

University of California, Berkeley

Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies

Fall 2004 Volume 21, Number 3

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Newsletter of the Institute of Slavic, East European, & Eurasian Studies

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Please send suggestions, corrections, or inquiries to the *Newsletter* editors at the address above. We welcome your comments and suggestions.

Notes from the Director

To begin these Notes, the first of many more, I would like to thank my predecessor, Vicki Bonnell, for her ten years of service to the Institute. Looking over the past ten years of annual reports, one can easily see that she brought new life and energy to ISEEES. I am pleased to write that she will stay on as chair of the Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies and will participate in its endeavors to strengthen the research and graduate training component of ISEEES.

Perhaps one of the major challenges to this new directorship will be fundraising. Last fall, the newsletter reported on the state-wide budgetary crisis. It mentioned the permanent cuts that ISEEES had to absorb, effectively amounting to one-fifth of its state funding. Unfortunately, for this current academic year, we have been cut again. Permanent cuts like these require action. We will be launching a major campaign by mail to rejuvenate the Associates of the Slavic Center and ask all our newsletter readers to help us weather this financial storm. We have received a generous bequest from one of our long-time and well-loved donors. We would like to match it in order to set up an endowment fund strong enough to cover graduate student travel and research grants for many years to come. The cut in state funds has effectively destroyed our ability to fund these students. You know their work because they write in our newsletter. The placement of our graduate students is notable. The majority of them go on to university teaching positions. Over the past five years, our students have accepted tenure-track positions at a wide range of universities such as Arizona, Bowdoin, Colorado, Columbia, Hamilton, Maryland, Nebraska, Princeton, Reed, Syracuse, and Yale. Some of you reading this newsletter may be alumni and thus know the importance of the travel grants to securing a position, meeting people in the field, presenting papers, organizing panels and sessions at national and international meetings.

As many of you know, International and Area Studies has a new dean, professor of sociology John Lie. We at ISEEES look forward to working with him on several initiatives, including a major effort to increase the number of inter-area collaborations. Among other things, we expect to work closely with the Institute of European Studies to launch a comprehensive program on the expansion of the European Union. In addition, we will assess how the global war on terror can affect comparative area studies research and what we can do about it.

While these discussions are taking place in our seminar room, we shall also maintain an active program for the public. The fall semester gets under way this year with our annual fall reception on Wednesday, September 29th, at 4 p.m. in the Alumni House. On Friday, November 5, ISEEES together with Cal Performances and the Department of Music will present a *Celebration of Ballet in Russian History Culture*. The panel discussion

will take place in Hertz Hall at 2 p.m. and coincides with the visit and performances of the Bolshoi Ballet in Zellerbach. A program is printed in the newsletter. Complementing this program is another panel discussion on Friday, April 8th, 2005, *Celebration of Classical Music in Russian History and Culture*. Again, please check the program in this newsletter. The second panel coincides with the Cal Performances presentation of the Kirov Orchestra and with a two-day conference (April 9–10) entitled *Glinka and His Legacies*.

The Berkeley-Stanford Conference will be held at Berkeley in 2005. Please note the date is March 4. The Annual Teacher Outreach Conference will be held on Saturday, April 23, 2005, in the Alumni House.

Once again, ISEEES will benefit from the presence of a group of visiting scholars, including four that are participants in the Junior Faculty Development Program administered by the American Councils for International Education (funded by the US Department of State). Milos Besic has a degree in sociology from the University of Nis. He a lecturer at the College for Industrial Management in Krusevac, Serbia, and does independent consultant work in Serbia and Montenegro. He will conduct research at Berkeley on sociological methods and theory as well as the sociology of gender. Tatjana Grujic has a degree in English language and literature from the University of Belgrade. She teaches English language at the University of Kragujevac, Serbia. Her research at Berkeley will focus on American studies. Ivana Jelic has a law degree from the University of Belgrade. She has been teaching at the University of Montenegro in Podgorica, Montenegro. Her research will deal with international law and human rights. Elena Minina has a Master's in sociolinguistics from the European University of St. Petersburg. She teaches in the

Department of General Linguistics at St. Petersburg State University. She will be conducting research on contemporary sociolinguistics. Tatiana Lupacheva will be a Carnegie Research Fellow (administered by the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research) at the Institute for five months, beginning in September. She will research the linguistic and cultural representation of bilingualism in Chinese-American fiction. A Fulbright scholar from Podgorica, Dr. Slavica Perovic, will be affiliated with the Department of Linguistics for four months, also beginning in September.

We were all saddened by the death of Czeslaw Milosz on August 14 in his beloved Krakow. He had been one of our core affiliated faculty since he first came to Berkeley and participated in several events while he taught here and after his formal retirement. Czeslaw is to be buried in the Poets Corner of the Krakow Cemetery and Professors David Frick (Slavic languages and literatures) and Robert Hass (English) are attending as representatives of the campus community.

I am looking forward to meeting members of the Associates and hope you will attend as many of our events as you can. Let me close these Notes by saying that I see great years ahead for ISEEES and its programs. Together with the staff, faculty and students, we will face the challenges and enjoy the rewards.

Yuri Slezkine Director of ISEEES Professor of history

Please join us on September 29th for our

Annual Fall Reception

at 4 p.m. in the Alumni House.

For more details, please contact ISEEES at (510) 642-3230.



Approaching War Trauma: Russian Psychiatrists Look at Battlefield Breakdown During World War I

Jacqueline Friedlander

Jacqueline Friedlander is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of History. The following is an excerpt from her dissertation, "Psychiatry and Crisis: The History of Psychological Trauma in Russia, 1880–1925." It comes from a preliminary version of a chapter on World War One and mental illness in Russia.

From the early months of the First World War onward, a Russian mother, father, wife, fiancée, sister, or brother anxiously scanning the newspaper for the latest news from the front lines could search the columns listing the names of men killed, wounded, taken prisoner, or contused (kontuzhennye).¹ The fact that the names of contused soldiers were listed in the newspapers along with the others suggested that the condition was considered grave-and important enough to include among the other fates that could befall a soldier or officer. The fact that the contused were listed separately also indicates that this condition was considered different from other injuries in some fundamental way. During World War I, "contusion" (kontuziia) took on meanings and connotations that had something in common with the meanings attached to the British term "shell shock."² The most limited meaning of "contusion" is a bruise, but (like "shell shock") "contusion" took on a life of its own in public discourse and in medical debates. In public discourse it stood in for a condition that Russian doctors spent the entire war trying to pin down-as did nerve specialists in Europe and North America.

One of the basic questions in the history of psychological trauma has been about cause (that is, etiology). Today, after a century of war and genocide, it may seem intuitively obvious that there is a causal relationship between an overwhelming experience and mental illness, but at the turn of the twentieth century, the nature of this relationship was controversial. In the nineteenth century victims of train crashes and industrial accidents walked away from the scene of the accident apparently unharmed, only to turn up days, weeks, or even months later in the doctor's office with complaints ranging from back problems to anxiety and depression. Doctors debated about whether their afflictions were the result of undetectable molecular changes caused by such things as the force of a train collision or a consequence of the emotions around the accident. Until August 1914, for mental medicine specialists in most European countries these debates revolved around individuals rather than large patient populations.

In Russia, two major crises in the early twentieth century raised key questions about normal human re-

sponses to overwhelming stress. Indeed, Russian psychiatrists were the first to develop the notion of a psychiatric casualty during the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese war. American psychiatrist, Captain Robert Richards, commented that Russian experts had created a system through which "for the first time in the history of the world mental diseases were separately cared for by specialists from the firing line back to the home country."³ Almost simultaneously the countrywide chaos and violence of the 1905 revolution created its own psychiatric casualties. From 1904 until the eve of WWI, Russian psychiatrists argued about whether fear and anxiety could ignite mental illness in healthy people.

Like their colleagues in the other belligerent countries, Russian psychiatrists and neurologists struggled to understand why so many soldiers were breaking down mentally on the battlefield. In Russia, the Russo-Japanese war set in motion medical debates about whether battlefield breakdown was an organic or a psychological affliction, what the most effective treatments were, and whether its incidence could be reduced. World War I, however, seemed to be a very different war because of the number of men mobilized, the vastness of a front stretching from Poland to the Caucasus, the new methods of fighting, and the collapse of the traditional separation of home front and front lines. The questions that the 1904-1905 war had raised remained, but the answers-tentative at best, as most specialists freely acknowledged-had been erased. As the first psychiatric casualties streamed into the psychiatric collecting points or other medical stations on the front lines and were evacuated to the psychiatric distribution hospitals in the Petrograd, Kharkov, and Moscow, specialists began to observe a singular set of symptoms. Taken together, these symptoms added up to a clinical picture that many Russian specialists linked to contusion.

The symptoms and disease course were very similar to what British doctors initially called "shell shock."⁴ Medically speaking, contusion, like shell shock, was a rather vague concept. Even in Britain, shell shock was not the only medical term in use for a confusing illness. The French, British, American, Italian, and Russian wartime medical literatures are replete with diagnostic terms for the same set of symptoms.⁵ Contusion figures in this paper because the term was so prominent in the wartime Russian medical literature. The focus of my discussion, however, is not so much on contusion *per se* as on specialists' efforts to find answers for the questions behind the term. In this paper, I will examine two of the three main Russian lines of argument about whether the condition was organic or psychological. The case of an unnamed patient illustrates typical features of the condition. Dr. Ianovskii presented his unnamed patient in December 1914 at one of the meetings the psychiatrists on the staffs of the All-Mourners' (*Bol'nitsa vsekh skorbiashchikh*) and Novoznamenskaia hospitals regularly held to discuss their cases.

Dr. Ianovskii's Patient

By his own account, in October 1914, an officer on the Northwestern Front found himself in the path of a piece of shrapnel that flew over his head at a height of about 35 centimeters.⁶ He suffered a contusion of the head as a result. This contusion was accompanied by the sensation of a strong wind which tore off his cap and seemed to "tear off his head along with it." He fell forward, tearing up his hands on a nearby fence. Although his consciousness was somewhat cloudy as he fell, nonetheless, he remembered that just when he was falling, a shell burst in very close proximity to him, splintering the nearby wooden fence. He was unable to stand up since the shell burst had shaken him, and his consciousness was not entirely clear, so he began to crawl forward. His vision was cloudy, and he did not have a clear idea of where he was going, but he continued to crawl forward, for what seemed like three hundred paces, until he reached a bridge. After drinking some water from a ditch, he rested for about twenty minutes, got up, and walked in the direction of his regiment.

He was on the march until the sixth of November when he found himself in a state of extreme nervous tension. He was unable to sleep, suffered from contractions in his neck and face, and had developed a mild stutter. He was evacuated to Petrograd and sent to the All-Mourners' Hospital where a section of the hospital had been set aside for the army's mental casualties. The examining physician, Dr. V. V. Ianovskii, diagnosed his case as traumatic neurosis. He described his patient as a generally healthy, thirty-twoyear-old man who walked with a marked limp on the left leg. He was a career officer with no negative heredity, athletic (in addition to his military duties he taught gymnastics in a high school), and of a cheerful, energetic disposition. He complained of severe pain in his left hip joint and did not have complete freedom of movement of his lower extremities on the left side. Although he did not find any physical lesions, Dr. Ianovskii noted the frequent, acute, rhythmic, spasmodic contractions of the patient's

facial muscles, which seemed to take place in wave-like motions moving from the left to the right side of the patient's face. The spasms increased in frequency when the patient was upset and decreased when he was calm.

At the onset of the convulsive contractions, the patient had obtrusive aural sensations of hearing the sounds of a flying shell. As soon as he heard those sounds, he "instinctively" ducked his head. The patient told Dr. Ianovskii that this scenario was sometimes repeated over and over, every twenty minutes. In addition, the patient was suffering from extreme nervous excitability. A sudden knock or any repetitive, loud, machine-generated sound that resembled in any way the sound of a flying shell evoked an intense nervous reaction. His anxiety was so great that he was unable to remain in the consulting room while other patients were being treated with the noisy electrical apparatus, and he found the sight of a fellow patient's spastic twitching so unbearable that he had to leave the room.

By early December, Dr. Ianovskii found that his patient had "educated his will" to the point where he was able to remain in the same room with the twitching patient. His convulsive fits had diminished in frequency and intensity. The sensation of hearing a flying shell with the attendant head-ducking had disappeared although he still suffered from insomnia. Although he was "proceeding from a conviction of the psychogenic nature" of the patient's traumatic neurosis, Ianovskii decided to treat the patient's physical symptoms with the application of electricity and warm baths. For the psychological symptoms he prescribed a psychotherapeutic treatment designed to re-educate the patient's will. In this case the treatment consisted of exercises the patient performed in front of a mirror.⁷

Ianovskii's case is interesting for several reasons. His main concerns were to describe the course of the disease and to direct his listeners' attention to the facial spasms (the "torticollis spastica" of the title of his talk). He included his choice of diagnosis and treatment to round out the talk, but presenting an etiological argument was not the purpose of his presentation. Some of the features of this case are typical of most mental casualties but could be interpreted from several different etiological vantage points. Specialists of all etiologists chronicled the same basic series of events: an originary incident, usually involving a shell explosion followed immediately by a "clouding over" of consciousness or deafening (*oglushenie*), which in turn was succeeded by the appearance of physical symptoms and, in some accounts, psychological symptoms.

It is also possible to read between the lines to see how Ianovskii interpreted the case. He believed the patient was suffering from traumatic neurosis. By the turn of the century this diagnostic entity had become an unwieldy edifice of symptoms and etiological uncertainty. Some specialists used it as a primarily organic diagnosis, but

Campus Visitors

Ema Antl is a visiting lecturer with the Slavic department this year. She will be teaching second-year Czech.

Milos Besic, a lecturer at the College for Industrial Management, Krusevac, Serbia, comes to ISEEES this year through the Junior Faculty Development Program, which is administered by the American Councils for International Education (funded by the US Department of State). He will conduct research on sociological methods and theory as well as the sociology of gender.

Nigora Bozorova is working with Professor Johanna Nichols on Uzbek language instruction in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures. She is a Ph.D. candidate in linguistics at Tashkent State University who has taught Uzbek in her home country.

Dorena Caroli is visiting the Boalt Hall School of Law this semester to finish a book about the history of the social security system under Stalinism and to begin a new project on the history of Roman law in Russia. She earned her Ph.D. in Russian history from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris.

