arab-Islamic architecture".[29] Hayden and Walker believe that a change of location or a reorientation within the settlement to change the 'centrality' is a clear expression of a "tactic of manifesting a change in dominance".[30] Such comments also reveal the general relationship with and attitudes towards Muslims in Slovenia, a still-existing "frontier orientalism discourse"[31] in which a Muslim represents a person from the Orient, which is in turn related to the historical image of the Ottoman Turks. This discourse is specific to Slovenia, being connected to mythico-historical "violent images of frontier Orientalism [...] related to Turkish invasions, about which Slovenians are thoroughly acquainted at school and which are later successfully fertilised and further strengthened through media representations of radical Islamism and the political situation in the Middle East, with which Islam and Muslims are frequently equated [...] Based on this simplified image of Islam and Muslims,

27 "Živeti skupaj in spoštovati različnost," *Mladina* (10 Sept. 2013). Accessed on April 6, 2016, http://www.mladina.si/148182/ziveti-skupaj-in-spostovati-razlicnost/.

28 Allievi, *Conflicts over Mosques in Europe. Policy Issues and Trends*, 48.

29 Drago Kos, "Razprava v mestu," in *Sociološke podobe* Ljubljane, ed. Drago Kos (Ljubljana: Faculty of Social Sciences, 2002), 22.

30 Hayden and Walker, "Intersecting Religioscapes: A Comparative Approach to Trajectories of Change, Scale, and Competitive Sharing of Religious Spaces," 413.

31 "After Gingrich, frontier Orientalism is related to the discourses that have occurred in those areas of the European periphery which were, in the past, in direct and long-term contact with the Muslim empires, for example the Ottoman Empire". Kalčić, *Nisem jaz Barbika: Oblačilne prakse, islam in identitetni procesi med Bošnjaki v Sloveniji*, 75.

the fear of conflict and loss of culture or national identity can be successfully spread."[32]

When the Muslim community put forward a proposal for the new (current) location of the mosque in 2006, a new wave of public debate emerged. The contract for the location was signed in 2008 and, as the location had already been agreed, opposition focused on the issue of the minaret. The central debate at this point became the existence of the minaret, its height (it was argued that it should not exceed the height of church towers) and lately also the *ezan*.

Since there are not many articles or media discussions that explicitly adduce the sound of *ezan*, I have selected and analysed three of them that most evidently refer to it, either in the title of the forum or the content of the article, and thereby encourage people to express their attitudes towards religious sounding in public space. The first of the three is the forum titled "Ljubljana – mosque – the call to prayer will occur!" (Slo. *Lj-džamija – klic k molitvi bo!*), started in 2013. The second is the forum "Loud Muslim prayer in Fužine" (Slo. *Glasna muslimanska molitev na Fužinah*) that opened in 2012, after the evening broadcasting of *ezan* from the roof of the apartment block in Fužine, which is the area in Ljubljana where many former Yugoslav residents and their descendants live.[33] The third observed online content is commentaries on the newspaper article "We will perform the call to prayer in concordance with the regulations" (Slo. *Izvajali bomo klic k molitvi v skladu s predpisi*).

The forum *Lj-džamija – klic k molitvi bo!* is still running and comments are still being added (1,472 comments up to now), but the content of the comments strays very far from the topic originally initiated.[34] Even though the ostensible topic is the religious sound of the Muslim call to prayer, most of the comments do not directly refer to the *ezan* itself. On the one hand, this shows the strong relationship between religious sounds and other socio-political discourses; on the other hand, it reveals the marginal role that sound plays at this stage. The *ezan* accounts for approximately one-tenth of the comments referring to sound, mostly in the first part of the forum. Commentators generally do not declare their religious or ethnic affiliation (although they occasionally identify as Christians). Only in one case is it obvious that the commentator is Muslim. The forum that refers to the broadcasting of *ezan* in Fužine (*Glasna muslimanska molitev na Fužinah*) was opened only for 10 days and already drew 471 comments. As in the first case, these comments also pertain to wider discourses and only some of them explicitly refer to *ezan*. The newspaper article *Izvajali bomo klic k molitvi v skladu s predpisi* has 38 comments, and since the article is very closely connected with the question of the legalisation of religious sounds in general, the comments raise similar issues. The comments in both contents are further classified by the most frequent categories of discourse, and each discourse is characterised with one or more examples.

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32 Ibid., 111.

33 The broadcasting of ezan is a sound activist action similar to one performed in Switzerland in 2001 called 'sound bomb'. The latter action was posted on *YouTube* with the explanation that it was performed in order not to "provoke or upset people. Slovenia is the only country in Europe that still doesn't have a mosque and probably the only country where Muslims have to pray in a sports hall." Tomaž Majer, "EZAN, poziv k molitvi, Ljubljana, Slovenija", accessible at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JpdPLlT3cHw.

34 The other comments present a number of discourses about Islam and Muslims in Slovenia and Europe (e.g. the Islamisation of Europe, multiculturalism, and the common Yugoslav past).

No comments mention musical details about *ezan*, so we can conclude that most commentators are not acquainted with the musical or aesthetic characteristics of the call to prayer. Most likely they have heard it on television; a few also mention having visited Islamic countries. In an aesthetic sense, most commentators describe *ezan* as "shouting", "yelling", "howling" or even, in one case, "yodelling". The commentators rarely connect the *ezan* with prayer, and few describe it as "beautiful" or "singing":

Horrible rockets, what can I say? Especially when they are shouting[35] *24 hours a day.*

It is an artistic form – beautiful.

I must be strange, but this singing is actually very pleasant to me. Church bells can hide the beauty and melodiousness of the human voice – of course in the case that this is sung by a trained person.

The rhetoric of Otherness is very present in comments, whereby Islam is understood as an invasion of Arabic, Turkish or Bosnian culture and as being in opposition to Slovenian culture, Christian tradition and autochthonous inhabitants. Many commentators refer to the sonority and point to bell ringing as the traditional sound of Slovenianness. One can assume that such an opinion is not necessarily restricted to religious individuals.[36]

I personally do not care when they want to or must go on their knees... They should communicate by SMS... and leave us, autochthonous people alone!

Bell ringing has a thousand-year-old tradition in Slovenia. This howling is foreign to our environment. I do not understand why they had to come here. If they have come here to live and work, then they have to adapt themselves to our culture, otherwise they should kindly go back to live in their own cultural environment [...]. Those who legalized this shouting are national traitors, in my opinion...

We should not let Muslims come to Slovenia. Slovenes are a nation of Christians. Churches and bell ringing is our tradition. Islamist should go to Turkey to pray.

It is very noticeable that the discourse on religious noise encountered in the discussions about bell ringing entered the discussion about *ezan*. The media and online communication channels intensely problematized bell ringing after 2006, when the state authorities changed the legislation that regulated the field of environmental noise. The official order has been changed to remove bells from the list of possible sources of noise. The new regulation has triggered a wave of complaints and media

35 Shouting is a pejorative expression most often associated with the *ezan*.

36 My postdoctoral research on the perception of bell ringing among Ljubljana's inhabitants also shows that many non-religious people understand bell ringing as an indicator of tradition and part of their national or cultural identity. Kovačič, "Akustemologija zvonjenja," 60.

discussions that unveil two problematic aspects of the sounding of bells: bell ringing is perceived, on the one hand, as a physically disturbing noise and, on the other hand, as an ideological interference in the soundscape of the community.[37] The commentators refer to the religious noise discourse either by comparing the two religious sounds, which leads to the demonstration of power and domination of Christian religion over Islam, or they stress the need to treat both religious sounds equally:

> *If bell ringing is music, then this shouting is a song. Since bell ringing is not music, then it is difficult to call this shouting a song. So we have to limit the noise of both of them and we won't have to dress like uncles from the desert.*
>
> *It looks like these are the same as Christians – in fact, church bells ring even more often!*
>
> *If it has to be, it should be temporally coordinated with bell ringing, which is where the competition is!*
>
> *As long as regulations on public order and peace are adhered to, there is no problem. The same applies to bell ringing. It is only that they are allowed to violate public order and peace.*
>
> *I also agree: if the bells can bang, then loudspeakers from mosques can as well.*
>
> *We have to accept the bells of all churches and build the mosque, but prohibit the loudspeakers.*

After reviewing all the comments, some conclusions can be drawn: expressing one's relationship to the *ezan* often leads to expressing one's attitudes towards religious sounds in general. This is done either in reference to the power relations between the 'traditional' Christian religious sound and the sound of the 'religious Other', or people express an equal (negative or positive) attitude towards religious sounds in general. The most notable thing is that a commentator's tolerant stance towards the *ezan* often stems from his or her opposition to bell ringing as noise-making or as opposition to Christianity as symbolically represented by bell ringing. A broader debate on bell ringing and noise is very often developed in the same forum. But frequently, the sound is of marginal importance and merely establishes a channel for discourse on Islam in general, as well as for the attitude of the population towards religious and ethnic diversity.

Conclusion

The acceptance or non-acceptance of a new sound in an existing soundscape is a strong indicator of how communities share common space. A study of sounds in place,

37 This topic is discussed in detail in Mojca Kovačič, "Akustemologija zvonjenja," 53–63.

space and time can tell us whether different sounds are adopted, habituated, tolerated, shared, endured or refused. A variety of religious sounds in space demonstrates social diversity or bears witness to the coexistence of different religions or cultures; it also mediates contacts between different identities.[38] Public and media political discourse influences people's perceptions, experiences or evaluations of the public presentation of religion, including religious sound. On the other hand, these discourses "do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or 'constitute' them"[39] and can thereby also influence the future manifestation of religion, including the sound. In the case of Ljubljana, some decisions made by official instances prevailed over the public initiatives that wanted to prevent the public existence of an Islamic religious centre in Ljubljana. At the time of the writing of this article, the minaret is already built and it is only a matter of time before the sound of *ezan* will become part of the city soundscape.

The absence of the sound of the *ezan* in Ljubljana and the mono-dominance of bell ringing in acoustic space illustrates the past, present and future relations between different identity groups living in a common space. The study of media and web communication presented here does not reveal new discourses about the position of Muslims in Slovenia; rather, it identifies the (imagined) sound as being a part of these discourses. The fact that negative attitudes towards the *ezan* are already present at a time when the sound cannot yet be heard in Ljubljana can only reinforce our prediction that the debate will recommence after the sound has become part of the city's soundscape. That said, relatively benign positions on the *ezan* can be found. These stem mostly from opposition to the dominance of Christianity in space and society, the intrusion of religious sound into secular space and the intrusion of noise into private space. But the inclusion of the *ezan* in Ljubljana's city soundscape is not marginal: everyday sensory engagements with religious diversity are very important at a symbolic level. They challenge the identities of city residents and inspire them to reimage their faith and nationality. When the *ezan* begins to sound, a number of questions will be raised: can Muslims be Slovenians at the same time, and do different interpretations of (one) God exist? The audibility of the *ezan* will therefore keep these questions at the forefront of residents' minds.

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38 Isaak Weiner, *Religion Out Loud: Religious Sound, Public Space and American Pluralism* (New York: University Press, 2014).

39 Norman Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 4.

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POVZETEK

V zadnjih nekaj desetletij je zaznati močan porast zanimanja etnomuzikologov in muzikologov za študije zvoka v prostoru. Razvile so se nove discipline, kot na primer glasbena ekologija, ki tudi glasbo koncipira kot ‚zvočni material' v razmerju z ostalimi zvoki, ki sestavljajo naše dojemanje kraja, prostora in časa. Zvočnost razkriva tudi zgodovinske, kulturne, verske, družbene in politične značilnosti določenih prostorov ter njihovih prebivalcev. Novi zvok v prostoru pogosto vzbuja pozornost ljudi, ki se nanj odzovejo različno, odvisno od stopnje identifikacije z zvokom, njegove sporočilnosti, ali pa tudi glasbenih in akustičnih lastnosti. V pričujočem članku se posvečam novemu zvoku – zvoku ezana oziroma muslimanskega klica k molitvi, ki bo šele postal del zvočnosti mesta Ljubljana. Čeprav zvočnost torej še ni manifestirana, je pri prebivalcih mesta, vključno s predstavniki politike, povzročila odzive, ki skupaj z ‚vprašanjem' gradnje mošeje ali islamskega verskega in kulturnega centra v Ljubljani odstirajo številna družbena, politična, ideološka in kulturna razmerja prebivalcev do muslimanske skupnosti, ki živi v mestu. Sprejemanje ali ne-sprejemanje novega zvoka v obstoječi zvočni prostor je namreč eden od kazalnikov kako si različne identitetne skupnosti delijo skupni prostor. Rimskokatoliška vera izraža dominantnost v Ljubljani tako z zvonjenjem cerkvenih zvonov, kot tudi z nenavzočnostjo drugih religijskih zvokov v prostoru. Kronologija gradnje islamskega verskega in kulturnega centra v Ljubljani, medijski diskurz in študija komentarjev na spletnem forumu potrjujejo da je zvočnost del širšega družbenopolitičnega odnosa do muslimanov (npr. del obmejnega orientalizma, straha pred terorizmom, straha pred islamizacijo prostora). Pri tem pripadniki večinske družbe v Sloveniji muslimane percipirajo predvsem v luči sodobnih procesov (npr. begunstvo ali pa grožnja terorizma), ne pa tudi v luči njihove zgodovinske navzočnosti v skupnem prostoru. Po drugi strani, nov zvok odstira splošno problematiko religijske zvočnosti v javnem, zasebnem ter sekularnem prostoru, in se v tem ne razlikuje od zvočnosti zvonjenja cerkvenih zvonov.

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The Soundscape of Change: The Reculturalization of Savamala*

Zvočna krajina spremembe: rekulturiziranje Savamale**

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IZVLEČEK

V članku analiziram strategije rekulturiziranja, ki so bile uvedene v Savamali, mestni četrti sredi Beograda. V minulih letih smo bili priča več poskusom, da bi Beograd nanovo označili kot varno, sodobno, kozmopolitsko in turistom prijazno mesto. Takšne pobude preoblikujejo zvočno krajino Beograda; včasih so spremembe stranski produkt drugih okoliščin, toda sem ter tja, kot pokažem na primeru Savamale, je zvočna krajina spremenjena namerno in z jasnim ciljem.

ABSTRACT

In this article I analyze the reculturalization strategies implemented in Savamala, an urban quarter in central Belgrade. Recent years have witnessed many efforts to rebrand Belgrade as a safe, modern, cosmopolitan and tourist-friendly city. These initiatives transform the soundscape of Belgrade; sometimes the changes are byproducts of other developments, but sometimes, as I demonstrate using the example of Savamala, the changes in soundscape are done deliberately and with a clear purpose.

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Introduction

Savamala is the oldest urban quarter in Belgrade, the capital of Serbia. During the decades of the Communist Party rule after World War II, this area at the right bank of the river Sava was largely forsaken. However, recent years have witnessed some successful attempts to revitalize and transform Savamala by developing private sector and encouraging local residents and the visitors to the area to reclaim this urban zone by means of certain cultural and artistic practices. These initiatives foster a utopian vision of Savamala as a leisurely, artistic, carefree, alternative, yet entrepreneurial and socially involved part of Belgrade.

The largest city in the Western Balkans, Belgrade has been the capital city continuously since 1841, although the country that it has been the capital of has changed its name, status, borders and constitution multiple times.[1] During this period, the development of Belgrade was unregulated, intermittent and uneven (not to mention three war destructions only in the last 100 years), resulting in a conglomerate of very diverse urban characters and soundscapes. After the NATO bombing of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1999, the consequent dethroning of the regime of Slobodan Milošević in 2000, and the beginning of economic transition, there have been many attempts to rebrand Belgrade as a safe, modern, cosmopolitan and tourist-friendly city. These initiatives also transform the soundscape of Belgrade; sometimes the changes are byproducts of other developments, but sometimes, as I will demonstrate using the example of Savamala, the changes in soundscape are results of conscious effort, i.e. they are done deliberately and with purpose.

The term *transition* here refers to *post-socialist transition* (see Švob-Đokić 2004: 9).[2] The change of ownership — *privatization* — is the most important systemic change and the basis for the restructuring of post-socialist societies. However, the results of the process of ownership change were disappointing in almost all former-socialist countries, including Serbia, because the way privatization had been conducted led to unemployment, the rise of the criminal groups and organized mafia, marginalization of the once-leading social strata and the rise of the new economic elites (Švob-Đokić 2004: 144-145; Dragićević-Šešić and Dragojević 2005: 22).[3] A majority of cultural institutions in Serbia belong to the public sector and they are heavily dependent on subsidies received either from the Ministry of Culture, or from city councils (Medić and Janković-Beguš 2016).[4] However, the recent reculturalization of Savamala is one of the few success sto-

1 Miloš Obrenović made Belgrade the capital of the Principality of Serbia which gradually gained independence from the Ottoman rule (1841–1882); afterwards, it was the capital of the Kingdom of Serbia (1882–1918), the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918–1945; renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929), the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia (1945–1992, renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963), the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (1992–2003), the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro (2003–2006) and, finally, the Republic of Serbia (2006–present).

2 Nada Švob-Đokić, ed., *Cultural Transitions in Southeastern Europe.* Collection of papers from the Course on 'Managing Cultural Transitions: Southeastern Europe', Inter-University Centre, Dubrovnik, 9–16 May 2004. Culturelink Joint Publications Series No. 6. (Zagreb: Institute for International Relations, 2004).

3 Milena Dragićević-Šešić i Sanjin Dragojević. *Menadžment umetnosti u turbulentnim okolnostima.* Beograd: CLIO, 2005.

4 Ivana Medić and Jelena Janković-Beguš, "The Works Commissioned by Belgrade Music Festival (BEMUS) 2002–2013: Contemporary Music Creation in a Transitional Society," in: Mirjana Veselinović-Hofman, Vesna Mikić, Tijana Popović-Mladenović and Ivana Perković, eds., *Music: Transitions / Continuities* (Belgrade: Department of Musicology, Faculty of Music, 2016), 317–329.

ries related to private cultural entrepreneurship in transitional Serbia. Thus, after defining the term *reculturalization*, I analyze the reculturalization strategies in Savamala, a majority of which revolve around *sound,* whilst also discussing the challenges posed before the protagonists of these initiatives.

Methodology

My methodology is primarily based on fieldwork grounded on ethnographic documentation on the sound topography of Savamala. Since the beginning of the project *City Sonic Ecology — Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade* in September 2014 I have done audio and video recording of everyday life in Savamala,[5] including the two festivals taking place in this area: Mikser Festival of Contemporary Creativity[6] and Belgrade Summer Festival (BELEF).[7] Aside from continued recording of the soundscapes of the area, the second stage of the project, which is currently in progress, encompasses quantitative research in the form of interviews with the residents and visitors of Savamala.[8] In terms of theoretical approach, I mostly rely on the concept of *affective economies* developed by Sara Ahmed (2004)[9] in order to determine how specific communities of shared emotions and attitudes are formed through sound in Savamala.

I should mention here that two artistic projects aimed at exploring the sounds of Savamala have already been conducted, but neither of them with any scientific aspirations or the critical (auto)-reflexivity of the project *City Sonic Ecology*. These are:

1) *Slušaj Savamala!* [Listen, Savamala!], a sound-art project (part of a larger project *Urban Incubator*[10]) aimed at collecting old and new sounds and feeding them back into the urban space in formats such as installations, concerts, or radio programmes;
2) *Zvučna mapa Beograda* [The Sound Map of Belgrade],[11] a guide through the social history of Savamala, with personal stories and memories of its inhabitants.

On the other hand, when it comes to strategic sonic mapping of European cities, the initiative to map urban environmental noise has stemmed from an act of the European Parliament stating: "Define a common approach intended to avoid, prevent or reduce on a prioritized basis the harmful effects, including annoyance, due to exposure to environmental noise."[12] This process has involved three stages: 1) creation of noise maps, 2) ensuring public access to information on environmental noise and its effects,

5 A majority of these sound and video recordings will soon be available on the *City Sonic Ecology* website: http://citysonicecology.com.

6 Accessed on September 23, 2016, http://festival.mikser.rs/en/.

7 Accessed on September 23, 2016, http://www.belef.rs/en/.

8 The final phase of the project will involve analysis and critical interpretation of the collected data and a publication of a series of articles and a collective monograph, as well as a creation of the audio walk through Savamala.

9 Sara Ahmed, "Affective Economies," *Social Text* 22 (2004): 117–139.

10 Accesssed on September 23, 2016, http://www.goethe.de/ins/cs/bel/prj/uic/prj/slu/enindex.htm.

11 Accesssed on September 23, 2016, http://www.zvucnamapabeograda.rs.

12 Directive 2002/49/EC of the European Parliament of June 25, 2002, accesssed on September 23, 2016, http://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/eur38002.pdf.

and 3) adopting action plans with a view to prevent and reduce environmental noise. However, since Serbia is not a member state of the European Union, none of these have been accomplished yet, nor is there awareness within the officialdom as to why such sonic mapping is important.

Reculturalization

The term *reculturalization* has not been properly defined, although it is commonly used as a synonym for *cultural transformation*. Due to a lack of a ready-made, "applies to all" definition, I will give four examples of the varied use that the term reculturalization has found in different cultural discourses. In a 1993 interview in *A Journal of Indigenous Issues*, a Native American activist Reuben Snake, Jr. talked about the repatriation of sacred objects, many of which had been taken from the indigenous peoples and put into museums, art collections and historical societies; hence it became an imperative for them to reclaim those objects and to renew their spiritual life (Snake Jr. and Sackler 1993).[13] Asked whether he considered the use of the word *reculturalization* a fair one, Snake agreed and explained that, for him, "[t]he term reculturalization means regaining what our grandfathers and grandmothers used to know so well. We need to bring that back into the culture of our people." (Ibid.) On the other hand, the Hong Kong based cultural theorists Wang and Yeh analyse the process of *cultural hybridization* that occurs when popular cultural products such as literature, music and cinema cross linguistic borders and are modified to fit a new audience. They define three processes at work in hybridization: *deculturalization, reculturalization and acculturalization* (Wang and Yeh 2005).[14] Justin Hodgson uses the term *reculturalization* to refer to a shift from a "longstanding, industrial-based consumerist culture" towards "a culture that is increasingly one of digital consumer-producers, or what we might view as an emerging culture industry by the masses for the masses" (Hodgson 2010).[15] Gerald Bast argues that, after the industrial and information revolutions, the next major societal and economic development will be a *creative revolution:* "the valences of societal paradigms must be shifted — from a mere commercialization toward a reculturalization of the society — which in particular demands consequences for the educational and economic systems" (Bast 2013: 1474).[16] To sum up, the term *reculturalization* can apply to at least four types of cultural transformation aimed at enhancing, improving and bettering what was/is already there:

A return to something old, authentic, valuable, and its reinstatement in its original context;

13 Elizabeth Sackler and Reuben Snake, Jr., "Reculturalization of Sacred Objects," *Akwe:kon — A Journal of Indigenous Issues*, Cornell University, Fall (1993): 14–15.

14 Georgette Wang and Emilie Yueh-yu Yeh, "Globalization and hybridization in cultural products: The cases of *Mulan* and *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon*," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 8/2 (2005): 175–193.

15 Justin Hodgson, "Reculturalizations: 'Small Screen' Culture, Pedagogy, & YouTube," *Enculturation* 8, accesed on September 23, 2016, http://enculturation.net/reculturalizations.

16 Gerald Bast, "Preparing a 'Creative Revolution' — Arts and Universities of the Arts in the Creative Knowledge Economy," in: Elias G. Carayannis, ed., *Encyclopedia of Creativity, Invention, Innovation and Entrepreneurship* (New York: Springer, 2013), 1471–1476.

A step towards adaptation and acceptance of a certain cultural value in a new context;

A fundamental change in production and consummation of cultural goods in a certain environment;

A stand against commercialization of consumer societies by means of comprehensive systemic changes.

I will now show how all these types of cultural action have been implemented in Savamala and with what outcomes.

Savamala Today

As the oldest Belgrade urban zone, Savamala is rich in tradition, history and heritage. Its name is a compound of two words: the name of the river *Sava* and a Turkish word *mahala* contracted to *ma('a)la*, meaning a neighborhood or a small settlement. It is situated under the Belgrade Fortress, alongside the southern bank of the river Sava. It was settled in the early eighteenth century, when Austria-Hungary conquered Belgrade and initiated the move of Christians from the fortress to the right bank of the river Sava – the so-called Serbian Village (Đurić-Zamolo 1977).[17] The urbanization of Savamala began in the early nineteenth century. Knjaz [Prince] Miloš Obrenović, the first ruler of the newly independent Serbia, wanted to turn Savamala into the merchants' part of the city. Thus, in 1834 he forcefully relocated the villagers from Savamala to Palilula (at the south bank of the Danube) and financed the building of the first stores; then he also forced the merchants to move to Savamala (Jovanović 1964).[18] The quarter soon flourished, both economically and in terms of architecture, with several imposing edifices, including the main railway station built in the heart of Savamala in 1884. However, the development of the railway gradually separated the city of Belgrade from both its rivers. Since the early twentieth century there have been numerous plans to redevelop the areas at the banks of the Sava and the Danube, but none of them were realized. Instead, after the World War II, with the state-controlled industrialization of the country and degentrification, numerous warehouses, depots, factories and other industrial facilities were built in Savamala.

After the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s and the transition towards liberal capitalism, with numerous unsuccessful privatizations of former socialist industrial giants, a lot of these industrial facilities were abandoned, neglected or ruined. Today, Savamala is economically underdeveloped and socially disadvantaged. It is characterized by heavy traffic, with air and sound pollution. It hosts the main railway station and the main intercity bus station. Next to it is a park, commonly known as *Picin park* [The Pussy Park], because its vicinity to the rail and bus stations makes it the site of street prostitution and petty crime. There are several bridges that connect the 'Old' and New Belgrade (Novi Beograd), with the overwhelming noise of cars, trams and trains that operate 24/7. Finally, there is the area just under Branko's Bridge, which has been the main site of the reculturalization initiatives in the past decade, the boundaries of this area

17 Divna Đurić-Zamolo, *Beograd kao orijentalna varoš pod Turcima 1521–1867* (Beograd: Muzej grada Beograda, 1977).

18 Živorad Jovanović, *Iz starog Beograda* (Beograd: Turistička štampa, 1964).

roughly encompassing the streets Karađorđeva, Braće Krsmanovića, Travnička, Mostarska, Gavrila Principa, Kraljevića Marka, Crnogorska, Hercegovačka and Železnička.

Figure 1: The Map of Savamala.

A New Beginning

The reculturalization projects in Savamala started approximately a decade ago, as a bottom-up process, thanks to entrepreneurship and enthusiasm of the natives of Savamala who wanted to revitalize their neighborhood, and in doing so were financially supported by various European funds. Savamala was a suitable site for such efforts because of the existence of numerous abandoned and semi-ruined objects, which could be reconstructed and repurposed. It should be said that those who kick-started the reculturalization initiatives were not the impoverished railway workers or the Romas living at the riverbank, but the educated, middle class, young professionals and artists, many of them trained abroad, who knew how to apply for European funding. Nevertheless, their vision was that everyone in Savamala, including the working class and the socially excluded Romas would benefit from these reculturalization strategies in one way or another, because they would contest the notoriety of Savamala, stimulate local entrepreneurship and bring visitors to this area.

The first example of an object of industrial heritage turned into a cultural center was Grad [City] – European Center for Culture and Debate. It was initiated by a mar-

ried couple Ljudmila Stratimirović and Dejan Ubović and founded on April 16, 2009 by the NGO *Belgrade Cultural Front* and the Felix Meritis Foundation from Amsterdam, with support from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[19] The old depot, built in 1884 was redesigned into a multifunctional space where various programs are now organized: exhibitions, concerts, debates, conferences, workshops, etc. As asserted by Edin Omanović, the success of Grad triggered the flourishing of the entire quarter, cultural scene and the way of thinking (Omanović 2015).[20]

The next up was the 2013 Goethe-Institut "project of excellence" *Urban Incubator*,[21] aimed at improving the quality of life in Savamala. *Urban Incubator* encompassed more than ten local and international projects from the fields of art, architecture, urbanism and social engagement, with participants from Zurich, Hamburg, Berlin, Amsterdam and Belgrade. The idea was that the quarter's cultural and social values should drive Savamala's revitalization, rather than commercial and real-estate business interests; hence this is an example of a *participatory approach* to urban development.

The year 2013 also saw the opening of an imposing new edifice called *Mikser House — Balkan Design Center* in Karađorđeva street, which now dominates this area under Branko's Bridge. Conceived as a diverse cultural platform and festival of contemporary creativity, Mikser was another family enterprise, developed by Maja and Ivan Lalić. The first editions of the Mikser Festival, since its inception in 2009, took place in the lower Dorćol, at the south bank of the Danube, in the space formerly occupied by the agricultural giant "Žitomlin". However, after Mikser House opened its doors in Savamala, the annual Mikser Festival was also relocated to Savamala; the House itself now serves as a multifunctional concert venue, café, nightclub, exhibition space, conference venue, market place etc.

Very soon many new cafes, fast food parlors, beer pubs, nightclubs etc. opened in the vicinity of Grad and Mikser House (e.g. Berliner, Transit, Monsoon...). The owners of these venues do not actually own the buildings that they occupy (not least because, in many cases, the ownership of these spaces is uncertain or disputed); but they have invested their own money in refurbishing them. Other derelict buildings, such as the Spanish House (built in 1880), right next to Grad, were partially reconstructed and repurposed. So, in the short span of a few years, the entire subculture formed in the heart of Savamala, which now attracts both Belgrade residents and foreign visitors.

Currently, there are four main clusters of Belgrade nightlife, distinguished by their *sound,* i.e. the type of music they play and the overall sonic experience, which, in turn, attract different visitors and require different branding strategies:

1) *Skadarlija* in central Belgrade is dominated by the discourse of *nostalgia*, and the music performed there is the urban folk music from the early twentieth century — the so-called *starogradska muzika*. This type of music fosters the simulacrum of old Belgrade and attracts tourists who are drawn by its claims to "authenticity" and the evocation of "good old times";[22]

19 Accessed on September 23, 2016, http://www.gradbeograd.eu/index_en.php.

20 Edin Omanović, "Zemunska zemunica," *Before After,* August 14, 2015, accessed on September 23, 2016, http://www.beforeafter.rs/grad/enterijer-zemunska-zemunica/.

21 Accessed on September 23, 2016, http://www.goethe.de/ins/cs/bel/prj/uic/enindex.htm.

22 See Marija Dumnić's article in this issue of *Musicological Annual.*

2) Upper Dorćol, particularly the street Strahinjića Bana, is locally known as *the Silicone valley* because of a large number of silicone-enhanced girls. It is also frequented by members of the new, transitional elite, the *nouveaux riches* – bankers, politicians, media moguls, tycoons. The music that dominates this "fancy" area is popular, but not too trashy: it is mostly pop, pop-dance, ambient, soft jazz, Latin jazz and such;
3) The boat-cafés, popularly known as *splavovi* [rafts], on the banks of the rivers Danube and Sava, constitute a significant part of Belgrade nightlife, since they are open throughout the night. The music associated with the rafts is the notorious pop-folk, or *turbo-folk*, similar to *chalga* and other types of contemporary Balkan pop music with oriental influences;
4) Finally, Savamala does not have one specific musical genre associated with it, but a mixture of genres which have one thing in common: they provide an "alternative" to the previous three, more mainstream types of entertainment. Thus the music played and performed in Savamala comprises alternative, indie rock, jazz, blues, electronic music, arthouse music etc.

When I first spoke to the protagonists of the bottom-up initiatives in Savamala, they confirmed my initial hypothesis that the efforts to reculturalize and "rebrand" this ugly, noisy, smelly, derelict, polluted and neglected part of the city had to start with *sound*. In other words, the main task of the cultural entrepreneurs in Savamala was to create a soundscape that would attract desired visitors: (relatively) young, middle class, hip, European or local but pro-European, etc. The general idea was (I am paraphrasing now): "If we cannot make Savamala look and smell nice, than at least we can make it *sound* nice!" This new sound of Savamala was achieved by playing all sorts of "cool", alternative music, in order to attract visitors who would appreciate such offer (which, at that point, did not exist in other parts of Belgrade). In other words, the intervention in the soundscape had a crucial role for creating this new affective community in terms of identity building and politics of belonging.

Since the traffic noise could not be removed or ignored, the entrepreneurs from Savamala decided to promote this noise as something "cool", i.e. as a symbol of living in a traditionally urban zone. As Jacob Kreutzfeld, the co-author of *Copenhagen Sound Map* puts it: "The challenge for planners, designers, and architects is to deal with the auditory not only as pollution, but also as an integrated part of urban experience, promoting fellowship and liveliness as well as distress." (Kreutzfeld 2011: 67)[23] In his landmark 1977 study *The Tuning of the World* R. Murray Schafer, one of the pioneers of the soundscape studies, observed that the soundscape is not only an indication of the social; it can be "... a deliberate construction by its creators, a composition which may be as much distinguished for its beauty as for its ugliness" (Schafer 1977: 272).[24] He defined the *keynote sound* as "those (sounds) which are heard by a particular society continuously or frequently enough to form a background against which other sounds

23 Jacob Kreutzfeld, "Copenhagen Sonic Experience Map," in: Brandon LaBelle and Cláudia Martinho, eds., *Site of Sound #2: Of Architecture and the Ear* (Berlin: Errant Bodies Press, 2011), 67–79.

24 R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Knopff, 1977).

are perceived", while *soundmark* is "a community sound which is unique or possesses qualities which make it specially regarded or noticed by the people in that community" (Ibid). When these definitions are applied to the case of Savamala, one may argue that the *keynote sound* of Savamala is the heavy **traffic** – the overwhelming noise of the trains, buses, trams, lorries, cars. On the other hand, the creative entrepreneurs from Savamala have created their *soundmark* – the sound of the cool, alternative, hipster **nightlife** which is now associated with Savamala.

Of course, there are different perceptions of this radically altered soundscape and conflicting interpretations of what is unwanted and what is to be embraced. Not everyone in Savamala is happy with this bursting nightlife – for example, some older residents whom I have interviewed complain about the noise and feel that their neighborhood has been "invaded" by tourists and revellers. Moreover, the underprivileged inhabitants of Savamala have not really benefited from the reculturalization efforts, and neither is the cultural offer of Savamala aimed at this particular local demographics.

Jean-Paul Thibaud's notion of *ambiance* also merits discussion here. In his view, "an ambiance can be defined as a time-space qualified from a sensory point of view" which "relates to the sensing and feeling of a place, with all senses working in synergy" (Thibaud 2011: 43).[25] Thibaud makes a useful distinction between three main dynamics involved in the creation of an ambiance, which complement one another:

> *Tuned ambiance* that emerges as the place is brought into tune with the conduct it supports; his term *acclimatization* refers to the process by which ambiance and conduct are brought into resonance (Ibid, 44–45);
> *Modulated ambiance* that involves slight variations of the sensory context of the place; Thibaud's term *variation* refers to the city-dwellers' power to modulate urban ambiances, which vary depending on how a place is used and occupied (Ibid, 44; 49);
> *Framed ambiance* that emerges through conditioning of the place by social practice itself; Thibaud's term *alteration* refers to the work done by the public to format a place's ambiance (Ibid, 44; 51). City-dwellers do not merely take advantage of the resources offered by a place, but they produce the very conditions of their actions and transform ambiances into an essentially practical domain. (Ibid, 53)

If we now apply this theoretical model to the soundscape of Savamala, we can observe these discernible, but complementary and overlapping dynamics:

Thibaud's first category can refer to the soundscape (and viewscape) of Savamala before the reculturalization attempts began (and this is still the sound of Savamala during the day). Everyone who comes to Savamala must *acclimatize* to the sound pollution and the other elements that create the ambiance – the smog, the smell of the river and the sewers, the sight of sex workers in the Pussy Park etc. – and adapt, e.g. by raising their voice in order to be heard amidst the overwhelming noise.

The *variation* of the soundscape occurred when the opening of the first cultural centres in Savamala brought *music* to this area. The unpleasant sights and smells

25 Jean-Paul Thibaud, "The three dynamics of urban ambiances," in: Brandon LaBelle and Cláudia Martinho, eds., *Site of Sound #2: Of Architecture and the Ear* (Berlin: Errant Bodies Press, 2011), 43–53.

and the traffic noise could not be eliminated; but they are now complemented by the sounds of the bursting nightlife – music performed live indoors or outdoors, the chatter of the revellers, etc. These new sounds modulate the ambiance and, in turn, the variations in Savamala's soundscape attract yet more visitors to this area.

The final stage, the *alteration* of the soundscape and the entire ambiance, can be said to occur during the Mikser and BELEF festivals, when this area is literally invaded by the people who either participate in the festivals or visit their programs – including the outdoor concerts and gigs, the arts and crafts open air market, exhibitions, musicals and other theatrical productions, the outdoor cinema etc. Although the visuals also change, due to the banners advertising the festivals, the barriers that close certain streets for traffic, the increased number of people in the area and so on, it is still the *sound* of the area that is altered most drastically. The traffic noise is almost suffocated by the sound of live music blasting from the loudspeakers, with musics from different venues mixing with each other, the murmur of exhibitors and customers in the outdoor market in the Travnička street, etc.

The fact that the efforts aimed at the reculturalization of Savamala have paid off in a relatively short time-span (less than five years) garnered lots of publicity and received very good press, both domestically and internationally – for example, *The Business Insider* has listed Savamala among "The 12 coolest neighborhoods in Europe", stating that "the Savamala district continues to grow as one of Serbia's cultural centers" (Avakian 2015);[26] and British paper *The Guardian* published a report stating that "Creativity is blossoming in Belgrade, where a riverside cultural hub has sprung up in the derelict mansions and warehouses, led by free thinkers looking to the city's future" (Coldwell 2015).[27]

If we now return to the various understandings of the notion of reculturalization, one may observe that all four types of cultural transformation that I have outlined above have been achieved in Savamala:

A return to something old, authentic, valuable, and its reinstatement in its original context – this relates to the cultural entrepreneurs' desire to revive the "glory days" of Savamala, the oldest urban quarter, once the pride of Belgrade and Serbia, before this area was brutally industrialized and degentrified;

A step towards adaptation and acceptance of a certain cultural value in a new context – this is associated with the cultural entrepreneurs' efforts to convince the old residents of Savamala that everyone will benefit from the changes brought about by the reculturalization, even if they disrupt their customary way of life;

A fundamental change in production and consummation of cultural goods – this applies to the abandonment of the still-prevalent socialist model of state-subsided cultural centers in favor of private investment and/or support provided by the NGO sector and making the most of the international funding opportunities, as well as the model of peer-to-peer creation of cultural programs "by the neighbors – for the neighbors";

26 Talia Avakian, "The 12 coolest neighborhoods in Europe," *The Business Insider*, Jun 16, 2015, accessed on September 23, 2016, http://www.businessinsider.com/the-coolest-neighborhoods-in-europe-2015-6?op=1#ixzz3ftaF0a25.

27 Will Coldwell, "Belgrade's Savamala district: Serbia's new creative hub," *The Guardian*, February 7, 2015, accessed on September 23, 2016, http://www.theguardian.com/travel/2015/feb/07/belgrade-savamala-serbia-city-break.

Finally, the proponents of reculturalization have taken a stand against commercialization of consumer societies by initiating a bottom-up transformation that insists on participatory approach, rather than succumbing to the idiosyncrasies of a belated (and often unethical) transition towards the late liberal capitalism.

