



PROCEEDINGS

SECOND SYMPOSIUM of the  
INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL for TRADITIONAL MUSIC  
STUDY GROUP on MUSIC and DANCE in  
SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

HOW DO PUBLIC PRESENTATIONS AFFECT PERCEPTIONS and PRACTICES of MUSIC and DANCE?  
REGIONAL AND NATIONAL EXPERIENCES

EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS of MUSIC and DANCE  
(LEARNING and TEACHING PROCESSES)

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ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe

Ege University State Turkish Music Conservatory

Izmir, Turkey

2011

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND SYMPOSIUM**

**by the**

**INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL for TRADITIONAL MUSIC (ICTM)**

**STUDY GROUP on MUSIC and DANCE  
in SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE**

**held in İzmir, Turkey  
7–11 April 2010**

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**ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe**

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**İzmir, Turkey**

**2011**

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**PRESENTATIONS, PERCEPTIONS, AND PRACTICES OF  
CHALGIJA MUSIC IN THE REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA**

Balkan *chalgija* music in general and Macedonian *chalgija* music in particular can be seen as a quintessentially Ottoman urban phenomenon whose life and practice arguably has survived into the present, albeit with a mixture of significant changes added to selective continuities. Seeman (1990), based on fieldwork done in the 1980s, has documented vividly how Ottoman, especially Romani Ottoman, instrumental practice in Macedonia was adapted and co-opted in connection with the state sponsorship of modern Macedonian national identity, especially during the crucial period that led up to Macedonian independence, when changing geopolitical and socioeconomic circumstances and relationships were encoded into musical indexicalities of national belonging.<sup>1</sup> In this article, I examine some representations of Macedonian *chalgija* from the decade or so before Seeman conducted her field work in the 1980s, as well as some more recent post-independence manifestations. I shall argue that what we can call the Macedonian nationalization of *chalgija* that Seeman describes in musical terms is also to be seen in physical representations, orthographies, and lyrics. These representations, however, also represent a complex series of relationships between Macedonia and its Ottoman past.

My data base for this work is a collection of 45rpm and 33rpm records and their covers from the 1960s and 1970s. It so happens that this period witnessed the relatively brief efflorescence of representational cover art. The appearance of this cover art coincided with a combination of a loosening of political restrictions and a new wave of consumerism that made the mass marketing of certain genres of (by definition) state-approved music widely available. These representations were reduced or lost with the advent of cassette tapes and then compact disks. This democratization of the means of production of sound recordings (both privatization and piratization) reduced or even eliminated the role of cover art, since the medium was much smaller, and tapes and CDs often appeared in places like Skopje's Bit Pazar (literally 'flea market') with only the name of a performer on the label. At the same time, as the medium became obsolete, the covers, which were more ephemeral, were often lost or discarded. Thus, for example, one can find many examples of such 45rpm's in the bazaars of Turkey, but almost always in blank cardboard covers. The records themselves were produced primarily by Jugoton in Zagreb and Radio-TV Beograd (RTB), and to a lesser extent Diskoton in Sarajevo and rarely, by other labels in places like Ljubljana and Krushevac. It is interesting to note that during this period there was virtually no production coming from Skopje itself.

Since a complete survey is beyond the scope of this article, I shall select some representative samples from three groups, illustrative of four currents in Macedonian *chalgija*. The groups are the ensembles Chalgija, Hilmi Baki, and Biljana. I call the currents 1) the Ottoman, 2) the ethnic, 3) the lyric, and 4) the national. These concepts are not mutually exclusive but rather indicate trajectories that can intersect and overlap. By Ottoman I mean production that makes explicit or implicit reference to the time when Macedonia was part of the Ottoman Empire. By ethnic I mean production that uses a language other than that of the Macedonian republic's majority or makes explicit reference of some sort to ethnicity.<sup>2</sup> By lyric I mean a song whose themes are the type found in folksongs classified as lyric in Balkan (and other) folklore collections, that is, songs about love and related topics that can broadly be construed as social/domestic relations and gossip. A given *chalgija* production can represent any or all of these trajectories, but they can also be distinct. Thus, for example, an ethnic trajectory can simultaneously index the Ottoman, as can the lyric trajectory. The national often corresponds thematically to folk songs traditionally classified as epic,

although musically they are identical to the lyric. Rather, their thematics concern political events, or in some way index national belonging.<sup>3</sup> The ethnic can similarly index nationality, but need not, as we shall see below. The Ottoman by its very nature is imperial as opposed to national—in the late Ottoman period to which *national* refers here, *millet* 'nationality' was defined by religion and not by language or some other nation-state characteristic. Ottoman and national can also co-occur by the very fact that they were historically—and to some extent still are—in simultaneous competition.<sup>4</sup> Even lyric and national are not entirely mutually exclusive, since the tropes of lyric songs sometimes occur as metaphors for the national. It is during the period of 45rpm and 33rpm cover production in the 1960s and 1970s that we can trace movements along these various trajectories using the three groups that will be the focus of this article.