Vakhtang Chikovani is teaching Georgian in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year. He holds a Ph.D. in Cultural Anthropology from the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Yerevan, Academy of Sciences of Armenia.

Tatjana Grujic, a lecturer in English language at the University of Kragujevac, Serbia, is also visiting Berkeley this year through the Junior Faculty Development Program. Her research focuses on American studies, which would form a component of English cultural studies at her home university.

Ivana Jelic, a teaching assistant in the Department of International Public Law and Human Rights, Law Faculty of the University of Montenegro, is also sponsored this year through the Junior Faculty Development Program. Her research will deal with international law and human rights.

Brian Kassof is a visiting professor with the Department of History this academic year, where he will teach courses in Russian history. Brian received his Ph.D. from the Berkeley in 2000.

Alma Kunanbaeva will be returning to Berkeley in the spring to teach a course on examining culture through language with particular emphasis on Kazakhstan.

Mirja Lecke, Westfalische Wilhelms-Universitat in Munster, Germany, is visiting the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year on a Humboldt Foundation grant. Her research will focus on the representation of the western part of the Russian Empire in 19th-century Russian literature.

Tatiana Lupacheva will be visiting campus this fall through the Carnegie Research Fellowship Program, administered by the National Council for Eurasian and East European Research. An instructor in the Institute of Foreign Languages at Far Eastern National University in Vladivostok, Russia, she will research the linguistic and cultural representation of bilingualism in Chinese-American fiction.

Elena Minina, an instructor in the Department of General Linguistics at St. Petersburg State University, is visiting Berkeley this year through the Junior Faculty Development Program. She will be conducting research on contemporary sociolinguistics.

Riccardo Nicolosi, from the Slavic department at Universitat Konstanz in Germany, will be visiting the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures for the spring semester. His research project is "The Topic of Degeneration in Russian Realism."

A Fulbright scholar from Podgorica, Montenegro, **Slavica Perovic**, will be affiliated with the Department of Linguistics during the fall semester.

Hasmig Seropian is a visiting lecturer in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year, where she will be teaching Modern Armenian language in the department's Eurasian studies program. She has a Ph.D. in linguistics from UC Berkeley.

Elena Shulman is a visiting professor with the Department of History this year, teaching courses in Russian history.

Robert Wessling is a visiting lecturer with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures this year. He received his Ph.D. from Berkeley in 1998.

Izaly Zemtsovsky is a visiting scholar at Berkeley this year, based at ISEEES. He is an ethnomusicologist and folklorist who specializes in the cultures of Eurasia.

Fall 2004 Courses

Selected faculty course offerings and selected area-related courses

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Language Courses: The Slavic department also offers language courses in Armenian, Bulgarian, Czech, Georgian, Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Serbian/Croatian, and Uzbek.

Arranging the Nation in Slovenian Musical Practices

Maria K. Arko Klemenc

Maria K. Arko Klemenc completed her Ph.D. in ethnomusicology from the Department of Music in May 2004. Below is an excerpt from her dissertation, "Arranging the Nation: Slovenian Choral Singing and Folk Song Arrangements."

The hike takes less than an hour, but the views are picturesque from bottom to top, and the journey also reveals much about the local people and history. The well-worn trail up St. Lawrence [Sveti Lovrenc] hill above the town of Polhov Gradec, some 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) west of Ljubljana, begins just outside the town's center, behind a family-operated apiary and near a Roman fountain and medieval manor. Winding through a thick forest of beech, birch, and pine trees, its floor covered with huge, leafy ferns and ancient tree roots, the trail leads to the tiny, centuries-old Church of St. Lawrence and its neighboring pub. It's the perfect Sunday afternoon outing, with entire families leisurely making the trek despite the steep and slippery trail, some carrying baskets and heading off-trail to scour the forest for wildflowers, mushrooms, or berries. The top offers spectacular views stretching to Ljubljana or even the Julian Alps on a clear day, tables for picnicking and sipping a cup of fruit tea with rum from the small pub, and an old bell by the church for children to ring each time they pass by.

As I ascended St. Lawrence hill on a warm, sunny June Sunday, I expected all of these sights and sounds. But once at the top, slightly out of breath and with mud caked on my hiking shoes, I was treated to an extraordinary surprise: a choral concert. Several choirs were performing on top of this remote mount as part of a *zborovsko srecanje*—a gathering of local amateur choirs.

The setting rustic and informal, choir after choir took to the small, makeshift stage on the pub's patio to sing a few pieces—predominantly arrangements of folk songs very familiar to the audience of hikers and occasional cyclists or motorists (who rode up the back way). The choir members were dressed in matching t-shirts and blue jeans, while the crowd of listeners stood around them, leaned against the church walls, sat on the grass, ate picnic lunches or sausages and confections purchased from the hilltop pub. Some had climbed the hill just for this event. Others, surprised as I was to hear the singing at the top, listened casually as they rested before the knee-pounding descent back to town.

None of the choirs was particularly skilled or exceptional, but the entire situation—the bucolic mountaintop setting, the large number of participating choirs and listeners, and their unforgettable repertoire of Slovenian folk song arrangements—caught my eyes, and ears, and immediately piqued my ethnomusicological sensibilities.

The scene on the top of St. Lawrence hill conjures up many images of Slovenia, a tiny Slavic nation at the crossroads of Europe. Overflowing with natural beauties and diverse landscapes, from verdant Alpine valleys, lakes and peaks to Mediterranean vineyards and coastal towns, Slovenia—a country of only 2 million people—has been marketed in recent times as "Europe in miniature."¹ Its long and varied history can be gleaned from architectural and cultural relics dotting the view: Roman ruins, medieval Italian and German castles, stately Habsburg-era constructions, and over 2,600 Catholic churches, many marking the tops of the equally numerous hills and mountains. The people, distinguished by their somewhat archaic Slavic language,² come across as nature-loving, hospitable, and hard-working.3 From my experiences on St. Lawrence hill and elsewhere, I would add that they also love their song.

These pastoral images of Slovenia, the "miniature Europe," almost camouflage the fact that the Slovenian people have had a long history of negotiating a rather ambiguous identity. The lands occupied by ethnic



The town of Polhov Gradec and St. Lawrence hill

Slovenians have been continuously exposed to various cultural and political influences. Subject to over a millennium of foreign domination and decades of Communist rule, Slovenia became an independent nation-state only in 1991. On the cusp of integration with the European Union, Slovenians—often misconstrued in maps and media as part of the Balkans⁴—continue to reconcile their Slavic roots with their Central European cultural sphere. As a result of such history and geography, Slovenian culture today is marked by much regionalism in customs, dialects, and music. Yet in spite of this regionalism, in this new nation there is a sense of national identity, as well as a sense of "Slovenian-ness" in music across regions. While today many types of music are popularly recognized as "folk" or "national"—from commercialized, Alpine-style dance music ensembles to folk revival groups that perform on historically reconstructed instruments—I contend that choral singing of folk song arrangements particularly marks Slovenian national music. My research and field experiences have underscored the validity of the common



Choral gathering on top of St. Lawrence hill, June 1997

saying, "*Trije Slovenci – pevski zbor*"—"Three Slovenians make a choir." In this small, recently formed nation, there are over 2,500 amateur choirs.⁵ At the heart of these choirs' performed repertoire stand choral arrangements of Slovenian folk songs. I argue that rather than being a result of Communist and post-Communist activities, these two aspects of music—the practice of singing in choirs and the repertoire of folk song arrangements—have long been vital to the creation of a sense of Slovenian identity in everchanging political and cultural circumstances.

The Slovenian Nation and the Question of National Identity

When Slovenia emerged as an independent state in 1991, for the first time since the 7th century, the question of borders and national unity appeared to be almost taken for granted. Although the Republic of Slovenia would take the same shape as the former Yugoslav Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the borders of which had been determined after World War II, the Slovenia that declared its independence from socialist Yugoslavia developed after centuries of foreign domination, political divisions, and dispersal of the Slovenian people. Furthermore, contemporary Slovenia is not a comprehensive entity encompassing all Slovenian peoples and lands. Because of such circumstances, and the historical lack of an autonomous state, Slovenia has been referred to in the past as a nation without a history (Gow and Carmichael 2000: 12; Prunk 1992: 24). Yet even though the political history of the lands encompassing the Slovenian people did not allow the development of a Slovenian identity based on the notion of a Slovenian nation-state, a distinct Slovenian national awareness is historically traceable.

The first records of Slavic peoples settled in the regions in and surrounding the southern Alps date to the 6th century.⁶ A century later, in the 620s, the Slavic state of Karantanija (Carinthia) was formed, and the Slovenian people enjoyed a moment of autonomy. But Karantanija fell to Frankish domination by the mid-8th century, and in the 10th century most lands occupied by the Slovenian people became part of the Holy Roman Empire. By 1282, the Holy Roman Empire had merged into the Habsburg Empire, and this dominion remained until 1918. That year, after a millennium of predominantly Germanic rule, parts of Slovenian lands were joined into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, which was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929, and became part of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia in 1945.

In addition to the legacy of foreign domination, ethnic Slovenian territories have been dispersed among various political jurisdictions. Under the centuries of Habsburg rule, Slovenians were divided among several provinces in spite of the fact that they inhabited ethnically contiguous areas. Ethnic Slovenians occupied the southern parts of Carinthia/Kartner (Koroska) and Styria (Stajerska), as well as parts of Gorizia/Gorz (Goriska). They comprised the majority in areas surrounding Trieste (Trzaska) and were the majority population in the province of Carniola (Kranjska, consisting of the regions Gorenjska, Dolenjska, and Notranjska). Ethnic Slovenians also fell under Venetian (Italian) rule in Benecija (Venetian Slovenia) and parts of Istria. The northeasternmost part of modern Slovenia, Prekmurje, in Pannonia, remained under Hungarian rule, only joining the other Slovenian territories after the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918.

Although distinct Slovenian lands were recognized in the early 20th century, much ethnic Slovenian territory was lost to other states. After the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, much of the western Slovenian lands were granted to Italy, not to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Only parts of these territories were recovered in 1945, and to this day the prominent cities of Trst/Trieste and Gorica/Gorizia, both of which have sizeable Slovenian populations, lie within Italian borders. Based on a 1920 plebiscite, Celovec/Klagenfurt and much of Slovenian Koroska officially became, and remain, part of Austria.

Within the nation's contemporary borders, the country remains geographically and culturally diverse. It maintains eight official regions: Koroska, Gorenjska, Dolenjska, Notranjska, Stajerska, Bela Krajina, Primorska, and Prekmurje. Each is distinguished by local landscapes, agriculture, and ways of life. In addition, German-speaking, Italian, Hungarian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Romani minorities live within Slovenia.

Such continual division of the Slovenian people has had powerful effects on the development of Slovenian national identity. Not only did Slovenians have no nationstate of their own until 1991, they were not unified under one political entity and did not collectively refer to themselves as Slovenci-Slovenians, "people of the word"—until the early 19th century.⁷ Such divisions hindered the unification of culture and language, allowing for regional differences based on more than matters of geography. For example, seven "official" dialects persist to this day, with dozens more spoken. The extreme differences in language dialects are reflected in common sayings, such as "Vsaka vas ima svoj glas"—"Each village has its own voice," and the adage that a Prekmurec (a Slovenian from Prekmurje, Pannonian region under Hungarian influence) and a Primorec (from the littoral region, which experienced both Italian and Austrian influences) could be speaking the same Slovenian language, though neither would understand a word of what the other was saying.

With this dispersal of Slovenian-speaking peoples, the subsequent development of regional dialects and culture, and the various foreign influences, the notion of Slovenian national identity raises many questions. How could such a scattered people have a unified national consciousness? Moreover, how could there be a "Slovenian music?"

Slovenian Musical Practices, Choral Singing, and the Repertoire of Arrangements

As James Gow and Cathie Carmichael have noted, "the survival of '*Slovenstvo*' [Slovenian-ness] is a remarkable phenomenon" (2000: 9).⁸ In spite of political and cultural circumstances, the Slovenian people have managed to maintain their language as well as a distinct culture. I argue that expressive forms of grassroots Slovenian national culture have contributed greatly to the survival of "Slovenian-ness." In addition to language and aspects of traditional village life, music has been at the heart of it.

On the surface, contemporary Slovenian music is a medley of borrowed and local musical forms. Radio stations and music stores present the likes of Slovenian rap, pop-rock, punk, and even Slovenian covers of American country hits (a remarkably popular genre), while premier concert halls cater to the canonized masterpieces of European art music. Perhaps the great diversity of musical practices and tastes in Slovenia misled Gow and Carmichael, in their chapter on Slovenian culture, to claim that, "of all the arts, music is where Slovenia has least to offer" (2000: 67).⁹ In the midst of the wide variety of musical offerings in Slovenia, certain genres, repertoires, and performance venues unambiguously stand out and are popularly embraced as *nas*—"ours"—that is, "Slovenian."

By far the most commercially prominent "Slovenian" music today, piped incessantly over radio and television waves and often played in department stores, restaurants, and even at ski lifts, is *narodno-zabavna glasba* (NZG), or "folk-entertainment music." Consisting almost exclusively of polkas, waltzes, and marches in the "oom-pah" Alpine style made popular in the 1950s by the Ansambel Bratov Avsenik,¹⁰ it represents a caricature of rural Slovenia. The melodies are simple and sweet, sometimes adaptations of folk songs, and the song lyrics tend to describe the life and land of rural Slovenia. Album covers show idyllic scenes of the Slovenian countryside, farmhouses, or peasant hospitality, with NZG musicians donning costumes characteristic of the Slovenian Alpine regions.

Other types of music popularly distinguished as "Slovenian" and "national" stand in musical opposition to the mass-mediated NZG. Filling the category of Slovenian *etno-glasba*, or "ethnic music," are the comparatively few but increasingly recognized folk revival groups, as well as the occasional live field recordings of folk music issued by the Ethnomusicology Institute of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts.¹¹ Taking a somewhat academic approach, the folk revival groups recreate rural Slovenian music from bygone eras, frequently from Slovenia's geographic and cultural peripheries.

Among the various types of musics expressing Slovenian-ness, I have observed choral singing to be the single-most pervasive practice in terms of lived musical experience. Although not unique to Slovenia, choral singing's status as a predominantly amateur and local cultural practice encompassing a wide portion of the general population distinguishes it from other forms of "Slovenian" music and sets it apart as a particularly meaningful form of Slovenian national expression. Significantly, Slovenian choral singing is not a consumer music, and is not subject to marketing like other "Slovenian" musics. One need only take an evening stroll through Ljubljana, pass a village firefighters' hall, or climb a local mountain to hear choirs in concert or rehearsal, their singing drifting through the streets and emanating from the hilltops. Furthermore, a particular repertoire distinguishes Slovenian choral singing as a national musical expression: arrangements of Slovenian folk songs. The thousands of Slovenian choirs repeatedly and deliberately perform composed arrangements of their folk songs, in an explicit articulation of a Slovenian national consciousness.