Challenges

The fourth point above may serve as a headword to discuss some recent challenges faced by the protagonists of the reculturalization efforts, which also influence the soundscape of Savamala in rather unexpected ways. The first challenge was brought about in the summer of 2015 by a massive influx of immigrants from Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Libya and other Asian and African countries.[28] Since the escalation of the refugee crisis in 2015, Serbia has been a transit country on the refugees' route towards the European Union. A large numbers of immigrants sleep outdoors in makeshift tents in Savamala, due to its vicinity to the main railway and bus stations. The refugees usually stay in Belgrade for a few days before they are collected by their traffickers, who then transport them across the borders – although this has become increasingly difficult since some of the EU member states erected fences along sections of their borders (Stearns and Tirone 2016).[29] The influx of immigrants has contributed to the changes in Savamala soundscape; the change is primarily linguistic, since now a number of Asian and North African languages are now spoken in Belgrade city center, plus occasional broken English when they communicate with the traffickers, the police, the journalists etc. This multilingual chatter of people camping in the city parks has added yet another layer to the already multilayered soundscape of this area.

While some may expect the protagonists of the reculturalization efforts in Savamala to complain that the unsightly presence of migrants is detrimental to their businesses, they have actually been actively involved in helping the refugees, with the extension of Mikser House at Mostarska street called *Miksalište* as the central point. Opened in January 2015 as an ice rink and an open-air concert venue, Miksalište transformed into the Refugee Aid Serbia's main center for collecting and distributing aid.[30] The very same energy and drive, the *collective affect* that used to form in Savamala with respect to its cultural and entertainment offer, has now been channeled into this local activism, and the residents and visitors of Savamala are encouraged to sympathize with the migrants' plight and to volunteer to help. This call for solidarity has struck a chord not least because, only two decades ago, it was the Serbs and other former Yugoslav peoples who were refugees, fleeing in large numbers from the war-torn regions of Yugoslavia. The memories of this exodus are still all too vivid, which is why it was possible to mobilize

28 See "Refugee Crisis in Europe." *European Commission – Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection*, accessed on September 23, 2016, http://ec.europa.eu/echo/refugee-crisis_en.

29 Jonathan Stearns and Jonathan Tirone, "Europe's Refugee Crisis." *Bloomberg*, June 17, 2016, accessed on September 23, 2016, https://www.bloomberg.com/quicktake/europe-refugees.

30 Refugee Aid Miksalište, accessed on September 23, 2016, http://refugeeaidmiksaliste.rs.

the locals to form this new *affective community.* This activity can still be regarded as part of the reculturalization effort, because it empowers the residents of Savamala and promotes the image of Savamala as a generous and welcoming place for everyone, including the refugees.

As to the second challenge, a new top-down initiative has threatened to jeopardize the reculturalization projects and to destroy everything that has been accomplished in Savamala in the last few years. It is a grandiose construction project *Belgrade Waterfront,* headed by Serbian government in partnership with the Eagle Hill Group from Abu Dhabi (UAE), which aims to turn the right bank of Sava into a business hub for the Western Balkans. So, unlike the previously discussed bottom-up initiatives that insist on participatory approach, this competing project is all about commercial and real-estate business interests.[31] In order to start developing Belgrade Waterfront, the city officials' first endeavor was to depopulate the right bank of Sava, i.e. to forcefully resettle the poor — the Romas, the railway workers, the refugees from former Yugoslav republics etc. — which strikingly resembles Miloš Obrenović's forceful relocation of the original residents of Savamala almost 200 years ago![32]

The Belgrade Waterfront project is now housed in the imposing building known as the *Geozavod*, right next to Mikser House. Just like the entire project is surrounded by a veil of silence, the building itself is eerily quiet, unlike the hustle and bustle of the Mikser House, Grad, Monsoon and other clubs in its vicinity. Actually, the first sounds were heard when the citizens and activists gathered into the initiative *Ne davimo Beograd!* [Do not drown Belgrade][33] staged a protest in front the Geozavod while the Belgrade Waterfront contract was being signed. The protagonists of the entrepreneurial subculture that has became synonymous with the reculturalization of Savamala rightfully feared that they would be suffocated by the flashy new development and priced out of the area; and their fears were brutally confirmed in September 2015 when some of the cafés and pubs in Savamala were demolished without prior notice, in order to clear land for construction work. Soon, the soundscape of Savamala was "enriched" by yet another layer, the sound of the heavy machinery. Then, on April 24, 2016, a group of men wearing balaclavas destroyed several family-owned businesses and a restaurant in the Hercegovačka street,[34] while the volunteers in Miksalište received a notice that the Refugee Aid Centre would be demolished within 48 hours (at it was indeed flattened on April 26). The undeterred volunteers quickly found a new location in Gavrila Principa street, nearby yet sufficiently far away from the riverbank, and the new Miksalište opened its doors on June 1, 2016, with a new goal: to put an emphasis on the integration of refugees into the society. The refugee crisis continues, but so do the efforts

31 Belgrade Waterfront, accessed on September 23, 2016, https://www.belgradewaterfront.com/en.

32 Serbian government even approved a *Lex specialis* at very short notice in order to expropriate the land. See "Lex specialis za Beograd na vodi," *Vreme,* March 23, 2015, accessed on September 23, 2016, http://www.vreme.com/cms/view.php?id=1282511#inicijativa%20za%20povlačenje.

33 Accessed on September 23, 2016, https://nedavimobeograd.wordpress.com.

34 The investigation into this event is ongoing, and the perpetrators have not been caught yet, although the Prime Minister of Serbia admitted that senior Belgrade officials were behind these demolitions, which sparked huge public demonstrations. See Milivoje Pantović, "Serbian PM Blames Belgrade Officials for Demolitions," *Balkan Insight,* June 8, 2016, accessed on September 23, 2016, http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/belgrade-s-officials-involved-in-savamala-demolitions-vucic-says-06-08-2016#sthash.DFXbZc5t.dpuf.

of the community of Savamala to ease their suffering and to help them regain some dignity on their long journey.

So, instead of drawing definitive conclusions, I must acknowledge that nobody knows what will happen in the coming months, as our project *City Sonic Ecology* enters its final year. I can only promise is that I will continue to record the soundscapes of Savamala and to analyze how this microcosm reflects and documents the rapid changes in transitional Serbia, which continues to be a battleground of conflicting interests and ideologies, but also how the global crises spill over and affect local ventures and transformations.

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POVZETEK

V članku analiziram strategije rekulturiziranja, ki so bile uvedene v Savamali, mestni četrti sredi srbske prestolnice Beograda. Od preloma tisočletja se je Beograd že večkrat poskusilo nanovo označiti kot varno, sodobno, kozmopolitsko in turistom prijazno mesto. Takšne pobude preoblikujejo zvočno krajino Beograda; včasih so spremembe stranski produkt drugih okoliščin, toda sem ter tja, kot pokažem na primeru Savamale, je sprememba zvočne krajine rezultat zavestnega truda. Sama Savamala, območje od desnem bregu Save, je bila v desetletjih vladavine komunistične partije po drugi svetovni vojni pretežno zanemarjena. V zadnjih letih pa smo bili priča več uspešnih poskusov revitalizacije in prenove Savamale z razvojem privatnega sektorja in s spodbujanjem lokalnega prebivalstva in obiskovalcev, da bi se ta urbani prostor ponovno naselilo z določenimi kulturnimi in umetniškimi praksami. Takšne iniciative vzpostavljajo utopično vizijo Savamale kot ležernega, umetniškega, brezskrbnega, alternativnega, a hkrati tudi podjetnega in socialno participatornega dela glavnega mesta. Ne le to, rekulturiziranje Savamale je ena redkih uspešnih zgodb, povezanih s privatnim kulturnim podjetništvom v tranzicijski Srbiji. Poleg analize strategij rekulturiziranja, večina katerih se vrti okrog *zvoka*, prav tako opazujem izzive, pred katere so postavljeni udeleženci teh iniciativ. Vzporedno z obravnavo pojma rekulturiziranja, ugotavljam, da je ustrezen za vsaj štiri tipe kulturnih iniciativ, ki so bile izvedene v Savamali:

1) vrnitev k nečemu staremu, avtentičnemu in vrednemu in ponovni uporabi le-tega v izvirnem kontekstu: to je povezano z željo kulturnega podjetništva, da oživi »zlate čase« Savamale – nekoč ponos Beograda in Srbije – preden je bilo območje divje industrializirano in degentrificirano;
2) korak k adaptaciji in sprejetju določenih kulturnih vrednot v novem kontekstu: to bi lahko bilo povezano s poskusi kulturnega podjetništva, da prepriča stare prebivalce Savamale, da bo vsak na boljšem zaradi sprememb, ki jih bo prineslo rekultiviranje, četudi bo njihov običajni način življenja moten;
3) temeljna sprememba v produkciji in potrošnji kulturnih dobrin: to velja za opustitev še zmeraj prevladujočega socialističnega modela kulturnih centrov, ki jih financira država, v prid privatnih investicij in/ali pomoči, ki ga nudi sektor NGO-jev, ko tudi v prid temu, da se čim bolje izkoristiti možnosti mednarodnega financiranja; kot tudi v prid modelu medsebojnega ustvarjanja kulturnih programov v smislu »sosed sosedu«;
4) in naposled upor proti komercializaciji potrošniških skupnosti – v tem primeru z zagonom transformacije od spodaj navzgor, ki vztraja na participatornem pristopu, namesto da bi podlegel idiosikrazijam zapoznele (in pogosto tudi neetične) tranzicije k poznemu liberalnemu kapitalizmu.

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Defining Nostalgic Musicscape: *Starogradska muzika* in Skadarlija (Belgrade) as Sound Environment*

Definiranje nostalgične glasbene krajine: *starogradska muzika* v beograjski Skadarliji kot zvočno okolje**

Prejeto: 13. avgust 2016
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Ključne besede: glasbena krajina, starogradska muzika (»stara meščanska glasba«), Skadarlija, nostalgija

IZVLEČEK

Ulica Skadarlija v Beogradu, ki jo zaradi številnih gostiln uradno kličejo »boemska četrt«, je zaznamovana z nostalgičnim diskurzom. Zvočna krajina Skadarlije temelji na izvedbah *starogradske muzike* (stare meščanske glasbe). Prispevek analizira ustvarjanje in poblagovljenje tega zvočnega okolja, s posebnim poudarkom na vlogi nostalgije v tem procesu.

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ABSTRACT

Skadarlija Street in Belgrade, officially called a "bohemian quarter" because of its numerous taverns, is characterized by the discourse of nostalgia. Performances of the *starogradska muzika* ("old urban music") genre create Skadarlija's musicscape. This paper deals with process of construction and commodification of the sound environment, particularly examining the role of nostalgia therein.

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Introduction

This paper presents ethnomusicological research in urban settings, which is related to the sonic ecology of Belgrade (Serbia), particularly to a part of the city that is considered representative and officially promoted to tourists in Belgrade. Specifically, the soundscape is created by means of a popular folk musical genre – *starogradska muzika* (in Serbian, "old urban music"), typical of the towns in the Balkans and originating in global popular music of the late nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, but at the same time the soundscape is achieved by the performances of *starogradska muzika* in Skadarlija, the "bohemian quarter". Skadarlija itself is conceived as a central cultural-spatial unit shaped by the discourse of nostalgia, and musical performances constitute an important part of its presentation of "real, old Belgrade". Here will be presented aspects of the concept of Skadarlija as well as the genre of *starogradska muzika* performed there, which constitutes and commodifies the nostalgic musicscape of Belgrade. This exemplary musical practice is considered here for the first time, since ethnomusicology in Serbia is predominantly concerned with rural musical practices of a supposed archaic and/or ritual origin. It should be added that the auditive environment of Belgrade has recently become the topic of (ethno)musicological research which, aside from Skadarlija, also problematizes the soundscape of Savamala, as well as a particular policescape of protests.[1]

Belgrade has been the capital of several states during the course of history. Its political position has also influenced its music/sound, since it was the meeting place of urban musical practices of both the southern and northern parts of Serbia (marked by a predominance of historical influences of Ottoman or Austro-Hungarian culture), a centre of music broadcasting (the year 1929 was the beginning of broadcasting by Radio Belgrade, where both popular and urban folk music occupied large portions of the programme /Dumnić 2013a/)[2], and the place for performances by elite musicians from different areas – these have influenced the music and performance with their migrations towards Belgrade and also by means of networking, since they were the carriers of urban folk music (Dumnić 2013b: 86–87).[3] A special interest in Belgrade is based on the current state of the field as well: as the capital city, Belgrade has cultural-spacial units that constitute a highly representative authentic/folk/traditional environment for tourists and a special place for domestic visitors. Music has an important role in the process of constructing that representation, and so do the taverns where, according to the average listener/consumer, "real folk music" can be heard. Belgrade nowadays has numerous taverns where *starogradska* and *novokomponovana narodna* (in Serbian,

1 See: Ivana Medić, "Reculturalization Projects in Savamala," *Muzikološki zbornik* 52/2 (2016); Srđan Atanasovski, "Towards Vita Democratica: Urban Soundscapes and the Ruptures of Subjectivity," in *Social Movements in Central and Eastern Europe: A Renewal of Protests and Democracy*, eds. Geoffrey Pleyers and Ionel Sava (Bucharest: University of Bucharest, 2015), 196–202; the trilateral project "City Sonic Ecology: Urban Soundscapes of Bern, Ljubljana and Belgrade," Accessed on July 1, 2016, http://citysonicecology.com.

2 Marija Dumnić, "The Creation of Folk Music Program on Radio Belgrade before World War Two: Editorial Policies and Performing Ensembles," *Musicology* 14 (2013): 9–29.

3 Marija Dumnić, "Muziciranje i muzičari u kafanama u Beogradu od početka emitovanja programa Radio Beograda do Drugog svetskog rata," *Zbornik Matice srpske za scenske umetnosti i muziku* 49 (2013): 77–90.

"newly-composed folk") music are performed, but the taverns in Skadarlija have a special value for city life, because *starogradska muzika* is traditionally performed there. In this street there are numerous taverns with their own orchestras who perform urban folk music repertoires for tips, thus creating a specific sonic environment.

After explanation of the methodology and theoretical definition of the musicscape, the article focuses on the problem of Skadarlija's soundscape. Special attention is devoted to its main marker – commodified nostalgic music, the genre of *starogradska muzika*. Finally, the performance of *starogradska muzika* in Skadarlija is analysed in order to describe the functioning of its representative musicscape.

Methodology of the Research of Musicscape

For the research into the soundscape of Skadarlija, several types of material had to be analysed. Core methodology involved field research, consisting firstly of participant observation and later of audio and video documentation (soundwalks and recordings of performances) and conducting ethnomusicological interviews with several performers. Participant observation was used as a "process in which the observer's presence in a social situation is maintained for the purpose of scientific investigation" (Schwartz and Green Schwartz 1955: 344)[4], so it actually positions the researcher (i.e. the author of this article) as a member of the audience who occasionally interacts with the musicians during their performance. Aside from a typical ethnomusicological documentary recording of music performance, this research also examined *soundwalks* – a listening method originally established in the 1970s by the group gathered around Raymond Murray Schafer. The soundwalk was chosen to be recording method, in order to provide the listeners of the archived material with the most accurate impression of the Skadarlija soundscape. Also, music performances in Skadarlija were unravelled with the help of selected musicians, with whom are conducted several in-depth, semi-structured interviews about *starogradska muzika* and their experience of performing in the taverns in Skadarlija. Because of the historical reference which is immanent to this nostalgic musical phenomenon, numerous sound editions and collected printed scores of *starogradske pesme* (in Serbian, "old urban songs") also served as important sources.[5] Other significant material included promotional touristic publications devoted to the taverns and the entire ambience of Skadarlija, where the most performances of *starogradska muzika* take place, because they present the cultural politics of a particular soundscape's discourse. To complete the picture of a representative sound environment, the next step in soundscape research will be an investigation of the reception of performances of *starogradska muzika* by the audiences, especially the tourists in Skadarlija, and mapping particular sound places in this street.

4 Morris Schwartz and Charlotte Green Schwartz, "Problems in Participant Observation," *American Journal of Sociology* 60/4 (1955): 343–353.

5 E.g: Miodrag Bogdanović, *Noči i zore Beograda: Sećanja, romanse, šansone, evergrin večite melodije, instrumentalna verzija* (Beograd: FIN&EK, 2005); Ljubiša Pavković, *Gradske pesme i romanse* (Knjaževac: Nota, 2011); [Various artists], *Skadarlija at Night* (Belgrade: PGP RTB, 1976 (LP)).

The term *soundscape* is based primarily on the theory adumbrated by the Canadian composer Raymond Murray Schafer, who had been conducting research in the field of sonic ecology since 1969, "concerned with raising public awareness of sound, documenting environmental sound and its changing character, and establishing the concept and practice of soundscape design as an alternative to noise pollution" (Westerkamp et al. 2014).[6] Soundscape is conceived as "the acoustic manifestation of 'place', in the sense that the sounds give the inhabitants a 'sense of place' and the place's acoustic quality is shaped by the inhabitants' activities and behaviour" (*Ibid.*). The representation of soundscape is shaped by the listener's perception of it, and it is made of: *keynote* (ubiquitous and prevailing sound), *signals* (foreground sounds in listening, often encoding certain messages or information), *soundmarks* (analogous to landmarks, these are unique sound objects, specific to a certain place), *sound object* (according to Pierre Schaeffer, 'an acoustical object for human perception', the smallest self-contained particle of a soundscape), *sound symbols* (sounds that evoke personal responses based on collective and cultural levels of association) (*Ibid.*). When it comes to the present research, signals, soundmarks and sound symbols are of the utmost importance, because they are factors that distinguish this soundscape as representative. Contemporary sound research also recognizes the importance of ambience for the realization and meaning of a sound (La Belle and Martinho 2011),[7] as well as the capability of sound and auditive experience in reconfiguring the space (Born 2013: 3).[8] In this article, musicscape refers to soundscape with musically (i.e. aesthetically and socially) organized soundscape, accepting that music is sound with these aspects (see more in Sakakeeny 2015: 115–120).[9] Also, the existence of projects dealing with *urban musical landscapes* (Cohen 2011) must be mentioned.[10] The problem of *nightscape* is also isolated sociologically, and therefore implies research of city landscapes as places of production and consumption by night, with specific regulation and spatial location, in relation to mainstream, residual and alternative practices (Chatterton and Hollands 2003: 6).[11] Especially important for this research were the writings on music played in specific environments with an emphasis on the aspect of commodification (e.g. shopping), which largely rely on Tia de Nora's concepts of social uses of music – as she puts it, music is constitutive of agency, a medium with a capacity for imparting shape and texture to being, feeling and doing.[12] So the role of music in production of place can be explained thus: "It is proposed that all music is capable of transforming perceptions of the environment in which it is heard, and eliciting immediate emotional and behav-

6 Hildegard Westerkamp, Adam Woog and Helmut Kallmann, "World Soundscape Project," *The Canadian Encyclopaedia*, last modified July 16, 2014, accessed on March 20, 2016, http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/en/article/world-soundscape-project/.

7 See more: Brandon La Belle and Claudia Martinho, eds., *Site of Sound: Of Architecture and the Ear 2* (Berlin: Errant Bodies Press, 2011).

8 Georgina Born, "Introduction," in *Music, Sound and Space: Transformations of Public and Private Experience*, ed. Georgina Born (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1–69.

9 Matt Sakakeeny, "Music," in *Keywords in Sound*, ed. David Novak and Matt Sakakeeny (Duke University Press, 2015), 112–124.

10 Sara Cohen, "Cavern Journeys: Music, Migration and Urban Space," in *Migrating Music*, ed. Jason Toynbee and Byron Dueck (London – New York: Routledge, 2011), 235–250.

11 Paul Chatterton and Robert Hollands, "Introduction: Making Urban Nightscapes," in *Urban Nightscapes: Youth Cultures, Pleasure Spaces and Corporate Power* (London – New York: Routledge, 2003), 1–16.

12 Tia De Nora, *Music in Everyday Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 152.

ioural responses, regardless of whether it is passively heard as a background element or actively listened to as a live performance in a dedicated venue" (Oakes 2013: 41).[13] And finally, some cities have music (or even particular songs) stereotypically associated with them (e.g. *bossa nova* and Rio de Janeiro, *fado* and Lisbon etc.), and these soundscapes are conjured not only by recordings, broadcasts and movie/television soundtracks, but they can also be heard in the streets, hotels, bars and clubs frequented by tourists (Long 2014: 48–49).[14]

Skadarlija as the Nostalgic Ambience of Belgrade

In the nineteenth century, Skadarska Street was Gypsy *mahala* (in Serbian /Turkish loanword/, "neighbourhood") where a stream flowed, making this small street a border between two Belgrade neighbourhoods, Dorćol and Palilula (Dimitrijević 1983: 22–23).[15] In the second half of the nineteenth century, it slowly became the place of gathering of poets, actors and painters, so in the middle of the century numerous breweries, taverns and inns (nowadays, "restaurants") were opened there. Since the National Theatre of Serbia is nearby, in 1901, when the most famous tavern in Belgrade (*Dardaneli*) was closed, Skadarlija became the main bohemian place in the town during the period before World War II (Dimitrijević 1983: 19). The programming of Radio Belgrade in that period even included a folk music show, *Skadarlijsko veče* (in Serbian: "An Evening at Skadarlija"), as well as live broadcasts of folk music performances from those taverns, which testify to the historical prominence of music in this area. Even to the present there are radio and television shows, sound and score editions, and even particular songs that promote *starogradska muzika* from Skadarlija.

Skadarlija was scheduled for protection as a "Belgrade monument", because several famous poets and artists lived there (Đura Jakšić, Milorad Gavrilović, Čiča Ilija Stanojević, Dimitrije Ginić etc.) (Dimitrijević 1983: 26). In 1966, the restoration of Skadarlija started as an architectural project (by Uglješa Bogunović, published in 1957 in newspaper *Politika*) (Dimitrijević 1983: 115). As can be seen from his urbanist project adopted in 1981, Skadarlija was imagined as an ambience for leisure (with music as a part of that), which "suits a man".[16]

13 Steve Oakes, Anthony Patterson, Helen Oakes, "Shopping Soundtracks: Evaluating Musicscape Using Introspective Data," *Arts Marketing: An International Journal* 3/1 (2013): 41–57.

14 Philip Long, "Popular Music, Psychogeography, Place Identity and Tourism: The Case of Sceffield," *Tourist Studies* 14/1 (2014): 48–65.

15 Kosta Dimitrijević, "Skadarlija – Povratak ljudskoj meri," in *Skadarlija*, ed. Nebojša Bogunović (Beograd: Jugoslavijapublik – SIZ „Skadarlija," 1983), 16–116.

16 The concept was: "Skadarlija is not only an architectural or urbanist museum monument protected by law. It is an alive and necessary part of a huge organism of the city, which contributes to its activity and variety. It is a pedestrian zone in the city centre built to suit a man, with little shops, terraces, gardens and small catering objects, which are mostly ground floor, sunk in green and flowers. It is an lively and attractive walking zone always full of events – there is acting in taverns, gardens and improvised outdoor spaces, people are sitting on benches and stairs, and there is music-making and reciting in passing. By this act, the ambience, houses, street, existing ensembles are protected, as well as the habits of Belgrade inhabitants (a family going out to a tavern and theatre, gathering in the street, visiting an exhibition, partying in gardens at small spontaneous street happenings etc.) are cherished. (...) But the Skadarlija that we build does not only rely on catering and Bohemian tradition. It is a contemporary, modern and human centre aimed exclusively at pedestrians and their relaxation, cultural uprising, amusement, meetings and activities related to tradition and habits of Belgrade people. After many years of verifying the interests of Belgrade

In the opinion of visitors (and also the inhabitants of Belgrade, including the author of this article), Skadarlija nowadays represents a very pleasant place in Belgrade because of its architecture, restaurants and music. *The General Urbanist Plan of Belgrade* prescribed that the central city zone should be cared for in terms of preservation of historical buildings, which should be restored and conserved in order to be integrated into contemporary architecture (Roter Blagojević and Nikolić 2012: 123).[17] The present-day look of the Skadarlija street as an "ambiental nook" of Belgrade preserves the original connection with its appearance from the past in the part around the tavern *Tri šešira*. The rest of Skadarlija is adapted: traffic was banned (as well as sound pollution, a regular keynote sound in the streets nearby), a fountain was erected, candelabra were added, interiors of the taverns were redesigned in an old style (lately some of them also as "ethno"), artists started working in the streets, and special actors such as drummer (a kind of messenger) and fortune teller started to work there.[18] Also, Skadarlija became a "sister street" with Montmartre in Paris, and, after that, some clear references to similar urban places were made (Plaka /Athens/, Grinzing /Vienna/, Baščaršija /Sarajevo/, Debar-malo /Skopje/, Old Arbat /Moscow/, Ilot Sacre /Brussels/). Some of the earlier taverns were reconstructed and some new ones opened, so today there exist: *Dva bela goluba* (in English: *Two White Pigeons), Zlatni bokal* (*Golden Jar*), *Mali vrabac* (*Little Sparrow*), *Skadarlijski boem* (*Boheme of Skadarlija*), *Dva jelena* (*Two Deers), Šešir moj* (*My Hat*), *Šešir moj 2* (*My Hat 2*), *Putujući glumac* (*Travelling Actor*), *Tri šešira* (*Three Hats*), *Velika Skadarlija* (*Great Skadarlija*) as traditional taverns, and *Kuća Đure Jakšića* (the house of a famous poet Đura Jakšić is nowadays a cultural centre of the municipality Stari Grad /Old Town/ and there are various concert programmes), as well as several modern cafes (where global popular music is played).[19] It is interesting that another spatial entity appeared recently in the vicinity of Skadarlija (the former building of the Belgrade Beer Industry, with an entrance from a parallel street), where one finds cafes which play contemporary popular music (partly similar to Savamala).

Starogradska muzika is performed in a specific urban environment, in the ambient of the city center, consisting of specific street architecture, landmarks such as a monument (of the poet Đura Jakšić), a fountain, a flag during the summer season, and bohemian sign-posts. In the street there are art and craft exhibitions and stores. The aura of Skadarlija's greatness and authenticity of "soulfulness" is also achieved by the narratives on its famous inhabitants who were prominent participants in the local Bohemian lifestyle, as well as the namechecks of famous visitors from all over the world. But what actually constitutes "the spirit" of Skadarlija are the taverns. Skadarlija has its inner diversity which can be mapped and it is mainly based on music played in the

citizens and guests of Skadarlija, as well as consideration of shows, this part of the city presents a possibility for response to touristicdemand which is not to be missed." (Uglješa Bogunović, *Urbanistički projekat Skadarlije*, Beograd, 1981, according to: Nebojša Bogunović, ed., *Skadarlija* /Beograd: Jugoslavijapublik – SIZ „Skadarlija," 1983/, 118–119.)

17 Mirjana Roter Blagojević and Marko Nikolić, "Značaj ouvanja identiteta i autentičnosti u procesu urbane obnove grada: Uloga stambene arhitekture Beograda s kraja devetnaestog i početka dvadesetog veka u građenju karaktera istorijskih ambijenata," *Nasleđe* 9 (2012): 117–128.

18 [Anonymous], *Everlasting Skadarlija: Tourist Guide* (Belgrade: Tourist Organization of Belgrade, 2010), 20.

19 See: "Skadarlija," Touristic Organization of Belgrade, accessed on April 2, 2016, http://www.tob.rs/what-to-see/attractions/skadarlija.

taverns, each slightly different from to the other (as sound objects) and thus creating soundmarks. The taverns play an important role in Serbian society. The tavern (Serbian: *kafana*) is an institution between the private and public space, with important cultural contents and communication places; a space for entertaining the audience, but also for networking and professionalisation of musicians. In the musicians' oral narratives, Skadarlija's taverns have been singled out as elite places for folk music performances. The most celebrated ones are the taverns with Romani orchestras, but also a tavern which hosts a *tamburitza* band with the longest tradition ("Tamburica 5" in *Dva jelena*), where all performers are in costume.

Commodification of Nostalgia

It is already noted in ethnological literature that the function of Skadarlija today is to contribute to the tourist presentation of Belgrade as a "city of leisure" and that the main mechanism for that is the construction of the aura of authenticity with taverns, Bohemians and music: "Taverns and Bohemia, because that is the milieu in which the construction was invented, and music, because the selection of a song reflects an atmosphere and attitude, and because (today's) *starogradska muzika* additionally legitimates the construct" (Vukanović 2008: 141).[20] As Vukanović noticed, the construction of Skadarlija evolved: "To construct today's Skadarlija, more than a desire of Belgrade bohemians to have 'their republic' is necessary. With the revitalization in 1960s and 1970s, Skadarlija has transformed: from the place where artists and (other) Belgradians spend days and nights, to the place mostly intended for tourists." (*Ibid.*).

In the 1970s, there was a manifestation *Skadarlijske večeri* (in Serbian, "Evenings in Skadarlija"). The interlocutors in the ongoing research, i.e. the Skadarlija musicians, had positive memories of these events – there was an open air stage, in front of the house of Đura Jakšić where a makeshift festival took place, with selected musicians who performed folk (and particularly *starogradska*) music, right next to the exhibitions of paintings and theatre performances. In Vukanović's opinion, it was the beginning of changing the importance of the taverns in Skadarlija (Vukanović 2008: 151).

These ethnological facts lead us to conclude that the music performed in Skadarlija is meant to be commodified. Spefically, music has a special connection with tourism: "Music provides an important and emotive narrative for tourists, as an expression of culture, a form of heritage, a signifier of place and marker of moments. (...) Music both defines and transcends the borders of destinations, while it emphasizes and challenges notions of tradition, provides opportunities for liminal play, transgression and resistance, and helps define the identities of visitors and the visited." (Lashua, Spracklen and Long 2014: 5–6).[21] But what is most important in the process of commodification is that music in Skadarlija is paid for, before it is performed.

20 Maša Vukanović, "Konstrukt na 44°49'14" & 20°27'44"," *Etnoantropološki problemi* 2/3 (2008): 139–160.

21 Brett Lashua, Karl Spracklen and Phil Long, "Introduction to the Special Issue: Music and Tourism," *Tourist Studies* 14/1 (2014): 3–9.

The process of commodification is also related to the discourse of *nostalgia* in this soundscape. Nostalgia is a notion highly relevant for ethnomusicological observations of various cultures, and in Serbia there are many phenomena which reflect nostalgia via music.[22] It is considered here as emotional memory, which is based on melancholia and utopia. Slovenian cultural studies scholar Mitja Velikonja regards it as a "(non) instrumentalized story that binarily laments and glorifies a romanticized lost time, people, objects, feelings, scents, events, spaces, relationships, values, political and other systems, all of which stand up in sharp contrast to the inferior present. Although nostalgia refers to the past, it also indirectly speaks of the present, especially if promises and expectations for the better future were not actually realized. (...) In sum, the more disappointment with unfilled wishes and promises, the more nostalgia" (Velikonja 2009: 538).[23] Nostalgia makes *starogradska muzika* regressive and "retro" and desirable for the audience who go there. At the same time, *starogradska muzika* is just one layer and part of the politics called "industry of nostalgia" (which is opposed to the bottom-up "culture of nostalgia", as Velikonja puts it /Velikonja 2009: 539/) in Skadarlija.

Theoretical interpretation of this article is grounded in the foundational work of Svetlana Boym. "Nostalgia (...) is longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym 2001: XIII).[24] It has specific relation to place, but even to time: "At first glance, nostalgia is a longing for place, but actually it is a yearning for a different time (...) In a broader sense, nostalgia is rebellion against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress" (Boym 2001: XV). Boym is reflecting on nostalgia and its existence in modernity: "Modern nostalgia is a mourning for the impossibility of mythical return, for the loss of an enchanted world with clear borders and values; it could be a secular expression of a spiritual longing, a nostalgia for an absolute, a home that is both physical and spiritual, the edenic unity of time and space before entry to history. The nostalgic is looking for the spiritual addressee" (Boym 2001: 8). Technological and social progress contributes to nostalgia: "The rapid race of industrialization and modernization increased the intensity of people's for the slower rhythms of the past, for continuity, social cohesion and tradition" (Boym 2001: 16). Boym's statement that can be confirmed is that, at the end of the twentieth century, "nostalgia became a defense mechanism against the accelerated rhythm of change and the economic shock therapy" (Boym 2001: 64). In that time, what was "old" ("retro") became popular and profitable – "'old' here refers to an ahistoric image of the good old days, when everyone was young, some time before the big change" (Boym 2001: 65). This is also how Skadarlija functions now. Boym's major innovation was that she divided nostalgia into two types – *restorative* (longing for place) and *reflective* (longing for time): "Restorative nostalgia stresses *nostos* and attempts a transhistorical reconstruction of the lost home. Reflective nostalgia thrives in *algia*, the longing itself, and

22 So far, the most prominent are ethnomusicological research of rural music in socialist Yugoslavia, journalist writings about "yugonostalgic" aspects of local rock music after World War II.

23 Mitja Velikonja, "Lost in Transition: Nostalgia and Socialism in Post-Socialist Countries," *East European Politics and Societies* 23/4 (2009): 535–551.

24 Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (Basic Books, 2001).

delays the homecoming – wistfully, ironically, desperately. Restorative nostalgia does not think of itself as nostalgia, but rather as truth and tradition. Reflective nostalgia dwells on the ambivalences of human longing and belonging and does not shy away from the contradictions of modernity. Restorative nostalgia protects the absolute truth, while reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt." (Boym 2001: XVIII). So, nostalgia is not only a longing for a lost home, but longing *per se*, and as reflective nostalgia it is highly present in *starogradska muzika*: "The object of romantic nostalgia must be beyond the present space of experience, somewhere in the twilight of the past or on the island of utopia where time has happily stopped, as an antique clock" (Boym 2001: 13).

When it comes to Skadarlija's soundscape, the second type of Boym's nostalgia is highly applicable. People from Belgrade or Serbia have in mind the "old Belgrade", which some of them never saw, and they want to distance themselves from the present, but also to preserve their suggested cultural identity. Even some of songs performed when the genre of *starogradska muzika* emerged and which were not part of that repertoire are nowadays nostalgically observed as the legacy of previous time, so they are performed as "old urban songs" in the context of Skadarlija. Moreover, reflective nostalgia can be noticed with respect to the tourists who visit this quarter. They often come to Belgrade in order to experience nightlife, food and music played by the Romani, and common representations are the same as for the domestic audience. What is interesting is that for tourists who have never visited Belgrade before, nostalgia is based on positive stereotypes about the Balkans, aimed at its presentation as the region of Europe which is situated between East and West, with its specific culture and "wild"/"authentic" entertainment.

Also, there is the potential of the concept of restorative nostalgia. Namely, Skadarlija is often visited by people from Serbian diaspora. According to the data collected from the interviews with musicians, their longing for their "true" homeland can be observed in the repertoire they order – often that is *starogradska muzika*. Except for that, nostalgia for homeland is obvious with foreign tourists – after the band plays one song from their country, they order more of the repertoire familiar to them.

The Genre of *Starogradska Muzika*

In order to understand soundscape of Skadarlija, its musical essence must be presented. *Starogradska muzika* is a form of folk music, but also a part of regional popular music. Namely, the status of this musical genre fluctuates in different contextual frameworks. First of all, its existence as urban folklore is influenced by urban cultures of the Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian empires. The emergence of this genre was caused by the activity of national romantic composers and poets, which was typical for the art of nations constituted at the end of the Ottoman rule in the Balkans, and that was a part of the construction of the bourgeoisie. The history of some prominent songs was associated with the global popular music of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, so there are compositions of *schlager*, *nota* and songs from other traditions with lyrics adapted to Serbian (translated or rewritten). Production,

copying, spreading and consumption of this music became possible because of the media, i.e. printed text songbooks and sheet-music and, later, records (from 78 rpm gramophone records to present-day digital formats) and broadcasting (beginning with radio). The popularity of the genre also increased because of the general urbanization of society. The result is that there are similarities among urban folk music practices in all contemporary Balkan countries and that they are a mixture of juxtaposed Ottoman and European cultural influences in general. But it is important to emphasize that this music is folk too, due to its specific performance practice which takes place in taverns; this has contributed to its common perception as "folk" and facilitated its absorption into tradition. Also, until the present research, this type of music was observed but marginalized in ethnomusicological and musicological research in Serbia, because it was "other" in comparison to both rural folklore and high art music; in other words, it was popular music.

The musical genre investigated here is profoundly related to the discourse of an idealized earlier time, even in its name. This particular term *starogradska muzika* implies a musical practice that was performed a long time ago, but also that it has been named recently. Musical forms of this genre which had existed from the middle/late nineteenth century until World War II can be labeled as *gradska narodna muzika* (in Serbian, "urban folk music") to emphasize their folk status which was different from rural musical folklore, and to highlight the contemporariness of the genre in previous times. In a narrower meaning, *starogradska muzika* refers to the way these songs are labelled nowadays (those songs that were popular before World War II), and in an expansive scientific interpretation according to emic discourse, to newer songs performed in a specific context (that is, in taverns and Skadarlija). According to the data collected so far, this term became a part of common knowledge because of a need to make an alternative to the genre which became popular in the end of 1960s and was marked as kitsch — the so-called *novokomponovana narodna muzika*. The social meaning of this genre has been discussed by many authors, mostly accentuating its controversial nature in relation to aesthetic values of poetic and visual aspects (e.g. Vidić Rasmussen 2002).[25] What is important here, "old" opposed to "new" is an axiological statement and symbolizes good vs. bad musical taste in local folk music. Interestingly, earlier performances of *gradska narodna muzika* had carried the same level of scorn, but the passing of time gave a special aura to this repertoire. Moreover, even the songs of *novokomponovana narodna muzika* performed at taverns in Skadarlija, a typical place for the *starogradska muzika*, are acceptable. In other words, the discourse of nostalgia helped create a genre.

In short, the general musical specifications of the songs of the *starogradska muzika* genre are derived from sentimental lyrical romanticism and they are characterized by: major/minor scales, diatonic harmonies, a wide melodic wave-shaped range (usually a fifth up to a tenth), predominantly single-part singing (with the possibility of arrangement with accompanying voices), *parlando rubato* or distributive rhythmical system associated with popular dances (guild or couple dances), or a combination of

25 Ljerka Vidić Rasmussen, *Newly Composed Folk Music of Yugoslavia* (London – New York: Routledge, 2002).

these systems, as well as acoustic instrumental accompaniment (*tamburitza* ensembles; *ad hoc* orchestras consisting of violin, clarinet /melody/, accordion, guitar /harmony/, double bass /bass/ – with the possibility of doubling parts), and a stable form of strophes (with possibility of choruses), with rhymed texts based on lyrical themes (mostly about love).

Soundmarks and Signals of Skadarlija: Analysis of Performances

There follows an analysis of the performance practice of *starogradska muzika* in Skadarlija nowadays, as an example of the construction of the sonic ecology of a particular place, achieved through the discourse of an earlier time. After observation of performance context and characteristics of the music performed, attention is directed to the process, in order to reveal how signals and soundmarks (which later become sound symbols for a nostalgic audience) function in the environment of Skadarlija.