We begin with the eponymous Ansambl Čalgija, featured on the earliest cover to be considered here (Jugoton EPY 3663; Figure 1), which dates from the early 1960s. The representation shows five men, standing outdoors, bare headed, with *kanun*, clarinet, *dzhumbush*, violin, and *tarabuka*.<sup>5</sup> Marked clothing items are embroidered *elek*, sash, *bechvi* (also with a bit or embroidery), and *opinci* laced up outside the *bechvi* to just below the knee. The title is in Croatian: *Makedonska Narodne Pjesme Pjeva i Svira Ansambl Čalgija* 'The Ensemble Čalgija plays and sings Macedonian folk songs'. The songs are all lyric, one with a non-standard title (*Ej ti mome, maloj mome* 'Oh you maiden, young maiden', where the <j> in *maloj* 'small, young' is an archaism; modern *malo*, older *maloje*).

The second Čalgija cover (Jugoton EPY 4218; Figure 2), from the late 1960s, projects a distinctly related but different image. The title is the same as on the previous cover, but an *oud* has been added to the instrumental ensemble, two female vocalists are also included, the players of the *oud*, *kanun*, and *dzhumbush* are seated cross-legged (that is, *alaturka*) on the ground in front of the other members of the ensemble, the women are dressed *alafranga* in pre-World War One style long-sleeved long dresses, while the men are wearing town shoes and kalpaks and sashes but the *bechvi* and *elek* are unembroidered. Moreover, the themes of the songs are all of the national/Ottoman type dealing with Macedonian insurrections at the end the Ottoman period plus one instrumental number entitled *Starogradsko makedonsko oro* 'Old town Macedonian *oro*'. The timing of this record is the period after the fall of Aleksandar Ranković (head of Yugoslavia's secret police) in 1966, when there was an upsurge in national sentiments in the various Yugoslav republics and regions. In the third Čalgija cover (EPY 4324; Figure 3), entitled simply *Ansambl Čalgija*, all six men are seated on the ground *alaturka*, an *oud* has replaced the *dzhumbush* (so there are two *ouds*), there are four women singers standing behind the seated musicians, and everyone is wearing ordinary modern street clothes. The songs are an interesting mixture of Ottoman/national, lyric, and ethnic. *Katušeno đanam kajmaklijo* 'Dear Katushena, O you with the complexion like cream' is lyric.<sup>6</sup> *Devet stota osma godina* '1908' and *Sardisale Lešočkot manastir* 'They have surrounded the Leshok monastery' both refer to political events, in the case of the second song, the burning of the monastery at Leshok by Albanian Muslims from the neighboring village of Slatino at the orders of a *pasha* seeking *komiti*. The instrumental piece on this record, *Topaansko oro* 'Oro from Topaana', refers to one of the oldest Romani quarters of Skopje, and is thus ethnically marked.

In our final example from this group (RTB 14709, Figure 4), which is from 1964 or 1965, the Ansambl Čalgija is called Orkestar Čalgija R[adio]-T[elevizija] Skopje. There is a single featured cut on the front cover—the instrumental *Turska ženska igra (Čoček)* 'Turkish women's dance (*Choček*)'—as opposed to a complete listing, and the cover itself displays a folk motif rather than a picture of the orchestra.<sup>7</sup> The entire record is ethnically marked since the other instrumental piece *Čiftetelli (turska igra)* '*Chiftetelli* (Turkish dance)' and the two songs—*Dal dan dala (Turska šaljiva pesma)* 'fickle/unsteady [literally 'from branch to branch'] (Turkish humorous song)' and *Gide gide (turska ljubavna pesma)* 'Gradually/more and more [literally 'going, going']

(Turkish love song)'—are all Turkish. Several points about this record are worth noting. Although in current usage *choček* refers to a variety of rhythms, including the 2/4 or 4/4 rhythms used for the chiftetelli, on this record the danced specified as a *choček* is a *karşılama* in 9/4. Also, the Turkish songs are not translated into Macedonian but simply described, and the first one is orthographically incorrect: it should be *daldan dala*, that is, *dal* 'branch' in the ablative and then in the dative case. It is worth noting here that at the same time in Bulgaria, the names of Turkish songs were never given in Turkish on the covers but only in Bulgarian (and later, also in English).

