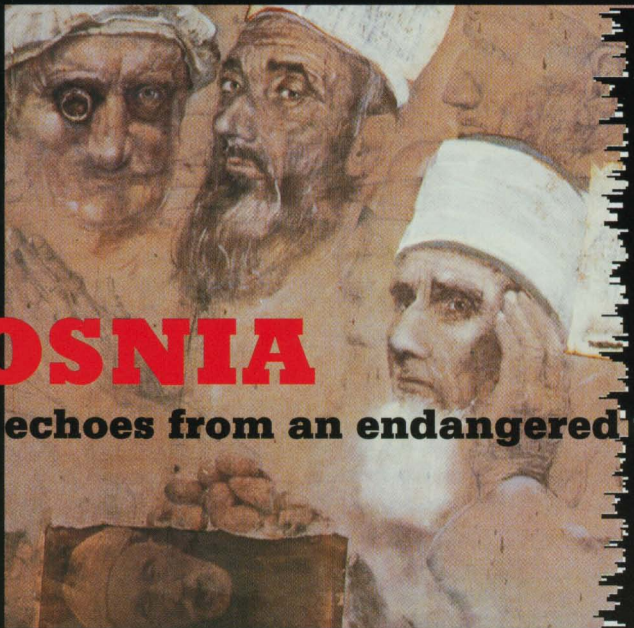




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BOSNIA

echoes from an endangered world

BOSNIA: echoes from an endangered world

Music and Chant of the Bosnian Muslims

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Ted Levin and Ankica Petrović



- 1 *Kad ja podjoh na Benbašu* 4:09
- 2 *Dunjaluče, golem ti si* 3:10
- 3 *Svatovsko kolo* 1:04
- 4 *Alaj volim orati* 4:19
- 5 *Ganga: Odkad seke nismo zapjevale* 2:51
- 6 *Ganga: Sto bečara u srce udara?* 1:21
- 7 *Bečarac: Selo moje leži pokraj Bara* 1:35
- 8 *Il' je vedro, il' oblačno* 2:58
- 9 *Ezan (Call to prayer)* 4:53
- 10 Excerpt from Naqshbandi *zikr* 3:16
- 11 Excerpt from Qadiri *zikr* 5:47
- 12 *Sarajevski početak/
Sarhoš Aljo drume zatvaraše* 6:51
- 13 *Vila viče sa vrh Trebevića* 2:59
- 14 *Voljeli se Mujo i Nizama* 3:49

Recorded before the recent violence and conflagration in Bosnia and Herzegovina, these rich and beautiful recordings of Muslim traditions display the unique confluence of Turkish and European influences that characterized this region. Compiled from commercial and field recordings, these are indeed echoes of an endangered world: many of the performers have been killed or displaced by war along with the rest of the population. Royalties from this recording are designated for the support of humanitarian aid in the region.


**Smithsonian
Folkways**

Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings
Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies
955 L'Enfant Plaza, Suite 2600
Smithsonian Institution
Washington DC 20560

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Music and Chant of the Bosnian Muslims

Recorded, compiled, and annotated by Ted Levin and Ankica Petrović

- 1 *Kad ja podjoh na Benbašu* 4:09
(“When I went to Benbaša”)
- 2 *Dunjaluče, golem ti si* 3:10
(“World and its people, you are great”)
- 3 *Svatovsko kolo* 1:04
(“Wedding dance”)
- 4 *Alaj volim orati* 4:19
(“Oh, how I like to plough!”)
- 5 *Ganga: Odkad seke nismo zapjevale* 2:51
(“How long we sisters haven't sung”)
- 6 *Ganga: Sto bečara u srce udara?* 1:21
(“What strikes the heart of a 'real man'?”)
- 7 *Bečarac: Selo moje leži pokraj Bara* 1:35
(“My village lies next to Bare”)
- 8 *Il' je vedro, il' oblačno* 2:58
(“Is it clear, or cloudy”)
- 9 *Ezan* (Call to prayer) 4:53
- 10 Excerpt from *Naqshbandi zikr* 3:16

- 11 Excerpt from *Qadiri zikr* 5:47
- 12 *Sarajevski početak/Sarhoš Aljo drume zatvaraše* 6:51
(“Sarajevo's beginning”/“Aljo the bully blocked the road”)
- 13 *Vila viče sa vrh Trebevića* 2:59
(“The mountain nymph shouts from the top of Trebević”)
- 14 *Voljeli se Mujo i Nizama* 3:49
(“Mujo and Nizama were in love”)

In the Latin alphabet, Serbo-Croatian uses four diacritical marks, as follows:

š = sh (as in “sheep”)

č = ch (as in “child”)

ć = ch (as in “lynch”)

ž = soft j (as in French “Jacques”)

c without a diacritical = ts (as in “bats”)

dj = j (as in “jam”)

j = y (as in “yellow”)

Introduction by Ted Levin

Sarajevo was buried in snow when I first arrived there on a blustery January afternoon in 1983 after driving – foolishly – over the mountains from Beograd in a blizzard. I knew nothing of Bosnian music then. Like so many visitors before me, I'd come to wander in the *Baščaršija*, the old Ottoman part of town, to sip Turkish coffee in the crowded salon of the Hotel Europa, and to follow the route of Archduke Franz Ferdinand's motor car toward the fateful point near the bridge on the Miljacka where young Gavrilo Princip fired his revolver at Ferdinand, setting off the events that led to World War I.

