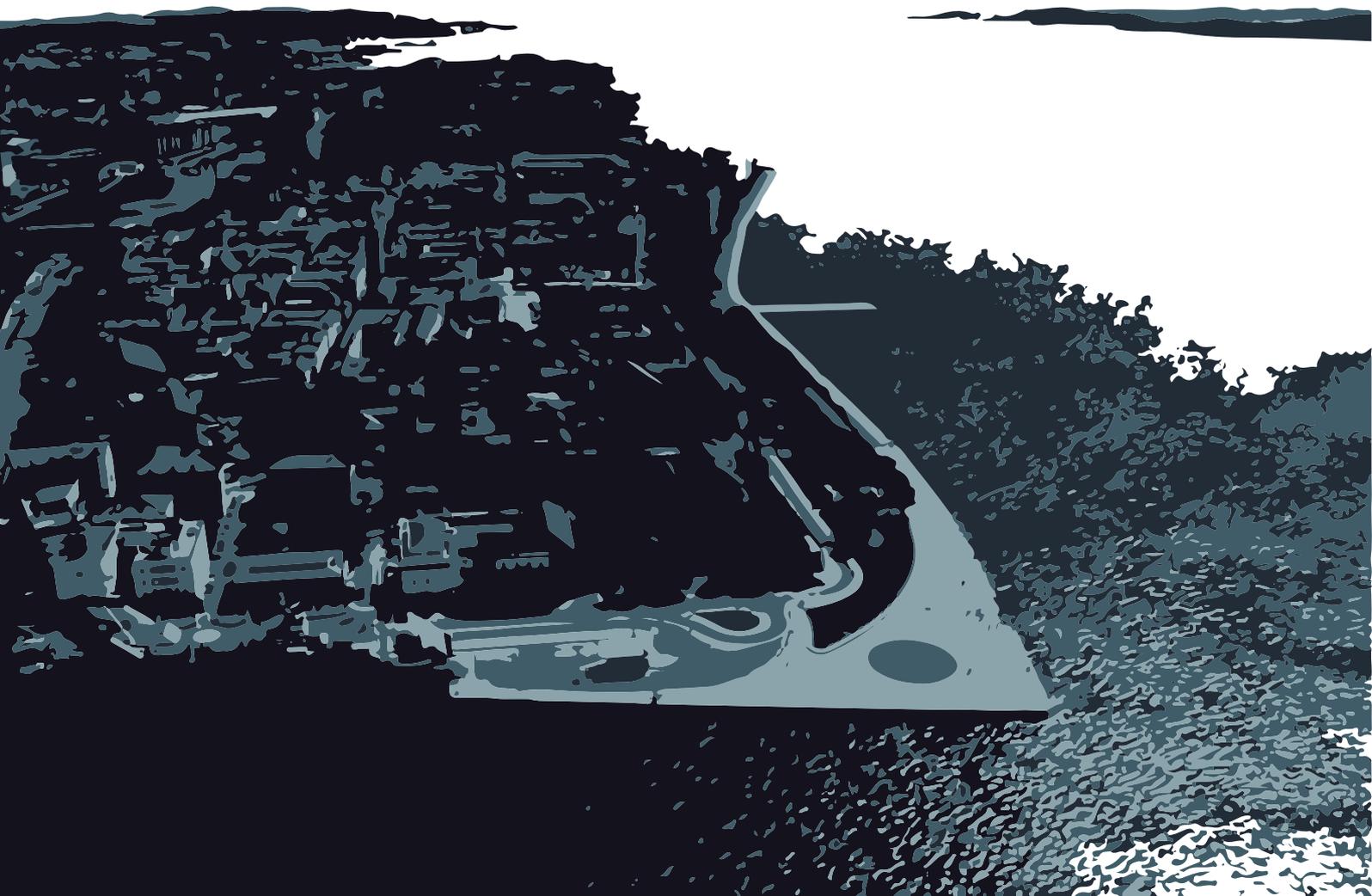


ACOUSTIC TERRITORIES
AS SITES OF MEMORY



ACOUSTIC TERRITORIES AS SITES OF MEMORY CASE STUDY: CITY OF ZADAR, CROATIA

MASTER THESIS CREATIVE INDUSTRIES
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Introduction

"I've been led to recognize the complexity surrounding sound and listening in deeper ways. The seemingly innocent trajectory of sound as it moves from its source and toward a listener, without forgetting all the surfaces, bodies, and other sounds it brushes against, is a story imparting a great deal of information fully charged with geographic, social, psychological, and emotional energy. My feeling is that an entire history and culture can be found within a single sound; from its source to its destination sound is generative of a diverse range of experiences, as well as remaining specifically tied to a given context, as a deeper expressive and prolonged figure of culture." — Brandon LaBelle (2010).

Context

The modern metropolises are enriched or polluted by innumerable stimuli. One of those is sound. The everyday life performs in a melting pot of sounds of hundreds of cars' engines, traffic light's timers, trains and its metal rails, old models of bikes with screaming breaks, and the brand new with knife-butter systems, boats' sirens, the bells of churches, cities' alarms, random people conversations, footsteps, clocks' tic-tac-ing, wind blowing, raindrops crashing in windows, trees' branches cracking, insects sounding, and so on and so forth. Each place narrates throughout a broad and particular palette of sounds which range from overwhelming metal-machines to sensual and poetical ones. Reflecting on this contemporary situation, I remembered a conversation with a friend which caught my interest and curiosity and inspired me to begin with this research. My friend told me that the sounds of the city in which she lives bring back to life the history and memories of the city. *Is that possible? Can sounds really contain and narrate stories of a specific place?* Further, the conversation also challenged me to question the links between the sounds, the history and the past of a place.

My friend lives in the city of Zadar, Croatia, situated on the eastern Adriatic coast. This city has an almost 3000 years old tradition and rich cultural and art heritages (Magaš, 1999:123). Unfortunately, the history of Zadar has also been characterised by various episodes of war, of which the last one occurred less than three decades ago, in the 90's. In the course of warfare, Zadar was severely affected and 80% of the buildings that had stood in this old city for millennia were destroyed (130). Needless to say, the destruction of the city was also accompanied by its depopulation. The end of the war marked the beginning of a reconstruction a period in Zadar, and since then, it has been in constant architectural and cultural restoration with a view to reinvigorating the culture, traditions and the everyday life of the city.

Other particular characteristic of Zadar is its inhabitants. They are survivors and living witnesses of the history of this city —they have seen the destructive power of wars but also the beauty of the reconstruction, reorganisation, and revival—. Citizens, as well as certain places and sounds within the city, can speak of the different episodes that Zadar has undergone.

Back to my friend's conversation; she told me a story about an ordinary walk along the shoreline of Zadar with her grandmother. When her grandmother began to listen to the sounds of this territory, she started to narrate to my friend an old anecdote of how life used to be in this part of the city before the wars. My friend had never listened to that testimony before, and she was amazed. That incident was exemplary because it made me think of all the information sounds can disclose. *Is it perhaps true that the past of a place can be contained and then disclosed by its unfolded sounds?* If this is possible, then, *what type of characteristics does those places and their sounds need to have?*

Theoretical frameworks

Trying to respond to the above questions, I had to approach them from two different disciplines: sonic studies and memory studies. From the sonic studies perspective, I took into consideration sound as a body located within a social context and fully charged of all sorts of information and meanings (LaBelle, 2010:L108). Therefore, sounds were the units of my analysis, from where it was possible to extract information about the everyday life of Zadar.

Moreover, the American artists and theorist Brandon LaBelle and his notion of *acoustic territories* consider the ways in which "sound comes to circulate through the built environment, to condition architectural spaces, and to form the basis for social and cultural projects." (LaBelle, Research, Acoustic territories. Retrieved from: <http://www.brandonlabelle.net>). This is the theoretical framework in which I base the understanding to tackle my research question. In addition, my approach also considers the role of sounds as crucial figures for the adoption and the humanization of a space (Pistrick et al., 2013:504).

For the purposes of this research, I will not analyse Zadar as a mere territory, but as an acoustic territory in which the sounds shape the place and simultaneously, extend an invitation to collectively gather, to search for inspiration or mystification, and to remember or forget. Further, the different sounds of Zadar made me reflect on their sonic sources as well as on the history, past, and memories behind them. *Did these acoustic territories sound the same way as during the war times? In which ways do those acoustic territories evoke memories and at the same time participate in the building of the community?*

With these questions in mind and looking for their answers, I discovered that the acoustic territories of Zadar are ever-changing fragments of its culture and at the same time one of the most beautiful ways to preserve the past and memories of this old city. This peculiar way of preservation led me to investigate the fields of history and memory.

The French historian Pierre Nora developed theories to explain that the compound —*history and memory*— opens a space for discussion and reflection on the past of a country. This phenomenon happens when "contestations and alternative ways of remembering infuse motion into history and open up the dialogue between past and memory." (Rivera-Orraca, 2009:37). Moreover, memory calls

for its witnesses and demands for “a truth more “truthful” than that of history, the truth of personal experience and individual memory.” (Nora, 2002). Those memories need what Nora called the — **lieux de mémoire or sites of memory**—, which are repositories where memory crystallizes, evolves, adapts and remains latent generation to generation (1989). This theoretical framework allows the extraction and analysis of the characteristics of the acoustic territories from the perspective of history and memory.

Research question and research structure

This thesis will investigate and explore the nature, behaviours and effects of Zadar’s acoustic territories to establish a dialogue between them and the memory studies field. In order to do that, I will try to answer the research question: ***In which ways can Zadar’s acoustic territories function as Lieux de mémoire or sites of memory?*** In addressing the first part of the question ‘*in which ways can Zadar’s acoustic territories function [...]*’ I will first elaborate upon diverse notions of sounds including LaBelle’s acoustic territories concept, then I will carry out an in-depth investigation of this notion through three different case studies within the city of Zadar: the sea organ, St. Mary’s church and Caffè Bar Illy. These case studies were selected because of their characteristics of being places wherein sounds’ expanded situation becomes an important element of the cultural, social and political phenomena. In other words, these three case studies are composed by a mix of sounds which included groups of people, objects generating sounds and sounds of the environment. Furthermore, they encompassed architectural spaces that formed, since decades ago, the basis for social and cultural exchange. All in all, these three case studies are compelling examples to investigate the invisible and material relationships between sounds, places, history, past, memories, traditions and habits of Zadar.

For the second part of the research question ‘*[...] can function as lieux de mémoire or sites of memory?*’ I will reflect on the notions of history, memory and sites of memory, and the particularities of the latter. After these reflections, I will confront Zadar’s acoustic territories with the notion of sites of memory, in order to find the ways in which Zadar’s acoustic territories can function as sites of memory.

This research is structured in 5 different chapters: In the first chapter —*Acoustic territories and the city of Zadar, Croatia*—, I will elaborate on different approaches to sound. I will briefly explain the notion of sound from a reduced conception which considers this phenomenon as a single unity. Then, I will argue against that simplistic notion and build on the idea that sound is a body located within a greater social context. Further, I reflect on the ways in which sounds can reveal all sorts of information and meanings based on the notion of acoustic territories; I will explain that through the three case studies: the sea organ, St. Mary’s church and Caffè Bar Illy. Henceforth, my purpose will be to bring forward a process of description and analysis through acoustic territories methodology, in which the associative networking of sounds provokes meeting points, public engagement and meaningful challenge (LaBelle, 2010:L244).

In the second chapter —*Lieux de mémoire or sites of memory and the city of Zadar*—, I will discuss the concept of *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory as a notion from which I can approach the various meanings attached to Zadar's acoustic territories. To do this, I will first clarify the notions of history and memory. Afterwards, I will explain the relevance of the latter for this research. Next, I will reflect on Nora's emblematic text "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*" (1989) in order to elaborate on the concepts of memory and *lieux de mémoire* in detail. Subsequently, I will analyse the three realms that compose a site of memory: material, symbolic and functional. Finally, I will discuss the applicability of the concept into the city of Zadar.

In the third chapter —*Material realm in Zadar's acoustics territories*—, I will define the material realm of sites of memory. In order to do so, I will reflect on diverse material sources —*living things and objects*— which interact with each other and produce outcomes, sometimes in the way of audible sounds. Then, I will organise the sources in biological, geophysical and anthropogenic, and subsequently, in temporal patterns and spatial variability (Pijanowski et al., 2011:1214). These material classifications will help me to reveal certain interactions, and to understand relationships, patterns, and perhaps hierarchies among humans, living things, objects, and of course, sounds.

In the fourth chapter —*Functional realm in Zadar's acoustics territories*—, I will elaborate upon the functional realm of sites of memory and the various functions Zadar's acoustic territories currently perform. I will explain how these territories can function as public spaces where is possible to create a social exchange and foster social and cultural projects (LaBelle, Research acoustic territories. Retrieved from: <http://www.brandonlabelle.net>). In addition, I will also explain other functions in which sound plays a crucial role in weaving an individual into a larger social fabric as well as filling relations with local sounds and auditory memories (LaBelle, 2010:L189).

Finally, in the fifth and final chapter —*Symbolic realm in Zadar's acoustics territories*—, I will reflect on the symbolic realm of sites of memory. For that, I will first explain how sounds take shape in the people's mind over spontaneity or frequency. That means that sounds build up coherent patterns that may be called *sounds symbolisms*. (Truax, 2001:80). Having explained that, it will become clear that sounds can evoke particular symbols in which a suggestive power can be attached.

Once the three realms of sites of memory have been expounded, I will point out the ways in which Zadar's acoustic territories can function as sites of memories. Lastly, the research outcomes may perhaps allow someone interested in acoustic territories and memory studies to gain a better understanding of how acoustic territories can function as a *lieux de mémoire*.

Methodology

Because this research brings together two different disciplines —sonic and memory studies—, I will use a mixed-method approach (Keightley et al., 2013:5) which consists on considering the acoustic territories not only as a notion but also as a methodology, to be confronted subsequently with the notion of sites of memory.

For that, first I will outline current theory on acoustic territories, and particularly its role as a contemporary model for thinking and experience the everyday life through the surrounding sounds (LaBelle, 2010:L131). Therefore, this methodology can be applied as an alternative framework to explore our contemporaneity from multiple time-space perspectives. Acoustic territories methodology invite us to listen to sound in deeper ways because sound is everything but simple. The use of acoustic territories methodology will facilitate, first, the mapping of sounds and their trajectories, second, the identification of different intersections points (particular discourses), and third, the discovering of meanings (LaBelle, 2010:L264). Acoustic territories seek to further examine the exchanges between people and their surrounding environment as registered through aural experience (L149).

The next step will be to export the notion of lieux de *mémoire* to Zadar's acoustic territories. My use of theoretical literature will act as a guideline throughout the implementation of the concept into the notion of acoustic territories. Moreover, I will also support this research with one method of data collection in the social sciences: conversational remembering (Mihelj, 2013:63). Diverse studies in this tradition have shown, for example, "that conversational remembering and forgetting is not solely a reflection of an inner cognitive state — i.e. the simple fact of knowing or not knowing — but can also be used instrumentally to avoid teasing or scapegoating, or to achieve other ends [...]" (ibid.). For this research, several conversations were realised and some excerpts were included in this research.

Finally, combining research on sonic and memory theories, official discourses and popular culture, and a mixed-method approach, this research can open up an expanded perspective on how acoustic territories can function as sites of memory. Moreover, I will draw inferences that can be of general use for acoustic territories when they function as sites of memory (Mayring, 2007).



CHAPTER 1: ACOUSTIC TERRITORIES AND THE CITY OF ZADAR CROATIA

Chapter 1: Acoustic Territories and the city of Zadar, Croatia

“Sound provides the most forceful stimulus that human beings experience, and the most evanescent.”— Bruce R. Smith (2004)

“Wherever we are, what we hear is mostly noise.
When we ignore it, it disturbs us.
When we listen to it, we find it fascinating.”— John Cage (1966)

In this chapter, I elaborate on different approaches to sound. First, I briefly explain the notion of sound from a reduced conception which considers it as a single unity. Then, I argue against that simplistic notion and build on the idea that sound is a body located within a greater social context. Further, I reflect on the ways in which sounds can reveal all sorts of information and meanings. To do this, I take the work of the American artists and theorist Brandon LaBelle and his term *acoustic territories*, as frameworks to analyse three case studies from that sonic perspective. Finally, my purpose is to bring forward a process of description and analysis, in which the associative networking of sounds provokes meeting points, public engagement and form the basis for social and cultural projects (LaBelle, 2010:L244).

1.1 Approaches to sound

Diverse practical and theoretical approaches to sound developed in the 20th and 21st centuries can be regarded as attempts at analysing sound from different perspectives. For instance, the French engineer and composer Pierre Schaeffer pioneered new proposals of sound as a unit-object through his term “*objet sonore*”. Schaeffer’s notion of *objet sonore* suggests this unit must be accepted for its acoustic characteristics, textures and beyond musical values (Kim-Cohen, 2009:9). In addition, the American composer John Cage proposed a new perspective, to listen to sound as sound and without psychological or symbolic qualities. In *Écoute* (Listening, 1991), a documentary taking place in New York in 1991, Cage reflects on the notions of sound and silence and invites us to listen through them and not at them. From the Cagean perspective, sounds act, they get louder and quieter, they get higher and lower, and they get longer and shorter, and so on and so forth; the sounds have the peculiarity of dilute the boundaries between time and space. Cage also describes what he calls his favourite sonic experience, the silence. On this issue, Cage was one of the first authors who re-evaluated the notion of silence. Through his famous composition 4’33”, consisting of 4 minutes and 33 seconds of silence, Cage intends to offer to the listener an encounter with the ever-changing surrounding sounds through the experience of silence. The philosopher, Christoph Cox published “Beyond Representation and Signification: Toward a Sonic Materialism”, in which he argues that sound “represents and symbolizes nothing, it presents a play of sonic forces and intensities” (Cox,

2011:153), that sound is a flux of becoming. Cox's materialist theory of sound focuses on events and transformation, forces and intensities of sound and accentuates the dynamic phenomenon of sound becoming over its meaning.