Our second group is that of Hilmi Baki, who also played with the Chalgija ensemble as did his brother Raim. The first three examples are from around 1965, while the fourth dates from the late 60s or early 70s. These can all be classified as ethnic records. Three are instrumental and one has songs and dances. Two are Romani—both instrumental—and the other two are Turkish.<sup>8</sup> Only three have original cover illustrations. Of these, the two Turkish records show an elaborately staged Turkish sitting room of the Ottoman type, with a *minder* and, in the first, a *mangal*. In both, a young man in a turban and fancy Turkish clothes is posed with a young woman in fancy Ottoman (or orientaling Ottoman) women's attire. In one (RTB 14731, Figure 5) she is reclining on a cushion on the floor and he is kneeling behind her looking down at her and holding a pistol pointed upward. There are five men and a woman around them: the men play a violin, two *ouds*, *tarabuka*, and clarinet while the woman plays a tambourine. The male musicians are all in simple Ottoman attire with fezzes and the woman with the tambourine is dressed a bit more simply than the woman in the middle. The implication is that some sort of harem drama is taking place. The title is in Macedonian: *Najnovi čočeci so orkestarot na Hilmi Baki* 'Newest *choček*s by/with the orchestra of Hilmi Baki'. The dances listed on the back cover (Figure 6) are in Turkish written in a Macedonian-based Latin orthography with some dialectisms: *Haz'r ojunu*, *Didar ojunu*, *Rumelli avasi*, *Jorgun çiftetelli* (standard Turkish *Hazır oyunu*, *Didar oyunu*, *Rumeli havası*, *Yorgun çiftetelli*). The use of the apostrophe is standard Macedonian orthography for representing schwa, which corresponds to Turkish <ı>. The use of <j> for <y> is also standard Macedonian. The omission of the cedilla from <ç> may be explained by the lack of an appropriate typeface, a problem faced even by Macedonian (cf. note 5). On other albums, an inverted hachek is sometimes placed below the letter where a cedilla is used in Turkish. The title *Rumelli avasi* has three peculiarities. The double <l> in *Rumelli* is based on a misunderstanding of the word as deriving from a ghost form *Rumel* to which the attributive *-li* has been added. In fact, the word is from *Rum eli* 'the land of Rum ('Rome' whence 'Byzantium' whence 'European Turkey')'. The form *avasi* is the West Rumelian Turkish dialect form for standard (and East Rumelian) *havası*, but while the absence of <h> is definitely dialectal, the final <i> could just be a matter of typeface limitations.

The other staging (RTB 16233, Figure 7) is the same sitting room with the same five male musicians holding the same instruments but no woman musician. The man in the turban is seated on the floor next to the *minder*, on which the woman is seated playing an *oud* as they gaze at each other. This time the extra props are a floor narghile and an *ibrik* on a small table. The title is in Turkish: *Hilmi Baki ve onun "YILDIRIM" adli orkestresinin refakatiyle CEVAHIR ÖMER* 'Hilmi Baki and his orchestra named "Lightning" accompanied by Cevahir Ömer'. The problems of the orthography are the same as above (for example, all small <i>s are dotted, all capital <i>s are dotless), but diereses are used where appropriate and, on the back (figure 8), an interesting solution is used for the representation of <ğ> (*yumuşak ge*)—namely <q>, a letter that is not needed for Macedonian Latinization—in the attribution of three of the four dances: *halk müziqi* (standard Turkish *halk müziği*) 'folk music'.

One of the Romani covers (RTB 14756, Figure 9) has only four musicians—*oud*, *kanun*, violin, and clarinet—all in western dress (jackets with open collared shirts), seated by a wooden bridge. The title is in Macedonian: *Čočeci so orkestarot na Hilmi Baki* '*Choček*s by/with the orchestra of Hilmi Baki' with the names of the dances in Romani and Macedonian translation in

parentheses. The other cover (RTB 14738) is an extract of (RTB 14731) but is interesting for the back (Figure 10), which has not only the names of the dances in Romani (with slightly inaccurate Serbo-Croatian translation, for example *Bašalela o Raimi* 'Raim plays' is translated *Raimovo kolo* 'Raim's dance') but also part of the album title in Romani: Orkestar Hilmi Bakija; HILMI BAKI *Bašalena e Ilijaskere [sic] amala (Sviraju ilmijevi [sic] drugovi)* 'Orchestra of Hilmi Baki (Serbo-Croatian), Ilmi's friends play (Romani, then Serbo-Croatian, with typographical errors in both).<sup>9</sup>

Our final group is the ensemble Biljana, based in Ohrid. The name Biljana itself refers to an emblematic Macedonian lyric folk song *Biljana platno beleše (kraj ohridskite izvori)* 'Biljana was bleaching linen (by the sources of Lake Ohrid)'. With Biljana we can follow the changes of a *chalgija* ensemble becoming *starogradski* (old town) and then modern *starogradski*, but often with explicitly *chalgija* (as opposed to ambiguous or *starogradski*) items in the repertoire. Albums all date from the mid 1970s.

The covers of the 33rpm albums depict the musicians standing with different parts of Ohrid in each background. The instruments depicted are the following (vocalist means no instrument, in fact many of the musicians also sing):

EPY 61133 - small *daire*, *oud*, clarinet, guitar, two *ouds*, two violins (Figures 11,12)

EPY 61188 - small *daire*, *oud*, clarinet, guitar, two violins, accordion, vocalist (Figures 13,14)

LSY 61328 - small *daire*, *oud*, clarinet, guitar, violin, accordion, electric guitar, vocalist (Figures 15,16)

LSY 62079 - bass, *oud*, clarinet, violin, accordion, electric guitar, vocalist (Figures 17,18)

As can be seen, the band changes along a temporal line from one that is all *chalgija* except for the guitar to one that is *starogradski* or modern *starogradski* except for the *oud* and clarinet.

