The "Jaranization" of Yugoslav Rock and Roll before 1974: Use of Folklore in the Early Stages of the Development of the Yugoslav Rock Scene

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> I have often claimed that *zabavna* [entertainment] and *narodna* [traditional/folk] would become one, and that this would simply become Yugoslav music.
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> Milovan "Minimaks" Ilić (cited in Ivačković 2013: 110)

INTRODUCTION

Debates on the social position and (political) influence of the rock scene in socialist Yugoslavia have put forward various (and often conflicting) interpretations of the use and role of folkloric motifs in the creative output of Yugoslav rock musicians. In spite of the considerable differences between the decades, in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s some rock bands (e.g., YU grupa, Korni grupa, S vremena na vreme, Smak, Bijelo dugme, Leb i sol, etc.) used folkloric elements

in spontaneous attempts to attract audiences with music that more or less already had a strong presence in their lives. These groups sought to expand their audience base to segments of the youth population that favoured folk music idioms. This strategy was also helpful in dealing with the music executives at the broadcasters and record companies. At the same time, such "nostrification" was an asset in overcoming the ideologically-driven resistance to rock and roll, which was often perceived from different sides in the (socialist) society as an alien and decadent form of Western popular culture.

In the socialist context, rock music incorporating folkloric elements assumed two basic roles: 1) the "domestication" of rock and roll as a cluster of imported Western music idioms, lifestyles and value systems, largely in disharmony with the social order in the Eastern Bloc countries (not excluding Yugoslavia); 2) the mediation of the national identities, where such music could perform both "centrifugal" and "centripetal" functions in asserting either unitary or separate ethnic identities, respectively. In the Yugoslav context, this meant that both *ethno revival* as a loosely defined music genre, and the occasional use of folklore in rock genres not necessarily defined as "ethno", could promote both unitary "Yugoslav" and separate ethnic/regional identities – often at the same time.

In the dominant media discourse in Serbia, the manners in which Yugoslav rock musicians used both traditional and "neo-folkloric" elements in their work are met with two essentially ideologically opposing interpretations:

1. Mixing "ethno" motifs with, for instance, hard rock (e.g. YU grupa) was not a marketing concept meant to appeal to the rural mentality. Such bands did not address the "urban peasant" population of socialist Yugoslavia and fans of the *narodnjaci* (neo-folk musicians), maintaining their professional dignity and originality without making compromises to the banality and low taste of the "masses".
2. Some other bands (e.g. Bijelo dugme) made such compromises, contributing to the overwhelming "ruralization" of Yugoslav rock and roll. This is, moreover, seen as the main cause of its ultimate "downfall" and retreat before the "invasion" of turbo-folk and its derivates in the post-socialist period.

There is a tendency to perceive the release of *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* (*If I Were a White Button*, Bijelo dugme's first album) in 1974 as a turning point in this process, a historical watershed between the

times when in the Yugoslav context rock and roll was an "almost elite" and strictly urban phenomenon of youth culture, and those (not so glorious) times when it reached the semi-rural and unsophisticated audiences on a mass scale. This paper does not attempt to establish a correlation between this event and the promulgation of the 1974 Constitution of the SFR Yugoslavia. However, I do suggest that it would be interesting to study the use of "ethnic" elements in Yugoslav rock and roll *in correlation* with the changes in the mediation of ethnic identities brought about by the political reforms in the Yugoslav federation.

This paper, however, focuses on the presence of "ethnic" elements in the early stages of Yugoslav rock and roll (before 1974) in order to demonstrate that Yugoslav rock music was "folklorized" to a much greater extent than the "*jaranization* theory" associated with the release of Bijelo dugme's first album would be ready to admit. Accordingly, it maps the most characteristic ways in which "ethno-national" references were used in the early stages of development of the Yugoslav rock scene, concluding with the release of *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* and its problematic interpretations.

ROCK, FOLK, INDIGENIZATION AND AESTHETIC COSMOPOLITANISM

Ethno-national or traditional patterns can manifest in the realm of popular music cultures (rock included) in different ways across the continents (Chun, Rossiter and Shoesmith 2004; De Kloet 2001; Loosely 2003; Portis 2004; Stapleton and May 1990...).[1] In the early rock repertoire around the world, the salient "ethno-national" elements may have comprised singing in the native language(s) or references in the lyrics to subjects emanating from local realities. These practices would often include use of native instruments (sometimes "electrified"), indigenous vocal techniques of enunciation through singing and rhythmic patterns, and, undoubtedly, rock covers of traditional music themes.

The Israeli sociologist Motti Regev developed a universal model of the transformation of ethno-national cultural uniqueness in musical

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1 For specific developments in the rock scenes "behind the Iron Curtain" (including "folk revivals") see, for example, Cushman 1995; Ryback 1990; Troitsky 1988; Beumers 2005: 199–262; Ramet 1994; Slobin 1996: 14–75; Poiger 2000; Wicke and Shepherd 1993; Maas and Reszel 1998; Mitchell 1992; Szemere 1983. For the specificities of the Yugoslav rock scene within the socialist realm see, for example, Vučetić 2012: 187–223; Raković 2011: 581–592; Tomc 2003.

traditions (implying a stress on essentialism and purism) through rock music. He outlined four phases of this process:

> **Phase 1.** Pre-history (Elvis and beat-band imitations)
> **Phase 2.** Consecrated/mythical beginning (local music inspired by the Beatles, Dylan, folk rock, psychedelia and prog rock)
> **Phase 3.** Consolidation and dominance (joining ranks with traditional national music, local new wave, 'rockization' of pop)
> **Phase 4.** Diversification, internationalization (hip-hop, electronica, metal; international success and recognition). (Regev 2007a: 327)

According to Regev, what preceded this process of "domestication" of rock music in the non-Western realm (he discusses the cases of Israel and Argentina) was an emphasis on indigenous popular and folk music traditions. The outcome of this process (among others) is openness to constant stylistic influences from the "outside", which he calls *aesthetic cosmopolitanism* (Regev 2007b).

