Popular Music Under the Siege: Patriotic Songs in Sarajevo

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Mujo is swinging on a swing in besieged Sarajevo and enjoying the moment.
Haso comes by and asks: "Mujo, what are you doing?"
Mujo replies: "Nothing important, I'm just messing with the snipers."
(Sarajevan street joke)[1]

In 1990 and 1991, the people of all six republics that were formerly united under the banner of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia took part in their first multi-party elections. In Slovenia and Croatia, and later in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Macedonia, referendums were held where they voted for or against staying in Yugoslavia. The events that took place afterwards were the result of a decade-long

1 "This sort of joking played an important role in Sarajevans' resistance to the abnormality of the circumstances" (Maček 2007: 45).

economic crisis and nationalistic politics which led to the rise of nationalism and war. The war that started in Slovenia in June 1991 expanded to Croatia, and in 1992 to Bosnia-Herzegovina, where it lasted for three and a half years and affected millions. And so, instead of playing in the yard, swimming in the sea and sunbathing, the people of those newly-established independent countries, especially in Bosnia's capital Sarajevo, were hiding in cellars, waiting in lines for bread, water and humanitarian aid, and listening to the radio. Reports from the battlefield were accompanied with popular patriotic songs and *sevdalinkas*.[2] This gave people the feeling of belonging to the land that was being attacked.

In this paper I will focus on one segment of Sarajevan music production – patriotic songs that were popular from 1992 to 1995. The musical examples I have chosen were often mentioned by the interviewees I met during my fieldwork in Sarajevo. The interviewees were not homogeneous in terms of age, gender, education, national and religious affiliation. What they all had in common was the fact that they all lived in Sarajevo at the time of the siege. I am also interested in the functions of music and how they are reflected in songs. The ethnomusicologist Svanibor Pettan studied the functions of music during the war in Croatia and defined three different but very particular functions of music in wartime. His examples showed that music was made for those who were under attack, for those who were attacking and for those who were not directly involved (Pettan 1998). During my fieldwork in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina (2011–2013) I explored the functions of music in the same context, during wartime, and came to the following conclusions. My interviewees pointed out that the music they were listening to, and some even performing, had two main functions – resistance (*muzika kao otpor*) and healing force (*muzika kao lijek*). The following paper thus focuses on these two functions. Resistance can be understood in many contexts: resistance against the enemy, against a life you do not want to live, against politics you do not approve of or against the fact that you had too much free time with nothing to do. Another aspect of resistance is survival itself (Bartulović 2013: 170). Music as a healing force can be understood as music that gives you consolation and moral support in hard times. The interviewees agreed that each of them had their own genre of music that he/she understood as resistance and as an agent of healing. Although most of them claimed patriotic songs as music of resistance, the interviewee

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2 A *sevdalinka* is a type of love song associated with the urban Muslim population in Bosnia (Milošević 1964).

Miroslav also pointed out that *sevdalinkas* can, under special circumstances, also be songs of resistance (see Hamer 2013: 46). Hasiba said that for her, *sevdalinkas* were a cure. For musicologist Branka, classical music was a cure.

First I will outline the events that happened in the beginning of 1992 in Sarajevo. Then I will present the functions of music classified by anthropologist Alan P. Merriam, ethnomusicologist Svanibor Pettan and myself. Then I will focus on electronic media, specifically on radio and television in Sarajevo, where I am interested in their role in the process of popularization of patriotic songs. Lastly I will analyse the lyrics of the patriotic songs that became popular during the war and investigate their functions.

"WE ARE FOR PEACE!"

The people of Bosnia-Herzegovina voted for their independence in a referendum on 1 March 1992 (Thompson 1992: 318–319). The results were announced the next day, and members of the Serbian paramilitary forces set up barricades in the city. The snipers took over the streets near the parliament building (see Thompson 1999: 210–212) where on 6 April a peaceful demonstration[3] took place (Bartulović 2013: 167–168; Malcolm 1996: 231–236). A huge crowd demonstrated and shouted: "We are for peace!" They demanded that Bosnia-Herzegovina remain multiethnic and multicultural and that the government continue to respect "Tito's legacy of brotherhood and unity" (Maček 2001: 200). Snipers hiding in the old Jewish cemetery started firing at the crowd and hit their first targets, Suada Dilberović and Olga Sučić. In the following days, heavy artillery and sniper activity in the surrounding hills continued around the clock. Water, gas and electricity were shut down and supplied to the households sometimes for only a few hours each day. Food was running out, medical supplies were gone. People were leaving the town and trying to escape

