# RENAISSANCE OF ORTHODOX CHURCH CHANTING AND ETHNO MUSIC IN BELGRADE FROM 1990 UNTIL TODAY

#### Introduction

Traditionally in the village singing was linked with seasonal work and religious festivals, as well as with life cycle of the members of the community. Folklore always was an integral part of life, invented and performed by villagers themselves, and was sensitive to changes. On the other hand, church singing is "imported" (introduced with Christianity), subjected to strict rules, and it alters very slowly over the centuries, unless a big stress occurs, as we will see. These traditions influenced each other.

Substantial changes occurred in rural areas in Serbia after WW2 due to demographic movements and industrialization conducted by communist regime. Former villagers in their new surroundings in towns could not express their rural identity and became consumers of newly composed popular music (JOVANOVIĆ 2005: 134), which was a part of an effort to replace their previous cultural identity with a new – "urban" – one.

Cultural scene as a whole, and research of music in particular, in Serbia and former Yugoslavia was implicitly based on the opposition of urban-modern and rural-traditional (an opposition which was particularly stressed after WW2 by ruling communist ideology), where rural customs and singing were in fact treated as fossilized remnants of past ages and previous stages of cultural development. Therefore recording and collecting of folklore music was oriented towards preserving, not popularizing of heritage. In fact, after WW2 original folklore music was completely banned from public space (as potential nationalism), and replaced by new, more "appropriate", stylized music forms. Ethnomusicologists were there to record, write down and save musical heritage, and various folklore groups were there to perform songs. Songs were then presented to the public through various festivals. Audience was not encouraged to participate, to revive this heritage, but to be a passive witness to its extinction. Amateur singing, actually detached from its real life surrounding, was encouraged (JOVANOVIĆ 2005: 133-134), but tradition of singing in everyday life was disappearing. Amateur singing groups were mostly rural, while successful dancing ensembles were mostly from urban areas, which have better infrastructure and overall conditions. Basic motivation for performers often was a possibility to travel abroad, rather than participating in folk festivals and presenting Serbian folklore.

It is interesting for the topic to mention that while there were several distinct author and researchers of folklore (Vladimir Djordjević, Miloje Milojević, Miodrag Vasiljević, Dragoslav Dević, Dimitrije Golemović etc.) and church (Stevan Stojanović Mokranjac, Nenad Barački, Kosta Manojlović, Stefan Lastavica etc.) singing, there were only few composers like Mokranjac and Manojlović who did field research and whose compositions were inspired by folklore songs and who also composed church songs. But even their work was influenced by their European musical education and division of spiritual and secular, so they also did not search for nor express a deeper connection between church and folklore singing in their work.

## Methodology applied in this paper

We noted that even the most important researchers and authors did not point out connection between folklore and church singing, even if they thought that it existed. Since the link of folklore and church tradition was missing, there were generations of scholars and performers – mostly not being religious themselves – practically unaware of the broader religious and other contexts in which folklore originated and was formed.

In recent years (since 1980s) many artists in Serbia and former Yugoslavia were inspired by folklore and other traditions, thus various forms of music and other arts evolved. These forms were defined and named by their authors, so a variety of names are present: world music, ethno, ethno jazz, Balkan ethno etc.

For our purpose we have established differentiation between artistic and church related ethno music. Basically, the relationship of artists towards religion was in question. Creators of artistic ethno do not insist on their religious belonging, so their attitude towards tradition follows esthetical criteria. On the other hand, there are artists who are active believers, and we can say that their criteria are both esthetical and ethical.

In the period defined by the topic appeared the latter music which was not only inspired by folklore and/or church chanting, neither it only used quotations and phrases from these sources; this new music strived to integral approach to one of or both of these traditions, which will not be only repeating of known, but reviving in new circumstances and innovation. This music we here call "the Church related ethno music", and the article is focused on this phenomenon.

The study is limited to Belgrade, as the biggest center with the most intensive cultural life, although there is a substantial production of this kind of music throughout Serbia.

