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Jelena Joković*

University of Arts in Belgrade

Faculty of Music

Department of Ethnomusicology

THE TRUMPET IN A WOMAN'S HAND IN CONTEMPORARY SERBIAN TRADITIONAL AND POPULAR MUSIC

The case of the “Danijela” trumpet orchestra from Arilje¹

Abstract: The “Danijela” trumpet orchestra from Arilje is the first ensemble in Serbia whose ‘first trumpet’ and leader, in every sense, is Danijela Veselinović (1993). Apart of Danijela, there are men in the orchestra; they are Danijela’s brothers, cousins and colleagues from the University. Such orchestras (of the family type), in which women

* Author contact information: jelena.jokovic@yahoo.com

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play, or in which the leader is a woman in the ensemble, are not unknown in the world as they even existed in the 19th century. This paper analyses the relationship between men and women regarding theory of gender and the way it is covered by the media and in other ways. Through this theory, I examine Danijela's approach to the trumpet in every detail, as an instrument that is considered as a 'male' instrument in Serbia today. This is based upon my personal interview with Danijela Veselinović. This consideration of the trumpet as a male instrument is not unusual, bearing in mind its historical background and its role in society. Through an ethnomusicological comparative analysis of three interpretation, I shall try to conclude whether, as regards performance, it is a 'copy' of the male trumpet orchestra or whether it just leaves a personal touch, and also, whether that touch comes from the gender viewpoint, or, simply said, whether it is a question of the influence of the formal musical education which Danijela's trumpet orchestra possesses.

Keywords: The "Danijela" trumpet orchestra, a woman as the leader, trumpet orchestra, theory of gender, media, the relation between traditional, artistic and popular music.

This work is based on my intention to gain a more detailed knowledge about the trumpet orchestras of western Serbia. One of the interesting phenomena regarding this research is the status of the woman as a performer in trumpet orchestral music in Serbia. In order to present the problem, as an example for the study of this case, I looked to the practice and work of the "Danijela" trumpet orchestra from Arilje.² A particularly intriguing fact regarding this ensemble, as the title and name of the orchestra itself suggests, is that a female performer, Danijela Veselinović (1993) established the orchestra which she leads,

² The "Danijela" orchestra was founded in Bjeluša near Arilje, in 2003 and named after the leader of the orchestra – Danijela Veselinović. The initial orchestra consisted of her two brothers, Slobodan (1995) and Bojan (1996) and three cousins, Milan Jevtović, who also plays the trumpet (1993), Dragan (1995) and Ljubiša (1996), who on average had between six and ten years. It also included Blagoje Jeverčić (1991) and Ivan Bogičević – trumpet (1993). Today, the orchestra's permanent members, in addition to Danijela, are Slobodan – drum and Bojan Veselinović – tenor trumpet, Bogdan Veselinović – tambour (2005), Stefan Vasiljević – tenor trumpet (1994), Nikola Pešterac – tenor trumpet (1994), Rajan Bolozan – bass trumpet (1993), Luka Kalezić – trumpet (1994) and Pedja Stamenković – bass trumpet (1985). Danijela started her primary music education in Kraljevo, where she also finished secondary music school, in the class of Srdjan Radosavljević. She also completed her undergraduate academic studies in Novi Sad, in 2016 at the Academy of Arts, in the class of Nenad Marković. She enrolled to do her master's studies at the Department of Chamber Music at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, in 2017.

with men in it.³ Otherwise, trumpet orchestras in Serbia have usually consisted only of men because of the primary functions of the trumpet in the past.⁴

This work has been done according to a methodology that consists of a semi-structural interview with Danijela Veselinović.⁵ In order to acquire more information, I used television recordings and interviews on the YouTube, and literature in directly⁶ or indirectly connected with this orchestra.⁷ From the theoretical point of view, the point of departure in this paper is the theory of gender, with an examination on that basis, of advertising and specific repertoire points. Based on this theory, in the ethnomusicological analytical context, I have attempted first to find out whether Danijela, as the female leader of a male ensemble, definitively has an influence on the audience's reception of the interpretation of music. The second question is whether there is any basic difference between the music interpreted by an all-male orchestra, and whether that distinction, if any, is because of the gender difference, or whether it includes a personal imprint which has nothing to do with gender.

The ethnomusicological analysis will consist of a comparative overview of three examples: *колубарски вез, победнички чочек и влашки мерак* (Kolubara Purple, Victory Chochek and Vlach Zest). These have been chosen as samples from the formal, melodic-rhythmical, orchestral, articulation and ornamental aspects. I have taken the above examples, with samples for analysis because they are on the repertoire of the "Danijela" trumpet orchestra and the trumpet orchestras of Dejan Petrović, of Jovica Ajdarević and of Fejat Sejdjić. I have chosen them because they also play the same numbers, and they are the only performances which I could find on the Youtube music network. The other reason for choosing the Dejan Petrović orchestra is because Danijela described him as her role-model, in her interview. This orchestra (in its first phase of growing into a big band) belonged to the 'school of trumpets' of

³ In ethnomusicological discourse, commonly referred to as 'kapelnica', which will be used hereinafter.