The negotiation of a sense of Slovenian identity that takes place through the practice of choral singing and the repertoire of folk song arrangements raises several important theoretical issues. Particularly at stake are understandings of nationalism, conceptions of folk song in constructing a musical nationalism, as well as questions of musical boundaries along the folk-art continuum. Indeed, the processes involved in collecting and arranging folk songs reveal underlying attitudes toward national and cultural perception, as the arrangement of folk music synthesizes political, national, cultural, and musical ideologies.

Theories of Nationalism and the Slovenian Case

With respect to questions of Slovenian identity, a distinct Slovenian national consciousness began emerging as early as the 18th century. Slovenian historians have associated its beginnings with the 1768 publication of Marko Pohlin's Kravnska grammatica (A Carniolan Grammar), which advocated the standardization and the study of the Carniolan (Slovenian) language (Prunk 1992: 22).¹² Such unified Slovenian consciousness was further encouraged at that time by certain political developments. For example, Empress Maria Theresa's 1774 mandate for compulsory elementary education for the entire Habsburg Empire allowed for instruction in the vernacular languages. including Slovenian. The establishment of Napoleon's short-lived Illyrian Provinces (1809-1813), with Ljubljana as the capital, further supported Slovenian language education. Most importantly, it gave Slovenians a degree of autonomy and to a certain extent also recognized South Slavic unity (see Rogel 1977). However, the most significant developments of this Slovenian "national awakening" occurred after the revolutions of 1848, with the first political plan for Zedinjenja Slovenija-Unified Slovenia. Such national sentiments continued to intensify into the 20th century (Rogel 1977; Dolenc 1994; Prunk 1992).

Due to many obstacles and internal conflicts, such political goals would not be realized for over a century. However, Slovenian national movements did not only advocate Slovenian political unity and autonomy, but also the development of a Slovenian literary language and the creation of a sense of unified Slovenian culture. In this manner, the sense of Slovenian cultural unity developed steadily. By and large, it was created, bolstered, and disseminated through print media (grammar books, periodicals, histories, and literature) as well as through the establishment of Slovenian cultural organizations, including musical institutions.

On the surface, this Slovenian national awakening closely resembles paradigms suggested by prominent theories of nationalism. For example, in *Nations and Nationalism* (1983), Ernest Gellner presents an imaginary scenario of the evolution of nationalism, in which the "Ruritanians," the peasant population of the "Empire of Megalomania," gradually began to recognize the similarities of their language dialects and other socio-cultural traits in contrast to the language and status of the aristocracy and ruling class (see 1983: 58–62). Gellner's generic scenario characterizes the dawn of Slovenian national perception, as it surely does other Central and East European nations, albeit superficially. From disjointed lands and dialects, and in the face of assimilation and cultural oppression by On the surface also, the historical formation of this modern Slovenian nation closely follows the process described by Benedict Anderson. In regards to such surges of nationalism, Anderson asserts: "Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search, nor made it more fruitful, than print-capitalism, which made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways" (Anderson 1991: 36). Like many "imagined communities," the Slovenian nation began to take shape not within religious or dynastic realms, but through various cultural movements. These were not only linguistic, but also musical.

Most writings on nationalism acknowledge that there are two primary aspects to the concept of nationalism. One is that it is "primarily a political principle" (Gellner 1983: 1), and the other that it is intricately connected with the expression of a shared culture. Anthony Smith, for example, asserts that nationalism is a form of culture, and that national identity encompasses both cultural and political identity (1991: 91, 99).

However, almost all writings on nationalism consider the cultural influences shaping the sense of nation and nationalism to be imposed from above.13 In this view, forms of "invented" or "imagined" "high" culture filter down to reach the general populace (the nation), the last stratum of society to be affected by sentiments of nationalism (Hobsbawm 1990: 12). Anderson points out that these forms of culture have historically developed within and been targeted at an educated middle class. Thus, the "lexicographers, philologists, grammarians, folklorists, publicists, and composers" who carried out nationalist projects through print-capital and cultural forms marketed their productions for the "consuming publics" (1991: 75). Looking at the point when the mass public receives these national forms of culture, Gellner asserts: "nationalism is, essentially, the general imposition of a high culture on society, where previously low cultures had taken up the lives of the majority, and in some cases the totality, of the population" (Gellner 1983: 57). Although in Nations and Nationalism Since 1780 Hobsbawm identifies the importance of looking at nationalism "from below," that is, from the viewpoint of the masses, he contends that nationalism and its cultural forms are "constructed essentially from above" (1990: 10). Significantly, these theories uphold this trajectory of nationalism even when the imposed national culture is associated with forms of folk culture. As Hobsbawm asserts, in many instances "existing customary practices ... are modified, ritualized and institutionalized for national purposes" (1983: 6).

Close examination of Slovenian national movements and especially analysis of the resultant local cultural practices, such as choral singing of folk song arrangements—reveals many discrepancies between the Slovenian reality and the general consensus of such one-sided, "top down" perceptions of nationalism. For instance, Anderson's assertion that cultural forms of nationalism were targeted at the so-called "reading classes" and their families, and thus "people of some power" (1991: 75), would mean that the vast majority of 19th-century rural Slovenians were excluded. On the contrary, my research shows that, from their inception, Slovenian folk song arrangements were targeted towards the rural, peasant class. With no recent precedent of a historic Slovenian state or monarchy, and a very limited Slovenian nobility or middle class, all forms of Slovenian national culture necessarily developed from, for, and among the rural Slovenian population—the "folk."

I find that a system suggested by Anderson—"missionaries of nationalism" who purveyed concepts of nationalism among the masses—was a particularly effective strategy employed in the Slovenian nation. As Anderson asserts, "How far the urban and rural masses shared in the new vernacularly imagined communities naturally also varied a great deal. Much depended on the relationship between these masses and the missionaries of nationalism" (1991: 79–80). In the Slovenian case, such missionaries—the schoolteachers, church organists, priests, and others who routinely worked among the general population—came directly from the ranks of the rural Slovenian peasantry. This, I contend, resulted in a close relationship between Slovenian nationalism and grassroots perceptions.

Examination of these cultural processes and practices at the local level reveals that they are not at all unidirectional, as many paradigms of nationalism suggest. Several competing theories of nationalism have directly addressed the fact that studies of nationalism generally neglect local and pre-existing cultural practices, and have argued that nationalism develops instead from the interplay of various forces. For example, Partha Chatterjee (1986, 1993) notes that post-colonial nationalism in India stems from both pre-existing culture and the desire to distinguish the post-colonial nation from the culture of the colonizers. He terms these two forces the "spiritual" or internal, and the "material" or outer, nationalism and suggests that the shaping of nationalism involves constant interplay between them. In his study of popular music in Zimbabwe, Thomas Turino (2000) observes the interplay between what he terms the "cosmopolitan" and the "local" in determining the influences on popular music.

Perhaps the most pointed assertion of the multidirectional nature of nationalism is made in anthropologist Michael Herzfeld's study of "cultural intimacy" (1997). In examining certain enacted moments of cultural expression, Herzfeld sharply critiques Anderson's, Gellner's, and all other essentializing, "top-down" approaches to nationalism: An anthropology of nationalisms and nation-states must get inside this ongoing production of static truths. To do so means looking for it among all segments of the population, for all are implicated. The approach is thus neither "top-down" nor "bottom-up": except in a narrowly organizational sense, there is neither a discrete "top" nor a discrete "bottom." (Herzfeld 1997: 10)

As Herzfeld maintains, nationalism is best understood in the relationship between the various strata of society—the interplay between the "top" and the "bottom."

Within the process of creating and performing arrangements of Slovenian folk songs there exists continual and fluid exchange between "imposed" and "grassroots" forms of culture and perceptions of nationalism. While choral arrangements are scored, formalized compositions, their basis is the repertoire of historical, vernacular songs sung by the Slovenian people. Although the staged performance of choral or other vocal ensemble music is also highly stylized, it remains closely linked, in aspects of aesthetics as well as practice, to vernacular group singing practices. Acting as the cultural and national mediators, purveyors of both the practice and repertoire very often came from among the ranks of the common Slovenian people. Through the interplay of these many sensibilities, choral singing and folk song arrangements embody the arrangement of cultural and national perceptions.

Arrangements in between "Folk" and "Art"

The practice of Slovenian choral singing and the repertoire of folk song arrangements musically characterize the relationship between these influential roles of the binary opposition, the so-called "top" and "bottom," that shape nationalism. Representing a certain musical "gray area," folk song arrangements in particular are conceived, constructed, and performed at the intersection of "folk" and "art" music. As a result of this position somewhere in the middle of the folk-art continuum, they challenge classifications and definitions of either end of this continuum.

Because Slovenian choral arrangements fall between the categories of folk and art music as these are conservatively defined, they have been overlooked by local scholarship on both, and this despite their widespread performance. According to Slovenian scholars, folk music is that music which is learned and passed down through oral tradition, most often with unknown origins, performed by formally untrained musicians, and occurring spontaneously as part of people's daily life (Kumer 1970: xiii). This concept of folk music covers certain music made in Slovenia, but it unfortunately disregards other forms of music that are both popular and popularized as "folk," such as choral singing of folk song arrangements and original folk-like compositions, as well as Alpine dance music in folk-style and staged performances of otherwise-accepted folk music. Thus, in the eyes of Slovenian ethnomusicologists, these arrangements are not folk music since composers have tampered with the purity of folk creations, and the songs are not necessarily learned through oral tradition or performed spontaneously.

To Slovenian musicologists, on the other hand, the essence of such music is not the composer's new artistic creation, but rather simply the folk song (Cvetko 1960). Consequently, folk song arrangements fall outside the realm of art music as studied by Slovenian musicologists. In fact, important composers who have arranged folk songs (such as Matej Hubad or Matija Tomc), and whose arrangements are some of the most widely performed choral works in Slovenia today, are consistently excluded even from basic surveys of art music in Slovenia (Klemencic 2001).

Although I assert that the practice of choral singing and the repertoire of Slovenian folk song arrangements represent the interface of many different national and musical sensibilities, they can be considered extensions of village singing practices. As such, they display the greatest affinity to grassroots practices and perceptions. Thus, in order to situate the repertoire of arrangements with respect to musical understandings of nationalism, I think it is most beneficial to examine the history of folk song scholarship-the history of scholarship on the view "from below." In the negotiation of national perception, the arrangement of Slovenian folk songs immediately raises issues concerning the very conception of "folk song." With this, it is imperative to recognize that folk song, often construed in opposition to "art" song, has a longstanding association with nationalism.

Theories of Folk Song and the Slovenian Case

The concept of folk song has been the subject of debate ever since Herder coined the term Volkslied in his collections of songs from 1778. Although discussion of such songs "of the people" began decades earlier, with terms such as Nationallieder, Nationalgesanger, and Gesellschaftslieder in common use already in the 1760s (see Levy 1911: 2–13),¹⁴ Herder's compilation of song texts from many different countries advanced a particular notion of folk song. Significant to Stimmen der Volker in Liedern was Herder's assignation of each song text to a specific nationality. That is, he asserted that the songs were the "voice of the people" and thus expressed the spirit of that entire nation. This concept of folk song-a reflection of a collective spirit most naturally expressed by the peasantry-was intricately tied up with emerging notions of nationalism and became the model for many subsequent studies of folk song.

In spite of Herder's creation and conscious use of the term "folk song," its definition remained ambiguous. While folk song became generally understood as something created by the people that was transmitted orally and broadly distributed, recurring points of contention, particularly in 19th-century German scholarship and collections, included identifying the "folk" and distinguishing between folk song and art song.¹⁵

Amid ambiguous and differing understandings of folk song, however, the most common sentiment throughout the 19th century was that folk song was the pristine expression of the uneducated rural peasants, the simplest musical form that captured the very essence of the land and nation. In this spirit, collections of national songs abounded, some directly following Herder's, such as Vuk Karadzic's first collections of Serbian songs (1814-15), and many others emerging throughout the century.¹⁶ It was also in this spirit that Slovenian folk song collection-and arrangementalso began, gaining particular momentum with Karel Strekelj's compilation in the 1880s. In an attempt to assert a Slovenian nation with a distinct culture in spite of Germanic political dominance, Slovenian folk song collection was deliberately linked to creating a sense of Slovenian nationalism.

Theoretical understandings of folk song that particularly distinguished it from art song came into focus at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. Two especially prominent schools of thought emerged in the 1890s: the Austrian Josef Pommer's Produktionslehre [production theory] and the German John Meier's *Rezeptionstheorie* [reception theory].¹⁷ Although both Pommer and Meier were German nationalists concerned with the German-ness of German folk song, they developed contending theories on its nature, production, and, significantly, its relation to art song. In Vienna, Pommer advocated the idea that folk songs are the creation of the folk, created and recreated by individuals among them. His theory, thus, focused on the production of folk song and emphasized the importance of fieldwork in order to witness its production. Significantly, as part of his Produktionslehre, Pommer advocated the cultivation and awareness [Pflege and Kenntnis] of folk song in culture. For these reasons his school engaged with choral societies and composers in attempts to heighten consciousness and appreciation for the folk culture harbored in the German folk song.

Rather than asserting that folk song originates among the folk themselves, Meier's reception theory contended that all folk songs are originally composed songs, the artistic creations of individuals, which filter down to the folk. His ideas and research pertained mostly to the transmission and consequent reception of the text, not its production or performance among the folk. As a result, Meier's school of thought focused on tracing songs sung by the folk back to composed works.

These two competing theories held sway over Slovenian folk song scholarship and collection. Particularly significant for Slovenian folk song collection and arrangement were the varying understandings of the folk-art song relationship: for *Produktionslehre*, folk poetry [*Volkspoesie*] is primary and art song [*Kunstlied*] is secondary, stemming from the first. The opposite is true for *Rezeptionstheorie*, in which art song is primary and folk poetry as secondary stems from it. For the assertion of a Slovenian national identity through folk songs, however, *Produktionslehre* appears to me to have been more influential than *Rezeptionstheorie* and as such served as a model for Slovenian collectors. Furthermore, with its emphasis on the "cultivation and awareness" of the practice of singing, I suggest that production theory can be linked to the choral arranging of Slovenian folk songs.