Very important for making sound and the "atmosphere of ambientce" of taverns is dramatization of music performance. Performance process in collected material can be observed from the aspect of performance studies, as Richard Schechner proposed (Schechner 2002),[26] because it contributes to important functions of performance: entertains, marks/changes identity, makes community, educates. Here performance in a tavern is described as the most characteristic for this music (as opposed to festivals or media stage performance, typical for other popular music practices). Schechner further divided performance: proto-performance (practicing, workshop, rehearsal), performance (warm up, public performance, contexts of public performances, calm down), results (critical response, archiving, memories). In the data collected so far, the period of proto-performance is very short and not so important in the perception of the musicians. The period of performance in the narrower sense is rather complex. During the warm up, the orchestra stands in one place and plays the repertoire that they themselves describe as *starogradska muzika*. They consider it traditional, valuable, "posh" and they love to perform it. After approximately half an hour of playing, they start to play for the audience in several one-hour sessions until the end of the evening. This public performance is realized in interaction with the audience – they "order" songs will be played and pay for them, i.e. they commodify the music. The dynamics of this are very complex and conditioned by temporary coordinates of listeners, so different forms of folk music are often part of it. At the same time, this is the part of programme which commodifies *starogradska muzika* and musicians need to respond to the affects of the guests. There are songs which evoke nostalgia in lyrics (some of them even devoted to old Belgrade and Skadarlija). Also, there is a special interaction with older audiences and visitors from diaspora who have a special affinity towards *starogradska muzika* and Skadarlija (and who mostly refer to restorative nostalgia, thus giving it a dimension of a longing for their "true"

26 Richard Schechner, *Performance Studies: An Introduction* (London – New York: Routledge, 2002).

and lost home). Thus, it is not only *starogradska muzika* as a broader genre, but specifically these nostalgic songs that function as *signals* and later on *sound symbols* of Skadarlija's soundscape. Finally, the reflection on the outcomes of the performance is the period when nostalgia increases in the reception of the audience; not only by informal impressions, but also thanks to their memoirs and tourist publications based on this discourse.

A typical example of Skadarlija's soundmark is the performance of the contemporary ensemble that has performed for thirty-five years in one of the most prominent taverns, *Dva jelena*. The renowned ensemble "Tamburica 5" (nowadays lead by Miodrag Obradović)[27] performs every evening an opening medley, in a highly typical context of the existence of *starograska muzika* today – in the tavern and at the beginning of the programme, with a specific mixture of songs and dances which are not ordered by the visitors. In the afternoon or evening, they start with popular classical music pieces (e.g. an arrangement /by Zoran Bahucki/ of Johann Strauss's "Blue Danube"), as a marker of the old as universal, classy and educative, and then they move on to the actual repertoire of *starogradska muzika* ("Tiho, noći", "Fijaker stari" etc.). After this introduction, they play songs requested by the audience (even "evergreen", "newly-composed folk music" and folk music from the countries of foreign guests), which represents soundscape signals.

The existence of this musical genre has actually turned Skadarlija into a sonic oasis in Belgrade: nostalgia as an escape from "fast presence" is obvious in the case of *starogradska muzika*. From the end of the twentieth century it has existed as an alternative to the *novokomponovana muzika*, by means of alluding to the past and urban tradition, and enhancing the collectivity typical for the tavern. Aside from the verbalization of this in the lyrics of many songs that constitute this repertoire, the music itself is subordinated to this goal: e.g. with the slow tempo in some songs, acoustic and live performance, as well as old songs that are dominant. It can be said that these are main characteristics of Skadarlija's musicscape.

Aside from the taverns, music is also played in the street itself, thus making Skadarlija's keynote soundscape which can be revealed by recording soundwalk sessions. In previous years, the actor Radomir Šobota was the long-standing drummer-messenger, who recited specific poetry. The tradition of street amusement of its visitors by means of an reenactment of the "authentic" characters of old Belgrade is continued by the actress Ljiljana Jakšić, who nowadays performs as the Lady of Skadarlija, going from one tavern to another and joining musicians with her reciting and singing programme. Today there are also orchestras who perform on the open-air terraces of the taverns and participate in the soundscape of Skadarlija by contributing to a specific music mixture altogether, overlapping with sounds of talking and and the clinking of glasses and plates in taverns.

27 See: "Biografija," Tamburica 5, accessed on April 2, 2016, http://www.tamburica5.rs/.

Figure1: Orchestra of Romani musicians performing in the garden of the tavern Šešir moj, 2015, photo by M.D.

Fifure 2: Orchestra "Tamburica 5" performing at the tavern Dva jelena, 2015, photo by M.D.

Conclusion

In the soundscape of Skadarlija, the nostalgic musical genre of *starogradska muzika* creates a specific urban sonic environment, in terms of signals, soundmarks and sound symbols (as R. Murray Schafer proposed). As a nostalgic practice, it is often perceived by the wider audience as *authentic,* which usually means "indescribable", with a strong impact of the performance moment and the "soul" of a listener, so it is explained from the aspect of performance studies. It contributes to the perception of the environment; it fosters an emotional interaction with the audience and, last but not least, it functions as a commodity in the promotion of the city. All of these make it an important part of the Belgrade sound map and by discussing music in the "Bohemian quarter", this paper has aimed to reveal how a particular musicscape functions, especially influenced by the concept of nostalgia. The article has also demonstrated that field research of musicscape has results in connection with the consideration of the whole performance process of *starogradska muzika*.

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POVZETEK

Prispevek se osredotoča na glasbo, ki se izvaja v Skadarliji (Skadarski ulici) v Beogradu, ta pa velja za posebno urbano zvočno okolje. Skadarlija je turistična četrt srbske prestolnice, ki jo zaradi številnih gostiln (*kafan*) imenujejo "boemska", za to študijo pa je pomembno dejstvo, da v omenjenih gostilnah nastopajo meščanske tradicijske glasbene zasedbe. Že od začetka dvajsetega stoletja glasba tukaj ima izrazit pomen; v gostilnah kot javnih prostorih za druženje so nastopali številni znani glasbeniki.

Konstrukcija zvočnega prostora Skadarlije temelji predvsem na izvedbah *starogradske muzike* (dobesedno "stare meščanske glasbe"), ki prispeva idealizirano podobo "starega Beograda". Ta pri domačih obiskovalcih zbuja nostalgijo, pri turistih pa dodatno prispeva k privlačnosti okolja. V prispevku sta posebne pozornosti deležni tako nostalgija kot tudi poblagovljenje.

Jedro repertoarja *starogradske muzike* sodi v začetek dvajsetega stoletja in se od takrat do današnjih dne kontinuirano dopolnjuje. Pesmi temeljijo na durovskih/molovskih lestvicah, imajo širok melodični obseg, gre za večinoma enoglasno petje, dominirata *parlando rubato* ali distributivni ritmični sistem v povezavi s popularnimi plesi, kdajpakdaj v kombinaciji, značilni inštrumentalni spremljavi sta tamburaška zasedba ali pa *ad hoc* ansambli, v katerih so violina, klarinet, harmonika, kitara in kontrabas, dosledna kitična oblika (ponekod z refrenom), v besedilih dominirajo lirične teme. Značilni sodobni izvajalski kontekst vključuje uvodni del, po katerem publika postane odločilna pri izbiranju pesmi. Torej, interakcija je ta, ki ustvari glasbeno dogajanje in na širši ravni tudi določi "staromeščanskost" repertoarja. Prispevek *starogradske muzike* k zvočni krajini Beograda je predstavljen skozi analizo izbrane skadarlijske zasedbe iz zornega kota performativnih študij. Namen je razlaga gradnje zvočnega okolja, oziroma identifikacija zvočnih signalov, zvočnih znakov in zvočnih simbolov.

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Sounding the Alarm: An Introduction to Ecological Sound Art

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IZVLEČEK

V minulih letih se je kar nekaj zvočnih umetnikov v svojem delu začelo posvečati ekološkim temam in tako prispevalo k porastu gibanja »ekološke zvočne umetnosti«. Članek zasleduje ta razvoj, raziskuje vplive in postreže s primeri umetnikov, katerih delo trenutno definira to pomembno in aktualno novo polje.

ABSTRACT

In recent years, a number of sound artists have begun engaging with ecological issues through their work, forming a growing movement of 'ecological sound art'. This paper traces its development, examines its influences, and provides examples of the artists whose work is currently defining this important and timely new field.

Introduction

What is the sound of climate change?

The groan and crash of a calving glacier as it breaks apart and falls into the sea? The howl of a hurricane as it travels on its destructive path? The roar of aeroplanes and cars as they belch carbon into the atmosphere?

Or is it perhaps an absence of sound: the ever-decreasing variety of animal calls as species go extinct, or the silencing of the once-rich soundscapes of the earth's tropical rainforests?

For most of us, the sound of climate change is predominantly words, most of them overwhelmingly negative: an onslaught of warnings from climate scientists, cynicism

from climate sceptics, empty promises from politicians, scary stories from the media – and, from those of us who care, a rhetoric often characterised by anger, fear, and despair. Add to these the fairly unappealing commands to ration the carbon-hungry luxuries we enjoy so much, and with the best will in the world, it's no wonder that so many of us have closed our ears in psychological self-defence.

But might there be alternative ways to 'sound out' contemporary ecological crises; creative approaches that might capture our imagination, fuel our motivation, and help our tired ears to listen, understand, reconnect, and reimagine how things could be? In recent years, an increasing number of artists have begun doing just that, using sound as a medium not just to raise awareness of ecological issues, but to help us to understand them from new perspectives, relate to them in new ways, and reconnect with them in ways that might just help motivate us to act.

This paper sets out to provide an initial introduction to this significant new movement, which it will call 'ecological sound art'. It begins by establishing its historical context with a brief examination of the various ways in which humans have used sound and music to express their ecological relationship with their environment, from Neolithic sonic experimentations to the use of environmental sound in Western classical music, leading up to the recent establishment of the academic field of ecomusicology. It then turns to look at how the sonic dimension of the environmental movement of the 1960s found expression in Rachel Carson's seminal text *Silent Spring*, the founding of the acoustic ecology movement, and the development of the genre of soundscape composition. Moving on to the establishment of the new fields of both eco-art and sound art in the 1990s, it then proceeds to identify the growing contemporary movement of ecological sound art that exists at the intersection of these fields, but which is currently going unrecognised, and thereby being excluded from the discourse surrounding the cultural response to modern ecological issues. The final section of the paper aims to take the first step towards rectifying this by providing an an initial introduction to the work of some of the ecological sound artists who are currently defining the field.

Sound, Music, and Ecology

The word 'ecology', in its most basic and fundamental sense, refers to the study of the interconnections between the different elements within a system; most commonly, it is used to denote that area of biological science which deals with the network of relationships between living organisms and their environment, or *ecosystem*. Humans have always used sound and music as a fundamental means of engaging with the natural ecosystems they exist within, influence, and depend upon. The field of archaeoacoustics has uncovered evidence of Neolithic humans' creative use of acoustically rich spaces and resonant rocks; and the expression of our relationship with the world around us remains the primary focus and function of sound and music in many cultures throughout the world, such as in the throat singing of Tuva, or the yodelling of the Bayaka pygmies. Evocations of the natural world and our emotional responses to it also abound in Western musical history, in works such as Vivaldi's *Four Seasons* (1723),

Beethoven's *Pastoral Symphony* (1808), Saint-Saens' *Carnival of the Animals* (1886), and Debussy's *La Mer* (1905). Claude Debussy in particular was a firm believer in the importance of environmental sound to music, declaring in 1909:

> *Too much importance is attached to the writing of music, too much to the formula, the craft: we seek ideas inside ourselves, when in fact they should be sought from outside. We combine, we construct...we do not hear around us the countless sounds of nature, we do not sufficiently appreciate this immensely varied music which nature offers us in such abundance...And there, according to me, is the new way forward. But...I have scarcely glimpsed it, since what remains to be done is immense!*[1]

With Thomas Edison's invention of the phonograph in 1877 came the new ability to capture sound and play it back, meaning that the sounds of the environment could themselves be used as compositional material; and in 1924, composer Ottorino Respighi took the radical step of featuring a phonograph recording of a nightingale in his symphonic poem *Pines of Rome*, becoming the first composer to incorporate recorded environmental sound into a piece of music. Since then, many other composers have utilised recordings of environmental sound as a musical 'voice', in works such as Alan Hovhaness' *And God Created Great Whales* (1970), Einojuhani Rautavaara's *Cantus Arcticus* (1972), and, more recently, Richard Blackford and Bernie Krause's *The Great Animal Orchestra Symphony* (2014). French composer François-Bernard Mâche, meanwhile, employed techniques learned from his former teacher Messiaen to use environmental sounds as a compositional 'model', transcribing and orchestrating recordings of birds, insects, wind, fire, and water to create direct musical translations of ecological dynamics and processes, realising John Cage's prescient 1957 statement (paraphrasing Ananda Coomaraswamy) that "the possibilities of magnetic tape...[mean] that we are, in fact, technically equipped to transform our contemporary awareness of nature's manner of operation into art."[2] Mâche himself proposed that this technique might constitute the next great development in western music, exhorting composers to seek "outside man and his own musical conventions the source of a new music, which could be both an instrument of knowledge and intercessor of a harmony with the world."[3]

In recent years, the increasing interest in the connections between musical and ecological issues has given rise to the new field of 'ecomusicology', defined by Aaron S. Allen in the *Grove Dictionary of American Music* as "the study of music, culture, and nature in all the complexities of those terms...consider[ing] musical and sonic issues, both textual and performative, related to ecology and the natural environment."[4] Regarding the etymology of the term, Allen and Dawe explain that "[r]ather than as 'ecological,' the 'eco-' prefix is better understood as 'eco-critical,' referring to ecological criticism, which is the critical study of literary and other artistic products in relation to the environment (and

1 Claude Debussy, François-Bernard Mâche, *Music, Myth and Nature, or The Dolphins of Arion*, trans. Susan Delaney (Reading: Harwood Academic, 1992), 58.

2 John Cage, *Silence* (London: Marion Boyars, 1978), 9.

3 Mâche, *Music, Myth and Nature*, 190.

4 Aaron S. Allen, "Ecomusicology," in *The Grove Dictionary of American Music* (2nd edition), ed. Charles Hiroshi Garrett (New York, NY: Oxford University Press USA, 2013).

such cultural criticism typically takes ethical and/or political approaches.)"[5] As the final part of this statement implies, ecomusicology is also firmly grounded in the modern environmental movement; as Allen states in the conclusion to its Grove entry, "ecomusicology can offer fresh approaches to confronting old problems in music and culture via a socially engaged scholarship that connects them with environmental concerns."[6]

Acoustic Ecology

The modern environmental movement is generally traced back to the 1962 publication of a book by conservationist Rachel Carson exposing the ecological damage being done by the spraying of crops with pesticides. Notably, the powerful metaphor Carson employed for the book's title – *Silent Spring* – was one based in sound, referring to the notion of a spring in which the absence of birdsong acts as the key indicator of the damage done by the toxic chemicals, demonstrating the importance of sound and listening in interpreting and understanding the ecological dynamics of our environment on a personal and tangible level:

> *It was a spring without voices. On the mornings that had once throbbed with the dawn chorus of robins, catbirds, doves, jays, wrens, and scores of other bird voices there was now no sound; only silence lay over the fields and woods and marsh.*[7]

Carson's groundbreaking book became one of the major catalysts behind the modern environmental movement, whose rapid growth over the following decade saw the word 'ecology' adopt a new popular meaning, denoting the study of issues relating to humanity's negative impact upon the healthy functioning of the earth's ecosystems.

In 1969, in the midst of the first wave of the environmental movement, Canadian composer R. Murray Schafer published an educational pamphlet entitled *The New Soundscape* in which he encouraged an aesthetic appreciation of environmental sound, characterising the soundscape as a continuously unfolding symphony for whose content we were all responsible, and speaking out against the ever-increasing levels of noise pollution resulting from modern industrialisation:

> *One of the purposes of this booklet is to direct the ear of the listener towards the new soundscape of contemporary life, to acquaint him with a vocabulary of sounds he may expect to hear both inside and outside concert halls. It may be that he will not like all the tunes of this new music, and that too will be good. For together with other forms of pollution, the sound sewage of our contemporary environment is unprecedented in human history.*[8]

5 Aaron S. Allen and Kevin Dawe, "Ecomusicologies," in *Current Directions in Ecomusicology: Music, Culture, Nature*, ed. Aaron S. Allen and Kevin Dawe (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 2.

6 Allen, "Ecomusicology."

7 Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (London: Penguin, 2000), 22.

8 R. Murray Schafer, *The New Soundscape: A Handbook for the Modern Music Teacher* (Scarborough, ON: Berandoi Music Limited, 1969), 3.

Three years later in 1972, along with colleagues at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Schafer established the World Soundscape Project (WSP), whose objectives included promoting public awareness of environmental sound, the preservation of natural, 'hi-fi' soundscapes, and limiting the spread of noise pollution. A significant part of its activity involved building an extensive library of field recordings in an attempt to 'preserve' endangered sounds and soundscapes for posterity, and to study the ways in which soundscapes were changing over time. Out of these activities evolved the new discipline of 'acoustic ecology', defined by Schafer in his 1977 book *The Tuning of the World* as "the study of the effects of the acoustic environment or soundscape on the physical responses or behavioural characteristics of creatures living within it."[9] Today, acoustic ecology constitutes a significant global movement, centred upon the World Forum for Acoustic Ecology (WFAE), with regional branches all over the world.

The activities of the WSP also gave rise to a new compositional form as members such as Barry Truax and Hildegard Westerkamp began working creatively with the sounds being recorded, creating the new genre of 'soundscape composition'. The compositional manipulation of recorded environmental sound was already well-established as the basis for the related genres of electroacoustic composition and *musique concr te*; however, what set soundscape composition apart was its fundamental principle that "the original sounds must stay recognisable and the listener's contextual and symbolic associations should be invoked."[10] By working with the sound's real-world associations as a compositional parameter, soundscape composers aimed to expand and enhance the listener's awareness and appreciation for their environment through its soundscape in a way that Barry Truax argued could have positive ecological implications:

> *...the successful soundscape composition has the effect of changing the listener's awareness and attitudes towards the soundscape, and thereby changing the listener's relationship to it. The aim of the composition is therefore social and political as well as artistic...[a key principle being that it] enhances our understanding of the world, and its influence carries over into everyday perceptual habits...Thus, the real goal of the soundscape composition is the reintegration of the listener with the environment in a balanced ecological relationship.*[11]

Eco-art

The increasing concern with ecological issues was also reflected in the wider art world: in 1962, the same year as the publication of Carson's *Silent Spring*, German artist Joseph Beuys proposed a work of performance art which would involve cleaning up the polluted Elbe river in Hamburg; and this was followed by works such as Alan

9 R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester, VT: Destiny Books, 1994), 271.
10 Barry Truax, "Soundscape Composition as Global Music: Electroacoustic Music as Soundscape," *Organised Sound* 13/2 (2008): 105.
11 Barry Truax, *Acoustic Communication* (New York, NY: Ablex Publishing, 2001), 237–241.

Sonfist's *Greenwich Village Time Landscape* (1965; realised 1978), which involved planting a forest in a disused lot in New York City (and which remains there to this day); Agnes Denes' *Rice / Tree / Burial* (1968), a ritualistic performance designed as an expression of the artist's environmentalist convictions; and Nicolas García Uriburu's *Coloración del Grand Canal* (1968), in which he dyed Venice's Grand Canal green to protest against its pollution. Over the following years, in parallel with the growth of the environmental movement, many other artists such as Helen and Newton Harrison, Bonnie Sherk, and Hans Haacke all began creating works which explicitly addressed ecological issues. However, for many years these works were subsumed within the general category of 'environmental' art, with critics and curators conflating them with works which utilised the natural environment as site or material, but which didn't necessarily have anything to do with ecological issues; and it was not until the 1990s that exhibitions began to appear which recognised them as a distinct and important movement in their own right. Among the first to do so was 1992's Fragile Ecologies, a retrospective of the past thirty years of ecologically-engaged art curated by Barbara C. Matilsky, who coined the term 'ecological' or 'eco-' art to denote "a new approach to art and nature based upon environmental ethics."[12] Following this recognition as a distinct artistic genre, and in parallel with the sharp increase in public awareness and concern around climate change, the twenty-first century has seen a surge in interest around eco-art, evidenced by a stream of international exhibitions and ever-increasing number of publications devoted to it.

Sound Art

Towards the end of the twentieth century, at around the same time that eco-art was beginning to gain widespread recognition, a different series of exhibitions was curating another new genre into existence: 'sound art'. Sound art is a wide field with fluid boundaries, encompassing works in a variety of media which share a core concern with issues around sound and listening, with sound constituting the medium, material, and/or subject matter for the work. The dividing line between sound art and music can sometimes be unclear; indeed, prior to the term gaining currency in the late 1990s, works which would now be considered sound art were generally categorised as experimental music, and even today the distinction between the two depends largely upon one's individual understanding of the terminology. For the purposes of this paper a relatively inclusive definition of sound art will be used whose scope is roughly equivalent to Leigh Landy's 'sound-based music', defined as "the art form in which the sound, that is, not the musical note, is its basic unit"[13], and incorporating electronic / electroacoustic / acousmatic music, soundscape composition, *musique concr]isteningction art ich facilitate a personal connection with ecologic*, radiophonic works, sounding or sound-based sculptures, installations, and site-specific works. Additionally, since many works fit into more than one of these

12 Barbara C. Matilsky, *Fragile Ecologies: Contemporary Artists; Interpretations and Solutions* (New York, NY: Rizzoli, 1992), 56.
13 Leigh Landy, *Understanding the Art of Sound Organization* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2007), 17.

categories, the general term 'sound work' will be used to refer to all works, regardless of form or context.

Sound works possess a power unique to the medium. Unlike the visual, which is experienced as something outside of the body and at a remove from the self, listening to sound is an intensely personal, sensual experience, that penetrates our bodies, and gets inside our heads. We can become immersed in sound; bathe in it; be transported by it. Sound does not just tell us what is, but what is happening, in our environment. Listening to sound is key to the way in which we experience and understand the world we live in; and it can also be transformative, possessing the power to alter that understanding. Salomé Voegelin writes of the 'sonic possible worlds' that are opened up when we listen to sound works, enabling us to inhabit alternative realities, and offering us new perspectives and possibilities of how things could be:

> *To hear the work is to enter it as world produced from the actuality of its ideas extending into the possibilities of its materialities...the sound artwork [is] a sonic possible world that has a concrete semantic materiality which we inhabit in listening and that we thus build presently from the time and space of our perception, and that we extend in negotiations to build the actualities of the real world.*[14]

Ecological Sound Art

During the first years of the new millennium, as the fields of both sound art and eco-art gained momentum, and concerns around climate change increased, a number of artists began producing work which lay at the intersection of these fields, addressing contemporary environmental issues such as biodiversity loss, pollution, sustainability, global environmental justice, and climate change, through sound works. In October 2006, Joel Chadabe and the Electronic Music Foundation staged Ear to the Earth, a five-day festival of ecologically-focussed sound art in New York which would continue to be held on an annual basis until 2013; and today, Ear to the Earth operates as a worldwide network of sound artists addressing ecological issues, evidencing the existence of a tangible and coherent movement. Despite this, however, there still exists no widely-accepted generic terminology with which to identify this important and growing movement. The term 'environmental sound art' is already in use (as in the recent collection *Environmental Sound Artists: In Their Own Words*), carrying the same meaning as its equivalent in the visual arts – that is, denoting works which utilise the environment as site or material, but which don't necessarily address ecological issues. Thus, continuing to reflect the established convention within the visual arts, this paper proposes 'ecological sound art' as the most suitable terminology for the emerging field of environmentalist sound works.

At present, this new movement of ecological sound art is yet to achieve widespread recognition: all current literature on contemporary eco-art is restricted to the visual

14 Salomé Voegelin, *Sonic Possible Worlds: Hearing the Continuum of Sound* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 53.

arts, while ecomusicological scholarship remains largely confined to studies of popular, classical, and folk music, with ecologically-engaged works of sound art unacknowledged by either field. This has serious implications: its lack of recognition as an artistic movement in its own right means that its unique characteristics are not being engaged with, and that it is being excluded from the critical discourse surrounding the wider cultural response to contemporary ecological issues. The final section of this paper is therefore intended to provide the first step towards rectifying this with a brief introduction to the work of some of the ecological sound artists who are currently defining this exciting and important new field.

Ecological Sound Artists

Leah Barclay is a composer and sound artist whose work reflects her belief that "[e]lectro-acoustic music, with the use of natural sounds exposing the state of the world, could be an unprecedented tool in artists taking action in ecological crisis."[15] Her works are underpinned by her 'Sonic Ecologies Framework', a methodology which involves the realisation of collaborative, site-specific sound arts projects incorporating community engagement and education. Examples of such projects include *Sonic Explorers*, an educational outreach programme which engages young people in ecological sound art; *The Dam(n) Project*, which uses sound art as an activist tool to respond to the destructive damming projects which threaten local water supplies in India's Narmada valley; and *Biosphere Soundscapes*, in which Barclay works with artists and communities to use sound to measure the ecological health of UNESCO biosphere reserves. Most recently, she has been delivering ecological sound works via smartphone apps which respond to the listener's location; in December, this technology was used to realise *Rainforest Listening* (2015) at the COP21 climate conference in Paris, with rainforest sounds being 'planted' around the city with a particular focus on the Eiffel Tower, at which each level immersed visitors in the soundscape of the corresponding layer of rainforest vegetation.

David Monacchi characterises his 'eco-acoustic' compositional practice as "multi-disciplinary: a place where technology and science meet music and art to address environmental issues."[16] His ongoing project *Fragments of Extinction*, sponsored by Greenpeace International, uses sound art to raise awareness of the value of the earth's primary equatorial rainforests. Monacchi uses his own field recordings as the sonic material for his works, using subtle processing techniques to emphasise the natural musicality of the sounds, and projected spectrogram analyses to allow the audience to see the arrangement of the sounds they are hearing within the frequency spectrum. This functions as a demonstration of Bernie Krause's 'Acoustic Niche Hypothesis', which states that in a healthy ecosystem, "each creature...[has] its own sonic niche...[which

15 Leah Barclay, "Shifting Paradigms: Towards an Auditory Culture," *Proceedings of ISEA 2012 Albuquerque: Machine Wilderness* (Albuquerque, NM: 516 Arts, 2012): 22, accessed on October 3, 2014, http://socialmedia.hpc.unm.edu/isea2012/sites/default/files/ISEA2012_confproceedings_WEB.pdf.

16 David Monacchi, *Prima Amazonia: Portraits of Acoustic Biodiversity,* Wild Sanctuary WSI-056, 2007, compact disc, liner notes.

is] occupied by no other at that particular moment."[17] In live performance, Monacchi personally embodies the principles of Acoustic Niche Hypothesis by adding his own improvised part to the soundscape, strictly confining his performance to the available acoustic niches; thus, in his own words, "building a powerful metaphor as of one species that performs within a composite ecosystem while trying to find a balanced, harmonic relationship to it."[18] Monacchi states that his ultimate hope is that "bringing the sound of these biomes into concert halls, and perhaps revealing and interacting with their hidden aesthetic, helps to create an ecological awareness for repositioning our species within nature."[19]

Matthew Burtner, who also terms his work 'ecoacoustic', sums up his artistic practice as "a type of environmentalism in sound...tak[ing] the form of musical procedures and materials that either directly or indirectly draw on environmental systems to structure music.Matthew Burtner"[20] His practice encompasses orchestral, electronic and soundscape-based works, interactive sound sculptures, and direct musical engagements with the natural environment. Many of Burtner's works involve the use of sonification, in which ecological data sets are mapped onto musical parameters which can then be scored and played by instruments, as in *Iceprints* (2009), in which a transcription of a hydrophone recording made beneath the Arctic ice forms the basis for the piano part, with pitch determined by mapping the decline in Arctic ice from 1970-2010 onto the first six octaves of the keyboard, enabling the listener to 'hear' the process of ecological change. Burtner has also combined his ecoacoustic compositions with dance, theatre, and video in the three large-scale works which form his 'Alaskan New Media Opera Triptych': *Winter Raven* (2002), *Kuik* (2006), and *Auksalaq* (2012). In 2008 Burtner also formed EcoSono, described as "an activism network advocating environmental preservation through experimental sound art";[21] and through this he runs an annual 'EcoSono Institute', teaching others to create their own ecoacoustic works, and offers sponsorship and support to other musicians and sound artists adopting the practice of 'ecoacoustics'.

Andrea Polli creates "media and technology artworks related to environmental science issues"[22], encompassing compositions, installations and collaborative research projects which employ sonification as a tool to aid understanding of climate data. Her projects include *Atmospherics/Weather Works* (2002), which used sonifications of historic storms to create "turbulent and evocative compositions which allowed listeners to experience geographically scaled events on a human scale and gain a deeper understanding of some of the more unpredictable complex rhythms and melodies of nature";[23] and *T2* (2006), which translated wind and wave data into

17 Bernie Krause, *The Niche Hypothesis: How Animals Taught Us to Dance and Sing* (1987), 3, accessed on January 28, 2016, http://www.appohigh.org/ourpages/auto/2010/12/21/52074732/niche.pdf.

- 18 David Monacchi, "Recording and Representation in Eco-Acoustic Composition," in *Soundscape in the Arts*, ed. Jøran Rudi (Oslo: NOTAM, 2012), 247–248.

19 Monacchi, "Recording and Representation," 248.

20 Matthew Burtner, "Ecoacoustic and shamanic technologies for multimedia composition and performance," *Organised Sound* 10/1 (2005): 10.

21 Matthew Burtner, "EcoSono: Adventures in interactive ecoacoustics in the world," *Organised Sound* 16/3 (2011): 234.

22 Andrea Polli, "Bio," *Andrea Polli*, accessed on January 28, 2016, http://www.andreapolli.com/bio.htm.

23 Andrea Polli, "Atmospherics/Weather Works: The Sonification of Meteorological Data," *Andrea Polli*, accessed on January 28, 2016, http://www.andreapolli.com/atmospherics/.

image and sound with a view to "increase awareness and appreciation of the beauty, power and importance of the ocean in a warming world."[24] In 2007, Polli undertook an artistic residency with the National Science Foundation in Antarctica, resulting in a book, *Far Field: Digital Culture, Climate Change and the Poles* (2011), and the CD *Sonic Antarctica* (2009), which featured natural and industrial field recordings, sonifications of climate data, and interviews with scientists about the worrying data that their climate research is uncovering.

John Luther Adams composes music which evokes the landscape and ecology of his Alaskan home, stemming from his conviction that "music can contribute to the awakening of our ecological understanding. By deepening our awareness of our connections to the earth, music can provide a sounding model for the renewal of human consciousness and culture."[25] His works are largely orchestral, but have also included electronic music and field recordings, such as *Earth and the Great Weather* (1993), which combines instruments with field recordings from Alaska and the voices of native Inupiat people naming the landscape in their own language. *The Place Where You Go To Listen* (2004-6), meanwhile, is a sound and light installation based upon the real-time sonification of geophysical and climatological data, allowing visitors to experience the fluctuating dynamics of the Alaskan ecosystem as a constantly unfolding piece of music. David Shimoni characterises Adams' work as 'ecocentric', observing that "[i]nstead of making music from nature, in which nature is treated as a resource, [Adams] make[s] music with nature, in such a way that both humans (composer, performers, listeners) and the rest of the natural world retain...a sense of autonomy and creativity in the process."[26]

Jana Winderen is a former marine biologist whose works mainly focus on underwater soundscapes. One of her recent collaborative projects, entitled *Silencing of the Reefs*, investigates the changing soundscapes of the earth's remaining coral reefs and their ecosystems in a bid to better understand them and how they are being threated by human actions, using the results both for scientific study and for awareness-raising public art installations and concerts. As Winderen states, "it is important to hear this field since it is inhabited by beings who have existed for many millions of years longer than our species...it is an issue of respect, of sensitivity and of developing a questioning approach to the environment."[27]

Douglas Quin is a sound recordist and composer whose works *Oropendola* (1994) and *Forests: A Book of Hours* (1999) blend acoustic and electronic musical improvisation with "unadulterated and unedited field recordings, processed soundscapes, electroacoustic instruments, human voice and hybridized sounds that comprise both living voices and electronically generated timbres."[28] His *Polar Suite* (2011), meanwhile, em-

24 Andrea Polli, "T2," *Andrea Polli*, accessed on January 28, 2016, http://www.andreapolli.com/t2/.

25 John Luther Adams, *The Place Where You Go To Listen: In Search of an Ecology of Music* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2009), 1.

26 David Shimoni, "songbirdsongs and Inuksuit: Creating an Ecocentric Music," in *The Farthest Place: The Music of John Luther Adams*, ed. Bernd Herzogenrath (Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press, 2012), 237.

27 Jana Winderen, interview by Angus Carlyle, in Cathy Lane & Angus Carlyle, *In the Field: The Art of Field Recording* (Axminster: Uniformbooks, 2013), 157.

28 Douglas Quin, *Forests: A Book of Hours*, EarthEar ee9022, 1999, compact disc, liner notes.

ploys a wireless sensor bow called the 'K-Bow' to enable the Kronos Quartet to 'play' sounds captured by Quin at the North and South Poles, articulating them through their string instruments. Quin reflects that the process of "negotiat[ing] the technology and relationship to natural sound, and soundscape into music...allows me and the people I'm working with – like Kronos – to understand...the connective tissue that binds us all together as living creatures and beings on this planet."[29]

Walter Branchi composes electronic works designed to complement the natural soundscapes of specific environmental locations, facilitating a deeper listening to, and heightened appreciation of, the sounds of nature. Branchi calls this approach 'integrated' or 'eco-music', explaining that it represents an attempt to stimulate humankind's ecological awareness through "music that goes beyond the concept of the world centered exclusively on anthropocentric values, but is based on ecocentric values... interwoven into a network of interdependent relationships with the world outside... [in which the listener] is not the center of the happening, but is included; he listens to music, listening to the environment."[30]

David Dunn creates 'environmental performance works' which investigate, and often become a functioning part of, living environmental systems. Site-specific pieces such as *Entrainments 1* (1984), *Sonic Mirror* (1986-87), and *Autonomous Systems* (2003-05), involve the soundscape of a natural ecosystem being recorded, processed, played back and recorded again, creating a feedback loop in which "certain participants in the environment – the flies, the birds – begin to 'play' the system, interacting with it."[31] This ultimately springs from Dunn's conception of music as "a conservation strategy for keeping something alive that we now need to make more conscious, a way of making sense of the world from which we might refashion our relationship to non-human living systems...I have a gut intuition that music, as this vast terrain of human activity and inheritance of our species, will provide us with clues to our future survival, and that is a responsibility worth pursuing."[32]

Conclusion

The ecological sound artists discussed here represent the tip of an iceberg that, contrary to most, is growing rather than shrinking. At a time when the world is facing grave ecological crises, yet seems unable to respond, perhaps the most urgent issue of all is finding a way to overcome our collective paralysis; and this means finding an alternative approach to the barrage of negative rhetoric which is causing so many of us to close our ears to the problem. As musician and philosopher David Rothenberg

29 Douglas Quin, interview by Leah Harrison, in Karissa Krenz, "Chiming in on the Relationship Between Noise, Sound and Music", *New Music Box*, accessed on January 28, 2016, http://www.newmusicbox.org/articles/chiming-in-on-the-relationship-between-noise-sound-and-music/.

30 Walter Branchi, *Canto Infinito: Thinking Music Environmentally* (New York, NY: Open Space, 2012), 71.

31 Warren Burt, "David Dunn: Autonomous and Dynamical Systems," in David Dunn, *Autonomous and Dynamical Systems*, New World Records 80660, 2007, compact disc, liner notes.

32 David Dunn, "Nature, Sound Art, and the Sacred," in *The Book of Music and Nature* (2nd edition), ed. David Rothenberg and Marta Ulvaeus (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press), 97.

points out, "[t]hose of us who want our species to pay more attention to the environment will not achieve our goal by only stating scary facts and harboring inadequate feelings of guilt at the damage we have wrought."[33] The arts can play a major role in raising awareness of these issues, in expressing thoughts and feelings relating to them, and, most crucially, in helping us to conceive creative solutions.

The growing movement of ecological sound artists are doing exactly that: working at the intersection of eco-art, sound art, and environmental activism, they are sounding out contemporary ecological issues in a way that enables us to hear and understand them anew; to inhabit new sonic possible worlds that allow us to reimagine how things could be; and to adopt more environmentally sustainable ways of living, not from guilt, fear, or obligation, but from a renewed and positive reengagement with the ecosystems that we exist within and depend upon, brought to life through sound.

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33 David Rothenberg, "Introduction: Does Nature Understand Music?," in *The Book of Music and Nature* (2nd edition), ed. David Rothenberg and Marta Ulvaeus (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press), 8.

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POVZETEK

V zadnjih letih lahko opažamo, da vedno večje število glasbenih umetnikov v osrčje svojega ustvarjanja postavlja naravovarstveno skrb in s tem neposredno nagovarja pereče teme, kot so krčenje naravne raznovrstnosti, onesnaževanje in klimatske spremembe s pomočjo glasbenih stvaritev, medtem ko organizacije, kot je *Ear to the Earth*, združujejo takšne umetnike in tako izpričujejo obstoj oprijemljivega in koherentnega gibanja. Kulturni odziv, ki ga prispevajo k enim najpomembnejših socialnopolitičnih tem sodobnega časa, predstavlja pomemben trend znotraj zvočnih umetnosti, trend, ki mu je usojeno, da bo samo še naraščal, saj teme, ki jih nagovarja, vedno bolj vplivajo na življenja ljudi širom planeta; kljub temu ga trenutno pesti popoln akademski raziskovalni mrk.

Članek sledi razvoju tega pomembnega in naraščajočega trenda, ki ga poskuša poimenovati »ekološka zvočna umetnost«. Začne se z vpogledom, na kakšne načine je človeštvo uporabljalo zvok, da bi se soočilo s naravo skozi zgodovino, od neolitskih zvočnih poskusov do zvočnih evokacij naravnega sveta in kreativne rabe posnetkov naravnih zvokov. Članek se nato posveti uporabi zvoka kot ukrepa za okoljsko zdravje, kakor ga predstavi Rachel Carson v prelomni knjigi *Silent Spring*, in preide k raziskavi razvoja akustične ekologije in pripadajočemu umetniškemu žanru kompozicije zvočne krajine. Sledi opažanje, kako je vse večja skrb za okolje rodila gibanje eko-umetnosti in kako je njeno pripoznanje za poseben umetniški žanr po sebi okrog preloma tisočletja sovpadlo s pripoznanjem še enega žanra: zvočne umetnosti.

Potem se članek premakne k raziskavi o tem, kako je – v času ko sta zvočna umetnost in eko-umetnost pridobila na veljavi – vrsta umetnikov začela ustvarjati dela, ki so bila na križišču teh umetnosti; o tem, da je vsakoletni festival organizacije Ear to the Earth zaznal obstoj oprijemljivega in koherentnega gibanja zvočnih umetnikov, ki so se posvečali sodobnim okoljevarstvenim temam. Vendar članek kljub temu prepoznava, da gibanju še manjka pripoznanje kot tako: tako ni niti dovolj »vidno«, da bi bilo del eko-umetnosti niti ni dovolj »zvočno«, da bi bilo del ekomuzikologije in, še pomembneje, ker nima generične terminologije, preko katere bi ga prepoznali, definirali ali opisali, je v nevarnosti, da izgine med špranjami disciplin. Članek za to predlaga sprejetje termina »ekološka zvočna umetnost« kot najbolj ustreznega za opis te vzhajajoče discipline. Zaključni del ponuja uvod v nekatera jedra filozofije ekološke zvočne umetnosti, njene tehnike in metodologije s pomočjo raziskave nekaterih del umetnikov, ki trenutno krojijo disciplino: Leah Barclay, David Monacchi, Matthew Burtner, Andrea Polli, John Luther Adams, Jana Winderen, Douglas Quin, Walter Branchi in David Dunn. Konec zaznamuje dokazovanje, da je okoljska zvočna umetnost pomembna alternativa vrsti negativnih retorik, ki mnoge zavedejo k temu, da si zatiskajo ušesa pred sodobnimi okoljskimi krizami, namesto da bi uporabili zvok za medij, ki bi spodbudil prenovljen in pozitiven odnos do okolja.