The way to establish whether designated musical development could be referred to as a qualitative and quantitative step towards defining relationship between church tradition and folklore is to analyze published music albums, published theoretical works and to interview participating singers, musicians and researchers.

Since the subject was not sufficiently explored so far, it will require extended introduction.

### Sources for this "renaissance"

Music of the defined period has multiple internal origins and influences. First, considering church chanting, there was so called "Karlovačko pojanje" (eng. Karlovac chanting), a form of church chanting that originated in Austrian empire in 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 18<sup>th</sup> century and 1<sup>st</sup> half of 19<sup>th</sup>, on the basis of oral (non-written) chanting tradition brought from Balkans. It was named after Sremski Karlovci, small Vojvodina town which was the center of Serbian Orthodox Church (abbrev. SOC) in Habsburg empire. It evolved among Serbian refugees/immigrants from Ottoman Empire, under the influence of classical European music and church chanting, and also under certain influence from Russian empire, which maintained cultural and church relationships with Serbs in Austria. This form of chanting was written down in the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century with modern European notation, which was very practical solution for education of chanters. It was well documented, it covered all services and after WW1 it became standard chanting in SOC. "Karlovačko pojanje" is not a completely uniform way of chanting, there are variations in melodies and ornaments. It was an inspiration for choral polyphonic compositions written by the 19th and 20th century authors. Previous mode of chanting - the one we now call "Byzantine" - was forgotten among Serbs, because religious and cultural life of Christians under Ottomans has seriously deteriorated, and what was left out of it was influenced by heterogeneous sources, when chanters started to rely on western music theory and notation.

Second, there were rural lyrical songs, various forms of singing and playing instruments. Those songs spanned from ritual songs for various customs and occasions to love poetry. They are always very sensitive to habitual changes and were saved from extinction by many ethnomusicologists who made abundant written and audio recordings.

Third, in part of ethno music production there are clear influences of European renaissance music in modern ethno music. Musicians logically conclude that music of Serbian medieval courts must have been similar, although no scientific research was made on the subject. This meant introducing a variety of instruments.

Fourth, there is contemporary influence of traditional church chanting of Mount Athos, known as the Byzantine chanting. It is called so not to be determined on the history timeline nor in geographical or political view; it is a common heritage of all ethnic groups that once formed Byzantine world. Why these Byzantine modes of chanting were preserved in Mount Athos monasteries and Balkan autocephalous Orthodox Churches but not in SOC, was not thoroughly explored and explained yet.

Fifth, there is poetry of the late bishop Nikolay Velimirović (1880-1956), who has been canonized as a saint in 2004. Prior to WW2 he was very active preacher, writer and poet. He was also a leader of a significant pietistic movement, quite popular in some parts of Central Serbia, mostly in rural areas. His poems are dedicated to Holy Mother of God, to Jesus Christ, to Orthodox religion and to Serbian nation. Poems were written in meter and were being intended for singing. In

recent years these poems about Virgin Mary, for instance, are even being sang on the divine liturgy, while clergy is taking communion, which is quite off canonical practice, but tolerated by church authorities. His songs are also frequently being arranged with music of various genres and are popular with religious youth, especially schoolchildren.

And the last, there were epic poems, an ancient tradition of singing about heroes, mainly accompanied by *gusle* (a traditional Serbian single string fiddling instrument), or sung *a capella*. This kind of singing came to be very influential in late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, with national liberation movement gaining momentum. Authors and performers of ethno music use lyrical songs, not epic songs with their thematic and way of singing (which is hardly possible to incorporate in modern understanding of music). While this poetry did not have a significant artistic influence on recent development of music and singing, connection between it and Christian values and virtues has been established (PJEVAČ 2011), and ethical criteria we will find important.

Externally, musicians were influenced by the growing "world music" movement, which is present in Serbia since 1980s.