Eighteen months later, I was back in Sarajevo, seduced by the physical beauty of the city and its surroundings, and by the intricate intermingling of religions, ethnicities, and traditions that nourished a vibrant and high-spirited cultural life. At the invitation of fellow ethnomusicologist

Ankica Petrović, Professor of Music at the Music Academy of Sarajevo University, I settled in Sarajevo for six months to work on a project whose focus was “Turkish influences in the music of Bosnia and Herzegovina.” Through the fall and winter of 1984-85, Professor Petrović and I traveled in Bosnia and Herzegovina, studying and recording music in the field.

My interest in Turkish influences in the Balkans was a natural outgrowth of earlier musical fieldwork in Anatolia and in Inner Asia, where Turkic peoples have their deepest roots. Turks moved westward into Anatolia only toward the beginning of the present millenium, and it was not until 1389, when the Ottoman Turks defeated Serbia at the battle of Kosovo, initiating 500 years of Ottoman rule, that Turkish cultural influences began to spread through the South Slavic lands.

Walking the streets of Sarajevo – or nearly any Bosnian city or town – before the tragic events of the past year, one could see, hear, smell, and taste these Turkish cultural influences. From the dozens of mosques, where muezzins chanted the *ezan* over crackly loudspeakers, to the ubiquitous sweet shops and *čevapčići* (grilled meatball) joints, from the rambling bazaars to the sprightly, yet slightly melancholy folk tunes that blurted from radios and cassette players in stores and shops, a visitor felt the presence of the East.

And yet the Bosnian East is very much part of Europe. Bosnian Muslims are Slavs who converted to Islam during the early years of Ottoman rule. Their language is Serbo-Croatian, the same language spoken by Eastern Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. (Serbo-Croatian has presently been sub-divided under political

pressures from both Serbs and Croats into two separate linguistic identities: Serbian and Croatian. Notwithstanding different alphabets [Serbian uses Cyrillic, Croatian uses the Latin alphabet] and certain distinctive words, Serbian and Croatian remain essentially one and the same language: Serbo-Croatian.) Throughout Bosnia, churches coexisted with mosques. In cosmopolitan Sarajevo, disco bars competed with the sweet shops. Bosnia's cultural achievements were grounded in a spirit of tolerance that was a source of great local pride.

The consumption of this spirit of tolerance by the flames of nationalism has created a violent conflagration with few precedents in our century. The appalling destruction of people and property and the daily chronicle of human misery caused by the Bosnian War have been widely reported. But the systematic decimation of villages,

towns, and cities and the uprooting of their populations through "ethnic cleansing" will have long-term consequences that one hesitates to imagine. Among these is very possibly the wholesale loss of a culture that evolved over centuries as a distinctive achievement of the Muslim Slavs, almost two million of whom once inhabited Bosnia. In a modest attempt to help stanch that loss, we have devoted this recording to the music of Bosnia's most endangered people: the Bosnian Muslims.

The musical voices presented on this recording have for the most part been silenced. Some of the performers have died, at least one has been wounded and one taken prisoner; the rest are scattered amidst the carnage of the War, their fate unknown, and unknowable.

In assembling the present compilation, Ankica Petrović and I have tried to present echoes from a musical world that has ceased to exist. Besides selections from our own field recordings of 1984-85, we have included three selections previously released on Yugoton (now Croatia Records, which generously provided them free of charge), two selections recorded by RTV Sarajevo, and finally, two field recordings provided by Mirjana Laušević, a young ethnomusicologist from Sarajevo who is presently a graduate student at Wesleyan University.

All royalties from the sale of this recording are to be donated to charitable organizations and designated for the support of humanitarian aid in Bosnia.

Notes on the Music, by Ankica Petrović

(translated and adapted from Serbo-Croatian by Ted Levin)

Following the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in 1463 and Herzegovina in 1482, the local South Slavic population of this mountainous Balkan territory underwent intense Islamization (see map). Previously, these Slavs had been Catholic or Orthodox, or adherents of the heretical Christian Bogomil sect.

Elements of Islamic culture, including music, were gradually introduced and formed among Bosnian Muslims during the first centuries of Ottoman rule, primarily through prayers and religious ceremonies, and through the interpretation of the Kor'an. Ottoman administrative rule and Islamic religious traditions were concentrated in urban areas, and thus urban populations tended to be the most pious, and the most susceptible to imported musical and ceremonial practices. However, imported traditions inevitably merged with local ones.

While the cultural traditions and practices of the Ottoman Turks served as the closest model for Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter called simply "Bosnia," following current popular practice in the West), the music of Bosnian Muslims was neither a literal copy of Ottoman musical traditions nor a simulacrum of the music of other cultures in the core Islamic world. For example, Ottoman classical music seems not to have been adopted during the era of Ottoman rule, which lasted until 1878.