Indeed, the direction of Slovenian folk song collection, arrangement, and performance owed everything to the premise that folk song and other artifacts of folk culture are the genuine creations of the Slovenian folk, not merely degenerated forms of "art" (e.g., German) music. This position received further backing from other early 20thcentury folk song scholarship. For example, in his studies of Hungarian folk music, Bela Bartok emphasized the complex historical stratification of the folk music repertoire, but identified "peasant music" as the most fundamental, and maintained that the "original" elements of a nation's folk music could be discerned and analyzed (see Bartok essays, 1976 and 1997). The identification of "original" elements in Slovenian folk song, to be used in arrangement as well as in the development of a Slovenian art music as Bartok had encouraged for Hungarian music, became a prime issue for Slovenian folk song collectors and composers in the early 20th century.

Definitions and conceptions of folk song that developed in the 19th century, based on the dichotomy between "folk" and "art" and inseparable from ideas of nationalism, persisted well into the 20th century in spite of certain challenges. For instance, in the early 20th century, folk music scholarship began to focus on the processes of transmission and change (Sharp 1907; Barry 1933; Wiora 1950) rather than merely valorizing the folk. However, these processes were rooted in understandings of 19thcentury European social structure, reinforcing the notion of "folk" in opposition to "art" or "high" culture. For example, oral transmission, considered one of the most significant characteristics of folk music and the opposite of composed art music, remained tied to the uneducated (i.e., non-literate) rural classes. The purported characteristic of anonymity also remained for the most part entrenched in the idea of a collective folk spirit rather than an individual artistic work. As a result, folk music continued its restricted association with rural musical expression. As mentioned above, folk music scholarship in Slovenia has continued in this vein to the present day (Kumer et al. 1970-1998; Kumer 1975, 1996; Terseglav 1996).

This 19th-century trajectory of folk song scholarship influenced the course of Slovenian folk song scholarship, arrangements, and choral activities, but such persistent and rigid classification of folk song has made little allowance for changes in practice and repertoire that defy these boundaries. In fact, the frequent admonition against change in folk practices by many scholars, as well as their idealization of who the folk are, have made such definitions of folk song difficult to apply to the arranged repertoire.

This negative view of change is a critical flaw in many scholarly understandings of folk music, as Romanian ethnomusicologist Constantin Brailoiu pointed out already in the 1940s.¹⁸ While many have identified versions and variants as characteristic of folk music, there have been frequent claims that precisely such change, and particularly transmission through new media (print, radio, recordings, etc.), leads to the degeneration of folk traditions. Yet, as Brailoiu also concluded, variation and transformation in folk song and its performed practices are perpetual. Such mediated change, I argue, extends to the arrangement of folk song.

The notion of who the "folk" are has come under scrutiny only since the latter half of the 20th century. The parameters of folk music have since then been expanded by certain scholars to include changing forms of musical expression as well as urban contexts. Some challenges to 19th-century concepts of folk music have redefined the "folk" in contemporary urban society. For instance, some have adopted a Marxist approach in recognizing the industrial working class as the modern manifestation of 19th-century peasantry (Lloyd 1967). Others have challenged all fundamental assumptions of "folk music." For example, Ernst Klusen develops the concept of "group" song [Gruppenlied] in his book Volkslied: Fund und Erfindung (1969) and extends it to all strata of society and even all sizes of groups (as small as two people), as well as to various types of musical expression in song (including arrangements).

Emphasizing the multidimensionality of change in both musical and social processes, I adopt the approach to folk music outlined by Philip Bohlman in *The Study of Folk Music in the Modern World* (1988). Because of the continual process of change, as well as the limitations of 19th-century European classifications, Bohlman in fact asserts that folk music evades definition:

In this study I avoid offering a single definition of *folk music*. There are two reasons for this ... First, the different contexts of folk music that I investigate here yield very different definitions. [...] Second, because I regard change as ineluctably bound to folk music tradition, I also assert that the dynamic nature of folk music belies the stasis of definition ... (Bohlman 1988: xviii)

Bohlman maintains that folk music, regardless of competing definitions, is ultimately constructed upon a social basis, creating a sense of community or place with a perceived continuity of tradition. However, this social basis is continually in flux, as are the forms of transmission and the stratification of musical genres. For example, such fluctuation occurs in the interrelations between rural and urban; in oral, written, and other technological forms of transmission; and in the continuous breaking down of folk, art, and popular music categories. In this view, folk music is not bound to any single group of people, mode of transmission, or type or style of music. At its core, however, is a complex interrelation of folk music and community.

Understood in this way, "folk music" can include arrangements and also the practice of choral singing, especially considering the relationship between these musical forms and the expression of a Slovenian national community. I thus expand the notion of "folk"—the community—to the contemporary Slovenian people and argue that they express themselves in a chosen practice and repertoire. Moreover, I propose that the "gray area" of folk song arrangements and choral singing, a musical bridge between understandings of folk and art, offers space for the deliberate negotiation and construction of national identity through music.

Arranging the Slovenian Nation

When taken independently, folk song arrangements and choral singing in Slovenia defy clear-cut categorization, as does Slovenian national identity itself. The musical repertoire and practice straddle classifications of both "folk" and "art," whereas national identity has been obscured by the history and position of the Slovenian nation. However, just as I assert that the repertoire of Slovenian folk song arrangements cannot be divorced from the practice of choral singing, these musical aspects must also be considered in light of creating and negotiating national identities. When examined in relation to each other, they reveal a complex interplay of cultural and national sentiments, the arrangement of music representing the arrangement of the Slovenian nation.

Notes

¹ See, for instance, Neil Wilson and Steve Fallon's Lonely Planet travel guide to Slovenia (2001) or Michael Dougan, "Europe in a Nutshell: Within its Borders, Peaceful Slovenian Offers Diverse Pleasures of the Continent," *San Francisco Chronicle*, August 18, 2002.

² For example, the Slovenian language retains the dual construction which linguists consider an archaism. See Lencek 1982.

³ They are characterized as such, for example, in Lonely Planet's *Slovenia* (2001).



Regions of Slovenia

⁴ Whether or not Slovenia is situated on the Balkan peninsula is a matter of geographical dispute. However, Slovenians generally do not consider themselves "Balkan" culturally.

⁵ Estimate given by Mihela Jagodic, Director of Choral Activities, Republic of Slovenian Public Fund for Cultural Activities (personal communication, 2002).

⁶ Sixth-century documents describe the already-settled inhabitants of these lands as Slavic speaking. However, there is scant evidence of exactly when Slovenians settled these lands or from where they came. In fact, there are conflicting theories about the Slovenian settlement. The most common is that the Slovenians arrived during the "Great Migration" of Slavic peoples via the Carpathians in the 6th century. Another theory suggests that the Slovenians are descendants of the Veneti, possibly proto-Slavs who are known to have occupied the region centuries earlier. See Lencek 1982: 22–23; introduction to Greenberg 2000.

⁷ The linguist Jernej Kopitar was among the first to use this term regularly in print, beginning around 1809 (Prunk 1992: 25; Lencek 1982: 23).

⁸ In Gow and Carmichael, *Slovenia and the Slovenes: A Small State and the New Europe* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2000).

⁹ It is unfortunate that one of the only comprehensive books on the Slovenian people and culture in the English language makes such uninformed remarks concerning Slovenian music. Gow and Carmichael continue their description of Slovenian music by stating that "Traditional Slovenian music blends Alpine accordion, brass and vocal traditions with Balkan tones, and is mostly limited in character and variety. The most distinctive feature is vocal music based on traditional folk song and set for *a cappella* octets ... For the most part the music is built with solid, unadventurous harmony moving in blocks, generally lacking counterpoint, although there may be occasional solo lines or fugal descants" (2000: 68). While I agree that Slovenian vocal music is very distinctive, I certainly question their hearing of "Balkan tones" and sharply criticize their dismissal, and general ignorance, of Slovenian music. The authors clearly have overlooked the national significance of these local musical forms.

¹⁰ The Avsenik ensemble gained international popularity, particularly in Germany, under the name Original Oberkrainer Quintett.

¹¹ The Slovenian folk revival movement has gained momentum since the establishment of Drustvo Folk Slovenija/Folk Slovenia Cultural Society in 1996. The Ethnomusicology Institute, or *Glasbenonarodopisni institut* (GNI), ZRC-SAZU, has conducted field research on Slovenian folk music since 1934 and also houses manuscript and sound archives of field-recorded folk music.

¹² Pohlin recognized that the language of the Carniolan Slavs was distinct from dialects spoken in other provinces, such as the Windisch spoken in Carinthia. These separate dialects form modern Slovenian, which started to be called that in the 19th century.

¹³ These include Gellner 1983; Anderson 1983, revised 1991; Hobsbawm 1983 and 1990.

¹⁴ For example, Bishop Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* first appeared in 1765.

¹⁵ For example, the "folk" were understood by some as only the lowest stratum of society, the most uneducated and base *Naturvolk* (this is the understanding of, e.g., Herder, Arnim, and the brothers Grimm); for others the term meant the largest, most populous class, including farmers, craftsmen, and other tradesmen. In addition, there was no general agreement as to what constituted a folk song; it could mean a song originating among the so-called folk or any song sung by them.

¹⁶ Examples include: E. G. Geijer's Svenska folk-visor fran forntiden [Ancient Swedish Folk Songs] (1814–16); Elias Lonnrot's Finnish epic, Kalevala taikka Wanhoja Karjala Runoja Suomen Kansan muinosista ajoista [Kalevala, or Old Carelian Poems about the Ancient Times of the Finnish People] (1835-36); O. Kolberg's Piesni ludu polskiego [Songs of the Polish Folk] (1857); F. Susil's Moravske narodni pisne s napevy do textu vradenymi [Moravian Folk Songs with Melodies Placed with the Texts] (1860); Magyar nepdalok: egyetemes gyujtemeny [Hungarian Folk Songs: A Universal Collection], compiled by I. Bartalus (1873-95); Franjo Kuhac's Juzno-slovjenske narodne popievke [South Slavic folk songs] (1878–1881); Constantin Nigra's Canti popolari del Piemonte (1888) for Italy; Julien Tiersot's Histoire de la chanson populaire en France (1889).

¹⁷ Pommer postulated his theory in his journal *Das deutsche Volkslied*, first published in 1899. Meier's seminal work was *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde* [Art Songs in the Folk Mouth] (1906).

¹⁸ See his essay, "Musical Folklore" (first published in 1949) in *Problems of Ethnomusicology* (1984).

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Expedition on the Lena River

Oliver Dusan Monson

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Earlier this summer, I spent three weeks in northeastern Siberia as an undergraduate research assistant for scientists studying the chemistry of the Lena River. Our group was part of the larger PARTNERS (Pan-Arctic River Transport of Nutrients, Organic Matter, and Suspended Sediments) project, a five-year collaboration between scientists from the US, Canada, and Russia, focused on the six major arctic rivers. The project is funded by the National Science Foundation's Arctic System Science Program. This research was instigated by the recognition that the Arctic region has a major impact on Earth systems and that any changes in Arctic hydrology and biochemistry would affect the global climate. It is a known fact that since 1930, the amount of river water discharge into the Arctic Ocean has risen 7%, and global warming is generally accepted as the cause. One of the major goals of our expedition was to identify chemical trends occurring in the river Lena as a result of global warming. Research so far has shown that each of those major Arctic rivers has its own unique chemical "fingerprint," and by identifying the Lena's, we can determine how its discharge is affecting and interacting with the Arctic Ocean.

Our team included Chris Guay from the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory, Max Holmes from the Marine Biological Laboratory in Massachusetts, teacher Amy Clapp from Vermont, Russian scientist Alexander Zhulidov from Rostov, two Russian graduate students, and myself.

It took several days, seventeen time zones, and five plane changes to complete the journey to the small town of Zhigansk, arriving in a cloud of dust on the single dirt runway outside of town. Zhigansk is built on the banks of the Lena, just above the Arctic Circle, and even though we arrived at the beginning of its short summer, it was extremely cold. Averaging around 0°C, the weather would be bright and sunny one day and snowing the next. This is a vast sparsely populated permafrost region, inhabited mainly by Yakutians, who are native to the area and relatives of Mongolians and other indigenous cultures of northeastern Asia. Russians are a minority and relative newcomers, with the first settlers arriving in the 18th century. Yakutians in the area of Zhigansk were reindeer herders and fishermen, and reindeer and fish are still the main staple of their diet and, for the two weeks we were there, our diet as well. More recently, diamond mines have become an important part of the local economy and a major source of income.

Our immediate task during this expedition was to carry out sampling on the Lena River. At the time we arrived, most of the river was still frozen over and not navigable, so sampling from the boat had to be postponed. Instead, we began taking samples from the riverbank with a fiberglass pole attached to a Teflon bottle. On some days, weather was so cold that the water on the outside of our sampling bottle froze before we were done processing the samples.

The ice finally broke on May 30th. What was once a clean white sheet of ice spanning the river became thousands of small, white mountains of ice flying down the river at about ten meters per second. During the ten days after the ice broke, the river went from its lowest to its highest level. We took samples every day, anticipating that after their analysis, we would see a difference in chemical content even over this relatively short period of time. The samples we took, using different filters depending on the elements being studied, measured oxygen and hydrogen isotopes, nutrients such as phosphates and nitrates, dissolved organic carbon, and trace metals.

Once the ice cleared, we were able to go out on a boat and take fully integrated river samples spanning the entire



Part of the science team on board with the water sampler

width of the Lena. We followed a standardized procedure designed for the PARTNERS project so samples collected from all of the rivers and results of their analyses could be compared. We converted a small room on the boat into a "wet laboratory" where we could perform initial processing and analysis. Samples were then frozen or refrigerated, packed, and sent back to the laboratory in the United States. From there, samples will be distributed among



The author and Max Holmes collecting a sample from the riverbank

scientists around the world studying specific aspects of the river chemistry. Back in Berkeley, I will continue helping Chris Guay analyze the concentration of the trace metal barium in the Lena, as well as in the other five rivers that are subject of this study.

Even though the fieldwork occupied most of our time, there were many other aspects of this trip and our life in Zhigansk that made my experience memorable and unique.