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3 Many anti-war events were held a year before this, not only in Sarajevo but also in other cities. One of the largest took place on 28 August 1991 in the Sarajevan concert hall Zetra, and was called 'Yutel Za Mir' ('Yutel For Peac'). More than 20,000 people attended the concert, and more than 50,000 listened from outside the venue. Rade Šerbedžija, Bajaga i Instruktori, Crvena Jabuka, Goran Bregović, Haris Džinović, EKV, Dino Merlin, Indexi, Regina and Plavi orkestar are just some famous acts who performed at the event, where it was clearly stated, "We are for peace, we don't want war" (Yutel za 2014; Perković 2011: 52–53). Protests for peace were also held in other cities, like Belgrade.

from the war. They left disappointed and humiliated (Perković 2011: 101). Many stayed because they did not believe that further escalation of violence was possible (Maček 2001: 201). My interviewee Violeta remembered the time of the aggression:

> *I lived with my parents in a three-storey building. We spent most of the time hidden in a cellar*[4] *with our neighbours and we shared everything: food, water, coffee, heating. I didn't go to school because it was dangerous so I studied at home. Learning things by candle-light was tough. It was even harder to memorise something when you hear explosions and feel the detonations near you. But I really wanted to learn and not get behind in my knowledge. We received humanitarian aid once a week. We never spent as much time together as we did in almost four years of war. I was bored a lot because I had to stay at home all the time. We had an old guitar which was totally out of tune. Nonetheless we sang all kinds of songs, ranging from sevdalinkas to popular songs from Bijelo dugme, Parni Valjak, Tereza Kesovija. We did not care about the nationality of the singer. We were always listening to the news and patriotic songs on the radio. I like those.*

Violeta spoke about everyday life under the siege, free time and national identity. National identity is a part of collective identity and enables orientation in space and time (Anderson in Bartulović 2013: 136). According to my interviewees, national and religious belonging weren't considered important before the war. During the period of aggression, the segregation into Bosnians, Croats and Serbs or Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox became more important and visible thanks to ethnoreligious politics. As Maček writes, although "/.../ many Sarajevans resisted the pressure to make ethnoreligious identity the basis for the state, the war itself enforced the primacy of national identities" (2009: 32). My older interviewees said they never had any free time. They always had something to do. Some still went to work, others took care of the household.[5] Teenagers often said that their parents didn't let them out because it was dangerous and they had nothing to do at home or in the shelter. Therefore fighting against boredom was also considered a form of resistance in life under siege.

After three and a half years of bombing, dying and suffering, a general peace agreement was signed in Dayton, Ohio on 21 November

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4 Some Sarajevans called those scared people who were hiding in cellars the derogative term *podrumaši* (cellar people), as they believed that such behaviour was not necessary "/.../ because in war there was no way to protect oneself" (Maček 2009: 44).

5 For more about everyday life and household relationships see Maček 2009: 95–119, 2007: 39–57.

1995. This agreement was officially signed on 14 December 1995 in Paris by all of the parties involved: the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegović, the president of Croatia, Franjo Tuđman and the president of Serbia, Slobodan Milošević. Bosnia-Herzegovina was recognized as a sovereign state consisting of two nationally homogenised entities that were produced by the military violence: the Muslim-Croat Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (the Federation, 51%) and the Serbian part, called Republika Srbska (RS, 49%) (Malcolm 1996: 268; Jansen 2011: 46). Popular patriotic songs were removed from radio and TV broadcasts and were under strict embargo by the international community because of their inappropriate lyrics. I asked my interviewees about the embargo and Hasiba replied:

> *You should know that our patriotic songs and their lyrics were not hostile or provocative or even nationalistic. They sang about us, our homeland, about our pain, suffering, and how we must survive. They are full of emotion and pain but also of optimism and positive thinking.*

FUNCTIONS OF MUSIC

We (ethno)musicologists, anthropologists and ethnologists explore and write about music, "the living and ever-changing organism" (Pettan 2002: 181), its meanings and functions in our lives. Alan P. Merriam elaborated on ten different functions of music. He developed a theory and methodology for studying music from an anthropological perspective with anthropological methods, where he claimed that song lyrics were among the most obvious sources for understanding human behaviour (Merriam 2000: 149). The ten functions of music are briefly presented below.

Music as a function of human expression provides a vehicle for the expression of ideas and emotions. It is a part of social movements in which individuals seek to express emotion, social and/or political pleasure or displeasure. The function of aesthetic enjoyment involves contemplation of musical expression and has the power to evoke responses present in music in general. Music entertains and engages a person's attention. Another function very close to this one is the function of physical response, since music evokes dancing and other activities involving movement. We know that music is not a universal language, but is shaped in terms of the culture in which it is produced. This function of communication also plays a very important role in my study. Music symbolizes or represents cultural values. The remaining

functions all refer to social norms, the validation of social institutions, and contributions to the stability of culture and the integration of society (Merriam 2000: 167–181).