The religious revival coincides with tensions growing in former Yugoslavia due to overall economic, political, ethical and ethnic crisis. Rise of nationalisms in Yugoslavia induced quest for ethnic identities. This was the time when substantial part of Serbian population rediscovered their Orthodox Christian identity and over-abundant spiritual and cultural treasury they inherited. Young urban Serbs in Belgrade got to know better music of their compatriots with influx of refugees. National identity has been spontaneously homogenized by accepting of different musical traditions form different parts of former Yugoslavia. While the authorities had their own, guided political plan of national homogenization (based to some extent on the epic narratives, but predominantly on newly composed folklore music genres), there was a parallel, religious and cultural movement, based on the enthusiasm of individuals and freely accepted by part of the public. It has been argumented that this parallel movement was an alternative perspective to history of Balkan (MIJATOVIĆ 2003:206-207).

Before the 1990s in Former Yugoslavia there was only stage performing of folklore songs and dances. There was very little or no production of audio or video materials. In the researched period performers and authors decide to step forward with publicizing albums, which created public and market.

## The beginnings of "renaissance"

Early interest in traditional music can be dated into pre-crisis times. First contemporary publication on the subject was a book by Dimitrije Stefanović, "Examples of chanting from XV century", published in 1975. In it medieval neumatic text were transcribed in modern notation, which was initial sparkle for "spinning" of musical public.

#### Mihailo Smiljanic

It seems that first musical album was "Stara srpska muzika" (eng. "Old Serbian Music") published in 1980 by *Ensemble Renaissance* and Dragoslav Pavle Aksentijević, which contained both spiritual and secular music, interpreted in renaissance manner from the book "Dances and songs from Krajina" written by fr. Živojin Stanković at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (interview Ljuba Dimitrijević, *Ensemble Renaissance*).

The first urban vocal group that performed rural Serbian songs was called *Paganke* (eng. "The Pagans" (feminine gender)) in 1983. This attempt was premature, probably because folkloristic (ZAKIĆ 2012: 314) approach to folklore was still strong, and urban youth was oriented towards western subcultures.

In 1984 Aksentijević published a series of audio-cassettes in Vienna with recordings of medieval Serbian church chanting. He found his own, characteristic interpretation which was highly valued by audience.

Then in 1989 Macedonian group *Anastasia* published their first single "*Na rekite vavilonski*"/"*Premin*" (eng. "By the rivers of Babylon"/"Pasha"). They combined Byzantine spiritual and secular music with what they called "the Balkan ethno", meaning Balkan music heritage. This vinyl draw substantial attention of younger generations of musicians to traditional singing.

From that point this "ethno music" developed in two directions: one direction was artistic and popular music, inspired by present diversity of Serbian and Balkan music, resulting in various genres, such as ethno jazz, world music, Balkan ethno etc. The other direction was more inclined towards religion and significantly connected with church life, inspired by ancient instruments and rural melodies, trying to create a mythical world where religion and culture are in perfect harmony.

#### Artistic ethno music

Band *Khazars*, founded in 1991, was first Serbian band trying to put Serbian culture into larger Balkan and Byzantine geographical and historical context. Front men of this band, Miloš Petrović (1952-2010) and Dragomir Milenković, genuine experts for music as they were, made an elaborate attempt to contextualize Serbian music, to underline mutual influences of Balkan cultures and to create new form, combining traditional forms with jazz. Petrović himself called his music "New Balkan Ethno Classic Style". Music of *Khazars* (1996, 1997, 1999, 2002, 2003, 2006) was primarily inspired by Balkan urban folklore.

They were followed other authors of modern and pop-music who made songs and albums in ethno style, like *Sanja Ilić & Balkanika* (1994, 2000, 2004, 2006, 2009), *Madam Piano* (1997, 2001, 2002), *Bilja Krstić* (2001, 2003, 2006), *Slobodan Trkulja & Balkanopolis* (1997, 2002), *Vasilisa* (2005) etc. Then *Teofilovići* brothers (1998, 2003, 2007) who nurture a specific interpretation of traditional Serbian and Balkan singing, which makes them distinct.