The lettering used for the name of the band also has significance. The first two albums are in Latin while the second two have the title on the front cover in Cyrillic, although the names of the songs on the backs are still in Latin. Of the two covers in Latin letters, the first is in an ornate art nouveau style that indexes the late nineteenth-early twentieth century, while the second is a very plain style with seraphs. The Cyrillic typeface is identical on the second two albums and is an ornate archaizing style reminiscent of medieval illuminated Cyrillic manuscripts. It thus indexes Ohrid as a seat of medieval Slavic learning (and in fact quite likely the birthplace of the Cyrillic alphabet). It also serves as an index of the specifically Macedonian.<sup>10</sup> Of the four 33 rpm albums under consideration here, the first three are entitled simply *Ansambl Biljana Ohrid*, while the fourth of these albums bears the title of the first cut *Frosino mome, ubavo* 'O Frosina, you beautiful maiden!' The title song itself is highly indexical of the Ottoman, ethnic, and lyric. The song is sung in Macedonian and is about a Greek Orthodox maiden (although her ethnicity beyond the implication that she is Christian is not specified), who was taken by Ali Pasha of Tepelenë in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth century. (In fact, Ali's wife was Greek.) Today the song would also be read as national, but in fact it pre-dates the development of national identities in the Balkans, or at the very most, dates from the inception of such identities.

In general, the repertoire on all four albums has examples of all four trajectories described so far, for example *Bog da go ubie toj Šefki kačakot* 'May God kill that Šefki the *kachak*', *Slušam kaj šumat bukite* 'I hear how the beech trees are rustling', *Od Bitola do Vevčani sve sardisano* 'From Bitola to Vevchani everything is surrounded', *Čifte, čifte pajtonlari (ne verdim sana)* 'The pair, the pair of coaches (that I gave you)', *Ja izlezi stara majko na pendžereto* 'Come out, old mother, to the window', *Jas sum moma ohrigjanka* 'I am an Ohrid girl', *Bog da bie Ruse tvojtja makja* 'May God strike dead, O Rusa, you mother', *Če me grabit, nane, toj Nikola* 'That Nikola is going to carry me off', *Pesna za Karadata* 'Song about Karadzata'.

That the Cyrillic on the two covers is emblematic in addition to being communicative is emphasized by the fact that the song titles are all in Latin letters. Moreover, the typefaces still make use of Serbo-Croatian letters, although the form *ohrigjanka* is Macedonian. *Čifte, čifte pajtonlari*

(*ne verdim sana*) 'The pair, the pair of coaches (that I gave you)' is a rare example of a song sung in West Rumelian dialectal Turkish. *Ja izlezi stara majko na pendžereto* 'Hey come out, old mother, to the window' is sung in its original version which has the lines *ke promine Osman begot* 'Osman bey will pass by' and *ke se grčam ke se turčam, umram za nego* 'I'll become a Greek, I'll become a Turk, I am dying for him'. The image here is of a girl so infatuated with a handsome young Turk that she wants to run off with him. In later versions, Osman bey was replaced with *moeto libe* 'my beloved' and the verse *ke se grčam ke se turčam,...* is omitted entirely. The forms *mojta* and *grabit*, are dialectal, the latter specifically Ohrid dialect, and *Karađata* has the same error we saw above in *đanam*.

Three of Biljana's 45's are also worth noting here. Two covers (SY 12341 & 12342; Figures 19, 20) have photos taken at the same cafe with six of the band members in Ottoman town dress (*elek*, sash, *bechvi*, kalpak), seated around a *mangal* without its cover and used as an ashtray. In 12342 the photo is the front cover and they are seated on the floor *alaturka*, whereas in 12341 the front cover depicts one of Ohrid's old town cobblestone streets with an old Ottoman-style house on the left and the side of a church on the right, but the men portrayed on the back cover seated on low stools.<sup>11</sup> The songs are national, for example, *Narode makedonski* 'O Macedonian people!', and lyric/ethnic, for example, *Fanče ojde vo Kališča* 'Fanche goes to Kalishcha' which mentions a *čamče elbasançe* 'chamche in the Elbasan style' also qualified as a *Tursko čamče* 'Turkish chamche'.<sup>12</sup> The third 45 (SY 23375, Figure 21) is a rare example of a record with two Aromanian folk songs (*Isuse me le dado* 'Marry me off mother' and *Of ci fu aistă seră la dado* 'Oh what a night that was, mother'. The cover shows the musicians with *oud* [just the edge], clarinet, guitar, violin, accordion, electric guitar, vocalist (similar to LSY 31628). This record, however, both indexes and instantiates the fact that Ohrid had and continues to have a significant Aromanian-speaking community, members of whom participate in Biljana.<sup>13</sup>

Thus although Biljana's instrumentation is less traditionally *chalgija* than the first two groups, their repertoire includes both Turkish and Aromanian music from the Ottoman period as well as the kind of Ottoman Macedonian-language repertoire that has subsequently been "nationalized".