In this chapter, I will argue against these notions of sound that these three authors have put forth. Moreover, this chapter follows the idea of sound as a body located within a social context and against the reduced conception of sound as a single unity. Places and sounds frame our everyday life and both appeal to our sensory capacities. They are interrelated phenomena with analogous features: "they both possess a recognizable form, they are both culturally shaped and they are symbolic points of reference for humans. They are immanent to us as we recognize our being in the world [...]" (Pistrick et al., 2013:504). Influential authors such as Steven Feld (1982) and Tim Ingold (2011) consider sound and space as one entity. Their notions suggest that sounds are intrinsic to the place and both profoundly affect each other. They build on the notion that "sound can convene a sense of place as 'belonging to us', combined with a heightened sense of community." (Pistrick et al., 2013:504). Moreover, the role of sound figures in the adoption and the humanization of a space and turns the territory into a site of social exchange. In the same line of thought, the artist and theorist Brandon LaBelle proposes that sound "comes to impart meaningful exchanges against the singular body, and further, it locates such a body within a greater social weave." (LaBelle, Research acoustic territories. Retrieved from: <http://www.brandonlabelle.net>). In LaBelle's own words, sound is "an epistemic matrix generating specific spatial coordinates, social mixes, and bodily perceptions." In this sense, sound is not just sound, but rather it is fully charged with all sorts of information and meanings and we can thus systematically examine places according to their unfolded sounds.

1.2 The notion of acoustic territories

In 2010, LaBelle coined the term *acoustic territories* in which he investigates with extreme simplicity "[W]here do sounds come from and where do they go?" (LaBelle, 2010:L108). With those queries in mind, he addressed sound from a novel perspective, and defined acoustic territories as places in which "sound comes to circulate through the built environment, to condition architectural spaces, and to form the basis for social and cultural projects." (LaBelle, Research, Acoustic territories. Retrieved from: <http://www.brandonlabelle.net>). In this sense, acoustic territories participate not merely as a new concept for sound but they result in a contemporary model for thinking and experience the everyday life through the surrounding sounds. Acoustic territories invite us to listen to sound in deeper ways because sound is everything but simple. Even a "seemingly innocent trajectory of sound [...] [that] moves from its source and toward a listener, [...] is a story imparting a great deal of information full charged with geographical, social, psychological, and emotional energy" (LaBelle, 2010:L108).

But, *how can sounds' trajectories be traced and mapped?* For this, let's imagine a grid throughout a specific territory. This is a grid in which "layer-upon-layer overlap semantic fabrics" (Kim-Cohen,

2009:xxiii) and where the sound trajectories can first, travel in any direction (vertical, horizontal, diagonal, elliptical, and so on and so forth) and second, can intersect in any grid point. In this network, sound trajectories intertwine with others, they also blend, collide, transform and become. It is in the intersection of those trajectories where meaning emerges. Hence, to implement the notion of acoustic territories is comparable to wrap a territory with an invisible multilayered grid in which every grid point where sounds trajectories intersect, different sorts of information are revealed.

Sounds and their trajectories are main elements of the acoustic territories, and they dictate the itinerary of our journey. Once we have placed the invisible grid over a territory, sounds are the ones who invite us to locate them within the space, to “rehear them, rethink them, reexperience them starting from a nonessentialist perspective in which the thought of *sound-in-itself* is literally unthinkable.” (Kim-Cohen, 2009:xx). Sounds function as a compass in which the sound trajectories guide us towards their location along the territory while simultaneously, extends an invitation to reveal the history of the site framed by social discourses. It is by the use of this *sonic compass* that is also possible to disclose various memories and the past of a place. The use of acoustic territories methodology and the sonic compass facilitate first, the mapping of sounds and their trajectories, second, the identification of different intersections points, and third, the discovering of meanings. Acoustic territories seek to further examine the exchanges between people and their surrounding environment as registered through aural experience (LaBelle, 2010:L149).

Due to its distinctive characteristics, I find the notion of acoustic territories pertaining to my research purposes because I argue that through it will be possible to reveal the past and memories of a specific territory. Throughout my research, I apply that term not only as a concept but also as a methodological framework, as the multilayered grid which provides an alternative structure that leads to a different perception of the sounds, places and the everyday life. Acoustic territories thus provide a compelling model to map sounds and uncover different events and meanings.

In the following sections, I explore the city of Zadar, Croatia through three different case studies and the application of acoustic territories methodology. Then, possibly, the like-structure methodology can be understood and discernible to apply it as an alternative framework to explore our contemporaneity.

Why the city of Zadar?

For my research purposes, I choose the city of Zadar, Croatia because it is a compelling case study to be examined through its sounds and the acoustic territories methodology. This city possesses certain components that help to respond to my research question *in which ways can Zadar's acoustic territories function as Lieux de mémoire?* In addressing the first part of the question *in which ways can Zadar's acoustic territories function [...]*, first, I elaborate upon the history of Zadar,

mainly on its wars' history and consequences, second, I dissect this city in three different acoustic territories, and third, with the use of acoustic territories methodology (the multilayered grid and the sonic compass) I navigate along the sound trajectories and intersections in search of meanings. The final part of the research question [...] *function as Lieux de mémoire* is addressed in the next chapter.

1.3 The city of Zadar, Croatia

Zadar is a coastal city in Croatia situated on the Adriatic Sea. The city is divided in different neighbourhoods and the old city, or the so-called Peninsula. This Croatian city is renowned because of its ancient architecture and its beautiful shore and sunsets. Other particular characteristics of this city are its coastal location, its rich history which includes rooted war scars, and its inhabitants who have witnessed the destructive power of wars and simultaneously, the full city's reconstruction, reorganisation, and revival. Although Zadar recovered and raised after several war episodes, certain places, sounds and memories preserve a war veil. In a considerable extent, wars affected the way in which Zadar developed through time, because of this, I describe Zadar's history based on the chronology of modern war events in which this city was involved.

Zadar's history through the lens of war

Zadar traces its roots back to 3000 years ago (Magaš, 1999:123). Primarily from a Roman-catholic history and architecture, the Peninsula has changed and adapted to the morphing shape of a modern city. Over the last few centuries, Zadar was object of conquests, invasions, and different regimens. But it was until the World War I and the Italian occupation that the prosperity of this region was interrupted (Bullock et al., 2011:281). Zadar suffered its most terrible devastation over the course of the World War II and the capitulation of Italy in 1943. Allies caused serious depopulation of the city and the destruction of over 80% of all the buildings (Magaš, 1999:130). When the war was over, they burned and razed any building that has not been demolished during the bombings. This was called the Post-war cleaning. By the end of the war, centuries of ancient architecture and artistic richness completely disappeared and the old city was filled in with debris and paved over. The aftermath of World War II was the beginning of a new era for Zadar, and the old Peninsula was soon resurrected (Bullock et al., 2011:282). It was until 1950, that the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Science had the objective to rebuild the city including its historic complexes, for instance, St. Mary Church and the centre of the old city. Beyond the emphasis on the conservation of the historical and aesthetics aspects of the architecture, they craved for conserve the urban context of the city (283). However, this task proved difficult due to the inability to reconstruct the city's centre without a full urban reconstruction for the Peninsula. Although the city's efforts were focused on the construction of new buildings under specific urban planning, the plans also concerned the reconstruction of Zadar's heritage. In 1953, an anonymous urban planning bid was open and fourteen proposals for the city's reconstruction were submitted, none of the proposals fulfilled the specification criteria (Mlikota, 2015:163-192); because of this, the city renewal

was somewhat unplanned or followed separate efforts. All in all, from the end of World War II until 1990, Zadar underwent intensive revitalization, reconstruction, and reorganization and by the end of the 90's the city was rebuilt and emerged as a modern city.

Lamentably, in 1991, the Yugoslav wars broke out and new violent events took place in this city again. Zadar became part of Croatia and it "happened in the midst of a wider shift of social paradigms, the reconstruction of social values in the context of the decay of communism, and the building of new states in a context of violence [...]"(Povrzanović, 2003:65). The overwhelming power of war was made clear to everybody involved in this war (55). As Zadar was on the front line, it was again severely bombarded and its most historic buildings and hundreds of homes were sporadically destroyed. Some of those buildings were never reconstructed and for instance, others as the shoreline were rebuilt in less than spectacular form.

The wars have considerably shaped the ways in which Zadar developed and evolved, these violent events traced the history and memory of this city and its inhabitants. Even today, the effects of the war continue to be felt throughout the city and its inhabitants. This fact is not unexpected when we consider that "war affects all aspects of human life, both material and spiritual. Croatian experience with respect to the 1991-1993 armed conflict in Croatia (and Bosnia and Herzegovina) fully confirms that notion." (Klain, 1992:180).

1.4 Zadar's acoustic territories

Until this point, I have briefly introduced first, different approaches to the sound phenomenon and the way acoustic territories can work as a notion and as a methodology for analysing places in a contemporary way. Secondly, I've elaborated on concise war events which defined Zadar in different ways. Henceforth, my purpose is to bring forward a process of description and analysis through acoustic territories methodology, in which the associative networking of sounds provokes meeting points, public engagement and meaningful challenge (LaBelle, 2010:L244).

My work begins with placing the invisible grid over Zadar, navigating within this old city and then, locating and selecting territories in which I could apply acoustic territories methodology. Due to the limits of this research, I had to focus on a limited number of territories which possess specific acoustic, social and cultural characteristics. In search of the territories, I walked through the Peninsula accompanied by Vinka Milišić, an Archaeology student of Zadar's University. Milišić and I listened to the city sounds, we located them and we discussed their relevance not only as sounds-in-themselves but also situated within historical and social contexts. The territories selected for this research are places wherein sounds' expanded situation becomes a very strong element of the cultural, social and political phenomena. In addition, these territories are places where groups of people engage in public activity expressing or remembering a collective knowledge.

From amongst a large number of territories in Zadar, I chose three territories relevant to this research, first, the Sea Organ (or "Morske orgulje" in Croatian), second, the Church of St. Mary, Our Lady of Health, and third, Caffe Bar "Illy". These three territories were composed by a mix of sounds which included groups of people, objects generating sounds and sounds of the environment. Furthermore, they encompassed architectural spaces that formed, since decades ago, the basis for social and cultural exchange. These places reveal through sonic events the traditions and practices of this old city. In this sense, these three territories are compelling case studies to investigate the invisible and material relationships between sound, places, history, rituals and collective memories; from the habit of the daily walking alongside the shoreline, to the reestablishment of the coffee culture after the communist regime.



Image.1 Zadar's acoustic territories location and map

In the following descriptions, I try to respond to the questions: *Where do the sounds come from, where do they go? What type of meanings do the sounds of this place disclose?* Also, I would like to remark that these three territories should not be exclusively read "as places or sites but more as *itineraries*" (LaBelle, 2010: L272) of a journey. It is the moment to spread and place the multilayered grid on the Peninsula and allow ourselves to be guided by the sonic compass.

A) Zadar's Sea organ or Morske orgulje

Any person who visits Zadar's Peninsula is always welcomed by the Adriatic and the Sea organ. The Sea organ is an architectural object, a stone instrument located in the north-western seafront of the Peninsula. It was officially inaugurated in April 2005, as part of the after-wars modernisation and development of the city of Zadar. The architect Nikola Bašić was commissioned by the city's

authorities to design a public space that would revive the town's cultural and historical richness (Bach, 2007. Nikola Bašić, author of the Zadar Sea organ. The lapping Adriatic Sea 'plays' a Giant Croatian Organ. Retrieved from: <http://www.croatia.org>). Moreover, Bašić meditated on "how the sound of sea waves could be enriched by some melodious sounds that the wave energy could generate" (Domitrovic, et al., 2011:39). The Sea organ uses the sea waves' unpredictable kinetic energy to produce its notes. It contains thirty-five stopped flue pipes distributed in seven parallel flights (each one ten meters wide) along the 70m long scalinata. The pipes are tuned to chord tones as follows: D, G, d, g, h (odd sections) and C, G, c, e, a (even sections), respectively (41). Each section of the scalinata consists of 8 stairs and the lowest one is submerged in the sea.

However, in this architectural space, *where do the sounds come from?* The sounds are produced in a subaquatic galleria when the sea water penetrates the submerged apertures of the tubes. It is through these underwater apertures that the sea reveals its mysterious underground-underwater sounds. Reflecting on LaBelle's *acousmatic*¹ notion, I assume that the underground-underwater source of the Sea organ is a plethora of symbolisms. From the hidden source the sounds break from their origin to become something greater, more suggestive and powerful, they are not more bound to the sea. Here is more than pipes and notes and I support this argument with LaBelle's assumption that the regions beneath the surface of the ground (and/or water) possess unique acoustic attributes. Therefore, it is in these under-the-surface places where:

"[...] the inherent potentiality of sound to echo, expand, and disorient while being interwoven with forces of struggle, hope and resistance. [...] The underground is thus a space of repressed guilt, a zone full of secrets." (LaBelle, 2010:4).

With those words in mind, *would it be possible that this north-western acoustic territory is the place where one can listen to all the years of Zadar's struggle, resistance and hope?* I think it can be, and throughout my research this question will be answered in detail.



(Orozco, 2016. Zadar 1 – Sea organ)

Click on the image to listen to the audio file (linked to soundcloud.com) or click on the audio player.

As for the Sea organ sounds, these emanate out into the environment through "a series of apertures at the vertical plane of the uppermost steps along the entire length of the promenade" (Domitrovic,

¹ As LaBelle recounts in his book *Acoustic territories*: "[...] the Acousmatics were disciples of Pythagoras who, listened to the teachings of their Master as he remained hidden from view behind curtain. [...] The "spirit" of the meaningful voice thus appears from nowhere, as a seemingly omniscient voice" (2010:14).

et al., 2011:39). The apertures are sea-oriented essentially to give to the sound an extended opportunity to be directed to the listeners who can be walking along the promenade or the shoreline and in any case, they will be reached by the sounds of the Sea organ. Furthermore, it is structured to penetrate as many individual bodies as possible, and thus to “situate these singularities into a sudden community” (LaBelle, 2010:20). Support for the latter statement comes from the following example: among a circle of people at the Sea organ territory, I identified myself as a foreigner listening to these sounds for the first time. Without forcing them to any conversation, one of them started to narrate his experience. He lives in the downtown approximately 6 or 7km away from the Sea organ. He says that during the winter, he often hears the sounds of the Sea organ coming through his window. He knows the origins of this phenomenon and continues: *“It is because of the season’s weather conditions and the sea storms, they are really harsh. In those days, the citizens living in downtown know that it is not a good moment to go outside because of the weather, instead, they prefer to stay at their places until the sound of the sea organ has reduced its volume or is no longer hearable. Until that moment, it is possible to go outside with your friends or to go for a coffee”*- No name, age approx. 30 years.² It is revealing how people learn to extract valuable information from sounds and the way they integrated them into the everyday life. It is exceptional the way in which sounds play a crucial role in instructing and modifying the social habits and simultaneously, stimulating emotional and cognitive attachments. In this vein, LaBelle points out sounds as special figures “embedded within a sphere of cultural and social habits” or as “the ways people come to express their relation to sound and its circulation” (LaBelle, 2010:L183).

Apropos of the musical and acoustical aspects of the Sea organ, they were designed with a thorough understanding of the city and as a result, the Sea organ reflects on the local musical tradition ‘*klapa*’. In this coastal zone of Croatia, the prevailing musical traditions are the *klapa* (Festival Dalmatinskih Klapa Omiš, 2015. Retrieved from: <http://fdk.hr/festival-in-omis/>), which is “a spontaneous four-voice male singing, with melodies and chords conformed to the Europe’s autochthonous diatonic major scale.” (Domitrovic, et al., 2011:40). Thus, in an effort to recover some of the coastal musical traditions the Sea organ complies with certain arrangements:

“[...] the installation’s 35 flue pipes are grouped into 7 successive sections. The 5 pipes of each section are arranged with ca 1.5 m spacing. One listener, standing or sitting on a chosen point on the scalinade, should be able to hear the 5–7 nearest pipes [...]. Thus a logical choice is to tune a whole five-pipe section to one chord. This chord shall contain tones out of the said diatonic major scale. [...] The sequence of chords g–c6–g–c6– g–c6–g was chosen to tune 7 sections from NW to SE. [...] The Grand and Small musical octaves (frequencies between 65 Hz and 250 Hz) were chosen.” (40-41).

² During my stay at Zadar, I would hear the same history from different people living in different downtown’ neighbourhoods.

As a result, the Sea organ plays random tones and frequencies which resemble the male voice and to some extent, the spontaneous four-voice singing. This phenomenon charges the place with meaning and memories about old times and local songs. Feelings of nostalgia and belonging are triggered in this acoustic territory because “they may transmit a (virtual) idea of home, and they may fill a place with ideas about the past, the present and the future.” (Pistrick et al., 2013: 505).

This territory is not only charged by the sounds of the sea instrument, but also by the sounds of the promenade, the people walking and conversing, the seagulls and all the maritime activities. Indeed, this north-western corner of Zadar is interestingly not only composed by the notes of the Sea organ, but by the life going on in its waters. Zadar has one of the most diverse coastlines in Croatia and Europe and the Adriatic sea has become one of the main points in which Zadar’s activities take place, not only when it comes to leisure but also commercial activities. Hence, it is not a surprise that ancient traditions like the maritime are still woven into the fabric of this city. For instance, Fishery still is a traditional activity of Zadar’s coastal and is the core livelihood activity for most people living in this city (Fishery and Mariculture, 2009. Zadar County ICPR. Investment Certification Programme for Regions. Retrieved from: <http://www.investinzadar-croatia.com/>). Concerning to commercial activities, this coast is a collage of fishing vessels, ferry services, short-sea ships, boats, and yachts. The streams these vessels produce influence the frequency of the waves and thus, the sounds emerging from the sea organ. All the events taking place in this acoustic territory, recreational or with other purposes, add and alter the existing sounds; this territory is not a merely visual collage but a sonic collage.