According to Regev's interpretation of his model, in a quest for legitimacy, which was initially denied in the wider social context of the production, consumption and reception of rock and roll, musicians had to establish themselves as actors in their respective fields of national culture. They were propelled to create works meant to assert (in terms of form, content and meaning) ethno-national uniqueness, singularity and distinction. In this way, they could be perceived (or they thought they would be perceived) as the legitimate heirs to the ethno-national heritage, which raised the likelihood of access to the creative and institutional means that lead to popularity and commercial success, generally low for rock musicians in non-Anglo-American countries (Regev 2007a: 324). The career of Bijelo dugme, and subsequently Goran Bregović as the band's main exponent, largely conforms to this interpretation.

The "domestication" (alternatively "autochthonisation" or "indigenization" – see Muršič 1998: 284–285) of rock and roll has often been interpreted as a manifestation of cultural imperialism (Goodwin and Gore 1990; Negus 1997). Regev, however, portrays pop-rock music as a "major embodiment of the transformation of national cultural uniqueness from purist essentialism into aesthetic cosmopolitanism" (Regev 2007a: 317), a "shift from commitment to essentialist notions of folkism and traditionalism, to fluidity and conscious openness to exterior influences of pop-rock" (2007a: 318). The term aesthetic (or alternatively cultural) cosmopolitanism applies to the realm of renewed general interest in the centuries-old concept of cosmopolitanism (Urry 1995; Szerszynski and Urry 2002, 2006. See also Beck 2000; Cheah and Robbins 1998; Hannerz 1990, 2004; Vertovec and

Cohen 2002). In these works, aesthetic cosmopolitanism is located at the individual level – it is individuals who develop a taste for the art and culture of nations and groups other than their own. However, the difference between what is perceived as "external" or "internal'" to a national culture is constantly blurred. Thus Ulrich Beck defined cosmopolitanism as a condition in which the "otherness of the other is included in one's own self-identity and self-definition" (Beck 2003: 17). In the context of the cultural appropriation of rock and roll, this means that non-British/American audiences develop a sense of 'ownership' rather similar to that of its "native" public in the UK and US. Rock and roll is "their music", a marker of generational time and identity (Frith 1987). Consequently,

> [a]esthetic cosmopolitanism is the condition in which the representation and performance of ethno-national cultural uniqueness becomes largely based on contemporary art forms like pop-rock music or film, and whose expressive forms include stylistic elements knowingly drawn from sources exterior to indigenous traditions. As such, aesthetic cosmopolitanism is not the exception in contemporary cultural practices, but rather the normal and the routine... (Regev 2007a: 319)

Moreover, according to Regev, aesthetic cosmopolitanism is a prime manifestation of glocalization (Robertson 1995) – the (re-)construction of locality in response to the influences of globalization.

The notion of cosmopolitanism is a "traveling concept" (Bal 2002), conceptualized in different ways across academic disciplines, and not entirely unproblematic (Spasić 2013: 175–204). In her recent book, Serbian sociologist Ivana Spasić (2013: 204–222) discussed the concept of "self-management cosmopolitanism" (*samoupravni kosmopolitizam*), its complexity and many facets. According to Spasić, Yugoslav cosmopolitanism – "openness to the world" being its official name, was only apparently a *single* thing – one cultural phenomenon, one set of values. In fact it contained several, often contradictory layers: socialist internationalism; orientation towards the West in terms of consumption and lifestyle; non-alignment; acquaintance with high culture of all nations as a universal legacy of humankind; participation in Western mass culture; anti-racism, anti-colonialism; anti-Stalinism etc. The (usually forgotten) *Gastarbeiters* (Yugoslav workers abroad, especially in Germany) also reflected a certain cosmopolitization of their lives and the lives of their kin back home: "The trick was that the complexity of Yugoslav cosmopolitism was rarely explicated, and even more rarely debated, which allowed for an ostensible consensus between different groups which, in fact, referred to its different layers" (Spasić 2013: 216).

To a large extent, unlike Soviet and Eastern-European cosmopolitanism, Yugoslav cosmopolitanism did not reject participation in the global cultural *togetherness* by means of popular culture, including the rituals of mass consumption. In the discussion of the beginnings of rock and roll as a manifestation of cosmopolitanism and what Marina Simić (2010: 345) calls "a feeling of belonging to the world generated through music", we are, obviously, focusing on the cosmopolitan aspects of participation in Western mass culture and orientation towards the West in terms of consumption and lifestyle.

According to Regev's model (Phase 2), each country has its own quasi-mythical moment of the "birth" of its own –"ethno-national" rock, a founding and constitutive historical period, usually lasting from the late 1960s throughout the 1970s. According to the conventional narratives of the industry, during this "golden age" local rock musicians created, for the first time, local rock music "worthy of its name". This could refer to two things: 1) music which matches the standards set by the leading contemporary British and American artists; 2) music which deserves to be credited as locally "authentic" on the strength of the language used, the contents of the lyrics, the social background of the performers etc. (Regev 2007a: 328–329).

Transposed into the Yugoslav context, Phase 2 of Regev's model (consecrated/mythical beginning), the golden age of the birth of "ethno(multi)-national" rock, would encompass the creative endeavours of the musicians who (after successfully passing through Phase 3 and, potentially, Phase 4) are now recognized as respectable rock artists who are to a greater or lesser degree associated with "ethno rock" (again: YU grupa, Korni grupa, S vremena na vreme, Smak, Leb i sol, etc.). Somehow, Bijelo dugme does not fit comfortably into this picture. What seems to be the problem?

THE *JARANIZATION* OF ROCK AND ROLL AND THE 'WHITE SOCKS DISCOURSE'

In contemporary hip-hop parlance, "*jaran*" could be translated as "homeboy". In 1970s Yugoslavia such "homeboys" were newcomers to the cities with a strong attachment to their home villages and their musical cultures (or the assumed lack thereof). However, their place of origin is specifically Bosnia. That is to say, the word is generally associated only with this part of Yugoslavia, and especially with the

vernacular speech of Bijelo dugme's hometown, Sarajevo. "Jaranization" (*jaranizacija*), a derogatory term coined by the Serbian rock publicist Aleksandar Žikić (1999: 178), refers to rock and roll's "fall from grace" – mass migration in the unlikely, opposite direction – from the city centres into the semi-rural urban outskirts and, eventually, the villages. Moreover, it locates Bosnia as the "heart of darkness" in this process, the part of Yugoslavia where the musical exchanges between the city and the village were most frequent, most intense, and most favourably received and encouraged.