Where Merriam elaborated on the functions of music in general, Pettan (1998) focused on specific functions that he observed in his research on the Croatian War of Independence. His analysis of music covers both the processes of music-making and its final products – the songs. He speaks of the "official" and "alternative" domains of music. The first comprised professional musicians, while the alternative domain was made up of amateurs (Pettan 1998: 24–25). He outlined three specific functions of music during the Croatian war: music of encouragement was intended for soldiers on the front lines and civilians in the shelters, music of provocation and humiliation was directed towards the enemy, and music oriented towards those that were not directly involved was a call for involvement (Pettan 1998: 13).

MUSIC AS RESISTANCE AND MUSIC AS A CURE

Living and surviving under siege was quite an art. But Sarajevans, who are known for their stubbornness, tried to live as normally as possible (Maček 2007, 2009). Miroslav Prstojević wrote:

> /.../ Groups and individuals create whatever they used to create before the siege. In impossible circumstances they produce films, write books, publish newspapers, produce radio programs, design postcards, stage exhibitions, performances, make blueprints for rebuilding the city, found new banks, organize fashion shows, shoot photographs, celebrate holidays, put on make-up /.../. (1993: 89)

During the war in Sarajevo, music was considered a medium in which individuals and groups could voice their perceptions of the situation. Patriotic songs expressed loyalty to and support for the Bosnian army, promoted and glorified brave soldiers, battles and military units, praised successes on the battlefield, national heroes and the homeland. With patriotic songs the soldiers and civilians would overcome the difficult moments of loss, grief and fear. Resistance manifested itself through concerts, musical festivals and various solo performances. The interviewees pointed out that popular patriotic music broadcast on radio and TV was understood as a form of resistance, and the music they listened to at home (which could be of different genres) was considered a cure. My interviewee Hasiba said:

> *I was a professional singer, singing our traditional song sevdalinka. Before the aggression, in the eighties, I was invited to record them for the Radio Sarajevo archives. That was a special honour for me. Sevdalinkas have always been special to me, I grew up singing them and they are a part of me. In the time of aggression upon my land and people I also sang them because this musical genre became very popular. In my opinion sevdalinkas consoled people. Many patriotic songs were written and sung as well. I sang them to soldiers on the front lines, to patients in hospitals, to my family and friends. Music kept us alive. The patriotic songs were mostly so vivid, full of passion, while sevdalinkas are calm, peaceful and romantic.*

She pointed out two of the functions of music, music as resistance and music as a cure. To her, the patriotic songs were understood as a form of resistance, with optimistic lyrics and simple melodies that were easy to remember and sing along with. *Sevdalinkas* were understood as a form of healing, usually sung at home in private. Compared to patriotic songs, *sevdalinkas* were harder to learn and remember because of the long epic lyrics, Turkish expressions and melismatic melodies (Milošević 1964). My interviewee Branka said:

> *Music helped us survive the aggression. In certain moments I sang. For me personally, classical music saved me in the moments of solitude when I sat down at the piano and played. I was in the world of music and got the energy to go on. This was my music therapy. I believe that music has the power to heal.*

Another interviewee, Nedim, said:

> *First we needed music as a cure so that we could function normally, so that we could keep our minds clear, and then we could fight back using weapons or music. For me concerts with rock and metal music were like therapy. I attended them when I could. Most of them were held in a place called Sloga, because it was in the cellar and hidden from the snipers. For my mother sevdalinkas were a cure, especially Šehidski rastanak [The Martyr's Departure] by Safet Isović, because my father was a šehid.*[6]

And again, each individual had/has their own genre that represents a form of resistance or healing. For Branka, classical music represented a form of healing, and for Nedim it was metal music. They both agreed that patriotic music was an important aspect of everyday life under siege and was understood as a form of resistance.

Of course, in certain contexts music can perform more than one function, and on some occasions it is almost impossible to define

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6 A fallen Muslim soldier, i.e. a martyr (Bougarel 2007).

the main one of a specific tune. How can the main function of music be recognized, and how can it be understood? For some, *sevdalinkas* performed the function of healing, for some it was just old music that he or she did not like. If we want to understand music from a scientific perspective we will have to "develop multifactorial and contextual analysis through a certain kind of phenomenological reduction" (Muršič 1996: 69).