The Sea organ is a public space that cannot go unnoticed; it has become a site for relaxation, contemplation, conversation and congregation while listening to an endless concert of mystic harmonies of the “Orchestra of Nature” (Domitrovic, et al., 2011:39). Furthermore, its underground-underwater hidden source, “give[s] way to enlarging the possibility to imaginative transformation; shifting our cognitive focus away from the text [and the visual]” (LaBelle, 2010:40). Likewise, the design of the scalinata is a beautiful metaphor, the steps are designed in such a way that they dissolve the border between marble and sea, they act like a beach with the coming and going of the waves, there is no barrier that distances bodies from the sea.

Finally, this corner of Zadar is charged, yes, highly by the Sea organ itself, but also by the surrounding sounds; the tide and the waves, the fishing vessels and the short-sea ships, the seagulls, the weather’s temperament, the fisherman, the people and their footsteps, the friends, the baby crying, the social habits, and the random conversations and the silence of those who remember this site as it was before wars. This site provides a key relational means for “registering social contact and feelings for place” (LaBelle, 2010:53). Moreover, it is because of its sonic characteristics that this acoustic territory can be appropriated, humanised and turned into a site of human interaction and sociocultural practices.

B) Church of St. Mary or Crkva sv. Marije

This territory is located at the city centre and is mainly composed by the churches of St. Mary (or Crkva sv. Marije in Croatian) and St. Donatus, the Roman forum, the museum of Archaeology of Zadar, restaurants and a parking lot. The whole complex was almost completely destroyed during the World War II air raids. Its reconstruction went in charge of local hands and the post-war plans of restoration which make possible the reconstruction and reorganisation of the complex by the nineteen seventies.

This territory is the public and historic kernel of the Peninsula (just like it was centuries ago) and it is located at the southeast of the Sea organ, just at 550 meters or seven minutes walking distance. This complex brings together centuries of history into one territory. For instance, the Roman forum was founded in the third century (Absolute Croatia. The Roman Forum. Retrieved from: <http://www.absolute-croatia.com>) while St. Mary was founded in the ninth century (UNESCO. Zadar Episcopal complex. Retrieved from: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/157/>) and the Archeology Museum in 1832 (Zadar portal. Archeological museum Zadar. Retrieved from: <http://www.zadarportal.com/>).

I stood in front of St. Mary's Church on April 3rd, 2016 at 18:59; it was at this moment that St. Mary's campanile came alive. Her bell is chiming whilst I am mesmerised by its voice; it helps me to navigate through this city. The voice of St. Mary's bell is almost as loud as the one of the Adriatic; standing in the middle of the forum, I can feel the chimes vibrating and penetrating my skin and exposing my physical and chemical composition, the porosity of my body.



(Orozco, 2016. 94 chimes St. Mary)

Click on the image to listen to the audio file (linked to soundcloud.com) or click on the audio player.

The first chime, the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, and so on and so forth... the ninety-three and the ninety-fourth intermingle, dilute and camouflage with other sounds. Each new chime fuses with the surrounding sounds and also with the chime before, and the coming one and the next... until the ninety-four chimes result in one "straight line"³. The ninety-four chimes fill the space and when they *stop*, the vibrations still perceptible for some seconds; they implode and explode in new

³ In this paragraph, I use "straight line" making reference to the American composer La Monte Young and his works: *Composition 1960 #10: "Draw a straight line and follow it"* and *"Composition 1961"*, in which he uses repetition and overlapping as act of composition. "Repetition is the straightest line imaginable, another of the same, another of the same, ad infinitum: no swerves, no diversions, no detours, no tangents. The straightest of each repetition follows the previous repetition: drawing a straight line and following it" (Kim-Cohen, 2009:135).

sounds, and then again, the random conversations, the footsteps, the wind, a kid singing, someone running, and the seagulls recover their space.

Regarding the bells, they are one of the world's oldest musical instruments (Rossing, 1984, 440) and every bell has its own history, context and meaning (Arnold et al., 2012:101). For instance, in the western world, bells are associated first, with religious rituals and placed at the heart of Catholic faith. Since ancient times, bells assumed a transcendent importance, evoking the material and ritual obligations of the church and also the spiritual needs (Arnold et al., 2012:99). Other perspectives inform that the use of bells had specific modernizing aspects towards the communities, for example the unification of the civic identity by marking the time of the day. However, *do the sounds of the bells meant something different during the war? Did they sound? Or did they remain silent?*

If I speak about the role of bells sound within the religious schema I find also relevant to speak about their "silence". Francesca Sbardella in her article *Inhabited silence: sound constructions of monastic spatiality* (2013) describes the life of a researcher who lived the life of a postulant in two French Carmelite monasteries. Sbardella states that both sound and silence are fundamental in the nuns' everyday practices within the monastery. In Sbardella's research is clear the condition of silence, she explains that it is "difficult to manage, in that it implies the symbolic acknowledgment of somebody/something not visible that can hardly be conceptualised and concretely expressed. The gap between what is real and what is symbolic can actually be found in silence [...]" (521). Certainly, for the Catholic faith, silence and sound alternate with each other while creating a ritual and, simultaneously, nurture the spiritual relation with god.

In relation to sonic studies, silence is "an unachievable state of noiselessness" (Kim-Cohen, 2009:16). To illustrate Cohen's notion of silence, let's consider again the bell of St. Mary's church, in which once the unison of the chimes has stopped, the space it once occupied is far from empty. Furthermore, the space is densely populated by other sounds which are overabundant and overdetermined — *the sea organ voice, the people and child voices and the squawking seagull.*

Silence, for religious beliefs or sonic studies, is paradoxically filled and in the naive intention to *find or reach* silence we immersed ourselves in its acknowledgement in order to find new meanings and definitely, new sounds. In acoustic territories, silence can be perceived as the instant when sounds implode or collapse and then, the instant later, explode and blend with others, forcing to a disclosure of new sounds and new meanings.

Through this description I have investigated the source of the sounds of St. Mary and the way they transform and blend with other surrounding sounds. However, *what do the sounds and silence of St. Mary mean and how they have transformed over time?* I will respond to these questions in

chapter 3 —*Zadar's acoustic territories against oblivion*—, wherein I place under scrutiny the profound significance and implications of the sounds and silence of St. Mary.

C) Caffe Bar Illy

"Coffee Culture in Croatia is a way of life [...] more than merely a hot beverage – it is a way of life. Coffee drinking is for Croatian people primarily a social activity. Leisurely sipping on a cup of freshly brewed coffee is reserved not only for friends and family, but it is also one of the most common ways a business is handled. It is not about the flavour of the coffee, nor is it about getting the necessary boost on a slow day – coffee drinking in Croatia is a means of spending time together with the important people in your life.." (TotalCroatia.eu. Coffee culture in Croatia: A Way of Life. Retrieved from: www.totalcroatia.eu).

As in all of Croatia, coffee culture in Zadar is an experience focused on socializing and bonding. While I am walking along the streets, I notice that in each of them are at least two different coffee bars and all are crowded. It is 11 o'clock in the morning and in Zadar is coffee time. Zadar's inhabitants take over the streets heading for their favourites coffee places, for years, they had stayed true to them. This coffee monogamy allows bartenders and waiters to get to know their customers and their peculiar coffee preferences. At this time on the morning, the old city shows one of its most beloved rituals, to drink coffee. Interestingly, this ritual goes hand in hand with a mixture of sounds —*St. Mary's morning chimes, the phrase Ajmo na kavu (let's go for coffee), coffee machines brewing, indoor coffee bar's music traveling outdoors, people gossiping*—.

Caffe Bar Illy is located in a small street called Ruđera Boškovića, close to St. Mary's church and just from a couple of streets to the University of Zadar. The Illy has become a meeting point for academics and students of this University who come here to work, study, talk and discuss. The bartender, Mario, seems to know the everyday life of all of them. He speaks with them while he prepares their favourite coffee and selects the music playlist for his morning shift. This list includes songs of Cat Empire, an Australian band which fuses ska, jazz, funk, and rock with a heavy Latin influence. I get the impression that this playlist sets a pace, a rhythm, to the rest of activities within this place.

In considering Caffe Bar Illy as an acoustic territory, I notice that its sounds as well as music shape the space and the social spheres into an aural experience. The sounds emerging from the Illy represents at some extent part of the Croatian culture. The sounds of the coffee machine, mugs producing high pitched sounds when contact any other surface and the music played at the Illy are essential parts of this place and of the people who congregate here. For instance, the Illy's everyday music might "reveal[s] the degree to which self and sound interweave, affording opportunity to security, self-identity, and group sharing." (LaBelle, 2010:131). In other words, the Illy's sounds

(including music) supply an emotional medium to compose the daily rituals and to negotiate with the everyday life.



(Orozco, 2016. Caffe Bar Illy 05042016)

Click on the image to listen to the audio file (linked to soundcloud.com) or click on the audio player.

In the Illy, sounds “step[s] in, time devolves and develops, rhythms give movement and potentiality to what it means to be *in place*: to drum along, to stomp the foot, to tap the table, to wait in line and then exit, coffee in hand and the street ahead, is to carve out a *journey-form*.” (LaBelle, 2010:99). For the people congregating at the Illy, the daily coffee is part of their everyday life and culture, this ritual includes not only a cup of coffee full-charged of taste but also of sounds — several talks among people, mugs sounding when contact other surfaces, the coffee machine and the dishwasher in a mechanical unison, the beans being toasted, various scribbling sounds, pages being changed, a vigorous music playlist, and so on—. The Illy is an acoustic territory that serves cups of coffee that sound as the everyday life. For Croats, to keep this journey day after day is a signal of a good life-work balance and freedom. In the next chapters, I will explain significant details about coffee culture in Croatia, for instance, why coffee is strongly rooted in the Croatian culture and traditions and how at certain point of their socialist regime coffee became a symbolic currency with great power to affect, positively or negatively, the everyday life.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I made use of acoustic territories as a methodology to support my endeavour of uncovering hidden relationships between sounds, everyday places, and people, and as a result, to disclose meanings. Responding to the questions *where do sounds come from, where do they go* was possible to reveal information concerning to the past, memories and everyday life rituals of Zadar’s acoustic territories —*the sea organ, St. Mary and Caffe Bar Illy*—. My investigation began thus with the attentive listening to the sounds emerging from those territories and the various meanings behind them. My journey in this city started first, at the north-western of the Peninsula where the Sea Organ territory is located, then, it continued to the city centre and St. Mary’s complex and finally, it ended in a small street where Caffe bar Illy is situated. Listening to those places through acoustic territories methodology helped me to reflect on the powerful relationships between sounds and places, sounds and objects, and sounds and people. As a result, I noticed that the audible attributes of those territories contribute to the fabric of the community in Zadar. Furthermore, during the processes of exploration and analysis, and through a thorough listening act, I discovered that the three territories do not only engage Zadar’s community with the surrounding sounds and

places but also with their history, past, culture, and traditions. In this line of thought, Zadar's acoustic territories can be understood as a type of mirror of the city's social processes.

Last but not least, I would like to pinpoint the relevance of acoustic territories methodology in this research as a like-structure tool that supported the exploration of Zadar's acoustic territories from multiple time-space perspectives. Acoustic territories methodology transgresses the time and space boundaries and possesses the capacity to intersect sound and place on other crossroads, for instance memory roads.

In the next chapter called —*Lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory and the city of Zadar—, I will explain some of the most relevant differences between history and memory. Next, I will discuss the notion sites of memory and its applicability to other contexts, for instance, Zadar's acoustic territories.

Chapter 2: *Lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory and the city of Zadar

“Cultures are never merely intellectual constructs. They take form through the collective intelligence and memory, through a commonly held psychology and emotions, through spiritual and artistic communion.” — Tariq Ramadan (2012)

Whilst exploring Zadar’s acoustic territories, it was unavoidable to reflect on the sources of their sounds, the history, past, and memories behind them. *Did these acoustic territories sound the same way as during the war times? In which ways do those acoustic territories evoke memories and at the same time participate in the building of the community?* With those types of questions in mind and looking for their answers, I discovered that Zadar’s acoustic territories are ever-changing fragments of Zadar’s culture and at the same time one of the most beautiful ways to preserve the past and memories of this old city.

In this chapter, I discuss the concept of *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory as a notion from which I can approach to the various meanings attached to Zadar’s acoustic territories. To do this, I take the work of the French historian, Pierre Nora, as a cornerstone to explain the intrinsic characteristics of history, memory, and sites of memory. In the following paragraphs, I first clarify the notions of history and memory, and then, I explain why is relevant the use of the latter for this research. Next, I reflect on Nora’s emblematic text “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*” (1989) in order to elaborate on the concepts of memory and *lieux de mémoire* in detail. Subsequently, I make an analysis of the three realms that compose a site of memory: material, symbolic and functional. Finally, I discuss the applicability of the concept into other contexts such as Zadar’s acoustic territories.

2.1 Differences between History and Memory

Although history and memory seem to be similar concepts, they are far from being that. In 2006, in an interview with the Argentine newspaper La Nación (Corradini, 2006. No hay que confundir memoria con historia, dijo Pierre Nora. Retrieved from: www.lanacion.com.ar), Nora explains that an exceptional way to convey the history of a country is from its very present. With that statement, Nora exposes the novelty of the history written from *today* wherein the chronological order of the events is broken; it starts out from *this moment* to make an inventory of those objects, men or places that belong to the collective heritage and memories. To Nora, in spite of the fact that history and memory work in two radically different spectrums, history is supported by memory. On the one hand, history is always an incomplete construction of something that has disappeared but left some remaining parts. As of that moment, historians, in a purely intellectual operation, strive to recollect those parts and reconstruct them in a new explicative event. History demands a critical discourse and analysis. On the other hand, memory is remembering a lived or imagined past, it is affective,

sensible, emotive, flexible, opened to transformations and susceptible to lain dormant for long periods. It narrates individual experiences and allows for the inclusion of a broad range of personal acts of remembering.

Furthermore, the act to remember a person or an event requires reference to history, “but then the contestation begins. Whose history, written for whose benefit, and on which records?” (Winter, 2010:314). Indeed, history is supported by memory, but also memory is about history. In occasions history and memory collide because the writers of *that* history where sole or the central proprietors. But then the contestation begins and the memory calls for its witnesses and demands for “a truth more “truthful” than that of history, the truth of personal experience and individual memory.” (Nora, 2002).

According to Nora, the shift *history - memory* is a result of the 20th-century radical events that to a large extent, contributed to democratise history. To him, everything changed when the society started to noticed that they were living within the history, and not within their traditions (Corradini, 2006. No hay que confundir memoria con historia, dijo Pierre Nora. Retrieved from: www.lanacion.com.ar). Witnesses of the 20th-century events became the living repositories of memory, able to communicate their own versions of the European drama in 1914, the communism, the colonization wars, and the World Wars. As a result, the passing of their memories started to demand acknowledgment and evolved into a social act. At this point, is when memory acquires a new sense and prestige to be a popular movement.

In this research, I attempt the difficult task of trying to analyse how events of the past have a lively impression and materialise in Zadar’s everyday life through its acoustic territories. In this regard, the use of history and memory as singular concepts do not provide enough guide to succeed in my attempt. Furthermore, my endeavour requires the use of both —*an alloy of history and memory*— to open the possibility of a multi-perspective exploration from multiple angles and interpretations. Especially in Zadar where real collisions between history and memory took place⁴, the compound —*history and memory*— is crucial.

Whilst Zadar’s history gives to this research a direction and a like-structure because it is built up in chronologically organised events, its memory opens the invitation to link without time order traditions, origins and myths. In this line of thought, both are points of reference and become a metaphor for the narratives about the past of Zadar.

⁴ Throughout the different chapters of this research, I will describe the specific cases in which the history and memories of Zadar collide between them. In some of the cases, the history has been forgotten, or reconstructed, while in some others, it proves to remain as a lively account of the past.

2.2 Memory and *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory

Step back in time in 1989, Nora published "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire", in which he explains first how memory is an actual phenomenon because it is borne by living societies, and second, that that memory needs a place to crystallize, it needs *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory (7-8).

Memory emerges from all groups and it is not restricted only for those generations who underwent violent events or 20th-century dramas, but also for those born long after them (9). Thus, memory passes down from generation to generation within the communities, becoming a perpetual process of reinvention in which former and new groups reaffirm, redefine or forget their memories (8). Due to this dynamic process, memory has as many perspectives as there are groups, hence, it is by nature multiple, collective and plural and paradoxically also specific and individual.

Our memories are preserved in any kind of living things, objects, or symbols. Every memory unfolds within a material framework, from the spaces, images, objects and gestures (9). Furthermore, we can access at any time to those elements to reconstruct past events through imagination or thoughts. Memories are a permanent reality and only through them is possible to revisit and recapture the past.

To Nora, memories are associated with the remnants of experience living in "the warmth of tradition, in the silence of custom, in the repetition of the ancestral," with "collectively remembered values," (7) with "skills passed down by unspoken traditions (13)". This enormous storehouse of material stock, need repositories to remain latent until they are recalled. They are essential for the permanence of memories and without them, those remembrances would be in danger to be forgotten and later on, to imminently disappear.

Those repositories are what Nora called *lieux de mémoire*. He coined the concept of *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory to designate those artefacts "where memory crystallizes and secretes itself" (1989:7). To Nora, "[A] *lieu de mémoire* is any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community" (1996: XVII). These *lieux* are constantly evolving and remain in constant metamorphosis⁵. Their meaning is an endless recycling of previous and new elements and its proliferation is unpredictable (Nora, 1989:19).