By way of conclusion, I would like to cite three more figures that both comment on *chalgija* as presented and performed in pre-independence Macedonia in the 60s and 70s, on *chalgija* in Turkey, and on *chalgija* in the Republic today. Figure 22 shows Yaşar Gümüş and his friends, a 45 produced in Turkey at the same time the records considered here were being produced for the Macedonian market in Yugoslavia: Clarinet (featured), *dzhumbush*, violin, *tarabuka*, and finger cymbals. The performances were all instrumental dance numbers (*çiftetelli*, and so on). Figure 23 shows an Albanian 45 from the same period that depicts a musical group. Significant here is the fact that this is a folk rather than a *chalgija* ensemble. The combination of *çifteli*, *kaval*, *daire*, *sharkia*, and wooden spoons (which function like finger cymbals) and the men in north Albanian national dress mark this as a rural folk ensemble. There were also Macedonian folk ensembles at this same time, but the point here is that Albanian-language production was entirely folk rather than the more urban and Ottoman *chalgija*. The songs performed by ensembles like Ralf Needing were entirely lyric.<sup>14</sup> This is consistent with the pre-World War Two status of Albanian in Macedonia as a language of the countryside, that is markedly rural, as opposed to Turkish, which even as late as the 1970s was still the town language of sophistication among the older generation. Figure 24 shows a modern *chalgija* performance in Macedonia in 2008, the *oud* player is Raim Baki. The repertoire consisted entirely of Macedonian songs, most of which were of the *novokompirana narodna* (newly composed folk) type, the rest being taken from what in decades past would have been the rural rather than urban repertoire and were thus indexed as specifically Macedonian. The national thematics tended to be modern rather than Ottoman. A striking example of the new national-type orientation occurred when I requested an ethnic song. since the musicians

were all Roms, I spoke to them in Romani and requested a Romani song. Rather than performing a song from the rich Macedonian Romani repertoire, they chose to play *Gelem, Gelem* ('I went, I went), a song based on a folk tune from further north and with new words that has become the Romani national anthem (see Silverman forthcoming).

Thus, in following the representation and performance of *chalgija* in the Republic of Macedonia we see how an Ottoman urban genre has indexed various kinds of identities and types of belonging, including urban, local, ethnic, Ottoman, and national. While some of the Ottoman urban and local indices manage to continue, it is the national that seems to be most pervasive at the present moment.

### Glossary

*alafanga* - in West European fashion

*alaturka* - in Ottoman fashion

*bechvi* - homespun trousers wide above the knees and narrow below the knee

*cifteli* - member of lute family with two strings, small body, long neck

*chamche* - dance in an aksak (uneven) rhythm, from *Çam*, Albanian-speaker from what is today southernmost Albania and northwestern Greece

*chochek* - a kind of belly dance.

*daire* - frame drum, large tambourine

*dzhumbush* - round-bodied string instrument with a metal frame, sort of like a banjo

*elek* - short vest

*ibrik* - brass pitcher with a broad base and a long narrow spout

*kachak* - Albanian equivalent of *komita*

*kanun* - plucked zither

*kaval* - end-blown flute

*komita* (pl. *komiti*) - Macedonian revolutionary or brigand, depending whose side you were on.

*mangal* - large brass bowl on a pedestal filled with hot coals and covered with a decorative latticed metal cover used for heating a room.

*minder* - cushioned wall bench

*pafta* - a large, fancy women's two-part belt buckle, each half being round, oval, or paisley shaped, worn for special occasions, usually made of elaborately engraved and sometimes inlaid silver, in which a hook behind one half hooks into an eye behind the other.

*pasha* - the highest Ottoman civil or military rank, equivalent to a general or admiral.

*tarabuka* - hourglass drum

*oro* - line dance (Macedonian)

*opinci* - homemade leather shoes

*oud* - fretless lute

*sharkia* - like a lute but smaller body, longer neck, 5 strings.

### Endnotes

1. See also Pennanen (2008), whose work is quite relevant to this theme.
2. This usage is reminiscent of the term *ethnic* in early US recording industry production. Ethnic records were those in languages other than English aimed at immigrant audiences and their children.
3. This is not to say that lyric themes are excluded from the traditional epic. Our point here is simply to use convenient labels for identifiable tendencies.
4. On Ottoman identity in modern Macedonia, see Ellis (2003). I can confirm that this sentiment is still present in Skopje, where Turkish-speakers expressed it to me during 2008-2009 while I was researching multilingualism with support from a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship and a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, whose support I gratefully acknowledge. Thus, for example, an actor in the Turkish National Theater in Skopje descended from an old urban family said in conversation that by virtue of his being a Turkish-speaker he did not identify with the Turkish nation-state but rather felt himself to be Ottoman. Several other members of the theater voiced their agreement with this sentiment.