Artistically oriented musicians and bands use music motifs of various ethnic groups to underline cultural unity of "Byzantium", as they understand it. Some musicians (like *Khazars*) produce ethno music for educated audience. Commercial bands

arrange folklore elements in a popular manner, which also has its cultural effect because it draws attention of wide audience to the heritage. Many of these artists cooperated in film and TV production and are well presented in public and media.

### **Byzantine Church Chanting**

As we have previously mentioned, official chanting in SOC is Karlovačko pojanje. It is taught in all seminary schools: it is relatively easy to learn, all services are written down in classical music notation, so it can be exercised with piano, it is compatible with regular music education in all levels, it is recognizable by believers etc.

We have already mentioned Aksentijević with his pioneer works in 1980s. He continued his publication in 1990s: 1990, 1997, 2001, 2002, 2003... He is chanting as a solo voice followed by a discrete masculine choir, which is not a usual church tradition.

One of the first introductions of Byzantine chanting was made by fr. Andrej (Ćilerdžić), now a bishop of SOC, who learnt this form of chanting in monasteries on Mount Athos. Soon there was a Byzantine choir in *Kovilj* monastery, in 1991 when the monastery was re-established. They issued albums of Byzantine chanting in 2001, 2007 and 2008. In Belgrade there was a feminine choir in Vavedenje monastery as early as 1991-1992; they never published their works. Then there were *Sveti Jovan Damaskin* (which was first formed in 1989 as a brotherhood of icon- and fresco-painters, but soon started its own church choir, which popularized Byzantine church chanting; 1998, 2002 – currently not active), *Sveta Kasijana* (2003), *Mojsije Petrović* (2005, 2010, 2011). *Mojsije Petrović* choir is closely connected to *Kovilj*, and chanting together whenever an opportunity or necessity occurs. Members of *Mojsije Petrović* participated in all *Kovilj* CDs.

It is necessary to mention very interesting group called *Divna i Melodi*, founded by Divna Ljubojević in 1991. They have a distinctive way of chanting: Divna is a solo singer, followed by a predominantly masculine choir. They recorded both Byzantine and Karlovac melodies. They have published many albums (1996, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2006, 2007) in Serbia, and five albums abroad.

Many believers recognized Byzantine chanting as authentic expression of Orthodox spirituality. Sources for original Serbian medieval chanting are too scarce, so they turned to contemporary chanting of Greek churches and frequently used Bulgarian neumic texts because of the same language, churchslavonic. Today's Byzantine chanting in Serbia is a result of studying of chanting of Mount Athos and Bulgarian neumic literature. It has been widely noticed that Byzantine chanting attracts more people to church services and related concerts than adequate songs performed in other ways.

Byzantine chanting is considered by its sympathizers to be far richer in expression. It does contain ancient, pre-Christian musical heritage of Middle–East and Greece. Karlovac chanting is a simplified, common people variant.

For now, while many people like Byzantine chanting, it is opposed by many in Church establishment for what they call national reasons (Karlovac chanting is distinctively Serbian, while Byzantine is international, so we are supposed to nurture ours), but it seems that reasons are mostly practical (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2005). It remains issue for enthusiasts still, and its presence in churches we will analyze in the last section.

#### Church related ethno music

Second direction of development of ethno music was what we called "Church related ethno music". It is not completely appropriate term, because it is not music, but musicians who are related to the Church – these ethno groups are constituted of musicians who chant in Belgrade Byzantine choirs. Their religious belonging (Orthodox religious life and culture) can be noticed in their music. These musicians believe to have recognized links and similarities between church chanting and folklore poetry and music. Musicians mostly affirm songs from Kosovo and Metohija, from southern Serbia and from FYR Macedonia, as closer to common Orthodox, Balkan tradition (closer than folklore of central and western Serbia, which is usually first association to Serbian folklore). Their religiosity was a filter for their musical taste, and they published a selection of songs.

Ethno group *Moba* was formed in 1993 (1994, 1999, 2001, 2001, 2010). They are considered to be "very influential" and their work "paradigmatic" by researchers (ZAKIĆ and RAKOČEVIĆ 2012:315). They strive to present original folklore music (as once recorded in fieldwork). Their effort inspires urban youth outside Belgrade (JOVANOVIĆ 2010). Some members of this group were also members of *Sveti Jovan Damaskin*.