On the other hand, Islamic religious chant, and in particular, the *ilahija-s* of the Sufi brotherhoods (in Bosnia, the Qadiri, Naqshbandi, and Mevlevi dervish orders had the largest following) left significant traces in both religious and popular musical practices, both among Muslims and among other groups, for example, Sephardic Jews. The musical forms,

instruments, and taste that exemplified the Turkish military orchestra (*mehterhana*) and ensembles of traveling musicians from the central Ottoman lands also had a certain influence on musical practice among Bosnian Muslims. But Bosnian Muslims maintained a recognizable musical individualism, applying selected elements of Oriental music to existing local traditions, more in lyrical and instrumental forms, and less in narrative forms such as epic singing and ballads.

Rural Muslims, geographically isolated by Bosnia's rugged terrain, were less exposed to Ottoman culture, and their music remained closer to the musical traditions of the indigenous Croats and Serbs with whom they had long coexisted. Even the chanting of the Kor'an, *Mevlud* (in the Ottoman tradition, a chant for the birthday of the prophet) and *ezan* (Arabic: *adhan*), the Islamic call to prayer,

remained close to rural musical practice and local aesthetic concepts (the *ezan* presented in track 9 is chanted in the florid Ottoman style that is more typical of urban Bosnia). These include a limited tonal range with narrow intervals, limited melodic movement, the use of specific melismatic tones, and singing at extremely loud dynamic levels. Polyphonic (multi-part) singing, both of older and more recent vintage, is common among the rural Muslim population, but only in secular music. Oriental-Islamic influence was more strongly represented in the rural practice of the central and northern plains regions of Bosnia as a result of easy communications with local centers of religious and cultural life. Overall, however, Bosnia preserved a steadfast religious-cultural conservatism on the periphery of the Islamic world.

Into the twentieth century, professional musicians who performed in the aristocratic courts of Bosnian Muslims and in the ubiquitous urban *kafana*-s (cafés) were primarily Christians, or alternatively, Muslims of low social caste, or Gypsies. Singers of epic songs who accompanied themselves on the *gusle* (a bowed lute with one or two strings) or on the *tambura* (a smaller type of long-necked lute with two or four strings) had a higher status as narrators of historical events. Muslims at times borrowed the epic performance style to interpret lyric songs that, until the second half of the nineteenth century, were called *turčija*-s ("singing in the Turkish manner"). Later, they were called *sevdalinka*, from the Turkish word *sevdah* ("love," "amorous yearning," or "passion"). *Sevdalinka*-s were reserved for suitable secular occasions that fostered a mood of intimacy and reflection.

For Muslim women, social laws governing the performance of music were particularly restrictive. Their musical practice, traditionally conducted in closed family quarters, included ballads, lullabies, wedding songs and *sevdalinka*-s, religious *ilahija*-s, and forms of the *Mevlud*. The chanting of the Kor'an among religiously educated women existed only on the level of individual interpretation. Muslim women (as well as non-Muslim women) in Bosnia were prohibited from playing musical instruments. Only at the beginning of this century did Muslim girls from respectable urban families begin to play the button accordion without moral prejudice, accompanying Muslim lyric songs, but again only in hermetic social surroundings. Such playing became a new symbol of social prestige. For Muslim women, the occupation of professional musician became acceptable only in the 1940s.

Our present knowledge of the music of Bosnian Muslims stems mainly from observation of current musical practice, and from informants knowledgeable about Bosnian musical traditions. Written sources from the era of Ottoman rule remain largely uninvestigated. It seems clear, however, that in Ottoman times, the Turkish system of melodic modes called *makam* (Arabic: *maqam*) was well understood by urban Muslim (and Jewish) performers, and that this knowledge has gradually been lost. Several melodic modes recognizable in traditional *sevdalinka*-s correlate with the Turkish *makam*-s *hidjaz*, *uřak*, and *nahvan* (Turkish: *hicâz*, *uřřak*, and *nihâvend*). These *makam*-s, plus several others, also shape the tonality of religious chants.

Muslim musicians in Bosnia use the term *mekam* (accent on first syllable) to designate the general idea of tonal or melodic structure in religious musical forms. They use the terms *kajda* (Turkish *kaide*, from Arabic *qa'ida*: "rule," "principle") and *avaz* (Turkish *avaz*, from Persian *âwâz*: "voice") for a general designation of the tonal or melodic structure of secular musical forms. *Kajda* is used exclusively for vocal forms and *avaz* for instrumental forms. *Avaz* also serves as a general concept for the manner of tuning instruments, primarily stringed instruments of Oriental origin, and as the general designation for the timbral qualities of the human voice or of instruments.

Present-day Bosnian musicians do not name or acknowledge individual *makam*-s. But the vestigial presence of the *makam* principle in *sevdalinka*-s and religious chant coupled with the actual perfor-

mance practice of some of the oldest singers suggests that both these repertoires were grounded in the use of non-tempered Turkish scales. (N.B. It is important to distinguish the legacy of Turkish scales from the autochthonous use of narrow intervals in the old rural music of Bosnia and Herzegovina that still serves Muslims as well as Serbs and Croats.) By contrast, Muslim urban lyric forms are now interpreted within the European tempered system, largely due to the introduction of European instruments to accompany the *sevdalinka* (for example, track 1, *Kad ja podjoh na Benbašu*). Foremost among these is the accordion, which has largely replaced the *saz*, or at least curbed the solo form of *saz* playing (the latter illustrated in track 13, *Sarajevski početak*).