⁴ The primary functions of the trumpet will be seen later.

⁵ The interview with Danijela Veselinović was on 12.02.2017, at the Faculty of Music in Belgrade, without members of the orchestra.

⁶ Василија Ђуровић, *Оркестар "Данијела" – аспекти женског лидерства*, Београд, 2017 (seminar paper defended at the Faculty of Music – manuscript from the author).

⁷ Marina Gonzalez Varga, *Serbian Brass Bands in the Construction and Reflection of Identity*, Cork, 2017 (master thesis defended at UCC School of Music and Theatre – manuscript by the author).

western Serbia. Petrović was born in the village of Duboko near Užice,⁸ and the other two belong to the Roma orchestras from south-eastern Serbia (Jovića Ajdarević is from Pavlovac, near Vranje and Fejat Sejdić was from Bojnik, near Leskovac).⁹ All of them received the title *Masters of the Trumpet* (Fejat Sejdić is no longer alive). The other reason that I chose them is because I wanted to show, based on the different styles and types, the individual characteristics and interpretations of the “Danijela” orchestra, and also to answer the question as to whether there are any musical elements Danijela took from the above mentioned orchestras.

Medial forms, such as short or long interviews, television advertisements and documentary films, are my important source for studying the media’s attitude to the position in which Danijela is, and also questions that commonly arise.

When we talk about numbers belonging to popular genres that are part of the repertoire, it is important to research the performing relation of traditional (folk), classic (art) and popular music, and whether in performance and technique these three kinds of music mix together. Simon Frith spoke about these relations, too.¹⁰

The question of gender in ethnomusicological discourse

Women, as representatives of the musical practice of some community or segment of society, appear in the focus of ethnomusicology at the close of the 1970s through feministic theories, women’s studies and the study of gender in the science of music, which crucially unfolded in the West, in the countries of the Anglo-Saxon language region.¹¹ Marcia Herndon considers that the mar-

⁸ Никола Стојић, Јовиша Славковић и Радован М. Маринковић, *Трубачка будилица – од Гуче до вечности*, Чачак – Гуча, ТВ „Галаксија” – Радио „Драгачево”, 2006, 109.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 91, 84.

¹⁰ Simon Frith, *Performing Rites. On the Value of Popular Music*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1998.

¹¹ Ива Ненић [Iva Nenić], *Дерегулација канона: идентитети, праксе и идеологије женског свирања на традиционалним инструментима у Србији*, doktorska disertacija odbranjena na Katedri za etnomuzikologiju Fakulteta muzičke umetnosti u Beogradu [*Deregulating the Canon: Identities, Practices, and Ideologies of Women’s Playing of Traditional Instruments in Serbia*, doctoral dissertation defended at the Department of Ethnomusicology of the Faculty of Music in Belgrade], 2014, 100, (manuscript by the author).

ginalised role of women in music, who, like in the family, were reduced to a background plane, is possible to survey only in the direct service of emphasizing the domination of masculinity, that is to say, in the function of constituting a direct 'second' in relation to the world of men.¹² Ellen Koskoff distinguishes three periods of investigating the gender aspects of music in ethnomusicology. For this work, the third period is most important, which is based on contemporary feministic theories that destabilise the binary relation between the natural categories of gender and the socially constructed category of gender (post-feministic theory).¹³ Ethnomusicological work on such themes, thanks to the assimilation of women's experience in music, in 'as it were, the universal' experience of men, begins parallel with 'the first wave' of gender-oriented ethnomusicology – that is, from documenting and filling the empty or omitted aspects of women in music.¹⁴ Veronica Doubleday deals with the symbolism of musical instruments and their connection with gender conceptions in the context of multicultural comparisons, insisting on the point that gender meanings have to be invested in the instruments as cultural artifacts with an evident symbolic function.¹⁵ The International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM) has, among other groups, a Study Group on Music and Gender, established in 1985 by Barbara L. Hempton and Pirkko Moisala.¹⁶ Some crucial tasks of this group are as follows: encouraging the understanding of gender in society, regarding the role it plays in society and stimulating the critical assessment of gender roles in the ethnomusicological discipline.¹⁷

Recent works presented after 2000, pay more attention to the problems of gender.¹⁸ The revolution in ethnomusicology in our country, concerning female instrumental performance began with Iva Nenić's doctoral dissertation, which discussed issues of the identity, practice and ideology of women

¹² Marcia Herndon, "The place of Gender within Complex, Dynamic Musical Systems", in: Pirkko Moisala and Beverly Diamond (Ed.), *Music and gender*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2000, 347–359.

¹³ Ana Hofman, *Socijalistička ženskost na sceni*, Beograd, Publish, 2012. More about setting postfeminističke theory see: Džudit Butler, *Nevolja s rodom*, Beograd, Karpos, 2010.

¹⁴ Ива Ненић, op. cit., 101.

¹⁵ Veronica Doubleday, "Sound of Power: An Overview of Musical Instruments and Gender", *Ethnomusicology Forum*, Vol. 17, No. 1, 2008, 3–29.