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Maataw – the Floating Island: Performing Social and Ecological Change among Tao People

Maataw – plavajoči otok: Izvajanje družbene in ekološke spremembe pri ljudstvu Tao

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IZVLEČEK

Pričujoči prispevek se ukvarja s plesnim gledališkim projektom *Maataw*, ki temelji na etnomuzikološkem raziskovanju pri ljudstvu Tao/Yami, enemu izmed šestnajstih staroselskih ljudstev Tajvana. Projekt splošno javnost ozavešča o ekoloških problemih, s katerimi je ljudstvo soočeno in pojasnjuje pripadajoče politične okoliščine. Prispevek analizira tudi vpliv tovrstnega angažiranega umetniškega projekta na javno mnenje.

ABSTRACT

This article addresses dance theatre project *Maataw*, which is based on ethnomusicological research among the Tao/Yami people, one of sixteen recognized indigenous groups of Taiwan. The project transmits ecological problems they are facing and the corresponding political issues to general audiences. The article also anlyses the public impact of this engaged artistic project.

I heard someone coming who wants to poison us.
Tao/Yami people are sad, nobody had helped us.
We are not able to resist the foreigners from Taiwan.

Tao singer: Hsie Chia-Hui (謝家輝)

Figure 1: Final scene of the performance Maataw 浮島*– the Floating Island, premiered by the Formosan Aboriginal Song and Dance Troupe (FASDT) on 22nd January 2016. Photo taken by Huang Yu-Shun* 黃裕順.

Hsie Chia-Hui's 謝家輝[1] lyrics, sung at the very end of the dance theatre performance *Maataw* 浮島 – *the Floating Island* (Fig.1) with *anood* (story-telling) melody type, express the Tao/Yami[2] people's acrimony and hopelessness. A lie by the Taiwanese government and *TaiPower Company*[3] sealed the fate of the Tao: for thirty years, they have been struggling in constant protests against the nuclear waste storage on their home island, dealing with poor harvests and facing an increase of cancer occurrences.

The present article describes and analyzes the process of staging an artistic performance based on ethnomusicological and anthropological findings.[4] The performance entitled *Maataw*浮島 – *the Floating Island* recounts the struggle and desperation of the Tao indigenous group in Taiwan. Conflicts and difficulties that appeared during the realization of this production are identified, based on the author's own participant observation and experience from an ethnomusicological perspective. After introducing

1 Taiwanese and Chinese names will be given in the local convention throughout this paper, that is Last name First-name and in Chinese spelling.

2 The term 'Yami' was invented by Japanese anthropologist Torii Ryuzo (鳥居龍藏, 1870–1953). 'Yami' has no meaning in the Tao language. Most local people refer to themselves as Tao, therefore this term is consistently used in the article.

3 This issue will be more detailed explained later in the section *Social and Ecological Change in the Society of the Tao.*

4 For a broader sense of applied ethnomusicology, including the use of artistic production for a general audience, see Pettan and Titon, 2015.

the *Formosan Aboriginal Song and Dance Troupe* 原舞者 and the Production *Maataw* 浮島 – *the Floating Island*, a background information about the Tao people and their traditional environment management is presented, followed by an overview of social and ecological changes occurring during the past decades. In the second half of the article, the content of the artistic production, problems and difficulties that had to be addressed during its preparation, and reactions from the general public and professional critics are resumed. Dilemmas and prejudices that surfaced in the discussions following the premiere are identified and analysed in detail. These difficulties reflect facets of the interconnected and multi-layered power relations between the society of the Tao and the Taiwanese majority context, and not least the intermediary scholars and artists involved.

In order to understand both the problems faced in the production process and the bigger picture of power relations between all involved stakeholders it is necessary to ask: Which strategies can be applied to efficiently deal with initial misunderstandings between indigenous people and urban artists? Can an artistic project like *Maataw* convincingly represent ecological and political issues *of* the Tao, and satisfactory *for* the Tao? And what insights about power relations between the marginalized and the majority can be gained from the discussions raised? How are these power relations (de)constructed and how can they be bridged? These issues are addressed, and some general remarks about the feasibility of artistic productions for promoting and empowering the subaltern conclude the article.

Background

The Formosan Aboriginal Song and Dance Troupe and the Production Maataw – the Floating Island

The dance theatre production *Maataw* 浮島 – *the Floating Island* is conceptualized, developed, and realized in close cooperation with representatives of the Tao. It intends to transmit the Tao people's opinions and emotional statements to a national audience and to initiate public discussion. Therefore, this project serves as an exemplary case study for active engagement in the field of applied ethnomusicology.[5]

The *Formosan Aboriginal Song and Dance Troupe* (FASDT, 原舞者) was founded in 1991, strongly supported by a group of anthropologists, theatre administrators, practitioners, as well as cultural activists, who worried about the accelerating process of social change and cultural loss among indigenous groups in Taiwan. It is the oldest and best-known professional performance troupe focusing on indigenous peoples' dance and music in Taiwan. From the beginning, FASDT has been adopting anthropological methods like fieldwork and conducting interviews; thus its approach to artistic productions is based on a collaborative learning process with indigenous communities.

5 Svanibor Pettan, "Applied Ethnomusicology and Empowerment Strategies: Views from across the Atlantic," *Muzikološki Zbornik* 44/1 (2008): 85–100.

Consequently, indigenous dance and music, as well as culture in general, are presented and disseminated in an innovative and egalitarian way. In order to keep FASDT financially sustained, the *Formosan Indigenous Dance Foundation of Culture and Arts* 財團法人原舞者文化藝術基金會 (FIDFCA) was founded in 2001. By 2013, FASDT has produced close to twenty[6] full-length productions about, and together with, different indigenous groups. In all these performances, FASDT insists in employing only indigenous performers with the declared aim to support and to promote the respective indigenous groups. Because of this attitude and its claim of quality, FASDT has earned high esteem from indigenous communities, artists, and scholars in field of cultural studies and performing arts in Taiwan.[7] At the same time, the dance troupe is a representative example for wider-than-academic applied and artistic research.[8]

The production *Maataw* 浮島 – *the Floating Island* was premiered on 22nd of January 2016 at the Taiwan National Theatre, National Performing Arts Center in Taipei City. The premiere was followed by two more presentations at the same venue, and five consecutive performances in several Taiwanese cities. It was the second attempt to combine contemporary choreography and stage setting after *Pu'ing: Searching the Atayal Route* 找路 (2013)[9]. Nevertheless, it was the FASDT's first collaboration ever with the Tao people. According to FASDT's artistic director Su Huai-Shao蘇懷劭,[10] the troupe twice attempted to work with the Tao in the past, but this was impossible due to a lack of trust between the dance troupe and Tao representatives.

Fortunately, through the initiatives of the anthropologists Hu Tai-Li 胡台麗 (head of the Department of Ethnology at Academia Sinica) and Yang Cheng-Hsien 楊政賢 (assistant professor at National Dong Hwa University), both who have studied Tao society for several decades, the situation changed: since they are board members of the FIDFCA foundation and have by now obtained academic positions of sufficient influence, they could convince other board members to envision a production based on the culture of the Tao. In winter 2013, Yang Cheng-Hsien witnessed that I was preparing a concert performance at Taipei National Theatre, in which I applied my ethnomusicological research findings. The concert was entitled *SoundScape—Island of Human Beings* (人生風景-融合篇) and scheduled on 30th of September 2014. It combined western contemporary art music with singing traditions of the Tao, highlighting the equal quality of both traditions. Four elder Tao singers, five Austrian and six Taiwanese composers and musicians collaborated in this endeavour (details will be available in Lin in

6 Email from Chao Chi-Fang 趙綺芳 – the executive producer of FASDT and anthropologist on 28th of December 2015.

7 Among others: Ta-Chuan Sun, 孫大川. 台灣原住民族漢語文學選集: 評論卷 *(Anthology of Chinese Literature by Taiwan Aboriginal: Volume of Comments)* (Taipei: Ink publisher, 2003). Shih-Chung Hsie, 謝世忠. 族群人類學的宏觀探索: 臺灣原住民論集 *(Discovery about the Ethnical Anthropology: Study-Collection about Taiwanese Indigenous Peoples)* (Taipei: National Taiwan University Press, 2004). Yu-Hsiu Lu, 呂鈺秀. 臺灣音樂史 *(Taiwan Music History)* (Taipei: Wu-Nan, 2004). Ya-Ting Tan, 譚雅婷. 台灣原住民樂舞與文化展演的探討－以「原舞者」為例 *(A deep probe into the aboriginal songs and dances in Taiwan as well as its cultural performances – 'The Formosa Aboriginal Song and Dance Troupe')* (Taipei: Master thesis at Department of Musicology at Taiwan Normal University, 2004).

8 M. Biggs, H. Karlsson, eds., *The Routledge Companion to Research in the Arts* (London: Routledge, 2010).

9 Email from Chao Chi-Fang 趙綺芳 on 28th of December 2015 . More details about the production process in Chinese, accessed on September 1, 2016, http://www.apc.gov.tw/portal/getfile?source=DBE50CC4AED2CB00FAFB9859EF31AC3BF7F73AB93585A98D11C41C37ACAE3814070622CE79EDCE39768D1276B57E0A04D0636733C6861689&filename=BD28F710038776245DA5D67D243E422383F7F4FA9BCA89777AA02517F0CE4F1A

10 Mr. Su belongs to the indigenous group Amis, and his vernacular language name is Faidaw Fagod.

print). Recognizing this event, the colleagues of the FIDFCA foundation reckoned that it was the 'right' timing, and so they decided to compete with three more indigenous performance institutions for the funds announced by the Taiwanese *Council of Indigenous Peoples* 原住民族委員會 in 2014. Finally, an amount of 20.080.000 NTD (around EUR 544.300 by 14th of May 2016) was awarded to FIDFCA for the production *Maataw*. With that, this endeavour became the most ambitious performing arts project in the history of the Tao. It was the first time for the involved Tao representatives to commit to a production of such a dimension and complexity: for the first three performances at the Taiwan National Theatre, 30 indigenous dancers and singers, 4 elder Tao singers, 2 composers and 11 musicians acted on stage, in addition to the production team and technical staff for sound, light and stage.

The Tao, their Environment Management, and How to Learn to Sing

The Tao (達悟), also known as Yami (雅美), live on *ponso no tao*, the 'island of human beings' off the southeastern coast of Taiwan Island in the west Pacific. Because of its rich wild orchid vegetation, the island was named Lanyu (蘭嶼) by the Taiwanese in 1947, meaning 'Orchid Island'. By 2015, 5044 Tao[11] were living on the island, distributed in six villages. Their language belongs to the Austronesian language group. Even though the surface of the island only comprises 48 square kilometres, each village has its own language dialect and traditions, formed by characteristic features of its environment.

Until today, their main food sources are farming and fishing; taros and sweet potatoes are the most common crop, and fish is the most important source of proteins. The island of Lanyu is located in an ecotone zone—a transition area between two different formations of flora and fauna—that is crossed by Wallace Line and Weber's Line. This specific condition results in an exceptional biological diversity on the island. 889 plant species were recorded by 2004, and 54 of them were identified as endemic.[12] According to a study by Wang, Cheng and Pan[13], the Tao use 204 species of plants as part of their traditional knowledge.

Furthermore, the ocean current *Kuroshio* (Fig. 2, also known as *Black Tide* or *Japan Current*), the extension of the *North-Equatorial Current* flowing between Luzon (Philippines) and the east coast of Japan, passes Orchid Island on its way.[14] The *Kuroshio Current* influences the life of the Tao in a most remarkable way: every year between March and June, this current brings large amounts of flying fish passing by the island. The flying fish, in turn, attract various kinds of predatory fish, like tuna and

11 Information based on *Census of the Taitung County Government* in February 2015. Source: Accessed on March 10, 2016. http://www.taitung.gov.tw/statistics/Common/HitCount.ashx?p=D088CF286338ED1CAA2DABF9F30230D85983883B2ECB268361C9582C4E1E356CD28BF2FF8020E830&type=FB01D469347C76A7&s=F32705EE62EB4DC0.

12 Sheng-Fu Yang, 楊勝伏. 蘭嶼植物名錄訂正及外來種植物之調查 *(Investigation on revised and introduced species of Plants on Orchid Island)* (Taipei: 行政院農業委員會 Council of Agriculture Executive Yuan, 2004).

13 Hsiang-Hua Wang, Han-Wen Cheng and Fu-Chun Pan, 王相華、鄭漢文、潘富俊. 蘭嶼雅美族之植物使用方式 *(The Use of Plants by Yami on Lanyu Island)* Taipei: 國家公園學報 (Taiwan National Park Press) 10/2 (2000): 45–51.

14 B. Qiu, "Kuroshio and Oyashio Currents," *Ocean Currents: A Derivative of the Encyclopedia of Ocean Sciences 2 Edition* ed. by Steele, Thorpe and Turekian (London: Elsevier Ltd, 2009), 61–68.

dolphinfish. Therefore, Tao people regard the flying fish as a gift from the gods. One has to be respectful while hunting, and grateful when catching them.[15] The flying fish season (*rayyon*) is of great economic and ritual importance for the Tao.

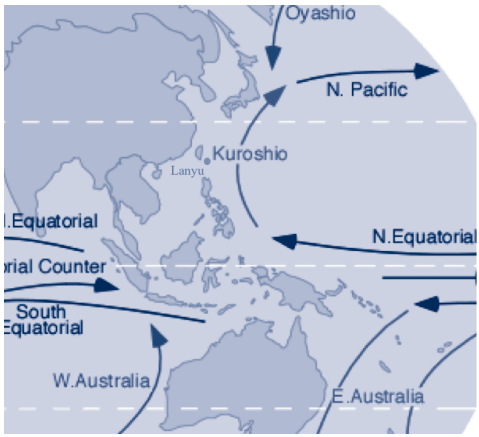

Figure 2: The flow direction of Kuroshio Current, map by Robinson Projection, Lanyu indicated by Lin Wei-Ya.

In order to understand the Tao's environment management strategy, the cultural concept *makaniaw* must be explained briefly. *Makaniaw* is essential in Tao society, defined as "*all behaviours that anger the gods and lead to punishment and disaster* (一切觸犯神譴，招致禍祟的行為。)".[16] It can be translated and understood as a system of taboos. *Makaniaw* "describes the Tao's impression of the cosmic structure – Gods, spirits and human beings have their own visible domains; it regulates the division of labour and food distribution; defines production and its season, methods and process".[17] Following these rules guarantees balance both within Tao society and in their interactions with their environment. Many social norms are therefore based on *makaniaw*. Knowledge about and consequences of the *makaniaw* system are transmitted, re-created and possibly re-constructed through traditional singing practices. But for understanding, creating and transmitting the song lyrics, also great knowledge about the different kinds of fish, plants and animals is as well required. The singing, in turn, is likewise regulated by *makaniaw*, as for example, the time, place, audience and performers of a given song genre are determined through specific taboos.

For the Austrian sound designer and electro-acoustic composer Johannes Kretz, who was involved in *Maataw*, the sound resulting from Orchid Island's biodiversity

15 Fieldnote taken during an interview with Kuo Chien-Ping, on July 13, 2013.

16 Pin-Hsiung Liu, Hui-LinWei, 劉斌雄 & 衛惠林. 蘭嶼雅美族的社會組織 *(The Social Structure of Yami on Lanyu Island)* (Taipei: Institute of Ethnology at Academia Sinica., 1962), 165.

17 Wei-Ya Lin, "The Relationship between the Practices of Traditional Singing and Church Hymns in the Society of the Tao", *Multipart Music– Individuals and Educated People in Traditional Multipart Music Practices*, ed. by Pal Richter and Lujza Tari (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities HAS, 2015), 418. Wei-Ya Lin, "The Relationship between Music and Taboos in the Society of the Tao (An Indigenous Ethnic Group of Taiwan)", *Journal of Creative Communications* 8/1 (2013a): 47–49.

was most essential. He shared his thoughts on 20th of October 2015 during a working period for this production: "I am not interested in supporting the 'authentic tribe performance' like for the tourists, neither in just considering how to arrange Tao traditional songs into 'easy-listening' songs with western triad harmony. I want to make the audience feel the Tao's living environment and be able to imagine its importance and beauty, even though they are sitting in a big theatre venue in the capital city. They should feel that they are on the Lanyu Island."[18] On the other hand, it was a challenge to schedule the rehearsal process in accordance with the Tao's point of view: when and how specific songs can be taught and rehearsed is regulated by *makaniaw*. During the fieldwork period of the FASDT performers on Orchid Island, the native Tao Kuo Chien-Ping 郭健平, the main consultant for *Maataw*, and I tried to accommodate artistic necessities in native context. The performers should, for example, meet with Tao elders to learn the traditional multipart singing *mikarayag* for their performance (for *mikarayag* see Lin 2013 b[19]). But according to *makaniaw*, this singing can only be performed after the flying fish season, that is from June to September. As the FASDT singers could attend only in December, Kuo and I tried to convince the Tao elders to join nevertheless. But because of the taboos, only one elder singer, Lin Hsin-Chi 林新枝, appeared on 8th of December 2015 for the singing class. Of course it does not make sense to teach multipart singing with only one singer. It turned out that the next chance to schedule the lesson would be outside the island, in Hualien city, and without any elders being able to travel there. I suggested that Mr. Kuo should teach, but he declined, claiming that he was unable to sing *mikarayag*. The only solution was to transcribe the lyrics of my field recordings from 2010, and let the performers learn from listening to the recordings during the rehearsals. It was only one month before the premiere that the performers managed to sing *mikarayag* for the first time. As the time frame was too short for them to get ready, four elder Tao singers were requested to sing themselves in the first three performances at the National Theatre in Taipei. Interestingly, it was then not problematic that *mikarayag* was performed in January (that is, before the flying fish season), because the elders explained that the taboos were only compulsory on Lanyu, but not in other places. In summary, the traditional taboos, and the knowledge about songs, the ecological environment, and how these are related to the taboos, and these to places, determined how the production *Maataw* could be prepared and presented in a way that both the requirements of the Tao's traditions as well as the prerequisites for the aesthetic quality of the production could be satisfied and justified.

Social and Ecological Change in the Society of the Tao

Since the 1950s, the Taiwanese government has been conducting policies to 'develop' and 'modernize' the communities of ethnic minorities in the whole country, which also—and in some cases, specifically—affected Lanyu island:

18 Notes on 20th of October 2015 during a meeting with Johannes Kretz for the production Maataw, my translation.

19 Wei-Ya Lin, "Mikarayag: Clapping and Singing Gatherings of the Tao; Individual Creativity within the Collective Act", *Local and Global Understandings of Creativities: Multipart Music Making and the Construction of Ideas, Contexts and Contents*, ed. by Ardian Ahmedaja (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013 b), 232–249.

In the mid-1960s, the exotic trees on the island were considered uneconomical by the Taiwanese government. Therefore, a large number of trees were chopped down, although they had an essential function in balancing the ecosystem of the island.[20]

In 1967, Orchid Island had to adopt the economic and monetary system of Taiwan[21] and was opened for tourism.

In 1980, a deposit for radioactive waste was established on the island with a great deal of corruption and in close cooperation of the *Taiwan Power Company* and the government.[22] They lied to the Tao people that they would build a 'fish can factory', thereby increasing employment possibilities. Of course the Tao representatives signed the contract without doubt. During the following six years, nearly 100.000 barrels of nuclear waste were deposited on Orchid Island. This radioactive waste continuously pollutes the island and its ground water, which was confirmed in 2009 by an investigation team from *Academia Sinica* Taiwan.[23] For the past 30 years, the Tao have been protesting against the deployment of radioactive waste—without any success.

If implemented, the scheduled project 'Special Area (特定區)' for Lanyu, planned since January 2013 by Taitung County (台東縣政府), would deprive the Tao from their right to make decisions about their entire living territory without prior consultation.

Discriminating policies in the past and present have been imposed on the Tao by the Taiwanese—culminating in the installation of the nuclear waste deposit on the one hand, and in severe consequences of uncontrolled tourism on the other. These policies, combined with the effects of an incompatible educational system, cause confrontations and dilemmas between traditional life and the on-going process of modernization. Today, tourism is the main source of income among the Tao, replacing fishing and farming, but the island cannot endure the 100.000–140.000 tourists per year[24] that invade Lanyu since 2013. Moreover, additional ecological burdens such as water pollution, overfishing, increasing traffic and lack of space for landfill are causing severe distress for the ecosystem.

The Production: Performing Social and Ecological Change

Aims and Set-up of the Performance

Maataw aims at displaying and transmitting all facets presented in the first part of this article. For example, abovementioned policies of discrimination issued by former decision-makers were audio-visually displayed and projected on the main stage. Consequently, the theatre plot not only presents the Tao's traditional social values and environment management strategies, but more than anything else focuses on the impact of recent and contemporary policies. The contrast between these aspects should be clearly

20 Hsu Huang, 黃旭. 雅美族之居住文化與變遷 *(Living Culture of the Yami and its Changes)* (Taipei: Dao Hsiang, 1995), 129–130.

21 Hsiao-Rong Guan, 關曉榮. 蘭嶼報告*1987–2007 (Lanyu Report 1987-2007)* (Taipei: Renjian, 2007), 168.

22 Michael Rudolph, *Taiwans multi-ethnische Gesellschaft und die Bewegung der Ureinwohner: Assimilation oder kulturelle Revitalisierung* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2003), 103–106.

23 Source: *Our Island (the radioactive waste)* 我們的島 (談蘭嶼核廢). 2012, Taiwan Public Television Service. Accessed March 10, 2016, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GebCx1TR6Ts.

24 Source from Tourist Bureau of Republic of China. Accessed March 10, 2016, http://recreation.tbroc.gov.tw/asp1/statistics/year/INIT.ASP.

presented and transmitted, so that the audience, initially unaware, gets the point and is moved, or, as Borgdorff writes, "it is important to keep in mind that the specific contribution it makes to our knowledge, understanding, insight and experience lies in the ways these issues are articulated, expressed and communicated through art".[25]

Maataw means 'a floating thing' in Tao language; it may denote a person, a piece of wood or an island. Several suggestions were made, and discussions held about this title. From a Tao point of view, *maataw* indicates the island as seen from the ocean in its floating motion. The emic metaphor *maataw* transmits the dynamic condition of the island as exposed to the ocean's power and similarly resisting the constant threats from the outside. At the same time, the Chinese translation of the title needed to be well designed for attracting the non-indigenous majority. The Chinese translation of 'the floating island', fú dǎo浮島is pronounced exactly like the Chinese term for the Japanese city of Fukushima (fú-dǎo, 福島), with all its associations of nuclear catastrophe. Furthermore, the same pronunciation can mean 'the island infested by nuclear radiation' (輻島).

The title *Maataw* thus guides the structure and content of the performance: it departs from the initial symbiosis of the ocean and the island and leads to radioactive threat. The performance transforms the myths, songs, and dances of Tao people into a stage presentation. Through the theatrical inspiration, the audience is led to reflect on the culture and its central value for the Tao. Although the Tao represent 'ocean culture' (海洋文化; for an example see Lin, in print) in Taiwan, the performance reflects upon the contemporary condition of being human in general. It thereby questions a 'modern' and 'economically efficient' attitude towards nature, while proposing an innovative form of creativity that may integrate tradition, development and ecological sustainability.

The script for the plot in *maataw* was designed and conceptualized by the core team members named in Tab.1, and Figs. 3 and 4.

Function in the production *Maataw*/ Profession	**Name/ Indigenous Name**
***CEO/ Anthropologist**	Yang, Cheng-Hsian 楊政賢
Executive Producer/Anthropologist	Chao, Chi-Fang 趙綺芳
Director/ Theatre-Director, Actor	Chen, Yan-Pin 陳彥斌/ Fangas Nayaw (Amis)
***Tao-Culture Consultant/ Fisher, Farmer**	Kuo, Chien-Ping 郭健平/ Siaman Vongayen (Tao)
***Music Director, Musician/Ethnomusicologist, Musician**	Lin, Wei-Ya 林維亞
***General Consultant/Documentary Maker**	Lin, Chien-Hsiang 林建享
***Composer/Composer**	Kretz, Johannes
Composer/Composer	Wu, Ruei-Ran 吳睿然

Table 1: The core team members of the production Maataw – the Floating Island 浮島 *(2016). The persons marked with * have done research about, or have worked artistically with, the Tao people.*

25 H. Borgdorff, "The Production of Knowledge in Artistic Research", *The Routledge Companion to Research in the Arts*, ed. by M. Biggs & H. Karlsson (London: Routledge, 2010), 57.

The plot of the play consists of a four-set dance and music performance (see Figs. 3 and 4): A traditional lullaby opens the curtain. The scene starts with the island rising out of the ocean. Tao people initiate their annual fishing cycle by conducting the ritual *mivanwa*, which means 'calling the flying fish'. The elders warn their fellows not to break the taboos, which should be constantly kept in mind throughout the whole fishing season. When the ritual celebration is in full swing, waves of tourists flood in and interrupt daily lives and ritual events of the Tao people.

Si Cillat, a young man who just returned to his home island, witnesses the impact people and ideas from the outside bring to Lanyu. While struggling for making his own life as a modern young-generation Tao, he gradually discovers the unavoidable conflicts with and neglects from the outside majority society. He then decides to turn back and deepen his knowledge in Tao tradition with his family and friends, in order to deal with the on-going destruction that results in natural and social disasters, fed by political and economic pressure from the outside. The play ends with the song quoted at the beginning of this article ("Under the Sky Obscured by Clouds"), prolonged into a choreographed collective struggle of the Tao against pollution and discrimination.

Based on his fieldwork experience, the director of this production felt emotionally motivated to highlight the traditional social values of the Tao and elucidate their precious strategies in perpetuating the balance within their living environment. Therefore, a script based on the Tao's traditional calendar (*Ahehep no Tao*), with related rituals and ceremonies was designed and adopted. Despite prior agreement, it was nevertheless necessary to find new compromises during the creative process. For example, the traditional order of months, and with that, of rituals and ceremonies, does not congruently fit the requirements for a staged dramaturgy curve, so the overall sequence of scenes had to be arranged accordingly. On the other hand, Tao elders insisted in truthfulness—in the sense of traditional knowledge—for specific sequences of dance movements and melodies or songs, so these had to be respected by the performers and artists involved. In this working constellation, every decision to be made required careful balance and awareness, because many details about movement and song sequences were constantly questioned and discussed.

Reactions to the Performance of Maataw – the Floating Island

Due to the dimension and the funds awarded to this production, many interviews about the production process can be found on the internet, along with individual reviews and reviews of the premiere written by professional critics or specialists in performing arts.[26] In the following, some of these are summarized:

26 See for example an interview with the director and the artistic director of the production: all accessed May 14, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QQ-PRIQmeTI; personal reviews on weblogs: http://artmagazine.com.tw/ArtCritic/article1434.html or http://zilancho.blogspot.hu/2016/01/maataw.html; reviews by professionals: http://pareviews.ncafroc.org.tw/?p=19064, http://pareviews.ncafroc.org.tw/?p=18969, http://pareviews.ncafroc.org.tw/?p=18960, http://talks.taishinart.org.tw/juries/chm/2016030102.

Parts	Duration	Traditional Songs/Ritual Text	Electronic Composition	Text
Interfering	15'	Lullaby	Transition: from ocean sound to lullaby song	"My dearest child, you should listen to me, I would love you to marry into rich families. During the famine, your brothers will be as lucky (as you)."
Father and Son	4'00	Ritual: calling flying fish	Day Athmosphere: waves, wind; airplane, ship, tourists, motor cycles, drone	"Flying fish on the right hand side, please swim hither, flying fish on the left hand side, please swim hither, too, swim into our vast bay! We use the holy blood of chickens, to smear it on the ancestors' waterway. I wish that many generations of my family may inherit this sea and have a long life."
Floating	5'00	Love Song (Ayani)	Night Athmosphere: waves, wind, geco calling sound	"You broke my favorite wooden digging stick. It is such a pity, because it was made from good hard wood. But my beloved man will again make a new one for me. (He loves me so much, that) even though I lost the bracelet he gave to me,he was not angry about it. Let (the relationship) break up between us!"
Intruding	1'30			
Hair Dance (Ganam)	8'00	Hair Dance Song	Day Athmosphere: motorcycles, human chatting, at the end transition to pop and techno	"(On) the vast and deep blue sea, beautiful boats are sailing. I cannot see my husband's boat. He went to catch the flying fish and dolphinfish. When he returns, our beloved children will welcome him on the beach, but I will wait in front of the house door."
Mixture	4'30	Hair Dance Song (modern version)	pop and techno beats	
"Millet Beating Dance (Mivaci)"	10'00	"Millet Beating Song & Ritual Song for House with Four Doors"	Amplifying the beats and foot stomping	"On the day of the beautiful new moon, we celebrate the rich millet harvest. We wish that all inhabitants will be healthy and may have a long life. When I was strong and young, I went to the mountains for tall trees, in order to bring resources for the four-door house. Hard work brings achievements to my life. I invite family members and friends for a meal with my goats and big pigs. I wish that our offspring may remain glorious and rich."

Fight	20'00	Love Song & Vital Dance		"I miss you, beloved, we are going to be apart. Please take care of yourself. It does not matter, we carry each other deeply within our hearts. Please do not forget me. Note: This vital dance is not a traditional dance of the Tao. The lyrics have no meaning. In the 1970s, on behalf of the Taiwanese Government, the Tao were invited to Taiwan for a dance performance. At this occasion, the vital dance was created, based on dancing styles presented by other indigenous peoples from Taiwan at the same event."
		INTERMISSION		
Flow	5'00	Love Song to the Taro-Field	Field Athmosphere: trees, birds, insects, water flowing	"Oh fields, cultivated by my own strength, please do not grow too many weeds, so that stems of good grass can climb towards the ridge. Because I still don't have a partner, who could work together with me."
God Ritual	6'00	"Sacrifice Ritual & Millet Seeding Song (Anood)"		"Gods, who protect us for generations, please take our rich sacrifice! Let all our family members be like flying swallows, may they gracefully enjoy a long life. Look at the mountain ridge with every step; our cultivated hillside looks like it had a skin with sweat stain. Strong young men tread the yellow mud. Hills have turned into yellow color. Gods, who take care of the land, please protect the beautiful planted yellow millet spikes. When the day of sacrifice comes, we will give you our rich millet harvest, during the most beautiful month."
Crazy	1'00		pop and techno beats	photographing, drone, boats bring yellow bearrels (nuclear waste), drop waste on island, everything changes
Noisy	6'00	"Hand-Clapping Song (Mikarayag) about the Black Silk Cloth & Karaoke Songs in Chinese and Tao Language"	pop and techno beats, motorcycles, human chatting	"I want to tell about my beautiful cloth, which is a skirt with jet-black silk decoration. The jet-black silk is the product of foreigners. The gorgeous skirt will make me noble and enjoy longevity."
Home	20'00	"Under the Sky Obscured by Clouds (Anood)"	Double the orchestra sound	"I heard that someone came, who wants to poison us. Yami/Tao people are so sad, nobody helped us. We are not able to resist the foreigners from Taiwan."

Table 2: The script for the dance theatre production Maataw – the Floating Island (2016) by The Formosan Aboriginal Song and Dance Troupe (FASDT).

In interviews about the production process, the difficulty of establishing a trustful relation with the Tao people is often addressed, for example, to receive their support, or their commitments. One interview quoted the director's experience during the fieldwork: "In the beginning I introduced myself for one minute, and following this, [the Tao culture consultant] Kuo Chien-Ping blamed me for forty minutes,"[27] and further, "During rehearsal, almost after every set, we needed to ask the consultants if the movements would be okay, or did we break any taboos?"[28]

The conceptualized message and its emotional expression were obviously understood by the audience, for many people felt sorry for the Tao's situation. Some broke into tears during the performance. Such emotional expressions could be observed in the venue during the performance, and many people commented on such moving experiences on personal weblogs.

Reviews by professional critics are constructive in general, albeit concerned about, or questioning, the effort behind the unusually high funding and the alleged incompetence of the young director (he was around 30 years old at the time of the premiere). One has to bear in mind that in Taiwan, cultural (and general) governance systems are treated separately for the indigenous and non-indigenous population. Hence, there is wide space for speculating about remuneration, corruption, and spending of funds based on an ethnic distinction imposed by this system. Especially since the most often transmitted 'reality' of indigenous communities is marginalization and victimization, reviewers showed concerns about the potential 'authenticity' of a production that is so well paid.

Besides of these reviews and reports that are written with artistic, scholarly, or popular backgrounds, the effect on Taiwanese politics and decision-making deserves mention. The premiere of *Maataw* at the National Theatre in Taipei immediately attracted media attention, especially in connection with the Lanyu deposit for nuclear waste. Consequently, about one month after the premiere on 22 February 2016, Legislative Yuan member Huang Kuo-Chang黃國昌 raised a discussion in the Taiwanese Parliament about the problem of radioactive waste storage on Lanyu. Coincidently, in May 2016, Tsai Ying-Wen 蔡英文 was elected the new president of Taiwan, and on 1st of August 2016 she formally apologized to all indigenous inhabitants of Taiwan in the name of the entire government. Two weeks later, she promised to revise the records according to the nuclear waste storage on Orchid Island and even announced that the indigenous ethnic group Tao will be the first to receive "autonomy" (whatever this means in more specific terms of self-government) in September 2016. Although it is still too early to evaluate the political impact catalysed by the theatre production and it is difficult to judge whether changing attitudes are connected to it at all, a general shift of national policies towards respecting indigenous societies can be observed with the new president Tsai Ying-Wen 蔡英文 and her cabinet.

27 My translation, original in Chinese: 我開場白介紹講了1分鐘，接下來郭大哥指著我鼻子罵了40分鐘。Source: accessed May 14, 2016, http://blog.udn.com/jabbar66/44302621.

28 My translation, original in Chinese: 所以排練的時候，幾乎每排一段，就要問顧問群，這樣可不可以? 有沒有觸犯禁忌? Source: accessed May 14, 2016, http://blog.udn.com/jabbar66/44302621.

Conclusions

Because of the enforcement of discriminatory policies and a deliberate process of assimilation promoted by the former Taiwanese governments, and due to economic and social change on the island that relate to these policies, the transmission processes of the Tao's traditional knowledge are often interrupted. Among contemporary Tao, the performance of traditional knowledge through singing practices has been diagnosed as subjected to a severe threat of dying out.[29] It is almost impossible for older Tao people to have their cultural legacy kept alive among the younger generation. At the same time, the cultural policies of the Taiwanese government make a sharp distinction between Han-Taiwanese and indigenous peoples. Therefore, the cultural development of ethnic minorities was permanently neglected in favour of the Han majority. This situation calls for innovative ways and projects to recall and adapt traditional knowledge to contemporary needs. In this case, a music and dance performance project was developed and described that should meet these requisites.

In the beginning of this article, the *Formosan Aboriginal Song and Dance Troupe* (FASDT) and the dance theatre production *Maataw – the Floating Island* were introduced. The performance script builds on both traditional knowledge, especially the cultural concept *makaniaw* and its relevance for perpetuating sustainability in their living environment, and recent and contemporary challenges posed by social and ecological change in the society of the Tao. In artistic terms, indigenous dancing and singing practices symbolize traditional social values, while western contemporary dance represents the imposition of values foreign to traditional Tao. Even though the impact of this production cannot yet be fully evaluated, some discussions in the arena of cultural policies for indigenous peoples have been already raised. Most importantly, the problem of radioactive waste stored on the island was echoed in the media and thus received attention among decision-makers. Therefore, considering the questions posed by Klisala Harrison, "does an application [of ethnomusicology] support, change, or contest what certain social groups (and which ones?) consider good and valued? What are the implications and politics of the applications' value content?",[30] despite the still premature quality of evaluation, one may definitely nail down the main impact of this specific artistic application as having pierced what the Taiwanese majority's educated class—the audience of the National Theatre—considers "good and valued". That is, many people of the upper middle class, previously unaware, had to face the dire fate of the Tao, and with them some media and policy-makers. The official tone of Taiwanese media and today's politics is egalitarian and anti-discriminatory ("good and valued"), and the performance put this into question.

Being involved in the theatre production as music director does not only mean that I had the duty to develop an attractive musical concept for motivating the Tao

29 A tool for measuring the level of threat for musical genres called *Music Vitality and Endangerment Framework* was developed during the research project *Music Vitality and Endangerment* conducted by Catherine Grant and financed by the School of Creative Arts, University of Newcastle, Australia. Source: accessed on March 10, 2016, www.musicendangerment.com.

30 Harrison Klisala. "Evaluating Values in Applied Ethnomusicology," *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Svanibor Pettan and Jeff Titon (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 106.

and other-than-Tao potential audience. Furthermore, as an ethnomusicologist experienced in working with Tao, I had to bridge cultural gaps between the Tao team members and those of other providence. And not to forget that Taiwanese and Austrian musicians and composers required somebody to coordinate and communicate. Finally, the conflicts and misunderstandings that appeared regularly needed to be mediated. With all that, in the course of this production I learned to actually experience the prejudices and power relations between the Tao and the majority, and I deeply felt the severe injury that Tao have to bear since they were exposed to the consequences of nuclear waste. This experience clearly gave me a more precise picture of the paradoxical situation.

Consequently, the artists involved in this applied project transformed the problems concerning the Tao people into something "personal—known, loved, feared, or whatever, but not neutral",[31] something that empowered the Tao's voice and made this voice heard and comprehended in the broader public as well as by some decision-makers. Hopefully, the island's ecological burden will seriously be taken into account in the near future. Only if the deposit for radioactive waste will be moved out from their home island, and the problems caused by massive tourism can find a satisfactory solution for all sides, the Tao will be able to independently work on transforming their own ways of life for a sustainable future.

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31 N. Evernden, "Beyond Ecology: Self, Place and the Pathetic Fallacy," *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*, ed. by C. Glotfelty & H. Fromm (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 100.

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POVZETEK

Ljudstvo Tao (達悟), znano tudi kot Yami (雅美), živi na Otoku orhidej (Lanyu 蘭嶼) jugovzhodno od glavnega otoka in je eno izmed šestnajstih uradno priznanih staroselskih ljudstev Tajvana. Tradicijska glasba ljudstva Tao temelji na pesemskem izročilu. S pomočjo petja prenašajo svojo zgodovino, poglede na življenje in opevajo tabuje. Pesmi neposredno odražajo raznovrstne povezave z ekosistemom, ki jih obdaja. Od 1950-ih so vlade poskušale z različnimi dekreti »razviti« in »modernizirati« etnične manjšinske skupine na Tajvanu. Ljudstvo Tao je posledično opustilo posamezne tradicijske prakse. Leta 1980 je bilo na otoku zgrajeno »začasno odlagališče« »šibko« radioaktivnih odpadkov, radioaktivne substance pa so našli tudi izven odlagališča.

Začetek članka je posvečen formoškemu staroselskemu petju in plesu ter ansamblu FASDT in plesnemu gledališkemu projektu *Maataw* – plavajoči otok. Scenarij predstave temelji tako na tradicijskem znanju – zlasti na kulturnem konceptu *makaniaw* in njegovem pomenu trajne vzdržnosti ljudstva v okolju – kot tudi na nedavnih in sodobnih izzivih, ki jih pred ljudstvo Tao prinašajo socialne in ekološke spremembe. Po uvodnih razlagah o ljudstvu in njegovem okolju, se članek posveti obravnavi konfliktov in težav, ki so se pojavili med realizacijo projekta *Maataw*. Kakšne težave se pojavijo pri realizaciji tovrstnega angažiranega projekta in katere strategije so bile implementirane? Kako prikazuje *Maataw* ekološke in politične težave ljudstva Tao na odru? Kako so bila razmerja moči med ljudstvom Tao in večinskim prebivalstvom obravnavana po predstavi? Članek nenazadnje odpira vprašanje, kaj koristnega se lahko naučimo iz te vzorčne študije zavoljo splošnejšega pogleda na projekte, ki se posvečajo ekološkim problemom?