Accordions are also frequently played in ensembles together with a violin and bass guitar. With the introduction of these instruments, the *sevdalinka* has undergone a fundamental change. Not only has the Turkish modal system yielded its place to the European major-minor system, but the typical monodic concept of Muslim lyric songs has yielded its place to a harmonic concept, in which chords largely mask the expressiveness of the melodic line. In place of free rhythm and melismatic melodies, metrical rhythm and melodic rhythm converge to create a strong beat. If the *saz* once provided a solo accompaniment to the voice, now the voice has become subordinate to instrumental accompaniment. And as the volume of the accompaniment has become louder, vocal timbres have changed in order to adjust to louder dynamic levels and the new timbres of instrumental ensembles. Yet such

changes have not diminished the value and significance of the *sevdalinka* in Bosnia. On the contrary, the *sevdalinka* has enjoyed its greatest popularity during the last decades as a traditional musical genre transformed through stylistic change and disseminated through mass mediation.

Though this discussion of the music of Bosnian Muslims has mostly focussed on repertoires that stemmed from the acculturation of the Ottoman period, it is important to remember that the music of Bosnian Muslims also includes the old autochthonous traditions that rural Muslims share with Serbs and Croats. Meanwhile, urban Muslim musicians have drawn on the cultural heritage of the non-Muslim urban population of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Croats, Serbs, and Jews, particularly from the end of the last century to the present. All of these peoples

shared in the preservation, evolution, and affirmation of the *sevdalinka* and other urban musical genres, considering them to be a kind of ecumenical urban Bosnian-Herzegovinian folk music, or simply "their" music.



A Word on Musical Instruments

Until the twentieth century, the majority of instruments that have served Muslims in Bosnia and Herzegovina were adopted from the East. These consist of different types of long-necked lutes – *tambura*, *šargija*, and *saz* – the *zurna*, a double reed instrument and many types of membranophonic instruments and cymbals.

The *saz* was primarily an urban instrument of large dimensions strung with 6-10 metal strings that ran over a large number of low frets (*perdeta*). It was used mostly to accompany lyric songs and, rarely, to accompany dances of an Oriental type, for example the *zaybek*. The *saz* player (*sazlija*) demonstrated his ability to improvise in the lengthy instrumental introductions and intermezzi that were an essential part of lyric songs like the *sevdalinka*.

The *tambura* and *šargija*, instruments of small and medium format with 2, 4, or 6 strings, are used mainly in rural musical practice. The *tambura* is used to accom-

pany Muslim epic songs or dances and the *šargija* to accompany dances and rural lyric songs. In the last decade, the *šargija* has been played in combination with violin as a lead melodic instrument (as in track 4, *Alaj volim orati*).

The *zurna*, a wind instrument similar to an oboe, was brought to Bosnia by the Turkish military ensembles. With time, it began to be used in Muslim weddings and religious rituals. In the same manner, various membranophones and idiophones were also imported. Some were used in the dervish rituals – *bim-bir halka* (Turkish: *bendir*), *kudum* (kettledrum), and *zil* (cymbal). Dervishes also played the end-blown flute called *naj* (Turkish: *ney*). Most of these instruments have disappeared from folk practice because the functions they once served have also disappeared.

Contents of the Recording

(All selections recorded by Levin and Petrović in 1984-85 unless otherwise indicated.)

1 *Kad ja podjoh na Benbašu*

("When I went to Benbaša")

Nada Mamula, vocal

accompanied by orchestra of RTV Sarajevo
Ismet Alajbegović-Šerbo, leader (deceased)
[licensed from Croatia Records]

If the people of Sarajevo could choose their own anthem, it would surely be the lyrical *Kad ja podjoh na Benbašu*. Evoking in its first stanza one of the well-known regions of Sarajevo, the song identifies with this city and unfolds in a sentimental form that is in keeping with the spirit of local tradition. Tune and text are evidently of recent origin, however the melody is based on an antecedent that was originally a dervish *ilahija*. The appealing melody of the *ilahija* found its way into numerous local musical genres, and even into the liturgical practice of the Sephardic Jews of Sarajevo. With time, *Kad ja podjoh na Benbašu* has become a musical symbol of Sarajevo. Here

it is presented in a popular interpretation in which the folk orchestra of RTV Sarajevo accompanies a professional singer in a new instrumental arrangement.

Kad ja podjoh na Benbašu

Na Benbašu na vodu

Ja povedoh b'jelo jagnje,

B'jelo jagnje sa sobom.

Sve od derta i sevdaha,

od tuge i žalosti.

Svud sam iš'o svud sam gled'o

Ne bil' dragu vidjeo.

Sve djevojke Benbašanke

Na kapiji stajahu.

Samo moja mila draga

Na demirli pendžeru.

Ja joj nazvah dobro veče,

Dobro veče djevojče,

Ona meni doj' do večer,

doj', do večer dilberče.

When I went to Benbaša
To Benbaša for water
I took a small white lamb,
A small white lamb with me.
Because of the suffering and passion
of love
Because of sorrow and longing, I went
and looked everywhere
To try to see my darling.
All the girls from Benbaša
Stood in the door (of the courtyard)
Only my dear darling
Was at the window with the iron grill.
I told her good evening,
Good evening, girl,
She told me to come in the evening,
Come in the evening, darling.

