

first publication

1 Assmann, Aleida: Arbeit am nationalen Gedächtnis. Eine kurze Geschichte der deutschen Bildungs-idee Frankfurt/M.: Pandora 1993.

2 Smith, Anthony D.: National Identity. Reno: Univ of Nevada Pr. 1993.

3 Introduction. In: Bischof, Günter/Pelinka, Anton (Eds.): Austrian Historical Memory & National Identity. New Brunswick, London: Transaction Publ. 1997 (Contemporary Austrian Studies 5), p. 26.

4 Moreover, certain theoreticians themselves stress that they have no deeper insight in the situation in Eastern European countries. Thus, Anderson, Benedict: Imagined Communities. Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism. Revised ed. London, New York: Verso 2006, p. 73 (footnote 15) pointed out that he is »not pretending to any expert knowledge of Central and Eastern Europe«, so that he had to rely on the conclusion of others, in the first place Seton-Watson.

5 Seton-Watson, Hugh: Nations and States. An Inquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism. Boulder: Westview Pr. 1977, p. 11. Cf. Anderson 2006, p. 71.

6 Baker, Chris: Cultural Studies. Theory and Practice. London, New Delhi: SAGE 2003, p. 41. Cf. Bhabha, Homi: The Location of Culture. London, New York: Routledge 1994; Hamann, Christoph/Sieber, Cornelia (Eds.): Räume der Hybridität. Postkoloniale Konzepte in Theorie und Literature. Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Olms 2002.

7 Webster, James: Between Enlightenment and Romanticism in Music History: »First Viennese Modernism« and the Delayed Nineteenth Century. In: 19th-Century Music XXV/2-3 (autumn 2001 – spring 2002), p. 109.

8 Jurij Lotman defined two kinds of communication, one directed to the other/s, and the other directed to oneself, called autocommunication. He pointed out that autocommunication »appears in an enhanced and marked form in any culture or subculture when that subculture begins to produce myths and symbols of itself [...] This autoportrait of the culture, once

The concept of national identity was constructed at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th century, marked as »a revolutionary project« with the aim of establishing *Volk* from *Bevölkerung*, and thus an autonomous collective subject of history.¹ The rich contemporary theoretical thought about national identity often assumes differences between so-called Western and Eastern understanding and embodiments of national identity, based on different ways of profiling national memory, that is, to the theory of nation. Thus, Anthony Smith pointed out that the Western model of national identity explains nation by a specific territory, a political community of equal members, and a common bourgeois culture and ideology. Conversely, the Eastern or ethnic model of national identity is based on a community that is signified by native, vernacular culture, language and customs.² Consequently, early nationalisms in Eastern Europe were based on ethnographic research, or, on the image of folk culture, which was done, for example, by the ethnographer and language reformer Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864), the linguist Đuro Daničić (1825-1882), or the author of the first Serbian collection of drawings and sketches with ethnographic motives of Orthodox churches and monasteries, Stevan Todorović (1832-1925), the member of the *Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences* who was awarded for the collection at the *First Pan-Slavic Exhibition* in Moscow (1867). Similarly to this, it is stressed that national identity in the Western sense is implying »a ›political nation‹ and referring exclusively to the population living within an area defined by borders«, while in the Eastern a common language and culture play the main role.³ Although these theoretical explications might find their application in some respect, they are not fully acceptable because of the East-West division they propagate. For instance, German national identity could be closer to the »Eastern« identity. As a matter of fact, Serbian national identity – the way of its establishing, building, and profiling is very close to the German one. The theory about Western nation-building would be more convincing if it would surmount the mentioned geographical division,⁴ as it has been concluded that the 19th century was »a golden age of vernacularizing, lexicographers, grammarians, philologists, and litterateurs« – in entire Europe and its immediate peripheries.⁵

Besides, regarding the questions of cultural diversity, some theorists distinguish hybrid and stable (Homi Bhabha), or hybrid and multiple identities (Timothy Baycroft). Cultures are »not pure, authentic and locally bounded. They are the syncretic and hybridized products of interactions across space«. ⁶ Therefore, hybridity assuming both diversity at one, unique geographical space, as well as the lack of a unique geographical space because of the existence of the influential diaspora, is characteristic for the Serbian concept of identity. Both kinds of identity, however, are constructed through »shared meanings of nationhood«, narratives of the nation, including stories, images, symbols and rituals (Bhabha). These narratives are expressed through print media, that is, through historiography as a crucial signifier of collective identity. In that way, grand narratives in history are established, being arbitrary, self-replicating, and often tendentious,⁷ resulting in mythicizing national history. These mythic stories, along with the chosen symbols, are resulting in the establishing of national identity, in the first place through self-representation and autocommunication,⁸ which functions »not to add information in the quantitative sense, but to enhance the ego«, since the stories are repeated like mantras.⁹ The grand narratives of Serbian identity are, according to the Eastern ethnic model, based on epics, myths and even the prophecies of »folk« origin, or, on the political ethno-myth.