Aside from church chanting Aksentijević now has an ethno group called *Zapis* (eng. "The Inscription"). They published several ethno albums: 2001, 2003, 2004, 2007. Aksentijević uses the same recognizable, personal way of singing to perform folklore songs. In his ethno music, he is not followed by a choir, but by instruments.

Members of Belgrade church choir *Mojsije Petrović* also perform ethno music, in a project called "Chalgia from Belgrade": "They play almost forgotten songs from Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Macedonia, Montenegro. They revive almost forgotten customs and the spirit of old Serbian taverns." (taken from their YouTube account). Music was recorded, but not yet published. Some of the chanters of *Mojsije Petrović* also play in yet another ethno group, called *Belo Platno* (Eng.: White Linen), founded in 1997, which recorded three albums and some compilations (2002, 2003, 2004, 2006).

Considering official publications, poems by St. Nikolay Velimirović are frequently used in musical projects related to Church, especially by musicians with rock and pop background. The most famous such project was "Podignimo Stupove" (eng. "Let us raise church towers") in 2005.

Artists and performers consider that they have found their personally the most favoured expression of spirituality of Orthodox religion in Byzantine chanting and that they are trying to express the same attitude with ethno music (interview Nikola Popmihajlov, *Mojsije Petrović*). Spirit is not something to be found

through music experiments, it is something to start with. While Orthodox Church strictly exclude use of instruments in services, instruments are represented in folklore, musicians find it not only possible but desirable and necessary to use them in their ethno music, to express the same (religious) world-view. Authors see similarities in way of singing and expressed (Christian) ethics. It is instruments that serve as a connection with Balkan, the East, and Middle-ages. Variety of instruments is far greater in ethno music than in original folklore. This is not just inventing desirable past, it is imagining ideal world, perfect balance between worldly and spiritual. It is a merge of the Great Tradition, symbolized by the Byzantine-style frescoes in Serbian monasteries, and the Little Tradition, symbolized by illiterate peasants staring at them through the centuries of Ottoman rule, as Mijatović quoted (2003:213).

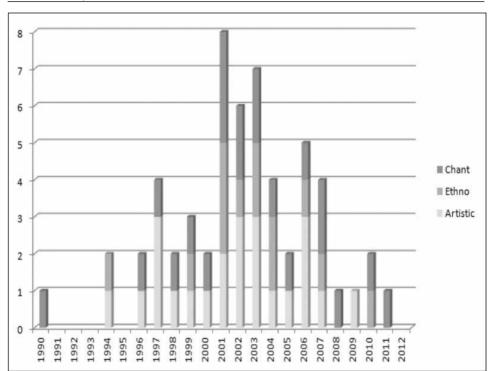
## Is Byzantine chanting and church related ethno music a religious movement?

One has to have in mind specific situation in Orthodox Christianity, where there are no formal religious movements inside the Church. Even monasteries are not organized in orders, but are subjected to local bishops.

Do Byzantine chanters and church related ethno musicians consider themselves to be religious? Yes, they do. In fact, they consider themselves to be genuinely Orthodox, surpassing local traditions and established practice. They are well informed about theology and practice of their church. They regularly attend church services.

If we call this a movement, then how "massive" it is? It can be estimated on the basis of sociological researches of religiosity (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2012). In 2011 census in Serbia over 85% of population has declared as Orthodox Christians. But this data reflects belonging, often traditional and inherited. Sociological researches estimated number of active believers, who go to services once a week (in most cases that would be Sunday) to 5,8% of all Orthodox (BLAGOJEVIĆ 2012: 60). Anyone who would visits few of Belgrade churches during normal Sundays (not big celebrations such as Christmas or Easter) could tell that this figure is rather overestimated – 2% would be more appropriate (this 5% probably reflects interviewees' personal beliefs what they do or opinions what they should do). Among these 2% Byzantine sympathizers should be looked for. Counting parish churches, there are up to thirty church choirs in Belgrade proper. That means that three Byzantine choirs in Belgrade made about 10%. Knowing that Byzantine chanting attracts larger number of service attendees, it can be estimated that there are about 15%, maybe even 20% of Byzantine chanting fans among all regular service attendees. It looks like a substantial number, but it comprises just up to 0,4% of all Orthodox Christians in Belgrade, active and declarative. We have seen that their cultural production and visibility is un-proportionally big.