Nora also points out that no society has ever produced those type of repositories in a deliberately way (13) and that is one of the main reasons for the creation of sites of memory. *Lieux de mémoire* thus originate with the sense that there is no impromptu memory, instead, there must be —*the will*

⁵ Although it might seem that 'evolution' and 'metamorphosis' are synonyms, I would like to remark that I considered evolution as a gradual change over a long period of time, while metamorphosis was considered as the changes that can happen in the life cycle of the *lieux*.

to remember—(Nora, 1989:19). The *lieux* must be deliberately created, maintained, pronounced and organized in archives, museums, cemeteries, churches and memorials, because such commemorations no longer occur spontaneously (12). In this sense, the function of sites of memories is clear: to block the erosion and disappearance of memories.

Sites of memory, to be considered as such, must be definable in three senses of the word: material, functional, and symbolic; all in different levels but always present (19). In other words, the *lieux* can occur at many “spatial and social scales, being manifest in the knowledgeable and repetitive manipulation of objects, movements through space, and social interactions and discourses.” (Stockett, 2010:316).

In the following paragraphs, I elaborate on those three realms with the view to find out and understand the ways in which they are defined, limited and/or restricted to other contexts; thus to evaluate if Zadar’s acoustic territories fulfil these three realms and can function as sites of memory.

2.3 *Lieux de mémoire*: material, functional and symbolic

a) Material

Every site of memory “attaches [or unfolds] itself to sites” (Nora, 1989:22). It is important to remark that when Nora talks about sites, he is not exclusively referencing to physical sites but also to those intellectually constructed. Within this category - *material* -, we can find from concrete examples such as cemeteries, museums, memorials, conjunction of sites of tourism, national Bibliothèques or national archives to the most rationally elaborated such as generation, lineage or any formal division of inherited property (ibid.), gestures, rites or demonstrations; furthermore, these archetypes figure as mirrors of a certain time and period.

From the perspective of the philosopher Maurice Halbwachs the materialisation of a memory is absolutely essential for the understanding of the past of a group (1950:7). To him, surrounding objects have a very strong bond with the community, in the sense that they have admitted and adopted the imprint of the other (2). In other words, every phase that a group has come through time is reflected in their material world, to take obvious instances: *wartime equal to material destruction; after-war equal to material reorganization and reconstruction; development and progress equal to material modernisation; again war equal to again material destruction; post-war equal to material revival*- and so on and so forth. The materiality here expressed, encompasses all the material transformations of each event and not only the obvious material elements. This means that *wartime equal to material destruction* does not only refer to the destruction of a particular building in that specific time. It also includes the destruction of any other object within the material world for instance: songs, anthems, rites, lifestyle, lineage, and so on. Doing so, materiality inscribes temporal dimensions to the memories.

Material world allows reconstructing the past of the people and provides evidence of the events that occurred. Each material object is part of the history of a group or an individual, and also represents the continual reshaping of their present. In this sense, material world and people are intimately dependent and their relationship cannot be easily altered by the various actors or events in their surroundings (Halbwachs, 1950:3). When a person has lived a long period of time in a place performing certain rituals or traditions, his/her thoughts and habits are arranged by the real or imaginary presence of material references, no matter which one.

Due to the permanence of the materiality of the *lieux* through time, regardless their physical alterations, is possible to recreate and restore the past and simultaneously to conceal events of the very present (Nora, 1989:18). Memory is substantialized through the material objects in which each minimal transformation reflects on the members of the group and evokes particular individual and collective memories.

b) Functional

The functionality of a site of memory resides in its capacity to function as a crossroad where time and space engage and crystallize memory. Moreover, sites of memory also stop the time, block the work of forgetting, establish a state of things and materialize the immaterial (19). Some examples of sites of memory which display themselves from the functional realm can be from those groups of veterans dedicated to preserving past experiences, to those sites with specific purposes as testaments, plaques, manuals, dictionaries or memoranda (23).

Starting from their main function, sites of memory also function as sites for the augmentation of a memory expression, the adhesion of a memory in former groups or its reactivation or retransmission to new generations. Some sites foster ritual practices or post-conflict reconciliations while others might prolong indignation or resentments. It is also the case that some sites function towards nurturing political gestures and under specific certified tasks, while others are completely unofficial. The functions are unlimited as the multiple numbers of perspectives of a certain event; they evolve over time to suit new cultural, social, political, individual or collective needs.

c) Symbolic

Precisely because sites of memory are not just material and functional artefacts, it is also included a symbolic element which unleashes various versions of the past. Those interpretations are closely associated with life and death, past and present, with time and eternity (Nora, 1989:19), and with the multiple stages of the site *per se* —origin, propagation, and permanence.

It is also suggested that the symbolic element of the *lieux* can depend on the type of site: dominant or dominated (23). The first, imposed generally by governments or other national identities are often spectacular and triumphant, attended by people rather than visited. The second, the

dominated *lieux*, are places of refuge, pristine regions for profound devotion or reflexive silence. On the one hand, solemn and official ceremonies; on the other hand, public and silent pilgrimages. The classifications can be redefined ad infinitum. From public sites of memory to private ones. From pure sites and their exhaustive commemorative function to composite sites in which the commemorative element is just one of the multiple elements amid multiple meanings, intentions or claims. Therefore, “[S]ites of memory operate on many levels of aggregation and touch many facets of associative life.” (Winter, 2010:312).

At this point, the three realms —*material, functional and symbolic*— which compose a site of memory have been explained. Moreover, when those spheres work together, they enable the crystallization of the historic past and memories of a city. Their interdependence activates diverse meanings ascribed to the past and gives expression to the memories of a city.

2.4 Applicability of sites of memory to other contexts

The term of *sites of memory* was developed by Nora from two concrete examples of the French national culture: the French revolutionary calendar and the book *Tour de la France par deux enfants*. Through those paradigms, Nora, first, remarks the consequences of how history was written until that moment in France, second, he exposes the role of the historians of that time and the way they were writing the history of that country. Put differently, the concept of sites of memory emerged in a France that was awakening and splitting its history from memory and rethinking the tasks of historians. In this instance:

“[T]he passage from memory to history has required every social group to redefine its identity through the revitalization of its own history. The task of remembering makes everyone his own historian. The demand for history has thus largely overflowed the circle of professional historians.” (Nora, 1989:15).

In other words, the deconstruction of memory-history allows to private memories to demand their individual histories. The *lieux* are the result of the “atomization of a general memory [...] [because] when memory is no longer everywhere, it will not be anywhere unless one takes the responsibility to recapture it through individual means. The less memory is experienced collectively, the more it will require individuals to undertake to become themselves memory-individuals [...]”(16). Thus, the responsibility of remembering is granted to every individual and not only to the historians’ sphere. This atypical and constituent approach to memory is the result of particular characteristics of modernity, i.e., the disappearance of peasant culture, societal movements toward democratization, interior decolonization, revolution, progress, mass culture on a global scale and the dilation of the historical perception with the help of media (Nora, 1989:7).

Although the concept of sites of memories arose under those particular conditions, it has been applied to other contexts, mainly those that have undergone great ruptures and changes on their existing societal flows. War events, the collapse of the idea of the nation-state, the replacement of traditions or the forgetting of rituals are just a few examples of great changes that impinged on societies. In other words, where a big rupture took place, the repositories of collective memory might have fallen into oblivion; and precisely to not be forgotten, sites of memories emerge. In this line of thought, sites of memory:

“make their appearance by virtue of the deritualization [...] producing, manifesting, establishing, constructing, decreeing, and maintaining by artifice and by will a society deeply absorbed in its own transformation and renewal [...]. [The *lieux*] mark rituals of a society without [or with a missing] ritual” (12).

With those words, Nora seems to suggest that sites of memory originate first because memory is no longer part of the rituals and the everyday life due to a society engaged in their *tomorrow*, second, that these sites might become the embodiment of the will not to forget.

At this point, the notion of sites of memory seems to be valid in other contexts which have been exposed to crucial 20th-century events, as wars or new political regimens. However, I would like to stress the issues which still can be questioned as the applicability of sites of memory to other countries, and other historical periods.

Is the concept of lieux de mémoire exportable?

Whilst the concept of the *lieux* seems to be the diagnosis of a very specific period in France, Nora himself recognizes that the notion has already been exported and it has produced an international eco (Nora et al., 1998:26). In Spain, Italy, Germany, The Netherlands and Israel several research projects have stressed and applied the notion —*as a method and as a technique*— in their own cases and they have succeed (Nora et al., 1998:26). In the face of these achievements, Nora recognizes that those appropriations obey to one of the characteristics of the *lieux*: ***plasticity*** (27). In addition to those statements, Nora also mentions that memory is an endlessly actual phenomenon (Nora, 1989:8), and therefore, its vessels for crystallization (*lieux*) also remain in constant reinvention. Because of that evolutionary nature, the *lieux* are not linked to specific contexts of time and place, therefore, it is possible to adapt the notion to different contexts (Nora et al., 1998:32).

The evolution and adaptation of the term were facilitated by the 1970's - 80's memorial phenomenon when societies were committed to protecting their heritage. For this research is important to remark that the *lieux* have had an apogee in countries of Eastern Europe which have

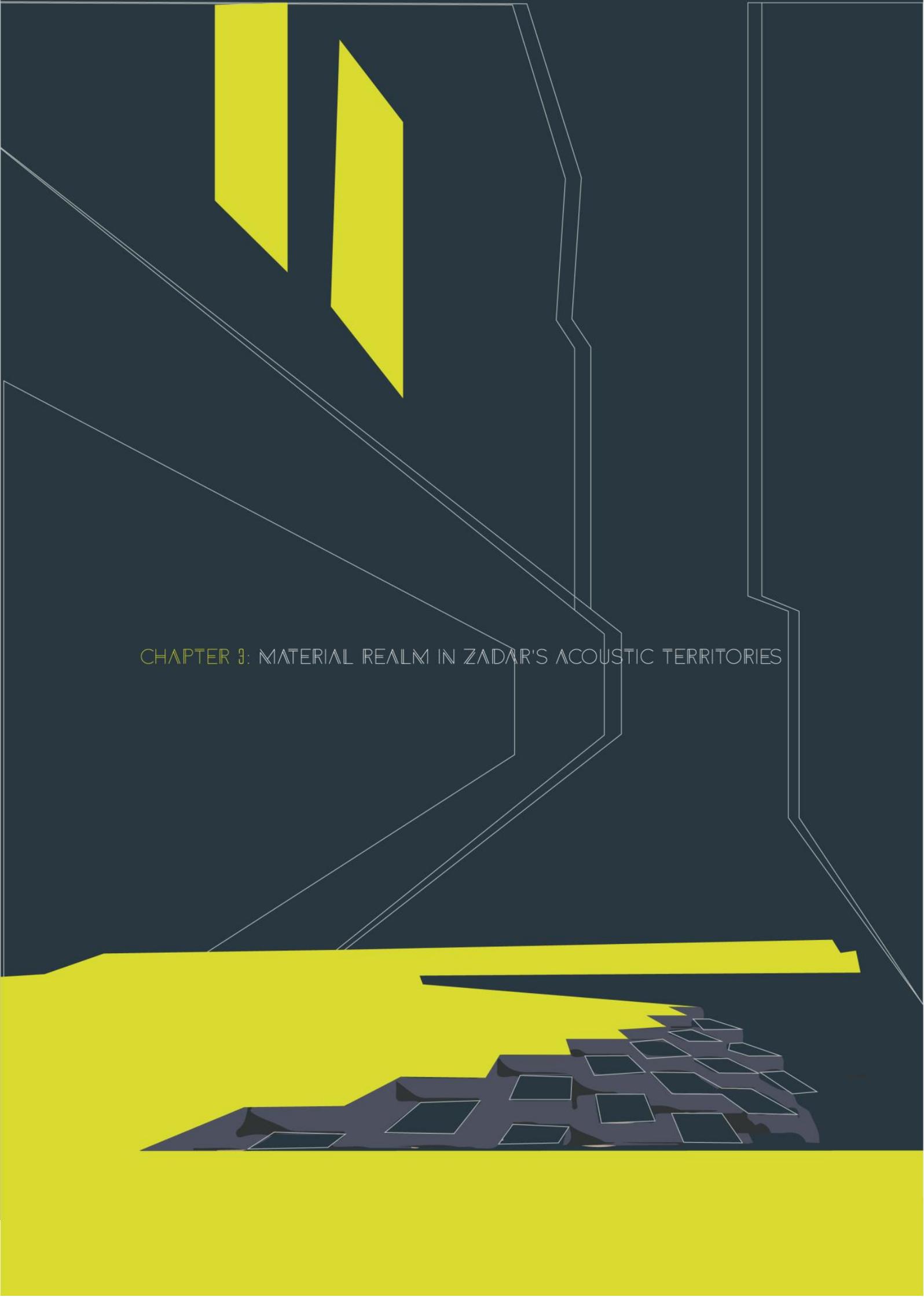
endured traumatic historical experiences and have set out in search of their memories (Nora et al., 1998:34). In that case, *can the notion of sites of memory be implemented in Croatia, particularly in the city of Zadar?* In fact, I believe first, that the concept can be exported to Zadar because this city has a past charged with traumatic historical experiences and second, because the witnesses of those events are alive and still retain their own versions of the history and past of this city. Some of their memories have been anchored to specific sites within the city. Furthermore, those groups are sharing their memories with the subsequent and younger generations who feel Zadar as the city they can identify with. (Magaš, 1999:130). Lastly, I think that the implementation of the *lieux* as a technique and as a method in Zadar can offer new possibilities of interpretation and representation of the past of this city.

Finally, I would like to mention that the *lieux* have also spread across different accounts, from modern museums and their exhibitions (Rivera-Orraca, 2009) to the analysis of films (Kolstrup, 1999). So, if the concept has gained ground in different disciplines, *could it also be the case for the sonic studies and its notion of acoustic territories?*

Conclusion:

It might become evident at this point, first, that the compound —*history and memory*— opens a space for discussion and reflection on the past of a country. That happens when “contestation and alternative ways of remembering infuse motion into history and open up the dialogue between past and memory.”(Rivera-Orraca, 2009:37). When that dialogue has been opened is then when memory calls for its witnesses and demands for “a truth more “truthful” than that of history, the truth of personal experience and individual memory.” (Nora, 2002). Those memories need of the *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory to crystallize, evolve, adapt and remain latent generation to generation. Thus, that notion is essential to blocking the erosion and disappearance of memories. The *lieux* to be considered as such must be definable in three realms of the world: material, functional and symbolic, which are interrelated in different levels and are always present.

The *plasticity* of the sites of memory offers the opportunity to export and implement the concept to other contexts, regardless the historical period, the country or the discipline. Therefore, the notion can be implemented in the city of Zadar. In the next chapters, I will make a thorough analysis of each of the realms in which sites of memory are defined —*material, functional and symbolic*— and I will investigate if they can also be defined in the acoustic territories of that city.

The image is an abstract architectural graphic. It features a dark blue background with several bright yellow geometric shapes. At the top, there are two vertical yellow rectangles and a yellow trapezoid. Below these, a series of white lines form a complex, angular structure that resembles a floor plan or a cross-section of a building. The lines are thin and white, creating a sense of depth and perspective. In the lower right, there is a yellow area that looks like a floor or a platform, with a dark blue, stepped structure on top of it. The overall composition is clean and modern, with a strong contrast between the yellow and dark blue colors.

CHAPTER 3: MATERIAL REALM IN ZADAR'S ACOUSTIC TERRITORIES

Chapter 3: Material realm in Zadar's acoustic territories

In the previous chapter, I explained the notion of *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory and the three realms—*material, functional and symbolic*—, in which these *lieux* are defined. In this chapter, I will talk about the materiality of Zadar's acoustic territories. I will start by explaining the material realm, next, I will make an analysis of the different type of material sources which can be found within the Zadar's acoustic territories.

“For what we hear is not mostly what we see, nor can it strictly be pinned down to a given source, or bought into language.”— Brandon LaBelle (2010)

Over the last decades and after various episodes of violence, war, and destruction, the city of Zadar has focused on its modernisation and reinvention. Although some streets and buildings completely vanished during the wars, they seem to linger on; some were rebuilt, others remained the same, and some others disappeared but still lain hidden beneath new architecture. Evident or barely visible to the naked eye, those buildings and streets have fixed a specific location in the material world in the districts and neighbourhoods of Zadar's old town.

However, to talk about the material world of the old town and more precisely about the materiality of the acoustic territories, is not simply to talk about the environment built by human activity but also by the nature. It is not only to talk about architecture, sculptures and buildings and so on but also about the natural phenomena and landscapes. Zadar's acoustic territories thus are composed of an infinite number of living things and objects which roam between the built and natural environments. **Those actors, living things and objects, interact and intermingle with each other and their interrelation produces outcomes, sometimes in the way of audible sounds.** In this regard, sounds can be essentially understood as a result of a series of material vibrations (LaBelle, 2010:6) that propagate through a medium such as air or water. This means that the sound-producing events are caused by the interaction of materials which produce mechanical waves that propagate through the medium. Fundamentally, these type of events fall into three categories: (a) those in which sounds are produced by the vibration of solid materials, (b) those in which sounds are produced by a body liquid, and (c) those in which sounds are introduced in an atmosphere due to the differences in pressure or wind speed (Gaver, 1993:9). Whether solids, liquids or gaseous elements, the sounds are caused by the interaction of materials; importantly, the difference resides in the material attributes and physics of the interactions. For instance, walking in concrete, or dropping water in a pool, or exploding a balloon, differ from the other in material attributes and physical reactions, therefore, they 'sound' different.

Beyond the mere activity of vibration, I find relevant to acknowledge that sounds are an extension, a confirmation, a validation of the materiality of the living things and objects. In other words, the

sound-producing events '*footsteps*', '*water dropping*', or '*an exploding balloon*', speak of the actors' existence, permanence and decadence in the material world. Hence, sounds can also be understood as an intrinsic characteristic of the actors, objects or living things.