¹⁶ <http://ictmusic.org/group/music-and-gender> ac. 19 May 2019, 12:51 p.m.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ The most prominent researchers in this field in our country are: Ana Hofman, Iva Nenić and Selena Rakočević.

playing on traditional instruments in Serbia.¹⁹ Ana Hofman also dealt with questions of gender in some of her scientific studies, but in reference to the stage in socialist Yugoslavia.²⁰

Instances from the history of female wind ensembles and women performers on the trumpet in Europe, with special emphasis on Serbia

In Germany, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, there were wind orchestras in which many of the players were women (although the leaders were men). They were professional travelling players, and their task was to entertain people.²¹ They usually gave their performances in theatres in small towns and villages.²² The most popular ensemble was the *Damen Kapellen*, dating from the 1870s.²³ In England (especially in the Victorian era), and later, in the second half of the 19th century, there were family wind orchestras with women participating, as well.²⁴ These mainly came into being in provincial towns, and the families were from the middle class.²⁵ The younger children would usually play on percussion instruments, while elder, male and female, members played wind instruments.²⁶ Family orchestras were travelling orchestras, some professional and some amateur, and they generally played at local celebrations.²⁷ This was the period from the 1870s up to the First World War, and Margaret Myers calls this period the

¹⁹ Ива Ненић, op. cit.

²⁰ See in: Ana Hofman, Music (as) labour : professional musicianship, affective labour and gender in socialist Yugoslavia, *Ethnomusicology forum*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2015, 28-50; *Staging socialist femininity: gender politics and folklore performance in Serbia*, Leiden, Boston, Brill, 2011.

²¹ Gavin Holman, *Damen und Damen - Ladies' professional travelling brass ensembles of the German Empire 1871-1918*, 2017, 1. https://www.academia.edu/35030656/Damen_und_Damen_-_Ladies_professional_travelling_brass_ensembles_of_the_German_Empire_1871-1918 ac. 26 April 2019, 11:08 a.m.

²² Ibid., 1.

²³ Ibid., 2.

²⁴ Gavin Holman, *Keep it in the Family – the Family Brass Bands that entertained the USA and UK in the late 19th and early 20th centuries*, 2017. https://www.academia.edu/34770517/Keep_it_in_the_Family_-_the_Family_Brass_Bands_that_entertained_the_USA_and_UK_in_the_late_19th_and_early_20th_centuries ac. 26 April 2019, 10:52 a.m.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

“first wave” of wind instruments being played in Europe by women.²⁸ The “second wave” began between the two World Wars up to the 1940s.²⁹ The women players came from different social classes, they performed different, often very complicated, repertoires, and what is characteristic is that they performed numbers from the then new musical genres that were very popular at that time.³⁰

In speaking of the Balkans in her doctoral dissertation, Iva Nenić writes that women players were first registered in the medieval ceremonial exchange of rich gifts and bands of musicians among the members of the Balkan feudal nobility in the mid-15th century.³¹ Although one cannot reliably say which wind instrument was involved, it is most interesting to note that women appeared in ensembles, performing and travelling from one aristocratic family to another in a kind of professional guild of entertainers.³² On the other hand, the appearance of women in public during the Middle Ages was strictly governed by church and legal canons, therefore it was considered undignified and even shameful.³³

In Serbia, bearing in mind that it had a different societal and historical development from other countries in the mentioned period, there is no data about the formation of trumpet orchestras only with women performers, or family orchestras with women players on instruments. The first real appearance of trumpet-playing (which had a direct influence on forming trumpet orchestras in villages, and subsequently, modern day trumpet orchestras), and the establishment of the first official trumpet orchestra (1831) is connected with the army and the court during the rule of Prince Miloš Obrenović (1780/83–1860), when he ordered that all young men be recruited from all districts of the then Serbia.³⁴

²⁸ Ива Ненић, *op. cit.*, 159. For more about this, see: Margaret Myers, “Searching for Data about European Ladies’ Orchestras 1870-1950”, in: Pirko Moisala, Beverly Diamond, Elen Koskoff (Ed.), *Music and Gender*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 2000, 189–211.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ For more about this, see: Ива Ненић, *op. cit.*, 118–119.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ Гордана Крајачић [Gordana Krajačić], *Војна музика и музичари (1831–1945)* [*Војна музика и музичари / Military Music and Musicians*], Београд, Новинско-издавачки центар “Војска”, 2003, 14–27.

From the 16th to the 18th century, there is no mention of female wind orchestras or of women playing brass instruments. In towns (in the restaurants) at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, there were foreign (German, Austrian and Czech), and local female orchestras (damen kapellen – though not trumpet orchestras), as part of a lively transnational music scene based on the ideas of modernity and progress, creating a model for the local entertainment industry.³⁵

Later on, between the two World Wars, trumpet orchestras moved away from the cities and the military environment to the countryside, but still these orchestras consisted of male performers only, though in circumstances different from the 19th century. In this period, actually in the 1930s, there were female bands in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, but they performed only in restaurants in the cities, at private parties and in hotels.³⁶

In terms of the research done so far, we can say that the phenomenon exists of women playing the trumpet in the traditional rural culture of Serbia, but that it was not until 2002 that they acquired the role of orchestra leader. This actually happened when the children's trumpet orchestra was formed in Bjeluša near Arilje under the name "Danijela". We shall see the process of its establishment in the course of this work, which fully corresponds to the model of forming trumpet orchestras in the Anglo-Saxon language regions and smaller bands in Europe, and even in a world context regarding family ensembles in the 19th century.

