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Iva Nenić

University of Arts in Belgrade

Faculty of Music

Department of Ethnomusicology

DISCRETE CASES: FEMALE TRADITIONAL MUSIC PLAYERS IN SERBIA*

Abstract: This paper explores the exclusion of female traditional music players in Serbia and in the Balkans from the official representational discourses, frequently based on the assumption that women were not equal participants, but rather atypical or isolated ‘cases’ in the rural music cultures of the 19th and mid-20th centuries. Drawing on historical sources, and with a special focus on two short case studies of historical female *gusle* performers, the author strives to demonstrate how the workings of certain discourses, both in cultural and in scholarly terms, prepared today’s position for folk and neo-traditional music performers of the female gender, by stripping them of the history of female musicianship. The trope of ‘being the only woman of her kind’, mannish and/or unusual, can be traced through the early folklorist and ethnographic depiction of female musicians, which was frequently supplemented with the deliberate stressing of alleged ‘female’ attributes of a performer. The paper also opens the question of gender approach in ethnomusicology, claiming that it should lead to the recuperation of the field in terms of scientific auto-critique and ‘ethnomusicological revisionism’.

Keywords: woman *guslar*, ethnomusicological revisionism, Stevanija Dragaš, gender transgression, music

* Author’s contact address: genije@gmail.com

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The official history of female traditional instrumental musicians in Serbia and in the Balkans is by all means scant, if non-existent. Yet the ethnographic accounts about female instrumental musicianship by prominent writers and folk culture collectors, which began to accumulate from the 19th century, demonstrate an intriguing fact: although the folk musician ideal was equated solely with the male gender, notable female instrumental musicians, although perceived as something unusual, were no longer easy to ignore. The description of historical female players one catches a glimpse of, through the loopholes of the official scientific accounts on music, brings either additional evidence on less interesting ('not quite authentic') actors of folk music culture, or isolated 'portraits' of unusual musicians, solitary in terms of their gender. National romantic movements of the 19th and the discipline of folklore studies of the 20th century placed them in the position of exceptionality, in accordance with the official scientific ideologies of the time that followed the dominant modes of the social regulation and reproduction of culturally proper gender roles. The 'logic of singularity' ensured that female players were banned from the historical narrations and bonding with each other in the long chain of tradition, and that very same logic of the exceptionality of female folk musicians continued well into the 20th century as a trope solidified in scholarly discourses of folklore studies, ethnology/anthropology and, most notably, ethnomusicology.

Yet one cannot but wonder how the earliest written historical data from the Balkans on local female instrumental musicians, such as the written account of the wedding of Vladislav, son of the medieval Bosnian duke (*herceg*) Stjepan Vukčić Kosača, did not prompt the usually meticulous early folklorists and scholars to shed a different light on female musicianship. At the mentioned medieval wedding that took place in the autumn of 1455, three women and two men from the city of Dubrovnik, who played on aerophones (probably on some type of trumpet), provided music for the feast's guests: 'de mittendo ad nuptias Vladissai [...] duos tubicines et tres tubicinas [my cursive]'.¹ As probably the earliest account of female instrumental musicking, this written report defies the norm of female absence from instrumental music, even though very little information on regulations and everyday practices regarding female participation in court and ceremonial music in the Balkans during the Middle Ages has survived till the present day. A gap measured in centuries separates this record from the later written accounts concerning female musicianship that appeared in 19th century, dealing for the most part with aural poetry and specifically with epic songs accompanied by the *gusle*, the traditional one-stringed, bowed lute.

¹ Boris Nilević, 'Prilog muzičkom životu srednjovjekovne Bosne' [A Contribution to the Musical Life of Medieval Bosnia], *Historijska traganja*, 2010, 5, 115.