2 *Dunjaluče, golem ti si*
("World and its people, you are great")
Himzo Polovina, vocal (deceased)
accompanied by Selim Salihović, *saz*
(deceased)
[licensed from Croatia Records]

This *sevdalinka* is performed in a long ballad form. The unusual beginning of the ballad is about the Morić brothers, well-known Sarajevo personalities of the mid-nineteenth century, and speaks mainly of a particular region of the old part of Sarajevo and its characteristic beauty. It is in fact one of the numerous songs that extol the virtues of Sarajevo and present a folk testimony to the values of diversity and tolerance on which the city was founded.

This recording presents a professional performance by a leading singer of Bosnian folk songs, Himzo Polovina, accompanied by *saz*.

Dunjaluče, golem ti si,
Sarajevo, seir ti si,
Bašćaršijo, gani ti si,
Ahaj, a Vratniče gazil ti si.

Oj, Bistriče, strmen ti si,
Čemalušo, duga ti si.
Latinluče, ravan ti si,
Ahahaj, Bezistane mračan ti si
Ahahaj, Bezistane, mračan ti si.
Tašlihanu, širok ti si.
Ljepa Maro, ljepa ti si.
Dosta si me napojila,
Ahaj, od dušmana zaklonila.

World and its people, you are great
Sarajevo, you look beautiful,
Bašćaršija, you are rich,
Ahaj, and Vratnik you are heroes.
Oj, Bistrik, you are steep,
Čemaluša, you are long.
Latinluk, you are flat.
Ahaha, Bezistan, you are dark.
Ahaha, Bezistan, you are dark.
Tašlihan, you are wide.
Pretty Mara, you are beautiful.
You gave me plenty to drink
Ahah, you protected me from enemies

3 *Svatovsko kolo* ("Wedding dance")
Izudin Osojkić (b. 1949) and Omer Bikić (b. 1941), *zurna*; Rešo Kopčalić (b. 1938) and Rašid Imamović (b. 1929), drums
recorded in village of Maoče, near Brčko, northeastern Bosnia

One direct way in which Oriental influences penetrated Bosnia during the years of Ottoman rule was through the importation of musical instruments from the East. The *zurna* and snare drum, called in Turkey *davul*, were first used in Bosnia in the context of the *mehterhana*, the Turkish military orchestra. Later they were employed in Muslim wedding ceremonies with the idea that their loud and penetrating sound would magically protect newlyweds from evil spirits. Until not long ago, *zurna*-s and drums were used only in the northeast of Bosnia among semi-professional rural musicians with repertoires of local tunes. We recorded this wedding *kolo* from one such ensemble.

4 *Alaj volim orati*

("Oh, how I like to plough!")

violin and *šargija* (long-necked lute),
Izudin Osojkić (b. 1949) and Osman Bikić
(b. 1941), village of Maoče, near Brčko

In recent years, some songs which are inconsistent with traditional Islamic moral attitudes and aesthetic values have been included in the local music practice of Muslims from northeastern Bosnian villages. Thus, songs with erotic textual content have become a part of the repertory of semiprofessional musicians in Muslim communities. During the process of transmission of these songs, some older expressive characteristics of rural musical style are adapted to the new socio-cultural milieu.

One example is this dancing song, whose text originated in a neighboring Croatian region. It is sung by two performers who accompany themselves on violin and *šargija*, a long-necked lute of Turkish origin.

Alaj volim orati

sa volovim' rogamim

Još da mi je cura b'jela,
da volove tjera.

I curica mrkušica
da drži kolica,
da drži kolica.

Ala bi se siđicala,
al' mi ne da mama,
Vala ću se šigicati,
kad ostanem sama.

Ostala sam sama,
Odi lolo vamo,
Odi lolo vamo da se šigicamo,
i ponesi tamburicu da poigramo
da poigramo, da se šigicamo.

Moj mi lola, moja mila nane,
od prirode, od prirode nalazi mahane.
Od prirode, od prirode nalazi mahane, ej.
Sitna dika, sitna ja,
Sitna slama pod nama.
sitno dika mene ljubi poznače se zubi.
Poznače mi nana da sam milovana.
Moj dragane, imaš jednu manu
što ostavi, što ostavi

na mom srcu ranu, na mom srcu ranu
Što ostavi, što ostavi
na mom srcu ranu, na mom srcu ranu.
Eh moj dragane, moj dragane,
Imaš jednu manu, imaš jednu manu.

Oh, how I like to plough
with horned oxen
And would that I had a light-skinned girl
to pull away the oxen
And a dark-skinned girl
to hold the oxcart
to hold the oxcart.
Oh, how I'd like to make out,
but my mother doesn't let me,
I swear that I'm going to make out
when I stay home alone.
I stayed alone,
Hey, fellow, come over here,
Come over here so we can make out,
And bring your tamburica to dance
to dance, to make out.

My fellow, my dear mother
It's in his nature, in his nature to find my
faults

It's in his nature, in his nature to find my
faults.

My darling is tiny, I am tiny,
Tiny is the straw under us.