ELECTRONIC MEDIA DURING THE SIEGE

Electronic media in Sarajevo were not just a source of information from the battlefield, but were also used for entertainment and were also often used for various kinds of political propaganda. Sugarman writes that in the Yugoslav wars, all of the national groups used electronic media such as radio, television, music tapes and videos for all kinds of propaganda (2010: 17). During the war, the media in Sarajevo worked under extremely difficult conditions. Considering the lack of everything (electricity, technical equipment, personnel), one would expect that the radio and TV programmes would be depleted and that newspapers and magazines would not be printed, published and distributed, but exactly the opposite happened: a great number of magazines was published and despite the shortage of electric power the TV and radio stations broadcast their programmes. The newspaper *Oslobođenje*[7] found its way to the people every day (Thompson 1999: 241–242). Electronic media were more popular than print media because, as my interviewee Aleksandar pointed out, it was much easier to find batteries for a radio than to go out and look for a newspaper vendor. At that time there were some differences between the programmes of the privately-owned radio and TV stations and those supported and financed by the government. The main government-controlled stations were Radio Sarajevo and TV Sarajevo (after 1992 renamed TV BiH), where they played patriotic music and *sevdalinkas* (see Maček 2009: 136–139). *Sevdalinkas* and even *ilahijas*[8] were constructed into a symbol of Muslim national identity through a conversion from a

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7 This newspaper, literally translated as *Liberation,* was the only newspaper published throughout the war (Maček 2009:137). It is written in both Latin and Cyrillic script, symbolising a common Bosnian-Herzegovinian heritage (Bartulović 2013: 262). The newspaper was first published as an antifascist publication during the Second World War. According to my interviewees it was published every day during the war.

8 Muslim religious hymns.

private/religious form into popular music (Laušević 2000: 293). The main reason why patriotic songs and *sevdalinkas* were produced and broadcast on the national radio and TV was the re-creation of the national identity based on the Muslim religion, and as Dubravka Žarkov argues, the media played an important role in the construction of the ethno-national identity (Baker 2010: 14).

My interviewee Tamara, a well-known Bosnian ethnomusicologist and a professor at the Sarajevo Academy of Music, worked for Radio Sarajevo (Radio of Bosnia-Herzegovina) during the war. She remembers that the programme was broadcast live all the time. The lack of a labour force compelled them to play old radio shows because they could not produce a sufficient amount of programming to fill 24 hours. The programme mainly consisted of news reports from battlefields and shows where *sevdalinkas* and patriotic songs were played (see also Karača-Beljak 2008: 132–134). At that time, Tamara often wondered about the role of the media – whether it was only used to spread information. She was asking herself what position music should be in compared to information, what kind of music should be broadcast, and who was listening to the radio programme. As Laušević wrote:

> It is no coincidence whatsoever that all sides involved in the aggression have revived their traditional music genres in order to accelerate and awaken nationalist feelings. They were creating new national sounds while at the same time exploiting popular music in order to lift the morale of young soldiers. (2000: 296)

The censorship was so strong that Serbian music was not included in the programme of the national radio and TV stations. Moreover, one radio station, Radio M, was even attacked by the Bosnian army for playing Serbian songs (Jeffs 2005: 4). In addition to self-censorship, a cleansing and ethnic labelling of all music occurred on most of the radio and TV stations (Laušević 2000: 290). So a *sevdalinka* with a *saz*[9] became the Bosnian national song and instrument, epic songs with a *gusle*[10] Serbian, and a *poskočica*[11] with a *tamburica*[12] Croatian (Laušević 2000: 293; Bonifačić 1995; Baker 2010: 58-63). Along with all this, there was a media war going on (Muršič 1999: 186).

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9 A long-necked lute that was introduced to Bosnia during the Ottoman era. It is used as a solo instrument, or to accompany *sevdalinkas*.

10 A simple one-string short-necked bowed lute used for musical background in long epic songs.

11 A lively song or dance.

12 A plucked lute of various sizes.

Critical of the government and therefore "the enemy within the state" (Jeffs 2005: 5) was Radio Zid (Radio Wall), the only radio station in town that was fighting against everything that was considered primitive and rural in society, behaviour, music and style (Thompson 1999: 238). The music played by Radio Zid was not directly aimed at the enemy positioned outside the city but against, as Aleksandar called it, *"the inner enemy – abnormality and rurality"*, and the government that saw the radio station and its staff as a threat to their ethnoreligious ideal. Radio Zid was promoting multiculturalism and was therefore against all nationalistic ideas and the war itself (Jeffs 2005: 5). The concert 'Rock Under the Siege', held during the war on 14 January 1995, brought together alternative bands from Bosnia and Herzegovina and was held in the basement of the Sloga discotheque. While Radio Sarajevo was encouraging musicians to write patriotic pop songs and sing about the beauty of their homeland, the brave soldiers, commanders and moral responsibility, Radio Zid supported the opposite. It encouraged the expression of urgent issues of the youth within the genres of hard rock, metal and punk, with lyrics reflecting alternative views, using darker lyrics sung in English. These songs were full of cynical statements and black humour (Jeffs 2005; Kovač 2011). The aforementioned musical genres quickly became popular, and Radio Zid assumed its role as the main representative of the Sarajevan popular-alternative musical scene (see Hamer 2013: 25–26). Again, it is possible to sense the idea of music as resistance.