The core of those autocommunicational stories for the Serbs is the myth about Kosovo and Metohija, connected with the mythical belief that the Serbian people is the oldest people on Earth, speaking the oldest language. Serbs gained this status via great suffering in many battles for liberation from different invaders passing through the crossroads between East and West, North and South, where Serbia has been embedded. This special status of Serbian people gave them the attribute of the Heavenly people. The most significant of all these battles is said to have been the (first) Kosovo Battle, which took place on *Vidovdan* (the day of St. Vitus, June 28) 1389. Although there were no winners in the battle, since both Serbian Prince Lazar and Ottoman sultan Murad I, were killed together with most of their soldiers, and the Serbian prince even lost his kingdom, so that the Ottomans invaded their territory, Serbs

it is stated, reflects the texture of the culture, and begins to acquire a certain kind of universality». Lotman, Jurij: *Semiotics of Culture*. Proceedings of the 25th Symposium of the Tartu-Moscow School of Semiotics, Imatra, Finland, July 27-29, 1987. Ed. by Henri Broms and Rebecca Kaufmann. Helsinki: Arator Inc. 1988, p. 131.

9 Broms, Henri/Gahmberg, Henrik: *Communication to Self in Organizations and Cultures*. In: *Administrative Science Quarterly*. *Organizational Culture* (September 1983), p. 482.

10 »Europe is not against us because we are not and do not wish to be Europe, but because [...], by the gift of God, we are the bearers and guardians of the genuine Jerusalem-Mediterranean Europeanness, which does not accept the loss of the balance of human existence in cross-bred centres, the loss of the horizontal and vertical of the Holy Cross. The West is turned too much to the material and to enriching its own works, to the expansionist impulse, to totalitarianism of the most perfidious crime« – wrote the Metropolitan of Serbian Orthodox church in Montenegro, Amfilohije Radović. Cf. Čolović, Ivan: *Politics of Identity in Serbia*. *Essays in Political Anthropology*. Transl. by Celia Hawkesworth. New York: New York UP 2002, p. 40.

11 Stefan Uroš IV Dušan Nemanjić was the Serbian emperor 1331-1345, who established the Serbian Empire from the Danube at north to the Corinth at south, and from Adriatic to the Aegean Sea. He is also famous as the author of *Dušanov zakonik* (*Dušan's Law*) from 1349.

12 The concept of grand narrative is outlined in Lyotard, Jean-François: *La Condition postmoderne: Rapport sur le savoir* [The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge]. Paris: Ed. Minuit 1979.

13 Broms/Gahmberg 1983, p. 483.

14 This is a Byzantine term for the church ruler. Since the Western part of Kosovo has belonged to the *metoh*, i.e., to the Orthodox church, it was named *Metohija*.

15 Whereas European national poetry is characterized by metric norms established by classicists, in Serbia, the language reform by Vuk Karadžić »wiped out, in a certain sense, the classicistic experience, demanding new foundations rooted in folk heritage«. Cf. Petković, Novica: *Ogledi iz srpske poetike* [An Essay on Serbian Poetics]. Beograd: Zavod za udžbenike i nastavna

chose to continue their existence in God's Heaven instead on Earth. Moreover, by their own blood they saved Europe from the Ottoman invasion, being the guardians of the entrance to the Western world.¹⁰ It is believed that the enormous loss and defeat of Serbs in Kosovo was not caused by a stronger Ottoman army, but by the lack of unification of Serbian troops. For the same reason, Serbia could not protect its large medieval territory governed by Tzar Dušan (ca. 1308-1355), one of the respected rulers of Byzantine commonwealth, either.¹¹ The *Kosovo Polje* (also called *Gazimestan*) was declared to be the place of the 1389 battle as a center of the medieval Serbian empire, and the Patriarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church established in the 12th century by Prince Rastko Nemanjić, who later became a monk and the first Serbian archbishop St. Sava.