5. Titles and words cited directly from record covers are given in the original orthography unless otherwise noted. Macedonian not cited from titles are given in Latinized transliteration (ch, sh, zh, dzh, kj, gj, and so on). A glossary at the end explains words not glossed immediately in the text for which the English would involve a descriptor or circumlocution. Words glossed in the text are not included in the glossary.
6. The <đ> in *đanam* represents two problems. One was the absence of Macedonian typefaces for Latin transcription and the substitution of Serb-Croatian (see Friedman 1985 for further details). In this particular word, however, the dialectal confusion of mellow and strident voiced palatal affricates in Macedonian <gj/dž> shows up as an orthographic confusion of the Serbo-Croatian equivalents <đ/dž>. These problems occur again in other examples. In fact, every occurrence of <đ> for <ǰ> or <gj> should actually be <dž>, which is the same letter in both alphabets. On the other hand, the occurrences of the voiceless equivalent <ć> for <č> or <kj> are always etymologically correct.
7. The motif itself, half of a *pafta* on the background of some embroidery, is suggestive of the theme, which is women's dances and lyrical songs.
8. It is important to note that there was also significant record production with songs—and covers—in Romani at this time. See Silverman forthcoming.
9. Note that *Ilmi* is the Macedonian form of *Hilmi*.
10. This is in opposition to the other languages of Macedonia (except Serbian), which all use the Latin alphabet. The symbolism of Cyrillic for Macedonian national identity continues to be salient in the post-independence period and has been the focus of laws requiring Cyrillic in public signage as well as media campaigns encouraging the use of Cyrillic.
11. Back cover photos are quite rare. When they occur, they always depict a group of musicians.
12. Elbasan is a city in central Albania that was a major provincial center in Ottoman times. The adverb *elbasançe* 'in the Elbasan style' is Turkish.
13. A district of Ohrid called *Vlaško maalo* 'Aromanian neighborhood' is still inhabited primarily by Aromanians.
14. Albanian has a rich epic tradition, but the complexities are beyond the scope of this article. As with other Balkan epic traditions, the accompaniment is generally with a single chordophone (rarely two) that is either plucked or bowed.