It was not only the lyrics and the melody; videos also played an important role in the increasing popularity of those to whom the songs were dedicated. And here the TV stations put in a great deal of effort. In August 1992, Sarajevan television (under the new name RTVBiH) released a music video for the song 'Vojnik sreće' ('Soldier of Fortune') in which they glorified the brave soldiers and presented stereotypical images of manhood. The aim of the videos was to boost the morale of young soldiers (Laušević 2000: 297) and to present the beauty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Nedim remembered that the war programme of government-controlled TV stations consisted of news from the battlefields, a morning programme for the children and reruns of shows from the pre-war time, while other TV stations aired movies, music and amusement shows (see also Thompson 1999: 233). He liked to watch the 'Vojnik sreće' video, because it gave him a feeling of safety. Branka added to Nedim's words by saying:

> *I was working at RTVBiH where we broadcast a lot of pre-war shows because we did not want the programme to fall apart. We had to be positive and*

optimistic for the people watching us. We made the show 'Za bolje sutra' ('For a Better Tomorrow') because we believed that the war would end. Our programme contained a lot of music including sevdalinkas and patriotic songs. We also filmed some videos for patriotic songs. Why? Like I said, we had to stay optimistic, and that is why this music (patriotic songs) was made.

PATRIOTIC SONGS – A LOCAL MUSICAL PHENOMENON

Patriotic songs are songs which express love for one's homeland. Their lyrics speak about positive and negative historical and current events. Patriotic songs can bring people together and allow them to share the same experience when listening to a certain type of music. They have the power to establish a common identity of groups and give them a feeling of belonging and equality (Pieslak 2009: 55). In the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, where brotherhood and unity was glorified, a lot of songs with patriotic connotations were made. For example, Rani mraz from Novi Sad (Serbia) recorded a song called 'Računajte na nas!' ('Count on Us!') in 1978, the Sarajevan singer Kemal Monteno recorded 'Sarajevo ljubavi moja' ('Sarajevo My Love'), in 1985, and Lepa Brena recorded 'Jugoslovenka' ('Yugoslavian Girl') in 1989 (Baker 2010: 43). And because those songs sang about the golden age of Yugoslavia, the people in Sarajevo liked to listen to them and pretend that there was no war going on, as my interviewee Violeta said. In the new context, the Yugoslav patriotic songs became songs of resistance and/or cure. Even *sevdalinkas* were labelled as patriotic songs because they transformed from intimate love songs into publicly popular tunes. Most of the traditional Bosnian *sevdalinkas* were dedicated to streets, villages and towns, for example 'Kad ja pođoh na Bentbašu' ('When I Go to Bentbaša')[13] (Maglajlić 2010: 116). The most popular *sevdalinka* made in war-time is 'Šehidski rastanak' by Safet Isović, a famous singer of *sevdalinkas* (see Hamer 2013: 83–84).

On 27 June 1992, the daily newspaper *Oslobođenje* called on its readers to "Send us songs that express love and patriotism for your own city and country" (Oslobođenje, 27. 6. 1992, p. 8). The response from amateur musicians, folk singers, popular singers and academic musicians was enormous – they all decided to participate. The result: songs of all musical genres which extolled the beauty of Bosnia-Herzegovina, glorified the army and its soldiers and praised the stubbornness of Bosnians.

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13 An old Sarajevan neighbourhood.

Other motifs of these songs included suffering, pain, mourning, loss, resistance, solidarity, tolerance, kindness and understanding. I asked Nedim, who was a teenager during the war, if patriotic songs were accepted among the younger generation of Sarajevans. He replied:

> *Patriotic songs were popular, there is no doubt about it. But in some way we were forced to listen to them, they were constantly on the TV or radio. Later, in 1994, young people were listening to the Croatian group E.T. and their hit 'Tek je 12 sati'.*[14] *That was our popular music. Now you decide what is popular – what the young people listen to or what is played on the radio.*

And this was one of the reasons why most of the patriotic songs were made in the rock genre: because then young people would listen to them (Laušević 2000: 296).

My interviewee Miroslav was a singer in the chorus of the Sarajevan opera. In the eighties he recorded old *sevdalinkas* for the Radio Sarajevo archives and performed patriotic songs with his band during the war. He considered the spiritual dimension of music very important: "*When you listen to music or when you make music, you forget about all the bad things*." So he was giving concerts all the time despite the fact that he didn't really like patriotic songs. Miroslav was the only one who pointed out the negative aspect of the famous visitors from the West.[15] His comment:

> *Western civilizations do not know any shame – they came to Sarajevo to make a profit out of our suffering. They came under the pretext of helping but only filled their pockets with money. But I guess this is how it is in every war.*

To see the differences between Bosnian and Serbian patriotic songs,[16] I asked my interviewees if they knew any Serbian patriotic songs that were sung during the war. They mentioned 'Marš na Drinu' ('March on the Drina'),[17] 'Kada Srbin Turčina uhvati' ('When a Serb Captures

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14 An adaptation of German and Italian house music called "dance" or "Cro-dance" (see Baker 2010:73–74).