The core of this grand narrative¹² about Serbian national identity is still a source of powerful present political and cultural national/istic *topoi*, a collective mythical self-portrait. The *topoi* include specific symbols, images, group habits, »stored in typical words, pictures, and actions. Images can be transmitted from generation to generation in initiating courses, in schools, street corner societies...«¹³ In this very case the leitmotifs are: liberation wars and uprisings, national heroes, struggle for unification of dispersed Serbian people, readiness to sacrifice for freedom and national pride, Orthodox religion, *metoh's*¹⁴ land, medieval golden age in the national history, Kosovo as the topic of highly praised epics.

Thus the building of modern Serbian (musical) culture was defined by transcribing folk epics about the Kosovo heroes among other literary forms by the first folk songs harmonized according to the rules of the Western harmony, by reform of the language based on the language of the epics,¹⁵ showing prevailing Austrian political influences comparing with the Russian ones (except the official language of the Serbian Orthodox Church), afterwards by printing the first journals and books in Serbian language in Vienna, and also by establishing cultural institutions, among which choral societies played the most significant role. It is worth saying that the modern Serbian printing revived in 1741 after more than a century, by the publication of Hristifor Žefarović's *Stematografija*, a collection of coat of arms accompanied by heraldic poems and 29 portraits of South Slavic, mainly Serbian rulers-saints. This confirms Benedict Anderson's idea that the »print-capitalism gave a new fixity to language, which in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation«.¹⁶ This was especially important in the context of Serbian culture, since Serbian people were disseminated over a large part of Europe, speaking Latin, Church Slavonic, and German languages and therefore being unable to communicate with people speaking vernacular language in Serbia proper.¹⁷ Thus lectures at the first Serbian gymnasium in Sremski Karlovci, were delivered in German and Latin until 1848.

Dominant choral compositions on the repertoire of Serbian choral societies, especially in Serbia itself, were patriotic songs, and a significant number of them were dedicated to the Kosovo heroes, Tzar Dušan, the significance of Vidovdan, or the need for liberation from the Ottoman invaders. One of the most popular song was *Ustaj, ustaj Srbine* (*Arise, Arise, Serb*) by Nikola Đurković and Josif Šlezinger, often considered as »Serbian Marseillaise«. The meeting of several choral societies was accordingly organized in order to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the Kosovo Battle, in 1889 in Kruševac, the town where the last Serbian Tzar Lazar assembled his army for the battle against the Ottomans on the Kosovo *polje* where he lost his empire. This celebration was visited by many guests from abroad, among them Czech Youth bringing as a gift a collection of folk songs about Kosovo to the students of the Gymnasium in Kruševac. At the end of the manifestation all choral societies sang the *Kosovska himna* (*Kosovo Anthem*) by the Czech composer and conductor of a Serbian choral society Quido Havlasa. At the place where the anthem mentions heroes who died for their nation he borrowed a quote from the then Russian national anthem. At the same time, the anniversary was celebrated at the *Srpska kraljevska akademija* (Serbian Royal Academy, later *Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts*) in Belgrade, including a performance of the orchestral overture *Kosovo* by Davorin Jenko.

A hundred years later, in 1989, then Serbian president Slobodan Milošević organized at Gazimestan a celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Kosovo battle which was the starting point of a spectacular re-establishing of the Kosovo myth. With the revival of this grand narrative began the era of nationalistic Serbia, and therefore all its *topoi* became recognizable: the reviving of Orthodox religion suppressed for decades, pronounced heroism and militarism for national purposes. According to probably exaggerated official reports, about two millions people came to Gazimestan, along the roads girls in national costumes stood by

sredstva 1990, p. 184.

16 Anderson 2006, p. 44.

17 Serbian citizens lived in »new two-story buildings, were travelling in couches, leaded discussions [...] in Latin, spoke Russian redaction of church Slavonic language, and on their way to Vienna, Pest, Leipzig and Krakow communicated in German language«. Popović, Miodrag: *Istorija srpske književnosti 2: Romantizam* [History of Serbian Literature: Romanticism]. Beograd: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika i nastavna sredstva 1985, p. 8.

18 Cf. Ast, Slobodanka: *Deset godina Slobodana Miloševića u deset slika* [Ten Years of Slobodan Milošević in Ten Pictures]. In: *Vreme* 454, September 18, 1999.