The reason why I briefly mention both perspectives, sounds as physical interactions and as an extension or confirmation of the very actors—*living things and objects*—, is because I like to suggest a way of rethinking the sounds, and as a consequence, the acoustic territories. My intention here is that the reader examines and deeply reflects with the higher consciousness that the materiality of acoustic territories does not exclusively disclose the properties of the built or natural environments or on the inanimate or living sources, but also reveals a deeper relationship between actors.

In this chapter, I will base my analysis of the materiality of Zadar's acoustic territories on the act of listening to the sonic events and consequently, on the disclosure of their sources. This exercise is crucial first because sounds are determined by the attribute of their sources and informative about them (ibid.). Second, in trying to understand what I heard in Zadar, I detected different type of sources that can be divided in three types. First, biological or sounds created by living things or produced by their actions, second, geophysical or sounds originating from the geophysical environment, and third, anthropogenic or sounds produced by human-made objects (Pijanowski et al., 2011:1214). Therefore, the analysis of the material realm of Zadar's acoustic territories will start with the identification of the type of sonic source, then, —because the sonic events unfold in a certain space and time—I will group those sources by temporal patterns and spatial variability. Finally, it will be possible to identify and list specific properties of the sources that make them relevant when I dive into the functional and symbolic subjects of *lieux de mémoire*.

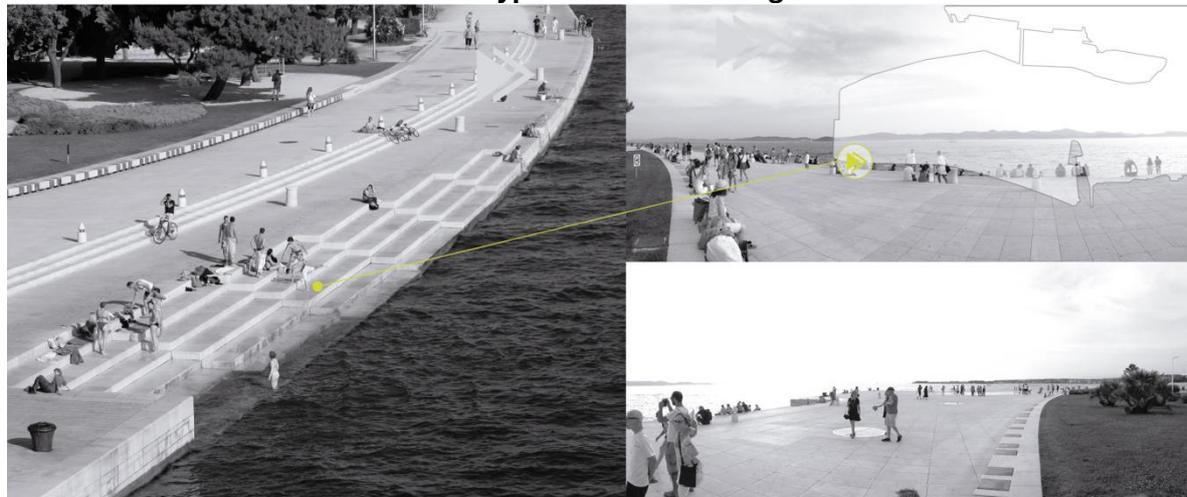
3.1 Materiality of Sea organ

This territory is located in the north western part of the Peninsula and it is composed by the Adriatic Sea, the shoreline, the sea organ, and a big green area for leisure. Unlike the rest of the acoustic territories, this territory is not surrounded by commercial areas, historical ramparts, or archaeological and monumental riches. In addition, commercial activities are prohibited within a radius of 4-5km from the sea organ and the only building close to this point is the city council. Passenger ferries and yachts are not allowed to dock at this side of the Peninsula but at the eastern port out of the old town.

Within this acoustic territory, we can listen to several sonic events, for instance, water crashing on the shore and entering through the apertures of the sea organ, seagulls squawking, people talking, arguing or laughing, footsteps, boat engines, etc. Although these sonic events are unpredictable, simply because of their probability and causality, some of them stay permanently there regardless of human activity and with "minor" changes on their acoustics. The sources within this acoustic

territory are listed in the following tables⁶. First, by types of sources (table 1), then, by temporal patterns (table 2), and spatial variability (table 3). Lastly, I will describe some dominant acoustic patterns that emerge from the listed sources.

Table 1. Type of sources sea organ



Images sources: left: <http://balkanfunksu.blogspot.nl/> / right: Orozco, 2016.

Biological sources or biophony or actors (1)	Geophysical sources or geophony (2)	Anthropogenic sources or anthrophony (3)
<p>Locals Tourists Pets Regional fauna Regional flora</p>	<p>Wind Water Sea tides Stones Rain Thunder Storm Habitat features</p>	<p>Sea organ Leisure area (park & benches) Footsteps Small boat engines Big boat engines Traditional sea ships Photo cameras Mobile phones Bicycles Motor vehicles</p>



Zadar 1 - Sea organ.mp3

(Orozco, 2016. Zadar 1 – Sea organ)

All the sonic events within this territory are caused by the interaction of different sources; the sounds emerging here speak of the material existence, presence, and permanence of the elements that compose this territory. For instance, a sonic event which involves the interaction between the

⁶ I noticed that the broad range of sounds makes simple descriptions of them rather difficult. Precisely for that reason, the use of tables in this chapter will give a useful structure for understanding the diversity of material sources. My concern here is to try to organize the attributes of the sounds of Zadar's acoustic territories in a form that is relatively general and simple. Then, it will be possible to extract from the tables information that will help me to understand the sounds of Zadar (relationships, patterns, perhaps hierarchies). It is also important to remark that the categorization is not absolute but dominant to a certain degree, and for instance the categories of temporal patterns and spatial variability are not mutually exclusive. The material sources can change and therefore they can move from one category to another, from permanent to temporal, or from fix to unfixed, and then again fix, and so on.

geophysical sources “wind” and “water” with the anthropogenic source “sea organ” can reveal the type of material of the sea instrument and perhaps its size. *Is it made by casting metal or stone or plastic? Do the echo of the sea organ can speak of its underwater solid chamber and perhaps also, that the water travels along tubes to generate the sounds? Why does it have such a high volume? Is it a small instrument barely audible or is not?* It is important to note that the phenomena of echo, amplitude and intensity (volume) of the sonic events within this territory can be exposed by the interrelation of different sources (Gaver, 1993). In conclusion, every sonic event reveals different information about the materiality of a territory.

Permanent (1)	Recurrent (2)	Seasonal (3)
Regional flora Regional fauna Water Stones Habitat features Sea organ Leisure area (park & benches)	Locals Pets Wind Sea tides Footsteps Small boat engines Big boat engines Traditional sea ships Mobile phones Bicycles Motor vehicles Photo cameras	Tourists Rain Thunder Storm

In the case of the temporal patterns, they disclose information about the **duration** and **presence** of the sources, and perhaps also more detailed information about date and time. An example of a sonic event produced by the permanent sources within this territory can be the one produced by the interplay of (a) water and (b) wind and (c) the sea organ. Those sources working together disclose their mutual permanence and a sort of perpetuity of the sonic events. An example of a recurrent source can be (d) boats which commute several times per day and add engines sounds to the previous a,b,c, and also increase immediately the volume of the sea organ if sailing close to it. Finally, an example of a seasonal source can be (f) tourists. This source becomes audible within this acoustic territory in specific seasons of the year, particularly in summer. During that time, it is interesting to listen to all those foreign languages and the disastrous and anxious “clicks”(g) of their photo cameras.

Fixed	Movable
Water Stones Habitat features	Locals Regional fauna Regional flora

<p>Sea organ Leisure area (park & benches)</p>	<p>Pets Tourists Wind Sea tides Rain Thunder Storm Footsteps Small boat engines Big boat engines Traditional sea ships Mobile phones Bicycles Motor vehicles Photo cameras</p>
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The spatial variability of the sources reveals the **existence** and **permanence** of the sources. For instance, in the case of this acoustic territory, the fixed sources can reveal its geographical location, the source “waves” gives information about the proximity of this territory to the sea. In the other hand, the movable sources disclose perhaps certain traditions or habits like the use of this territory as a meeting point or as the perfect site to walk the dog.

Sea organ acoustic patterns given by the materiality

There are as many sonic events as we can imagine, and the numbers of sources combinations are infinite. I only described the simplest in order to give a very general overview of the interrelations among sources (a+b+c+d+e...) and their temporality or permanence over time and space. Within this territory some sonic events are **permanent, dominant and emerge naturally**. Such is the case of the sounds of the water, the wind, and the waves crashing on the shore and entering on the sea organ. Moreover, the temporality of other sources as big boats (passenger ferries), city residents or tourists, and their variability in space speak of the routine activities and the ways in which people have appropriate this territory for social purposes. An acoustic pattern within this territory is the sounds of the sea organ which, no matter what, remains permanently sounding and only morphs in amplitude and frequency. This source is the only anthrophony which presents the combination “permanent and fixed”. Although, it is true that the source “leisure area” has also these characteristics, its sounds are exceeded by the anthropogenic sources.

Finally, the materiality of this acoustic territory is arranged in such a way that allows this territory to conserve a poetic essence in which everything around is a song, and everything is interconnected into one aural message.

3.2 Materiality of St. Mary

This acoustic territory is located on the western edge of the Peninsula and is the kernel of Zadar's old town. In it converges the churches of St. Mary's and St. Donatus, ancient ruins and the Roman

forum, the museum of archaeology, a parking lot, restaurants, and all sort of commercial activities. As a result of these urban and architectural arrangements, this complex has become a territory in which the city residents regularly spend their afternoons. This tradition has a direct effect on the sonic events that occur in this territory. Whilst in the mornings the events are mostly a mix of sounds emerging from the chimes of St. Mary's bell, the birdsongs, and some early morning footsteps, by the afternoon, it transforms into a melting pot of conversations and gossips, footsteps, chants and songs of children, and of course, the bells' chimes.

As with the previous territory, in the following tables I will list first the predominant sources (table 4), then, I will group them by temporal patterns (table 5) and spatial variability (table 6). Lastly, I will describe some acoustic patterns that emerge from this territory.

Table 4. Type of sources St. Mary



Image source Orozco, 2016.

Biological sources or biophony or actors (1)	Geophysical sources or geophony (2)	Anthropogenic sources or anthrophony (3)
<p>Locals Nuns and Monks Tourists Pets Regional fauna Regional flora</p>	<p>Wind Stones Rain Thunder Storm Habitat features</p>	<p>St. Mary's church Bell Museum of archaeology Roman forum & ancient ruins Parking lot Restaurants Footsteps Photo cameras Mobile phones Bicycles Motor vehicles Rubber Balls</p>



94 chimes St. Mary.mp3

(Orozco, 2016. 94 chimes St. Mary)

Within this acoustic territory, the number of anthropogenic sources is larger than the other type of sources. The anthrophony is mainly composed of buildings and objects that bring together past and

present, tradition and technology. From the ancient Roman forum founded in the 3rd century (Absolute Croatia. The Roman Forum. Retrieved from: <http://www.absolute-croatia.com>) to the modern museum of archaeology (Museum of Archeology Zadar, <http://amzd.hr/en/o-muzeju/>); from the *-veteran voice-* of St. Mary's bell to the latest photo cameras' *-click-*. What is also remarkable of this territory is the effect of how a singular sonic event "absorbs" the others. With this statement, I am making a punctual reference to the anthropogenic source "bell" that, when sounding, creates a particular sonic atmosphere that envelops the rest of the events. And when it gradually stops, the before-overlapped sounds start to reappropriate the place again.

Table 5. Temporal patterns St. Mary

Permanent (1)	Recurrent (2)	Seasonal (3)
Regional flora Regional fauna Stones Habitat features St. Mary's church Roman forum & ancient ruins Museum of archaeology Restaurants Parking lot	Locals Nuns and Monks Pets Wind Bell Footsteps Photo cameras Mobile phones Bicycles Motor vehicles Rubber Balls	Tourists Rain Thunder Storm

The anthropogenic sources of this acoustic territory contribute to the city's ritual structure. A large part of that social fabric of Zadar is daily reaffirmed by the constant and regular source "bell". Therefore, this source —which is activated manually and amplified by the Roman forum acoustics— marks to some extent the agenda to the everyday activities. For instance, the 11:00-morning chimes seem to indicate the time for a coffee break, while the ones at 18:30 may indicate playtime for the children. The chimes hourly recurrence, their consistency over the years, and the peculiar acoustics of this place create at times a holistic aural experience. Although for me those sonic events were stunning because of their intensity, propagation, and vibration, for the inhabitants who are used to them, are common sounds of the old town (Truax, 2001). Unlike the sea organ, this territory is not sonorously affected by the seasonal sources, instead, the sonic events remain invariable along the year (perhaps only with slight variations of intensity).

Table 6. Spatial variability St. Mary

Fixed	Movable
Stones Habitat features St. Mary's church Bell	Locals Nuns and Monks Tourists Pets

Ruins (ancient forum) Museum of archaeology Restaurants Parking lot	Regional fauna Regional flora Wind Rain Thunder Storm Footsteps Photo cameras Mobile phones Bicycles Motor vehicles Rubber Balls
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Although discerning the sources between -fixed or movable- can be complicated to evaluate and therefore to extract specific data, it is possible to obtain general interpretations of the material features of the place. For instance, the presence of a bell made by casting metal located in an open space in which the floor is made by stones or concrete is almost undeniable. Thus, from the sounds of the bell and heavy footsteps on a solid type of ground, it is possible to extract general information about the materiality of the St. Mary's acoustic territory.

St. Mary's church acoustic patterns given by the materiality

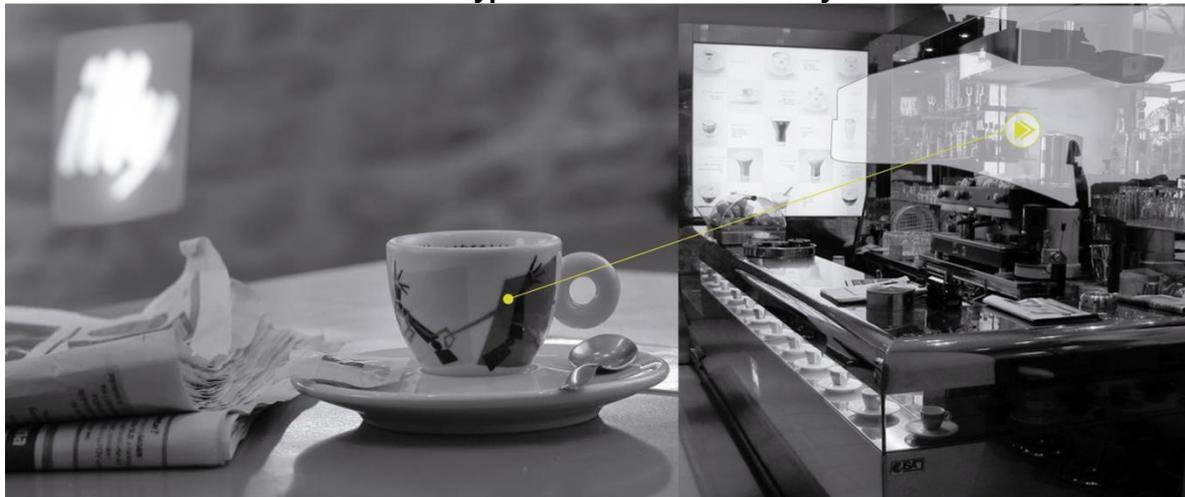
Given the large number of commercial activities within this territory, can be assumed that anthrophony is dominant. Moreover, anthropogenic events do not only impose on the geographical and biological sounds but also dictate the everyday agenda for the inhabitants of the old town. The material features of the sources, as well as their regularity and consistency over time and space, have defined this place in which variability is unlikely. In this sense, "[T]he pattern of familiar sound[s], through repetition, does enter long-term memory in terms of the features that have been used to decode it *combined with* the environmental context in which it is typically heard" (Truax, 2001: 79). In other words, the sonic events —biological, geophysical, and anthropogenic—, which occur within this acoustic territory are perceived as one; furthermore, there is no *soundmark* (Schafer, 1994:10) linked to the place. Perhaps, that sounds' generalisation is the reason why the inhabitants of the old town seem to obviate the sounds that compose this territory and give them for granted as natural properties of the environment. Overall, the acoustic patterns of this territory are a mixture of sounds which apparently sound with the same pace day after day.

3.3 Materiality of Caffè Bar Illy

Caffè Bar Illy is a well-known coffee bar in Zadar's old town, not only because of its premium coffee, but also because of its unique vibe. It is located at some blocks from St. Mary's church and the University of Zadar. This place is where professors and students of Zadar's University congregate, either to enjoy a good cup of coffee with their colleagues or to get some work done. Unlike a quiet cafe in a slow day when there is no one but book readers, the Illy is a busy chit-chat cafe where different actors —*people and objects*— can be found together within a space relatively small.

People, plates, mugs, cutlery, a brewing machine, drinking glasses coming and going, newspapers, and an energetic playlist are just a few examples of actors performing in this indoor space. The Illy thus is composed of sources that interact with one another while creating a beautiful chaos. This “small” sonic microcosm can be divided into different types of sources (table 7).