In this chart all albums that were published since 1990 in Belgrade (or by Belgrade groups) are presented, divided into three categories: "Artistic" – artistic ethno production, "Ethno" stands for Church related ethno music and "Chant" stands for Byzantine choirs. It can be seen that peak production in all categories was in years 2001-2003. More recent years show a slow-down tendency, but media presence is not in decline, on the contrary.

## Conclusion

Development and revival of music in Belgrade since 1990 was intense, creative and specific enough that a word "renaissance" is a proper description. In a relatively short period of time many church choirs and ethno groups were formed to nurture authentic traditional music, as well to create new forms. Their aim is to preserve, popularize and improve musical heritage, and in the case of church choirs even to introduce an older form, more traditional and common to many Orthodox nations.

This renaissance has a unique characteristic: many authors and performers are active both in church and ethno music. Most of musicians are active and practicing believers who attend church services on a regular basis, and in fact many of them are active participants with their church choirs. Authors consider these music genres to be essentially connected in the same spiritual foundation of Orthodox Christianity. As renaissance artists in Europe used pre-Christian culture as their inspiration, so do Belgrade musicians use traditional urban, rural and even non-European musical elements to create new forms. This is a creative approach to the past, quite opposite to rigid traditionalism.

These musicians regard cultural differences of former Byzantic peoples as essentially superficial, because they were all connected by common Orthodox religion. Musicians express deeper homogeneity of cultural picture of Byzantium through instrumental arrangements and melodies. On the other hand, lyrics and vocals are better media to express religious and cultural attitude. Therefore choice of songs expresses certain orientation and brings a message. This makes selection of appropriate lyrics, melodies and instruments of the utmost importance.

It is very important to notice that all these musicians are of urban origin and often with formal musical education, who grew up detached by ruling ideology from religion and traditional, especially rural way of life. So for them this is not something they just inherited, it is something they discovered themselves. Their personal discovery of religion inspired them not to repeat tradition, but towards critical rethinking and searching for sources and new expressions. This situation gave them opportunity to be more objective and freedom to be creative. And this is where the link we have mentioned in the beginning, between spiritual and secular, is being (re)established.

There is an ironic tone to the topic, given that European renaissance was the thing of the elites. While we have abundant sources from that time, it was limited to courts and churches – common people lived their lives at the time mostly unchanged. In a sense, the same thing happens in this small Belgrade renaissance: it remains limited to a small fraction of population, those regular attendees of church services who have academic and/or spiritual education to develop a taste for this kind of culture.

However, in European renaissance made an irreversible change in attitude towards culture. What are the prospects for the future of Belgrade renaissance? It can be estimated that one day Byzantine chanting will eventually prevail in services (interview His Grace Bishop Andrej), and as far as the church related ethno music is concerned, further research and tracking will tell whether it was just a fashion of the moment, or the influence to culture was more permanent.

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Mihailo Smiljanic

## RENAISSANCE OF ORTHODOX CHURCH CHANTING AND ETHNO MUSIC IN BELGRADE FROM 1990 UNTIL TODAY

In 1980s there was a substantial renewal of religious life in Belgrade and in Serbia. In the period defined by the topic religious renewal led to interest in Byzantic heritage, especially Byzantine chanting. Several Byzantine choirs were formed, which worked on popularizing of this traditional form of chanting and published many music albums. At the same time there was a growing interest in folklore tradition among musicians. In a specific merge of these tendencies, Byzantine chanters started music groups which made new form of ethno music, influenced by their religious belonging and beliefs. Their impact on audience, culture and religious life in Belgrade remains strong.