In his 1999 review of Žikić's book *Fatalni ringišpil* (*The Fatal Merry-Go-Round*) in the political weekly *Vreme*, Serbian journalist Nebojša Grujičić summed up Žikić's argument as follows:

> *Sve bilo je muzika* (It was all music) and everything was great. Belgrade's rock and roll was pure as fire. Its resistance to the mainstream meant an alternative way of life, freedom, a philosophy of defiance with a full consciousness of one's own subversiveness and insubordination to the dominant system of false values and morality. The essence of rock in the 1960s amounted to long hair and rejection of compromise, in cover versions of the latest world hits copied from Radio Luxembourg; in the 1970s it was the Grateful Dead's concept of inimitably playing one song for an entire summer afternoon, while the psychedelic fields were revisited in compositions entitled 'Majestetski kraj' ('Majestic End') or 'Solarni modus' ('Solar Modus'). And all of a sudden Belgrade was stormed by the ugly, dirty, bad and easy-going Bosnians: they came 'like the muddy rain', 'carefully programmed and guided by the hand which firmly held the Party membership card' and backed up by the '*sevdalinka* sounds of the central Bosnian massif'... smashing to pieces and degrading everything that was beautiful, pure, good and thoughtful. This is why rock and roll failed; this is why the war broke out; this is why we got the sanctions, bombs and dirty-pink television networks with ultra-stupid films and series for lobotomizing the poor Serbian people... (Grujičić 1999)

In this book, while emphatically praising the first album by Belgrade rock band Pop mašina, *Kiselina* (*Acid*, released in 1973), as the first true rock and roll album in Belgrade, Žikić uses the term "barrier of nonsense" (*barijera gluposti*). This barrier divides the "true, authentic rock and roll, coming from the heart of the city and essentially indifferent to flirting with the Establishment" (Žikić 1999: 169–170) from, one should assume, musical styles which do not satisfy these demands. Nevertheless, Žikić fails to mention that this imaginary barrier was eventually crossed by no other than the fourth original member of the band (later trio) Pop mašina, Sava Bojić (guitar, vocals), when he "crossed over" to the other side – to the "notorious" folk ensemble Južni vetar (Southern Wind), to be precise.

In the breach between those confronting camps, according to Robert Nemeček[2] (bass guitarist of the rock group Pop mašina in the early 1970s), their "only enemy at the moment was mainstream music, ranging from Korni grupa to *narodnjaci*..." (1999: 175). Furthermore, the success of Bijelo dugme, who according to Nemeček, "killed Bambi" (at least in the Yugoslav context), led Žikić to conclude that:

> In those years from Sarajevo came a tide whose rock and roll wrapping effectively concealed the explosive charge of well-tempered uncouthness. Eventually, this would cause a total confusion in the scene, and the potential edge of socio-psychological subversiveness – which rock and roll has to have – would be degraded to a mere decorative level. (Žikić 1999: 175–176)

Žikić blames Bijelo dugme (including their successors in Sarajevo – for instance, Plavi orkestar) for encouraging the "peasants" (*seljačine*) to "proudly and arrogantly be what they are" (1999: 177). According to Žikić, newcomers to the big cities do not represent a problem for the "sensible" citizens of the metropolis as long as they are able to adapt to the demands of "urban life". As soon as they start showing off their perceived lack of manners, "something is seriously not right". In conclusion:

> 'Spitting and singing' have nothing to do with rock and roll. Or with life in the city. Or with life as such. (Žikić 1999: 177)

Thus the history of the *jaranization* of Yugoslav rock and roll takes us into the realm of the "white socks discourse" (Jansen 2005b). According to Stef Jansen, in the post-Yugoslav context the notion of "urban" (and especially of city centre) may imply utterly different things than it does in Manchester, Mexico City or Marseille... (Jansen 2005a: 139). To put it differently, in Western Europe you never encounter a counterculture-oriented person complaining about other people's lack of manners (2005a: 154). The dominant stereotypes about the "frontline peasants", as Jansen calls them, pervade the everyday life, inform a significant portion of the popular culture and feed into the political debates in Serbia (and its wider surroundings).

In the same year that Žikić published his observations on "spitting and singing" (1999), Milić Vukašinović, one of the archetypical

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2 Later well-known as the editor of film programmes at the Pink television network, "notorious" promoter of turbo-folk from 1994 onwards.

"frontline peasants" of Yugoslav rock and roll (and also a survivor of the siege of Sarajevo) together with his band Vatreni poljubac released the album *Sve će jednom proć' samo neće nikad Rock 'n' Roll* (*Everything Will Pass Except Rock and Roll*). To illustrate the point that frontline peasants always belong to the "other side" (of the front line), let's take a look at the lyrics to a track on this album titled *Tike tike tačke*[3] which describe war refugees who are newcomers to the city (in this case, Sarajevo):

> *... koji ne samo da su oko zgrade počupali cvijeće*
> *već na isto mjesto sa prozora pobacali smeće,*
> *ali avaj, šta ćeš, s' asfaltom teško se barata.*
> *Vala, teže su mi od granata posljedice rata...*
>
> *...who not only tore out the flowers all around the block*
> *but dumped garbage from their windows on the same spots,*
> *but, alas, what can you do, it's hard to deal with asphalt.*
> *Seriously, for me, the consequences of war are more difficult to cope with*
> *than the mortar shells...*

Back in the times before the wars in former Yugoslavia, for example, in 1955, around forty percent of Yugoslavia's working population were peasants/industrial workers (Milić 1978: 111), metaphorically described by the Croatian publicist Veselko Tenžera as "centaurs of the Yugoslav economy" (1988: 129). According to Marko Živković, the urban elite in Serbia overwhelmingly descended directly from the peasantry, acquiring "culture" in the sense of "urbanity", "education", "refinement", and *bildung*. On the other hand, the "peasants" were seen as embodying "culture" as a repository of the national genius – *Volksgeist:* "It was thus extremely difficult for the elite to denounce the 'peasantry' as lacking culture, because that would contradict their traditional position as spokesmen, if not wholesale 'inventors', of the *Volksgeist* embodied by the idealized peasantry" (Živković 1998). Accordingly, musical folklore is largely seen as something that "remains in the past" (Veselinović 1987: 221) and should remain there, for that matter. If authentic "peasants" and their authentic musical traditions were idealized and beyond critique, the odium fell on *inauthentic* peasants: peasant-urbanites, half-breeds, centaurs of the Yugoslav economy who overwhelmingly preferred "bad folk music" (Raković 2011: 121).