While the *gusle* epics are today traditionally considered as an exclusively male dominion, the early reports of female singing with the *gusle* mention the activities of both ordinary women and, more often, blind *gusle* players, (*slepice*). In Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's 'Introduction' to the second edition of the first volume of *Serbian folk songs* (1824), Vuk marked Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro and the southern, mountainous parts of Serbia as the regions where heroic (male) songs were performed widely among the people. His observation that in the very same regions 'it is hard to find a man who does not know how to fiddle (*koji zna guđeti*), and that *many women and girls also know* [how to do it, my cursive]², supports the thesis that female *gusle* playing was not unheard of, and that it was even fairly common. The discussion of female *gusle* players by Slovene philologist Matija Murko, based on his fieldwork in the 1930s,³ or the study-portrait of Milena Živadinović by ethnologist Dragoslav Antonijević, the first in-depth ethnographic paper on the female *guslar*,⁴ both classify female folk music players within the wider, positivist-aligned taxonomy of rural folk music. The representational strategies of these accounts meander between two modalities that one could easily trace through the literature on the topic of female instrumental folk music performance: the instance of genuine 'female virtue' and the opposite logic of the female body being 'polluted' by certain male traits and thus being apt to serve the role of the (male) musician.⁵

While embarking on the research of female players, and unearthing the data concerning their musicianship scattered through the national archives and private collections throughout Serbia, I could not help wondering why these facts, together with the sporadic encounters of present-day researchers with female instrumental musicians, are still treated as dubious ethnographic 'proof', being visible, yet unseen. One reason could be the alleged common knowledge, stating that 'the female occupation is singing, while instruments are reserved for man', which rested both in some residual forms of folk music practice and in the staged, official scene of folklore throughout the 20th century in Serbia and former Yugoslavia. This legacy can be also attributed to the early generation of

² Вук Стефановић Караџић, *Српске народне пјесме* [Serbian folk songs], књ. I. Београд, Просвета – Нолит, [1824] 1985, 529.

³ Matija Murko, *Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike* [Tracing the Serbocroatian Folk Epics], Zagreb, JAZU, 1951.

⁴ Драгослав Антонијевић, *Милена гусларка* [Milena the gusle player] (Посебна издања САНУ, књ. CCCXLII/12), Београд, Етнографски институт САНУ, 1960.

⁵ Iva Nenić, '(Un)disciplining Gender, Rewriting the Epic: Female Gusle Players', in: Dejan Despić, Jelena Jovanović and Danka Lajić – Mihajlović (eds.), *Musical Practices in the Balkans: Ethnomusicological Perspectives*, Belgrade, Institute of Musicology of SASA, 2012, 257.

Serbian ethnomusicologists who, while being occupied with reconstructing the traditional system of ‘cultural norms’, took over and in some way petrified the dichotomies such as man/instrument vs. woman/voice. The scholarly approach to social ‘reality’ promoted the dominant version of traditional musical practice into an official one, while neglecting the different strains of the very same tradition. A similar situation where female instrumentalists were also left out of the dominant representational discourses happened in Croatian peasant folk music, prompting ethnomusicologist Naila Ceribašić to call it a position ‘in between ethnomusicological and social canons’⁶. The *historical material figure* of the female player was thus since the 19th century constantly subjected to strict regulations, to put it in Michel Foucault terms, ‘to an entire micro-power concerned with the body’⁷, and gradually left out of the wider picture of folk music culture in the Balkans. The regulation procedures required that a female folk music player be constructed as a solitary figure, that she should be a ‘discrete case’ (‘discrete’ as separate, detached). To be praised as the ‘first’ female *guslar* is then to be reminded that a woman should also *stay* the only one, that the act of transgression should not be repeated again, in order not to stir up the dominant gender divisions. Many women that I encountered during my fieldwork shared their experiences of being offended (to the point, even, of being beaten) by some members of their family or the wider community because of their determination to play instruments like the *frula* and the *gusle*. While that sort of experience is indeed a product of the system of compulsory heterosexuality that was firmly established during the 19th century, the ongoing practice of female musicianship could be described, by borrowing a Butlerian phrase, as a ‘subversive repetition in the signifying practices of gender’.⁸ The cases of Serbian instrumental folk music performed by women exemplify how music serves both as a means to set social power and to transgress imposed identity limits.

One could speculate that the pre-industrial musical practice of the lower classes of patriarchal Balkan societies indeed functioned according to the more or less strict, binary gender divisions before the 20th century, mainly in the social public arena. Yet the strict nature of this norm is dubious because blind female *guslars* were allowed to publicly ‘display’ themselves. It is worth noting, however, that the female musicians coming from conservative patriarchal

⁶ Cf. Naila Ceribašić, ‘In Between Ethnomusicological and Social Canons: Historical Sources on Women Players of Folk Music Instruments in Croatia’, *Narodna umjetnost: hrvatski časopis za etnologiju i folkloristiku*, 2001, 38(1), 21–40.