One of the hardest things to get used to in Siberia was the presence of the sun through the day and night. Since we were so far north, the sun wouldn't set until 1 a.m. and, as the summer went on, stayed up longer and longer. By the end of the trip, the sun wouldn't even touch the horizon. Besides preventing me from getting any sleep, it produced some very beautiful sunsets. Some of my best memories involve strolling out at midnight and looking over the deep blue Lena River contrasted with what seemed like a neverending pink sunset above it.



Local residents were hospitable, kind, and very interested to get to know us. As the only foreigners in a small, isolated village, we were often invited to people's homes for dinner and conversation. Each of those times the dishes were traditional and very tasty, with highlights like marinated reindeer *shashlik* (kabob), dry smoked white fish called omul, and reindeer tongue, served to us by the school principal, who became one of our closest friends. These dinners also gave us an opportunity to see how locals live and observe some of the "old ways" still practiced in the village, like the use of a summer food freezer, created by digging into the frozen, permafrost ground. In our interactions with the local people, we used English most of the time. Our attempts at Russians were received with great amusement, but I was able to make use of my familiarity with the Cyrillic alphabet and Serbian phrases and feel comfortable in an otherwise very foreign environment.

Another important aspect of the expedition work was establishing ties with the local school and involving children in our project. The teacher on our team, Amy Clapp is part of TREC, a student outreach program aimed at connecting students and scientists in the areas where scientific expeditions are conducted. We were often invited to the school auditorium to talk and answer questions about the project and ourselves, since for most students we were the first Americans they ever encountered. Right before we left, the students invited us one final time to the school for a variety of music and dance performances. Not only were



they successful in keeping their traditional songs and dances alive, performing in traditional costumes of reindeer hide and fur, but they also performed songs from other cultures, including Indian, Uzbek, Russian, and American. We also participated in a friendly trivia game with questions on US history, geography, and culture, involving both students and our expedition members. It was surprising to see how much the students knew about our culture, often beating the Americans to the answer. The Siberian students' knowledge and awareness were inspiring. Their understanding of and thirst to learn about other cultures and traditions impressed and amazed all of us.

The entire trip was an incredible learning experience, not only because of the science that took place, but the extraordinary people that I met through it.

A website about our Lena expedition with pictures and journals is available at http://www.arcus.org/TREC/phpbb/ portal_siberia.php, while more information about the PARTNERS project can be found at http://ecosystems.mbl. edu/partners/default.htm.

War trauma, continued from page 4

others believed it was essentially a psychological condition in which an emotional reaction to a physical injury generated both physical and psychological symptoms. Ianovskii did not find any physical lesion that could account for the patient's facial spasms.

For an historian and probably for some members of Ianovskii's audience, the most interesting part of Ianovskii's talk was his comment that he did not find any signs of inherited predisposition. "Predisposition" was the nineteenth-century notion of a weakness somewhere in the brain or nervous system-psychiatrists were vague about precisely where and what it was-that made some people susceptible to nervous illness. A person with a nervous weakness often became ill following an injury, while a mentally healthy person could recover from the same injury without developing traumatic neurosis, traumatic hysteria, or similar conditions. Predisposition could be inherited or acquired through a host of factors ranging from alcoholism to lead poisoning. Faced with the psychiatric victims of the Russo-Japanese war and the 1905 revolution, a few specialists raised the possibility that people free of hereditary nervous weakness and equally unburdened by acquired predispositions might become mentally (or nervously) ill from fear or extreme anxiety. Most specialists rejected this notion, but the circumstances of the First World War put the issue of predisposition back on the table.

Mental Illness, Nervous Illness, and Trauma

Most wartime etiological discussion was a response to the large numbers of psychiatric and nervous casualties. Although a few psychiatrists shared Red Cross official Dr. A. V. Timofeev's confident assertion that the number of mental cases was far lower than initial expectations (the majority angrily refuted this view), by the middle of 1915 it was clear to most specialists that the number of breakdowns was quite large and increasing.⁸ Psychiatrists and neurologists grappled with two closely related questions: Why were so many men breaking down? Why were healthy men with neither tainted heredity nor acquired predispositions afflicted with nervous and mental illnesses?

Because the etiological debate was also a response to the horrors of this war, the issue of psychological trauma, that is, psychogenic illness, was particularly compelling from the start. "Psychogenesis" meant that the psyche, in particular the emotions, played a primary causal role in generating a nervous or mental illness. There was a very close connection between psychogenesis and *functional* illness. Functional nervous illnesses (or neurosis or psychoneurosis) were marked by symptoms indicating the presence of some kind of disruption of function without any discernible lesion. Most doctors believed that the psychoneuroses had an underlying physical cause, but in the words of S. S. Sukhanov, "in these cases psychic anomalies have their origin in congenital and constitutional deviations from the norm in the most delicate structure of the highest central nervous mechanism." Under the right conditions, a neurosis could become exacerbated to the point where it turned into a psychosis.⁹

There was also a close connection between psychogenesis and predisposition. There could either be an inevitable link between psychogenic (functional) illness and predisposition, or possibly psychogenic illness could develop without any predisposition.¹⁰ During the Russo-Japanese war and the 1905 revolution, specialists struggled with the latter possibility. For the most part, they rejected it in favor of causal explanations anchored in predisposition. Nonetheless, the idea of psychic trauma as a primary causal factor would not go away. Prominent Moscow psychiatrist N. N. Bazhenov brought it up yet again in an article comparing the psychiatric casualties of the Russo-Japanese war with psychiatric victims of the 1908 Messina earthquake. Both groups of patients had drastically slowed mental functioning. He compared the patients' primary psycho-physiological responses to animals' physiological condition during hibernation, but he paid scant attention to the role of predisposition. Without developing an argument about psychogenic illness in the absence of predisposition, Bazhenov shifted the emphasis toward such a possibility.¹¹

From the beginning of the war on, specialists in all the belligerent countries began to consider whether psychological trauma alone could make a healthy person sick. For example, at a congress of German neurologists and psychiatrists in Munich in September 1916, the dramatic confrontation between proponents of the psychological hysteria diagnosis and Hermann Oppenheim, who was almost the sole supporter of traumatic neurosis, marked the final victory for psychogenesis and the downfall of the more organic-seeming traumatic neurosis. The winners linked hysteria with predisposition, and for the most part, German specialists rejected the idea of psychogenic illness without predisposition.¹² Nothing like that happened in Russia. There were neither "winner" nor "loser" diagnoses. Most specialists were unwilling to assign all patients who suffered from war-related illness to one or another of the large categories of functional and organic. If anything like a consensus existed, it was that some cases were organic, some were functional, and a third, smaller group were mixed 13

Organic Explanations

The names of most of the diagnostic entities that Russian specialists used suggest something about the ambiguous or contested nature of the condition. One can't help but note the term "trauma" (*travma*) in several of the names. This word had several layers of meaning—and it's worth noting that "trauma" and "traumatic" have nuances and resonances in current, colloquial American English that they did not have in Russian in 1914–1917. For Russian

physicians of that time "trauma" and "traumatic" primarily referred to physical injury. Russian physicians did speak of and engage with the idea of mental trauma (*psikhicheskaia travma*), psychic shock (*psikhicheskii shok*), and moral shock (*nravstvennyi shok* and *nravstvennoe sotriasenie*). In the prewar and wartime psychiatric literature, however, "trauma" used alone referred to physical trauma. First and foremost, "traumatic" (for example, as in a diagnosis of "traumatic hysteria") meant physical injury was part of the clinical picture. Even specialists with strongly psychodynamic orientations often gave a place to physical injury in their etiological analyses.

For doctors who developed organic explanations, physical trauma of course played the leading role. Responding to the large number of psychiatric casualties, these men and women asked, "Can all of these cases be functional illness?"¹⁴ Faced with Dr. Ianovskii's patient, doctors who felt that most cases were organic in nature would undoubtedly have followed Dr. T. E. Segalov's injunction to explore every possibility that the illness might be organic before diagnosing functional illness. They believed that most cases were organic. In other words, these patients suffered from material damage to the nervous system that was caused by physical trauma. In the case of Ianovskii's patient, they would have emphasized the shell explosion and subsequent contusion. The closer a person was to a shell explosion (or even a shell as it flew by), the stronger the waves of air pressure he would be exposed to. The strength of these waves of air pressure acted like a blow. The blow could trigger organic changes in the nervous system that resulted in symptoms such as shaking, loss of hearing, and contractures of the hands, arms, legs, or feet, or the unnamed officer's rhythmic facial spasms. Specialists insisted that in some cases the physical damage was observable and should be treated with massage, electricity, and physical therapy, as many other organic neurological conditions were.15

Making an accurate diagnosis for the mental and nervous cases meant not simply distinguishing between organic and functional cases (in itself no simple medical problem). They were also drawing a line between the patient whose illness was due to an "unstable nervous organization" and the one with a "harmonically developed body, worthy of a sculptor and with a simple and clear soul without any degenerate marks, with a harmonic and definite outlook." These were soldiers who were "sincerely striving to be cured."¹⁶ A decisively somatic diagnosis rescued patients from the stigma and disturbing implications of functional illness-and predisposition. Because he had no predisposition as well as a manly character and an energetic disposition, Ianovskii's would have been a clear case of organic illness for specialists who argued for the existence of an organic version of contusion. This condition was apparently similar to the psychogenic contusion neurosis but radically different in its underlying cause. Those who favored organic etiologies did not believe that

normal soldiers could respond to overwhelming experience with psychological illness.

During the Russo-Japanese war and when faced with victims of the 1905 revolution, some psychiatrists and neurologists had discussed the possibility that unpredisposed people could fall prey to psychological trauma. Most of them, however, clung to the notion of when a predisposed person was in a stressful situation his or her predisposition-generated susceptibility to psychogenic illness would come into play. On the other hand, specialists explored the idea that people who were apparently free of predisposition could become mentally ill during or after infectious illness. During the First World War, A. V. Gerver (1873-?) used various ideas from this area of research to develop a psychophysiological version of battlefield breakdown that differed strikingly from assertions of an organic version of contusion. In the wartime context he brought together concepts from two very different types of psychiatric problems to a way of looking at war-related illness that transcended the organicpsychological divide.

A. V. Gerver and the Mind-Body Nexus

Gerver had been one of V. M. Bekhterev's students, completing a dissertation in 1899 on the centers of the brain that controlled eye movements. He had a strong interest in unconscious mental processes. In the early 1900s he published articles on ambulatory automatism (sleepwalking) and the role of endogenous toxins in producing amentia (mental confusion). When the war started he was a professor at the Psychoneurological Institute in Petrograd and senior physician at the St. Nicholas the Miracle-Worker Asylum. Despite his impressive specialist credentials, Gerver served at the front as a generalist, treating patients with all kinds of injuries and illnesses. In the first months of the war, he was a divisional doctor with one of the infantry divisions. He had treated the wounded at almost all the Russian army's major battles with the Germans.¹⁷

Most of his patients were surgical cases, but the mental and nervous patients whom he saw were fresh off the battlefield. He saw them at the very onset of their illnesses. This vantage point was rather unusual since most of the psychiatrists and neurologists who were able to work in their specialized areas were based in the Unions' or the Red Cross's hospitals in the rear. As Gerver put it, they saw patients whose "mental world-picture and whose consciousness is made up not only of all that has been experienced and felt during the battle, that called forth the mental illness but also all of the sufferings connected with circumstances of [their] transfer from one point to another and arrival at various transfer stages."18 Gerver's own proximity to the battlefield and his interest in what today would be called the biochemistry of mental illness combined to produce a version of war-related mental illness that joined somatic and psychological elements.

Looking at Ianovskii's patient, Gerver would have emphasized that the officer was taking part in a battle when he fell ill. Gerver also focused on the condition Dr. Ianovskii called "clouding-over of consciousness." Gerver would have identified this symptom as amentia. In contrast to the organic advocates, Gerver felt that amentia rather than contusion was the key to understanding battle psychoses. Psychoses of battle had their origins not in physical injury but in emotions. He noted that "acutely expressed affective conditions work physical changes in the body via development of the organism's self-poisoning." Although he did not believe that the mechanism he described was a new disease entity, specific only to battle, the overwhelming experience of combat played a key role in the scenario he proposed. He described the way soldiers experienced battle in terms of both sensory input and emotion: the active participant in battle "experiences a multitude of extremely strong impressions, he's deafened by the unceasing boom of the missiles, sees horrible wounds and the death of his comrades, risks being killed and torn to bits every second, the entire environment of battle deafens the participant, as it were binding him and leading him into numbness." Contusion could be part of the overall disease picture, but it did not take center stage. Mental illnesses could develop "exclusively on the basis of severe experiences connected with the circumstances of battle."19

The "abundant emotions" engendered by what soldiers experience during battle combine with "terror in the face of death" (*v sviazi s uzhasom smerti*) to exhaust a person's mental and physical powers. Above all, the nervous system is quickly exhausted. Emotions produced changes not only in the "mental sphere," but also measurable changes in the cardiovascular system and metabolism, leading to the process of self-poisoning (*samootravleniia*), that is, the body's own production of amentia-inducing toxins. He identified "pure battle psychoses" as conditions where intellectual activity came to a stop "with a clouding of consciousness and a general numbing reminiscent of ... stupor."²⁰

The etiology Gerver proposed for battle psychoses preserved his patients' manliness, courage, and fundamental mental health, but it did so in very different ways than the organic model. Rather than erasing emotion from the clinical picture as organic-paradigm advocates did, he framed his argument with the comment that "war always and in particular at present ... is an unnatural phenomenon for every human being." He noted that even men who did not actually become mentally ill sometimes were stricken with "fits of psychopathy" (pripadki psikhopatii) as a result of the severity and the prolonged nature of contemporary military engagements that sometimes would extend over several weeks with continuous fighting. His patients had, by and large, participated in many battles before breaking down, had not shown any signs of mental abnormalities or illness prior to the battle that occasioned the breakdown,

and some had been in good spirits, going into battle calmly. He found no signs of predisposition in these men.

He made a clear and unequivocal argument that healthy men free of negative heredity or other predispositions could become mentally ill from the emotions of combat. He was not, however, completely rejecting the role of predisposition in all war-related illnesses. In fact, when he turned to stressful wartime conditions that did not involve actual combat, Gerver brought predisposition into the picture. He felt that many aspects of war could produce mental impressions as strong as those combat generated, but he differentiated between combat and trench life, putting the latter at one remove from what he considered the battlefield. Like combat, life in the trenches was not normal because the latter situation was permeated with expectant anxiety. This expectant anxiety told on people with weak nervous systems. Predisposed men were much more likely than normal men to fall prey to strong mental impressions under the pressure of trench life. Those with strong nervous systems might fall ill in combat but were better able to withstand life in the trenches.