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3 A reference to an older Yugoslav pop hit by Pro Arte (1971), also from Sarajevo.

Such grievances over the rural migrants' lack of taste and manners might not be anything new or unique. Nevertheless, specifically in the Serbian context, the relative social consensus on the backward character of the rural never resulted in a definite agreement as to where one should draw

> the dividing line between urbanity and rurality. It was precisely the absence of such a certainty that was constructed as a symptom of underdevelopment... Hence, following the logic of Bourdieu's distinction, few people could safely assert their distance from village mud. (Jansen 2005b: 162)

The clash between "mud" and "asphalt" is the central dichotomy of Serbian culture. "Asphalt" connotes urbanity by birth and ancestry, including a generational distance from agricultural occupations. According to Ivana Spasić, "asphalt" does not simply connote "a simple eulogy to the 'city' and the devaluation of the 'country'; it is rather advocating the necessity of keeping the two apart" (Spasić 2006: 221). As she states, "in the internal cultural hierarchies of contemporary Serbia, 'urbanity' is a most broadly applicable identity/discursive resource to build strategies of asserting one's own superiority against the 'others'" (2006: 225). "Urbocentric exclusivity" generates social divisions and low-intensity conflicts whose battleground is, in effect, the mythical *city*. That is to say that it is neither clear nor really important that this city of self-conscious, educated, European and well-mannered people ever existed in the first place (Jansen 2005a: 267, 166).

In such cultural circumstances, Bijelo dugme "killed Bambi" by daring to cross the (imaginary) line of separation between mud and asphalt. Their first album introduced a music amalgam labelled "shepherd rock" (*pastirski rok*). The massive and irresistible *jaranization* of Yugoslav rock and roll was thus seen to have commenced with the first sounds of shepherd rock, which irretrievably transformed the rock and roll audiences into a flock of sheep. The term "shepherd rock" itself came from a review of *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* published in the Zagreb weekly *Studio* (30. 11. 1974), where rock critic Dražen Vrdoljak refers to the introductory part of the title track as "shepherdly". Subsequently, the youth magazine *Tina* (25. 12. 1974) promptly introduced the term "shepherd rock" (Vitas 2006: 5). The alternative derogatory term was *čobanski rok*.

> We apply the label *čobanski rok* to something which has internationally (*u svetu*, i.e. in the world) been called *ethno rock* for a very long time. When this shepherd rock is produced by Peter Gabriel, David

> Byrne or David Bowie, it is perceived throughout the world as multicultural global exchange. When something like this is made in the Balkans, it is labelled *čobanski rok* and instantly perceived as peasant stuff, something we should all be ashamed of... (Petar Popović in Mičeta 1995: 30)

As the "registrar who wedded the accordion with the electric guitar" (Ivačković 2014: 234–236), Goran Bregović has (among other things) been labelled as the forefather of turbo-folk.[4] In other words, shepherd rock and its successor musical styles (including turbo-folk) are perceived, in plain Sarajevan, as *muzika za papke* (music for *papci*, another derogatory term for "urban peasants"). Regardless of their whereabouts, *papci* have something in common: they are "'not influenced by the West, and have no knowledge about culture or the outside world'... Such definition reveals a reoccurring notion that western influence is conflated with being cultured and socially acceptable" (Esonu 2012).

FOLKLORIZATION OF ROCK AND ROLL IN YUGOSLAVIA BEFORE THE "JARANIZATION" PROCESS: THE EARLY PERIOD

Milan Lojpur, a self-taught multi-instrumentalist, is considered to be one of the first, if not the very first, Belgrade *roker* (rocker; performer of so-called *električarska muzika* – electrician music). He also had the nickname Mile Najlon (i.e. Nylon), due to a package of foreign aid merchandise received from the U.S. by his parents. Thus, he was among the first local gentlemen in the post-war period to wear nylon shirts. From 1949 on he played at dance parties in the hall of the National Front (Narodni front), a space measuring 10m x 13m at Cetinjska 32 in Belgrade.

> Here, from a small radio loudspeaker I made a real microphone, and from the magnet from the earphone I made an electric guitar on which I wrote *Mile Naylon*. This was my nickname after a song where I mention nylon stockings – I have always leaned towards this Western (*zapadnjački*) style. (After Fajfrić 2009: 22)

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4 For mythologized conceptions of the folk or nation (*narod*) in the criticism of *novokomponovana narodna muzika* (newly-composed folk music), see Prica 1988. For Islamophobic aspects of the turbo-folk debate, in analogy with the arabesk debate (Stokes 1992), see Vidić-Rasmussen 1996; Šentevska 2013. For recent overviews see Tomić 2014; Šentevska 2014. For a discussion of the Balkanist discourse involved in the debate see Archer 2012. See also: Čvoro 2014: 29–104.

Before he started to play rock and roll, Mile Lojpur mainly performed hits from the San Remo festival. He might have continued to do so, but in the meantime he encountered the films of Elvis Presley. In a 1988 interview, he recalled:

> In the 1950s, I was a secretary at *Filmski grad* (*Film City*) in Košutnjak. I had an opportunity to watch Elvis' films that we received for inspection, although without subtitles. From these movies I picked up a lot of know-how and tricks of the trade. (Ivačković 2013: 40–41)

He continued to play at different venues in Belgrade. However, the apex of his career was a concert held on 4 March 1960 in the Kolarac hall (Kolarčev narodni univerzitet), otherwise a respectable venue for performing classical music. Lojpur's concert was billed as 'Elvis Presley in Belgrade'. According to the rock journalist Ivan Ivačković, Lojpur was the first singer to combine (Yugoslav) folk and rock music (2013: 40). As testified to by his early number 'Twist of Šumadija', which contains references to characters from Balkan epic poetry (Kraljević Marko, Musa Kesedžija), from its very outset, rock and roll culture in Yugoslavia incorporated motifs from the national epic folkloric traditions in a conscious juxtaposition of local (ethnic) and global popcultural idioms.