⁷ Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality*. New York, Vintage, 1990, 145–146.

⁸ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London and New York, Routledge, 1990, 146.

backgrounds, which undermined or at least challenged the norms of ‘proper’ musical behavior, were largely left out of the focus due to the ideologies of the representation of early musical folkloristics and, after the 1950s, the normative and positivist efforts of ethnomusicological research proper that was initially focused on musical sound and its ‘objective qualities’. Female musicianship was marginalized, as folk culture collectors from the 19th century and, later, the founding fathers of national ethnomusicologies like Serbian Miodrag Vasiljević or Hungarian Béla Bartók, who strived to preserve the precious and dissipating forms of ‘folk life’ of the people, were focused on music as a product that embodied the *Volksgeist* at its best. The fact that ‘woman’ (and, consequently, the women) who played folk music instruments were left out of sight is therefore not only a simple transposition of the relatively marginal position of female instrumental musicians within the cultural practices still evident today, but also a byproduct of the ideologies of scientific representation that strived to capture the spirit of collective identities (folk, people, nation) and its ‘embodiment’ in cultural forms, seeing the ‘male brotherhood’ as its prime achievement and prime exemplary model.⁹ Similar to the dynamics of change concerning the social position of Bulgarian bagpipe player Maria Stoyanova described by Timothy Rice, many older female players that I have encountered were ‘allowed’ to publicly play precisely due to the ‘the passage of time from prewar traditionality to post-war communist modernity’.¹⁰ Another major turning point, which allowed many female young instrumentalists to enter musical practice in a larger number after the nineties, was the specific convergence of newly revived national sentiments and the global trend of *world music* within the context of the transitional post-communist present-day Serbia. Yet, what connected both generations was a gap, a lack of knowledge of their ancestresses.

Praised and cast away: female *gusle* players

In trying to draw a narrative that could connect scattered historical data and today’s divergent practices of female instrumental musicians, I frequently stumbled upon the image of a woman-player as a solitary and striking figure, standing alone in a sociomusical landscape populated by male musicians. For example, the *gusle* player Olga Kovačević, whose performance of epic song at the Youth Sermon event in 1866, in the city of Novi Sad, was praised as a

⁹ These ideologies surely changed since the 19th century, but the position of gender and specifically of female players regarding the domain of ‘culture’ was ‘a blind spot’, an antagonism that was kept silent by the work of ideological means.

¹⁰ Timothy Rice, ‘Time, Place, and Metaphor in Musical Experience and Ethnography’, *Ethnomusicology*, 2003, 47(2), 169.

true embodiment of Serbian democracy and national renaissance at the time,¹¹ wanted to open a school for gusle, where women could participate. In her *Letters* she unhappily states that she was unable to ‘persuade any Serbian woman for this idea’.¹² Olga was born and lived in Banat, a municipality in the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina. In the nearby district of Srem, however, Vuk Karadžić wrote down numerous epic songs from several blind women, and the poet, Milica Stojadinović Srpkinja, described in her memoirs *In Fruška Gora* from 1854, how her poor and blind godmother Jela sang, also to the accompaniment of the *gusle*.¹³ The trope of the female musician as an exception has continued through the 20th century until the present day: another female *guslar* from Vojvodina, this time a descendant of Montenegrin-Serbian immigrants after the Second World War, Dragica Radovanović, whom I interviewed in June 2012, was also presented as the first female musician who had joined the *gusle* tradition.¹⁴ Her short public career unfolded in the 1980s, in the context of the pan-Yugoslav popular music scene (*estrada*), which was supported by the state of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia. The advertisement for her debut album, published under the record label Jugoton¹⁵ displayed in many record stores, proclaimed her as ‘the first woman guslar in Yugoslavia’.¹⁶

The model of the female musician as an exception was constructed both in the discourses of social science and in the less rigorous, ‘personal’ records of female musicianship (the latter usually left by someone close to a woman, most probably a family member). Let us take as the first case, the description of the *gusle* player Stevanija Dragaš, published by ethnologist Mirko Barjaktarović in 1954. Stevanija Dragaš was 50 when Barjaktarović met her in the village of Seljašnica (municipality of Prijepolje, western Serbia). Barjaktarović begins his

¹¹ Мато Косовац, ‘Успомена на Олгу Ковачевића, српску гусларку’ [In Memory of Olga Kovačević, Serbian guslar], in: Јован Удицки (ed.), *Олга Ковачевић, српска гусларка*, Митровица, Штампарија Мирослава Спаића, 1912, 6–9.