Gerver's analysis may not have rescued every single patient from what more judgmental observers saw as the taint of hereditary nervous weakness, or what those more sympathetic to nervousness called weak nervous organization and saw as a guasi-physical problem. He did, however, contribute a great deal by "fleshing out" the possibility that normal people could become mentally ill under fire. His argument created the terms in which that possibility could be discussed and developed. Because he was not struggling to fit the illness picture into an already-established framework of categories and conclusions (he spends little time on what specific disease entities are), he was able to focus on the building blocks of battle psychoses. During the Russo-Japanese war, psychiatrists attributed many breakdowns to psychoses of exhaustion, the result of the extreme physical deprivations of that war. Gerver added emotion, removed predisposition, and created a very different explanatory framework. He was elaborating a version of emotional illness that located emotions in the body and defined them as motivators of the body's internal reaction and communication systems. This was part of a certain style of psychological thinking that developed alongside psychoanalytic and other kinds of psychodynamic thought. Gerver's style was far from anti-psychodynamic, but he also made the body an integral component of mental processes.

Conclusion

Although Gerver was building on ideas and research streams that originated before World War I, the war itself was essential to the development and articulation of his views. His interest in the mind-body nexus and its role in disease production was a response to the demands, both practical and intellectual, that the war made on specialists in mental medicine. Psychiatrist S. A. Preobrazhenskii captured this when he said that

contemporary war presents a picture that has nothing in common with all that, up until now, has been known. This war is unparalleled in the chronicles of the entire human race ... our contemporaries must make their approach entirely from new, little-known points of view, they must seek new paths for its study, meet with new aspects of almost all its phenomena The vast size of the front, the wide scale of military operations, the catastrophic character of contemporary battle ... cannot help but represent new, pathogenic factors acting perniciously even on a soldier's healthy organism, to say nothing of an unstable constitution predisposed to illness or to the recurrence or complication of a mental illness that is already present.²¹

The organic advocates and Gerver responded differently to the imperative to "seek new paths" for the study of war-related mental and nervous illness. In both cases they were responding to the possibility that normal men could break down under the pressures of battle, but their etiological orientations led them to define breakdown in two very different ways. One path excluded psychological elements from the injuries a brave soldier could sustain. The other path brought mental breakdown closer to a normal psychological and physiological response to overwhelming experience, making it something that any man might undergo in the horrifying conditions of battle. While neither side was able to give a full or conclusive explanation of war trauma during the war, both views became part of the topography of early Soviet psychiatry. They persisted, along with the third, psychoanalytically-inflected path, sometimes intertwining, sometimes running in parallel for a generation to come.

Notes

¹*Russkie vedomosti's* first list of contused soldiers appeared on October 29, 1914 (old style). *Russkii invalid* began to publish lists of contused soldiers by September 28, 1914.

² The history of shell shock also has some distinctive features, particularly in the ways in which it survived the Great War, that it does not share with other national histories of war neurosis. For this comparison, see Jay Winter, "Shell-shock and the Cultural History of the Great War," *Journal of Contemporary History* 35:1 (2000): 7–11 and the other articles in that issue.

³ R. L. Richards, "Mental and Nervous Diseases in the Russo-Japanese War," *Military Surgeon* 26 (1910): 177.

⁴ Historian Peter Leese traces the appearance of the expression "shell shock" to the "Marne incident" in November 1914 when rumors, about men seen ready to go

into battle who appeared alive but were actually dead, gave rise to the impression that "the huge firepower of the newly mechanized army could lead to virtually undetectable brain damage from the impact of microscopic mortar fragments." This idea led to a new term that soldiers in the trenches were using as early as December 1914. The term caught on with the public, but it was controversial among doctors. The War Office banned its use in 1918. Peter Leese, *Shell Shock: Traumatic Neurosis and the British Soldiers of the First World War* (Palgrave, 2002), 1 and 56–57; Ben Shephard, *A War of Nerves: Soldiers and Psychiatrists in the Twentieth Century* (Harvard, 2001), 1 and 54–55.

⁵ The profusion of names is partially the result of an absence of a single classificatory system for mental illnesses like today's *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual*. In Germany *Kriegshysterie* was used. In France *obusite* (from *obus*, bomb), *onirique* (dreamlike) delirium, battle hypnosis, pithiatism, commotion, and hysteria were the most important terms. In addition to shell shock, British doctors diagnosed patients with war neurosis, traumatic neurosis, traumatic neurasthenia, among others. For French terminology and etiology see, Gregory M. Thomas, "Post-Traumatic Nation: Medical Manifestations of Psychological Trauma in Interwar France" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2002), 25–75.

⁶ The first part of the case history was probably drawn from the patient's own narrative description since Dr. Ianovskii examined him for the first time several weeks after the nervous tension developed. The patient's own report or information from the person who accompanied the patient to the hospital in the rear was incorporated into many of these wartime case histories.

⁷ V. V. Ianovskii, "Dva sluchaia torticollis spastica travmaticheskago proiskhozhdeniia," *Psikhiatricheskaia gazeta* 2 (1915): 32–33.

⁸ Timofeev was the Red Cross's representative for evacuation of the mentally ill on the Southwestern Front. Part of his annual report from 1915 is quoted in "Khronika" #215, *Russkii vrach*, 10 (1916): 235. Timofeev excluded nervous cases from the 1,233 cases he reported for 1915.

⁹ S. S. Sukhanov, *Dushevnyia bolezni. Rukovodstvo po chastnoi psikhopatologii dlia vrachei, iuristov i uchashchikhsia* (St. Petersburg, 1914), 54.

¹⁰ This can be seen quite clearly in the literature on psychosis and the 1905 revolution. For a review and analysis of the literature, see V. P. Osipov, "O politicheskikh ili revoliutsionnykh psikhozakh," *Nevrologicheskii vestnik* 17:3 (1910): 436-492.

¹¹ N. N. Bazhenov, "O znachenii stikhiinykh bedstvii v etiologii nekotorykh nervnykh i psikhicheskikh zabolevanii," *Zhurnal nevropatologii i psikhiatrii imeni S. S. Korsakova* 1 (1914): 1–14.

In Memoriam Czeslaw Milosz (1911–2004)

On August 14, Czeslaw Milosz, Nobel Prize winner, poet, essayist, freedom fighter, émigré, and affiliate of the Institute, passed from this earth. He died at his home in Krakow with his family around him. He was 93 years old.

Milosz was born in the Russian Empire in what is now Lithuania in 1911. During World War II, he was a freedom fighter in Poland. He emigrated first to France and then to the US about 50 years ago. He was lured to Berkeley in 1960 by Frank Whitfield, then chair of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures.

In 1980, Milosz received the Nobel Prize for literature, primarily for his poetry. However, for many, he will be best remembered for his book-length essay, "The Captive Mind," published in 1953. Milosz was the campus's first and, to date, only Nobelist in the humanities. He had been teaching in Berkeley's Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures for 20 years at the time. He retired as a professor in 1978 but continued to teach classes.

When the Iron Curtain fell, Milosz was able to return to Poland. He and his second wife, Carol, were living in Krakow off and on since approximately 1989, sharing their time with Berkeley. For the past four years or so, however, they spent more and more time in Poland. Carol passed away in 2003.

¹² Paul Lerner tells the story of the Munich meeting in "From Traumatic Neurosis to Male Hysteria: The Decline and Fall of Hermann Oppenheim, 1889–1919," in Mark S. Micale and Paul Lerner, eds., *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry, and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870–1930* (Cambridge, 2001), 140–171.

¹³ This point runs throughout the wartime Russian psychiatric literature. For examples, see N. A. Vyrubov, *Kontuzionnyi psikhoz i psikhonevroz. Klinicheskaia kartina, techeni i patogenez.* (Moscow, n.d.); T. E. Segalov, "K voprosu o sushchnosti kontuzii sovremennymi artilleriiskimi snariadami (Morbus decompressionsi)," *Sovremennaia psikhiatriia* 3 (1915); S. S. Sukhanov, "Materialy k voprosu o psikhozakh voennago vremeni," *Psikhiatricheskaia gazeta*, 7, 11, 13, 17 (1915). Somatically-inclined specialists like Segalov tended to think in terms of two groups of patients, those with functional illnesses and organic cases, but even they occasionally acknowledged that there were "mixed" cases.

¹⁴ See V. M. Gakkebush, "Nervnyia zabolevaniia v sviazi s vozdushnoi kontuziei," *Sovremennaia psikhiatriia* (1916): 227.

Milosz was to be buried in Krakow on August 27. The funeral mass was to be said by the Archbishop of Krakow, Franciszek Cardinal Macharski at the Krakow Basilica of St. Mary. His final resting place is in the crypt of the "Nationally Meritorius" (*Krypta zasluzonych*) at the Paulinist Church of SS. Michael the Archangel and Stanislaus. Professors David Frick, chair of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, and Robert Hass, professor of English and former US Poet Laureate, are attending the services as representatives of Cal and as his good friends and colleagues.

Czeslaw Milosz was also a good friend of the Institute (or during his time, the Center for Slavic and East European Studies). While he was physically able, Milosz would agree to participate in all of the events that we organized around him, regardless of how humble or grand they might be—especially if they were for the students. We very much valued his association and his presence.

Plans for a memorial service are pending. Please check our Web site for up-to-date information.

Barbara Voytek Executive Director, ISEEES

¹⁵ Segalov, "K voprosu ob organicheskikh i funktsional'nykh zabolevaniiakh pri kontuzii artilleriiskimi snariadimi. (Stat'ia vtoraia)," *Sovremennaia psikhiatriia* (June-July 1915): 270.

¹⁶ T. E. Segalov, "K voprosu ob organicheskikh," 264 and "K voprosu o porazheniiakh, vyzyvaemykh sovremennymi artilleriiskimi snariadami," *Meditsinskoe obozrenie* 84:18-19 (1915): 387.

¹⁷ A. V. Gerver, "O dushevnykh razstroistvakh na teatre voennykh deistvii," *Russkii vrach* 34 (1915): 793.

¹⁸ Gerver, "O dushevnykh razstroistvakh," 794.

¹⁹ Gerver, "O dushevnykh razstroistvakh,," 798 and 800.

²⁰ Gerver, "O dushevnykh razstroistvakh," 797–798 and *Russkii vrach* 35 (1915): 819.

²¹ S. A. Preobrazhenskii, *Materialy k voprosu o dushevnykh zabolevaniiakh voinov i lits', prichastnykh k voennym deistviiam v sovremennoi voine. Dissertatsiia na stepen' doktora meditsiny,* (Petrograd: V. Ia. Milshtein, 1914), 14–15.

Outreach Programs

ISEEES contributed two speakers to the ORIAS Summer Institute, **"The Story of Human Rights in World History,"** which was held July 26–30, 2004. This annual event was targeted to middle and high school educators.

David Wolff, a visiting history professor during the 2003–04 academic year, addressed "Teaching the GULAG: Perspectives and Contexts," touching on four themes: historical roots, technology, scope, and legacy.

Imperial Russia used administrative exile and forced labor. While political prisoners were sent to live far away, they might use the time to catch up on their reading. As an exile, Lenin wrote books, and Stalin thought of exile as a sort of vacation. The fact that the Bolshevik leaders experienced exile themselves explains how they could, in turn, use the same system against their political enemies.

The GULAG was also made possible by the technological advances during World War I: the "population filtration techniques" of conscription and mass mobilization; the invention of barbed wire and the machine gun; and the development of camp design and architecture. These innovations were put to use in the camp infrastructure that was in place by the 1917 revolution.

The scope of the GULAG—the extent to which it spanned a vast geographic area and an incredibly long period of time, along with the huge numbers of people involved-is one of most compelling reasons to teach this topic. For example, Stalin's first five year plan required more and more labor to meet its impossible goals, so the GULAG population increased from 180 thousand in 1930 to 1.9 million in 1938. To complete the White Sea-Baltic Canal within the goal of 20 months, those prisoners who died would be buried in the canal banks where they fell. The GULAG population reached some 2 to 2.5 million people and dropped to 1.4 million after Stalin's death in 1953. Overall, one million left the camps per year by release or death. There is no accurate record of how many died in the camps, perhaps up to 10 million. Over the history of the GULAG, an estimated 18 million were imprisoned, and another 6 million were "special settlers," exiled without ever being arrested or tried. So, about one in eight Soviets was in the GULAG.

The legacy of the GULAG endures. Wolff described the imprisonment of Estonians on the eve of the Nazi invasion of the region. Besides affecting the people of Estonia, that act had an impact in the most unlikely places. As the GULAG brought together people who would otherwise never have a chance to meet, Alexander Solzhenitsyn was influenced by the Estonian Arnold Susi. Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* would later bring international attention to the inhumanity of the camps. The GULAG cost people their freedom or their lives, but terror alone was not the goal. Wolff noted that the GULAG followed a certain kind of logic, based on historical precedents and guided by Stalin's fear of anyone who could challenge him. It was logic gone awry, used to commit terrible atrocities, but still an attempt to organize Soviet society.

Emily Shaw, Ph.D. candidate in political science, shared her "Perspectives on the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia." The ICTY was established in 1993 in response to war in former Yugoslavia seeking justice, peace, and reconciliation. The human rights community, led by the guiding theory that criminals should be punished and deterred, called for justice for the acts of genocide. The diplomatic community sought peace, to prevent the spread of war and the outflow of refugees. And the local communities of Bosnians, Serbs, and Croats sought reconciliation, wishing to return to normal life.

The ICTY's stated purpose is to investigate and prosecute grave breaches of the Geneva Convention; violations of laws; genocide; and crimes against humanity. Its Web site, http://www.un.org/icty/, provides an overview as well as in-depth coverage of specific cases. Why was the ICTY formed, while other wide-scale killing (such as Cambodia) preceded it? First is former Yugoslavia's location near Western Europe and the pressure that refugees would put on those countries. Next is timing, between the end of the Cold War and the beginning of the European Union. Finally, the growth of human rights and women's rights movements at the end of the Cold War created a moment of international pressure.

The signing of the Dayton Peace Accords in 1995 has had important implications for the ICTY. While it did end the war, it did not please those people seeking a just solution. Dayton required Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia to cooperate with the ICTY, but key leaders in the war, such as Slobodan Milosevic, who would later be indicted and tried by the Tribunal, were allowed to sign the Accords.