> *Curo moja prođi pored jarka, pa da vidiš Kraljevića Marka...*
> *Tvist, tvist*
> *Ako nećeš ti pošalji priju, pa da vidi Musu Kesedžiju...*
> *Tvist, tvist*
>
> *My gal, come by the ditch, and you'll see Kraljević Marko...*
> *Twist, twist*
> *If you won't, send over a kinswoman, and she'll see Musa Kesedžija...*
> *Twist, twist*

The song was extremely popular in Belgrade, but perhaps even more in Rovinj (Croatia), where Lojpur performed during the summer. Many years later he described how the local officials from Istria (for instance, the president of the trade union from Pula or the mayor of Buje) would come to listen to his 15-minute long version of the 'Twist from Šumadija' (Ivačković 2013: 40).

The first rock and roll bands in Belgrade who incorporated "ethnic" motifs into their repertoire were Smeli (allegedly the first band who used folk melodies from the "South" of Yugoslavia) and Zlatni dečaci, whose version of the Macedonian folk song 'Jovano, Jovanke' was better received by English audiences in 1966 than

their standard rock repertoire of the period. In fact, Zlatni dečaci (i.e. The Golden Boys) reached England owing to Nikola Karaklajić, a radio host and early supporter of rock on the airwaves of Radio Belgrade, who was also an international chess master. Invited to a chess tournament in Sussex (Bognor Regis), Karaklajić presented Zlatni dečaci as young chess players in order to speed up the process of obtaining their visas (Janjatović 1998: 197). As "ambassadors" of rock and roll on the home front, Zlatni dečaci legitimized the new musical culture not only with numbers like "Foxtrot oriental" (1966), but also with records containing rock covers of classical pieces. Zlatni dečaci were criticized for compromising their integrity as a rock band because of their flirting with classical and folk music. The "strategy" of the band was described by their lead singer Boba Stefanović:

> It was forbidden to play rock music at that time: 'shaggies' (*čupavci*) were chased in the streets and their hair was cut off. My pal Borko (Velibor Kacl)... and I had an idea how to legalize our music and get on Radio Belgrade. We covered a number of classical pieces... Our colleagues can only owe us a debt of gratitude for opening the doors of the radio and TV studios for them. Before us no band (VIS – *vokalno instrumentalni sastav; vocal-instrumental group*) had ever appeared on a radio programme. (Fajfrić 2009: 366)

Owing to Nikola Karaklajić's taking part in (another) chess tournament in the Netherlands, in 1965 Zlatni dečaci released a record under the name *The Golden Boys* for the Dutch record company Fontana. However, no one in Yugoslavia showed any interest in importing and selling these records. According to Karaklajić:

> This was a unique phenomenon: that one of our groups should release its first record abroad and only later at home! Nevertheless, at the same time it revealed the state of mind of the home market: enormous distrust on the part of the producers in the young generation and its music! (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 366–367)

The Belgrade bands that formed in the early 1960s and pioneered the incorporation of folk songs into the standard *beat* repertoire included the group Samonikli, named after a book of short stories by the Slovenian author Prežihov Voranc. The Dixieland band Veseli bendžo negotiated making a record which would include a folk music theme. *TV novosti* reported how for this purpose "the young men from the orchestra bought all the (necessary) instruments: from mandolin to *frula*, in addition to two saxophones, two trombones, two trumpets..."

(Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 350). Bele višnje from Čačak played at dance parties at KUD (cultural-artistic society) Abrašević. Their repertoire included not only rock covers of folk songs, but items in the standard folk repertoire. The veteran generations of Belgrade *rokeri* gave birth to a "notorious" parody neo-folk attraction of the 1970s and 1980s – Rokeri s Moravu (Morava Rockers): the solo guitarist from the band Plamenih 5 formed in 1965 (later Plamenih 6) was Branislav Anđelović – later a notable member of the Morava Rockers.

Contrary to the widespread belief that Bijelo dugme was also the first "stadium band" in socialist Yugoslavia, already in the 1960s, bands of lesser prominence were able to attract thousands of listeners to sports venues. At their extremely successful concert in Priština (4000 to 6000 people at the handball stadium), Plamenih 5 played one Serbian and one Albanian folk song, and "joy had no limits" in the audience. Anđelović explained that they chose the songs themselves and that nobody from the Youth Organization suggested anything or asked what they were going to play at the concert (Raković 2011: 461). In 1968 in the magazine *Džuboks* (i.e. Jukebox) (see Vučetić 2010), Plamenih 6 described their repertoire in the following terms:

> Our favourite songs are soul and rhythm & blues, although we don't observe this strictly when choosing the repertoire. Since we have wind instruments in our orchestra, we included Dixieland and jazz numbers in our repertoire, though we also don't ignore beat music, old urban songs (*stare gradske pesme*) and commercial songs, which are in demand always and everywhere. (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 287)

Respected Belgrade rock veterans YU grupa were also prone to the influences of the "elastically" defined national tradition. Their very first single 'Nona' (1971) was inspired by the musical folklore of Kosovo. One of their best known songs, 'Kosovski božuri' (1972), has direct references to the Serbian epic tradition of the Battle of Kosovo. It is widely assumed that this song cleared the way for the Macedonian band Leb i sol and the wider popularity of the "music of the South" in the Yugoslav rock context. Žikić and other writers associate the way in which YU grupa combined hard rock with "ethnic" elements (in stark contrast to "shepherd rock") with the notions of "mastery", "good taste", "dignity", and even "gentility" (Ivačković 2013: 126). Moreover,

> for decades now, the Jelić brothers (Žika and Dragi), the two most important members of YU grupa, have epitomized integrity and honesty in our music. They symbolize the times when one knew who was allowed to pick up an instrument. (Ivačković 2013: 164)

Besides, in the post-Yugoslav context they remain a rare "institution" in Serbia, which "along with the Yugoslav Drama Theatre and the Yugoslav Cinematheque" symbolizes Yugoslavia itself (Tarlać 2012).