19 So-called neo-folk, or neo-traditional music had occurred imitating folk music, and lately set apart and started »to live its own life through various appearances« (Golemović, Dimitrije: *Da li je novokomponovana narodna muzika zaista narodna?* [Is the Neofolk Music Really Folk Music?]. In: *Etnomuzikološki ogleđi*, Beograd, Čigoja štampa (1997), p. 176). Thus, it has become more and more distant from traditional Serbian music. The massive migrations of rural population to urban environments during the decades after WW II, affected the modernization of the rural life itself and have brought about various aberrations in the performance of folk music via the use of rock or jazz ensembles instead of traditional instruments, for instance. This is also true of songs composed in the folk music manner, including Mexican, Turkish, Iranian folk or pop music. The change in the image of singers of neo/traditional, or turbo/folk music, suggests that the visual aspect highly prevails over the auditive. This fosters mass (music) culture, intended for a wide audience escaping from existing problems. Cf. Marković, Tatjana: *Music and Society in Serbia and Montenegro in the 1990s*. In: *Muzika/Music* (januar/juni 2001), p. 56f.

20 For instance, the *komad s pevanjem* (theater play including music, mainly singing numbers) *Cserny György* (1812, Pest) by Hungarian drama writer István Balogh, with music by Gábor Mátray, about the Balkan and Serbian hero Karađorđe, the leader of the *First Serbian Uprising*, was so popular that it was performed successfully during the next decades throughout Hungary. Moreover, Balogh chose exactly this play for the 50th anniversary of work celebration, in 1857, but with music

tables with food (arranged by the painter Milić od Mačve), Serbian national flags, Orthodox icons, processions were everywhere around. In the monastery of Gračanica, after a liturgy in the presence of all the highest church officials, relics of saint Prince Lazar were brought to his legacy, the monastery of Ravanica. Six hundred willows were planted. At this anniversary celebration of the battle the *Pasija svetom knezu Lazaru* (*The Passion of Saint Prince Lazar*) for a narrator, four soloists, two choirs and orchestra (commissioned by *Radio Belgrade 3*) composed by the Belgrade composer Rajko Maksimović was performed. Maksimović received for this work *The 7th of July Award*. The central part of the spectacle was the arrival of Slobodan Milošević himself: his appearance from the sky by helicopter was accompanied by the sounds of Beethoven's *Funeral March*, followed by a performance of the Serbian national anthem sung by the choir of one hundred of priests. Concluding his speech, Milošević stated that now, six centuries after the Kosovo battle »we are again involved in the battles. They are not armed ones, although such a possibility is not yet excluded«, obviously announcing the next war.¹⁸

The political change of 1989 also affected an explosion of Orthodox religious belief, after several decades of its suppression, during which Catholic music was a part of the school curriculum and the concert repertoire in Serbia. The consequences were evident not only for the composing and performance of religious music, but on all social and cultural levels, as well. Golden cross has become an unavoidable piece of jewelry among *nouveaux riches*, and especially among so-called turbo-folk singers. Their status thus, in this way, too, confirms itself as a new construction of the Serbian self-image. Moreover, the turbo-folk singers, along with »famous warriors/soldats« (mainly criminals who were involved into the wars in Bosnia and Croatia) represent so-called Serbian social elite established during the 1990s.

In this case the grand narrative was rudely (mis)used for political aims of Milošević as well as some other presidents of pre-1990s Yugoslav republics, embodied in the war and disintegration of Yugoslavia. Media played the main role in this process, promoting an aggressive nationalistic propaganda. Some broadcasting stations, such as *TV Pink* promoting turbo-folk music, had a task to provide »opium for the masses«. The reimbursing of turbo-folk music and populist culture followed a magnificent example of imposing cultural identity directly from the most powerful political circles, namely the campaign of the *Serbian Ministry of Culture* called *Lepše je sa kulturom* (*It Is Nicer with Culture*) initiated in 1994/95. The campaign banned broadcasts of neotraditional (turbo-folk) music¹⁹ on all TV channels and major radio stations. Instead, one could have seen commercial spots containing the bleating of sheep or the mooing of cows, or the grunting of a pig, accompanied with the message: *Promeni svoj ugao posmatranja* (*Change your point of view*). Besides, Belgrade was filled with posters showing the same animals, with the caption: *Nemoj samo da zuriš u mene, bavi se kulturom* (*Don't just stare at me, engage in culture*). This project had some positive results (numerous exhibitions, concerts throughout Serbia; the publishing of new books on Serbian history and culture), showing how experiments like this can be manipulative. However, when a new political crisis started, the mentioned opium was needed again and suddenly the media were flooded with the ear-splitting outcries of turbo-folk voices. The next ministry of culture was even a reviewer of a new CD of one of the neo-folk music star.