¹² Олга Ковачевић, ‘Белешке Олге Ковачевићеве, српске гусларке’ [The Notes of Olga Kovačević, Serbian guslar] (прир. М. Косовац), in: Јован Удицки (ed.), *Олга Ковачевић, српска гусларка*, Митровица, Штампарија Мирослава Спаића, 1912, 22–40, 24.

¹³ Милица Стојадиновић Српкиња, *У Фрушкој гори 1854* [In Fruška gora 1854], Београд, Просвета, [1861–1866] 1985.

¹⁴ Personal interview with Dragica Radovanović, Vrbas, 20th June 2012.

¹⁵ The label changed its name to Croatia Records in 1990.

¹⁶ Of course, the historical line of female *gusle* players and other women instrumentalists did not stop here: today one can easily learn about well-known young female musicians who play the *gusle*, like Bojana Peković (Kraljevo), or older players who also gained some popularity and visibility, like Kosana Marić from the town of Loznica. However, in order to maintain the overtly genealogical perspective of this paper, I had to focus on historical figures and also on one instrument.

account by stating that ‘it was not uncommon for a woman to serve as head of the household, to go to war, or take over the principal, male role in the house (tobelija)¹⁷ in our people’s past (...)’: in his opinion, the assuming of otherwise male occupations by women in traditional patriarchal communities explains why in certain parts of the Balkans it ‘was not rare even for a woman to fiddle on the gusle [nije bila rijetka pojava da i žena gudi uz gusle]’.¹⁸ Unlike some of today’s scholarly approaches that would describe a woman guslar as a special and isolated case, Barjaktarović’s account clearly points to the ambiguous, yet visible position of the female musician. According to Barjaktarović, Stevanija was well-accepted in her birthplace (v. Rutoša near the township of Nova Varoš), coming from a long line of gusle players, but when she got married and moved, her new village community initially ridiculed her for being a female guslar. Yet, after some time, the neighbors accepted Stevanija as a good and entertaining *gusle* performer, and she even taught some young men how to play – Barjaktarović specifically praises her finger technique.¹⁹ Although her repertoire was relatively small, its core were epic songs, not something more ‘lyrical’ that could have been suitable for women if one were to abide by the somewhat artificial ruling ‘gender scheme’ in folk music. Some of the songs Stevanija had learned as a child, while mastering others from the published volumes on folk epic poetry.²⁰ Thus, Stevanija Dragaš was by no means an exception: her manner of learning that combined traditional oral transmission and written sources was characteristic for the wider transformation of *gusle* practice at that moment; moreover, she did not learn folk songs on her own or in secret, but on the contrary, in a familial line of transmission. Acknowledged as a young and, later on, grown-up *guslar* in her birthplace where there ‘were more women guslars’²¹, and later on accepted in another place, she even tutored younger players, thus

¹⁷ *Tobelija* is a sworn virgin, a person of biological female gender who assumes the social role of a male in traditional Balkan societies. Cf. Tatomir Vukanović, ‘Virdžine’ [The Sworn Virgins], *Glasnik Muzeja Kosova i Metohije*. 1961, VI, 1961, 79–120; Predrag Šarčević, ‘Sex and Gender Identity of “Sworn Virgins” in the Balkans’, in: Miroslav Jovanović, Slobodan Naumović (eds.), *Gender relations in South Eastern Europe: historical perspectives on womanhood and manhood in 19th and 20th century*, , LIT Verlag, Münster, 2004, 125–142.

¹⁸ Mirko Barjaktarović, ‘Stevanija Dragaš guslar’, *Glasnik Etnografskog muzeja u Beogradu*, 1954, XVII, 141.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 142.

²⁰ Stevanija’s son was reading the lyrics from the book while she would subsequently sing them with the *gusle* accompaniment, in a loud voice (*ibid*), in the manner widespread at the time.