The first appearance, generally, of a female member in a trumpet band occurred several years earlier, when forming the first children's trumpet orchestra in Koštunići.³⁷ Before establishing that orchestra, the first summer trumpet school was started in Guča, in 1988 and among its first students were two sisters from Sremska Mitrovica.³⁸ However, it is not known whether they were members of some band or just trumpet soloists. At the 2nd Festival of

³⁵ Ива Ненић, op. cit., 159–160.

³⁶ Ibid., 160–161.

³⁷ There is evidence that in 1999, a children's trumpet orchestra called "Etnoart" was established in Koštunići, whose manager was at that time a little girl, Milica Čeković (1989), with a second girl, a player on the drum, Vesna Mirković (1987). Other members were boys. For more about this orchestra, see: Живко Перишић, "Трубачка свитања под Суворобором. Стижу млади таленти: оркестар у Коштунићима", *Драјачевски њрубач*, 32, 2001, 20.

³⁸ For more about the work of the first summer school of trumpet and the attendees, see: Јовиша Славковић, "Прва летња школа трубе", *Драјачевски њрубач*, 29, 1998, 6.

Young Trumpet Orchestras in 1998, the youngest participant to appear was the female drummer, Miljana Milinović in the “Mladi Timočani” trumpet orchestra from Knjaževac.³⁹ Before the 1990s, there is no mention in the literature as to whether there were female members in trumpet orchestras (of the kind we see today) in Serbia (especially in its western parts), especially women trumpet-players.

The “Danijela” orchestra in light of the theory of gender

Present-day Serbian trumpet-playing is almost fully determined in terms of gender. People have always considered the trumpet to be a ‘man’s’ instrument. Yet, as one can see today in Serbia, an increasing number of female performers, for instance, play the flute (*frula*) and the *gusle*, and the same applies to the trumpet, with its female representative, Danijela Veselinović, the trumpet-player and band leader in the orchestra that bears her name.⁴⁰

The family, and especially her father, Mile Veselinović, whole heartedly supported Danijela and her brothers and cousins, in their decision to play that kind of music, and in their choice of instrument. Still, such a decision was surprising and aroused interest among friends and neighbours. In her repeated interview, Danijela says the following:

Father bought a trumpet for himself so that when he came home after work, he could play it instead of reading newspapers. As we were children, it was very interesting for us. He thought that Slobodan would show the most interest in the trumpet since he was a boy. Then my father asked my brother if he wanted him to buy him a larger (tenor) trumpet and my brother agreed. At the time, my younger brother, Bogdan, was still teething, so he could not play the trumpet. Instead, he chose the drum.⁴¹

As Iva Nenić says, whatever a woman does that is considered a man’s job especially instrumental music-making, people generally judge it by the stan-

³⁹ Предраг Раовић, “Труба за сва времена”, *Драїачевски џурбач*, 30, 1999, 4–5.

⁴⁰ For more about female performers on the fiddle and flute, see: Dr. Iva Nenić’s doctoral thesis. Iva Nenić, op. cit. Vasilija Djurović in her essay states that the reason why the trumpet orchestra adopted Danijela’s name was that “The orchestra was named after Danijela since she was the only female in the band, and also the eldest child (10 years old). Maybe we can take this instance as the beginning of Danijela being looked upon as a kind of band leader and a break through in the social order, because until then there had never been a brass band named after a female, who was also its leader.” Василија Ђуровић, op. cit., 10.

⁴¹ Repeated interview with Danijela Veselinović on Facebook, 19 May 2019.

dards that apply to men.⁴² If a woman performer has fulfilled the criteria of a man's music-making, she receives a positive reaction and is accepted.⁴³ In the beginning, people kept on telling Danijela not to play, saying: "Why do you need a trumpet, it's a man's instrument".⁴⁴ However, all her neighbours and friends were delighted when they heard her and her orchestra playing, and they never again told her to stop playing. As soon as they formed the orchestra, in the beginning, her parents and relatives attended all their performances because they were still too young to handle the challenges of performance. What is more surprising and impressive is the fact that Danijela leads the orchestra, whose other members are men (her brothers, cousins and colleagues from the university).⁴⁵

Bearing in mind the opinion of Mavis Bayton, 'purely' female bands often have problems amongst themselves about who will play what instrument and who is the better performer.⁴⁶ Danijela stated in her interview, that compromise always prevailed in her orchestra so she never had problems being the leader while all the other members were men. She believes that she has no trouble because she is the oldest in the orchestra.

Apart of being the leader of her orchestra, she has undertaken other obligations; the task of signing contracts and marketing on the social network. She schedules the dates of rehearsals, prepares the repertoire and arranges where the band will perform. Gregory D. Booth distinguishes three types of musicians.⁴⁷ The first are musicians who consider themselves to be leaders. They are in charge of choosing the repertoire, the duration of a concert, they are often called 'band masters' and they have a musical education. They are also recognized by the dress they wear, which is different from the other members of the group. Danijela has these characteristics, and like the members of her orchestra, the said manner of dressing can be observed in appearances in different kinds of media, which will be discussed later.