Table 7. Type of sources Caffe Bar Illy



Images sources: Caffe Bar Illy Facebook profile

Biological sources or biophony (1)	Geophysical sources or geophony (2)	Anthropogenic sources or anthrophony (3)
<p>Locals Tourists Waiters Barman Coffee beans :)</p>		<p>Water tap Coffee machine Coffee bean grinder Fridge and in-line refrigeration Dishwasher Electric blender Fan Metal cutlery Glass utensils Ceramic utensils Sound system (computer & speakers) Recorded music Tables Chairs Newspapers Electricity</p>



Caffe Bar Illy
05042016.mp3

(Orozco, 2016. Caffe Bar Illy 05042016)

Easy to discern, the dominant sources within this territory are anthropogenic. The various elements which compose this category and their interplay shape the atmosphere of the Illy; they create an immersive sonic experience of what is to drink a coffee in the old town. The experience then is composed of sounds produced by electrical devices such as the coffee bean grinder, the coffee machine and the in-line refrigeration, by drinking glasses and eating utensils, by the music playlist

and the speakers, and by the people. I found almost poetic, that in this territory the biological sources (individuals) have a close and intimate relationship with the anthropogenic sources (objects); it is not only a matter of a *correlation* but more of an *extension*. *Do we notice that our actions over common objects produce sounds and that our needs or habits also regulate them? do we reflect on the sound produced by our home fridge and that it changes when we open or close its door? or do we listen to the sound of the water flowing through the metal faucet when we want to pour water into a glass because we are thirsty?* Every minute at the Illy is a different and unique composition of sonic events, and if we listen to them with our ears open, they will tell us a story.

Table 8. Temporal patterns Caffe Bar Illy		
Permanent (1)	Recurrent (2)	Seasonal (3)
Water tap Sound system (computer & speakers) Fridge and in-line refrigeration Metal cutlery Glass utensils Ceramic utensils Tables Chairs Electricity	Coffee beans :) Waiters Barman Locals Coffee machine Coffee bean grinder Dishwasher Electric blender Recorded music Newspapers	Tourists Fan

About the stories narrated by the Illy's material components, those are related to the temporal patterns (table 8). The next narrative flow of events will help to clarify that idea: It starts for instance with the voices of a client and the barman, and the background music playlist. Next, that first sonic event is followed by the sounds of the coffee grinder which can tell us about the conversation that they perhaps had before —a coffee, please—. Then, the 20 seconds of the sounds of the coffee machine working and the steam can tell us that it was not an instant coffee but an espresso, and so on and so forth. Lastly, it becomes possible to trace Illy's individual stories by following the traces of the sounds, moreover, we can draw a timeline of events: *'Someone stands up and moves a chair, some other drinks water hastily from a drinking glass and then put it on the metal table, and at the same time someone has turned on the fan because it is summer'*. If we listen thoroughly to the sonic events happening, we will have a clear idea of what is going on there.

Table 9. Spatial variability Caffe Bar Illy	
Fix	Movable
Water tap Coffee machine Coffee beans grinder	Locals Tourists Waiters

Fridge and in-line refrigeration Dishwasher Electric blender Fan Metal cutlery Glass utensils Ceramic utensils Sound system (computer & speakers) Recorded music Tables Chairs Newspapers Electricity	Barman Coffee beans :)
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Most of the elements at the Illy are fixed sources. Therefore, the possibility that sounds could change is, to some extent, limited. Whilst it is true that every day and every second different sonic events happen there, the sounds of the fixed sources remain with the same patterns. Interestingly, a change in those sounds can speak of the sources condition. For instance, if the source “dishwasher” sounds different than it used to, that could mean that perhaps it is damaged. Hence, changes in sonic patterns of fixed sources can be a sort of notification. Regarding the movable sources at the Illy, they all are human beings, who come and go daily, following their everyday life routine.

Caffe Bar Illy acoustic patterns given by the materiality

The materiality of the Illy and its acoustic patterns describe a deep-rooted tradition in Zadar: to drink coffee. Within this small indoor territory is possible to listen to sounds that reveal connections of people-people, people-objects, and objects-objects. Moreover, those sounds are individual and simultaneously collective; they belong to everybody and each thing present at the Illy. From a human perspective, those sounds are a trace of the individual rituals, needs, tastes and preferences; from an “inanimate” object perspective, they are a trace of the object’s properties and functions. Finally, amid the constellation of sounds happening at the Illy, is possible to discern certain acoustic patterns, for instance during the day, the sounds start with the coffee grinder, then, voices, next, the coffee machine working intermittently, after, the drinking glasses and mugs softly knocking on the table. At the end of the day, most of those sounds will begin to *retreat* one by one, eventually, leaving only the fridge and the in-line refrigeration sounds.

3.4 Material differences and similarities in Zadar’s acoustic territories

We inhabit in a material world composed of living things and objects which are in constant morphing and interaction. The relationships between sources produce outcomes, sometimes in the form of material alterations and some others in the way of audible sounds. Through listening to them, it is possible to obtain information about interactions of material sources at a specific location in a defined environment.

In that sense, the material sources inform about their variation over time and space and additionally, reflect important human activities and processes. The various types of material sources can be divided in geophysical, biological, and anthropogenic.

In the case of geophysical sources, the sources can reveal the location of the territory in terms of time and space. For instance, the sea organ and St. Mary's church share common geophysical sources as the wind, stones, rain or storms; these *in situ*, environmental sounds, reveal that both sites are outdoors. Other sources as rain and thunder can also speak of the duration of the rain season. On the contrary, the absence of these types of sources in Caffè Bar Illy reveals that this territory is an indoor place wherein cannot be easily detected the season of the year. Concerning the biological sources, these contain numerous rhythms and cycles that can be translated in rituals, habits, traditions or needs. From the tradition to daily walk the dog along the shore to the need to spend summer holidays at the sea. Finally, the anthropogenic sources are, in my opinion, those which play the most important role when talking about materiality as part of sites of memory. For instance, the anthropogenic sources "sea organ", "St. Mary's bell", and "Illy's assembly" are the ones which charge the acoustic territories with sounds for self-reflection and remembrance. The sounds which emerge from those sources have the peculiar power of generating signals, functions, and symbols. What is more, I think the anthrophony of those territories can act as memories' soundmarks and keynotes.

In this chapter about the materiality of Zadar's acoustic territories, I have reflected on the material sources that produce and emit sounds within these territories. I can conclude then, that the three acoustic territories have a presence in this realm, and moreover, it is in the *inanimate* objects in which the memory is substantialized. That idea will be clear when I elaborate on the functional and symbolic realms on the next chapters.

CHAPTER 4: FUNCTIONAL REALM IN ZADAR'S ACOUSTIC TERRITORIES



Chapter 4: Functional realm in Zadar's acoustic territories

Although Zadar's acoustic territories can have different functions, they accomplish one in common: to contribute to the making of shared spaces (LaBelle, 2010: L191). In other words, these territories can function as public spaces where it is possible to create social exchange and foster social and cultural projects (LaBelle, Research acoustic territories. Retrieved from: <http://www.brandonlabelle.net>). Furthermore, as public spaces, they are centrally influenced by the entanglement and circulation of living things and objects, and definitely, sounds (Gehl, 2011). The sea organ, St. Mary and Caffè bar Illy's acoustic territories are products of a material culture that form a kind of pre-cognitive framework for social, cultural and political behaviours (Amin, 2008:5). In other words, Zadar's acoustic territories are sites that increase the opportunity to congregate and to participate in collective activities and cultural expressions. As a consequence, this open and public fellowship nurtures the growth of interactions between individuals and makes possible to assemble civic meetings and social events. For instance, members of different groups can come together to these sites in a supportive context of mutual enjoyment (Carr et al., 1993:344). Inasmuch as those expressions are repeated, the acoustic territories can become vessels to carry meanings and also, memories.

There is no archetypal public space; therefore, it is possible that some of them function in a well-defined manner while others do it in a distorted way, some might have several functions while some others have just a single function (Gehl, 2011). In this sense, Zadar's acoustic territories, indeed, operate commonly as public spaces, but also individually with proper and unique functions. A simple but illustrative example might be to think about the sea organ as a territory which specifically reactivates bonds with old sea narratives, while St. Mary and Caffè bar Illy are territories which nurture cultures of consumption. The different functions that go on in Zadar's territories are influenced by a number of conditions like the natural environment, the man-made structures, and the habits or rituals pertaining to a specific group. In addition, the conditions can also stimulate different types of activities: 'active' activities such as conversing, greeting, playing, or 'passive' activities such as gathering, hearing and seeing other people.

Because Zadar's acoustic territories are sites that contribute to the making of shared spaces, this chapter includes an analysis of functions which foster that main intention. Although it is true that the number of functions is unlimited⁷, I will focus on those in which sound plays a crucial role in weaving an individual into a larger social fabric as well as filling relations with local sounds and auditory memories (LaBelle, 2010:L189). In the following tables (tables 11-15), I will describe the

⁷ Due to the limited space and time for this research, I will focus on 5 functions of Zadar's acoustic territories. The following descriptions are based on the dominant functions of these territories and which have as common the objective to create a shared place.

various functions of Zadar's acoustic territories. Those functions are common denominator among the three territories, in different levels but always present⁸.

On an ordinary day, the Zadar's acoustic territories can function as:

Function 1 - A contemporary space where people gather, and where interpersonal and intergroup dialogues take place.	
Sea organ acoustic territory	This acoustic territory indeed functions as a meeting point where people congregate in groups or individually, either in noncommittal contacts or complex connections. On a daily basis, this territory can be quite comprehensive: from very simple 'see and hear' contacts, greetings and play to emotionally and complex self-reflections. Regarding the interpersonal and intergroup dialogues, they occur when the members of groups come to this territory to enjoy a sunset or to roam along the promenade. It is easy to note that, on the one hand, from a long distance to the instrument 'sea organ' the groups and peer-to-peer dialogues increase in frequency and volume. On the other hand, from a shorter distance to the instrument or <i>above</i> it, the dialogues become a conversation shaped mostly among the individual and 'objects' as the sounds of the sea organ, the wind and the sea. This territory offers the opportunity to be with oneself or others in an undemanding way.
St. Mary's church acoustic territory	Within this territory, one can occasionally relax while taking a walk or a seat on the church's staircase or on an ancient column, <i>although most of them are taken</i> . The dialogues which occur in this territory are mainly between known people or members of the same group and families, and hardly between two strangers. As a consequence, this territory is an example of a place in which is possible to maintain already established contacts in regular times of the day; to some extent, the sonic events are those which 'route and formalise' the making of those habits. For instance, the morning sounds seem to mark the time to meet up for the first coffee of the day, while the afternoon sounds seem to invite to congregate and converse with others previously known. In addition, the sounds also mark the time to play for children who after listening to the afternoon's chimes know that the roman forum becomes a playground.

⁸ It is important to remark that the way in which the functions were listed was decided arbitrarily.

**Caffe Bar Illy
acoustic territory**

Caffe Bar Illy is a place where frequent meetings in connection with daily activities take place. Gathering here can be arranged on short notice and mainly when the moods of the coffee drinkers dictate. Within this territory, there is no blank space available for self-reflection because the environment is filled with all sorts of sounds and is also saturated with the never ending greetings, conversations, and gossips. The cheerful interaction among people, objects, and their sounds rises above any subdued crowd or sound. In this territory, everyone is meeting someone, or talking with someone, or drinking something. The Illy is the extension of the job or the study room as well as an intellectual hub for the Zadar's University academics and students. Here, everyone knows someone and regular clients greet the others as if they were old friends. In much the same way as people seem to be here holding lively conversations, the sounds give the impression to be conversing, replying, and arguing. As the people, the sounds at the Illy also enjoy the coffee time, because that is the moment when they 'come to life'.

Table 11 - Function no. 1 of Zadar's acoustic territories

Function 2 - A communal setting from which is possible to respond in similar ways as other people do, and therefore, to create temporal bonds with them (Carr et al., 1993:344). The temporal bonds are created from one body to the other; "a thread is made that stitches the two together in a temporal instant, while remaining loose, slack, to unfurl back into the general humdrum of place. Sound might be heard to say, *This is our moment.*" (LaBelle, 2010, L130).

**Sea organ
acoustic territory**

Zadar's inhabitants have appropriated this territory with general devotion. This acoustic territory functions as a base for social communion and from which it is possible to increase senses of unity and disposition towards the other. Furthermore, from this communal setting is possible to see how other people react in similar ways to certain visual and sonic stimuli. Interestingly, these similar reactions create not only temporary bonds among humans, but also with other living things and inanimate objects. A clear example of this behaviour —*which I particularly find beautiful*— is the following one: When someone visits this acoustic territory for the first time, it is almost unavoidable to run toward the source from where the mystic sounds emerge. Some people listen carefully to the steps apertures while others, the most adventurous, put their ears over the tiny holes on the ground as the

	<p>children do. A temporal bond is developed in this merely instant, when one is with the ear abnormally positioned in a pipe hole, while at the same time, another person is making exactly the same thing. Besides, a temporal connection with the sea is also forged in those moments.</p>
<p>St. Mary's church acoustic territory</p>	<p>In this territory, most of the bonds are created among people who are known or familiar, either because they are old friends, perhaps neighbours or because they catch up in this site every afternoon. The most interesting thing is that the strongest connection is the one made by the children playing at this site because it does not only connect child-child, but also child-objects and child-sounds. In this regard, formalized playtime occurs at 18:00hrs and just before the chimes of St. Mary sound. At that time of the day, this acoustic territory evolves into a space for social ties creation where children are together, interact with each other, and feel like 'go out to play' with other children. From these simple childhood connections —<i>with other children, objects, and sounds</i>—, social bonds can grow to other levels, for instance, to memories in the adulthood.</p>
<p>Caffe Bar Illy acoustic territory</p>	<p>As described previously, to drink coffee at the Illy goes beyond the mere act. Croats meet here for drinking coffee at various occasions and regardless the personal agendas or budgets; through this experience is possible to measure the soundness of their social ties. For instance, —<i>plaćam kavu or coffee is on me</i>—, is the way to usually seal a deal between people at the Illy. The favour asked could be worth much more than the price of an espresso, but the expression '<i>plaćam kavu</i>' is a way to acknowledge that this one owes the other. 'Coffee is on me' is a good example of a human-human bond created at the Illy. However, also bonds among human-objects and sounds are clear and very intimate. In that sense, this territory allows the exploration of delightful examples of both type of bonds, first, when people seal deals with coffee currency with the highest exchange rate, and afterwards, when they create an intimate connection with the mug and their hand, the coffee and their mouth and the sound of each sip.</p>

Table 12 - Function no. 2 of Zadar's acoustic territories

Function 3 - A space for democratic practices (Parkinson, 2012), where a wide variety of people from different ages, gender, class, culture and nationalities interrelate peacefully.

**Sea organ
acoustic territory**

This territory is a public and accessible space where people come together, regardless of age, gender, class, attitude, culture or nationality. In an ordinary day, people from various regions of Croatia congregate here, and during the summer, tens of other nationalities join this multicultural plethora. In this site people can celebrate, cooperate and participate. The almost forgotten and the on-going traditions are reinforced and emphasised here, and the public life is revitalised. In a conversation with a resident of Zadar, he shared with me a personal memory regarding this matter. *“After the inauguration of the Sea organ, it was banned to swim in this corner of the Peninsula. Few days after this notification, thousands of Zadar’s inhabitants took position against this and protest in the very promenade. The city council couldn’t take us what has been ours for years. My grandfather and my father used to swim there (where now is located the sea organ) since their childhood.”* — Paolo, 31 years old, Zadar’s inhabitant third generation.

Currently, during the summer is common to witness people swimming in this corner of the Peninsula or spreading a blanket on one of the steps of the scalinata. Regarding the sonic events within this territory, they are an automatic translation of the democratic practices of this city. In a sense, they encourage “more positive understanding of how sound participates and complements experiences of public life.” (LaBelle, 2010: 82). I will return to this issue in the next chapter.

**St. Mary’s church
acoustic territory**

Although this territory is also accessible and open and people congregate here during the afternoons, it is constrained to some extent by particular characteristics of heritage and religion. For instance, the roman forum as a site of ancestral heritage and St. Mary’s church as a religious site, make of this complex a semi-sacred site in which is supposed that people who come here should do it with a respectful attitude (‘mute attitude’). Similar to the panopticon (Foucault, 1977)—*and its manifestation of power and surveillance*—, St. Mary’s complex possesses invisible forces that ‘discipline or restrict’ the social behaviours and aspirations. Moreover, the permanent visibility of the ruins and the churches, and the consistency of the sonic events can, in a certain degree, assure respectful and controlled social behaviour.

With this brief reflexion, I am not saying that this territory cannot function as a democratic space, but rather I am trying to point out that

	its particular characteristics <i>'visual and sonic Panopticon'</i> ⁹ restrict to some extent democratic expressions either because of the ancient essence or the religious presence.
Caffe Bar Illy acoustic territory	<p>Despite the fact that the principal function of the Illy is to 'sell' coffee and the official discourse of the public sphere (Habermas, 1989) says that public spaces are not an arena for commercial or market relations, the Illy still offers a space for production and circulation of social and cultural discourses.</p> <p>Whilst this coffee bar does not provide enough room to organize public tends, people nevertheless use it for 'everyday forms of resistance'. They use this space to interweave, exchange and discuss ideas, free of coercion. The Illy possesses an atmosphere in which is possible to engage in either serious or informal conversations. It is a territory for round table discussions of literature, politics and the scandals, daily gossip, current events and debates surrounding the old town, perhaps also the music playlist.</p> <p>Beyond the Zadar's University sphere, this coffee bar is also open to anyone who wants to enter, drink a coffee, stay minutes or hours, and exit.</p>

Table 13 - Function no. 3 of Zadar's acoustic territories

Function 4 - A source of inspiration which offers stimulating aural experiences.	
Sea organ acoustic territory	<p>The sea organ territory functions as a point of self-reflection either for locals or tourists. Whilst analysing magazines (issuu.com, Čorak, Z. 2010, <i>Live infinity</i>), news portals (BBC.com 2013, <i>Zadar: One Square Mile of Croatia</i>), media content pools (www.croatia.org, www.zadar.hr, www.tripadvisor.co.nz), live local conversations, and so on and so forth, I realised that everything within this territory can inspire. The sea instrument itself, the sea, the wind, the sunset, the people, the ships and seagulls, and the unlimited number of sonic events make complete the</p>

⁹ Foucault explained that power "reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives" (1980:30). With his words in mind, I thought that commonly, the concept of the panopticon (power and surveillance) is related with something visual. In this sense and without any presumption, I made a distinction between visual and *sonic* Panopticon with the only intention to raise awareness on the invisible but acoustically tangible forces of power and surveillance that the chimes of a bell or the acoustic effects of a roman forum can have. Moreover, I would like to also remark that in the same way power reaches into the very grain of the individuals and touches the bodies [...], sound also penetrates into the body and mind through the pores of the skin (Meelberg, et al., 2015). Moreover "[S]ound, combined with an awareness of sonic presence, is posited as a powerful force in shaping how people interpret their experiences." (Rice, 2003:4).