My darling gives me tiny kisses
the toothmarks will be recognized.
My mother will recognize that I was
caressed.

My darling, you have one fault
that you left, that you left
a wound on my heart, a wound on my
heart
That you left, that you left
A wound on my heart, a wound on my
heart.

Eh, my darling, my darling,
You have one fault, you have one fault.

5 Ganga: Otkad seke nismo zapjevale
("How long we sisters haven't sung")
Rahima (b. 1939), Mejra (b. 1930), and
Habiba (b. 1941) Sultanić (maiden name),
recorded in village of Podorašac, Northern
Herzegovina.

Otkad seke nismo zapjevale
Sada ćemo kad smo se sastale

Zapjevajmo seke i rodice
Jedno pleme, jedne porodice.

How long we sisters haven't sung
Now we'll do it, because we've come
together.

Let's sing, sisters and cousins.
One tribe, one family.

Ganga is probably the most controversial
musical form in Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is
sung in the mountainous regions of Herze-
govina among members of all autochthon-
ous groups, including Muslims. Urban
dwellers tend to dismiss *ganga* as simply
unorganized (or disorganized) sound,
while rural people consider it their most

expressive form of music. Condensed into
the compact *ganga* are all the most char-
acteristic elements of the music sung by
the livestock breeders and farmers who
inhabit the Dinaric Alps, and beyond: lim-
ited melodic movements based on narrow,
non-tempered tonal relations; the use of
characteristic melismatic tones; singing
with great dynamic intensity and corre-
sponding vocal timbre, and finally, a poly-
phonic texture produced by a small group
of singers of the same sex among whom
the major second is enjoyed as a conso-
nant interval. Thus, by our Western
understanding, the singers and their
active listeners achieve maximal harmony
through dissonance.

The women's group that presents the
ganga in this recording explained to us
that it is important in the course of
singing that all members of the group
have the same physical experience of the
music's "harmonic dissonance."

6 Ganga: Sto bečara u srce udara?
("What strikes the heart of a 'real man'?")
Safet Elezović (b. 1961), Muhamed
Elezovic (b. 1964), and Zejnil Mašlesla (b.
1959) [all in Gornji Lukomir]. Recorded
August 6, 1989 in Gornji Lukomir, Mount
Bjelašnica by Mirjana Laušević.

Što bečara u srce udara
litar vina i djevojka fina

What strikes the heart of a "real man"?
A liter of wine and a fine girl.

Mirjana Laušević writes about her field-
work on Mount Bjelašnica:
"Unlike Mount Bjelašnica's Olympic
slopes which received the world's atten-
tion in 1984, the villages of the plateau,
often referred to as 'the other side of the
mountain,' have remained unknown to
the Western World. *Ganga* is the most
popular vocal genre among male high-
landers. The singers cultivate a sharp,
vibrant sound that enables them to domi-
nate the vast space which surrounds
them and feel a physical closeness from

the shared experience of the vibrations in
their bodies. As in this track, men's *ganga*-
s often express ideas of manliness."

7 Bečarac: Selo moje leži pokraj Bara
("My village lies next to Bare")
Samka Čatić (b. 1966, Razašlje), Rahima
Skuljić (b. 1968, Žulje), and Džemila Delić
(b. 1972 in Žulje). Recorded at Razašlje,
Mount Bjelašnica, August 24, 1990 by
Mirjana Laušević

Selo moje, leži pokraj Bara,
A lolino kraj grada Mostara.

My village lies next to Bare
My darling's, next to the city of Mostar.

About *bečarac*, Mirjana Laušević writes:
"*Bečarac* is a form of newer secular
polyphony that emerged under the influ-
ence of exposure to Western European
music. This exposure is reflected in the
singers' sense of tonality and in the
genre's characteristic cadence on the fifth.
This recording demonstrates the *bečarac*
in the process of transition from an older
polyphonic style that emphasizes horizon-

tal movement of the voices to a newer harmonic style that emphasizes vertical chords. Although the name of the genre is derived from the word *bećar*, meaning 'a real man,' *bećarac* is sung both by men and women.

"Samka, Rahima, and Džemila are shepherdesses from the Herzegovinian village of Žulje. At the beginning of May, they migrate, as did their great-grandparents, to the seasonal settlement at Razašlje, on Mount Bjelašnica, seeking better pasture for their flocks. With the first cold night that heralds the onset of winter, their thoughts turn toward their homes and sweethearts in the lowland villages to which they will soon return."

8 *Il' je vedro, il' oblačno*
("Is it clear, or cloudy?")
vocal solo, Alma Bandić (b. 1969)
[licensed by RT Bosne i Hercegovine]

Il' je vedro, il' oblačno,
Il' je tamna noć
Il' je sunce, il' je mjesec,
Il' je bijel dan?

Nit' je vedro, nit' oblačno,
Nit je tamna noć,
Već je ono Sokolović
Mlad Ibrahim-beg

Ponio se, zanio se
U svoj visok nam
Što on ljubi sultaniju
sultan-Zulejhu.

"Kaži, Zulko, kaži dušo,
Šta sam tebi ja?
Ti si, Zulko, alem, žarko sunce
što nam sija."

Is it clear or cloudy,
Is it dark night
Is the sun, is the moon,
Is the white day?