⁴² Ива Ненић, op. cit., 104, 165.

⁴³ Ibid., 165.

⁴⁴ Quote taken from my interview with Danijela Veselinović on 2 December 2017.

⁴⁵ Danijela highlighted this data, in an interview with her on 12 February 2017, and Vasilija Djurović also mentions this in her essay.

⁴⁶ Mavis Bayton, *How Women Become Musicians*, in: Simon Frith, Andrew Goodwin (Ed.), *On record: rock, pop, and the written word*, London, Routledge, 1990, 201.

⁴⁷ Gregory Booth, "Brass Bands: Tradition, Change, and the Mass Media in Indian Wedding Music", *Etnomusicology*, 34, 2, 1990, 245–262. Booth here, first of all, is thinking of male musicians. In general, the managerial job is often labeled as a 'male' occupation.

Booth mentions two basic types of management: autocratic and democratic.⁴⁸ Democratic management has shown itself to be best, consequently, relations in the group are good and everyone is satisfied. One can single out the 'so-called' female style of leadership as a separate sub-category, which is democratic, friendly, 'emotional', interactive, cooperative and supportive. This kind of leadership and her role as manager is characteristic of Danijela's leadership. Every member of her band has the right to give his opinion and make suggestions about how to play something. Bojan Veselinović (Danijela's younger brother) speaks very favourably about her as 'the boss', he believes she is not a hard 'task-master', yet she is able to maintain discipline in the orchestra.⁴⁹

Since Danijela and her band have become well-known among the broader public, young people in her region have started to go in for trumpet music, following in her footsteps. The "Danijela" orchestra launched a competition in 2005 in the category of younger trumpet orchestras (pioneer category) at the Dragačevo Trumpet Festival in Guča. That year they won the prize as the best trumpet orchestra in the pioneer category. Furthermore, Danijela proudly stresses in her interview that one of our legendary trumpet players, Boban Marković (1964), on Mt. Zlatibor in 2003, gave her the nickname "the trumpet princess of Serbia".⁵⁰ For Danijela, this was acknowledgement for all her efforts and her motivation for further work.

Foreign musicologists and ethnomusicologists, as well as journalists, writing papers or newspaper articles, and articles on the social network about Serbian trumpet orchestras, never fail to mention Danijela's orchestra.⁵¹

Evidence of Danijela's popularity can also be seen also in her non-musical engagements: Danijela and the members of her orchestra shot an advertisement and documentary film for *Telenor*⁵² and *Al Jazeera*.⁵³ She often gives

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Information taken from my interview on Facebook with Bojan Veselinović on 19 May 2019.

⁵⁰ Data taken from my interview with Danijela Veselinović on 2.12.2017. For more on this, see in: http://arilje.org.rs/attach/danijela/orkestardanijela_centralni.htm ac. 2 May 2019

⁵¹ Marina Gonzalez Varga, op. cit., 24, 26, 30.

⁵² <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L6nSSTvNz5c>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WvRhPBIe7xI> ac. 26 April 2019

⁵³ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jok5NizGLsk&t=367s> ac. 26 April 2019

television interviews.⁵⁴As for foreign TV stations, *Russia Today* reported on her orchestra in 2016 and made a documentary film about it.⁵⁵ YouTube has also played a significant role in advertising Danijela's orchestra, so people, wherever they are, can listen to her work. And the nickname itself "little trumpet princess" (the name Boban Marković gave her when she was younger) is a unique advertisement for her and her band.

Bayton considers that very often musicians start to play an instrument only when they become members of some band, and thereby develop a clear profile in terms of style.⁵⁶ The "Danijela" Orchestra is the only trumpet orchestra in Serbia, in which all the members have a musical education, though the orchestra was formed before its members started their formal musical education. Some, like Danijela, also have an academic title. Danijela underlines that a musical education helped her members write arrangements for the numbers they perform, and their knowledge of jazz harmony and articulation gives a personal touch to the interpretations.⁵⁷ In the beginning they had a clearly profiled style, tending towards the traditional music of western Serbia and Šumadija (the central part of Serbia). However, as their musical education progressed, their repertoire and style became more heterogeneous.

It is interesting to note that Danijela belonged to a rifle club, where she practiced shooting (with an air gun), very successfully.⁵⁸ Even though this sport in Serbia has some famous women, it is considered – actually, anything to do with firearms – is considered a man's sport.

Based on all that has been said, one may conclude that Danijela Veselinović presents an interesting combination of a female (biologically and sexually) and a 'male' identity (as a developed, social gender), bearing in mind that, in a basically patriarchal society such as ours, Danijela is an orchestra leader and trumpet player, and both roles have belonged to men. She is an example of overturning this dichotomy and the division between 'male' and

⁵⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t6g4btWbIak>, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DMYMsGu_ZBY, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cI5Li6TLEOg>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D7MaV2ctrZ4> ac. 26 April 2019

⁵⁵ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WwP_AdfNERg ac. 26 April 2019

⁵⁶ Mavis Bayton, op. cit., 202.