In the early Yugoslav rock scene, the exchange of folkloric material between the republics (and culturally diverse regions within the republics) was in no way a rarity. In addition to the promotion of "brotherhood and unity" (an aspect of "political correctness"), this helped rock bands attract audiences in parts of Yugoslavia other than their own, often responding to the local musical preferences (reflecting simple financial pragmatism). Thus, for instance, the "regional" battle of the bands in the Srem District in 1966 (which included Razmaženi from Ruma, Sirmium from Sremska Mitrovica, Klire from Stara Pazova and Aveti from Inđija) was won by the band Razmaženi, whose repertoire consisted exclusively of "covers" of folk songs. This gave them the opportunity to record the songs 'Moj dilbere' and 'Oće babo da me ženi' for Radio Belgrade (which eventually never happened) (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 81, 293). Among the rare studio recordings of the band Dinamiti from Osijek, which launched the careers of such diverse figures of Yugoslav popular music as Krunoslav Kićo Slabinac, Dado Topić, Josip Boček or Miroslav Šaranović, one can find the songs 'Čađava mehana' and 'Čačak kolo', "in order to cheer up the audiences at village dance parties" (2009: 167). According to their own testimonies from 1966, the band Roboti from Zagreb witnessed delirium in the audience when they played the Bosnian folk classic 'Bosno moja' and some Dalmatian folk songs in a Viennese bar. At a festival in Italy in May 1968, the band wore custom suits with embroidered folkloric ornaments from Gračani in the outskirts of Zagreb (2009: 299).

According to Siniša Škarica, long-time producer and music executive at the record company Jugoton, fellow media executives who worked with young rock musicians in the early 1960s, wary of "Americanization", insisted on recording their own or Yugoslav original compositions:

> newly-composed songs or covers of folk or classical motifs. There are many examples – from Bijele strijele, Sjene, Atomi and Mladi to Zlatni dečaci, Crveni koralji and Iskre. (Raković 2011: 371)

The song 'Osmijeh' by Drago Mlinarec and Grupa 220, recorded in late 1966 in the studio at Radio Zagreb, is considered to be the first rock hit written by a Yugoslav rock musician. The song achieved such popularity that other bands included this song in their repertoire (the first such example in the Yugoslav context). Their first record, released in the following year, contains Mlinarec's song 'Večer

na Robleku' ('Evening on Roblek'). This song was a condition for releasing the record because the Jugoton executives wanted the band to include a cover of a (Slovenian) polka in their repertoire (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 202).

The first record by the band Zlatni akordi (The Golden Chords) from Zagreb, released in 1966, included the standard rock hits 'My Generation', 'Lady Jane', 'You Were On My Mind' and their "beat" version of the Dalmatian traditional song 'Marice divojko'. Four years later they invested great hopes in the number 'Čerge', composed by their new member, a young singer from Osijek named Zlatko Pejaković, and based on the *melos* (folk music) of Slavonia. This again came as a result of the influence of Jugoton executives: one of them suggested that a band from Zagreb should follow the lead of Dubrovački trubaduri and use folkloric elements in their music (2009: 362). Even the notable pop band Novi fosili (formed in 1969 from members of the disbanded ensemble of Dražen Boić), began to create music with juxtaposed elements of jazz and folk songs of Međimurje. The musical preferences of Novi fosili were at the time "based on jazz" (2009: 270).

Macedonian folklore crossed the borders of the socialist republics of Yugoslavia with the greatest of ease. In addition to Iskre, Siluete and the aforementioned Zlatni dečaci, Crni biseri (the band of Belgrade's notable rock pioneer Vlada Janković Džet) could not resist its allure. The first record by Crni biseri contained Džet's number 'Ne odlazi', which contained Macedonian folkloric elements (2009: 126). In 1967, Delfini from Zagreb released a (rhythm & blues) version of the Macedonian traditional song 'Kaleš bre Anđo', on which they wanted to use a *daf*.[5] Since none of the band members knew how to play the instrument, Jugoton editor and producer Pero Gotovac sat in with them (2009: 162). Delfini from Split had an (instrumental) track based on Macedonian *melos* and titled 'Sedam koraka' ('Seven Steps') on their first record, released in 1968. The band's members, proud of this achievement, claimed that they were the only Yugoslav beat band allowed to have four of their own songs on their first record (2009: 157).

Crveni koralji from Zagreb (according to some sources, it might have been the group 4M) launched a new dance in 7/8 time called the Makedo. Following their lead, the Belgrade band Smeli and their composer Vojkan Borisavljević launched a new dance called the Touch on the TV program *Omladinski kviz* (*Youth Quiz*) (1966), accompanied by his music inspired by the Macedonian folkloric heritage. It turned

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5 Originally a Persian frame drum, with the frame usually made of hardwood with metal rings attached, and a head made of goatskin.

out that this experiment was also largely unsuccessful. Borisavljević complained in the magazine *Džuboks*:

> There was little interest in the Macedonian rhythms, although everyone is moaning about a national style. While the television [presenter] was introducing the new dance, the camera panned the orchestra… (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 335)

Naturally, the Macedonian *melos* was present in the rock music of Macedonia as well: at the first festival of Yugoslav pop music held in Zagreb on 3 September 1968, the band Bis-Bez from Skopje performed their version of the folk song 'More sokol pie'. Like many other artists after them (Leb i sol, Dado Topić, Azra, Toše Proeski, etc.) their repertoire included the folk classic 'Si zaljubiv edno mome' ('I Loved a Girl'), etc.