For this and other reasons, the ICTY has failed to meet the expectations of all concerned. People in former Yugoslavia do not see the Tribunal's impact in their lives. While a goal of the Tribunal has been to individualize justice, it is seen in the region as biased against Serbs and Croats and too slow in its efforts. In particular, Serbs have not been shown how the ICTY benefits them, and Serb requests to investigate collateral damage by NATO bombings have been ignored. The goal of reconciliation has been greatly undermined by the goal of justice—in this case, having the trials run by foreigners and held in a distant place. And this is a lesson for future conflicts.

Stella Bourgoin is a program representative at ISEEES.

Faculty and Student News

Ronelle Alexander, professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received a Short-Term Travel Grant from IREX to work on a project entitled "Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian: One Language or Three?" in which she examines the grammar of Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian. She traveled to Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Zagreb, Croatia, during the summer of 2004.

Margaret Anderson, professor in the Department of History, received a fellowship for the current academic year from the American Council of Learned Societies for her research project entitled "The Armenian Genocide: A German Story, 1896–1933."

Mieczyslaw P. Boduszynki, Ph.D. candidate in political science, has accepted a position with the US Department of State in Foreign Service. Mike recently filed his dissertation on post-Communist regime change in former Yugoslavia and will receive his degree in December.

Molly Brunson, Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature, presented "Between the Naked and the Nude: The Anxiety over Female Sexuality and Representation in Russian Modernism" at the Slavic Graduate Student Colloquium, held in April at UCLA.

Michael Burawoy, professor of sociology, presented "The Tempestuous Marriage of Marxism and Sociology" at the 2004 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. Michael is currently president of the ASA.

Christopher Caes, Ph.D. candidate in the Slavic department, is teaching this fall in the Department of Germanic and Slavic Studies at the University of Florida, Gainesville. He will be filing his dissertation, "History and National Identity in the Films of the Polish School, 1955–1961," this academic year.

Polina Dimova, Ph.D. candidate in comparative literature, presented a paper on "The Double *Pereverten':* Velimir Khlebnikov's Palindromic Verse" at the Slavic Graduate Student Colloquium at UCLA in April.

David Hooson, professor emeritus of geography, presented "The Concept of Effective National Territory in the Soviet Union Around 1960" at the annual meeting of the Association of American Geographers, which was held in April 2004.

Marc Howard (Ph.D. in political science, 1999) was awarded the 2004 Award for Best Book on European Politics from the American Political Science Association for *The Weakness of Civil Society in Post-Communist* *Europe*, which was published by Cambridge University Press in 2003. Marc is an assistant professor in the Department of Government and Politics at Georgetown University.

Andrew Janos was awarded a Fulbright Senior Specialists grant to visit the Institute for Human Sciences in Vienna this fall. Formerly a professor of political science, Janos became a professor in the graduate school this academic year.

Anastasia Kayiatos, incoming graduate student in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, has been named a Discovery Fellow for this academic year by the Townsend Center for the Humanities.

Naomi Levy, Ph.D. candidate in political science, coauthored the chapter "Public Education and Social Reconstruction: Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia," which was published in Eric Stover and Harvey Weinstein, eds., *My Neighbor, My Enemy: Justice and Community in the Aftermath of Mass Atrocity* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

Anne Nesbet, associate professor in the Slavic department, has been awarded teaching relief for the spring 2005 semester through the Townsend Center's Initiative Program for Associate Professors. She will work on a book project, entitled *Time Machines of the Everyday: Cinema and the Dialectical Image in Europe (1920–1939).*

Johanna Nichols, professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, spent June in the Max Planck Institute in Leipzig working on Chechen and Ingush. Her Chechen and Ingush dictionaries— *Noxchiin-ingals dosham / Chechen-English and English-Chechen Dictionary*, coauthored with Arbi Vagapov, and Ghalghaaiingalsii, ingalsa-ghalghaai lughat / Ingush-English and English-Ingush Dictionary—were published by Curzon/ Routledge in May 2004.

Conor O'Dwyer (Ph.D. in political science, 2003) won the 2004 prize for the best dissertation in European Politics and Society of the American Political Science Association. His dissertation examined "Runaway State-Building: How Parties Shape States in Post-Communist Eastern Europe." Conor is an assistant professor in the Department of Political Science at the University of Florida, Gainesville.

Renee Perelmutter, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received an Instructional Research Fellowship for Graduate Students this academic year from the Berkeley Language Center. Harsha Ram, associate professor in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, chaired the panel entitled "Selves and Others" at the Slavic Graduate Student Colloquium, which was held in April 2004 at UCLA. Harsha is a fellow at the Stanford Humanities Center, Stanford University, this year to pursue a book project entitled "The Peripheral Avant-garde: Modernism and Revolution in Tbilisi, Georgia, 1916–1930."

David Shneer (Ph.D. in history, 2001) is the author of *Yiddish and the Creation of Soviet Jewish Culture 1918–1930,* which is based on his dissertation and was published by Cambridge University Press in 2004. David is an assistant professor of history and Judaic studies at the University of Denver.

Cinzia Solari, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, presented "Receiving Institutions Trump Gender: Understanding Immigrant Care Workers" at the 2004 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association. Cinzia's research focuses on Russian-speaking home care workers.

Victoria Somoff, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, received an Instructional Research Fellowship for Graduate Students from the Berkeley Language Center for AY 2004–2005.

Alyson Tapp, incoming graduate student in the Slavic department, was awarded a University Predoctoral Humanities Fellowship. She comes to Berkeley from Cambridge University.

Jennifer Utrata, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, was awarded an SSRC Dissertation Write-up Fellowship for the 2004–2005 academic year. She has been conducting field research in Russia for her dissertation on the feminization of poverty in post-socialist Russia.

Cameron Wiggins, incoming graduate student in the Slavic department, was awarded a Jacob K. Javits Fellowship. She comes to Berkeley from Oberlin College.

Boris Wolfson (Ph.D. in Slavic languages and literatures, 2004) is an assistant professor with the Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Southern California. His dissertation was entitled "Staging the Soviet Self: Literature, Theater, and Stalinist Culture, 1928–1938."

Jane Zavisca, Ph.D. candidate in sociology, presented "How the State Relates Production and Consumption: The Case of Housing in Russia" at the 2004 annual meeting of the American Sociological Association.

Daniel Ziblatt (Ph.D. in political science, 2002) was awarded the Gabriel A. Almond Award for the best dissertation in comparative politics in 2004 by the American Political Science Association. Dan is an assistant professor in the Department of Government at Harvard University.

A summer institute in Armenian language was offered at Berkeley during the summer, with funding from SSRC and organized by professors **Stephan Astourian** (history), **Johanna Nichols** (Slavic), and **Harsha Ram** (Slavic).

Upcoming Events

Events are subject to change. For current information on ISEEES-sponsored events, please call (510) 642-3230.

Wednesday, September 29, 2004. *Annual Fall Reception.* In the Toll Room, Alumni House, 4 p.m. Sponsored by ISEEES.

Wednesday, September 29, 2004. Brown Bag Talk: Vojtek Cepl, former justice of the Constitutional Court of the Czech Republic and professor of law at Charles University, Prague, will speak on "To Account for the Past: Challenges to East Europe Upon Entering the EU." In 270 Stephens Hall, 12 noon. Sponsored by ISEEES.

Wednesday, October 6, 2004. Brown Bag Talk: Ivana Radovanovic, assistant professor of anthropology, University of Kansas, will speak on "Fishing for Meaning: Symbolic Associations in the Context of the Lepenski Vir Archaeological Record." In the Seminar Room, Archaeological Research Facility, 2251 College Avenue, 12 noon. Sponsored by the Archaeological Research Facility and ISEEES.

Thursday, October 7, 2004. *Film Screening: The Czech Year* (J. Trnka), a charming puppet film for all ages. At Pacific Film Archive Theater, 2575 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 5:30 p.m. Fees: \$8 general, \$4 UCB students, \$5 UCB staff & faculty/seniors/other students/disabled. Contact: PFA, http://www.bampfa.berkeley.edu, (510) 642-1124.

Friday, October 8, 2004. *Performance:* Esma Redzepova and Ansambl Teodosievski will perform Romany music from Macedonia. At the Slavonic Cultural Center, 60 Onondaga Ave, San Francisco, time tba. Fees: tba. Contact: Slavonic Cultural Center, (510) 649-0941 or http://www.slavonicweb.org/.

Sunday, October 24, 2004. *Festival:* Marko Polo Festival, featuring Croatian and international music, dance,

and ethnic food. At the Slavonic Cultural Center, 60 Onondaga Ave, San Francisco, time tba. Fees: tba. Contact: Slavonic Cultural Center, http://www.slavonicweb.org/ or (510) 649-0941.

Wednesday-Saturday, October 27-30, 2004.

Performance: The San Francisco Symphony, featuring Leif Ove Andsnes, piano, will perform Rachmaninoff's *Piano Concerto No. 2.* At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco. Fees: \$20–103. Tickets are available through SFS Ticket Services at (415) 864-6000 or http:// www.sfsymphony.org/. Contact: San Francisco Symphony, http://www.sfsymphony.org/ or (415) 552-8000.

Monday, November 1, 2004. Colloquium: Patrick Henry, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, will speak on "'Metarealism' (Aleksandr Eremenko, Aleksei Parshchikov and Ivan Zhdanov) in the Context of Late-Soviet Unofficial Poetry and Russian Postmodernism." In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and ISEEES.

November 3–7, 2004. *Performance:* Bolshoi Ballet and Orchestra. At Zellerbach Hall, UC Berkeley, times vary by date. Fees: \$48–100. Contact: Cal Performances, http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/ or (510) 642-9988.

Friday, November 5, 2004. *Conference:* "Celebration of Ballet in Russian History and Culture." In Hertz Hall, 2 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Music, Cal Performances, and ISEEES.

Saturday, November 6, 2004. *Performance:* Gidon Kremer and the Kremerata Baltica chamber ensemble will perform works by Shostakovich. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$15–57. See 10/27–30 event for contact information.

Friday, November 12, 2004. *Concert:* The Berkeley University Chorus and the Oakland Symphony Chorus will perform Rachmaninov's Vespers in Church Slavonic. At the Greek Orthodox Cathedral, 4700 Lincoln Ave, Oakland, 8 p.m. Fees: tba. Contact: Department of Music, (510) 642-2678 or http://music.berkeley.edu/.

Sunday, November 14, 2004. *Concert:* The Berkeley University Chorus and the Oakland Symphony Chorus will perform Rachmaninov's Vespers in Church Slavonic. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 8 p.m. Fees: tba. Contact: Department of Music, or http://music.berkeley.edu/ or (510) 642-2678.

Monday, November 15, 2004. *Colloquium:* Johanna Nichols, professor, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, will speak on *"Pogibosha aki obre:* Who Were

the Avars and What Did They Have To Do With the Grammar and Breakup of Late Proto-Slavic?" In 160 Dwinelle Hall, 4 p.m. Sponsored by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures and ISEEES.

Friday, November 19, 2004. Concert: The Oakland East Bay Symphony's program will include Rachmaninoff's *Piano Concerto No. 3*. At Paramount Theatre, Oakland, 8 p.m. Fees: \$15–60. Contact: Oakland East Bay Symphony, http://www.oebs.org/ or (510) 444-0801.

Friday–Sunday, November 19–21, 2004. *Concert:* The St. Petersburg Philharmonic. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco; Fri–Sat 8 p.m., Sun 7 p.m. Fees: \$20–103. See 10/27–30 event for contact information.

Sunday, December 5, 2004. *Concert:* Ekaterina Semenchuk, mezzo-soprano, and Larissa Gergieva, piano. At Hertz Hall, UC Berkeley, 3 p.m. Fees: \$46. Contact: Cal Performances, http://www.calperfs.berkeley.edu/ or (510) 642-9988.

Wednesday–Sunday, December 8–12, 2004. Concert: The San Francisco Symphony, featuring Joshua Bell, violin, will perform Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto. At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco; Fri–Sat 8 p.m., Sun 7 p.m. Fees: \$20–103. See 10/27–30 event for contact information.

Saturday, December 11, 2004. Concert: The San Francisco Symphony Youth Orchestra will perform
Prokofiev's *Peter and the Wolf.* At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco; 1 p.m. and 4 p.m. Fees:
\$10–43. See 10/27–30 event for contact information.

Thursday–Saturday, January 6–8, 2005. *Concert:* The San Francisco Symphony will perform Janacek's *Glagolitic Mass.* At Davies Symphony Hall, 201 Van Ness Ave, San Francisco, 8 p.m. Fees: \$30–103. See 10/27–30 event for contact information.

Save the Date

- Friday, March 4, 2005: Annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference
- Friday, April 8, 2005: "Celebration of Classical Music in Russian History and Culture" conference
- April 9-10, 2005: "Glinka and His Legacies" conference
- Saturday, April 23, 2005: Annual Teacher Outreach Conference

Associates of the Slavic Center

ISEEES acknowledges with sincere appreciation the following individuals who have contributed to the annual giving program, the Associates of the Slavic Center (or have been enrolled due to their particular generosity toward Cal to support some aspect of Slavic & East European Studies), between June 1 and August 31, 2004. Financial support from the Associates is vital to our program of research, training, and extra-curricular activities. We would like to thank all members of ASC for their generous assistance.

SPONSORS

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ISEEES Newsletter Fall 2004 / 28

ISEEES NEEDS YOUR HELP. Gifts from the Associates are especially essential. They provide current use, unrestricted funds that can be used to offset the recent cuts in our budget that are seriously impacting student fellowships and grants. For example, ISEEES travel grants (annually totaling less than \$10,000) are threatened by the cuts. These grants allow Cal students to compete for academic and professional positions by presenting papers at nationally and internationally recognized conferences and symposia. ASC donations can keep this program alive.

Members (\$10 to \$100). Members of ASC receive monthly "Updates" and special mailings to notify them of events and special activities, such as cultural performances and major conferences. In this way, notification of even last-minute items is direct.

Sponsors (\$100-up). ASC Sponsors also receive a uniquely designed notepad folio which promotes Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley. They also receive invitations to special informal afternoon and evening talks on campus featuring guest speakers from the faculty as well as visiting scholars.

Benefactors (\$500-up). ASC Benefactors receive invitations to the dinner and evening programs associated with our annual conferences, such as the annual Berkeley-Stanford Conference in the spring.