⁵⁷ Information taken from my correspondence on Facebook with Danijela Veselinović 19 May 2019.

⁵⁸ Information taken from my correspondence on Facebook with Danijela Veselinović 19.5.2019.

'female' tasks. One can best see this overlapping of identity through the media, which are very different today, in which Danijela and her orchestra play an important role.

Repertoire of the "Danijela" orchestra and the context of performing

The "Danijela" orchestra has made recordings of a wide range of genres, from folk music, pop, rock, rap, Latino and so on.⁵⁹ One may say that this orchestra, probably, would not have been so popular if it had not introduced numbers on its repertoire, which are popular. Danijela herself says that they would never have been so popular if they had only performed a traditional repertoire (melodies of folk songs and dances).⁶⁰

In the very beginning, the orchestra played the original melodies of folk songs and dances, such as *Ajde Jano*, *U livadi pod jasenom*, *Kopa cura vinograd* and the *užičko kolo*, *moravac* and so forth. Danijela believes authentic numbers to be only those which are "of the people who listen to them, meaning songs that the people in villages listen to, for instance *Pogledaj de mala moja*".⁶¹

As time passed, they broadened their repertoire and so, besides Serbian traditional music and art music (which they had to play in music school), they began to play the already mentioned popular genres. She gives an example. At a wedding they were asked to play the world famous song *Despacito*.

They perform this repertoire in 'live arenas', in their case meaning at various joyful events. The orchestra also takes part in shows and competitions. Thanks to the development of technology, 'live arenas' are able to continue their life through 'media arenas', which include television, compact disks, so-

⁵⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OxRLBva8Dks>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OHwxzJPK164>, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w1odew9zH_0, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kwaA36lmfkVo> ac. 26 April 2019

⁶⁰ The trend towards trumpet orchestras, in addition to traditional folk songs and melodies and dances, copies of the popular repertoire and the author is not a new phenomenon, but dates back several decades, it can be said since the establishment of the Dragačevo Trumpet Festival in 1961, but most directly from the moment when trumpet orchestras began to make recordings for gramophone records. It arises from the fact that trumpet orchestras are mainly professionals, i.e. they charge fees for performing at various celebrations, where most people ask for such a repertoire, as well as from the fact that trumpet-playing has 'moved' from villages to cities.

⁶¹ Quote taken from my interview with Danijela Veselinović on 2. December 2017.

cial networks, etc.⁶² According to Verena Molitor and Chiara Pierobon, the media are a very powerful means of presenting different identities.⁶³ They also took part in the “Best Orchestras of Serbia” competition on Radio Television Serbia.⁶⁴ Danijela thinks the competition in Guča was the starting-point for her and her orchestra. They do not endeavour at all costs to win it. Rather, they advertise themselves this way. She has said: “I do not earn a living from Guča, or suchlike. It has only been our starting-point for a further career, where people will hear us, recognize the quality, and call us, and so on”.⁶⁵ They have often been engaged to perform at weddings, various other celebrations, such as birthdays, competitions, at openings of some event, and so on.

One should emphasise the development (in the musical sense) of the “Danijela” Orchestra. When its members were children and had nomusical education, they performed only simple traditional songs and dances from their own region. Traditional folk music, from the pedagogical aspect, does not recognize learning to read notation, as a teaching method. Learning is done by listening and imitating, in which ‘hearing’ is most important. When they started to attend music school, they performed both classical and Serbian traditional music, whereas now they perform the melodies of popular music (which is very important when they play at weddings and other celebrations). These three types of music are very different in style and technique, which Danijela is well aware of, underlining that the laws of ‘classical’ music do not apply in traditional music, while popular music is in between those two opposites. Bayton also discussed these relations, but he was referring to the difference between ‘classical’ and rock music.⁶⁶ Danijela’s ideal is the Serbian trumpet player, Dejan Petrović (1985), who she appreciates as a person and trumpet-player, and she wishes one day to achieve the same success as he has. In the ethnomusical analysis that follows, I shall attempt to establish whether Dejan Petrović is her ideal in terms of his style in performing, or his influence on her is because today he is the most popular trumpet-player in Serbia.

⁶² Dan Lundberg, Malm Krister, Owe Ronström, *Music, media, multicultural: changing music scapes*, Stockholm, Svenskt Visarkiv, 2003.

⁶³ Verena Molitor and Chiara Pierobon, Introduction: Identities in media and music. Case-studies from national, regional and (trans-) local communities, *InterDisciplines*, 1, 2014, 1–13. (https://www.academia.edu/31276832/Identities_in_media_and_music._Case-studies_from_national_regional_and_trans-_local_communities) ac. 26 April 2019

⁶⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6BscSXxGTYo> ac. 26 April 2019

⁶⁵ Quote taken from my interview with Danijela Veselinović 2 December 2017.