But what about Bosnia? What made the popular music scene in Bosnia (and specifically in Sarajevo) unique in the Yugoslav context – such a strong identity marker for generations of Bosnians with different ethnic backgrounds? First of all, the early rock musicians' insistence on authorship and originality, along with singing in the native language – which came from the executives in the relatively underdeveloped media and recording industry (Vesić 2014: 9–14), in comparison to the other capitals of the Yugoslav socialist republics. "Ljudi, dajte nešto svoje," ("people, do something of your own") was a paradigmatic call to young rockers that came from Esad Arnautalić, composer, producer and music editor at Radio Sarajevo[6] (Nikčević 2014). Arnautalić was also the founder of the Music Production Department at Radio Sarajevo and founder of the music festival Vaš šlager sezone (Your evergreen of the season). According to Kornelije Kovač, Arnautalić created this festival to "finally pull Sarajevo out of the grey zone on the margins of the goings-on in music… so that musicians and composers would start wondering what's going on over there in Bosnia" (Kovač 2010: 203). Though responsible for the mega-successful version of the French Eurovision chanson 'Elle était si jollie' ('Bila je tako lijepa') performed by Dragan Stojnić (1965) as an early Yugoslav popular music hit which came from Sarajevo, Arnautalić decided that the city should have its own, original music.

> He said: 'Anyone who has something of his own, let him bring it. Anyone who doesn't, so long.' (*Ko ima nešto svoje, nek' donese. Ko nema, vozdra.*). (Vesić 2014: 13)

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6 The early supporters of pop music among the executives of Radio Sarajevo included, among others, Nikša Dabović, Zlatko Daniš and Vladislav Bezuljak.

His brother Ismet Nuno Arnautalić was a founding member of the band Indexi. Indexi responded promptly to Esad's call, and their entire repertoire was soon in Serbo-Croatian. The reputation of the music being produced in Sarajevo also gained momentum owing to the efforts of two poets, lyricists whose style was highly appreciated on the popular music scene, Vlado Dijak (1925–1988) and Duško Trifunović (1933–2006) who was also a well-known television personality[7] and an early supporter of rock and roll.

In other words, the reproductive rock culture of the time was not well appreciated in the media outlets in Sarajevo. However, although this policy encouraged originality and authorship, a lot of local musical talent was lost due to the lack of infrastructure for the music industry. Sarajevo did not have a record company until Diskoton was founded in 1973, which is one of the reasons why many pioneers of rock and pop music moved from Sarajevo to Yugoslav centres which provided more opportunities for music professionals, mainly Belgrade and Zagreb. The early manifestations of rock culture reflected a cultural clash between the "global" and the "local": following the current *gitarijada* trend (festivals of young, unsigned bands), Sarajevo held its own *gitarijada* in March 1967 under the title Electricity threatens sevdah: the whole of Bosnia and Herzegovina under 220 volts (Raković 2011: 426).

Among the first bands in Sarajevo to incorporate folk motifs in pop/rock music was Zid, founded in the late 1960s by Nikola Borota Radovan, composer and later producer of the album *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* (*If I Were a White Button,* see above). His combination of pop and folk was well received locally, as Borota also worked on a TV program where he "pushed" songs derived from folkloric traditions (Vesić 2014: 37). At the time of Bijelo dugme's first album, his influence on Goran Bregović was also substantial. With his subsequent project Kamen na kamen (which included the future pan-Yugoslav pop diva Neda Ukraden), Borota continued to explore new vocal concepts based on the use of folklore, which eventually led to a "rather apparent 'redressing' of *sevdalinkas* in modern attire (Hanka Paldum, Sejo Pitić, Mile Kitić)" (Borota in Pavlović 2013). Borota wrote some of the lyrics for Indexi, whose members in 1967–68 also included Kornelije Kovač. While still a member of Indexi, Kovač maintained a double identity which would mark the rest of his long career in Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav show business: he worked on

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7 His youth program 'Na ti' (To You) introduced 12 new tracks from local artists every month.

festival pop music, which garnered him publicity and official recognition, while at the same time experimenting with more sophisticated music which included the use of folklore. His contribution to the early stages of the career of Indexi thus included the number 'Boj na Mišaru' ('The Battle of Mišar'), where Kovač used the lyrics of Serbian epic poet and *guslar* Filip Višnjić (1767–1834) and the traditional *saz* from a family of Turkish and Iranian stringed instruments. For this number, guitarist Slobodan Bodo Kovačević played a "solo" using the ultimate instrument of epic folklore – the *gusle*, a strong national identity marker for several ethnic groups in Yugoslavia, especially in the subsequent conflicts (Žanić 1998; Čolović 2008: 133–182; Milojević 2006). In a recent interview, Kovač made a comment on the fate of this song:

> At that time everything was *ours*, Yugoslav: *our* epic poetry, *our* tradition, *our* culture. That is how we lived... The song 'Boj na Mišaru' ends with the lyrics:
> *Rani sina pak šalji na vojsku / Srbija se umirit' ne može...* (Feed your son and send him into battle / Serbia cannot find its peace...)
> Who would even have dreamt of all the things that have happened in the meantime...
> They recorded the song, although Jugoton never released it. However, 'Boj na Mišaru' performed by Indexi and Davorin Popović re-emerged as a bootleg in the 1990s. And in Bulgaria, of all places! During the siege of the city, that song was played for the Sarajevans from Pale!? I hope not too often. (Nikčević 2014)

When he moved from Sarajevo to Belgrade, Korni grupa became Kovač's most important project. In 1969, he participated as a composer in the Yugoslav pre-selection for the Eurovision Song Contest with the song 'Cigu ligu', whose main feature was described as "abundant and tasteful use of folk *melos*" (Fajfrić and Nenad 2009: 241–242). Instead of the song 'Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme', the first "shepherd rock" song could easily have been Korni grupa's 1969 track 'Pastir i cvet' ('The Shepherd and the Flower'). Here, a young shepherd awakens in the mountains, takes his *frula* (traditional flute), and plays for his flock:

> With the song 'Pastir i cvet', Korni grupa went to the Netherlands, to the Singing Europe festival, where they won the award as the most interesting and most original band. My bassist played a *saz*, having found it previously in some village in Bosnia-Herzegovina; the other guitarist played a *šargija*; the drummer played a *tarabuk*, and I played a little Indian flute, which I otherwise learned to play just so I could do the introduction to the song. (Kovač in Nikčević 2014)

Korni grupa's greatest commercial success, 'Trla baba lan' (1970) (soon afterwards recorded by the Egyptian-Italian pop diva Dalida as 'Ram dam dam'), was derived from a traditional Serbo-Croatian proverb. Kovač later transposed his eclectic fascination with folklore in his collaboration with Yugoslav celebrity pop/folk performers like Zdravko Čolić or Lepa Brena. In the same interview he explained that even Zdravko Čolić's famous 1977 disco hit 'Pjevam danju, pjevam noću' was based on Hungarian folklore: "Pure *csárdás*!" Nevertheless, Kovač claims: "I have never primarily relied on folkloric melodic and harmonic structures; instead, I borrowed little motifs which demonstrate that what I am doing is still somehow *here*, that it exists in our Balkan traditions" (Nikčević 2014).