Let me mention one more instance of political manipulation and (mis)using of national culture and art. In 1999, a new production of the first Serbian opera *Na uranku* (*At Dawn, 1903*) was staged at the *Narodno pozorište* (*National Theatre*) in Belgrade. Due to a certain intervention in the original libretto, in the opera's *verismo finale*, Rade, a young Serb, does not kill his mother in astonishment and passion for being an illegitimate child, which was the greatest disgrace in patriarchal Serbian context at the beginning of the 19th century, but he kills the Turk Redžep who told him this secret. Subsequently, Rade's mother Anđa brings guns and the peasants initiate an uprising against the Turks, clearly associating the then crisis in Kosovo.

By the redefinition of the Serbian grand narrative, the myths about wild, primitive, exotic, even heroic Balkans was not only revived,²⁰ but also redefined in the most negative context. Consequently, the term Balkanization became a synonym for fragmentation in the rudest way, primitiveness, through different Western European media. Serbian people had to face for the first time a deeply negative side of embodiment of the grand narrative, and, with the accusations for a collective national guilt, that has dominated the world media had to endure bombing in an action hypocritically called *The Angel of Mercy*, so that people who did not support Milošević became double hostages. Compared to the period of Principality of Srbija,

by Kornelije Stanković and György Novak. Besides, Balkan characters were »lustige Personen« (»funny people«), sometimes wild and dark, yet, without harmfully negative connotations in the 19th-century Viennese operettas. Cf. Glanz, Christian: *Das Bild Südosteuropas in der Wiener Operette*. Graz: PhD[unpubl.] 1988.

21 *Gusle* is a single-stringed, rarely two-stringed instrument, played with a bow, traditionally used as accompaniment for a kind of rhythmical reciting epics in the Balkans. Understandably, epics have been dedicated to the national heroes, in Serbia in the first place from the Kosovo Battle. Cherishing the oral transmitting of the epics for centuries, *guslars* (performers) were very respected as »keepers of tradition«. In that way, *gusle* is regarded as a symbol of heroism that has been stressed during the 1990s, too. For instance, in his speech for the fifth anniversary of the *Guslars' association Student*, the prominent Serbian poet from Montenegro, Matija Bećković, talked about the *gusle* as the substance of Serbian identity, pointing out that as long as Serbian language exists, the *gusle* will be its inseparable counterpart.

22 This trend is still present in Serbia, especially related to the artists or scientists, who express disagreement with Vojislav Koštunica's government. For instance, the fact that the young Serbian playwright Biljana Srbljanović was awarded the most significant international theatre prize is hardly mentioned in the mainstream press, except on the B92 radio station and media of anti-nationalist orientation.

23 »Nation becomes the parameter of all values, its cycles a universal law which must be obeyed and for and for which sacrifices are expected.« Stojanović, Dubravka: *Construction of Historical Consciousness. The Case of Serbian History Textbooks*. In: Todorova, Maria (Ed.): *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*. London: Hurst 2004, p. 334f.

24 Dr. Ljiljana Čolić is a university professor of linguistics and a prominent member of the DSS (*Democratic Party of Serbia*) led by Vojislav Koštunica. It is worth mentioning that both prime minister Koštunica and Mrs. Čolić said that her act was her »personal stamp« to the reform of education in Serbia (!). Ironically enough, Darwin's book was translated and published in Serbia in 1878; four years after the translators, the

the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, or the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the image of Serbia has completely changed. The result was amnesia, or unwillingness of media representing the official attitude and inability of the people to face the crimes of its military groups and segments of the army during the war of years 1991 to 1995. False military heroism echoed in music of this time, too, mainly in new epics with *gusle*, dedicated to the heroism of Serbian soldiers, the General Ratko Mladić, and glorifying the President Slobodan Milošević.²¹

Extremely powerful media propaganda was also supported by a well-developed plan in other areas. Apparently the most devastating among them was the reform of the curricula of Serbian schools, as the history textbooks of grammar schools, or the new legislature about the university education can prove. Thus, the process of ruining the highly respected Serbian intellectual tradition began obviously in order to undermine the education and to humiliate educated people who formed the main opposition to the regime.²² Never before Milošević education in Serbia was endangered in the same way. On the one hand, Serbia was during the 1990s affected by the international sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia and, on the other, by rude interventions introduced in 1993 by the *State Council of Education* into textbooks. For example, the illustrations in the textbooks for the third and fourth grades of elementary schools included photos mainly representing monarchs and military leaders, together with some brutal war scenes. The only two personalities from the field of cultural history were Saint Sava and Dositej Obradović.