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Traditional Music as the Sound of Space: Examples from Bosnia and Herzegovina

Tradicijska glasba kot zvok prostora: primeri iz Bosne in Hercegovine

Prejeto: 3. september 2016
Sprejeto: 7. oktober 2016

Ključne besede: tradicijska glasba, arhitektura, mestno, podeželsko, sevdalinka

IZVLEČEK

Povezava med tradicijsko glasbo in njenim ambientom skozi obstoječi prostor – rezultat naravnih in človeških faktorjev – se zrcali v družbenem in glasbenem vedenju (elementi stila), akustičnih fenomenih in pravilih ter v notranji arhitektoniki ali strukturi posameznega izraza tradicijske glasbe.

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ABSTRACT

The connection between the traditional music and its ambient through the existing physical space, a product of nature and human activity, is reflected in the social and musical behaviour (elements of style), acoustic phenomena and rules, and in the inner architecture or structure of the particular traditional musical expression.

Introduction

Traditional music of a particular human community is generated from its accompanying space, formed by nature or human, and the ancillary ambient – the physical and nonphysical dimension of the overall context. The architecture of space and the associated ambient cause specific behaviour and customs, the ways of nonmaterial expressions such as music. The ubiquitous liaisons and the mutual conditionality of traditional music and its space/ambient are reflected in social and musical behaviour, or the elements of style, the acoustic phenomena and rules, and finally in the inner architecture or structure of one traditional musical expression.

Beginning with the traditional music of Bosnia and Herzegovina, this research aims to understand the inner rules of the relation between the music and the space of traditional cultures in general. Through pointing out to the differences between specific traditional musical expressions and their spaces, it strives to explore their mutual similarities, with the effort to recognize certain universal rules – as the foundation and the source for the better understanding of the human (musical) behaviour.

Semiotics of Space

"A place is worth for what it is, and for what it can or desires to be..."[1]

The terms "space" and "ambient" are difficult to precisely define, because their value is multidimensional, and depends on the perspective and the context. Space, by definition, is "a boundless, three-dimensional extent in which objects and events occur and have relative position and direction"[2], and the ambience[3] is "an environment, surroundings, milleu"[4], "the character and atmosphere of a place"[5]. Still, a semiotic reading and the phenomenological experience are important in the understanding of these categories, almost certainly coming eventually to the foundation of their (practical) definition – human being, who is the ultimate consumer and reader of the space and ambient in which he/she resides, and dreams.

Traditional music, as a part of particular customs and rituals related to one local context (which is a multidimensional space-ambient of geographical, social, economic, political or cultural factors) is a product of human spirit and actions, *anima* and *animus*, as is the space-ambient of a specific traditional music. A human being provides a meaning to his/her space, or the *house* – the one that is an outside reality and the inside, intimate space, *birth house*. French mathematician, epistemologist, philosopher and "a theorist of a poetic imagination"[6] Gaston Bachelard (1884–1962) stated that "our house is our corner of the world. (...) it is our first universe, a real cosmos in every sense of the word. If we look at it intimately, the humblest dwelling has beauty. Authors of books on 'the humble home' often mention this feature of the poetics of space. (...) Finding little to describe in the humble home, they spend little time there; so they describe it as it actually is, without really experiencing its primitiveness, a primitiveness which belongs to all, rich and poor alike, if they are willing to dream. (...) all really inhabited space bears the essence of the notion of home."[7] Home in this context is for Bachelard a native, oniric one[8], the inner cosmos of a human soul, the space of feelings and imagination, a refuge and a sanctuary, "a body of images that give mankind proofs or illusions of stability".[9]

1 Alvaro Siza, *Zapisi o arhitekturi* (Zagreb: AGM, 2006), 170.
2 "Space," accessed on March 28, 2016, http://www.britannica.com/science/space-physics-and-metaphysics.html.
3 Lat. *ambiens*, *ambient-*, present participle of *ambire*, *to surround*, *to go round* or *go about*.
4 "Ambijent," accessed on March 28, 2016, http://www.hrleksikon.info/definicija/ambijent.html.
5 "Ambience," accessed on March 28, 2016, http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/ambience.html.
6 Sreten Marić, introduction to *The Poetics of Space*, by Gaston Bachelard (Beograd: Prosveta, 1969), V.
7 Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space* (Beograd: Prosveta, 1969), 31.
8 Greek *oneiros*, dream.
9 Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, 45.

On the *outer* side, German cultural theorist Siegfried Kracauer wrote that spatial images are "the dreams of society. Wherever the hieroglyphics of any spatial image are deciphered, there the basis of social reality presents itself. "[10] Furthermore, "the surface-level expressions ... by virtue of their unconscious nature, provide unmediated access to the fundamental substance of the state of things. Conversely, knowledge of this state of things depends on the interpretation of these surface-level expressions."[11] A mere semiotic[12] reading of sings of the outside reality of space is not sufficient without a phenomenological experience of its multidimensionality. One completes the other, but it is additionally transformed by the multi-layered nature of certain context and, finally, individual and subjective perspective of a reader.[13] Certainly there is no absolute[14] image or experience of a particular (architectural) space and ambient, so it is a collection and diversity of impressions and interpretations, through the levels, language and meaning of the physical structures and their contents.

"We (...) have to ask ourselves whether the sense of togetherness has any true relation to architecture, in other words, whether it has any connection with architectural constructs. Because, when there is no mass, football game, theatre performance..., architectural spaces are perhaps beautiful, but endlessly desolate places; there is no greater loneliness than the one when you are alone in a 'space of togetherness'."[15] A human gives a meaning to the space, through its experience, residence and reading. With dreams and actions he/she creates the spirit of the space, its ambient. "In one of his texts about Euro-Islamic architecture, Christian Welzbacher[16] formulated the following: 'A mosque is no more than a space oriented toward Mecca. Everything else is a product of human imagination.'"[17] With our desires, needs and behaviour, we – alone and in a community, define certain physical space that is anyway a construct of our own nature. However, an existing architectural space does not need to have a meaning by itself, particularly if that is an example of a modern architecture subjected to mere function. Of course, "the notion of universality" has a certain role, "making efforts to achieve an independent assembly with the habits and rituals of one's own culture or religion, within which it will be possible to determine one's own place."[18] Still, despite the universal elements of a specific space that point to certain roots, a human being is eventually the one who defines the space in entirety with his presence, by creating and experiencing its nonphysical dimension of ambient.

Sometimes, "it only takes an oak to weave the magic of togetherness around it", an axis which gives "a spatial frame" for the magic of ambient.[19] But, as ambient is

10 Siegfrid Kracauer, "On Employment Agencies," in *Rethinking Architecture*, ed. Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), 60.

11 Siegfrid Kracauer, "The Mass Ornament," in *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays*, trans. and ed. Thomas Y. Levin (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 75.

12 Semiotics, also called semiology (Greek *sēmeiōtikós*, observant of sings; *semeios*, sign) is the study of signs and sign-using behaviour. Accessed March 28, 2016, http://www.britannica.com/science/semiotics.html.

13 Italo Calvino in his work *Invisible cities* contemplates on the ways that a city can be read over again and in various way.

14 Absolute (lat. *ab solutus*) "according to the philosophical dictionaries (...) could be anything (...) that is free of connections and limitations, something not dependent of anything else, that it has its own reason, cause and explanation." (Eco 2011, 36)

15 Tomislav Pavelić, "On Togetherness and Solitude," *Oris* 59 (2009): 155.

16 Christian Welzbacher (1970) is a rewarded German art historian, journalist and curator.

17 Boris Podrecca, "White Space of Light," *Oris* 71 (2011), 36.

18 Podrecca, "White Space of Light," 42.

19 Pavelić, "On Togetherness and Solitude," 157.

generated from the human relation toward a certain physical structure, it analogously emerges as a nonmaterial dimension of a wider spatial image, that reflects a particular human community or society – its culture, economy or politics. This is a context, which is a summary and mutual conditionality of the space and the ambient, multidimensional universe so significant and meaningful for everything questioned by the ethnomusicology. Finally, the source of this (humanly defined) context is the human spirit itself, its *birth house*, which through music, as well, strives for dreaming or creative freedom, in a physical space of a worldly house necessary for the realisation of this need.

Traditional Music of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Urban and Rural Vocal Practice

"Sevdalinka becomes what it is only when true singer performs it. Not in the letter or notes, nor words and sound, but in the emotion and experience lies the strength of every song, and in particularly sevdalinka. It is sung with the most intense feeling, full of emotions. That is sevdalinka's way of singing."[20]

Sevdalinka[21] in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the song of urban environments – cities, developed during the Ottoman rule (1463-1878), and it can be considered that the golden age of its life lasted until the Austro-Hungarian occupation, in 1878.[22] As a "melopoetic phenomenon"[23] and the form carrying a distinctive *charge*, it surely inherited something of the local musical expression, but is mostly leaned on the influences brought by the Oriental Islamic culture[24]. In that sense, sevdalinka became the lyrical monologue of the individual in the city – also the main urbanism unit of the Ottoman Empire, where it acts as a social, acoustic and formal expression of the urban culture of living, in its every manifestation.

On the other hand, polyphonic singing of rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina is much older than sevdalinka. According to one of the first Bosnian ethnomusicologists, Cvjetko Rihtman, the polyphonic vocal expressions originate from the ancient Illyrian times[25], before the arrival of Slavic people in the Balkan region. During his many years of fieldwork researches, conducted for four decades in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rihtman came to a conclusion that certain polyphonic vocal expressions coincide geographically with the territorial organisation of the old Illyrian tribes, having natural borders such us mountains, as their lines of separation. Being classified into the older and newer practice, in accordance to their accompanying contexts, these vocal forms can be a part of the nature cycles (harvesting, mowing...), life cycles (lullabies, wedding songs, laments...) and religious rituals. "There-

20 Vlado Milošević, "Sevdalinka - bosanska varoška pjesma," *Putevi* XIX (1973): 488–489

21 There is no reliable data of the precise time and the way of the term "sevdalinka" came into being, but it is quite certain that the first researchers of the folk tradition in this region, Franjo Kuhač and Ludvik Kuba, do not mention it anywhere. (Fulanović-Šošić 1991, 65) The name of the song is most certainly generated from the word "sevdah".

22 Munib Maglajlić, *Od zbilje do pjesme* (Banja Luka: Glas, 1983), 21.

23 Milošević, "Sevdalinka - bosanska varoška pjesma," 488.

24 Oriental Islamic culture was the culture of Ottoman Empire.

25 Cvjetko Rihtman, "O ilirskom porijeklu polifonih oblika narodne muzike Bosne i Hercegovine," *Muzika* II/1 (5): 6–12.

fore, it can be said that the rural vocal traditional practice is fundamentally social one and particularly functional."[26]

Social Aspect: The Song of the Individual or the Group

Vocal expressions of rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina are characterised by the condensed tone scales, two- (and rarely three-) voice polyphony, with the dominant interval of second treated in the local traditional context as a consonance. The tone relations are mostly non-tempered or unstable, and on that basis, among other, the archaic character of the song is determined. Groups of two to six performers are of the same gender (mixed groups are product of modern times), spatially organised into semi-circle formations. The voices match according to their quality, volume, timbre and they are equalised in every performed tone with the aim to accomplish the sound unity. Communication is conducted through the face-to-face interaction, and often even the physical contact among performers is important, in terms of sensing other's body vibrations during singing.[27]

Figure 1: Traditional vocal group, Prozor-Rama, Herzegovina (source: www.prozor-rama.org, accessed 18.10.2016).

26 Tamara Karača Beljak, *Zvučni krajolici. Pogled na vokalne fenomene Bosne i Hercegovine* (Sarajevo: Muzička akademija, Institut za muzikologiju, 2014), 60.

27 Karača Beljak, *Zvučni krajolici. Pogled na vokalne fenomene Bosne i Hercegovine,* 61.

Generally, "performers sing exclusively with ones they communicate easily in all performing contexts, whom they know well and practice with."[28] Group members, as in the village social community, are in respect of the common or mutual interest, continuously communicating with each other in somewhat selfless interaction. Therefore, we can say that the rural vocal tradition of Bosnia and Herzegovina presents a form of dialogue between members of the group, which is organised, synchronised and coherent.

Opposite to the rural polyphonic expressions, urban love song sevdalinka presents a kind of intimate monologue.

"The word 'sevdah'[29] in Turkish signifies love yearning and love rapture, and its origin can be found in the Arabic expression 'säwda', which implicates and denominates the term 'black gall'. The old Arabic, and Greek doctors considered, in fact, that the black gull, as one of four basic substances which are found in the human organism, influences emotional life and causes melancholic and sensitive mood. From there derives the Greek expression 'melancholy' with the allegorical sense of a direct projection of the basic meaning: *melan holos* – black gull. Since love is the cause of that same mood, in Turkish language these terms are brought into the close relation of a semantic identity, which comes to achieving the conceptual result of a double projection of the basic meaning."[30]

Figure 2: Emina Zečaj, sevdalinka singer (source: www.gramofon.ba, accessed 17.10.2016).

28 Karača Beljak, *Zvučni krajolici. Pogled na vokalne fenomene Bosne i Hercegovine,* 62.

29 "Sevda" in Turskish language means "love".

30 Muhsin Rizvić, "O lirsko-psihološkoj strukturi sevdalinke," *Iznad i ispod teksta: ogledi i kritike* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1969), 190–191.

The term sevdalinka was probably born from the word "sevdah", which was pointed out by the Bosnian ethnomusicologist Vlado Milošević who thoroughly researched this melopoetic form. Milošević wrote the following: "This term was made from the word *sevdah*. As the word itself says, it is the love lyricism. It formally encompasses all the occurrences of a love experience, but essentially in its true meaning sevdalinka is the song of a life ache, longing, resignation and melancholy. Admirers, lovers of sevdalinka are sensible people. They seek something from life, but do not find it."[31] Sevdalinka expressively leaves an impression on the emotional and the psychological constitution, soul and mind, and from somewhere inexplicably becomes the expression of "the state of one who sings the song and the one who listens to it".[32] Muhsin Rizvić[33] notes that sevdalinkas "within their poetic character (...) have in themselves something of an importance of a *ballad*, its dark tragic of painful feeling which was left by some occasion or happening. The difference is that sevdalinka has no action in its distinct development or a dynamic flow, but only an occurrence-event in the subconsciousness, in its full brevity and sidewardness, more as a cause or a resume, from which the significant thing emerges – love sigh as a fateful lyrical-erotic epilogue. Or it represents only the survival of an outcome that occurred, the important fragment of an event, one that carries the full emotional, lyrical potential and results with a moan, cry of yearning and love ache. That is why sevdalinka is, in fact, the lyrical monologue (...), a resonance and a comment of love and life."[34] [35]

The city (in the past kasaba or varoš – a smaller urban unit), as the life space of the community of individuals, is the place of individual speech and expression presented through the *lyrical monologue* of the urban song sevdalinka – monologue that is awaken in an individual and then transferred, in accordance to the introvert nature of this musical form, in the interior of a private or public space of the urban structure.

Acoustic Aspect: The Song of The Urban Interior or the Rural Exterior

In the times when the urban song sevdalinka evolved, cities of Bosnia and Herzegovina lowered down from the medieval heights to the plains and valleys, by the riverbanks and important roads. There, in the Ottoman times they developed into a new form - made according to the human scale, in the proportion pleasant for the human beings, where they felt natural and in the unity with nature.

31 In his article "Sevdalinka – bosanska varoška pjesma" ("Sevdalinka - Bosnian town song"), Vlado Milošević also writes: "'And the forest met with the leaf, and I don't have anyone', says one line of the song that lives even today, known from the Erlangen manuscript. That ultimate thing in this lyricism is the black and hard, incurable kara-sevdah. It can bring to the state of madness in love, that eats with its spite the core of one's own being. That condition takes to paroxysm, into the irrational. Mara from Bišće decidedly sends message to Ali paša: 'If you would propose to me, I wouldn't say yes; If you would marry, I would poison myself". (Milošević 1973, 487–488).

32 Vlado Milošević, *Ravna pjesma* (Banja Luka: Glas, 1984), 8.

33 Muhsin Rizvić (1930–1994) was a well respected Bosnian and Herzegovinian writer and professor at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo.

34 Rizvić originally writes: "That is why sevdalinka is, in fact, the lyrical monologue of a woman, one which on the emotional-subjective plan follows a subtext happening in its abstract flow and after that, the monologue of her own feelings as a resonance and a comment of love and life."

35 Rizvić, "O lirsko-psihološkoj strukturi sevdalinke," 192.

Architectural theorist Dušan Grabrijan, who researched and wrote about the Bosnian and Herzegovinian traditional architecture, of village and (Oriental) city, described the basic spatial organization of a typical Bosnian city, and recognizing its five main units, provided characteristics of the so called unwritten laws of construction in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He notes: "Under the influence of traditional concepts, Orient, and the political, economical and cultural trends, the city of Sarajevo gradually started to form in the valley of the river Miljacka. The city's builders were, without doubt, led by the desire to respect the unwritten architectural laws of Bosnia: the road is the city's spine, and the valley its form, čaršija (economical center) its heart, vegetation its lungs, and the river its soul."[36]

Ottoman Islamic culture was primarily an urban one – it was expressed through the city, with the city being the main element of its further development.[37] Urban zone was differentiated into čaršija – economical/trading zone and *mahala* – residential quarters. *Mahala*[38] presented the private part of the city, and its most introvert element was the Bosnian traditional house of the Oriental type. The house is coalesced with nature, and with its composition, incorporating inner gardens, it opens a small part of the sky for everyone. It corresponds with the human scale, as the concept of the Oriental city in its entirety. This kind of house, of an average well-situated family, has certain standard and usual spaces[39], with the basic division to the male part *selamluk*, and the female part *haremluk*, "male and female gardens, enclosed by high walls and wooden boards, so the faces of women would be protected from the outside glances, but also to be hidden, (...) in their maiden ages, from their own relatives, grown men."[40] Although it carries a somewhat introvert quality, the house within its interior imposes a spontaneous and unwritten rule of behaviour with nobody turning his/her back to anybody. Finally, despite the formal division, the traditional Bosnian urban house of the Oriental type was informally a woman's world. Only there could a woman do what was usually socially unacceptable in the patriarchal ambience of her strict separation, "demanded by the Islamic moral".[41]

36 Dušan Grabrijan, *The Bosnian Oriental architecture in Sarajevo* (Ljubljana: Dopisna delavska univerza Univerzum, 1984), 22.

37 In the 17th century Sarajevo was probably the most important city inland, western of Thessaloniki. Beautiful description of the city was left in his journal by the Ottoman travel writer Evlija Čelebi who noted in his time that Sarajevo has 17.000 houses, 104 mosques and čaršija with 1.080 shops that sell merchandise from India, Arabia, Persia, Poland and Czech Republic. "Since this is a pleasant climate, people are predominantly with rosy skin. At all four sides there are mountain pastures and an abundance of liquid water." One French travel writer of the same period also notes the following: "There are very beautiful streets, wonderful and well built wooden and stone bridges, and 169 nice drinking-fountains." (Čelebi 1996, 190) Intangible cultural treasure of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman time is also significant, and certain data show that before the brutal devastation of Sarajevo during the recent aggression from 1992–1995 there were 7.500 manuscripts stored in Gazi Husref bey library, 5.000 in the Oriental Institute, 1.762 in the Historical archive and 478 in the National library.

38 There were 93 mahalas at the end of the 16th century in Sarajevo.

39 Housing architecture of the Ottoman Empire in Bosnia and Herzegovina was very rich. Its significance lies in the spatial – formal solutions interesting due to the overlapping of closed and open spaces (divanhanas), built spaces and avlijas and gardens. The specific elements of one wealthy Bosnian urban house of the Ottoman type are division to the male and female section – selamluk and haremluk, dynamic disposition, multifunctional spaces and high living standards. The characteristics of the outside shaping are playful facades, cubic forms and accented doksats, full surfaces without decoration, open divanhanas and wide canopies.

40 Maglajlić, *Od zbilje do pjesme*, 16.

41 Maglajlić, *Od zbilje do pjesme*, 15.

Figure 3: Svrzo's House in Sarajevo, exterior/inner garden (source: www.muzejsarajeva.ba, accessed 17.10.2016).

Figure 4: Svrzo's House in Sarajevo, interior (source: www.muzejsarajeva.ba, accessed 17.10.2016).

"On the place where it is sung and for whom it depends how it is going to be sung: for the intimate, narrow, or family circle, but also for the public. That is the estrade singing of kafana which due to the frequent accenting of decorative elements can be distorted into a futile flamboyance."[42] This is how Vlado Milošević writes when he contemplates on "the Bosnian city song" sevdalinka. He makes a difference between the two types of this song, or singing, of which one is related to the ambient of the intimate, and the other of the public space. Similarly writes Miroslava Fulanović-Šošić: "Sevdalinka, as the product of certain socio-cultural environment and time, surviving through the ages of social-historical events, has lived in various forms, in different conditions and functions. It was the song of intimacy, where personal feelings were expressed and melancholic moods were relieved. Later, sevdalinka was sung in kafanas, as well, where its aim was to entertain, but also to awaken the sensuous feelings of guests..."[43] As "the song of intimacy" or the public space, in the context of its performing ambience, sevdalinka corresponded to a certain interpreter. Basically, female sevdalinka belonged to the intimacy of home, and male one to the public context of čaršija or markets. Although both sevdalinkas are *lyrical monologues*[44], first one seems more lyrical than the other. "Male lyrical monologues were sung under the window of a beloved one in the silence of the night and in solitude, or at special gatherings of men with a glass, akšamluci, which began at sunset at čardaci, in gardens, at river banks or generally the places from where one's eye was exposed to a pleasant view." Those sevdalinkas were "because of their lascivious tone, called *bekrijske* or *akšamlučke* songs. Female lyrical monologues were sung in a lonely detachment, at girls' meetings with đerđef, weaving machine or some other form of a handmade work."[45] Women sang to themselves or for the other women "between the four walls" of their home, and their subtle and sophisticated song with a hint of eroticism expressed through a metaphor was the way of liberating female being from the patriarchal socially acceptable frames. Men, however, could openly sang in that kind of society, publicly and of whatever they wished, so their song itself represented the more explicit reflection of that freedom, and was more "relaxed and lascivious" in words.[46]

Rural singing, opposite to sevdalinka which is generally performed in the interior, with subtle voice and from the diaphragm, is performed outdoors, from the throat and with a great intensity, usually with "perfomers standing in semi-circle and turned to one imaginary point to which they direct their voices. As the final result, the sound of high energy level is achieved. (...) In the aesthetic concept, loud singing is obligatory and significant component."[47] Also, the density of the specific interval of second

42 Milošević, "Sevdalinka - bosanska varoška pjesma," 489.

43 Miroslava Fulanović-Šošić, "Melodijski modeli bosansko-hercegovačke sevdalinke," *Folklor i njegova umetnička transpozicija* (Beograd: Fakultet muzičke umetnosti, 1991), 71.

44 Professor Munib Maglajlić (1945–2015) distinguishes in his work *From the reality to the song. The essays of the oral poetry* (1983) sevdalinkas that are primarly "lyrical monologues" from the ones with "local features", and among the first ones he differentiates the male from the female songs.

45 Maglajlić, *Od zbilje do pjesme*, 20.

46 Tamara Karača Beljak, "Bosnian urban traditional song in transformation: from Ludvik Kuba to electronic medias," *Traditiones* (2005): 166.

47 Karača Beljak, *Zvučni krajolici. Pogled na vokalne fenomene Bosne i Hercegovine,* 61–62.

further contribute to the sonority of rural vocal forms, but also the hypothesis that the "intervals are not acoustical but social facts" and that functions of tones, in relation to one another, cannot be explained adequately as part of a closed musical system without considering the structure of social-cultural systems to which musical system also belongs.[48] Finally, with its inner structure, sonority and the manner of interaction between the performers, rural vocal polyphony is adjusted to its environment – living with the nature and from the nature, which "demands an exceptional ingenuity, endurance and courage. (...) The tone and the exclamation dominate. Because this is the singing in the open space where it is difficult to control the sound resonance and reflection, (...) the special technique of shaping the voice and the performance is developed, for providing the optimal spreading of the performing form." Various techniques of singing "are perceived in the performer's consciousness as the primary carriers of the evocative message that 'carry the song far away'".[49]

Figure 5: Village Lukomir, Bjelašnica mountain (source: www.travelbosnia.com, accessed 17.10.2016).

48 John Blacking, *How Musical is Man* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 75.

49 Karača Beljak, *Zvučni krajolici. Pogled na vokalne fenomene Bosne i Hercegovine,* 70–72.

Figure 6: Village Lukomir, Bjelašnica mountain, stećci (source: www.travelbosnia.com, accessed 17.10.2016).

Structural Aspect: The Principle of Monody or Polyphony

Cvjetko Rithman divided the rural traditional vocal music into two categories – the old, or the second (II) one, and the new, or the first (I) one.[50] The main characteristics of the second category are the interval of second, which is considered in the accompanying context as a consonance, and the horizontal polyphonic structure in which voices are equally important – they overlap, crossing one another and most often end on the interval of second, as well. The first category has a vertical structure (as a kind of homophony), with one voice being the lead and the other being the accompaniment. Structurally, both categories of vocal rural tradition reflect the accompanying social organisation of the community where there is, perhaps, one who is the elder or senior, as the one who starts the song (*počimalja/počimatelj*), but he/she and everyone else in the group/community acts, in the mutual respect, for the well-being or harmony of the unit.

50 Cvjetko Rihtman, "Polifoni oblici u narodnoj muzici Bosne i Hercegovine," *Muzika* VI/1 (19): 6–41.

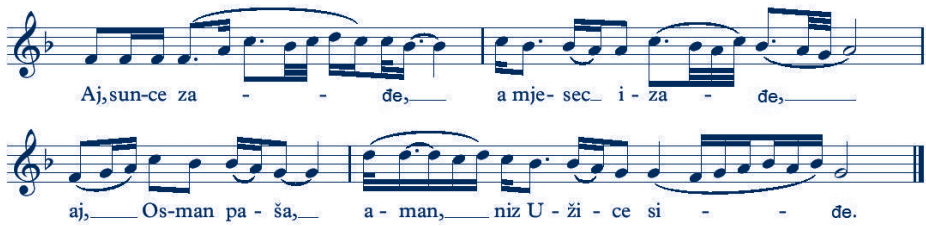

Figure 7: "Oj, djevojko, moje janje malo" (Bradina, Herzegovina), older polyphonic vocal practice, II category.

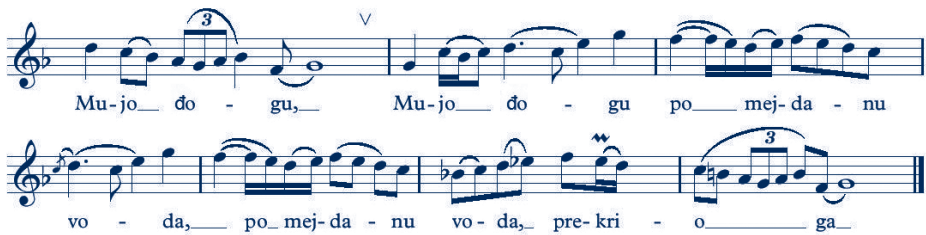

Figure 8: "Preli prelo milo do miloga" (Glamoč, southwestern Bosnia and Herzegovina), newer polyphonic vocal practice, I category.

On the other hand, when it comes to sevdalinka, one must remember the following lines of Muhsin Rizvić, who wrote that sevdalinka is "the song of the Slavic-Oriental emotional impregnation and connection: Oriental by the intensity of passion, by the force and the potential of sensuality in it, Slavic by the dreamy, inconsolable, painful sensitivity, by the broadness of its soulfulness."[51] From the Slavic side Vlado Milošević relates it to the Bosnian "ravna song" or "poravna", for which "he inquired (...) with our sevdalije" and they "told that poravna is the one which can be sung with many lyrics and it is accompanied with šargija and has a typical instrumental introduction."[52] Ravno singing is at the archaic and autochthone beginnings of something that will later become a richer "varoška song" sevdalinka – "ravna song in its development, (...), popijevka on a higher level of evolution", through the process "reflected in the progressive expansion of richness of tones, namely in the tone scale and the tone movement."[53] Sevdalinka became a complex and a demanding musical form, and an auditive experience whose effect, if the song is correctly interpreted, carries an unusual power. Still, sevdalinka is a monodic form, although in its distinctive complexity a great challenge even for the most skilful singer. With its structure of monody it appears like a respond to the urban way of living with the individual as its epicentre, and Bosnian and Herzegovinian urban residential house of the Oriental type as her or his intimate world.

51 Rizvić, "O lirsko-psihološkoj strukturi sevdalinke," 191.
52 Milošević, *Ravna pjesma*, 8.
53 Milošević, *Ravna pjesma*, 11.

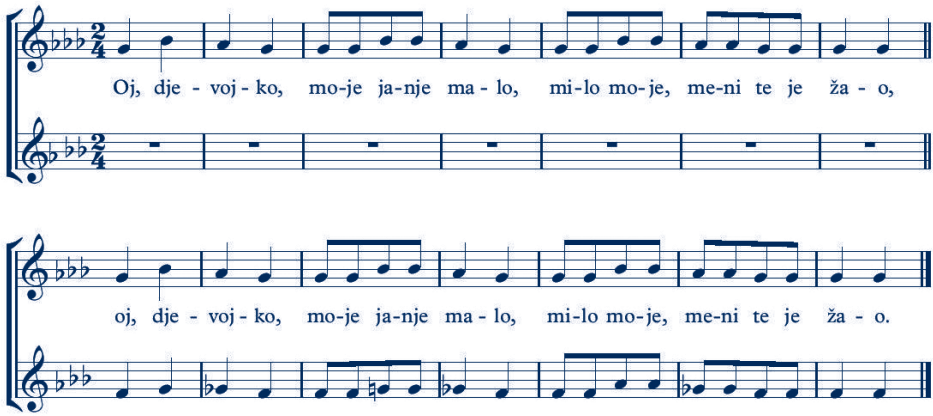

Figure 9: Sevdalinka "Aj, sunce zađe, a mjesec izađe" (Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

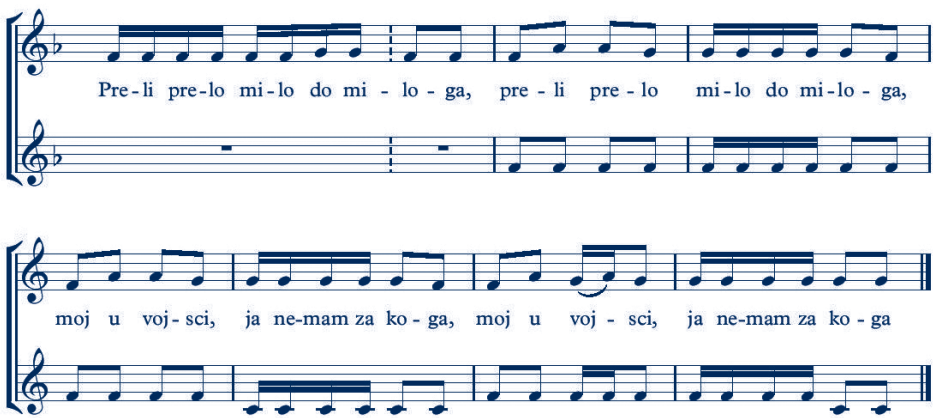

Figure 9: Sevdalinka "Mujo đogu po mejdanu voda" (Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina).

Urban traditional vocal musical practice SEVDALINKA	**Individual**	**Monologue**	**Interior**	**Monody**	**Subtle singing from the diaphragm**
Rural traditional vocal musical practice POLYPHONIC SINGING	**Group**	**Dialogue**	**Exterior**	**Polyphony**	**Loud singing from the throat**

Table 1: General differences between the vocal traditional musical practices of urban and rural areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Instead of a Conclusion

Being an urban love song, sevdalinka is also the voice, or the lyrical **monologue** of an **individual** – the fundamental constitutive social element of the city, which 'thinks' monophonically. Rural communities function in accordance to their 'polyphonic' organization of a **group**, and lacking the technological advantages of the urban space, they are much more oriented towards their natural environment, on which they are directly dependent. Village inhabitant needs the support of the community, due to the necessity and significance of the mutual cooperation in the challenging rural context. This is why the singing in the rural areas is also the kind of **communication**, a tendency towards togetherness and equality, while in the city it represents an intimate, lyrical monologue. Social organisation of the village is different from the one of the city where life is, basically, adjusted to an individual and his own desires and activities. In the social-political and cultural ambience of the city it is very much insisted on the importance of the individual freedom and voice that is also manifested through the melopoetic form of sevdalinka. As the song of human intimacy, sevdalinka is performed indoors, in the **interior** of a home or kafana. Its content and performer condition the place for the performance, so in its most subtle form sevdalinka demands the privacy of a home. Opposite to the rural singing whose **throat** interpretational technique and **high intensity** is intended for the outdoor performance - the **exterior**, urban song sevdalinka is performed from the **diaphragm**, with the **subtlety** corresponding to the acoustic qualities of the interior space. The lyrical content of sevdalinka reflects this intimate ambient, because it carries personal stories that demand an intensive engagement – of the interpreter and the listener. The city love song as the way of storytelling travels 'from on heart to another', while in the village the traditional music is in function as a part of ritual and customs, aimed for the collective and its needs. In terms of the inner structure, or the architectonics of melopoetic vocal forms of the city and the village, their relation to the accompanying social-cultural ambience and the architectural space can also be noticed – from the rural sphere emerge the **polyphonic** musical structure and the lyrical content connected to the ritual-custom practice of the community/group, and from the urban context the principle of **monody** and lyrics that correspond to the lifestyle of a city dweller. Her or his house is the physical space of the song that resonates in the interior to which it is adapted, in terms of interpretation and lyrics, in the city that promotes and supports the individual freedom, while simultaneously producing solitude and loneliness.

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POVZETEK

Tradicijska glasba Bosne in Hercegovine, sledeč njenemu pripadajočemu (naravnemu in arhitekturnemu) prostoru, se običajno deli na urbano in ruralno glasbo. Sevdalinka, urbana ljubezenska pesem, je lirični monolog posameznika – temeljni socialni element mesta, ki 'misli' monofono. Podeželske skupnosti pa funkcionirajo v skladu z njihovo polifono organizacijo skupine in jim manjkajo tehnične prednosti urbanega prostora; veliko bolj so usmerjene v naravno okolje. Tradicijski vokalni izraz podeželskih območij prav tako prikazuje načine sporazumevanja, ki se izvaja na prostem, peto iz grla in z veliko jakostjo, kar je v nasprotju z značilnostjo sevdalinke, ki – peta iz prepone – sovpada z notranjostjo doma ali taverne in je prilagojena notranjim akustičnim lastnostim. Notranje strukture teh melopoetičnih urbanih in ruralnih oblik naposled zrcalijo okolje (naravno in arhitekturno, pa tudi socialno-kulturno); posledično je značilna vokalna polifonija znotraj ruralnih obrednih praks skupine in monofoničen princip in lirika kot izraz življenjskega slogs mestnega prebivalca.

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Bali Healing Ritual in Sri Lanka from a Medical Ethnomusicology Perspective

Zdravilni obred *bali* na Šrilanki iz zornega kota medicinske etnomuzikologije

Prejeto: 29. avgust 2016
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Ključne besede: medicinska etnomuzikologija, glasbena terapija, zdravilni obred *bali*, celostni pristop, kulturna prepričanja

IZVLEČEK

Medicinska etnomuzikologija je nova, rastoča poddisciplina etnomuzikologije, ki na enakovredni osnovi povezuje glasbo, medicino oz. zdravljenje in kulturo. Članek se osredinja na kompleks kulturnih prepričanj v povezavi z umetnostmi in rokodelstvom v mnogoplastnem zdravilnem obredu *bali*, ki ga v južoazijski državi Šrilanki izvajajo z namenom zdravljenja posameznikov in skupnosti.

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ABSTRACT

Medical ethnomusicology, a new growing sub-field of ethnomusicology takes into consideration on an equal basis music, medicine/healing and culture. This article focuses on a complex of cultural beliefs intertwined with the arts and crafts, in a multi-leyered *bali* healing ritual, which aims to restore wellbeing of individuals and communities in the South Asian country Sri Lanka.

Defining Medical Ethnomusicology

Medical Ethnomusicology is a multidisciplinary field that brings together a variety of cultural beliefs and practices associated with music and healing. *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology* defines it as "a new field of integrative and holistic research and applied practice at the nexus of music, medicine and culture. It explores

music and sound across the biological, psychological, emotional, social and spiritual domains of human life, spanning the world of traditional cultural practices of music, spirituality and medicine".[1]

"Inherently integrative, often collaborative, and purposefully transinstitutional", medical ethnomusicology takes into account "localized understandings of medicine, spirituality, healing, and general health care. Music is often a bridge that connects the physical with the spiritual, two interconnected aspects that suggest to anthropologist Arthur Kleinman a 'sacred clinical reality'".[2] It is not necessarily linked to non-Western cultural contexts and research paradigms, but it implies their usefulness for better comprehension of the triangle composed of music, healing and culture. For me, it implies both the new sets of knowledge and understandings on how to prevent and cure diseases in various cultures and their application for the sake of socially motivated causes.

Healing, Curative, and Therapeutic Aspects of the Rituals

Healing, cure and therapy are the three mutually related notions, which are the most important constituents of all known medical systems. *Complete Medical Encyclopedia* of the American Medical Association defines healing as "the act or process through which a person regains the normal structural and functional charactistics of health and wellbeing after an illness or injury".[3] Cure is explained as "the restoration of health of a person who has a disease or disorder".[4] *Merriam-Webster's Medical Desk Dictionary* defines therapy as remedial treatment of mental or bodily disorder.[5] These definitions of healing, cure and therapy seem broad enough to encompass the predominant western medical notion of the removal of symptoms or outer manifestations of sickness, as much as the notions prevalent in Sri Lanka's Āyurvēdic medicine and animistic healing rites and rituals designed to treat root causes of maladies.[6]

According to Buddhist philosophy, a human being should be treated as a whole, as a single unit that encompasses body and mind. Human being cannot be treated or repaired as a machine part by part, a notion nicely reflected by Wigram, Pedersen and Bonde saying that "after nearly 250 years of separation, medicine, health psychology, and music therapy are approaching each other again, realizing that man is not a 'machine', but a complex, bio-psycho-social being".[7] Comprehension of this notion

1 Benjamin D. Koen, Jacqueline Lloyd, Gregory Barz and Kenneth Brummel-Smith, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

2 Gregory Barz, "The Performance of HIV/AIDS in Uganda: Medical Ethnomusicology and Cultural Memory," *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Benjamin D. Koen, Jacqueline Lloyd, Gregory Barz and Kenneth Brummel-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 172.

3 Jerrold B. Leikin, Martin S. Lipsky, eds., *American Medical Association: Complete Medical Encyclopedia* (New York: American Medical Association, 2003), 634.

4 Ibid., 428.

5 *Merriam-Webster's Medical Desk Dictionary* (Springfield, USA: Merriam-Webster, Incorporated Publishers, 2005), 827–828

6 For more details see Kalinga Dona's *Music and Healing Rituals of Sri Lanka: Their Relevance for Community Music Therapy and Medical Ethnomusicology*, 2013.

7 Tony Wigram, Inge Nygaard Pedersen and Lars Ole Bonde, *A Comprehensive Guide to Music Therapy: Theory, Clinical Practice, Research and Training* (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2002), 21.

enables broad understanding of disease in Sri Lankan ritualistic domains, which will be presented in this article.