Center Circle (\$1,000-up). In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the Center Circle will also become Chancellor's Associates of the University, joining a select group of alumni and friends who support Cal through unrestricted giving. Membership in this group offers a number of University benefits.

It is a policy of the University of California and the Berkeley Foundation that a portion of the gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds. Donations are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Fellowship and Other Opportunities

ISEEES Travel Grants provide limited travel support for academics and ISEEES-affiliated graduate students. Awards up to \$400 are made to those presenting a paper at a meeting of a recognized scholarly organization. Awards are made on a first-come, first-served basis, and priority is given to those who did not receive ISEEES funding in AY 02–03 or 03–04. Deadline: none. To apply send request with budget to: Barbara Voytek, ISEEES, UC Berkeley, 260 Stephens Hall # 2304, Berkeley CA 94720-2304.

American Association of University Women

American Fellowships provide \$20,000 to female doctoral candidates completing dissertations, or \$30,000 to scholars seeking funds for postdoc research leave or for preparing completed research for publication. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents. Applications must be requested by November 1. Deadline: 11/15/04.

International Fellowships provide \$18,000 (MA), \$20,000 (Ph.D.), \$30,000 (postdoc) for full-time study or research in the US by women who are not US citizens or permanent residents. Applications must be requested by November 15. Deadline: 12/1/04.

Contact: AAUW Educational Foundation, Department 60, 2201 N Dodge St, Iowa City IA 52243-4030; Tel: 319-337-1716, ext. 60; info@aauw.org; http://www.aauw.org/.

ACLS/SSRC

Eastern Europe Program Dissertation Fellowships provide up to \$17,000 for one year of dissertation research and writing on Eastern Europe. Research must be conducted outside Eastern Europe. Only US citizens or permanent residents may apply. Deadline: 11/10/04.

Eastern Europe Program Fellowships for Postdoctoral Research provide up to \$25,000 to US citizens or permanent residents with a Ph.D. The fellowship funds 6-12 consecutive months of full-time research or writing related to Eastern Europe. Deadline: 11/10/04.

Contact: ACLS, Office of Fellowships and Grants, 228 E 45th St, New York NY 10017-3398; Tel: 212-697-1505; Fax: 212-949-8058; grants@acls.org; http://www.acls.org/ eeguide.htm.

ACTR/ACCELS

The **Eurasian Regional Language Program** is a feebased program, but some fellowships are available. The program allows grad students to study languages of the former Soviet Union abroad. Deadline: 10/15/04 for spring; 3/1/05 for summer; 4/1/05 for fall, AY.

The Title VIII Central, Eastern, and Southern Europe

Language Program provides up to \$2,500 for summer study of Albanian, Bosnian-Croatian-Serbian, Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Macedonian, Polish, Romanian, Slovak, or Slovene. Funds are for intensive courses offered by institutions of higher education in the US. Deadline: 10/1/ 04 for spring; 1/15/05 for summer, fall, AY.

The **Title VIII Central, Eastern, and Southern European Research Scholar Program** awards \$12,000-25,000 for 3-9 months of research and/or language training in Albania, the Baltics, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia, and former Yugoslavia. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents. Deadline: 10/1/04 for spring; 1/15/05 for summer, fall, AY.

The **Title VIII Research Scholar Program** allows US grad students, postdocs, and faculty in all fields to study and conduct research at key academic centers in the NIS of the former Soviet Union. Deadline: 10/1/04 for spring; 1/15/05 for summer, fall, AY.

Contact: ACTR/ACCELS, 1776 Massachusetts Ave NW Ste 700, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-833-7522; http://www.actr.org/.

Association of American Geographers

Dissertation Research Grants provide up to \$500 to grads preparing doctoral dissertations in geography. Applicants must have been an AAG member for at least one year. Deadline: 12/31/04. Contact: Ehsan M. Khater, Association of American Geographers, 1710 16th St NW, Washington DC 20009-3198; Tel: 202-234-1450; Fax: 202-234-2744; gaia@aag.org; http://www.aag.org/.

British Council

The **Chevening Scholarship** provides 3-12 months of support for Russian citizens, 22-35 years old, to attend graduate school in the UK. Deadline: 10/20/04. Contact: British Consulate General, 1 Sansome St., Suite 850, San Francisco, CA 94104; Tel: 415-617-1340; emma.stevenson@fco.gov.uk.

Brookings Institution

Residential Fellowships award \$20,000 to doctoral candidates whose research will benefit from access to the Brookings Institution and the Washington, DC area. Fellowships are available for Foreign Policy Studies and

Governance Studies. Candidates must be nominated by their departments. Contact: The Brookings Institution, 1775 Massachusetts Ave NW, Washington DC 20036; Tel: 202-797-6000; Fax: 202-797-6004; http://www.brook.edu/ admin/fellowships.htm.

Coordinating Council for Women in History

The **CCWH/Ida B. Wells Award** is given to an A.B.D. female grad student working on a dissertation at a US institution. Dissertation topics must be historical but not necessarily in a history department. Deadline: 10/1/04. Contact: Professor Montserrat Miller, Award Committee, Department of History, Marshall University, Huntington WV 25755; millerm@marshall.edu; http://theccwh.org/wellsapp.htm.

The **CCWH/ Berkshire Conference of Women Historians Graduate Student Fellowship** is awarded to a female grad student in history at a US institution, having completed all work up to the dissertation. Deadline: 10/1/04. Contact: Professor Gina Hames, Awards Committee, Department of History, Pacific Lutheran University, Tacoma WA 98447; hamesgl@plu.edu; http://theccwh.org/.

DAAD

Grants for Study in Germany fund up to 10 months of study and research in Germany during the next AY. Berkeley undergraduate seniors, grad students, and postdocs (2 years or less beyond the Ph.D.) may apply. Deadline: 11/1/04. Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/events/felldead.htm.

Ford Foundation

Diversity Fellowships award \$21,500 to grad students of specified minority groups in a doctoral program in the US. Applicants must be US citizens without any other doctoral degree and who wish to pursue a career in teaching and research. Deadline: 12/1/04. Contact: Fellowship Office/ FF, National Research Council, 2101 Constitution Ave, Washington DC 20418; Tel: 202-334-2872; infofell@nas.edu; http://www7.nationalacademies.org/ fellowships/.

Freie Universitat Berlin

The **Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies** funds 10-12 months of research on modern and contemporary German affairs while in residence. Applicants must be US and Canadian citizens or permanent residents having completed all work up to the dissertation or having a Ph.D. from the past two years. Deadline: 12/1/ 04. Contact: Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies, Freie Universitat Berlin, Garystr. 45, 14195 Berlin, German; Tel: +49 30 838 56671; Fax: +49 30 838 56672; bprogram@zedat.fu-berlin.de; http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~bprogram/.

Fulbright-Hays

Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Grants cover 6-12 months of full-time dissertation research in modern foreign language and area studies by US citizens and permanent residents. Grants are not awarded for focuses on Western Europe or for research in countries where the US has not diplomatic representation. Deadline: 10/15/04 (estimated by Grad Division; check later for correct date). Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/ fellowships/fellowships deadlines.shtml.

Harriman Institute

Postdoctoral Fellowships cover a semester or AY in residence to revise a dissertation for publication as a book. Deadline: 1/2/04. Contact: Harriman Institute, Harriman Institute Fellowship Committee, 420 W 118th St 12th Fl MC #3345, New York NY 10027; Tel: 212-854-4623; Fax: 212-666-348; http://sipa.columbia.edu/regional/hi/.

Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies

The Academy Scholars Program offers Dissertation and Postdoctoral Fellowships of \$25,000 (dissertation), \$42,000 (postdoc) annually for two years in residence. Deadline: 10/14/04. Contact: The Academy Scholars Program, Harvard Academy for International and Area Studies, 1033 Massachusetts Ave, Cambridge MA 02138; Beth Baiter, Program Coordinator: bbaiter@wcfia.harvard. edu or James Clem, Executive Officer: jclem@wcfia. harvard.edu; Tel: 617-495-2137; Fax: 617-384-9259; http://www.wcfia.harvard.edu/academy/.

Human Rights Watch

Fellowships in International Human Rights provide a \$20,000 salary and benefits for one year of full-time work with one or more divisions of Human Rights Watch in New York or Washington, DC. Deadline: 10/1/04. Contact: Human Rights Watch, Attn: Fellowship Committee, 350 Fifth Ave 34th Fl, New York NY 10118-3299; Tel: 212-290-4700, ext. 312; http://www.hrw.org/about/info/fellows.html.

IREX

Individual Advanced Research Opportunities award 2to 9-month grants to predoctoral and postdoctoral scholars for research at institutions in Central and Eastern Europe and Eurasia. US citizens and permanent residents are eligible. Deadline: 11/1/04. Contact: IREX, 2121 K St NW, Ste. 700, Washington DC 20037; Tel: 202-628-8188; Fax: 202-628-8189; irex@irex.org; http://www.irex.org/.

SSRC

International Dissertation Field Research Fellowships provide up to \$20,000 for full-time Ph.D. candidates in US programs studying in the social sciences or humanities. Applicants must have all Ph.D. work completed except fieldwork by the award period. Deadline: 11/1/04. Contact: IDRF, Social Science Research Council, 810 7th Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; idrf@ssrc.org; http://www.ssrc.org/.

SSRC - Eurasia Program

Dissertation Write-Up Fellowships provide \$15,000 for one AY to grad students in the social sciences and humanities who will complete the dissertation during the award.

Postdoctoral Fellowships provide \$24,000 to improve the academic employment and tenure opportunities of recent Ph.D. recipients (up to six years since degree) in the social sciences and humanities. Applicants must be US citizens or permanent residents.

Predissertation Training Fellowships provide \$3,000-\$7,000 to grad students in their first or second year to support for language learning; formal training away from one's home institution to acquire analytical or methodological skills normally unavailable to the candidate; and well-defined exploratory research to formulate the dissertation proposal.

Deadline: 11/9/04. Contact: Eurasia Program, Social Science Research Council, 810 Seventh Ave, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-377-2700; Fax: 212-377-2727; eurasia@ssrc.org; http://www.ssrc.org/.

Soros Foundations Network

Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowships for New Americans award \$20,000 annually for up to two years of graduate study in the US. Applicants must applied for naturalization, have been naturalized as US citizens, or are the children of two parents who are both naturalized citizens. Applicants must be at least 20-28 years old. Deadline: 11/1/04. Contact: Paul and Daisy Soros Fellowships for New Americans, 400 W 59th St, New York NY 10019; Tel: 212-547-6926; Fax: 212-548-4623;

pdsoros_fellows@sorosny.org; http://www.pdsoros.org/.

UC Berkeley

The **Academic Progress Award** provides \$7,000 plus fees for one semester to grad students who will take their qualifying exams in upcoming semesters and who have not been awarded University or extramural funding. Students are required to register and may not be employed during the semester of the fellowship. Deadline: 10/1/04. Jacob K. Javits Fellowships provide up to four years of support for graduate study at the doctoral or MFA level in a selected field of the arts, humanities, or social sciences. Eligibility is limited to US citizens and permanent residents. See funding Web site at http://www.ed.gov/offices/ OPE/HEP/iegps/javits.html. Deadline: 10/4/04 (estimated by Grad Division; check later for correct date).

Contact: Graduate Fellowships Office, 318 Sproul Hall # 5900; Tel: 510-642-0672; http://www.grad.berkeley.edu/ fellowships/fellowships_deadlines.shtml.

United States Institute of Peace

The Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace offers Peace Scholar Dissertation Fellowships of \$17,000 for one year of dissertation research and writing on topics addressing the sources and nature of international conflict and ways to prevent/end conflict, sustain peace. Deadline: 1/9/04. Contact: United States Institute of Peace, Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace, 1200 17th St NW Ste 200; Washington DC 20036-3006; Tel: 202-457-1700; http://www.usip.org/.

Wenner-Gren Foundation

Individual Research Grants up to \$25,000 are available for basic research in all branches of anthropology. This program offers Dissertation Fieldwork Grants, Post-Ph.D. Grants, and Richard Carley Hunt Postdoctoral Fellowships. Deadline: 11/1/04; 5/1/05. Contact: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research Inc., 220 Fifth Ave 16th Fl, New York NY 10001-7708; Tel: 212-683-5000; Fax: 212-683-9151; http://www.wennergren.org/.

Woodrow Wilson Center

East European Studies Research Grants provide 2-4 months of research in Washington, DC for US citizens and permanent residents in the early stages of their academic careers, between Ph.D. and tenure. Deadline: 12/1/04.

East European Studies Short Term Grants provide a \$100 stipend per day, up to one month, to grad students and postdocs for specialized research in East European and Baltic studies that requires access to Washington, DC and its research institutions. Grants do not include residence at the Wilson Center. Deadline: 12/1, 3/1, 6/1, 9/1 each year.

Contact: East European Studies, Woodrow Wilson Center, One Woodrow Wilson Plaza, 1300 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington DC 20523; Tel: 202-691-4000; Fax: 202-691-4001; kneppm@wwic.si.edu; http://wwics.si.edu/ees/.

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Celebration of Ballet in Russian History & Culture Friday, November 5, 2004, Hertz Hall, 2 p.m.

Participants:

Irina Klyagina, Harvard Theater Collection Anna Nisnevich, UC Berkeley Tim Scholl, Oberlin College Richard Taruskin, UC Berkeley

Sponsors: Cal Performances, ISEEES, Department of Music

Celebration of Classical Music in Russian History and Culture

Friday, April 8, 2005, Hertz Hall, 2 p.m.

Participants:

Caryl Emerson, Princeton University Marina Frolova-Walker, Cambridge University William Quillen, UC Berkeley Richard Taruskin, UC Berkeley

Sponsors:

Cal Performances, ISEEES, Department of Music

Glinka and His Legacies: A Celebration of Russian Music and Culture

Saturday and Sunday, April 9-10, 2005, Hertz Hall.

Participants:

Malcolm Brown, Indiana (Emeritus) Julie Buckler, Harvard Caryl Emerson, Princeton Marina Frolova-Walker, Cambridge Aleksandr Komarov, Moscow Anna Nisnevich, UC Berkeley William Quillen, UC Berkeley Marina Pavlovna Rakhmanova, Glinka Museum, Moscow Lynn Sargeant, CSU Fullerton Peter Schmelz, SUNY Buffalo John Schneiderman Richard Taruskin, UC Berkeley Oleg Timofeyev, Grinell College

Sponsors:

Cal Performances, Consortium for the Arts, Department of Music, Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Townsend Center for the Humanities