15 Many musicians and cultural figures visited besieged Sarajevo, including Joan Baez, Zubin Mehta, Bruce Dickinson, Eric Burdon and Susan Sontag. Despite Miroslav's negative view of those visitors, most Sarajevans think of them as heroes that dared to come to the town. Bono Vox came to Sarajevo three times with food and medicine and did not care about the fame, Miroslav said.

16 I did not ask them about Croatian patriotic songs. To read more about it, see Baker 2010.

17 'Marš na Drinu' ('March on the Drina') is a march composed by Serbian composer Stanislav Bličinski in 1914 when the Serbian army defeated the Habsburg army and banished them to the river Drina, which was the border between the Serbian kingdom and the Habsburg monarchy.

a Turk'), and 'Ko to grmi, ko to seva?' ('Who Is It That Thunders and Flashes?') (Hamer 2013: 54–58). These songs have extremely nationalistic, even chauvinistic lyrics. My interviewee Aleksandar remembered how the Serbs played their national epic songs on *gusle*. Even Mark Thompson wrote about Serbian soldiers playing on *gusle* (1999: 358). Without a doubt there were also Bosnian songs with extremely nationalistic lyrics, but they were not part of my research at the time and none of my interviewees mentioned them. There is one song with nationalistic lyrics and an open threat towards the enemy that my interviewees mentioned: 'Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada' ('Sarajevo Will Never Forget'), by an unknown artist.

The next part of this paper is a presentation and analysis of selected patriotic songs made by Bosnian musicians and examines the main functions of their music. The songs I have chosen, 'Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću' ('Carry the Flag Dragan Vikić') by Mladen "Tifa" Vojičić, 'Mnoge će majke' ('Many Mothers Will') by Macbeth, 'Mogla si bar paket poslati' ('You Could at Least Send a Package') by Mjesečari, 'Help Bosnia Now' by Bosnian Band Aid and 'Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada' ('Sarajevo Will Never Forget') by an unknown artist are just some of the many songs mentioned by my interviewees.

'Ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću' ('Carry the Flag Dragan Vikić') by Mladen "Tifa" Vojičić (Ponesi zastavu n.d.).

Ovdje se tuga širi k'o kuga
samo sloboda donosi lijek
dole niz Drinu dok ljudi ginu
dolazi sreća, ostat će zauvijek.
I Bog je od nas digao ruke
sakrio put do mirne luke
dok snovi plove, vatre još gore
ne razumijem, al' u ljubav vjerujem.
Ponesi zastavu, pobjedu slavit ću
ponesi zastavu od Bosne Vikiću.
Ponesi zastavu, pobjedu slavit ću
ponesi zastavu Dragane Vikiću.
I Bog je od nas digao ruke
sakrio put do mirne luke
dok snovi plove, vatre još gore
ne razumijem, al' u ljubav vjerujem.

Here the suffering is spreading like a plague
only freedom can bring the cure
down by the Drina while people are dying
happiness is coming and will stay forever.
And even God has forgotten us

he has hidden the way to the peaceful port
till dreams are floating, fires are still burning
I don't understand but I believe in love.
Carry the flag we will celebrate the victory
carry the flag from Bosnia Vikić.
Carry the flag we will celebrate the victory
carry the flag Dragan Vikić.
And even God has forgotten us
he has hidden the way to the peaceful port
till dreams are floating, fires are still burning
I don't understand but I believe in love.

The former frontman of the very popular groups Bijelo dugme, Vatreni poljubac and Divlje jagode, Mladen "Tifa" Vojičić, stayed in besieged Sarajevo during the war and was very active on the music scene. Dragan Vikić was a member of the special police unit. In the music video, Tifa is standing in a military vehicle, driving through Sarajevo, where the impact of the war is clearly visible. Both functions – healing and resistance – are expressed in the lines "/.../ while dreams are floating, fires are still burning /.../". Tying popular music to the symbolic power of the state (Baker 2010: 51) is seen in the action of carrying the flag by the leader of the special police unit – another state apparatus.

'Mnoge će majke' ('Many Mothers Will') by Macbeth (Mnoge če n.d.).

Kad prođe ova ratna godina
i saznaš pravi račun gubljenja
shvati ćeš da je mnogo drugova
ostalo zauvijek na barikadama.
Kad jednog dana vratiš se
domu svom na toplo ognjište
dvije će duše, tvoja i jednog heroja
u tebi živjeti.
I mnoge će majke dočekat' junake
da im se vrate iz ratne tame
a neke će same kućama poći
na njima plačne oči.
Kad prođe ova ratna godina
i saznaš nemaš nigdje nikoga
shvatit ćeš da si od viših ciljeva
puc'o na nekog od bivših drugova.
Kad jednog dana vratiš se
domu svom na toplo ognjište
dvije će duše, tvoja i jednog heroja
u tebi živjeti.