According to June Boyce-Tillman, "healing is associated with a dynamic model of wellness, which is wider than the curing of individual illness. It encompasses the realization of the full potential of the self within the context of the prevailing value system and is a process of rebalancing the system and can be attained through creative activity".[8] In tune with a well-known proverb that "prevention is better than cure", therapies and healing methods aim to prevent a disease in the first place, and act as a remedy of an illness in the second. In Even Ruud's terms, "... we do not want medicine that is only curative; we also need preventive as well as health-promotional medicine. In a broader folk-health perspective, greater emphasis is put on how the individual may promote his or her own health through health-performing behavior. In addition, we also find a movement toward a more humanistic way of thinking about health, where supplementary and alternative understandings of health, as well as a more critical and corrective perspectives are being welcomed".[9]

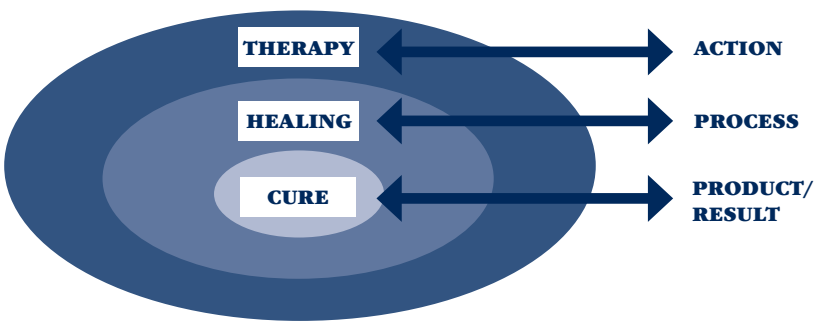

Figure 1: The Notions of Therapy, Healing and Cure.

As presented in Figure 1, therapy refers to an action towards an ailment or disease, healing works as a process of curing it, while cure comes as the final result of it. These three notions are very much present in ritual practices, where busy life styles are negated by the time reserved for wellbeing and focused attention on individuals in need and community networking.

Music in Healing Rituals in Sri Lanka

Healing rituals are often a meeting point of music and drama, in which both serve the purpose of restoration of a psychophysical balance. "The effect of music on the psyche is based on a multifunctional process comprising physiological, emotional, and

8 June Boyce-Tillman, *Constructing Musical Healing: The Wounds that Heal* (London: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2000), 16, 18.
9 Even Ruud, *Music Therapy: A Perspective from the Humanities* (Gilsum, NH: Barcelona Publishers, 2010), 3–4..

cognitive factors as well as on anthropological, cultural and individual conditions".[10] In a sense, healing rituals are related to the notion of psychodrama as defined by J. L. Moreno in the 1920s: "The method by which individuals can be helped to explore the psychological dimensions of their problems through the enactment of conflict situations, rather than talking about them".[11] Just like psychodrama, they enable participants to move beyond the usual therapeutical limits and provide them with a liberating experience of dramatic enactment in an action-oriented yet protected reality, in which problems can be dynamically explored with the support of a director and group.[12]

Sri Lanka is one of the countries with rich ritualistic practices, which are called for in order to ensure individual and communal wellbeing. In addition to cases of prevention, rituals take place at the times of prolonged illness of individuals, epidemics, earthquakes, tsunamis and other calamities. This article takes into consideration only the rituals practiced by the numerically predominant Sinhalese agricultural communities, leaving aside those practiced by Tamils, Chettis, indigenous Veddas, Malays, Burghers, Bharats and other population strata. The data presented in the article result from my fieldwork in Central (Up-Country) and Southern part of the island (Low-Country).

Traditional healing rituals of Sri Lanka are a complex of art forms, which aim to remove deeply rooted fears and forbias and through the catharsis enable building of individual confidence and strengthen communal ties. The main ritual practices are known as *bali* and *tovil. Bali* takes place when the influence of planetary deities becomes malevolent. *Tovil* takes place when Sinhalese villagers fear that devils (powerful non-human beings) are becoming rough and dangerous, making people sick and causing other dreadful troubles. These musically rich rituals are understood as the tools for removal of malevolences (*dōsha*) and for re-establishment of psychophysical balance. They are varied and directed to four principal sources of power: gods, devils, planetary deities, and dead ancestor spirits.

When confronted by unwanted challenges, such as illnesses or natural disasters, communities approach them as situations, possibly caused by a bad *karma*, that require a communal response.[13] Individuals within a community never treat a major problem as a personal issue, which would need to be considered solely by the affected person and his or her immediate family. Instead, all community members get together to discuss the problem, sometimes (depending on the situation) with a native physician (*veda mahattayā),* whose recommendations incite action.[14] The importance of togetherness in the Sri Lankan context is echoed in related claims about other contexts by various researchers. For instance, Penelope Gouk states that "... indigenous cultures will reveal that the whole community may often be involved in the musical rituals connected with healing",[15] while R. D. Putnam claims that "our

10 Wolfgang Mastnak, "Non-Western Practices of Healing-Music and Applications for Modern Psychotherapy," *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 24/1 (1993): 78.

11 A. Blatner, *Acting-in: Practical Applications of Psychodramatic Methods* (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1988), 7.

12 Joseph J. Moreno, *Acting Your Inner Music: Music Therapy and Psychodrama* (Saint Louis: MMB Music, Inc., 1999), 2.

13 Karma, literary means »actions«. *Bad karma* in this context refers to consequences resulting from one's bad actions.

14 *Veda mahattayā* refers to a village physician or a local physician who never had any institutional education or training in medicine. Sometimes he would be a leading Buddhist monk (*veda hāmuduruwo*) of the village, sometimes an astrologer, sometimes simply a ritual practitioner/healer.

15 Even Ruud, *Music Therapy: A Perspective from the Humanities* (Gilsum, NH: Barcelona Publishers, 2010), 130.

relationship with other people will always be an important souce in defining our state of health. One of the single most important factors contributing to health has to do with our social capital, i.e., how well we are integrated into the community – our social connectedness. (...) Our abilities to create relationships and to support each other will prevent social isolation, which is seen as the worst enemy to health".[16] Nonetheless, Heidi Ahonen-Eerikäinen points to the fact that "we need each other and some sense of ‚we-ness' in order to survive and have quality in our lives".[17] Benjamin D. Koen's observation based on his study of Pamiri healing practices in Tajikistan that "the role of individual and group consciousness – the intention and attention of the performer/healer and all participants – can be seen as a key component in facilitating flexible psychological states, which give rise to healing"[18] is applicable to the Sri Lankan healing ritual context.

People become ill not only because of physical problems, but, due to various psychic problems as well. According to Robert Putnam, "our abilities to create relationships and to support each other will prevent social isolation, which is seen as the worst enemy to health".[19] In a related notion, Even Ruud reminds us that people become ill because they "become disempowered by ignorance and lack of social understanding".[20] Consequently, Dorit Amir claims that "Improving quality of life means that as persons we feel better about ourselves, less isolated in society, that we keep the 'right' balance between our roots (past tradition) and our present life; between our uniqueness and the group' identity".[21]

Whenever a problem arises, an individual or a group within a community seeks to discuss it with the community leader or a healer so that the root cause and other relevant facts can be identified. The decision to organize a healing ritual is based on the beliefs and sometimes also on the legends known to the given community. From the begining to the end of the ritual, there is a clear emphasis on a holistic healing, thus supporting Ruud's notion of "a danger in a medical practice that seperated biology and culture as we have seen in our times of modernity".[22] As far as medical ethnomusicology is concerned here, I continuously point out to "cultural understandings and interpretations of disease and illness while focusing on the performative nature of treatment and healing, potentially leading us to a much deeper understanding of how disease is made meaningful".[23]

16 R. D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 326.

17 Heidi Ahonen Eerikäinen, *Group Analytic Music Therapy* (Gilsum, NH: Barcelona Publishers, 2007), 6.

18 Benjamin D. Koen, "Music-Prayer-Meditation Dynamics in Healing," *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Benjamin D. Koen, Jacqueline Lloyd, Gregory Barz and Kenneth Brummel-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 117.

19 R. D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 326.

20 Even Ruud, "Foreword: Reclaiming Music," *Community Music Therapy*, ed. by Mercéd s Pavlicevic and Gary Ansdell (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2004), 11. Even Ruud, *Music Therapy: A Perspective from the Humanities* (Gilsum, NH: Barcelona Publishers, 2010), 126.

21 Dorit Amir, "Community Music Therapy and the Challenge of Multiculturalism," *Community Music Therapy*, ed. by Mercéd s Pavlicevic and Gary Ansdell (London and Philadelphia: Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 2004), 254.

22 Ruud, "Foreword: Reclaiming Music," 118.

23 Gregory Barz, "The Performance of HIV/AIDS in Uganda: Medical Ethnomusicology and Cultural Memory," *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology*, ed. by Benjamin D. Koen, Jacqueline Lloyd, Gregory Barz and Kenneth Brummel-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 172.

Music is an integral part of Sri Lankan rituals. In addition to music, the essential components of ritual events are dance, drama, sculpturing, painting and decorating, costume designing, preparing stage sets and props, and use of masks.

Bali Healing Ritual

Bali refers to one of the principal healing rituals in Sri Lanka. It is dedicated to planetary deities and gods, who are believed to be in charge of peace and health. According to the astrology-related belief, planetary influences have strong impact on human lives. They can be favorable, unfavorable or neutral. This belief is a fusion of pre-Buddhist folk beliefs and Hindu religious concepts, covered with a superficial Buddhist coating. Misfortunes caused by planetary deities (*graha dōsha*) in an unfavourable astrological period (*apala kālaya*) call for the *bali* ritual, which is supposed to alleviate these misfortunes.[24] According to Seneviratne, the origin of Sinhalese *bali* ritual goes back to the Kōtte period in the 15th century.[25][26]

Table 1 provides the names of planetary deities with translations, each deity's direction of overlordship, associated color, and symbol. Authors such as Prēmakumāra de Silva add to this list several other markers, including preferred food (*bhōjana*), weapon (āyudha), gem (*mānik*) and tree (*ruksha*) of each deity.[27]

Name of the Planetary Deity	Literal Translation	Direction of Overlordship	Color	Symbol
Ravi	Sun	East	Red	Horse
Chandra or Sandu	Moon	North-West	White	Elephant
Kuja or Angaharu	Mars	South	Red	Peacock
Budha	Mercury	North	Green	Buffalo
Guru or Brahaspathi	Jupiter	North-East	Yellow	Human
Sukra or Sikuru	Venus	South-East	Rose	Ox or Bull
Shani or Senasuru	Saturn	West	Blue	Crow
Rāhu	Dragon's head	South-West	Black	Horse
Kētu	Dragon's tail	Nadir (Pāthāla)	Ash	Lotus

Table 1: List of Planetary Deities.

24 *Apala* refers to what is culturally (astrologically) perceived as evil or malefic influences of planets and *apala kālaya* refers to a time period during which these influences affect a particular person.

25 Anurādha Seneviratne, "Udarata Bali Yāgaya," [Bali Ritual of Up-country] *Lankāwe Bali Shānti Karma* [Bali Rituals in Sri Lanka], ed. by Jayantha Amarasinghe (Colombo: S. Godage publishers, 2007), 126.

26 Ratnasēkara suggests that *bali* has only been modernized in the Kōtte period (2000: 6), while Lionel Bentaragē claims that *bali* rituals were practised by Brahmins, and that Sinhalese localized them during the Kōtte period (2007: 73). See Kalinga Dona (2013: 70–77) for more data.

27 D. A. Premakumara de Silva, *Glabalization and the Transforamtion of Planetary Rituals in Southern Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Interantional Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2000), 25.

Exact time of birth of every child is carefully documented and an astrologer is asked to cast the child's horoscope. In times of illnesses and difficulties the predictions help to comfort the sick and console the depressed. It is believed that any matter of importance requires auspicious time for action. Taking a human being for his or her first outing, reading letters, cutting hair, arrival to school, menstruation, marriage, building a house, opening a business or any new beginning and funeral are some of the occasions at which evil consequences should be avoided. People believe that astrologers know how to avert dangers and provide remedies for certain dangers and illnesses.[28]

Up-country *bali* in the central part of Sri Lanka is considered the most vibrant of all regional varieties. J. E. Sēdaraman claims that "its purity can be seen only in *Udarata*".[29] Dissānāyake and Rājapakshe confirm the existence of five regionally distinctive *bali* rituals: Udarata, Pahatarata, Sabaragamuwa, Ūva and Nuwara Kalaviya.[30]

While casting one's horoscope, the astrologer finds out the types of misfortunes to be expected and advices the client about the rituals which have to be performed to avert them. He also prepares a list of practices to be avoided (*tahanchi*) for the sake of self-purification, concentration and spiritual empowerment (for instance, to be strictly avoided are alcohol, meat, and any ethically questionable deeds) and a list of offerings (*pooja*), and recommends the appropriate ritual for the treatment of the present situation.

Not unlike other ritual practices in Sri Lanka, *bali* requires long preparations, which may last for several days. Special structures should be erected in an outdoor space for the ceremony where the whole community will gather.[31] On the ritual day, healer comes to the patient's house to make final arrangements and ensure presence of all required components for the ritual. At the auspicious time, he blesses the clay from which the images of deities associated with the planets will be moulded. Other decorative sets will be made out of natural ingredients, too. In Gunawardhena's words, "Large clay effigies, sometimes as tall as three meters, representing the planetary deities are constructed in bas-relief fashion, and mounted in upright position before the commencement of the ceremony".[32] Once the images are completed, they are painted in bright colours, such as red, yellow, blue, white, green, and black.[33]

There are two types of *bali*: (1) *kada bali*, in which the planatery deities are depicted on a large cloth, and (2) ämbum bali, in which the images of the deities are moulded in clay, painted and placed on a frame. The choice of the type of *bali* depends on the affordability of the client (comp. Dissanayake[34]). The moulded figures are bigger than normal human size. The ritual requires a characteristic image (picture 1), flower altar

28 Compare: Wijēsēkera, 1987, 14.

29 J. E. Sedaraman, *Bali Upatha* [The Origin of Bali] (Colombo: M. D. Gunasena Publishers, 1964), 7.

30 Mudiyanse Dissanayake, "Nuwara Kalāviyē Bali Yaga Visheshata" [Varieties of Bali Ritual in Nuwara Kalāviyē], *Lankāwe Bali Shānti Karma* [Bali ritual in Sri Lanka], ed. by Jayantha Amarasinghe (Colombo: S. Godage Publishers, 2007), 51–52. Shriyani Rājapakshe, "Kathina Baliya Hā Ehi Vishēshatā, " [The Specialities of *Kathina Bali*] *Samajja Sanhitā* I/IV, ed. by Mudiyanse Dissānāyake (Colombo: Department of Dancing, Institute of Aesthetic Studies, 2000), 118–119.

31 In the past, paddy fields were most often used as the ritual arena.

32 A. J. Gunawardhena, *Theatre in Sri Lanka* (Colombo: Department of Cultural Affairs, 1976), 6.

33 The colors are associated with particular planets (see table 1). They also attract the attention of the public and increase the visibility of the image in a relatively dark environment during the night.

34 Mudiyanse Dissanayake, "Nuwara Kalāviyē Bali Yaga Visheshata" [Varieties of Bali Ritual in Nuwara Kalāviyē], *Lankāwe Bali Shānti Karma* [Bali ritual in Sri Lanka], ed. by Jayantha Amarasinghe (Colombo: S. Godage Publishers, 2007), 50–51.

mal yahan (picture 2), altar for food offerings (picture 3), plantain stems, tender leaves of the coconut palm (*gok-kola*), and coconut and areca-nut inflorescences. Coconut leaves and banana barks are composite ceremonial appliances at folk cults.[35] For the sake of consistency, all pictures used in this article refer to a single `ämbum bali` ritual event that took place at the patient's compound in the village of Ämbokka, Matale district, on 2nd August 2007. The pictures were taken by the author of the article as a part of the documentation process.

Figure 2: An ämbum bali image in upright position.

Figure 3: Flower altar.

35 M. D. Rāghavan, *Sinhala Nätum* [Dances of the Sinhalese] (Colombo: M. D. Gunasena and Company, 1967), 3. Obēysēkere, 1999, 88.

Figure 4: Food altar (in the back).

Ritual starts in the evening of a day recommended by astrologer. Buddha is invoked to dispel evil and the ritual starts by offering homage to the Buddha, *Dhamma*[36] and the *Sangha*.[37][38] The patient is seated on a mat, in front of the *bali* image and two virgins are seated on either side (picture 4). Music is present during the entire ritual, all night long. Chanting the mantras is followed by singing of short poems, drumming on up-country *gäta bera* drums, dancing, playing of *vajra miniya* handbells (picture 5), and other sound offerings such as on a *sak* conch shells and by anklets which are believed to be the medium of connecting planetary world and human world.

Figure 5: Patient (in the middle) and two virgins Picture 5: Vajra miniya handbell (at either side) sitting on a mat during the ritual.

36 *Dhamma* refers to Buddha's preaching.
37 *Sangha* refers to Buddhist monks.
38 Vinnie Vitārana, "Bali Yāgaya," [Bali Ritual] *Lankāwe Bali Shānti Karma* [Bali Ritual in Sri Lanka], ed. by Jayantha Amarasinghe (Colombo: S. Godage publishers, 2007), 34.

Food offerings, inscense offerings, and other ancillary performing arts are provided to planetary deities throughout the ritual. The healer recites several stanzas each of which is followed by a choral recitation of a blessing[39] started by the two virgins' wishes for a long life. At the end of the ritual, the patient's receipt of protection from the evil influences is symbolized by the *pirit huya* ritual thread tied around his/her wrist. It is believed that the *bali* ritual provides mental strength to a weak individual. Once the ritual is over, all carefully moulded planetary images are destroyed, which symbolizes the total eradication of the evil influences of the planetary deities.

Healers' costumes for *bali* are more intricately elaborated than for other rituals, including the earlier mentioned *tovil*. Costumes of the healer and the dancers in *bali* are the same. Up-country people wear headdresses, colorful earings, bangles, anklets, and necklesses decorated with red ribons, beeds and pearls. The main healer (picture 6), dancers and drum accompanists always wear white color in *bali*, because this color symbolizes cleanliness, spiritual purity, and devotion. Seen as authorities with exemplary power to communicate with the intangible world, they expect their patients to be dressed in white as well.

Figure 6: The main healer of the Bali ritual.

Healers are in most cases associated with the lower social strata.[40] At the same time, they are highly respected due to their perceived purity and power to heal sickness. Women are considered unsuitable for the role of healers because of their widely perceived physiological uncleanliness caused by their menstrual periods. Maturity and wisdom acquired through the aging process are widely regarded as necessary for the role of a healer. Consequently, there are no young healers.

Rhythms provided by the drummers, commonly three or more, create a distinctive soundscape for healer, patient and community members. Performance of recitations,

39 This is contained in the phrase Āyubō wēwā, meaning "May you have a long life!"

40 This fact is not considered important by Sri Lankan communities of today.

playing of musical instruments, burning incense sticks, and the use of *dummala* incense powder and *pandam* torches[41] all help to open up and maintain a channel of communication between the perceived two worlds: one of the planetary deities and the other of the humans involved in the ritual. According to Anne Sheeran, "Drummer-dancers use hand-held bells to create an encompassing sonic envelope; they move gently and quietly, with their feet supposedly never lifted from the floor. Even the singing in parallel fourths, perhaps somewhat jarring to the unaccustomed ear, helps to delineate an arena of peace and tranquility".[42] *Bali* in the Up-country areas features antiphonal singing while in the Low-country areas there is more emphasis on dance accompanied by intense drumming. In words of a drummer and senior lecturer Karunāratne Bandāra, "sound of the bass-drum directly affects one's heart in Low-country rituals. Strokes named *gum* or *gugunda* are essential. People achieve the state of trance thanks to these bass sounds" (personal communication, 2007).

In fact, Sri Lankans rather seldom get a chance to adjust their bodies and minds to a continuous musical rhythm for many hours, except at the rather recent young generations' rave parties. Ritualistic events provide people with the extraordinary opportunity to harmonize their bodies and minds throughout the nightlong period. The sound environment created by repetitive drum patterns can be compared to the experience of meditation in the sense of undisturbed mental move. The whole ritual event can be compared to a surgical operation, at which a specialist (medical doctor), assisted by nurses and other personnel, works for an extended period of time to re-direct harmful development in the patient's body. In the ritual context, a healing specialist, assisted by dancers, drummers, and other helpers, works for more than twelve hours to restore harmony in the patient's system.[43]

Stirring of the body creates an inner state of flow and resonance in tune with musical patterning. Fritjof Capra claims that the illness originates in the lack of integration of rhythmic patterns (comp. Capra[44]). From this perspective, synchrony becomes an important measure of health. Individual organisms interact and communicate with one another by synchronizing their rhythms and thus integrating themselves into larger rhythms of their environment. To be healthy means to be in synchrony with oneself and with the surrounding world. When a person is out of synchrony, illness is likely to occur. It is customary for the healer to work closely with musical assistant, who provides the rhythmic accompaniment.[45] According to Erich Fromm, many esoteric traditions associate health with the synchrony of rhythms and healing with a certain resonance between healer and patient (comp. Fromm[46]). E. T. Gaston considered that this concept contributed to the early acceptance of music therapy, the discipline being grounded in very basic patterns of human behavior.[47]

41 *Pandam* refers to natural torches made of wooden sticks rapped in clothes. In the course of the ritual, the healer used these torches, soaked in kerosene oil to provide necessary light in the ritual arena.

42 Anne Sheeran, "Sri Lanka," *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music. Vol.5: South Asia, The Indian Subcontinent*, ed. by Alison Arnold (New York: Garland, 2000), 962.

43 More information can be found in Kalinga Dona, 2010.

44 Fritjof Capra, *The Tao of Physics* (Boston: Shambhala, 1985).

45 Leslie Bunt, *Music Therapy: An Art Beyond Words* (London: Routledge, 1994), 185.

46 Erich Fromm, D. T. Suzuki and Richard de Martino, *Zen Buddhism and Psychoanalysis* (New York: Harpercollins, 1970).

47 Gaston, E. T. *Music in Therapy* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 75–94.

Several researchers pointed out to the musicians who serve as active healing forces in their sociocultural contexts. One of them, Joseph Moreno, emphasized historical connections between music and healing in ancient shamanic traditions and related the sustaining, stimulating and organizing aspects of rhythm used by both shamans and contemporary music therapists.[48] The fact that repetitive drum patterns create hypnotic effects and help the healer to enter the altered state of consciousness (trance) is very true in Sinhalese rituals.

Three Medical Systems in Sri Lanka

The three major medical systems in Sri Lanka are healing rituals, Āyurvedic medicine, and Western medicine. In healing rituals music is an integral part of the holistic healing process, in Āyurvedic medicine music is not present, and in Western medicine music therapy is considered suitable for certain medical conditions. Survey of these three remedial systems in Sri Lanka would be incomplete without a reference to the question of their mutual relationships (more in Kalinga Dona 2009[49]).

Co-existence of the three systems on the continuum between local rural tradition and westernized urban modernity is a clear advantage from the patient perspective. In everyday life, patients are generally free to decide which medical system to use for the treatment of their illnesses. Moreover, carriers within each of these systems, aware of both advantages and limits of their own and of the other two, feel free to propose to their patients where to expect best treatment for their medical conditions. Sometimes, one complements the other. For instance, victim in a car accident is most likely to receive the initial treatment in Western medicine, but if there is a need, permanent physiological cure may be sought in Ayurvedic medicine, and restoration of psychological balance in a healing ritual. Restoration of health is the ultimate aim and there is a general concensus that boundaries among the three systems would be counterproductive. Personal value systems and beliefs are subject to change due to urbanization, westernization, and other ongoing processes in Sri Lanka. Nowadays, healing rituals are certainly more likely to be an option for a villager than for a convinced urbanite. Still, the three systems continue to be intervowen. Table 2 shows the comparison of the three remedial systems practiced in Sri Lanka:

48 Joseph Moreno, "The Music Therapist: Creative Arts Therapist and Contemporary Shaman," *The Arts in Psychotherapy* 15 (1988): 271–280.

49 Lasanthi Manaranjanie Kalinga Dona, "Between Tradition and Modernity, Between East and West: Experiences with Music Therapy in Sri Lanka," *Muzika u društvu* [Music in Society], ed. by Ivan Čavlović (Sarajevo: Musicological Society of BiH and Music Academy, 2009), 215–217

	Healing Rituals	Ayurvedic Medicine	Western Medicine
Involved parties	Astrologer, Traditional healer, Buddhist monk + Individual patient or community	Ayurvedic doctor + Patient	Western doctor + Patient
Aim	Individual or community wellbeing	Individual wellbeing	Individual wellbeing
Therapeutic means	Elaborated ritual practices	Herbal products and Āyurvedic procedures	Western pharmaceuticals and procedures
Place	Indoors and outdoors: at patient's home, in a temple, or at a village field	Indoors: in a medical facility	Indoors: in a medical facility
Time and action	Night long performance lasting up to one week	Mainly long-term treatment	Mainly short-term treatment
Medication	None	Time consuming hand-made herbal medicine	Readymade pharmaceutical drugs
Role of music	Core of the event	None	Additional support

Table 2: The Three Remedial Practices in Sri Lanka.

Concluding Remarks

1. *Bali* ritual demonstrates and reinforces the importance of Sinhalese rural beliefs, community-based values, and their contemporary performance.
2. It demonstrates and reinforces the importance of holistic healing in trying to reach and treat the root cause of the problem.
3. Music combines all episodes and scenes together and keeps the whole community awake throughout the ritual.
4. Music acts as a medium in connecting the human world with the supernatural world.
5. A specific sound environment, lasting from the beginning to the end of the ritual event, significantly contributes to the mood of the patient and leads to restoration of his or her psychophysical balance.
6. Continuous musical sound enables the healer to acquire a special mood and enter the state of trance.
7. Incenses, *dummala* (rosin), turmeric powders, various flowers, betel leaves and all other herbs destroy bacteria and viruses in the ritual arena.

8. *Bali*'s ultimate goal - to promote health on an individual and communal basis – rests on the integration of sound (music) therapy, color therapy, aromatherapy, psychotherapy, and community music therapy.
9. A healing practice deeply rooted in local culture, in which music serves as an essential ingredient, *bali* ritual as presented in this article should be regarded as a contribution to the growing field of medical ethnomusicology.

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POVZETEK

Svetovna zdravstvena organizacija (WHO) definira zdravje kot stanje popolnega fizičnega, duševnega in socialnega blagostanja in ne zgolj kot odsotnost bolezni. Ljudje na različnih koncih sveta se poslužujejo različnih načinov, da bi dosegli takšno stanje – tako v smislu preventive kot kurative. Med načine na Šrilanki se uvrščajo ajurvedska medicina, zahodna medicina in tradicijski rituali. Te tri možnosti se ne izključujejo, ampak se jih dojema komplementarno; ena je lahko za določeno stanje bolj primerna kot drugi dve. Na Šrilanki je veliko raznovrstnih ritualnih praks, ki bi jih lahko opisali kot kompleks umetniških oblik, ki ciljajo na to, da bi izruvale globoko ukoreninjene strahove in fobije ter s pomočjo katarze omogočile izgrajevanje posameznikove samozavesti in okrepile vezi skupnosti. Te prakse so glasbeno bogate in glasba služi kot eno ključnih orodij za odstranjevanje zlih učinkov in za ponovno vzpostavitev psihofizičnega ravnovesja. Rituali so različni in usmerjeni k štirim osnovnim virom moči: bogovom, hudičem, planetarnim božanstvom in duhovom preminulih prednikov. Dotični članek se osredinja okrog enega teh ritualov, rituala *bali*, ki ob ritualu *tovil* šteje za ključni ritual večinske sinhalske populacije.

Bali nagovarja planetarna božanstva in bogove, za katere se verjame, da so odgovorni za človeška stanja. Takšna prepričanja, ki predhajajo budizem kot prevladujočo neteistično religijo na Šrilanki, zrcalijo potrebo ljudi, da iščejo pomoč v nadnaravnih silah. Vpliv teh sil na človeško življenje je lahko ugoden, neugoden ali nevtralen, medtem ko se ritualna dejanja prakticirajo, da bi se vplivalo na določeno situacijo, tj. da bi se ublažilo nesrečo, ki jo povzročajo planetarna božanstva v neugodnem astrološkem obdobju. *Bali* je kakopak spoj predbudističnih tradicijskih verovanj in hinduističnih verskih konceptov, odet v površno budistično preobleko. Priznani šrilanški učenjak Seneviratne zatrjuje, da je *bali* mogoče zaslediti že v 15. stoletju v obdobju Kōtte.

Ritmi bobnov in ročnih zvoncev ustvarijo specifično zvočno krajino za bolnika, zdravilca in člane skupnosti. Modeliranje podob enega ali več planetarnih božanstev, recitativno petje, igranje inštrumentov, zažiganje kadila in uporaba dišečih palčk in bakel – vse to je pojmovano kot orodje za odpiranje in ohranjevanje stika med ljudmi in nadnaravnimi svetovi.

Za učinkovitost takšnih ritualov je za lokalno kulturo ključnega pomena ideja trikotnika, ki je inherenten definiciji medicinske etnomuzikologije. Tri komponente trikotnika so glasba/zvok, medicina/zdravilstvo in kultura. Na pogled na *bali* v tem članku je vplivala tako teorija kot tudi praksa medicinske etnomuzikologije, multidisciplinarnega področja raziskav kulturno determiniranih in medsebojno integriranih oblik zvočne terapije, psihoterapije, skupnostne glasbene terapije, plesne terapije, barvne terapije, aromaterapije, psihodrame in drugih terapevtskih praks po svetu. Članek razlaga pomen znanja in razumevanja holističnega koncepta zdravljenja za posameznike in skupnosti v sodobni Šrilanki. Skupnostni vidik je še zlasti pomemben v oziru na okoliščine, ki jih prinaša naraščajoča individualizacija, značilna za sodobni zahodni svet.

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Gong and Its Therapeutic Meaning

Gong in njegov terapevtski smisel

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Sprejeto: 7. oktober 2016

Ključne besede: zvočna terapija, zvočna kopel, kopel z gongi, stres, psihofizično ravnovesje

IZVLEČEK

Študija, ki je bila narejena s pomočjo vzorca 129-ih uporabnikov zvočnih kopeli z gongi v letu 2015 v Sloveniji, je pokazala, da vsi uporabniki dojemajo učinek zvočnih vibracij kot zdravilen in/ali sproščujoč. Izpričali so, da so dosegli notranji mir in boljše fizično in mentalno blagostanje, nov zagon za delo, željo po osebni rasti in druge pozitivne učinke.

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Keywords: sound therapy, sound bath, gong bath, stress, psychophysical balance

ABSTRACT

The study, which was conducted utilising a sample of 129 users of sound baths with gongs in 2015 in Slovenia, has shown that all users define the effect of sound vibrations as healing and/or relaxing. They testified on achieving durable inner peace, on better physical and mental wellbeing, fresh impetus for work, desire for personal growth and other positive effects.

Introduction

Sound healing is one of the oldest ways of healing in history and its effects have been confirmed by modern science[1] and praxis.[2] It is a known fact that sound has been

1 Kimberly S. Moore, "A Systematic Review on the Neural Effects of Music on Emotion Regulation: Implications for Music Therapy Practice", *Journal of Music Therapy* 3 (2013): 198–242.
Maria L. Bringas, et al. "Effectiveness of Music Therapy as an Aid to Neural Restoration of Children with Severe Neurological Disorders", *Frontiers in Neuroscience*, 2015. This article is part of the research topic Music, Brain, and Rehabilitation: Emerging Therapeutic Applications and Potential Neural Mechanisms. Accessed on August 6, 2016, http://journal.frontiersin.org/article/10.3389/fnins.2015.00427/full.
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2 Peter Hess, *Singing Bowls for Health and Inner Harmony* (Uenzen: Verlag Peter Hess, 2008).
Lasanthi K.D. Manaranjanie, *Music and Healing Rituals of Sri Lanka. Their Relevance for Community Music Therapy and Medical Ethnomusicology* (Colombo: S. Godage & Brothers (Pvt) Ltd, 2013).
Mojca Malek. *Zvočna masaža.* Accessed on June 15, 2016, http://muza.si/si/eho-udelezencev-narocnikov-reference/37-zvocna-masaza.

used to facilitate altered states of consciousness.[3] The desire to learn about our inner life energies and nature has led people to play the gongs in China, to use Himalayan singing bowls in Nepal, India and Tibet, and to play on various percussion instruments across the globe. Today, sound stimuli produced on rediscovered instruments are used together with modern technology[4] for the sake of restoration of physical and mental balance. For a bit more than a decade, relaxing and healing with gongs has been practiced in Slovenia as well. Gong baths were introduced by individuals who, in most cases, received training from the world's best-known gong master Don Conreaux (b. in 1934)[5]. The training lasts for a few years and covers practical and theoretical contents from the fields of music, medicine, physics, philosophy, psychology and ethics.[6] There is a growing number of individuals who use this type of relaxation to overcome everyday stress and related health problems and to establish physical and mental balance.

Sound Therapy

In this chapter, *music therapy* is the first concept that needs to be introduced. Music therapy is clinical use of music, based on evidence. It relates to the use of music for therapeutic treatment of physical, emotional, cognitive and social needs of individuals by trained professionals, who have completed the officially certified music therapy programmes[7]. Based on the assessment provided by a professional music therapist, they decide about a suitable treatment, which can include listening to music and making music, i.e. singing, playing musical instruments and moving to music. Research in music therapy supports its effectiveness in numerous fields of rehabilitation therapies[8]. Schools across the globe offer undergraduate and post-graduate studies for music therapists[9] who find employment in different health and advisory centres.[10]

3 Otto-Heinrich Silber, et al, *Klangtherapie* (Battweiler: Traumzeit-Verlag, 2007), 142–143.
Csaba Szabó, "The Effects of Monotonous Drumming on Subjective Experiences", *Music Therapy Today,* 1(2004): 1–9.

4 David Gibson, *The Complete Guide to Sound Healing* (San Francisco: Sound Healing Center, Sound & Consciousness Globe Institute, 2013). Accessed on July 16, 2016, http://www.soundhealingcenter.com/instructors.html

5 Among the Slovenians, Mojca Malek is particularly active as pedagogue, organizer of events, and performer, who gives concerts together with Conreaux in different parts of the world.

6 *International Gong Master Website.* Accessed on August 11, 2016, http://www.toneoflife.com.pl/don/gong-master-training-online/gong-master-training-certification.
Sage Academy of Sound Energy. Accessed on August 5, 2016, http://www.sageacademyofsoundenergy.com/gong-camp-wdon-conreaux-at-ananda-ashram-new-york.html.

7 *American Music Therapy Association*. Accessed on August 6, 2016, http://www.musictherapy.org/about/quotes/
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8 Gwendolin R. Watkins, "Proposed Physiological Mechanisms and Clinical Implications. Clinical Nurse Specialist," *The International Journey for Advanced Nursing Practice* 11 (1997): 43–50.
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9 E.g. Berklee College of Music (USA), University of Jyväskylä (Finland), University of Roehampton (United Kingdom), Universität für Musik und darstellende Kunst Wien (Austria).

10 E.g. Boston Children's Hospital and Nicklaus Children's Hospital in Miami (USA), Royal Children's Hospital in Melbourne (Australia), Krankenhaus für Psychiatrie, Psychotherapie und Psychosomatische Medizin Schloss Werneck (Germany), Volonterski centar Zagreb (Croatia), and Klinična bolnišnica za psihiatrijo v Ljubljani - Center za mentalno zdravje - oddelek Škofljica (Slovenia).

Sound therapy is a type of therapy that uses sound to treat physical and mental conditions. The therapy is based on the premise that everything in life, including the human body, is a set of vibrations. If the vibrations become discordant and lose their rhythm, an individual's physical and mental state is hurt.[11]

Sound therapy is the conscious therapeutic application of sound frequencies for the purposes of healing, and with the intention of bringing the individual back into the state of harmony of the mind, body and spirit. This can be achieved by using different musical instruments or by generating frequencies on devices that have been constructed especially for this purpose. Studies have shown that sound therapies can affect brain waves,[12] which causes relaxation and sets the frame for the healing processes.[13]

The history of sound healing goes back deeply to the history of the humankind. It is still an integral part of shamanic and other old healing practices in different parts of the world, where sound is an essential ritual component.[14] Besides the use of instruments, such as e.g. drums, flutes, bells, or rattles, a special role is assumed by the human voice.[15]

Sound healing is based on the assumption that the human body is a set of vibrations that become discordant and lose their rhythm when an illness occurs.[16] In order to understand sound healing better, we need to remind ourselves that atoms, cells and all living matter vibrate. The chosen sound waves enter the body and re-establish balanced waves in the body where these waves have been altered due to health conditions. The vibration or the sound in the audible or inaudible form (ultrasound, infrasound) represents energy.[17] Sound has a creative force that shapes matter within us and outside of us.[18]

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11 *Encyclopedia of Alternative Medicine*. Accessed on August 6, 2016, http://www.altmd.com/Articles/Sound-Therapy–Encyclopedia-of-Alternative-Medicin.

12 Our brain works at different frequencies, which correspond to five levels of consciousness. Beta state (14–40 Hz) refers to the ordinary state when we think logically, are aware of the surroundings, and everything is under our strict control. Alpha state (7,5–14 Hz) denotes relaxed brain activity, occurring when we close our eyes, are about to sleep, or relax in daydreaming and meditation; this state awakes intuition and visualisation, and increases learning and memorizing capabilities. Theta state (4–7,5 Hz) occurs in the sleep, in the REM phase. In this state of mind one can experience vivid visualizations and unique creativity. Delta state (0,5–4 Hz) is characteristic for deep sleep without dreams, which enables the body to regenerate and gets healed. Gama state (over 40 Hz) is the fastest vibration in which we react very quickly, have insights into various situations and process information at a fast speed.
Deivanayagi S., et al, "Spectral Analysis Of EEG Signals During Hypnosis," *International Journal of Systemics, Cybernetics and Informatics* 4 (2007): 75–80. Accessed on May 30, 2016, https://apm.iitm.ac.in/biomedical/touchlab/papers/EEG.pdf.
Tina L. Huang, Christine Charyton, "Comprehensive Review of the Psychological Effects of Brainwave Entrainment," *Alternative Therapies* 14/5 (2008): 38–49.
"How Science Discovered The Silva Method." Accessed on August 2, 2016, http://www.silva.nl/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/science-discovers-the-silva-method.pdf.

13 Helane Wahbeh, et al, "Binaural Beat Technology in Humans: a Pilot Study to Assess Psychological and Physiologic Effects," *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine* 13/1 (2007): 25–32.
René-Pierre Le Scournec, et al, "Use of Binaural Beat Tapes for Treatment of Anxiety: A Pilot Study of Tape Preference and Outcomes," *Alternative Therapies in Health and Medicine* 7/1 (2001): 58–63.
Stuart Hameroff, et al, "Transcranial Ultrasound (TUS) Effects on Mental States: A Pilot Study," *Brain Stimulation* 6/3 (2013): 409–415.

14 See Kalinga Dona's article in this volume of *Musicological Annual*.

15 Gini Graham Scott, *Shamanism* (New York City: Alpha, 2002).
Ted Andrews, *Sacred Sounds: Magic & Healing through Words & Music* (St. Paul: Llewellyn Publications, 1992), 15.
Wayne Perry, *Sound Medicine. The Complete Guide to Healing with Sound and the Human Voice* (Los Angeles: Musikarma Publishing, 2007).

16 Marjorie De Muynck, *Sound Healing. Vibrational Healing with Ohm Tuning Forks* (Santa Fe: Sound Universe, 2008), 1.

17 In Greek 'energia' means movement.

18 Stewart Pearce, *Alkimija glasu* (Brežice: Založba Primus, 2011), 19.

Different frequencies affect our body differently. Some affect us pleasantly, while others may have the opposite effect. The difference between the daily sounds of the noisy environment and the chosen directed sounds lies in the fact that the former cause imbalances and the latter are expected to have a harmonious effect. If we are exposed to stress, noise and electromagnetic smog[19] for longer periods of time, our body will react with pain and damages to the energy field, which leads to illness.