Neither is it clear nor cloudy,
Neither is it dark night
But it is Sokolović
The young Ibrahim-beg.

He was carried away, he was caught up
In his own higher world
Because he loves the wife of the sultan
Sultan-Zulejha.

Let's say, Zulko, let's say, soul,
What am I to you?
You are, Zulko, precious stone, the
burning sun
That lights us up.

This unusually expressive *sevdalinka* illustrates well the psychological intertwining of poetic and musical language that characterizes the best examples of the genre. The singer's challenge is to evoke the contrasting imagery of the poetic text in her treatment of the melody. Rare are singers like Alma Bandić, member of a wonderful student ensemble at the Sarajevo Music Academy, who bring artistic imagination and inspiration to such deceptively simple songs.

9 *Ezan* (Call to prayer)
Kasim Mašić (b. 1919, Travnik) recorded in
Travnik, January, 1985.

Allah-u akbar
Ashhadu an la ilah-a illa 'ilah
Ashhadu anna Muhammedan rasul Allah
Hayya'ala 'l-salat
Hayya'ala 'l-falah
Allah-u akbar
La ilah-a illa 'llah

Allah is most great
I testify that there is no god besides Allah
I testify that Mohammed is the apostle of
Allah
Come to prayer
Come to salvation
Allah is most great
There is no god besides Allah

Traditional explanations about the origin and development of the music of Muslims in Bosnia cite the *ezan* (Arabic: *adhan*) or "call to prayer," chanted from the mosque before each of the five daily prayers, as the most typical adoption of an Oriental-Islamic model in local musical practice.

In Bosnia, the older manner of chanting the *ezan* was based on the Istanbul practice, while a more contemporary style follows the Cairo practice. The recitation of Kasim Mašić, muezzin, imam, and mualim (teacher) from Travnik, one of the seats of the erstwhile vezir of Bosnia, is considered one of the most beautiful Bosnian variants. In his performance, the muezzin uses *maqam hidjaz*, although the muezzin himself is not aware of the identity of this *maqam*.

10 Excerpt from Naqshbandi *zikir* recorded in Visoko *tekke*, December 23, 1984.

The Naqshbandi order of dervishes takes its name from Bahauddin Naqshbandi (d. 1389), a great religious teacher who lived in Bukhara, in present-day Uzbekistan. Naqshbandi dervishes appeared in Bosnia in the fifteenth century, and the *tekke* (dervish meeting place) in Visoko where this *zikir* was performed was founded by mufti and sheikh Husnija Numanagić around 1920.

Zikir (Arabic: "rememberance") is the collective ceremonial medium through which Sufi dervishes strive to achieve a state of sacred ecstasy. To this end, the dervishes employ various techniques. Most involve strongly rhythmic chanting of sacred textual formulas accompanied by forceful physical movements. The Naqshbandi, however, are known for their use of the "silent *zikir*" (*zikir-i khafi*), in which dervishes seek union with the Divine through silent meditation and prayer. The *zikir* that we recorded in Visoko, a small town not far from Sarajevo, resembled more the verbal *zikir* of other dervish orders in Bosnia. In this excerpt, a *hafiz* (religious singer) chants a solo line above the rhythmic refrain *La ilah-a illa 'llah* ("There is no god besides Allah").

11 Excerpt from Qadiri *zikir* recorded during a *zikir* in the Qadiri *tekke* in Travnik, January, 1985

This excerpt from the Qadiri *zikir* is from the second part of the ritual, which is performed standing. It relates first to the repetition of particular names of God (*Esmi*), from which this part of the ritual received its name. The text repetitions are gradually transformed into an expressive musical pattern, and as the chanting accelerates and moves towards a climax, the textual repetition contracts from *Entel hadi entel hak, Leysü'l-hadi ilâ Hu* ("You are the True guide, You are the Truth") to the essential syllable "Hu" – one of the names of God. During the chanting, one voice diverges from the group and resumes the chant at the interval of a minor third above, perhaps an indication of the strong influence of polyphony in the Balkan countryside. Throughout the world, Muslim religious chant is invariably performed in unison.

12 Sarajevski početak/Sarhoš Aljo drume zatvaraše ("Sarajevo's beginning"/"Aljo the bully blocked the road") vocal and *saz*, Kadir Kurtagić (deceased)

[*Ah, sarhoš Aljo, aman, drume zatvaraše Na djevojke, aman, zulum učinio!* *
Aj, samo nije, aman, od lijepe Hajrije, već je njojzi Aljo govorio:
"Aj, nećeš proći, aman, dok te ne poljubim."
Aj, progovara, aman, lijepa Hajrija:
"Aj, nemoj Aljo, aman, poznaće mi majka!"
Aj, krisnu Aljo, aman, kao ljuta guja

I poljubi lijepu Hajriju.
Aj, kol'ko ju je, aman, Aljo poljubio
Četiri joj dagme napravio.

[*Aj, prva dagma, aman, ispod obrvica*
Druga dagma nasred b'jela lica,
Aj, treća dagma, aman, nasred b'jela vrata
*Aj, četvrta, aman, dji kiša ne pada.] **

[Aljo, the bully blocked the roads
And demanded tribute from the girls.]