	<p>experience to be here. Apropos the acoustics, this territory was designed specifically with a deep understanding of the coastal musical culture in order to offer a holistic sonic experience. In this sense, the sea organ instrument complies with certain arrangements that reflect on the local singing tradition '<i>klapa</i>'.</p> <p>All in all, what is most captivating about this territory is its power to get people to just stop (or to pause their daily life's pace) and listen. To be here is to be part of a whole, where everything is interconnected into one message. It is to be united with light and sound, and with the irretrievability of the present and of the very moment.</p>
<p>St. Mary's church acoustic territory</p>	<p>St. Mary's is a place of material inspiration, mainly for archaeologists, who find this complex compelling for research. For them, this site is a living witness of centuries of history and memories.</p> <p>However, beyond the architectural inspiration, this acoustic territory offers as well a space for a vibrating aural experience that absolutely can inspire. The chimes, as a result of material collision (bell and clapper) and vibration, arise from the bell to propagate and leave behind their original source "<i>bell</i>" —<i>the chimes bring their original source from here to there</i>—. This invisible movement, grants a feeling of progression and temporality of (LaBelle, 2010:6) in which the chimes permeate this site. What is more, the architectural arrangements of the Roman forum gives to this temporal event a propagation and a continuation that becomes almost visible in, paradoxically, an invisible vector. This invisible trajectory renders the acoustic territory in a spatial object and makes possible to locate the sound simultaneously here and there, in the present and the future.</p>
<p>Caffe Bar Illy acoustic territory</p>	<p>Coffee is part of the cultural experience of this city and at the Illy's, it also materialises a unique social atmosphere. To drink coffee at the Illy is everything but trivial, it is connected to the experience of socializing and bonding. It involves more than just consuming the coffee itself, it is a condensed social event as part of the everyday life of the inhabitants. This bar is a place for interaction combining coffee with conversations, coffee with inspirations and coffee with experiences. The customers — <i>the Illy family</i>—, come here, yes, to stay awake, but also for the large and energetic culture surrounding it. The Illy is about associations with partnership and coffee, friendship and coffee, working and coffee, studying and coffee, reading and coffee, conversing and coffee. Here, every object and every sound stimulates, leads, moves, seduces.</p>

	Everything tastes, sounds, and culminates, from an espresso to the music playlist.
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Table 14 - Function no. 4 of Zadar's acoustic territories

Function 5 - An anchor where meanings, previous or new, are attached to particular sonic events.	
Sea organ acoustic territory	<p>This territory is a repository where meanings and memories are attached. The sea organ territory functions as a point of reference not only for older generations who have attached specific memories to this site, but also for younger generations. The latter have preserved prior memories as well as added new ones. In this sense, the sea organ also functions as a versatile vehicle from where is possible to materialised those memories. A concrete example of that phenomenon is the traditional <i>klapa</i> singing. The importance of this tradition resides on its link with the past. For Croats, it is crucial to not lose this tradition because “[that] would mean to destroy all the links to and memories of the past and the people who cherished the traditional singing with love and passed it to every new generation” (Festival Dalmatinskih Klapa Omiš, 2015. Retrieved from: http://fdk.hr/festival-in-omis/). Precisely, with the aim of not losing this tradition, <i>among others</i>, this territory was re-designed in 2005 and now has become that vessel in which old traditions and habits are attached and crystallised. Through the sonic events, the <i>klapa</i> tradition has been reactivated, retransmitted, and materialised in this site.</p> <p>Besides, new meanings have also been attached to this territory, for instance, new generations consider it as a place in which the sounds speak of the power of the new phase Zadar has begun. As it will be explain in the next chapter, this territory is currently considered as a site of unity, peace, friendship, future, perhaps liberation.</p>
St. Mary's church acoustic territory	<p>In this acoustic territory, in particular, the consistency of the sonic events has played an important role in nurturing the social roots and the biographical histories of the Zadar's inhabitants. In other words, sounds have come to circulate through their everyday life and have act as medium for personal and social transformation (LaBelle, 2010:L189). The sonic events —<i>bell's chimes, birdsongs, conversations, gossips, chants</i></p>

	<p><i>and songs of children</i>— are deeply acknowledged by the inhabitants. The following testimonies¹⁰ are good examples of that notion:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. "I recall standing on the stairs in front of the church, with more than 50-60 other children, after our communion (the sacrament), while our parents took our photos. We were all in white, there was sun shining, and there were lots of flowers around us." No name, 30. 2. "It particularly brings me childhood memory of my days in childhood when I went to Sunday school in the church - how beautiful it was, how relaxing it was to listen the priest talking about God and the Church. It also reminds me of my days when I went to the confirmation, and the lectures the priest gave to us during months before the confirmation." No name, 29. 3. This is the sound I love remembering. It brings me back to childhood when the bells of church would wake me up on weekends. Waking up on late mornings at home and munching on breakfast, enjoying the free time with no school." Kristina, 23. <p>From these testimonies, it is possible to reveal that when people listen to specific sonic events, the sounds can firmly hold and bring into light part of the people's lives.</p>
<p>Caffe Bar Illy acoustic territory</p>	<p>In a certain degree this acoustic territory sounds as a post-conflict reconciliation song. To hear to the sounds of the coffee machine, the beans grinder, the mugs coming and going, and other sounds emerging from this site is a sign of a good life. The reason of the peculiar relationship between the aromatic liquid and life status is that in the last decade of socialism Croatia suffered coffee scarcity.</p> <p>In words of the Croat Andrea Pisac, <i>a doctor from Goldsmiths University of London</i>,: "It happened in the last decade of socialism, when I was a preschool child. People queued for limited rations of coffee. This 'degradation' of the quality of life lives on as a collective memory. I myself can't conjure up images of coffee lines, but I know very well that life without coffee isn't a decent one." (Pisac, 2016. A Croat's sense of coffee - 25 sacred and secret meanings. Retrieved from: http://travelhonestly.com). With that testimony, it becomes easy to relate the sounds of the Illy with sounds charged by new meanings of what is to drink coffee at any time of the day, with friends or alone.</p>

Table 15 - Function no. 5 of Zadar's acoustic territories

¹⁰ Those testimonies were taken from a survey elaborated by me, in which the respondents had to express their first thoughts after listening to the sounds of Zadar's acoustic territories. Complete testimonies may be found in Appendix A.

Functions of Zadar's acoustic territories

The functions of Zadar's acoustic territories are unlimited as the multiple numbers of perspectives of a certain event. Moreover, those functions evolve over time to suit new cultural, social, political, individual or collective needs. Starting from the function as public spaces, Zadar's acoustic territories also function as sites for gathering and congregation, where interpersonal and intergroup dialogues can take place. In these sites thus is possible to create temporal bonds not only with other people and living things but also with objects and sounds. Apropos the sounds, they can act as a *sonic panopticon*, where either democratic practices can be nurtured or feelings of control can be enacted. Besides, Zadar's acoustic territories can also function as sites for the stimulation of aural experiences, and for the quest of inspiration. Finally, a pivotal function of these acoustic territories resides in their capacity to function as vessels wherein a memory is crystallized. Through the sonic events happening within these territories various type of memories can be celebrated, augmented, assembled, affixed, reactivated or retransmitted to new generations.

In this chapter about the functions of Zadar's acoustic territories, I have reflected on some of the functions that those territories have on an ordinary day. I can conclude then, that the three acoustic territories, specifically through the sonic events, have a presence in the functional realm. Furthermore, I think that this realm opens widely the door to the *symbolic* domain. Through the latter, I will deepen in matters of the various sound meanings, symbols, and metaphors.

CHAPTER 5: SYMBOLIC REALM IN ZADAR'S ACOUSTIC TERRITORIES



Chapter 5: Symbolic realm in Zadar's acoustic territories

In the previous sections —*material and functional realms*—, I have implied that every sonic event within the Zadar's acoustic territories is unique in the type of information and meanings it conveys. Some of those sonic events occur randomly while others do it with strict recurrence. Over spontaneity or frequency, the sounds take shape in the people's mind, "by such sounds and their context, [people] build up coherent patterns that may be called *sounds symbolisms*." (Truax, 2001:80). In other words, sounds evoke particular symbols in which a suggestive power can be attached.

Listening for the first time to the sonic events occurring on Zadar's acoustic territories may seem or sound abstract, common or very obvious, however, through an attentive and active listening, they acquire richness and meaning over time; they acquire various symbols. Furthermore, those sonic events do not only exhibit specific symbols but also metaphors (ibid.). For instance, the sounds of flowing water and waves, with their unique tones and cadence, can be a persuasive metaphor for a life journey or for the way back home (Igrutinović, 2013:55).

The sonic events within Zadar's acoustic territory present some acoustic patterns which are influential in the way that sounds can be transformed into symbols and metaphors. Those patterns in the aural experience have created an imaginary repertoire in the people's mind (Truax, 2001:80). In the case of Zadar, to try to describe all the symbols and metaphors resulting from the listening experience is unfeasible; however, there are some symbolisms recurrent in the social discourse of the city. All those meanings attached to the sonic events can suggest the various layers of interpretation that sounds can have within a certain group or community. For some groups, the sonic events happening in their local territories may sound somewhat familiar (76). In this line of thought, it is worth mentioning that even though this research is not purpose-oriented towards the study of war discourse¹¹ (Kisicek, 2013, Ostojic, 2009 and Pankov et al., 2011), Zadar's acoustic territory, as the rest of the city, were certainly imbued with the spirit of war for what this reference appears to be a substantial part of the symbolisms of the territories.

Finally, through the reflection on the sonic events and their confrontation with the official discourse of the city, interviews, *in situ* conversations and surveys, was possible to unfold particular symbolisms of Zadar. For instance, in the following paragraphs, it will become clear the ways in which the sonic events can participate as forms of resistance, empathy, assurance, delegation and celebration of the past, the present and the future of this city.

¹¹ Gabrijela Kisicek, Mladen Ostojic and Miloš Pankov et al. present through their articles compelling versions of the war discourse in Yugoslavia in 1991 -1995.

The meanings, symbols and metaphors of Zadar's acoustic territories

The sea organ's acoustic territory receives its power from its past, its very present and the vision towards a future. As described in chapter 1, this territory was destroyed during the wars and it was until 2005 that its modernisation started. This territory is the embodiment of such reconstruction, this corner of the old city is the tangible proof of the modernisation works of Zadar after the wars. Thus, it is by no means a surprise that this territory can be considered as a symbol of transition that ranges from a challenging past to an agreed present. Furthermore, the sonic events which increase and decrease with each tide seem to have a power to vanish the past but also to recollect it and connect it with the present. This metaphorical aspect gives to this territory a sense of coexistence, continuity and reconciliation, which is materialized through the sonic events that come and go in an endless melody.

Certainly, this acoustic territory can function as a *lieux de mémoire* because it provides an anchorage for the recent past of this city by creating a memory of what occurred, that otherwise could be forgotten. Importantly, this is not a site to forget the violent past but to reconcile with it through a new phase. In words of the Architect Nikola Bašić¹², this territory *"is like a palimpsest — an old parchment with old inscriptions being erased and new ones inscribed. But the old ones are always perceivable. In the same way the old historic structure is visible in many places. But even there where it is invisible, like in palimpsest metaphor, we know that it had existed. Its spiritual force is erupting from the soil and imprinting our soles."* (Zubrinic, 2008. Fantastic project by Nikola Bašić in the city of Zadar, part 2. Retrieved from: www.croatia.org). Indeed, the sounds emerging from this site speak of the power of this new episode; the sounds of the sea, the waves, the sea organ, the people, and so on, are translated into a song of unity, peace, friendship, future, perhaps liberation.

To my ears, this territory has something extraordinarily beautiful and emotional. In the same way it heals the wounds of its violent past, it reactivates emotional epicentres. To illustrate this idea, I will take the traditional *klapa* singing as an example. First, the term *klapa* appeared in the mid-1800s and it was used to refer to a group friends, later, the term started to be associated with the traditional singing groups in Zadar (totalcroatia.eu - "Klapa: The magic of a capella singing). Currently, it is through the sounds of the sea organ that is possible to associate and remember the *klapa* tradition of the city. When people listen to those sounds, the symbols of friendship take shape in their minds (Pistrick et al., 2013:505). Besides, the symbolisms of this territory are constantly reaffirmed by the groups of friends who gather, walk and converse in this site.

¹² The complete interview of Mrs. Barbara Stelluti with Mr. Nikola Bašić may be found in Appendix B.

After a long conversation with three Zadar inhabitants¹³ in regard to this territory, it was possible for me to extract and analyse the various meanings it raises on their minds. They talked about their experiences and their feelings for this site, and how it affects the ways in which they commemorate specific events or delineate their family history and friendship. The following excerpt is taken from that conversation and it provides an insight into how the interviewees have drawn upon the different periods of this corner of the Peninsula. It is also important to note that the conversation occurred as a natural interaction between the interviewees, and my participation was limited.

Excerpt 1 (4:28 - 7:21 min)

1 V: I just can't imagine how it was before the sea organ?

2 P: Not really nice. I mean, it was like sort of (*conversation in Croatian among them*)

3 M: it was only rocks?

4 P:... so, it was like the rest of the Riva, you know? Just ... (*Kako...*)

5 V: *Kako ti kažeš* Riva (how do you say Riva?) ? You know what Riva is... the coast.

6 Interviewer: is like the shoreline?

7 P: yes, the whole place you know. [...] That's what we call Riva, that's the name of all the

8 older place, that part of the city is Riva. And the... so it was like almost that until the end,

9 on the corner¹⁴ and it was also a bit shorter. [...] and the... (*conversation in Croatian*

10 *among them*). But it is good... When they built the organ [...] because in the past when

11 my parents were young it was like normal during the summer's evening to go on Riva and

12 take a walk and stuff like that and after the war¹⁵ Riva was like blackout [...], you know,

13 without lights [...] so when they built it, life came back on the Riva so... (*conversation in Croatian among them*)

14 V: So, then they started with some festivals and fiestas (laughs).

15 P: So the life came back on the Riva.

16 P: Because [before] there was nothing to see, was just a dead part of the city, and now, now is different.

- (9:33 min - 11:34)

17 Interviewer: Do you remember the first time you hear it?

18 P: I can say that I heard it before I saw it. Because they were still building everything

19 around, and you couldn't see what they were building, It was a fence, like... you know, so

20 people was trying to get there, to see what they were building, we saw in the paper the

21 project what they were building and it was interesting for the people. In few days,

¹³ Two of the three interviewees are Vinka (V) and Marina (M) who are natives of Split, Croatia. This is a city located in the coast of the Adriatic and just two hours away from Zadar by car. They have been living in Zadar for 6 years now. The third interviewee, Paolo (P), is native from Zadar and he has lived in Zadar his whole life. This first conversation's length is 1:58 hrs and was recorded in April 5, 2016.

¹⁴ This corner to which he is making reference is the end of the Peninsula and where Zadar University is located, and just behind the Foša.

¹⁵ He is making reference to the Yugoslav war.

22 especially older people came to see, but you couldn't see nothing but you heard
23 something. Wow, you know, something special is cooking here! And when they finished
24 with the flowers and the garden, everything around, benches and stuff like that, they
25 opened it and it was really nice. Now it is good because they use it for a lot of stuff, like
26 social things, [...] lots of things started there, because also people can stay in the place, it
27 is pretty much wide, it become like the square, like the place on the city where some
28 things are starting or happening. [...]

In the excerpt, I encounter the use of personal and family experiences (line 11) for the purpose of credence (Tunsting et al., 2002, Tileaga, 2008). By that, I mean that the interviewee focuses in individual experiences with the aim to provide knowledge about the events¹⁶. In that sense, the interviewee explicitly acknowledges the events of devastation and destruction (lines 12, 16), and then, of reinvigoration thanks to the sea organ (line 13). This can be a telling example of the argumentative and context-bound nature of memory (Mihelj, 2013:72).

In addition, through this excerpt is clear first, that the memory of this territory from before its modernisation is present in the narrative and it has passed generation to generation (lines 2, 8, 9, 11). Second, the modernisation did not only include the construction of the sea instrument but also of the surrounding areas (line 24), which suggests that was a full city modernisation project. Further on, the sonic element plays a crucial role in this site (line 18, 22) and it took many inhabitants by surprise (line 23). Since its construction, this site attracted strong interest and curiosity among the citizens; especially adults (line 22). Furthermore, the peculiarity of the sounds brought together generations, families, and friends to investigate what was probably happening there, because they could not see but hear. Line 20 and 21, suggest that the interviewee uses the word "we" in order to make the implicit reference that when he visited the place for the first time, he may have been with family or friends. Finally, the functions of congregation and gathering are clear, when the interviewee comments about the social things starting and happening within the territory of the sea organ (lines 27, 28). The revitalisation of the "*Riva*" gave new energy and strength to this corner of the city with surrounding sounds of unity, friendship, and future. As a result, citizens have embraced this new phase of the city with general devotion.