The most widely used methods that generate sounds in therapies are based on the so-called binaural tones. Already in 1839, Heinrich Wilhelm Dove (1803–1879) discovered that the brain transforms two tones that slightly differ in their frequences, when listened to simultaneously, into a third, fictitious tone.[20] Gerald Oster (1918–1993), who continued Dove's research at the Mount Sinai Hospital in New York, described how the pulsation called binaural beat is caused.[21] For instance, if a frequency of 350 Hz is fed to the left ear and 360 Hz to the right ear, the brain will perceive the 10 Hz difference and hear a tone that does not really exist. The brain will start resonating at a frequency of 10 Hz, which is characteristic of the alpha range. Suzanne Evans Morris used an electroencephalogram[22] and discovered that in this case the brain hemispheres start cooperating and brain waves in both hemispheres are equalised and vibrate at a frequency of 10 Hz, as mentioned before. These early scientific discoveries were followed by numerous studies and the so-called Super-learning programmes. Here, learning takes place in the alpha state, memorisation is faster, communication efficiency enhanced and creativity awakened.[23]

Quite fast, binaural tones were started being used for relaxation, meditation and treatment of various pyhsical and mental disfunctions. There are different providers,[24]

19 "Nonionizing electromagnetic radiation propagated through the atmosphere by broadcast towers, radar installations, and microwave appliances, and the magnetic fields surrounding electric appliances and power lines, which is believed to have polluting effects on people and the environment; also called electromagnetic smog." *Dictionary.com's 21st Century Lexicon.* Accessed on August 7, 2016, http://www.dictionary.com/browse/electropollution .
Amparo Lázaro, et al, "Electromagnetic radiation of mobile telecommunication antennas affects the abundance and composition of wild pollinators," *Journal of Insect Conservation* 20/2 (2016): 315–324.
Jan Barcal, Frantisek Vozeh, "Effect of Whole-Body Exposure to HighFrequency Electromagnetic Field on the Brain Cortical and Hippocampal Activity in Mouse Experimental Model," *NeuroQuantology* 5/3 (2007): 292–302.
Sharon M. Abel, "The Extra-auditory Effects of Noise and Annoyance: An Overview of Research," *Journal of Otolaryngology* 1 (1990): 1–13.
Wayne Parry, *Sound medicine. The Complete Guide to Healing With Sound and the Human Voice* (Los Angeles: Musikarma Publishing, 2007), 198–99.
Martin Blank, Reba Goodman, "Electromagnetic fields stress living cells," *Pathophysiology: the official Journal of the International Society for Pathophysiology* 16/2–3 (2009): 71–78.
Heba M. Fahmy, et al, Effect of Radiofrequency Waves Emitted From Conventiona WIFI Devices on Some Oxidative Stress Parameters in Rat Kidney," *Drug Metabolism & Toxicology*, 6/5 (2015): 1–6. Accessed on April 1, 2016, http://www.omicsonline.org/open-access/effect-of-radiofrequency-waves-emitted-from-conventional-wifi-devices-on-some-oxidative-stress-parameters-in-rat-kidney-2157-7609-1000195.pdf .

20 JSTOR - digital library of academic journals, books, and primary sources. Heinrich Wilhelm Dove, *Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, 15, 383–391. Accessed on August 5, 2016, https://www.jstor.org/stable/25138588?seq=9#page_scan_tab_contents.

21 Gerald Oster, "Auditory Beats in the Brain," *Scientific American* (1973): 94–102. Accessed on February 2, 2015, http://www.amadeux.net/sublimen/documenti/G.OsterAuditoryBeatsintheBrain.pdf.

22 Suzanne Evans Morris, *The Facilitation of Learning* (Self-publishing, 1973), 15.

23 Colin Rose, Malcolm J. Nicholl, *Accelerated Learning for the 21th Century* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1998).
Sheila Ostrander, et al, *Super-Learning 2000* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1997).
Variations of Superlearning programmes can be found e.g. at Holistični center Karnion (Slovenia).

24 Holosync Audio technology: https://www.centerpointe.com/v2/
The Morry Method: http://www.themorrymethod.com/tmm.php?id=6
Zenlama: http://www.zenlama.com/

that offer help to individuals and groups and sell different products, i.e. CDs for relaxation in alpha state. The chosen frequencies affect individual centres in the brain so as to facilitate creativity, communication, concentration, etc. These products also contain neuro-linguistic programmes, guided meditations, programmes for sleep quality, etc.

The Use of Gong in Various Times and Places

Gongs supposedly date back to the Bronze Age, i.e. the period approximately from 3000 BC to 2000 BC. There are several possible interpretations as to their origin. While some believe that the gong had originally been used as a bronze shield that was struck to give sign of attack or retreat, other sources say that it was a bronze disc that represented the sun and was supposedly worshipped by early agricultural peoples.[25]

Eminent English percussionist James Blades (1901–1999) wrote in his book on percussions that the earliest written mention of the gong was in 6th century China, during the reign of Emperor Hsuan Wu (500–516).[26] Some ethnomusicologists attribute the origin of the gong to ancient Greece, from where it supposedly spread all the way to India with Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC. The original gong was thus supposedly a Greek instrument called echeion.[27] They were used in theatre plays and in death rituals.

In Javanese mythology, the gong was created by the divine king Sang Hyang Guru in 330. He needed the gong to summon the gods. He joined two gongs thus giving an impetus to the later formation of a gamelan.[28]

In Eastern civilizations, gongs were used on various occasions, to signal, to accompany dances and the action in theatres, to mark different events, such as births, deaths or weddings, as exorcism tools, in meditations and to facilitate altered states of consciousness. In some cultures, gongs were considered a status symbol and an indicator of wealth and high social rank.[29]

In the 6th century BC Gautama Buddha recognised the sound of the gong as an exceptionally powerful tool in meditation and transformation of consciousness. He sent 26 monks to the lands surrounding Nepal and tasked them to write "Tan Loi" on every gong that they found, which means *Happiness has arrived, God has returned to Earth*.[30]

Gongs continue to play an important role in the spiritual life in Southeast and East Asia. In Indonesia, the gong is one of the most important musical instruments in the gamelan ensemble, which is characteristic for the islands of Bali and Java. The gongs

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Brain.fm: https://www.brain.fm/app

Roger K. Cady, Norman Shealy, *Neurochemical Responses to Cranial Electrical Stimulation and Photo-Stimulation via Brain Wave Synchronization* (Springfield: Shealy Institute of Comprehensive Health Care, 1990), 11.

25 Mehtab Benton, *Gong joga. Zdravljenje in razsvetljevanje s pomočjo zvoka* (Ljubljana: Center Sospita Rea Silvia Novak Co. K. D., 2010), 8.

26 James Blades, *Percussion Instruments and Their History* (Westport, Connecticut: The Bold Strummer, Ltd., 1992), 93.

27 Mehtab Benton, *Gong joga. Zdravljenje in razsvetljevanje s pomočjo zvoka* (Ljubljana: Center Sospita Rea Silvia Novak Co. K. D., 2010), 8.

28 Philip McNamara, *Gongs and Tam-Tams – A Guide for Percussionist, Drummers and Sound Healers* (Layerthorpe: York Publishing Services Ltd., 2012), 10.

29 Ibid., 11.

30 Sheila Whittaker, *Sound Healing With Gongs* (York: Healing Sound, 2010), 25.

are tuned differently and have a characteristic form with a raised centre. In China, a pair of gongs is an essential part of the orchestra for Chinese opera. The larger gong is usually used to announce the entrance of major players, especially men, and to identify points of drama. The smaller gong is used to announce the entrance of women and to identify points of humour. In Japan, gongs were part of Shinto[31] ceremonies for centuries as well as of secular ceremonies, such as festivals, theatre and dances. Today, they are used to start the beginning of sumo wrestling contests and in the traditional Japanese kabuki theatre.[32]

The gong was first used in western music in the *Funeral Music for Mirabeau* (1791) by French composer François–Joseph Gossec (1734–1829) that was composed in honour of Honoré Mirabeau (1749–1791), who played an important role in the French Revolution. The gong can be found in Luigi Cherubin's (1769–1842) *Requiem* from 1816, in Gioachino Rossini's opera *Armida* from 1831 and in Vincenzo Bellini's (1801–1835) opera *Norma.* A specially efficient combination of cymbals and untuned tam-tams was used by Hector Berlioz (1803–1869) is his *Requiem* in 1837. In the next few decades, the gong became an important part of the percussion ensemble, as it can be found in the works of important composers such as Richard Wagner (1813–1883), Gustav Mahler (1860–1911), Sergei Rachmaninoff (1873–1943), Igor Stravinsky (1882–1971), Sergei Prokofiev (1891–1953), Dmitri Shostakovich (1906–1975), Oliver Messiaen (1908–1992), Pierre Boulez (1925) and others.[33] Karlheinz Stockhausen (1928–2007) specifically ordered the gong for his *Mikrophonie I* (1964) from the renowned Swiss percussion manufacturer Paiste .[34] In *Mikrophonie I*, two percussionists play a gong, another pair of players uses microphones to "catch" the sounds and the last two performers are seated in the audience and apply resonant bandpass filters to the microphone outputs to distribute the sound.[35]

The gong has also played a role in psychedelic rock music (Pink Floyd) and was also used by ensembles such as Led Zeppelin and Queen. In jazz music, it is associated with Miles Davis (1926–1991) and Charles Mingus (1922–1979).[36]

Types of Gongs

What is a gong and what is a tam-tam? Gongs usually have a raised centre and tam-tams have a flat front surface. However, this is not always the case, as the renowned

31 The collocation Shin-to means god or the way to god. Shintoism is an old Japanese religion, animistic and polyteistic.

32 Mehtab Benton, *Gong joga. Zdravljenje in razsvetljevanje s pomočjo zvoka* (Ljubljana: Center Sospita Rea Silvia Novak Co. K. D., 2010), 10.
James Blades, *Percussion Instruments And Their History* (Wespot: The Bold Strummer, Ltd., 2005), 93–94.

33 Philip McNamara, *Gongs and Tam-Tams – A Guide for Percussionist, Drummers and Sound Healers* (Layerthorpe: York Publishing Services Ltd., 2012), 11–12.

34 Sheila Whittaker, *Sound Healing With Gongs* (York: Healing Sound, 2010), 27.

35 Christopher Burns, "Realizing Lucier and Stockhausen: Case Studies in the Performance Practice of Electroacoustic Music," *Journal of New Music Research* 1 (2002): 59–68. Accessed on December 12, 2015, http://sfsound .org/~cburns/writings/burns-icmc2001.pdf

36 Isabelle Frohne, "Gongspiel und Gegenwart," in *Heilende Klänge. Der Gong in Therapie, Meditation und Sound Healing* (Uenzen: Verlag Peter Hess, 2007), 9–22
Glenn Povey, *Echoes: The Complete History of Pink Floyd* (Bovingdon: Mind Head Publishing, 2007).

gong manufacturer Paiste creates so-called planet gongs, which are flat and tuned to "planet frequencies".[37] Numerous references suggest that flat gongs of indefinite pitch are called tam-tams.[38]

Until 1950, English composers did not specifically define whether a gong or a tam-tam should be used, as can be seen in the sheet music by Gustav Holst (1874–1934), Benjamin Britten (1913–1976), Havergal Brian (1876–1972) and others. In his *Symphony No. 8* from the period 1953-1955, Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872–1958) defines specifically tuned gongs.[39]

Regarding their position, we differ suspended gongs, bossed or button gongs and hand gongs. The most frequent are the first ones, since they are found in different cultures and are used for production of different soundscapes. The bossed gongs are placed on the resonant body, as it is the case at gamelan ensembles.[40] The hand gongs are held in hands and are most often found in China. Mostly, they occur in dramas, folk performances and festivals[41]. In sound therapies, suspended gongs and hand gongs are used.

Gongs are made mostly from 70 to 80 per cent of copper and 20 to 30 per cent of tin. Some other metals can be added too, such as zinc, nickel, lead and iron. Gongs of a higher quality contain more copper, and those of a lower quality contain more tin.[42]

The Gong and Sound Baths

Despite many studies and explanations carried out in the last five decades focusing on the effect of the gong sound on our whole being a lot of its characteristics remain scientifically unexplained. The studies by Johannes Heimrath, Anne Kathrin Nickel, David Akomb, Peter Hess and others point to the efficiency of sound therapies in treating physical, mental, emotional and spiritual disorders.[43]

The sound of a gong is strong and rich in harmonics. By means of sound waves, dermatomes[44] are stimulated and transfer the message of vibration into the body. The

37 In 1978, Swiss mathematician and musicologist Hans Cousto published the results of his research on cosmic octaves, based on astronomic data, in the book *The Cosmic Octave: Origin of Harmony* (Simon & Leutner Publishing). According to this source, the frequencies of the planets are as follows: Mercury – tone D (141.27 Hz), Venus – A (221.23 Hz), Moon – G sharp (210.42 Hz), Earth – C sharp (136.10 Hz), Mars – D (144.72 Hz), Jupiter – F sharp (183.58 Hz), Saturn – D (147.85 Hz), Uranus – G sharp (207.36 Hz), Neptun – G sharp (211.44 Hz), Pluto – C sharp (140,25 Hz), Sedna – C (128.10 Hz), Nibiru – E (161.26 Hz), Kyron – D sharp (151.27 Hz). Sounds in space are recorded by NASA Agency. Although there seems to be a vacuum in space, it does not mean there are no sounds in it. They exist as electromagnetic vibrations recorded by the Agency by means of specially designed devices, such as NASA Voyager, INJUN 1, ISEE 1 and HAWKEYE.

38 Philip McNamara, *Gongs and Tam-Tams – A Guide for Percussionist, Drummers and Sound Healers* (Layerthorpe: York Publishing Services Ltd., 2012), 5.

39 Ibid., 5.

40 The Javanese gong sets in two horizontal lines of 10 or 14 units are called *bonang*. The higher tuned gong set is called *bonang panerus*, the lower tuned *bonang barung*, and the lowest tuned *bonang panembung*.

41 A gongs of this type is called Xiao gong, which means 'a small gong'.

42 Philip McNamara, *Gongs and Tam-Tams – A Guide for Percussionist, Drummers and Sound Healers* (Layerthorpe: York Publishing Services Ltd., 2012), 12.

43 Mehtab Benton, *Gong joga. Zdravljenje in razsvetljevanje s pomočjo zvoka* (Ljubljana: Center Sospita Rea Silvia Novak Co. K. D., 2010), 34–37.

44 A *dermatome* is an area of skin that is mainly supplied by a single spinal nerve. Sound stimuli travel along sensory neurons into different parts of the body and affect the vibrations of different organs.

most positive results of treatment are observed in eliminating headaches, migraines, menstrual conditions, spinal pains and injuries. The sound balances the activity of various glands and eliminates breathing problems.

Exposure to the gong sound enables psychoacoustic passage into different states of consciousness and into the field of unconsciousness. Statistically significant positive changes have been notices in treating autists,[45] schizophrenics[46] and drug addicts.[47] In a meditative state, achieved by playing the gongs, pressures and the contents of the mind become loose. Easiness leads to unusual and so called superior states of mind, which are otherwise experienced by drug addicts. Yogi Bhajan developed the Superhealth programme in which the gong is used for treating addicts or restoring a healthy electromagnetic field since sound balances the activity of the nervous system and opens spiritual connections.[48]

In gong baths or sound baths, as relaxations with sound are called nowadays, exclusively gongs or gongs together with other musical instruments or sound-producing devices are used, such as Himalayan singing bowl, didgeridoo, shamanic drum, shruti box,[49] rattles, shells, pipes, xylophones, metalophones, cordophones, and litophones.

Gong baths can be preformed for individuals or groups. It is recommended that users are covered with blankets, comfortably lying on soft sleeping pads. Sound sessions usually last for about 45 minutes and consist of several consecutive parts, planned by the performer in advance, but are generally a result of improvisation. The underlying theme is the gong playing interjected by the sounds of other instruments. Prior to the start, the users receive preparation to the sound session through conversation, relaxing exercise and conscious breathing. They learn about the potential mental, emotional or physical reactions that can occur during the session. The therapist also explains to them that these manifestations are normal and that users should feel completely safe.

A usual sound bath begins with dynamically less prominent segments, then rises into the climax, which is, as a rule, performed by gongs, and slowly calms down and finally fades away in quiet sounds. After the sound session, its users remain silent for about two minutes and then, if they wish, they share their experiences with therapist and other participants, if any. Most frequently, individuals' experiences are related to seeing different colours (synesthetic manifestations), slight pains, that can be sensed in the body parts where fractures or surgeries had occurred, creeps in some body parts, and a sense of heavy legs and arms. Generally, the users of sound baths feel relaxed and recovered.[50]

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45 Kim Jinah, "Emotional, Motivational and Interpersonal Responsiveness of Children with Autism in Improvisational Music Therapy," *Autism* 13/4 (2009): 389–409.

46 Nakul Talwar, et al, "Music Therapy for In-patients with Schizophrenia," *The British Journal of Psychiatry* 189/5 (2006): 405–409.

47 Genevieve Dingle, et al, "Can Music Therapy Engage Patients in Group Cognitive Behaviour Therapy for Substance Abuse Treatment?" *Drug and Alcohol Review* 27 (2008): 190–196.

48 Mehtab Benton, *Gong joga. Zdravljenje in razsvetljevanje s pomočjo zvoka* (Ljubljana: Center Sospita Rea Silvia Novak Co. K. D., 2010), 37.

49 It is a type of harmony meant for drone accompaniment of singers or instrumentalists.

50 Peter Hess, *Singing Bowls for Health and Inner Harmony* (Uenzen: Verlag Peter Hess, 2008).
Lasanthi K.D. Manaranjanie, *Music and Healing Rituals of Sri Lanka. Their Relevance for Community Music Therapy and Medical Ethnomusicology* (Colombo: S. Godage & Brothers (Pvt) Ltd., 2013).
Mojca Malek, *Zvočna masaža*, accessed on June 15, 2016, http://muza.si/si/eho-udelezencev-narocnikov-reference/37-zvocna-masaza.

Since body cells exposed to sound vibrate strongly and remove toxins it is necessary to drink large quantities of water so that the body can cleanse.

Don Conreaux

Gong baths are currently performed in various parts of the world primarily due to the engagement of the gong master Don Ayerdon Conreaux, who provided training for thousands of learners, including the co-author of this article. He started playing the gong in 1969 when he was still an actor, director, writer and scriptwriter in Hollywood. As a theatre person, Conreaux was interested in psychological profiles of people and different ways of life. At some point, he decided to dedicate himself to search for techniques to improve the quality of human life. His yoga teacher handed over to him some of his experiences of playing the gong. Guided by his intuition, Conreaux soon developed new techniques and understandings. "You never forget the sound of gong once you hear it", he claims.[51]

Contreaux found major encouragement for his investigation of the gongs in the books of Dane Rudhyar (1895-1985), American composer, pianist, writer and astrologist. He was particularly impressed by Rudhyar's views about the gong as a symbol and instrument of holistic resonance.[52]

Don Conreaux is also known under the names Baba Don and Guru Jagat. He is one of the five students of Kundalini Yoga [53] iniciated by Yogy Bhajana. However, his first teacher, when he was still a teenager, was Paramahansa Yogananda, an Indian yogi and guru who first introduced meditation and Kriya Yoga [54] to millions of people in the West.

Based on his experiences in Kundalini and Kriya Yoga as well as intensive gong playing, Contreaux developed Gong Kriya Kundalini Yoga, which includes thirty-nine exercises for muscles, accompanied by breathing technique called *breath of fire*. His teaching suggests that these exercises help opening meridians,[55] which enable energy to regain its smooth flow over the body and restore physical and mental balance as a precondition for health, peace of mind and access to a higher level of consciousness.

Contreaux initiated international movement for global peace named World Peace Bell Gardens. As an expert in acoustics, Contreaux together with Robert Gulik designed geometrical organisation of gongs and wind chimes representing resonating

Karin Brandt, "Klangmassage-Therapie mit alters- und demenzkranken Menschen, *Klang-Massage-Therapy* 8 (2011): 10–11.
Sybille von Fragstein, "Klangmassage-Therapie in der ambulanten Arbeit mit behinderten Menschen. Klangmassage-Therapie mit alters- und demenzkranken Menschen," *Klang-Massage-Therapy* 8 (2011): 12–14.
Andreas Hüne, "Klangmassage bei Menschen mit psyhischer Behinderung," *Klang-Massage-Therapy* 8 (2011): 40–41.

51 Dane Rudhyar's most important books related to music are: *Claude Debussy And His Work* (1913), *Disonant Harmony* (1928), *The Rebirth of Hindu Music* (1928), *The New Meaning of Sound* (1930), *Art as a Release of Strength: Seven Essays on the Philosophy of Art* (1930) and *The Magic of Sound and the Art of Music* (1982).

52 Don Conreaux, *Magnum Opus of the Gong* (New York: Mysterious Tremendum, 1994), 5.

53 Kundalini is the name for sleeping energy in human organism. It is supposed to be located in the lower part of the spine, in a snake shape. It is believed that one can wake it up by means of yoga and live mystical experiences.

54 Kriya yoga consists of techniques and exercises which stimulate spiritual development.

55 Meridians are paths through which, according to acupuncture theory, lifeal energy flows over the body. Meriam-Webster Dictionary. Accessed on August 7, 2016, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/meridian.

flame of peace. In his own words, "The sound of the gong helps people to let go their resentments, limitations, and prejudices; it brings peace, friendship and love. The first day of world peace will come when people of the Earth will take each others' hands, give thanks to life and listen to the song of gongs, announcing peace on the planet."[56]

Conreaux is also linked to the Mysterius tremendum ensemble. The name of the ensemble comes from the "mystical chord" [57] of the composer Alexander Nikolayevich Scriabin who believed that this harmony binds humankind and the kingdom of nature.[58] This framework brings musicians together to improvise without preliminary rehearsals by using gongs, Himalayan singing bowls, didgeridoo, bells, shells, drums, and multipart singing accompanied by shruti box.[59]

Don Conreaux runs educational programmes for sound therapists interested in gongs and complements them with performances. His practical work is supported by the ideas that he had presented in his books: *Gongs of Our Solar System*, *Magnum Opus of the Gong 1 & 2*, *Music of Wholeness*, *Gong Essays*, *Sacred Geometry of Starhenge*,[60] *The Universal Chiometer*,[61] *The Kriya Kundalingi Gong Yoga*, *Syntonic Science by Dan Rudhyar Today*, *Global Movement for the Gong* and *The Philosophy of the Gong*.[62]

In 2014, he celebrated his eightieth birthday at the Pohorje mountain chain in Slovenia, the place he loves and keeps visiting for over a decade as a teacher. As has been presented in this chapter of the article, the sound aspects of his work are closely related with environmental consciousness, peace activism, healing and spiritual growth.

Empirical Part

Research Problem

The increasing interest in relaxing and healing by means of sound in Slovenia and abroad has encouraged us to explore the effects of sound baths and sound harmonisations on individuals. We were interested whether relaxing and healing qualities can be attributed to the sound of musical instruments such as gongs, Himalayan singing bowls, shamanic drums, chimes, shells, and rattles.

56 Mojca Malek, "An interview with the senior of Kundalini Krjya and Gong Yoga, Don Conreaux: Zvok gonga ruši zidove med ljudmi. (The sound of the gong destroying walls among people)," *Sončeve pozitivke*. Accessed on February 4, 2015, http://www.pozitivke.net/article.php?story=Zvok_Planetarni_Gongi_Don_Conreaux&query=gongov.

57 Malek, "An interview with the senior of Kundalini Krjya and Gong Yoga, Don Conreaux: Zvok gonga ruši zidove med ljudmi. (The sound of the gong destroying walls among people)."

58 Scriabin's study of theosophical scripts made his music a reflection of his new mysticism. His intention was to link his audience to angels and spirits of nature and bring them into the state of ecstasy. In his life, he wished to follow the message of the great mystery in the way that he would bring the audience to dematerialisation of their ego by means of gong-like sounds. (Conreaux, *Magnum Opus of the Gong. Selected Essays*, 5.)

59 An Indian sound device intended to provide drone accompaniment to singing or playing of a melodic instrument.

60 Starhenge is a set of natural stone blocks or pillars in the form of concentric rings. It was designed by Conreaux to offer individuals an opportunity to walk in them and meditate.

61 Chiometer is a synthesis of different esoteric systems and principles of healing, such as the meridians of the Chinese medicine, chakras, the tree of life form, kabala, astrology, colours, tonalities, etc. Systems that enable an individual a broader insight into the reality of being are connected in eleven concentric rings.

62 In most publications the years of publication are not specified.

The Purpose of the Research

In the research, we studied the following aspects of sound baths:

- how often do the users attend sound baths
- for how long have the users known sound baths with gongs and other musical instruments
- what kind of feelings do the users experience at sound baths with gongs
- which physical and mental states are affected by the sound baths in the most positive way
- which intensities of sound baths do the users like most
- how do the users define sound baths – as relaxing, healing or both

For some established facts potential differences regarding age group, education background and time span of experience in therapies were checked.

Description of the Sample

The sample is described considering independent variables as they were used in the processing. The sample includes 129 units/users of sound therapies with the gongs in 2015. The structure of the sample includes users aged above 20, of different social strata and educational background. The sample can be defined as a random sample of known population. The population is represented by users of sound baths carried on in separate therapeutic groups led by different performers within Slovenia.

Age	F	f %
under 30 years	16	12.4
30–40 years	37	28.7
40–50 years	46	35.7
over 50 years	30	23.3
Total	129	100.0

Table 1: Structure of users according to age groups.

The sound bath users were divided into age groups. The major part is represented by users aged between 40 and 50, being followed by users between 30 and 40. The smallest share of sound bath users are those younger than 30. The prevalence of individuals aged between 30 and 50 can be attributed to the fact that one of the crucial factors for the decision to join relaxing activities is intense activity and the related stress in this life period. Another factor can be that this group is more widely informed on alternative ways of relaxation and healing.

Education	F	f %
secondary school	34	26.4
higher education, university	82	63.6
master's degree, doctorate	13	10.1
Total	129	100.0

Table 2: Structure of users according to education background.

About 63.6 % of users of sound baths with the gongs have accomplished higher education or university; they are followed by users with secondary education. The fewest users (10.1 %) are with academic titles. The fact that sound baths are mostly attended by individuals with formally higher education can be attributed to the fact that these individuals are more keen on reading and staying in touch with options to achieve better life quality, where, among other things, also care for psychophysical balance belongs.

Frequency of using sound baths	F	f %
once a week	6	4.7
twice a month	7	5.4
once a month	21	16.3
occasionally (less than once a month)	95	73.6
Total	129	100.0

Table 3: Structure according to frequency of using sound baths.

Most users attend sound baths with gongs occasionally, 16.3 % uses them once a month. The share of those who use sound baths more than monthly or more often is relatively small – a bit over 10 %.

Collecting and processing of data

To collect data, a survey questionnaire was prepared, consisting of 10 questions, divided into groups. The first group included questions on the time span of being informed about sound baths with gongs and the frequency of using them; in the second one, there were questions on the desired intensity of sound baths, personal feelings and experiences at sound baths. In the third group of questions, the users expressed their personal attitudes towards sound baths and assessed the probability that they would recommend sound baths to others too. The fourth group of questions was meant to check the effects of sound baths to various psychophysical states that were assessed using 5-level scale. The questionnaires were filled out in the first half of 2015 at different locations in Slovenia where sound baths were performed. The questionnaire

includes categories and statements in accordance with the findings from accessible surveys in scientific writings and experiences of professionally skilled therapists. To provide reliability, the questionnaire was sent only to the users who have attended sound baths in time span of at least one year. To assure the objectivity of the instrument, the survey was conducted by sending the questionnaire to the users via email.

The data analysis was performed using SPSS programme, with methods of descriptive and inference statistics which include frequency distribution, descriptive statistics and Kruskall-Wallis nonparametric test.

Results and interpretations

Time span of experiences in sound therapies with gongs

In this chapter, time span of the users' experiences of sound therapy with gongs is presented.

For how long have you known gongs and sound baths?	F	f %
less than a year	22	17.1
one to two years	22	17.1
more than two years	85	65.9
Total	129	100.0

Table 4: Time span of experiences in sound therapy with gongs.

According to the results in the table almost two thirds (65,9 %) of the users have known sound baths with gongs for more than two years. However, the shares of those who have known the sound therapies less than a year and those who have known them up to two years are equal (17.1 %). We can conclude that the majority of respondents have rich experiences, which adds some extra weight to the results.

	n	Min	Max		s
For how long have you known gongs and sound baths?	84	3	15	5.82	2.53

Table 5: Time span of sound therapies at individuals with more two-year experiences.

A more detailed analysis of experiences at only those users who have known gongs more than two years shows that these users have had a bit less than 6 years of experiences on average (= 5.62). Some of them have known sound therapies for as manny as fifteen years. In Slovenia, the education under the supervision of Don Conreaux has started more than ten years ago. Since then, more than a hundred learners completed

the training and now perform sound baths more or less frequently. Those who have known these musical instruments for about fifteen years have got acquainted with gongs and their relaxing effects outside Slovenia.

Feelings at sound baths with gongs

In this part of the questionnaire, the users expressed their straightforward feelings during sound baths with gongs. On the list of description of feelings, they could mark those feelings they meant had been sensed. The description of feelings in the table is ranged from the one chosen by most users to the one chosen by fewest users. The respondents could mark more than one answer.

Feelings at gong sounds	f %
I can completely indulge in the sound and enjoy.	27.4 %
I can feel the sound as an extremely strong vibration.	23.0 %
"I move" into another time and surroundings.	15.1 %
I can feel slight pain in the blocked parts of my body.	12.3 %
My mind is brimming with thoughts.	9.0 %
Memories form the past wake up.	5.2 %
I feel fear at stronger sounds.	4.1 %
I might go through unpleasant experiences.	3.8 %

Table 6: Feelings during sound therapies with gongs.

The majority (27.4 %) of users of the sound bath with gong can completely indulge in the sound and good feelings during the session. About 23 % of individuals feel the sound as an extremely strong vibration, 15.1 % of them move into another time and surroundings. Some over a one tenth (12.3 %) of the users can feel slight pains in the parts of the body with blockades in the form of fractures from the past, surgeries and other physical problems. As testified, these pains fade away and do not come back in the following sound sessions. About 9 % of individuals feel confusing thinking process which originates in momentary disagreements and overload or some unsolved events from the past. Some individuals report on memories of past events or feel fear at stronger sounds, 3.8 % can go through some other unpleasant experiences, too. Since the answers reflect years of attending sound baths, we can conclude that they present positive experience for all the participants otherwise they would not have repeated them. Experiencing negative expressions reflects recognition of negative subconscious patterns which can be outdone with sound and other ways of relaxation and healing. Continuous use of sound baths definitely results from positive reflexions experienced by individuals at relaying by means of sound.

The most beneficent effects of sound baths with gongs on certain physical and mental states

The users were offered a list of physical and mental states with the statement that sound bath effects each of these stats positively. The users have expressed their agreement with favourable effect of sound baths on particular psychophysical state with five-grade scale. The degrees of agreement spanned from 1 (The statement is not true) to 5 (The statement is completely true). Individual statements were then joined into some categories: *inner peace*, *better psychophysical condition*, *impetus for work* and *desire for personal growth*.

Psychophysical states	$\bar{R}$	Kruskall-Wallis	
		χ^2	P
better psychophysical condition	3.96	287.335	0.000
impetus for work	2.86		
inner peace	1.70		
desire for personal growth	1.47		

Table 7: Psychophysical states favourably influenced by sound baths.

As the most beneficent effect of sound therapy the users stated the improvement of psychophysical condition and fresh impetus for work. A bit weaker beneficent effect was attributed to gaining inner peace, however the smallest effect is attributed to the desire for personal growth.

Each of the categories mentioned was further checked according to the difference in the degree of agreement with statements on the effect of sound baths regarding age, education background, frequency of using sound baths and the time span of experience with the gong therapies and sound baths.

Inner peace/Age	$\bar{R}$	Kruskall-Wallis	
		χ^2	P
under 30 years	35.56	18.839	0.000
30–40 years	60.69		
40–50 years	76.58		
over 50 years	60.40		
Inner peace /Education	$\bar{R}$	χ^2	P
secondary school	64.48	0.102	0.950
higher education or university	62.33		
master's degree/Phd	63.42		

Inner peace /Frequency	$\bar{R}$	χ^2	P
once a week	72.58	5.966	0.113
twice a month	61.50		
once a month	77.71		
occasionally, less than once a month	59.09		
Inner peace /Experiences	$\bar{R}$	χ^2	P
less than a year	49.43	4.263	0.119
one to two years	65.60		
more than two years	65.78		

Table 8: Agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding inner peace according to factors.

The agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding inner peace is most evident at users aged between 40 and 50, which are followed by users aged between 30 and 40 and those over 50 years. The agreement with beneficent effect of sound baths with gongs regarding inner peace is the lowest at users younger than 30 years. The difference among age groups is statistically significant (χ^2 = 18.839, P = 0.000). According the results we can conclude, that individuals aged between 30 and 50 suffer the strongest psychophysical stress and sound baths with gongs efficiently contributes to establishing their inner balance.

The degree of agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding inner peace among users of different formal education backgrounds is not statistically significant (χ^2 = 0.102, P = 0,150).

The degree of agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding inner peace among users who use baths variously often is not statistically significant (χ^2 = 5.966, P = 0.113). Those users who use baths once a week or once a month testify on higher degree of agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths than their occasional users.

We found out that positive effect of sound baths on establishing inner peace is recognised only after a longer period of their use. The results show that the degree of agreement on beneficent effect of sound baths with gongs regarding inner peace rises after a year of using sound baths. At those with less than a year-long experiences beneficent effect is not recognised to that extent. Nevertheless, we can conclude that the differences among users with different time span of experiences are not statistically significant at assessing the effect of sound baths on establishing inner peace (χ^2 = 4.263 P = 0.119).

Better psychophysical condition/Age	R̄	Kruskall-Wallis	
		χ^2	P
under 30 years	46.41	5.622	0.132
30–40 years	62.70		
40–50 years	69.28		
over 50 years	71.18		
Better psychophysical condition/Education	R̄	χ^2	P
secondary school	71.00	1.636	0.441
higher education or university	61.87		
master's degree/Phd	69.08		
Better psychophysical condition/Frequency	R̄	χ^2	P
once a week	87.92	14.707	0.002
twice a month	96.57		
once a month	80.60		
occasionally, less than once a month	57.78		
Better psychophysical condition/Experiences	R̄	χ^2	P
less than a year	55.39	1.813	0.404
one to two years	65.82		
more than two years	67.28		

Table 9: Agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding psychophysical condition according to factors.

The difference in agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding better psychophysical condition is not statistically significant (χ^2 = 5.622 P = 0.132) among the users of different ages. The results testify that beneficent effects of sound baths on better physic and mental condition are more recognised among users aged over 30 years.

The same opinion on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding better psychophysical condition is shared by users with secondary education as well as those with higher education or university or academic titles. The difference in agreement with statements is not statistically significant among the groups (χ^2 = 1.636 P = 0.441).

The results testify that beneficent effects of sound baths on better psychophysical condition according to users rise with the frequency of use. The differences among users who visit the events variously often are statistically significant (χ^2 = 14.707 P = 0.002). The highest degree of agreement with statements on beneficial effect of sound baths on better psychophysical condition is testified by users who use baths twice a month. The lowest degree of agreement is found at occasional users. Similar distribution can be noted at the result of analysis on differences among users with different time span of experiences where the degree of agreement with statements on beneficent effect of

sound baths on better psychophysical condition rises according to time span of experiences with sound baths with gongs. Nevertheless, the differences among users with different time span of experiences are not statistically significant (χ^2 = 1.813 P = 0.404).

***Impetus for work*/Age**	R̄	Kruskall-Wallis	
		χ^2	P
under 30 years	53.93	2.561	0.464
30–40 years	58.36		
40–50 years	67.51		
over 50 years	66.25		
***Impetus for work*/Education**	R̄	χ^2	P
secondary school	60.58	0.212	0.899
higher education or university	63.87		
master's degree/Phd	63.85		
***Impetus for work*/Frequency**	R̄	χ^2	P
once a week	81.33	11.468	0.009
twice a month	84.86		
once a month	78.52		
occasionally, less than once a month	56.53		
***Impetus for work*/Experiences**	R̄	χ^2	P
less than a year	57,40	0.619	0.734
one to two years	64.98		
more than two years	63.84		

Table 10: Agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding impetus for work according to factors.

The differences in degrees of agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding impetus for work are not statistically significant among the users of different ages (χ^2 = 2.561 P = 0.464). However, the results testify that beneficent effect of sound baths at impetus for work is to a larger extent sensed at users aged between 40 and 50 and older users.

Regardless of education background, the agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding impetus for work is quite similar, so the difference in the degree of agreement on statements among users with different levels of education is not statistically significant (χ^2 = 0.212 P = 0.899).

The differences in degrees of agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding impetus for work are statistically significant among the users who use baths variously often (χ^2 = 11.468 P = 0.009). Such a result testifies that sound baths have the most beneficent effect when they are used more often. The highest

degree of agreement with statements is noted with users who use sound baths once a week or once to twice a month. Regardless the time span of experiences, the beneficent effect of sound baths on impetus for work is equally perceived with all users. The difference in the degree of agreement on statements among users with time span of experiences is not statistically significant (χ^2 = 0.619 P = 0.734).

Desire for personal growth/Age	R̄	Kruskall-Wallis	
		χ^2	P
under 30 years	63.81	1.173	0760
30–40 years	55.75		
40–50 years	61.07		
over 50 years	55.19		
Desire for personal growth/Education	R̄	χ^2	P
secondary school	64.33	2.529	0.282
higher education/university	57.74		
master's degree/Phd	47.54		
***Desire for personal* growth/Frequency**	R̄	χ^2	P
once a month	90.00	10.258	0.016
twice a month	72.43		
once a month	67.55		
occasionally, less than once a month	53.14		
Desire for personal growth/Experience	R̄	χ^2	P
less than a year	65.03	1.267	0.531
one to two years	61.03		
more than two years	56.35		

Table 11: Agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding desire for personal growth according to factors.

The agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths regarding the desire for personal growth slightly differs among the users of different ages. The differences among rates of agreement are not statistically significant (χ^2 = 1.173, P = 0.760). Based on the results, it can be concluded that perceiving beneficent effect of sound baths on the desire for personal growth does not depend on the age of users.

The difference in the degree of agreement on statements about beneficent effect on the desire for personal growth with different level of education is not statistically significant (χ^2 = 2.529, P = 0.282). However, it can be noted from the results that sound baths with gongs encourage the desire for personal growth more with users who have completed secondary education than users with the highest level of education. We can conclude that, due to potential higher income, users with higher level of education

have better access to corresponding literature and extra education and can, consequently, more successfully fulfil the desire for personal growth.

Based on the results we can conclude that more frequent use of sound baths with gongs encourages the desire for personal growth. Users who use the baths once a week testify the highest degree of agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths on the desire for personal growth. They are followed by users who use the baths twice a month. The lowest degree of agreement can be noted at occasional users. The difference in agreement with statements among users with different frequency of use is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 10.258$, $P = 0.016$).

Regarding the time span of experiences of sound therapies with gongs, the results testify that the agreement with statements on beneficent effect of sound baths on the desire for personal growth diminishes slightly when the users get to know the sound baths better. Users with the longest time span of experiences with sound baths agree with the statements on the effect on the desire for personal growth to a slightly smaller extent. We can assume that after a longer span of use of sound baths, users reach and perceive a certain level of the desired personal maturity and do not strive for new experiences again and again. The difference among levels of agreement regarding the time span of experience at sound baths with gongs is not statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 1.267$, $P = 0.531$).