⁶⁶ Mavis Bayton, op. cit., 203–204.

and that of Jovica Ajdarević differ in form, orchestration, solistic segments, tonality and articulation. The performance of Jovica Ajdarević's orchestra has a great number of trumpet solistic sequences, and segments where only the drum is playing, as well as parts consisting of different combinations of instrumental groups. In contrast, Danijela's orchestra is a little reduced in terms of the afore said aspects. Danijela's solistic improvisations have a touch of the jazz style, which is not surprising, considering her preferences for this type of music, dating from her student days in Novi Sad. In terms of articulation, Danijela and her group's performance is a little sharper, with the tongue placed between the consonant T and D, which can be considered as an adaptation of the trumpet performing style of south-eastern Serbia and western Serbia. In comparison, the performance of Ajdarević's trumpet orchestra (which is characteristic of south-eastern Serbia) plays with a softer and more flowing consonant D. As for ornaments, both performances of this *choček* are very rich. Nevertheless, the performance of the Roma's orchestra, as one expects, is just a little richer, more exact, more frequently ornamented in various ways (more appoggiaturas and post appoggiaturas, mordents and upper-mordents, turns).

The third number⁶⁹ is very similar to the previous one, regarding formal characteristics, although one associates its name with Vlach music. The performance of Danijela's orchestra, is sharper in articulation, more non legato and brisk, and is done with the tongue between the consonant T and D, which has already been explained in the previous example. On the other hand, the performance of Sejdić's orchestra is slightly softer, due to the legato articulation, as well as the rich ornaments carried out on the consonant D. From the viewpoint of orchestration, this composition is performed in a very complicated manner (especially in the performance of Sejdić's ensemble) because it consists very little of tutti segments, and mostly of differently arranged combinations of the instrumental groups. One can very often hear solistic parts of the first trumpet (and from time to time the third trumpet in Danijela's orchestra), with the section of harmonic-rhythmic instruments, the solo tenor trumpet, or, even solistic section of the drum. The section of drum and also bass trumpet is very prominent in the performance of Sejdić's orchestra, which is not the case in Danijela's. The performance of Danijela's orchestra is 'poorer' in terms of ornaments, compared to Sejdić's orchestra

⁶⁹ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1UIVFQMJIg>, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EK2Jl-yYWlc> ac. 4 May 2019

and she mostly uses ornaments which are characteristic of trumpet playing in western Serbia (predominantly one-way appoggiaturas). In the harmonic sense, one can register a sound of jazz, but this time predominantly in the sections of instruments that convey the harmonic accompaniment (tenors and bass trumpet) considering that, as previously mentioned all the members have a musical education. This sound in the comparative performances of this number does not exist.

Elements of analysis	“Danijela” Orchestra / Dejan Petrović Orchestra	“Danijela” Orchestra / Jovica Ajdarević Orchestra	“Danijela” Orchestra / Fejat Sejdić Orchestra
Analyzed numbers	Dance <i>kolubarski vez</i>	<i>Pobednički čoček</i>	<i>Vlaški merak</i>
Form	A P (transition) A ₍₁₎ P / A P A ₁ P A ₁ P	A P I (improvisation) A ₁ Coda / U (introduction) A P ₁ I P ₂ A ₁ Coda	U (shift the first and second trumpet with the harmonic accompaniment) A I (periodically reporting the second trumpet) B C Coda / U A B A ₁ B ₁ A ₁ Coda
Orchestration	tutti – instr. comb. – tutti – tutti – instr. comb. – tutti / tutti – instr. comb. – tutti – tutti- instr. comb. – tutti – tutti – instr. comb. – tutti	tutti – instr. comb. – solo the first trumpet with harm. – rhytm. accomp – tutti – tutti / instr. comb. – trumpet improv. – tutti – solo the first trumpet with harm. – rhytm. accomp. – instr. comb. – tutti – tutti	instr. comb. – without the first trumpet – tutti – solo (periodically reporting the second trumpet in third) – instr. comb. – tutti – tutti / instr. comb. – tutti – the first and the second trumpet – solo the first trumpet with harm. – rhytm. accomp.

Melodic-rhythmic characteristic	Interpretations are melodically similar, the rhythm in sections of tambour and drum is ta-ta-ta	The common parts are similar, while in solo and instrum. comb. the sections are different	Interpretations are melodically and rhythmically similar
Articulation	Dominant non legato and staccato with accents on beat / non legato and legato	Non legato and legato on consonant between T and D / dominant legato on consonant D	Sharper non legato and staccato dominant on consonant between T and D / legato on consonant D dominant
Ornamentation	Not particularly rich ornaments, sometimes the transitions occurring single upper mordents / appoggiaturas and upper mordents	Upper mordents, multi-appoggiaturas and post-appoggiaturas dominant / upper mordents, multi-appoggiaturas, mordents and gruppetos	Appoggiaturas and mordents/ single and double upper mordents, mordents, single and multi-appoggiaturas

Bearing in mind all the above mentioned, we can conclude that the “Danijela” trumpet orchestra belongs to the type of mixed gender orchestras, in which a woman is the leader in a male environment.