Isolated from other historical contents, taken out of its international context, Serbian history is presented as an assembly of traumas that in the crucial currents of history led people to seek liberation. Consciously or not this presentation of history supports the propaganda, which dominated political rhetoric during the last decade in Serbia: »There is no resurrection without death.« That message wrapped in Christian discourse, carries in itself an essential epic concept of values and a cyclical pagan consciousness whose deepest sense is that suffering, poverty, war, death and forced migration will pave the path to »final« liberation, and should be taken as a historical necessity and a guarantee for a happier future. It is all about the absorption of nationalism in the language of religion, about making political speech sacred, about the replacement of Christianity with the religion of the nation.²³

The same message is a conclusion of the famous movie *Boj na Kosovu* (*The Kosovo Battle*, 1989), broadcast on TV during Milošević's time, and also recently during the referendum on the new constitution, or, indirectly, the status of Kosovo.

While Serbian people were waiting for the Serbian Prince Lazar's body to be brought from the battle field, the Lazar's widow, Princess Milica talked with Vuk Branković and two priests, stressing the main message of the movie:
Vuk Branković: *Don't you realize, Milica, that Turks definitely ruined the Serbian Empire at Kosovo?*

Princess Milica: *Serbia at Kosovo was not defeated by Turks, but by vojvodinas, despotovinas, knezevinas* (different kinds of principalities, meaning the lack of unity of Serbian people).

Priest 1: *If Serbia wants to be redeemed, it should forget Kosovo as soon as possible.*

Princess Milica: *If Serbia forgets Kosovo, what will it remember?*

Priest 2: *Kosovo is the place, where the door to the Hell is directly opening for Serbia.*

Princess Milica: *Kosovo is the place from which Serbia is ascending to Heaven.*

The same *topoi* in political vocabulary and similar actions by the Ministry of Education have been common used until very recently. Under the influence of dominant conservative orthodox religious ideology, the minister of education Ljiljana Čolić personally intervened to exclude first foreign languages from the program of the first grade of grammar schools, and then evolutionist Darwin's theory from the biology textbook for students of the eighth grade of grammar school. After furious reactions of numerous scientists, researchers, and a significant segment of the public, after only six months she had to resign, giving the statement that she would not be able to deny her faith.²⁴

The lack of education provided politicians with the opportunity to manipulate the voters. Thus the gap between two Serbias, as it is often said, between urban educated and uneducated rural *palanka* (province) people became even deeper.²⁵ This division was especially obvious before Milošević's funeral, while his body was presented in Belgrade. While at the *Trg Nikole Pašića* (*The Square of Nikola Pašić*), in front of the former Yugoslav parliament in



brothers Radovanović, had received the agreement and deep gratitude from Darwin himself.

25 Originating from the 19th-century division between only a few cities and a mainly rural society, *palanka* became a kind of a label of conservative mentality in Serbian society in the recent history, too, meaning the fear from any change, novelty, the tendency to isolation and xenophobia as the prevailing fear of the Other. The clash with European, or urban citizen culture, is still one of the main characteristics of Serbian identity. More detailed insight in this topic is explicated in the excellent study of Radomir Konstantinović, *Filosofija palanke*, published in seven editions from 1969 to 2006, especially during Milošević's regime, for he used it in order to humiliate intellectuals, mainly disagreeing with his politics.

26 Last summer, the premier Vojislav Koštunica opened the *Sabor trubača u Guči*, claiming that it is »the best Serbia can offer to the world«. In spite of the fact that the festival of brass bands is an interesting manifestation, it is certainly not the main Serbian cultural and artistic, or national value.

Belgrade a spectacle was performed, there was another meeting at the *Trg Republike* (The Square of Republic) in front of the *National Theatre*, in a distance of just a few hundred meters: people with balloons in different colours, were celebrating Serbia without Milošević. In other words, the double identity was stressed again.

The powerful and re-used influence of the grand narrative on Serbian identity, still significant in the state politics, too, produces the doubleness of identity. It also seems the best strategy would be to improve education, to provide better conditions for young scientists and artists, to recognize education as the core of national identity instead of issues of secondary importance.²⁶ And by preventing brain drain, it could be possible to reconcile the two Serbias, or at least to minimize the gap between them. In this context, the musical aspect of self-representation would be redefined, stressing more the (national) representational concept of educated pro-European oriented elite by classical and urban rock music, instead of nationalistic populism presented by neotraditional, turbo-folk music.

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