Intensity of sound baths

We were interested in most desired intensities of sound baths. The users could choose among baths of moderate volume, acoustically diverse and very loud baths.

Intensity of sound baths	f	f %
moderate volume	62	48.1
acoustically diverse	55	42.6
very loud	12	9.3
Total	129	100.0

Table 12: Desired intensity of sound baths.

Almost a half (48.1 %) of respondents express the wish for baths of moderate volume and a similar share expresses the wish for acoustically diverse baths. The fewest (9.3 %) are the users desiring very loud sound baths. Regarding the feelings expressed after sound baths (Table 12) the result is predictable. It needs to be mentioned that very loud sound baths can provoke unforeseen physical and mental reactions since strong vibrations may evoke potential fears and traumas stored in the subconscious. In psychiatry, therapists use them for diagnostics and treatment. However, inexperienced performers of sound baths should not use them since they are not skilled to treat psychiatric conditions.

What is your definition of a sound bath?	f	f %
healing and relaxation	100	77.5
Healing	3	2.3
relaxation	26	20.2
Total	129	100.0

Table 13: Definition of sound baths.

Most users – more than three quarters (77.5 %) define sound baths as a combination of healing and relaxation which shows the awareness that relaxation is a precondition for any successful treatment. Relaxation effects dominates the definition by 20,2 % of users and healing effect by only 2,3 % users. Some of the later have even attributed permanent healing to the sound.

Conclusion

The awareness of therapeutic effect of the sound can be found in different historical periods and geographic areas. In the Western world, the use of sound for therapeutic purposes has mostly been reduced and supplanted by allopatic medicine, which uses sound basically for diagnostic purposes (ultrasound) and some kinds of therapy (infrasound, mostly for physiotherapy).

Many studies have shown positive results in the field of healing with sound. Peter Hess' systematic study was the first in the West to present the results of scientific research on therapeutic work with Himalayan singing bowls. In 2002, a pilot study[63] was published which explained the effect of sound on 266 therapists who provide relaxation and healing with sound. The results testified that the Peter Hess' therapeutic method was not only useful for relaxation but also in overcoming stress resulting for example in headaches, pains in the back and shoulders, sleeplessness and inner restlessness. Playing the Himalayan singing bowls, gongs and other musical instruments which can be done individually or together proved successful for work with persons with special needs[64], after rehabilitations following a stroke, car accidents and other calamities.[65] The studies also testify on positive effects at neurological disorders, at regulating variability of heart pace, cognitive processes of memorising and encouraging creativity.[66]

63 Christina Koller, Peter Hess, *Klangmassage nach Peter Hess® in der Praxis. Erhebung zur Anwendung in der Praxis durchgeführt am Institut für Klang-Massage-Therapie* (Uenzen: Verlag Peter Hess, 2005).

64 This note names a journal dedicated entirely to therapeutic work with special needs persons: Peter Hess, "Klangmethoden und Menschen mit Behinderungen," *Klang-Massage-Therapie* (Uenzen: Peter Hess, 8/2011).

65 Herald Titzer, "Klangmassage auf der Intensivstation. Entwicklung und Forschung rund die Peter Hess-Klangmethoden," *Klang-Massage-Therapie* 9 (2014): 34–37.

66 Alexandra Pronegg, "Die Auswirkungen der Peter Hess-Klangmassage auf das Konzentrationsverhalten von Kindern im Grundschulalter," *Klang-Massage-Therapie* 9 (2014): 53–57.
Andrea Laake, Mark Fürst, "Klangcoaching an Berufsbildenden Schulen. Ein Weg zu mehr Lernmotivation, emotionaler Zufriedenheit sowie Selbstwirksamkeit durch Stärkung des subjektiven Selbstkonzepts," *Klang-Massage-Therapie* 9 (2014): 58–62.

The survey on the impact of sound baths on users carried out in Slovenia in 2015 testifies on positive effects on psychophysical well-being of individuals. Each and every respondent agreed that sound baths present relaxation and/or healing for him or her and all of them would recommend these sound events to others. Three respondents added even that the sound bath has brought them to a complete recovery.

It would be worth to consider use of sound baths, guided by educated sound therapists within the programmes of relaxation in schools, hospitals, factories and other working environments. Our current existence is often overwhelmed by stress that results in long-term psychophysical imbalances. We could at least partially alleviate it by popularising sound events that would offer relaxation and easier coping with work tasks and interpersonal relations.

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POVZETEK

Zvočna terapija je zavestna terapevtska aplikacija zvočnih frekvenc za namene izboljšanja zdravja; posamezniku naj bi pomagala, da se vrne v stanje harmonije telesa in duha. Zvočna terapija izhaja iz domneve, da je človeško telo sestavljeno iz niza vibracij, ki se v času bolezni pomešajo in izpadejo iz ritma. Da bi bolje razumeli zvočno terapijo, se moramo zavedati, da v vesolju vse vibrira: atomi, celice in živa materija. Izbrani zvočni valovi vstopijo v telo in ponovno vzpostavijo ravnovesje valovanja tam, kjer se je le-to zaradi vplivov bolezni spremenilo.
Zelo učinkovita metoda uporabe zvoka v terapevtske namene so zvočne kopeli z gongi in drugimi glasbili s širokim spektrom alikvotnih tonov, ki ponovno vzpostavijo psihoelektromagnetsko polje na osnovi specifičnih ozkih frekvenčnih razmerij.
Obstajajo mnoge razlage, kako je gong nastal, večina teorij pa se sklicuje na rojstvo tega inštrumenta v bronasti dobi. Skozi stoletja se je gong pojavljal tako v vzhodnih kot zahodnih glasbah in bil sestavni del različnih dogodkov. Iniciativo za terapevtsko rabo inštrumenta je v sedemdesetih letih 20. stoletja podal Don Conreaux. Praksa in raziskave so potrdile pozitivne učinke zvočnih vibracij gonga pri vzpostavljanju psihofizičnega ravnovesja, kar je predpogoj za zdravljenje in odpravljanje vzrokov bolezni.
V namene preučevanja vpliva zvoka je bila leta 2015 v Sloveniji izvedena raziskava s 129-imi udeleženci različnih starostnih skupin in izobrazbenih ozadij, ki so se udeležili zvočnih kopeli z gongi in drugimi inštrumenti. Rezultati so pokazali, da je izpostavljenost terapevtskim zvokom učinkovala na posameznike zdravilno in/ali sprostitveno, jim večinoma pomagala do notranjega miru, novega zagona za delo, dvignila željo za osebno rast in nasploh prispevala k boljšemu počutju. Vsi anketiranci bi izkušnjo priporočili drugim. Izsledki raziskave potrjujejo, da so zvočne kopeli učinkovito sredstvo za premagovanje stresa in da bi kot vrsta sprostitve in terapevtske pomoči lahko postale del rednih praks za preprečevanje negativnih psihofizičnih stanj in del asistence pri zdravljenju.

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Linnaeus, Zoomusicology, Ecomusicology, and the Quest for Meaningful Categories

Linnaeus, zoomuzikologija, ekomuzikologija in iskanje smiselnih kategorij

Prejeto: 19. avgust 2016
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Ključne besede: glasba, kategorije, definicije, zoomuzikologija, ekomuzikologija

IZVLEČEK

„Glasba“ ni znanstveni termin. Ta je skozi čas postal kot velika posoda, v kateri sobivajo zvočni produkti in procesi, ki nimajo nič skupnega drug z drugim. Obremenjen s številnimi zgodovinskimi in kulturnimi konotacijami, termin se kaže kot neprimeren za znanstveni diskurz o družbeni uporabi zvoka.

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ABSTRACT

“Music” is not a scientific term. In the course of time, it has become like a big container, where sonic objects and practices that have nothing in common are put together. It carries so many historical and cultural connotations as to make it unfit for scholarly discourse about the social use of sound.

Linnaeus

Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778) is the Latin name of the Swedish scientist, widely considered as the father of modern taxonomy. The importance of his work in biology is nicely reflected in the well-known sentence “God created the world and Linnaeus organized it”. His classification system starts with the three “kingdoms”: mineral, vegetal, and animal. The vegetal and animal kingdoms are divided into “classes” and they, in turn, into “orders”, then into “genera” and further into “species”. It was Linnaeus

who invented the diction *homo sapiens,* with *homo* as the "genus" and *sapiens* as the "species".[1] Even today, after the revolutions brought about by genetics and evolutionary biology, his system of classification retains its value. It has been much refined over the years, but the basic principle remains: classification has to be based on definable and comparable categories.[2]

Why am I bringing up Linnaeus in the context of music studies? Because he dealt with "categories", and music scholarship by necessity does the same, albeit less successfully. We recurrently use terms, concepts, and categories that, unlike those employed by biologists, often cannot be satisfactorily defined and compared. Let us think, for example, of macro-genres such as classical, folk, jazz, pop, rock, world music.[3] We essentially rely on an intuitive perception of what makes such genres different from one another.[4]

Let us consider more specific labels, like "fugue" and "sonata form". When Antonin Reicha published his book Über das neue Fugensystem (1805), Beethoven reportedly said, those fugues by Reicha were no fugue at all. Were they? It is hard to say: we do not have a comprehensive definition of fugue. In more recent times Charles Rosen, in an attempt to by-pass the problem inherent with the concept of "sonata form", titled one of his books *Sonata Forms* in the plural (1980). We do not get any further with terms such as "tonic" and "dominant". Is there a tonic in the yodelling of Muatatal in Switzerland? If so, it certainly is not the "same kind" of "tonic" we find in the blues form and, again, not the same as in Schubert's compositions. Indeed, there is a problem with terminology; we use categories that do not help us make subtle and meaningful distinctions. We tend to place diverse items together into the same basket, assuming their fundamental similarity. Worse than that, we are often not even in a position to clearly define what such a basket is made up of. The biggest problem of all is, arguably, the word "music" itself.

The Problem with "Music"

"Music" has been defined in a number of ways thoughout Western history. Among ethnomusicologists, the best known is perhaps John Blacking's definition as "humanly organized sound"[5]. Composer Edgard Varèse provided us earlier on with a more essential definition: "organized sound". Varèse's definition appears much broader, but no evidence suggests that he really implied that music could exist without human agency,

1 *Homo* is the genus comprising the subspecies *Homo sapiens*, or modern human, plus several extinct species classified as ancestral to or closely related to modern humans. In other words, at least 27 human species have walked the Earth (among others, the *Homo habilis,* the *Homo neanderthalensis*, the *Hobbits* of Flores in Indonesia, and the *Denisovans* in Central Asia), but only our lineage survived.

2 Patricia Fara, *Sex, Botany and Empire, The Story of Carl Linnaeus and Joseph Banks* (Icon Books UK, 2003).

3 How undefinable they are is highlighted in the famous statement attributed to Louis Armstrong, when he was asked to define "jazz". His answer was: "If you've got to ask, you'll never know" (Jones at al. 1970: 25)..

4 Difficulties in defining "classical music" are discussed in detail in Chapter 11 of *What Makes Music European* (Sorce Keller 2012b).

5 John Blacking, *How Musical Is Man?* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1973).

for instance, among non-human animals.[6] Today, however, the field of zoomusicology is taking exactly that view, although a rather small number of scholars in mainstream music studies truly pay attention to it.

Ethnomusicology is a field where diverse cultural understandings of "music" received necessary attention. As an area of intellectual endeavour with the clear notion of cultural relativism, it is based on the work of scholars such as Franz Boas, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, and Gregory Bateson, who are widely considered the pillars of anthropological theory that marked the first half of the twentieth century. And yet, intriguingly, attitudes and research interests of ethnomusicology still remain, as I will explain, somewhat ethnocentric and – most definitely – anthropocentric. Ethnomusicologists are very much aware of the fact (of which other music scholars do not seem to be equally aware of) that "music" is definitely not a universal concept – and yet we continue speaking about "music", as if such a thing existed out there in the real world and were not a mental and social construct, only significant to a few; this attitude I call ethnocentric. Mark Slobin once explained it as follows: "Only a few European languages have a term broad enough to cover all the human sounds that we group together this way ... Navajo doesn't, nor does Arabic or most other languages...In most languages, each kind of performed sound might have a separate word, or a whole set of linked terms, without the umbrella term 'music'..."[7].[8] What we call "singing" is in many cultures regarded as a form of emphatic speech, like among the Suya of Brazil and the Tuareg of the Sahara.[9] The Mi'kmaq people of Newfoundland also have no concept of "music", but rather an expression, welta'q, that literally means "'it sounds good". It refers to the "quality" and "experience" of sound, rather than to a particular way of producing it.[10] For this reason welta'q is a broad term comprehensive of all that is pleasing to the ear: chants, songs, stories, or even the blowing of the wind. Just as much intriguing is that among many communities living in areas as far apart as New Guinea and the Amazon rainforest, human-made sounds are often conceptualized in the same terms as animal sounds.[11] The Netsilik group of Inuit, for example, also considers songs as simply one type of natural sound, with animals, as well as people, producing them.[12] What I would like to suggest here is that the knowledge we possess could potentially help us develop a less ethnocentric and less anthropocentric view of "meaningful sound". The question is whether it makes sense to speak of "music" in cultures that do not have that

6 Edgar Varèse, Écrits. Textes réunis et présentés par Louise Hirbour (Paris: Christian Bourgois éditeur, 1983).

7 Mark Slobin, *Folk Music. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3.

8 The book *Was ist Musik?* by Carl Dalhaus and Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, published in 1985, contemplates in just a few lines about the possibility of speaking of music in the "plural". It also recognizes that such a term as "music" is missing in languages of non-European cultures. It however treats this piece of information just as an item of curiosity, not worthy of further discussion. According to the authors, only Europeans have real "music", and not even all that in the West is labelled as such is actually "artistic", and therefore does not really deserve their attention (jazz, pop, rock).

9 Caroline Card Wendt, "Tuareg Music," *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, Ruth M. Stone, ed., Vol. I. (Africa: Garland Publishing, New York/London, 1998), 574–595. Anthony Seeger, *Why the Suya Sing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

10 Franziska Von Rosen, "'Thunder, That's Our Ancestors Drumming': Music as Experienced by a Micmac Elder," *Canadian Music. Issues of Hegemony and Identity*, Diamond, Beverley, Witmer, Robert, eds. (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1994), 557–579.

11 Bernd Brabec de Mori, *Die Lieder der Richtigen Menschen Musikalische Kulturanthropologie der indigenen Bevölkerung im Ucayali-Tal, Westamazonien* (Helbling Verlag Innsbruck, 2014).

12 Beverly Cavanagh, *Music of the Netsilik Eskimo* (Ottawa, National Museum of Canada, 1982), 144.

particular mental category?[13] And yet, the evocative aura radiated by the word "music" is so strong, that those who do not think of it as a universal concept nonetheless call themselves ethno-music-ologists, and so use a label containing the mystical intrafix.

The Problem with "Art"

Part of the problem with "music" is its connection with the Western concept of "art", which is also not at all universal.[14][15] When we categorize something as "art", in other words, it automatically becomes – in our Western mind – something non-natural, in a way artificial. In fact, the word "art" and the word "artificial" go back to the same Latin root (ars, artis; artificiosus; artificium).[16] All that is "artistic" is seen as "artificial" (although not all that is artificial is necessarily artistic), that is, human-made. It is intriguing that what humans do should be classified as artificial, as if we were not an integral part of nature but rather somewhat external to it, capable of either improving or harnessing the natural world, and guilty of disrupting its (supposed) balance. Non-human animals, on the contrary, are perceived as totally and purely "natural". From here comes a kind of syllogysm: music is artificial, animals are natural, animals make no music.[17]

And yet sonic productions are "natural" long before they become "cultural" – even among humans. That is because our response to sound is first of all physical; and in all kinds of sound we perceive the physical effort necessary to produce it: the striking of something, the breathing out activating our vocal chords.[18] That is why the making of meaningful sound, call it "music" if you like, is not comparable with literature, architecture, or the fine arts. Meaningful sound has as much to do with nature as it has with culture.[19] That's why defining music as the "art" of sound (like many dictionaries still do) offers a narrow, misleading definition, and ultimately a wrong one.

Music as Nature

The idea that music can only be "artificial" in a positive sense, in other words, exclusively human, is however relatively new in Western thinking. In fact, music history

13 Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Music and discourse: toward a semiology of music* (Princeton: University Press, 1990), 41..

14 Dutton Denis, "But they don't have our concept of art," *Theories of Art Today*, N. Carroll, ed. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 217–238.

15 A good example is culturally rich Indonesian island of Bali, where local language does not contain a word for "art" or "music". What we recognize across the world as "music" is not conceptualized in many cultures as such or as "art". Tthis is the case, for instance, among the Navajo people, whose songs are expected to express religious power rather than to impress in an aesthetic sense. David McAllester recalled a Navajo musician in Arizona who, when asked whether he liked a song they were listening to on the radio, could not answer without knowing first "what is it good for." (McAllester 1954).

16 Even in Germanic languages the two words are related, like *Kunst* and *künstlich* in German.

17 Somehow, dams made by beavers, although they significantly alter ecosystrems, are not perceived as equally "artificial" as those constructed by humans.

18 John Dewey marveled that music could retain "the primitive power of sound" and, at the same time, "transform (its) material into a (sophisticated) art that is most remote" from nature (John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York, Minton, Balch & Co., 1934).

19 It is however worth remembering how György Lukács pointed out in *History and Class Consciousness* that "nature" is also a value concept (1923: 27)

handbooks always mention how throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance three forms of music were believed to exist.

The noblest of the three was musica mundana or "music of the spheres". Back in those days, it was actually believed that planets and stars in their regularly calculated motions produce harmonious sounds.[20] Musica humana, to which both a physical and spiritual dimension were attributed, was one step lower in the hierarchy. On the one hand there was the external symmetry of the human body, the balance of its parts, the beauty of internal organs, and the harmony established by their finely-tuned functioning; on the other was the harmonious relation between body and soul. Like in the musica mundana, such relationships giving substance to the musica humana were thought to be "musical", because - and here we see the linkage to the Pythagorean tradition - such relationships were harmonious and expressible through numerical ratios.[21] And finally, on a lower level still, came the musica instrumentalis, consisting of two branches: the "theoretical" or "speculative" and the "practical" or "active". Of the two, only the latter is what we recognize as "music" today, and this was deemed to be the lowest form of all in the scale of values, one step inferior to the "theoretical" or "speculative". The idea apparently was that there is more "music" (more harmony) in theoretical thinking than could be expressed by the actual manipulation of sound![22]

In our time, this ancient idea that music is intrinsic to the nature of the universe itself, survives only in non-Western cultures. Although a word like "music" might not be available in their languages, the idea is often encountered that sound has something to do with the intimate fabric of nature, and that it may reflect itself and resound in different ways from case to case in each individual living creature. Just like when the Sangita Sastra affirms that whoever learns to listen to the divine voice in himself/herself will discover beautiful sound forms; or when the Sanscrit term mantra tends to embrace concepts that go both towards the micro and the macro aspects of reality, indeed reminiscent of the musica humana and the musica mundana.

This all-embracing idea of "music", which we perceive today in the West as a historical or ethnographic curiosity, reminds us of a time all until the Renaissance, when history and science would blur into myth and legend.[23] Even later, Georg Friedrich Handel in his Cäcilien-Ode and Joseph Strauss in his 1868 waltz titled Sphärenklänge remind us that celestial harmony was a poetic image that people of their times would understand. Today nobody would. Moreover, people like us, socialized in a culture where music is seen as a manufactured product to be projected towards a "public"

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20 The idea of music being intrinsic to the very nature of the universe can be found as late as in the work of Tommaso Campanella (1568-1639), who mentions the harmony of the spheres in his *Citt del Sole* (1602). Intriguingly, the harmony of the spheres is in a way confirmed by radio astronomy, even though the sound is not produced by the motion of celestial bodies. It comes from radio waves that stars give out, and which astronomers, for their convenience shift to the audio spectrum, getting as a result a sort of not at all unpleasant "harmony".

21 Albert Seay, *Music in the Medieval World,* 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliff, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991).

22 To what extent practical music-making was considered inferior to theoretical "musicking" is well expressed by Guido of Arezzo (ca. 991-1033) who wrote in his *Regulae rhytmicae*: "Musicorum et cantorum magna est distantia. Isti dicunt, illi sciunt quae componit musica. Sed qui facit, quod non sapit, diffinitur bestia" (Great is the distance between theorists and practical musicians. The latter say, the former know, how music works. Doing something without understanding it is what an animal does).

23 Jamie James, *The Music of the Spheres - Music, Science and the Natural Order of the Universe* (1993) (London: Abacus, 1995).

and to be handed over to future generations, find it hard to imagine how tangible and emotionally charged were concepts of "music" held in the Medieval West and in Oriental cultures; that of music that simply "is" and one does not "make".

Intriguingly, however, this all-embracing idea of "music" reappears in modern garb with John Cage and, in a more intellectually elaborated manner with Raymond Murray Schafer, whose investigation began with acoustic design and developed into a full ecology of sound.[24]

Zoomusicology

This is the point where "zoomusicology" needs to be addressed. In fact, the study of meaningful sound across the animal world has been intensive for more than thirty years now.[25] Not many mainstream music scholars have expressed in-depth interest in it so far, probably because of the widely accepted notion of music as of something artificial (therefore "artistic"), not natural, in a way, outside or above nature; something which only humans can make.

And yet, back in the days of comparative musicology (from about 1880 until 1950), several scholars, among them Erich Moritz von Hornbostel and George Herzog, asked the question, whether music could have had its beginnings among non-human animals. Because of their evolutionist view of history, and their quest for the origins of music, it made sense to consider how those beginnings could have taken place in the world of nature, before developing among "primitive" human cultures first and, later, among the "great civilizations" (*Hochkulturen*).[26] But once the interest for the origins of music abated - partly because scholars began to specialize in small areas, and partly because it is arduous to search for the origins of something that cannot be satisfactorily defined in the first place - the study of animal sounds lost much of its appeal.[27]

But something dramatic happened in the 1970s, when ethologists came up with new groundbreaking information.[28] The more thought-provoking challenges came from marine biologists studying the humpback whales.[29] They revealed how humpback whaless produce such highly-organized sound patterns that Roger Payne decided to call them "songs"[30]. Such "songs" may be up to 20 minutes long, and – this is the real

24 John Cage, *Notations* (New York: Something Else, 1969). Raymond Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1977). Steven Feld, "The Politics of Amplification: Notes on 'Endangered Music' and Musical Equity," *Folklife Center News* XV/1 (1993): 12–15.

25 It is generally accepted that the field of zoomusicology starts with the publication of François-Bernard Mâche's *Musique, mythe, nature ou les dauphins d'Arion* (Mâche 1983).

26 As late as 1941, Glen Haydon in his *Introduction to Musicology* maintained that while "Non-European musical systems and folk music constitute the chief subjects of study" (...), "the songs of birds and phylogenetic-ontogenetic parallels are subordinate topics" (Haydon 1941: 218).

27 A revival of interest in the topic,was caused by the new ideas and information from evolutionary biology (. Wallin, Merker, and Brown 2000).

28 The 1970s were years of considerable development in the field of ethology. In fact, it was in 1973 that Nikolaas Tinbergen, Konrad Lorenz and Karl von Frisch jointly received the Nobel Prize for the results of their studies in animal behavior. Those were the years when the very word "ethology" began to be known to wider public.

29 The humpback whale (*Megaptera novangliae*) is a species whose adults range in length from 12–16 m and weigh about 36,000 kg. Humpbacks have a distinctive body shape, with long pectoral fins and a knobbly head.

30 Payne Roger, *Among Whales* (Scribner, 1995).

big discovery – they reveal the identity of single populations within the same species. In other words, different populations of humpback whales develop different song-styles. Also, whales learn their songs from one-another and adapt them, improve on them, according to rules that can be at least in part made out analytically. In other words: what marine biologists described is no more and no less than "an oral tradition". Whale "songs" are "natural" in the sense that they characterize the species; but they are also "cultural", because separate populations develop their own idiosynchratic styles, whose characteristics are the result of imitation, individual creativity, and acceptance by the group.[31] Since then, comparable forms of sonic behavior have been reported in regard to other animal species. The main point to be stressed here is that, if we define culture, as we usually do, as "learned behavior", which is not solely the expression of the genetic make up of individuals, then animal groups do learn, transmit what they know to the younger generations and, therefore, do have "culture". This is something anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, and philosphers now have to reckon with.[32]

The study of animal cultures from the standpoint of the sounds they produce and utilize goes today under the name of "zoomusicology": I think it could be productively considered as part of ethnomusicology. Elsewhere I tried to make the point that a marriage between the two fields would be one of those really made in heaven.[33] On the one hand, students of animal behavior could considerably benefit from the concepts and methods developed by music scholars. On the other, ethnomusicologists, while performing a type of fieldwork they are well-trained to do, would profit from the information provided by ethologists. Such information would help us better estimate how widely on this planet of ours sound is intelligently used by living creatures – possibly in even more different forms than we ever suspected.

One point needs to be clarified. When animal sounds are discussed, the question is frequently asked, whether they are to be seen as "music" (something that to the Western mind implies aesthetic quality or, at least, the element of "play", that is, activity having no purpose beyond the enjoyment it produces) or, on the contrary, "communication". This is probably not a very useful question to ask. It is not one that

31 The definition of "folk music" given by the International Folk Music Council in 1954 comes to mind here: "Folk music is the product of a musical tradition that has been evolved through the process of oral transmission. The factors that shape the tradition are: (i) continuity which links the present with the past; (ii) variation which springs from the creative impulse of the individual or the group; and (iii) selection by the community, which determines the form or forms in which the music survives (...)" (Karpeles 1955: 23).

32 In 1976 Donald Griffin published *The Question of Animal Awareness*. He later developed his ideas on the matter in *Animal Minds* (1992) and *Animal Minds: Beyond Cognition to Consciousness* (2001). Griffin pointed out that physiologically, the brains of animals and humans share many features, such as neural cells associated with empathy and other emotions. He argued further that the complexity of animals' communications strongly suggests evidence that they have minds. He also made the point that the extraordinary variety of their responses to their native environment contradicts the traditional view of animals as unthinking and unfeeling. Since then, evidence has accumulated that many animals experience emotions such as compassion and a sense of fairness; that some are aware of themselves and others as separate beings. Most remarkable is that some non-human animals have abilities once thought to be unique to people: the ability to give names to objects, to use tools, to teach their young. At this point, the most controversial question in animal cognition is not whether they have thoughts and feelings, but whether they collectively create something that could reasonably be called a "culture". At the present time philosophers – I am thinking of Peter Singer and Markus Wild – seem to be more amenable to facing the question of culture in the animal world.

33 Marcello Sorce Keller, "Zoomusicology and Ethnomusicology: A Marriage to Celebrate in Heaven," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* XLIV (2012a): 166–183.

people lacking in their native language a word for "music" would formulate (people who do not necessarily distinguish between speech, communication, and pleasing or in some way functional sonic productions); for instance the Suya Indians of Brazil, the Wannga aborigines of Arnhem Land or the Mi'kmaq people of Newfoundland. Moreover, a clear-cut distinction between "communication" and "music" is hard to make even among human cultures. In other words: speaking and singing are not always, and necessarily, separate. Let us just think of tone languages (Chinese, Vietnamese, Hausa, etc.), of talking drums in Africa imitating intonation of words, often with musical results[34], or of the whistling language in the Canary island La Gomera, where some people are more pleasant to hear than others – even though they may in essence be saying the same thing. In many linguistic utterances, the sonic character takes at times a predominant role over semantics.[35]

The fact that sound is such a fundamental aspect of life makes scientists explore the possibility that even plants may use sound to communicate with one another. Whether some plants do it more effectively than others, or more "musically", is likely to remain unknown, at least for some time. [36]

Ecomusicology

The practice of ethnomusicology has convincingly shown that the study of meaningful sound ("music") makes little sense if it does not take into account cultural context. That is tantamount to saying that the meaning of intentionally produced sound is situational, that is, only in part germane to the sonic production itself. What may be meaningful at one time in one place, to a specific group of people, may mean little or nothing to other people or even to the same people, experiencing it at other times or in other places. By using the terminology of music historians, one would have to say that much of the meaning of "music" is extra-musical. And yet in our time it becomes clear that studying the "extra-musical", in other words music in context ("in culture" and "as culture"), may not suffice to stay on top of the highly diversified cluster of social interactions that mingle with organized sound – unless context also includes the environment. After all, cultures develop interaction with environments, with the geography of specific places, with their ecosystem, and specific soundscapes result from such interaction. To make the context of sonic actions inclusive of ecosystems, will undoubtedly be quite a challenge; but surely a most fascinating one. So far the musicologies we know have shown little interest in understanding what role nature,

34 George Herzog, "Drum Signalling in a West African Tribe," *Word* I (1945): 217–238. (Reprinted in: Dell Hymes, Ed., *Language in Culture and Society*, New York, 1964, 312–23.). Beier Ulli. "The Talking Drums of the Yoruba," *African Music* I/1 (1954): 29–31. Clifford Allen Hill, Sviataslov Podslavsky, "The Interfacing of Language and Music in Hausa Praise Singing," *Ethnomusicology* XX/3 (1976): 535–540.

35 Most societies have forms of discourse that fit between speech and song, such as slogans, proverbs, greeting formulae, military orders, proverbs, magic spells, prayers, nursery rhymes, street-cries, etc.

36 Plants are capable of producing sound waves in the lower end of the audio range as well as ultrasonic sounds. Monica Gagliano has been capturing the ultrasonic signals emitted by plants under different environmental conditions and exploring the ecological significance of such sounds for communication among plants and between plants and other organisms (Gagliano 2013: 789–796).

environments, ecosystems play in the development of sonic activities, and in the interpretation of them once they come into existence.

However, in recent times, "ecocriticism", a field of literary scholarship focusing on the interaction between literature and environment was a major force in activating the interest of music scholars in this direction. In fact, since 2007 a Study Group for Ecocriticism exists within the American Musicological Society, which is devoted to the study of Western music, with a predominantly historical approach. Apparently, familiarity of historical musicologists with literary studies provided them with the opportunity to start this important new direction.[37] The Society for Ethnomusicology followed a few years later, in 2011, by officially recognizing its Special Interest Group for Ecomusicology. It is an encouraging showcase of a productive encounter of scholars converging from diverse backgrounds. A possible danger, however, would be a further fragmentation in music studies, where so many "musicologies" already exist and their main branches, more often than not, do not much interact with each other.

Precisely because zoomusicology well connects with the expertise ethnomusicologists have in dealing with culture and ecomusicology well connects with the experience they have in doing fieldwork in all kinds of environment, it would be appropriate for ethnomusicology to claim such areas of intellectual endeavour as its own and help bring them all together. Such an attitude would probably avoid the risk that such new fields would develop as independent disciplines which, at the moment, appears to be a possibility.

Conclusion

We live in the Age of Musicologies – the plural is in order. When Guido Adler, towards the end of the 19th century, described how music studies could be organized, "ethnomusicology" (at the time, "comparative musicology") was a part of his articulate mapping of the territory.[38] A century later, many people accepted a somewhat simplistic division of music studies into two main pillars: "historical musicology" and "ethnomusicology". In this respect things have changed to a considerable extent. Back in 1977, when in the USA scholars with theoretical interests separated from the American Musicological Society, "music theory", as we know it today, became a discipline in its own right. "Jazz studies" had developed largely as an independent field; although many ethnomusicologists are interested in jazz, jazz scholars at large, such as Joachim Ernst Berendt, James Lincoln Collier, Frank Tirro, or Ted Gioia did not and do not consider themselves ethnomusicologists. The same counts for "popular music studies".[39]

37 No doubt, other strains of research contributed to the development of ecomusicology. One of them is represented by Raymond Murray Schafer, who realised how crucial it is to relate sonic activities to the environment. He explored how the idea of "absolute music" (symphony, quartet, sonata) had its beginnings during the XVIII century, as if it were a response, a sort of antidote or protection, against the progressive invasiveness of the urban, low-fi, soundscape of European cities, at the time when noisy factories were proliferating within the city itself, rather than out in the countryside as it happens today. In order to make it possible to hear the music and screen out the city noise,, enclosed spaces were invented – what in the XIX century became the "concert-hall" (Murray Schafer 1977).

38 Guido Adler, "Umfang, Methode und Ziel der Musikwissenschaft," *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* I (1885): 5–20.

39 Since 1981 they have their own society: the International Association for the Study of Popular Music (IASPM).

Although many ethnomusicologists conduct research on popular music, popular music scholars such as Charles Hamm, Richard Middleton, Philip Tagg, or Franco Fabbri did not in the past, nor do they today think of themselves as ethnomusicologists. And now, in addition to music theory, jazz studies, and popular music studies, there are also fast-growing computational musicology, ludomusicology, sound studies, zoomusicology, and ecomusicology, to mention just a few.

Such a wide spectrum of contemporary music scholarship is at the same time exciting and confusing. It is hard to say where this proliferation of "musicologies" will take us. The danger – I wish to emphasize the point already mentioned in the previous paragraph - is that, the more fields became established, the more they tend to ignore each other. Disappointingly, from my personal point of view, ethnomusicology no longer seems to be that great comprehensive field we thought it was back in the 1970s.

At the very outset of this article, I observed how the categories we use in music studies are not satisfactorily defined. It would be easier and more productive to work with definable categories, whenever possible. Sometimes a re-definition of concepts suffices, sometimes not. Back in the 1990s, the definition of what is a planet became fuzzy among astronomers, and it took time before the International Astronomical Association arrived at a new one.[40] Biologists who focus on organisms, no longer can use the old definition of what an "organism" is, but so far could not provide a new one.[41] They made of it an "ideal type", and describe systems based on carbon chemistry as more or less "organism-like", or "organismal".[42] We, music scholars, are in an even worse situation; we all study "music", and yet have no definition of it that would brings us all together. The same applies to the lack of cogent definitions for other categories whose meaning is essentially ideological: "classical music", "folk/traditional music", "popular music". While new musicologies, open up for us new vistas, all of them utilize old categories that do not help us make meaningful distinctions.

In a personal attempt to get out of the described situation, I decided to follow Christopher Small – at least temporarily. He suggested that the question "what kind of music is this?" is not the right one to ask.[43] A better one would be "what is happening here?"[44] In order to answer, I find it useful to distinguish among forms of behavior (human and

40 The newly proposed definition of a planet is: a celestial body with sufficient mass to assume a nearly spherical shape that orbits a star without being another star or a satellite of another planet. By this definition, the list of planets in order from the Sun now reads: Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Ceres, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune, Pluto-Charon (considered a double-planet system), and the newly discovered and officially unnamed 2003 UB313, otherwise known as Xena. The committee also proposed a new category of planets, called plutons, be applied to those bodies that, like Pluto, both take longer than 200 Earth years to revolve around the Sun and have eccentric orbits outside the typical orbital plane.

41 The old definition was "a contiguous living system, capable of some degree of response to stimuli, reproduction, growth, and homeostasis".

42 A virus is not an organism according to the old definition, because it does not possess the ability to reproduce itself autonomously, without using the organs of a host cell. And neither is the biosphere, if seen from the standpoint of James Lovelock's "Gaia Hypothesis". Both are however "organism-like", to the extent that there is cooperation among their component parts.

43 Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meaning of Performance and Listening* (Hanover and London, Wesleyan University Press, 1998).

44 Each performance represents somebody's values and way of life. Performances articulate and express values held by specific groups, large or a small, local or cosmopolitan, powerful or powerless, rich or destitute. No piece, no performance, no form of sonic behavior was ever conceived for universal appeal. Quite the other way, its function is to celebrate how local people feel about themselves. That is why, ethnomusicology invented the plural for the word "music"; and "musics" always have a location in time, space, and culture.

non-human) that are sound-centered, sound-complemented, sound-enhanced, or even sound-polluted as may be the case. Sound can be essential, more or less functional or disfunctional, incidental, optional, oppositional, obliterative – in our daily lives as well as in ecosystems in a more general sense. No doubt, these are ideal types, of which in reality we only find approximations – but at least they are not ideologically coloured and, more importantly, they cut across disciplinary borderlines, and so could help us make borderlines among musicologies more permeable.

As far as the non-scientific term "music" is concerned, it does not help us to gain knowledge; it actually often blurs or makes invisible differences that may be of primary relevance. We can certainly keep using it in everyday conversations, but not in a scholarly discourse.

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POVZETEK

Kategorije so glavni način, kako organiziramo naše razumevanje realnosti in prav kategorije so – v ključnem smislu – to razumevanje. Vsaka kultura razvije svoje kategorije, jih dojema kot samoumevne in jih ne prevprašuje. Učenost pa je tukaj, da jih postavi pod vprašaj. Toda četudi pripoznamo, da nosijo težko breme kulturnih in ideoloških konotacij, jih zaradi tega ne smemo nujno zavreči. Toda če naj bodo uporabne za vednost, morajo biti kategorije takšne, da jih je mogoče definirati. Muzikologijam škodi raba kategorij oziroma konceptualizacij, ki ne zadoščajo vsem. Že sama beseda »glasba« reprezentira eno takšnih kategorij. Gre za precej evokativen termin, vsi smo nanj navezani, verjetno pa ga tudi nikoli ne bomo nehali uporabljati v vsakodnevni komunikaciji. Toda prav zaradi vseh kontradiktornih plasti pomenov, ki jih je termin akumuliral v teku zgodovine Zahoda, konstituira resnično prepreko, da bi bolje razumeli, kako se zvok uporablja v interakciji med ljudmi, živalmi in v sklopu celotnega okolja.

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so glasba in manjšine, slušni sistemi znanja, aplikativna etnomuzikologija, glasba tajvanskih staroselcev, glasba in migracije, bimuzikalnost ter večglasna glasba. S tajvanskim staroselskim ljudstvom Tao je realizirala več aplikativnih projektov.

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Her publications iclude two books and over forty articles, published in international journals, encyclopedia and edited volumes. Her research interests include Russian and Soviet music after World War II, contemporary Serbian and Balkan music, Darmstadt avant-garde, Stockhausen, Schnittke, Prokofiev and popular music. She is also a multi-instrumentalist, specialising in contemporary music.

Albinca PESEK (albinca.pesek@gmail.com), še do nedavnega profesorica za didaktiko glasbene vzgoje na Pedagoški fakulteti Univerze v Mariboru, je pridobila diplomi pedagoških znanosti in glasbene pedagogike na Univerzi v Ljubljani. Magistrsko nalogo o glasbenih sposobnostih je pripravljala v Weimarju (Nemčija), doktorat o otrocih, starših in predšolski glasbeni vzgoji in izobraževanju pa v Hartfordu (ZDA); oboje je zagovarjala na Univerzi v Ljubljani. Napisala je prvo monografijo na področju glasbenega izobraževanja in psihologije v Sloveniji in pripravila obsežen niz didaktičnih gradiv za vse stopnje osnovnošolskega glasbenega izobraževanja. Njena raziskovalna in pedagoška praksa se v minulih letih osredinja na zvočno, glasbeno in plesno terapijo za različne starostne skupine – od predšolskih otrok do starostnikov.

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Amra TOSKA (amra.tosca@gmail.com) earned her Bachelor's and Master's degrees in ethnomusicology from the Academy of Music and also graduated from the Faculty of Architecture of the University of Sarajevo. Her main ethnomusicological research interests involve the role of women in traditional cultures (Master thesis *Woman as the Source and the Carrier of the continuity of the Traditional Practice: Sevdalinka and Fado*), the contemporary (re)interpretations of (folk) musical practices, and the relation between (traditional) music and its performing space. She is currently a teaching assistant at the Department of Musicology and Ethnomusicology, Ethnomusicological section, at the Academy of Music in Sarajevo, and a Ph.D. candidate researching the traditional music as the sound of space.