When this war year is over
and you discover the reality of losing
you will realize that many of your friends

will forever remain on the barricades.
When you come home one day
to the warm fireplace
two souls – yours and that of a hero
will live in you.
Many mothers will wait for their heroes
to come back home from the darkness of war
some of them will go back home alone
with tears in their eyes.
When this war year is over
and you discover you have no one
you will realize that because of higher ideas
you were shooting at your former friends.
When you come home one day
to the warm fireplace
two souls – yours and that of a hero
will live in you.

The group Macbeth has been active since 1986. When the war started, all of its members joined the Bosnian army but still remained active on the popular music scene. Here is their statement:

> All of our songs that were made during the war have a patriotic and love aspect. In patriotism there is some kind of a protest or rebellion involved. This is how we fight against the horror and how we show our belonging to Bosnia-Herzegovina. (Arifagić n.d.)

The function of resistance is present in their work and so has the function of healing. The fact that your friends are on the front line or dead can be traumatic, especially for young people, and thus the comfort provided through heroism is the best sort of comfort.

'Mogla si bar paket poslati' ('At Least You Could Have Sent a Package') by Mjesečari (Mogla si n.d.).

Bar paket poslati
I kažem ljeto, mislim na valove,
i kažem ljeto, šume i borovi,
i kažem ljeto, ulje za sunčanje,
i kažem ljeto, ne, aha nije stiglo u moj grad.
I kažem ljeto, kopajmo rovove,
i kažem ljeto, kopam do pobjede,
i kažem ljeto, da dođem, do tebe
i kažem ljeto, ne, aha nije stiglo u moj grad.
Ne, ne, ni preko piste, ne.
A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.
A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.
A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.
I kažem ljeto, dok čekam garantno,

i kažem ljeto, a ljeta prolaze,
i kažem ljeto, popi pivo, pa pobigo.
A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.
A ti, a ti, a ti, mogla si, bar paket poslati.
joj evo murije,,vojna policija, dobro veće
dokumenta molim .....
tek je dvanajst sati .....
tek je dvanajst sati .....

At least you could have sent a package
And I say summer, I think of the waves
and I say summer, forests and pine trees
and I say summer, tanning oil
and I say summer, well, it did not come to my town.
And I say summer, let's dig the trenches
and I say summer, let's dig till victory
and I say summer, to get to you
and I say summer, well, it did not come to my town.
No, no, not even via the airstrip
Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.
Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.
Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.
And I say summer, while I wait for the letter of guarantee
and I say summer, but the years are passing by
and I say summer, drink beer and run away.
Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.
Oh you, you could have at least sent a package.
Wow, look, the police, military police, good evening
Documents please.....
It's only twelve o'clock.....
it's only twelve o'clock.....

The group Mjesečari was one of the most popular groups during the time of the siege because they were part of a specific social group formed by the common people of Sarajevo called the *raja* (Bartulović 2013: 287–288; Maček 2009: 112–113; Sorabji 1989: 39–40). The song 'Mogla si bar paket poslati' is different from other patriotic songs. Its style is more reggae than pop-rock, and one can sense cynicism in describing the reality of the war. It speaks about real events in life under the siege: the tunnel under the airport runway and the runway itself, digging trenches on the front line because Mušan "Caco" Topalević, the commander of the Bosnian army, caught you after police curfew (see Thompson 1999: 221), expecting a package from abroad or a letter of guarantee are just some moments in everyday life under siege. The song is critical of those who left the besieged city. The group and their songs were representative of the popular-alternative music scene (Hamer 2013: 26). This song definitely features a healing function, because frustrations can be healed through it.

'Help Bosnia Now' by Bosnian Band Aid (Help Bosnia n.d.).

I cannot understand some people
who kill women and children
and helpless old men
making homeless millions of my friends
I don't want to understand.
I cannot understand the army
which burst down his own country
and destroys the hospitals
and our precious monuments
we don't want to understand.
Help Bosnia now
and save Bosnian people
you cannot only watch and pray
our hearts just want you to say
Help Bosnia now.
You cannot only watch and pray
our hearts just want you to say
Help Bosnia now.

The Help Bosnia Now project saw the light of the day on the initiative of Ser Žan, the frontman of the group Crno vino (Black [i.e. Red] Wine). He recorded a song in English in cooperation with other Sarajevan musicians where they are calling for the international involvement of foreign countries (Pettan 1998: 13). In the lyrics the singers are wondering why all of the infrastructure, cultural heritage and natural beauties of Bosnia-Herzegovina must be destroyed. The video was filmed in June 1992 in the ruined Zetra Olympic stadium – a symbol of the "good old days", multiethnicity and multiculturalism. The newspaper *Oslobođenje* announced that everybody should listen to the radio on 10 September 1992 at 6.45 pm, when this song would be premiered.

'Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada' ('Sarajevo Will Never Forget') by Unknown (Sarajevo zaboravit n.d.)

U Sarajevu gradu, Herceg-Bosne ponosne
stala raja da odbrane naše domove.
stala raja da odbrane naše domove.
Mi smo junak do junaka, mi smo borci svi,
nedamo u Sarajevo, dok smo živi mi,
nedamo u Sarajevo, dok smo živi mi.
Hej junaci, branitelji, iz svih krajeva
Sarajevo zaboravit, neće nikada
Sarajevo zaboravit, neće nikada!
Korak naprijed, puška gotov',
i uz pjesmu mi za mir,
sreću i slobodu, borimo se svi!
Čujte srpski dobrovoljci, bando četnici

stići će vas naša ruka i u Srbiji!
stići će vas naša ruka i u Srbiji!
Hej junaci, branitelji, iz svih krajeva
Sarajevo zaboravit, neće nikada
Sarajevo zaboravit, neće nikada!
Stici će vas božja kazna to već svako zna
Sudit će vam branitelji, šeher Sarajeva,
sudit će vam branitelji, šeher Sarajeva.
Tuče Thompson, kalašnjikov
a i papovka
Baci bombu, goni bandu izvan Sarajeva!!!
Baci bombu, goni bandu izvan Sarajeva!!!

In Sarajevo, capital of proud Herzeg-Bosna
people are defending their homes
people are defending their homes.
We are hero to hero, we are all fighters
no one will enter Sarajevo while we are alive
no one will enter Sarajevo while we are alive.
Hey, heroes, fighters from all places
Sarajevo will never forget!
Sarajevo will never forget!
One step forward, rifle ready
and so are we, with a song for peace, happiness and freedom, we are fighting!
Hear us Serbian volunteers, you Chetniks
our hands will strike you even in Serbia!
Our hands will strike you even in Serbia!
Hey, heroes, fighters from all places
Sarajevo will never forget!
Sarajevo will never forget!
God will punish you everyone knows that
you will be judged by defenders of Sarajevo
you will be judged by defenders of Sarajevo
The Thompsons and Kalashnikovs are shooting and the bombs are ready
throw the bomb, chase them out of Sarajevo!
Throw the bomb, chase them out of Sarajevo!

According to my interviewees, this song was recorded in the beginning of 1992 in order to provoke the enemy and provide moral support and motivation for the soldiers on the front lines. The song 'Sarajevo zaboravit neće nikada' is a contrafactum of the Croatian song 'Bojna Čavoglave' ('The Čavoglave Battalion') sung by Marko "Thompson" Perković. The message in both musical examples is the same: Serbian soldiers stay out of our town. In addition, the people I talked to explicitly mentioned that Bosnians did not write songs intended for provocation and/or humiliation. Aleksandar mentioned that the soldiers of the Bosnian army, which consisted of Muslim, Catholic and Orthodox men, shouted *Allah'u akbar* (God is great) when they attacked the enemy. This too could be understood as a provocation.

The Dayton peace agreement was signed in 1995, officially marking the end of the aggression (see Thompson 1999: 261–262), a classical war of conquest with horrific consequences, and signalling an end for the Sarajevan patriotic songs. According to my interviewees, patriotic songs have not been heard on the radio or TV since then. The honest statement of my interviewee Violeta proves that patriotic songs were not so popular after all:

> *When the war ended we finally had the opportunity to listen to all the music that was popular in the world for the past four years; we did not have any more time for patriotic songs.*

However, the popularity of *sevdalinkas* was once again transformed, and today this genre is considered as a part of the World Music genre. It is still an emblematic and identifiable feature of Bosnia-Herzegovina. During the siege, music not only had the function of resistance and cure, but became a medium of political propaganda and a national identity wake-up call. All electronic and print media participated in the war, especially those under government control; their self-censorship caused the absence of Serbian music, which led to national and religious intolerance and hatred. However, not all agreed with the situation, and their main advocate was Radio Zid, which fought for multiculturalism and a society with no boundaries or walls. Many of the musicians who participated in the production of patriotic songs are still active on today's music scene.

During the war, music was used and abused in multiple ways; from entertainment and healing, through resistance and provocation. In some cases music was used as a weapon and a tool of torture. Each of my interviewees has their own story about the time under siege. They all have their own music of healing and resistance, however, the music played on the radio and TV is not as influential as it was during the war. Instead, my interviewees pointed out that now they must focus on resisting corruption, dealing with unemployment, poverty, the difficult economic situation and an enormous bureaucracy. Sadly, some said that life under the siege was better than today. And that the music was better.

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