Aj, he didn't only demand tribute from beautiful Hajrija,
But Aljo spoke to her:

"Aj, you will not pass before I kiss you."

Aj, beautiful Hajrija started to say,
"Don't, Aljo, my mother will notice."

Aj, Aljo screamed, like an angry snake.

And he kissed beautiful Hajrija.

Aj, how much he kissed her.

He left four marks [on her face].

[Aj, the first mark was on the eyebrows.
The second mark was in the middle of her
white cheek.

Aj, the third mark was at the middle of
her white neck.

Aj, the fourth, was where the rain doesn't
fall.]

*Text in brackets is omitted on the record-
ing for technical reasons.

One of the last performers of *sevdalinka*-s
in the traditional Sarajevo style was Kadir
Kurtagić. In this style, the *saz* player, or
sazlija, begins his *sevdalinka* with a
lengthy instrumental introduction (*Sara-
jevski početak*) that presages the mood of
the texted *sevdalinka* that follows. Like
the majority of songs from the repertory

of Kadir Kurtagić, *Sarhoš Aljo drume zat-
varaše* has an erotic character, but the
erotic elements are expressed exclusively
through metaphor.

13 *Vila viče sa vrh Trebeviča*
("The mountain nymph shouts from the
top of Trebevic")

Emina Zečaj, vocal
Tamburaški Orkestar, RTV Sarajevo
Drago Trkulja, leader
[licensed from Croatia Records]

Vila viče sa vrh Trebeviča
"Jel' Saraj'vo gdje je nekad bilo?,
Jel' mehana kraj Morića hana?
Piju l' vino mlade Sarajlije?
Služi li ih krčmarica Mara?
Nosi l' Mara tri [name of flower – indeci-
pherable]
Prvi plavi što begove mami,
Drugi žuti što hanume ljuti,
Treći b'jeli što djevojke d'jeli."

The mountain nymph shouts from the top
of Trebević,

"Is Sarajevo where it used to be?"

Is the inn near the Moric's house?
Do boys from Sarajevo drink wine?
Is Mara, the barmaid serving them?
Is Mara wearing three flowers?"

The first, a blue one, is the one that
attracts the bey [nobleman].

The second, a yellow one, is the one that
angers the ladies.

The third, a white one, is the one that the
girls divide.

This *sevdalinka* is sung by Emina Zečaj,
one of the most popular and gifted per-
formers of *sevdalinka* to emerge in Saraje-
vo in recent years. Like many other *sev-
dalinka*-s, this one begins by mentioning
prominent landmarks associated with
Sarajevo, for example, Mt. Trebević,
whose summit offers a spectacular view
of the city. Also included in the text are
historical figures from Sarajevo's past, like
the nineteenth-century Morić family.

14 *Voljeli se Mujo i Nizama*
("Mujo and Nizama were in love")

Emina Zečaj, vocals
Saz: Hašim Muharemović, Selim Salihović
[licensed from Croatia Records]

Aj, voljeli se Mujo i Nizama,
aj, Mujo i Nizama,
Aj, voljeli se tri godine dana.
Aj, kad četvrta nastala godina,
aj nastala godina,
Aj, umr'je Muji lijepa Nizama.
Aj, Mujo žali lijepu Nizamu,
aj, lijepu Nizama,
Aj, i on ode mezar da obidje
Aj tu klanjaše lijepa Nizama,
aj, lijepa Nizamu,
Aj, u ruci joj tespih od merdžana.
Aj, podje Mujo, da Nizamu ljubi,
aj, da Nizamu ljubi
Aj, ona mu se u mrak izgubila.
Aj, uze Mujo tespih od merdžana,
aj, tespih od merdžana,
Aj, tespih mu se u ruci stopio.

Mujo and Nizama were in love
 Aj, Mujo and Nizama
 Aj, they've been in love for three years.
 Aj, when the fourth year began
 Aj, the year began
 Aj, the beautiful Nizama died on Mujo.
 Aj, Mujo mourned for beautiful Nizama
 Aj, beautiful Nizama
 Aj, and he went to visit the grave.
 Aj, there was beautiful Nizama bowing
 Aj, beautiful Nizama
 Aj, and in her hand was a rosary of coral.
 Aj, Mujo started to kiss Nizama
 Aj, to kiss Nizama
 Aj, she lost herself to him in the darness.
 Aj, Mujo took the rosary of coral
 Aj, the rosary melted in his hand.

In this *sevdalinka*, Emina Zečaj condenses and musically transforms a long narrative ballad into a shorter lyrical song. As an active concert and recording artist, Emina Zečaj had to shape her repertoire to conform to the conventions of the performance venues in which she worked. In retelling the story of Mujo and Nizama,

she shortens the text, skipping many of the details present in the longer ballad narrative, while embellishing the music. If in the ballad tradition the interest of both singer and listener is oriented first and foremost toward text, in the *sevdalinka*, text and melody stand as equals. Here, Emina Zečaj adds textual repetitions and exclamations to fill out the delicately contoured melodic phrases which seem well suited to the romantic subject of the text.

Credits

Field recordings by Ted Levin and Ankica Petrović were made using a Technics SV-1000 Pulse Code Modulator and Beyers 260 condenser microphones. Mirjana Laušević used a Sony Walkman Pro.

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