Today this orchestra mainly plays musical arrangements of popular music, from folk to pop and rock, jazz, Latino, actually whatever the audience requires. Reading the analysis we can conclude that Danijela and her orchestra do not try to copy the already existing interpretation, but they do their best to give their music a personal touch in different musical segments, either formally or in the arrangements. Danijela, herself says that there is no essential difference between a male or female trumpet orchestra. Everything, actually, depends on the personal impact. This personal impact is due to the musical education which helped Danijela’s orchestra, especially in harmony and articulation to add its style to the already existing interpretation. In that connection one cannot speak about symbolically creating a gender stamp.

As for the performance of numbers that stylistically belong to the repertoire of trumpet orchestras in southeastern Serbia, one should note, especially from the aspect of articulation and ornaments, the adaptation to the stylistic features of trumpet music in western Serbia, which, generally, is the same for all trumpet orchestras in western Serbia that play the repertoire of other trumpet centres, especially in southeastern Serbia.

Danijela's ensemble appears in the most diverse kinds of media, promoting not only this orchestra, but also the idea of women being leaders, and the fact that women (in this case a young girl) can play an instrument which, until recently, was considered only to be for men. Moreover, that fact could be considered the reason for this orchestra having such tremendous media attention, otherwise this orchestra, without Danijela's leadership, would be only one more orchestra from western Serbia, no different from others. As it has already been said, Danijela has broken the dichotomy of the male/female system, and the fact that she does something considered to be only for 'men', does not in any way diminish the value of her work, nor the quality of the music she plays with her orchestra. Telenor's advertisement, especially underlines that Danijela "is the first female leader of a trumpet orchestra to have taken part in the competition in Guča". In this advertisement, she is positioned among men and, while playing with them she occupies centre-stage. This social network spot is very important both for Danijela and her ensemble, for her personal promotion and that of her orchestra. If people do not know Danijela's music, they recognize her "as that blond girl from Telenor's advertisement".⁷⁰ The question arises as to why Telenor decided to do such an advertisement with Danijela. Actually, why do Telenor's marketing representatives consider Danijela to be one of the 'young heroes' of today – as an ideal for young people? Danijela thinks she was chosen because she is the best at her work (or one of the best among female performers), which is highlighted in the advertisement and represents an ideal for all girls in Serbia, conveying to them in a symbolic way (due to the fact that she is very popular today because of what she does), not to be scared to break through the prejudices in any sphere of life, and, if they want to do something (especially work considered by society to be for men), not to give up.

In my opinion, the very comprehensive, concluding observation about Danijela as a trumpet leader, given by the American visiting professor of jazz, Antonio Underwood, is interesting. He said:

She (Danijela) is a traditional trumpet player under the influence of Gracie Cole. It was easier for her to adapt to jazz because she possesses understanding for improvisation. And, as for her capabilities, they are very rare. However I do not

⁷⁰ Interestingly, Telenor often recorded commercials entitled "Young Heroes" with girls from the world of music and sport, who are the best in what they do. Thus, the young female flute player, Neda Nikolić, recorded a commercial for the same telecommunications network.

see Danijela only as a trumpet player, I see that she has an extraordinary talent that reaches beyond any kind of gender qualification. I see her as an exceptionally lovely, lively musician, who has spent her life in the tradition of her people, and who is now transforming herself and progressing even more, in a more eclectic manner than before.⁷¹

Through the ethnomusicological analysis, it has emerged that Professor Underwood was right in describing Danijela in such a way.

Finally, we can conclude that in Serbia today, there is no explicit label in terms of gender, a distinction between ‘male’ or ‘female’, regarding musical instruments, as there used to be before when men had priority. Of course, prejudices still exist, but they are not so important anymore and are easily overcome, especially if female performers, (no matter what instrument is concerned, receive highly appreciative comments from the public, for their work.

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Summary

Trumpet orchestra “Danijela” belongs to the type of mixed gender orchestra, in which the women is the leader in men surroundings.

This orchestra today mainly plays musical arrangements of the popular music, from folk to pop and rock, jazz and Latin. Danijela and her orchestra do not try to copy already existing interpretation, but they are doing their best to give to their music their personal touch in different musical securements, whether formally or in arrangements. Danijela, herself says that there are not essential difference between male and female trumpet orchestra, all, actually, depends on the personal impact. This personal impact is due to the musical education which helped Danijela’s orchestra to, especially in harmony and articulation add its style to already existing interpretation.

Regarding the performing of tracks which belong, by its style, to the repertoire of southeast Serbia, it is notable, especially in the aspect of articulation and ornaments marching to the style definitions of the trumpet music in west Serbia, which is general equal for all trumpet orchestras in west Serbia, which play the repertoire of the other trumpet places especially southeast Serbia.

This ensemble takes part in most different kind of media, which promotes, not only this orchestra, but also the idea of women's leadership, and the fact, also that the women (in this case a young girl) can play the instrument which up to recently, was considered to be only for men.

At the very end, we may conclude that today in Serbia there is no more radical difference in gender regarding musical instruments, the epithet 'male' or 'female' is not explicit any more, as it was before when men had priority. Of course, the prejudices still exist, but they are not any more so important and they are easily overcome, especially if performers get good critics from the audience for their work, no matter what instrument is in question.