In 1974 Korni grupa eventually did represent Yugoslavia at the Eurovision Song Contest in Brighton (famous for ABBA's win with the classic 'Waterloo'), with the song 'Moja generacija' (i.e. My Generation), "which was unimaginable for any contemporary (Yugoslav) rock band" (Arnautović 2012: 158). Korni grupa's ambivalent attachment both to alternative rock and light mainstream music, often provoked public debates, and fellow rock musicians even accused Kovač of the "genocide of rock and roll" (Kovač 2010: 48). He was criticized on similar grounds by Aleksandar Žikić in his book *Fatalni ringišpil* (1999: 126, 127, 175).

In 1971, Ismet Nuno Arnautalić, together with Goran Bregović and Zoran Redžić, founded the band Jutro – the early version of Bijelo dugme. After parting ways with Arnautalić in 1973, the rest of the band continued rehearsals with Miodrag Bata Kostić, who had recently left YU grupa. At this period Bregović showed keen interest in "Bata's shy *ethno-rock* endeavour 'Kosovski božuri'", acclaimed at the time by audiences and critics alike (Vesić 2014: 37).

It is interesting to note that the first attempts at *ethno-rock* by Bijelo dugme were received with the almost identical rhetoric of unconditional support which Aleksandar Žikić used in the discussion of 'Kosovski božuri' and YU grupa's combination of folklore and hard rock. At least this was the case with Ognjen Tvrtković in the first article on Bijelo dugme published in *Džuboks* in July 1974, before the release of their first album:

> The composer and musical leader of the band Goran Bregović insists on a blend of the Yugoslav folkloric tradition and the 'hard-rock' style, which produces interesting combinations and an original sound which makes them different from other bands. This especially applies to the tracks from the first two small records released for Jugoton – *Top* and *Glavni junak jedne knjige* – which include the tasteful use of motifs from Bosnian folk music. (Tvrtković 1974: 29)

The uneasy balance between the "global" and the "local" in the overall oeuvre of Bijelo dugme, the long-lasting "shepherd rock" debate and its mass popularity in both the Yugoslav and post-Yugoslav contexts can all be situated within the on-going conflict along the lines of a division between two types of cultural capital – the global and the local. Their respective proponents continually struggle to promote their own cultural resources as legitimate (Cvetičanin, Nedeljković and Krstić 2012: 55). Furthermore, such conflicts have "clear political aspects" (Cvetičanin 2007: 257). At least in the post-Yugoslav context, as a form of accumulation of global cultural capital, *cosmopolitanism* (being "in touch with the (Western) world" and therefore "cultured and socially acceptable") is still used as a discursive weapon against newcomers from the villages, refugees and other "peasants", perceived as both culturally and morally deficient from a superior urban standpoint (see Simić 2010).

In the early days of Bijelo dugme, Goran Bregović's work tiptoed along the elusive border between "covert folklore" and "Mića's (Milić Vukašinović) idea of cosmopolitanism" (Ivačković 2013: 126). This was also reflected in the band's appearance, "original on the global scale", including Bosnian peasant vests, sequins and platform boots worn at the time by the likes of Sweet and Slade. "Glam rock and a Bebek[8] moustache" (Ivačković 2014: 234) was their magic formula for success. Outfits which met the fashion standards of the contemporary English rock stars made a striking impression on the fans (especially teenagers searching for a new generation of idols) and fellow musicians alike. Bregović's ability to impersonate Jimmy Page on stage was also highly appreciated (see Aleksić 2011: 112). Concocting an indigenous formula of Yugoslav popular music, he came to represent an affirmative answer to Dražen Vrdoljak's rhetorical question: "Can a Yugoslav play rock and roll?" (Ivačković 2013: 133–134) Bijelo dugme consequently established itself as the first truly "pan-Yugoslav rock phenomenon" (Vitas 2006: 13). Eventually, in the Yugoslav context, Bijelo dugme's "indigenous stylistic developments" to some extent undermined the relevance of American and British pop-rock for the local music scene (see Frith 2004).

The album *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* was released on 18 November 1974, causing a national sensation (Vesić 2014: 47–82; Ivačković 2013: 124–129). This has been described in many biographies about the band's history (Štrbac 1977; Pavlović 1980; Vrdoljak and Glavan

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8 Željko Bebek, the lead singer of Bijelo dugme.

1981; Vesić 1985; Krstulović 2005; Osmanović 2007). Using a limited number of characteristic examples, this paper argues that this launch was not an isolated turning point in the history of Yugoslav popular music, but an element of a specific continuum. The influences of traditional and newly-composed folk music and the commercial compromises which rock musicians made with the taste of the folklore-leaning audiences and media executives were not only present continually, but were embedded in the very foundations of the cultural and media phenomenon known as "Yugoslav rock". The myth of *jaranization* launched in 1974 with the inauguration of shepherd (quasi-)rock merely obliterates this fact, in the struggle for the symbolic capital which this fantasy of "pure" and uncompromising rock and roll, as the elite urban culture of young (anti-)socialist Yugoslavia, might leave to its post-Yugoslav "successors".

Observed from this perspective, the only "extraordinary" thing about the album *Kad bi' bio bijelo dugme* was its exceptional commercial success and access to new audiences – urban and rural "peasants" alike, crossing the imaginary border drawn between asphalt and mud. If Yugoslav rock and roll was ever subversive and controversial, this record and the rest of the band's career challenged this myth of the border which must never be crossed – otherwise, the "asphalt" would be irretrievably drowned in the "mud" of the *papak* (urban peasant) mentality and bad taste associated with the backwaters of (globalized) civilization.

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