²¹ Barjaktarović, *op. cit.*, 141.

directly taking part in the transmission of the *gusle* tradition. Altogether, one could suggest the idea that, as an individual, she possessed the public identity of a *guslar* similar, if not equal, to her male counterparts. The thing, however, which distinguishes the structural positioning of this identity from other male *guslars*, is the interplay of two mentioned tropes in the official representational discourses, with the result that a woman must 'prove' her femininity because she is assuming culturally 'male' traits. Barjaktarović's paper sways between those two tropes, in terms of the ambiguous acceptance in the two communities where Dragaš spent her life, and in terms of the 'suitable' female role. This is especially evident in the contrast between the initial ethnographic insistence on female activity in male domains, and the latter description of the informant, by providing information on her marital status, number of children and the virtue of her physical appearance ('she is otherwise a healthy, large and quite youthful woman').²² In other words, the description flows between the tropes of gender transgression permitted in the traditional rural patriarchy, and gender affirmation that 'returns' the female figure into the frame of a desired gender normative.

A similar logic pervades a vivid description of the *gusle* player, Sava Mikić, published by her grandson, folklorist and linguist Milija Stanić, in 1977. Entitled 'Dida the *gusle* player' ('Dida *guslarka*', Dida being Sava's nickname), Stanić's paper portrays Sava Mikić as an extraordinary, even heroic woman who, nevertheless, had traditional female virtues. The opening sentence describes a person who defies the boundaries of her gender: 'My grandmother on my mother's side, Sava Mikić, whom all of us called Dida, was for the Uskoks, a former Montenegrin tribe of northern Montenegro, a rather unusual woman'.²³ Dida was 'a superb *guslar*'²⁴ who, according to her grandson, performed publicly and transferred her poetic gift to some of her children. Judging by the limited information provided by the article, her repertoire consisted of the epic songs of the Kosovo cycle and also of songs about the liberation of Serbia and Montenegro, dealing with more recent historical events, such as the death of Smailaga Čengić in 1840. Stanić specifically ponders on two episodes concerning Dida's relation to the *gusle* and epic poetry: one from his childhood, when she gave him a rather unexpected lesson on how to sing with the *gusle* and another, when, as an elderly woman, she performed in public in the multiethnic and multiconfessional Bosnian city of Bijeljina and almost caused a scandal by hit-

²² Ibid, 141.

²³ Милија Станић, 'Дида гусларка' [Dida the *gusle* player], *Народно ствалараиство – фолклор*, 1977, 15–16 (57–64), 93.

²⁴ Ibid, 94.

ting a Muslim man. We shall focus on the latter episode, which her biographer chooses as perhaps the central part of his narrative, since, in his opinion, it captures the peculiarity of Dida's character and performance. This event took place at a dinner in Bijeljina organized by Sava's son, whose guests were both Serbs and Muslims (Bosniaks). Sava was asked to play by her daughter-in-law, which she reluctantly accepted, because of her old age and fear that the quality of songs would be diminished. When she did start playing and continued to do so with fervor, people were 'speechless and under a great impression'.²⁵ The situation changed abruptly when, while singing the lyrics describing how the Serbian warriors cut down the Turkish forces, Dida used her bow to hit a nearby elderly Muslim gentleman, on the head. Apart from this incident, it is however interesting to note what had preceded her performance: Stanić informs us that before Dida's was playing, people had been talking politics, and that she could not join in the conversation, the reason being that '(...) their lofty utterances have no meaning for her'²⁶. Public discussion of politics was considered an exclusively male business in the traditional societies of the Balkans, and therefore Dida's silence was quite understandable. On the other hand, her performance and her violent gesture could be observed as a substitute for her 'political opinion', closer, in a manner of speaking, to her experience and knowledge.

The explicitly patriotic portrayal of this gusle player, supported by data that she rode saddled horses, took part in village and official tribal gatherings with men, fired guns in the rebel battles against the Austro-Hungarian occupational forces, certainly belong to a discourse that supports the alleged 'male' traits. But on a couple of occasions, readers are also reminded of Dida's femininity, particularly when the narrator writes about her fondness for children. So Dida's portrait, while giving her a notable place in the heroic male domains, again feeds the stereotype of the 'singularity' of a female guslar, and repeats, albeit in a much less visible manner, the presumption that certain cultural behavioral traits are male 'by nature', and that the representation of an 'unusual' woman must also reaffirm her female sex.

'Ethnomusicology of absence'

There is no such thing as a community or an informal network of female instrumental musicians in Serbia extending through time, not at least in some observable aspect.²⁷ This leads to another question: how do women manage to

²⁵ Ibid, 97.

²⁶ Ibid, 97.