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Figures

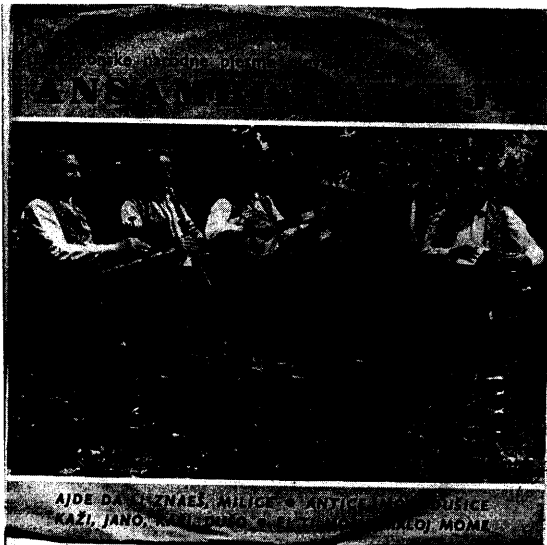


Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

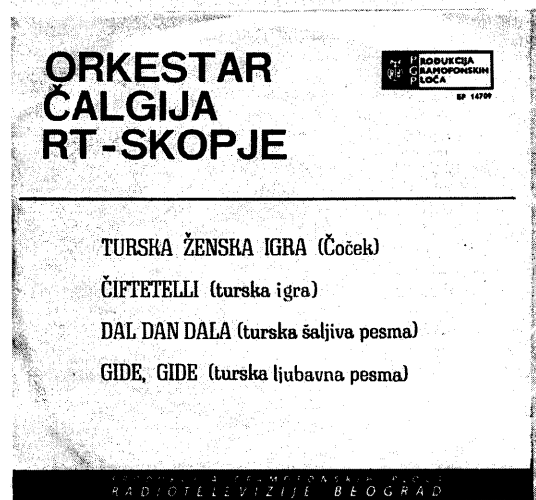


Figure 4



Figure 5



Figure 6



Figure 7

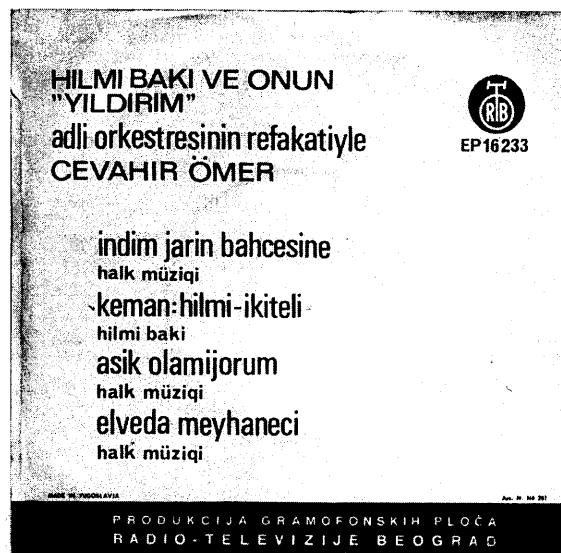


Figure 8



Figure 9

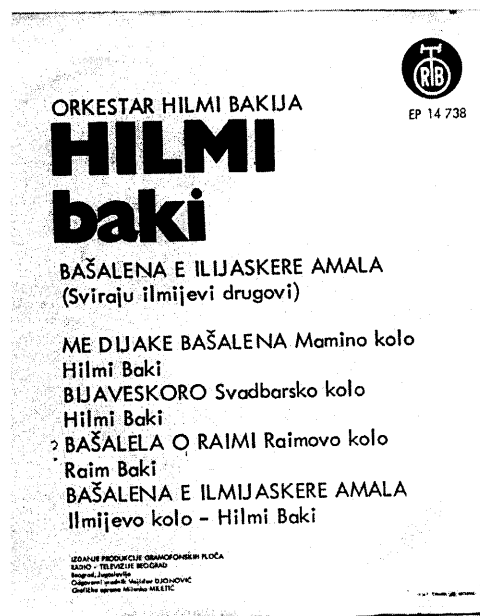


Figure 10

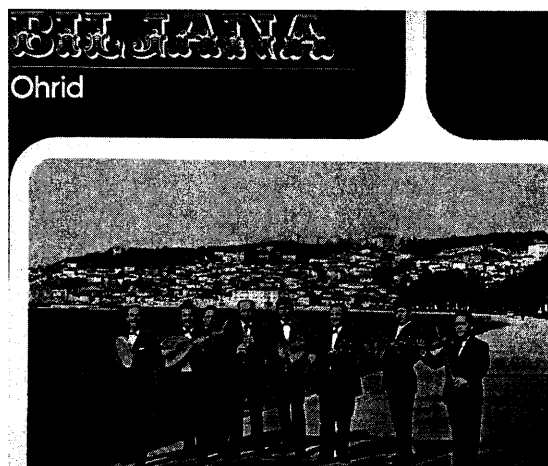


Figure 11

1. BILJANA PLATNO BELEŠE (narodna — arr. K. Pop Stefanija)
  2. OJ ZARINO PRVA SEVDO (narodna — arr. T. Lukan)
  3. PESNA ZA HRISTO UZUNOV (narodna — arr. S. Dimitrovski)
  4. DO KOGA BRAĆA MILI MAKEDONCI (narodna — arr. S. Dimitrovski)
  5. BOG DA BIE RUSE, TVOJTA MAJKA (narodna — arr. B. Adam)
- B
1. ILJADA I SEDEMSTOTIN ŠESET I VTORO LETO
  2. DEVET GODINI BOLEN LEŽAV (narodna — arr. K. Pop Stefanija)
  3. OJ LJUBOV, LJUBOV (narodna — arr. T. Lukan)
  4. ČE ME GRABIT NANE TOJ NIKOLA (narodna arr. B. Adam)
  5. VELGOŠKO ORO (narodno — arr. D. Marenovski)

Figure 12



Figure 13

A

1. JA IZLEZI STARA MAJKO NA PENDZERET (narodna – arr. A. Bajrami)
2. JAS SUM MOMA OHRIGJANKA (narodna – arr. K. Pop Stefanija)
3. AJ FERMAN DOJDE OD STAMBOLA (narodna – arr. A. Bajrami)
4. AJDE ŠTO PIJANA ŠETAŠ FIME (narodna – arr. S. Čoseški)
5. NA STRUGA DUČAN DA IMAM (narodna – arr. D. Marenovski)

B

1. OD VRV FIRIN PLANINA (narodna – arr. S. Dimitrovski)
2. JAS METODI PATČE OD OHRIDA (narodna – arr. T. Lukanovski)
3. SLUŠAM KAJ ŠUMAT BUKITE (narodna – arr. D. Marenovski)
4. OZDOLA IDAT EDEN MLAD VOJVODA (narodna – arr. S. Dimitrovski)
5. OD BITOLA DO VEVCANI SVE SARDISANO (narodna – arr. K. Pop Stefanija)

Figure 14



Figure 15

# ANSAMBL BILJANA OHRID

Strana 1

1. EDNO VREME SI BEV ERGEN (narodna – arr. K. Pop Stefanija)
2. NEVESTO KALEŠ UBAVA (narodna – arr. A. Bajrami)
3. PLANINO FIRIN PLANINO (narodna – arr. K. Pop Stefanija)
4. NEDALEKU OD VODEN GRADA (narodna – arr. T. Lukanovski)
5. BOG DA GO URBE TOJ ŠEFKI KAČANOT (narodna – arr. T. Lukanovski)