²⁷ That situation started to change during the last decade, as many girls and young women emerged as successful folk music players. However, many of them still encounter the obsta-

take part in the practice, in spite of the lack of institutional and informal support, and in the light of numerous obstacles imposed on them? Most of my informants expressed an immense feeling of joy while listening and performing their chosen instrument. Some strive to follow the model of rebellious ‘man-nish women’, others do the opposite, by adjusting their appearance, choice of repertoire and the way of playing to various levels, in order to reflect a more ‘feminine’ side; most, however, shift between the two or do not consciously take social prejudices regarding gender into consideration, at all. Although young female musicians maybe enter the public arena more easily than their predecessors, they are still labeled ‘the first’ of their kind, they have less control and power in comparison to male musicians and, most importantly, they do not know that before their time, there were many women who dared to do the same thing. The tropes of aggravated femininity or gender travesty towards the male model, the model of ‘the musical roles that either heighten [female] sexuality or restrict its display’,²⁸ together with the trope of singularity, successfully penetrated the historical lines and are still at work even today, although the historical and the social circumstances have dramatically changed since the first half of the 20th century, when Stevanija Dragaš and Sava Mikić lived.

The task of rewriting absence is at the same time wearisome and deeply moving: although there is significant information on female instrumental performance in Serbia and the former Yugoslavia, the gathering of relevant data is slow and pretty much like looking for a needle in a haystack, due to the lack of historical narratives connecting female performers on traditional instruments through time. In spite of that, the construction of the historical figures of female musicians in official discourses, which is starting to take shape from the scattered material, gives the real clue about the invisibility of women. The other common trait, apart from marginalization, is a great passion for the instrument and music, the true reason why these women succeeded against all obstacles in being musicians, instead of some alleged ‘male traits’ that served as an explanation for too long. Thus, the method of ideological critique, of deconstructing the natural and the obvious, appears to be just as important as the archival research

cle of ‘not being male’, sometimes in a subtle, and other times in a very visible way, and have to adjust themselves to the standards and unspoken rules of the community of the folk music scene, that still adheres to the heteronormative framework of the idealized rural past. In addition to that, it is possible that blind female guslars were members of a professional guild and that they were connected more closely than ‘ordinary’ female players of the *gusle*. However, that point needs to be explored further.

²⁸ Ellen Koskoff, ‘An Introduction to Women, Music and Culture’, In: E. Koskoff (ed.), *Women and Music in Cross-cultural Perspective*, Champaign, University of Illinois Press, 1989, 1–24, 6.

and the fieldwork for writing the history and the present of female performers of traditional instrumental music.²⁹ All social sciences tend to cluster around certain paradigms, and ethnomusicology is no exception to that. However, the gender turn that some scholars still see as a recent branch and fashionable twist of theory and methodology in the social sciences and humanities is not a mere fad ‘that too shall pass’: apart from constantly opening new topics, it should also lead to ‘ethnomusicological revisionism’ as a fruitful domain of study. Careful revisions are required in order to reintegrate the discipline and to give it a better position in the wider field of social sciences,³⁰ so that ethnomusicology truly starts to use ‘culture-centred models of interpretation of the heterogeneous field of multiplicity of musical as social practices’,³¹ becoming the path towards a better understanding of how the ideological material patterning of order/resistance in music works. Gender theory, followed by a systematic ideological and epistemological critique, gives ethnomusicology tools to grasp not only a different present and future, but also to shed a different and much required light on the past, where freedom, creativity and the everyday subversion of the dominant order, wait to be discovered, instead of discrete cases.

²⁹ For a wider debate on ethnomusicology, ‘cultural turn’ and new historicism, cf. Timothy Taylor, ‘Old and New (Ethno)musicologies’, 1–15, [http://www.uio.no/studier/emner/hf/imv/MUS2601/v07/undervisningsmateriale/old%20and%20new%20\(ethno\)musicologies.pdf](http://www.uio.no/studier/emner/hf/imv/MUS2601/v07/undervisningsmateriale/old%20and%20new%20(ethno)musicologies.pdf) (Accessed on 22nd August 2013).

³⁰ Cf. Timothy Rice, ‘Ethnomusicological Theory’, *Yearbook for Traditional Music*, 2010, 42, 100–134.

³¹ Miško Šuvaković, ‘Surplus Value: Musicology and Ethnomusicology in the Field of Discourse on World Music’, *New Sound*, 2004, 24, 32–39.