Strana 2

1. AJ DE BOLNO LEŽI (narodna – arr. D. Marenovski)
2. ČETVORICA KOMITI (narodna – arr. S. Dimitrovski)
3. TRI ODDINI KATE (narodna – arr. N. Georgievski)
4. BOLEN MI LEŽI MILE POP ORDANOV (narodna – arr. S. Čoseški)
5. ČIFTE, ČIFTE PAJTONLARI (narodna – arr. A. Bajrami)

Figure 16



Figure 17

## FROSINO, MOME UBAVO Ansabl • BILJANA • Ohrid

A

1. FROSINO, MOME UBAVO (narodna – arr. N. Georgievski)
2. PESNA ZA KARADATA (narodna – arr. K. Pop Stefanija)
3. JAS SUM NESREČNICA (narodna – arr. A. Bajrami)
4. ANTICA (narodna – arr. T. Lukanovski)
5. TI SI MOME IDEALNO (narodna – arr. N. Georgievski)

B

1. ALIJA SO TRUBATA (narodna – arr. A. Bajrami)
2. GROZEN GAVRAN (narodna – arr. K. Pop Stefanija)
3. JAS KOGA BEV OVCARČE (narodna – arr. S. Dimitrovski)
4. OZLEZI MOME RUSANKE (narodna – arr. D. Marenovski)
5. ORO MAŠKO ZARAMO (narodna – arr. D. Marenovski)

Muzičko vodstvo: KUZMAN POP-STEFANIJA

Figure 18

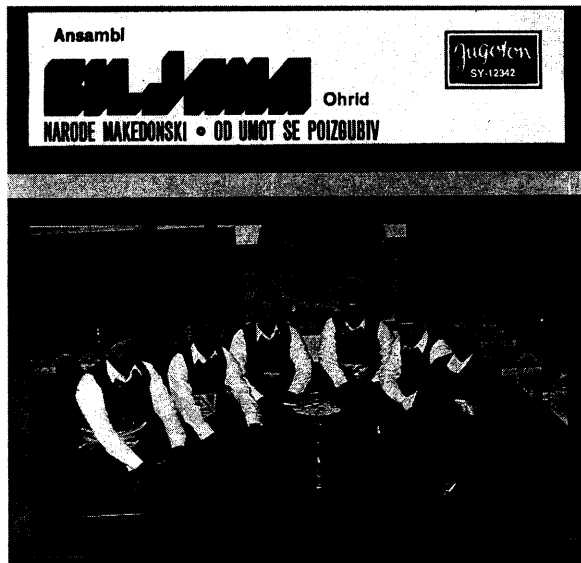


Figure 19



Figure 20

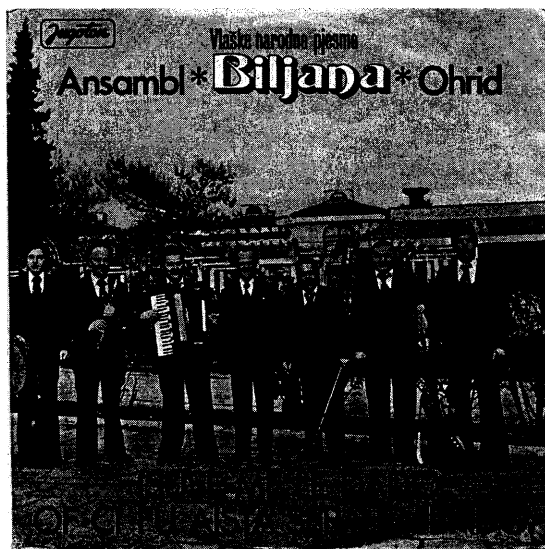


Figure 21



Figure 22

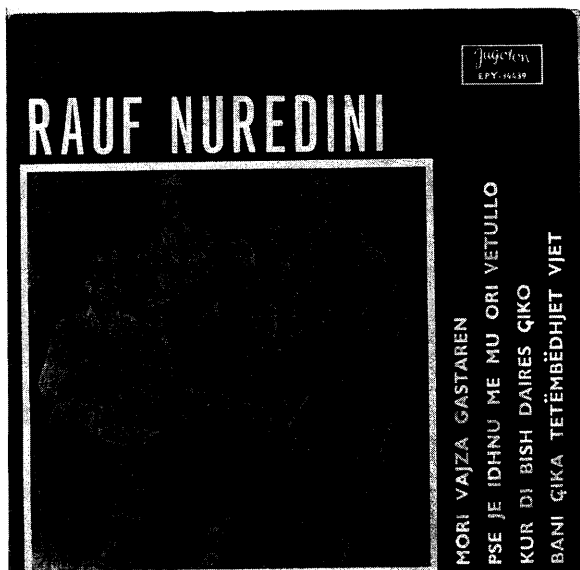


Figure 23



Figure 24