Thanks to the Sea organ territory and its peculiar sonic atmosphere, the beginning of urban cohesion, senses of community and solidarity started to disseminate to other parts of the city. The words of the Architect N. Bašić can describe better the way in which the effusive social response to the sea organ endeavour can favour the direction of the city: "this could result in the flow of energy emanating from a town [which can be] a very important element in the perceiving of the life quality

¹⁶ It is also important to note that the lived experience of war in the 1990's is not only remembered by soldiers and war victims but also by the civilians who live in Croatia during those years (Povrzanović, 2003: 58). Thus, the use of personal experiences by the interviewee reveals a strong sense of identification and belonging to Zadar.

but also for its future development” (Zubrinic, 2008. Fantastic project by Nikola Bašić in the city of Zadar, part 2. Retrieved from: www.croatia.org). In the same line of thought but from a sonic perspective, Brandon LaBelle emphasises that “sounds come to circulate through everyday life, to act as medium for personal and social transformation. This leads to an appreciation for how sound is manifest in form of local practices that also echo across greater historical and geographical terrain”. (2010:L191). Certainly, this acoustic territory has the capacity to act towards the senses of community, social transformation and a bright future. This new chapter on the modernisation of Zadar got a rippling effect in other territories of the old city such as St. Mary and the Roman forum which now have an immersive, vibrant and energetic atmosphere.

As described previously, St. Mary’s church is a territory that brings together centuries of history into one place, the city centre. The experience to be here resides in its historical materiality, its sacred environment, and in its aural architecture. This threefold composition evokes powerful symbols: antiquity and modernity, war and peace, end and beginning. Indeed, the experience to be in this kernel unleashes a dispute between the past and the modernity, sacred and profane, vibrant sounds and respectful silence. From two inscriptions in stone from the 3rd century which confirm the foundation of Zadar (Absolute Croatia. The Roman Forum. Retrieved from: <http://www.absolute-croatia.com>) to plaques with St. Mary’s information made in acrylic; from the sacred and solemn sounds of St. Mary’s bell to buskers and street vendors. Regarding the sound symbols, those depend on the way in which the listeners and the community have adopted and applied them in their everyday life. For locals, to listen to the chimes of St. Mary is a good sign, and to a certain degree it symbolises community and solidarity in the daily life in Zadar.

During a second informal conversation¹⁷, the interviewees draw around the destruction and restoration of the city centre and also in how the latter was part of a communal effort and support.

Excerpt 2¹⁸ (0:50 - 2:42 min)

1 P: Twelve or thirteen churches in Peninsula, and none was destroyed, hit by bomb

2 V: Only, I think, the St. Mary, the roof.

3 M: St. Mary was ruined, it was big ruined

4 V: It was a kind of fire or something because of the explosion, but it wasn’t hit. (*conversation in Croatian among them*)

5 P: My grandfather had twelve or thirteen when this happened.

6 V: Those kind of pictures are really normal to us, because we’ve see it in our lives.

¹⁷ On this second conversation, the interviewees invited me to dinner at their house. M was preparing the dinner while P and V opened again the conversation regarding the destruction and reconstruction of the old city. I would like to mention the fact that I really enjoyed to re-listening to this conversation because of the disclosure of the surrounding sounds, it was a conversation full-charged with *a metal knife, a hit wood table, cutlery, the cooker hood, and a turned on fan sounds*-.

¹⁸ This second conversation’s length is 10 min and was recorded in April 5, 2016.

7 P: ...And he says that they¹⁹ started the bombing, and they²⁰ ran away from the Peninsula
8 and they've been on boulevard, - *closer than we are now*-, no bomb was hit outside the
9 Peninsula, so they were sitting on the wall and watching how they destroy. It wasn't
10 danger outside of the Peninsula. [...] Everybody run out from downtown and everybody
11 was sitting around just watching how they're destroying it. It wasn't danger to be around
12 you know, they were just attacking the old city.

Silence

13 V: (*interrupting*)... you see, there were many many buildings...

Silence

14 P: so less than 80% of the all buildings were destroyed and around five thousand civilians were killed, died, you know.

(7:17 min)

15 P: My grandfather was working after the bombing on this you know, he was hungry and
16 without anything, they were begging for anything that you can change for food,
17 something like that. [...] He says that it was so strange because, like, when bombing
18 stopped, like the day after, everybody coming downtown and start to rebuilding the city.
19 Like, it wasn't too much crying, it was like big shock and everybody lost somebody, but
20 immediately they started to rebuilding the city. It was like panic reaction you know, they
21 just couldn't watched it like that, so they started to... (*end of the conversation*).

(*conversation in Croatian between Marina and Paolo regarding the dinner*)

The use of this brief excerpt can reveal the wide range of possibilities to engage with the dualisms of the city, specifically of its centre where St. Mary's territory is located. In this way, it is interesting to navigate through the lines of the excerpt in a reflexive manner and endeavour to translate some of the symbolisms I found on it. In this second conversation, the interviewees again resort to the strategy of using individual and familial experiences²¹ (lines 5,6,15).

In the first lines of the excerpt, symbolisms about religion and "supernatural" powers are revealed. When the interviewees explain that none of the churches within the Peninsula were hit (lines 1,4), it can be assumed that a "mighty" force protected them from being hit. When considering the inaccuracy of the bombs at that time,—they provided an accuracy of about a 100 yards radius (Brickhill, 1999:160-161)—, the fact that any were destroyed can be considered almost as a miracle. Thus, *can the sounds of the bells represent that "miracle"? Do the people consider those sounds as*

¹⁹ He is referring to the Allies.

²⁰ He is referring to the Zadar locals.

²¹ The interest on personal experiences has gained momentum in Croatian institutes. For instance, the Zagreb Institute of Ethnology and Folklore research has designed a project focused on individual experiences with the aim to show to what extent transgenerational memory and dominant culture affect the discrepancy between testimonies of the war events (Povržanović, 2003: 64).

something “holy”, perhaps as the presence and protection of God not only during wartime but also in these days?

Regarding the second half of the conversation, it basically focuses on the reconstruction of the city and how it was part of a communal effort (lines 18, 20, 21). When the interviewee refers to “everybody” and “they”, he is associating those pronouns with the whole community of Zadar. Through the conversation, it becomes visible that the reconstruction of Zadar was, in the first instance, the result of communal labour, solidarity, and support. Therefore, *can the restoration of the city and the solidarity shown by the community be rich contained in the sounds of the territory? Can those memories be passed down from generation to generation uprightly? or do they evolved over time?*

It is hard to imagine that this old city was once in total silence because it was severely affected and without any social, religious or commercial activities. In an acoustic way, silence during wartime embodies a negative atmosphere, and after wartime, it can be considered as the sound of peace, perhaps as the reestablishment of the everyday life (Shubert, 2011). The different symbols of — sacredness, respect, solidarity, war and peace—, float together in this territory and form part of its unique atmosphere. On the one hand, the dominant sounds of the bell give an emotional and respectful emphasis, while the mixed sounds of conversations, footsteps, chants and songs of children, and commercial activities give the feeling that normal life and freedom have come back to this city. Importantly, the consistent regularity and recurrence of the sonic events within this territory have had the power to generate social agendas —*coffee time or playtime*— and acoustic structures —*the hourly chimes and increment of conversations and footsteps*—.

Certainly, life and freedom have returned to this old city. Sounds and symbols are the beating heart of Zadar. Neither a single visitor or local can escape from its heartbeat, sound and symbols emerge from everywhere, even from a small coffee bean.

What a better way to introduce coffee and its symbolisms that through the words of the novelist Gabriel García Márquez: *“¿Cuántas veces no hemos probado nosotros mismos un café que sabe a ventana, un pan que sabe a rincón, una cerveza que sabe a beso?”* (García Márquez, 1997), this can be approximately translated as: *How many times have we tasted a coffee that tastes like a window, a bread that tastes like a corner and a beer that tastes like a kiss?* And in his same line of thought, *how many times have we heard a coffee bar that sounds like an opened window?* Indeed, coffee bars in Zadar, particularly the Illy, can sound as a window through which the past of the city can be heard as well as revisited. In saying this, I am thinking in which ways the Illy can function as a site of memory from where is possible to bring back memories of the last decade of the city when the scarcity of coffee was severe and affected the quality of life of the Croats (Pisac, 2016). Remarkably, less than a generation later, those memories have already faded from the memories of the Croats

and fallen out from their conversations (Drakulic, 1999). In that case, *does the Illy function as a site to bring back memories or to forget them?* A proper answer to that question requires me to introduce the concept of *sites of amnesia*. Curiously, this notion was neglected by Nora, “[...] who adduced that if the places consecrated to memory are important, those that crystallize the forgetfulness of an event or a period in history are no less significant.” (Allier Montaño, 2008:14). Therefore, *can the Illy then be a site where memory has been partially torn down?* Yes, to some extent the Illy functions as a site of amnesia in which the history has been erased or reconstructed efficiently or at least in a favourable manner to the dominant and current discourse (Achugar, 2003). From the various testimonies²² extracted from the survey (Appendix A), any respondent described or mentioned the coffee crisis on their answers, but rather they reaffirmed the social discourse on drinking coffee as part of the daily life of a Croat. For instance: *“It brings me more recent memories - everything good about my college, how great it is to me, and, especially, how great and friendly the people are on my college! It reminds me of our times hanging out together - getting to know each other, becoming friends, how great and respectful they are, and so on. The sound brings me memories of friendship!—No name”* or *“Well, the first idea that comes to my mind is that my people (the Croatians) like to spend a lot of time in cafe bars during working hours!. Plus the cafe's are usually full of smoke. Ivan from Croatia.”* Both testimonies narrate the current discourse around coffee in Zadar: a lot of people in the coffee bars, measuring their quality of life and soundness of their social ties.

Finally, the Illy seems to be a paradox because it can function as a site of amnesia but also as a site of memory. On the one hand, as a site of amnesia, the Illy is a territory in which the objects and sounds steer towards the purposes to enjoy the good life with a cup of coffee in hand and to honour the everyday traditions regardless the past. On the other hand, The Illy can also function as a site of memory in which its symbolic value —*a framework of social transmission*— is fundamental for the transmission of the coffee culture in Zadar, as this cannot happen in a void.

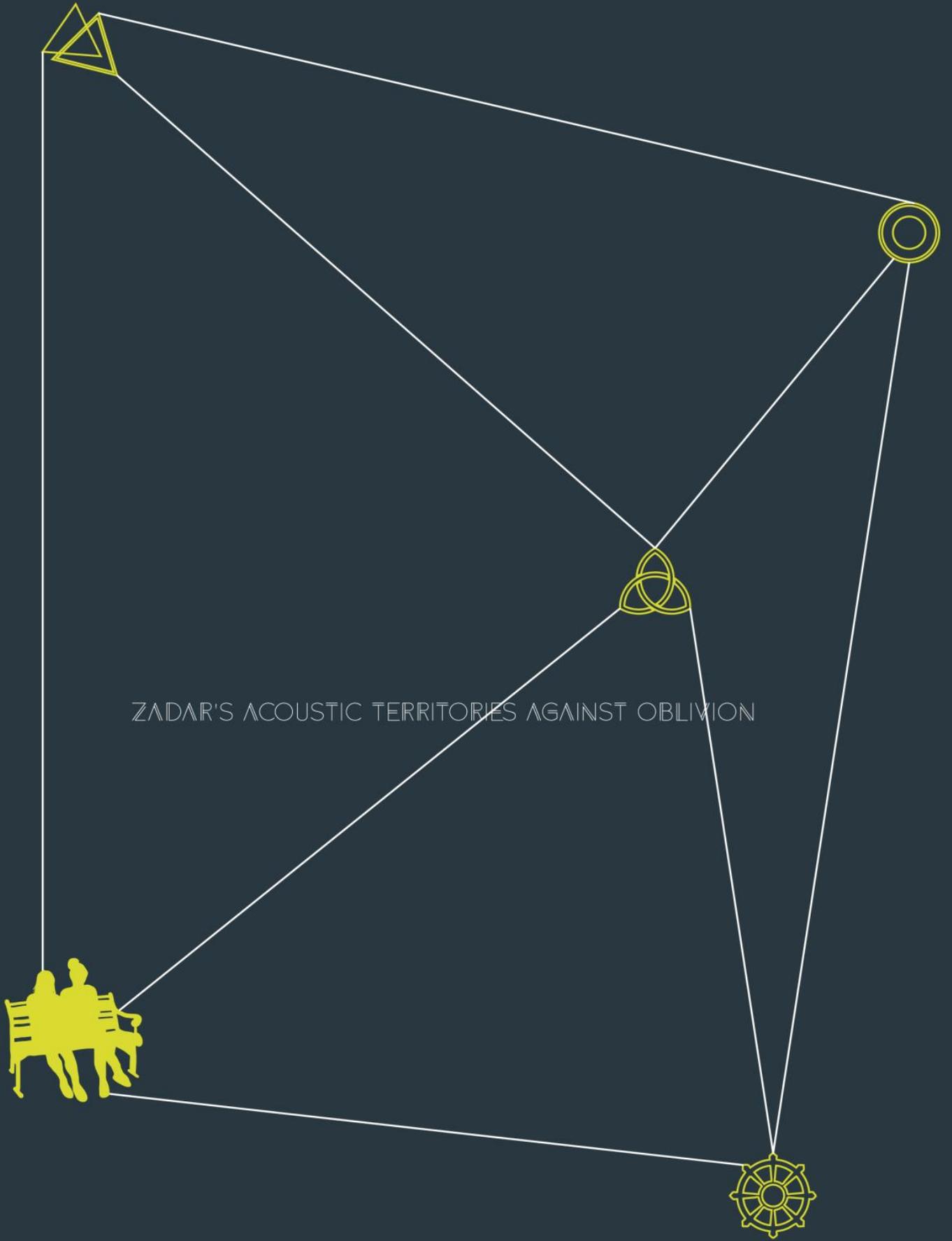
Symbolisms in Zadar's acoustic territories

Over spontaneity or frequency, the sounds take shape in the people's mind. Furthermore, the sounds emerging from each of the Zadar's acoustic territories have deep-rooted symbolisms. Symbols and metaphors embody the relationships between the people and the events, the people and the sites, the people and their memories. Furthermore the sonic events can to some extent exemplify or illustrate forms of resistance, empathy, assurance, delegation and celebration of the past, the present and the future of this city. Besides, those sonic events also circulate as metaphorical figures of “relational exchange where sound is also voice, dialogue, sharing and confrontation” (LaBelle, 2010:82).

²² Those testimonies were taken from a survey elaborated by me, in which the respondents had to express their first thoughts after listening to the sounds of the Caffe Bar Illy. Complete testimonies may be found in Appendix A.

In this section, I have elaborated upon the symbolisms of Zadar's acoustic territories and reflected on some of the meanings, symbols, and metaphors that these territories unfold in the people's minds. Concerning the sea organ territory, its symbolisms can be translated into messages of transition unity, friendship, and also future. Furthermore, the renewal phase of Zadar spread to other territories that were severely damaged during the war such as the St. Mary's complex. This territory has also acquired powerful symbols of solidarity, past and modernity, sacred and profane, war and peace. Finally, the Illy Caffè bar is a site that has torn down certain memories of the past of the city, but paradoxically, it has also maintained and supported the transmission of the coffee culture in Zadar as it cannot happen in a void. Finally, through the analysis of the different sonic events, Zadar official discourse, interviews, *in situ* conversations and surveys, I can deduce that the acoustic territories analysed on this research have a presence in the symbolic realm.

To conclude, after the analyses and discussions of the material, functional, and symbolic realms, it becomes clear that Zadar's acoustic territories can be defined in those three spheres; all in different levels but always present. Lastly, in the next and final section of this research, I will point out the ways in which Zadar's acoustic territories function as sites of memories or as sites of amnesia.



Conclusion: Zadar's acoustic territories against oblivion

In this thesis, I have reflected on how sounds come to circulate through the city of Zadar, Croatia, to condition architectural spaces and to form the basis for social and cultural activities. Through the acoustic territories notion, I have carried out an in-depth investigation of three specific acoustic territories within Zadar: the sea organ, St. Mary's church and Caffè Bar Illy. Moreover, these acoustic territories were selected because of their characteristics of being places wherein sounds' expanded situation becomes a very strong element of the cultural, social and political phenomena. In addition, the sonic events within those acoustic territories contain a vast amount of information regarding the history, the past, and the present of the city.

In order to disclose the information contained in the Zadar's acoustic territories, I have used the notion of *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory. I have analysed the presence of Zadar's acoustic territories in the each of the three realms —*material, functional and symbolic*— which compose a site of memory. This analysis helped me to approach the various meanings attached to the acoustic territories and reveal in which ways they function as sites of memory. From this analysis, I have obtained specific insights which can be summarised with the following aspects:

Sea organ acoustic territory:

1. This territory is charged by a mix of sounds which mainly includes the sounds of the natural environment (water, wind, waves, seagulls, etc.), the sea organ instrument, footsteps, people's voices, boat engines, bicycles, and photo cameras.
2. This territory is not surrounded by commercial areas, historical ramparts, or archaeological and monumental riches. Consequently, commercial activities do not take place on this site.
3. Within this territory, various types of sources can be found. However, some of them exceed the others by their permanence and dominance as is the case of the sources water, wind, sea tides and sea organ instrument.
4. Those permanent and dominant sources emerge naturally within this territory and among them; there is only one that is an anthrophony: the sea organ instrument.
5. The sea organ instrument was deliberately created with a thorough understanding of the culture and traditions of the city. As a result, this source reflects on the local musical tradition *klapa*.
6. This acoustic territory does not only materialise the *klapa* tradition but also makes tangible the modernisations works of Zadar after wars. Thus, it is by no means a surprise that this territory can be considered as a symbol of transition from a challenging past to an agreed present.
7. The sonic events occurring within this territory evoke particular symbols of unity, friendship, and future.

8. Finally, this acoustic territory can function as a *lieux de mémoire* because it provides an anchorage for the recent past of Zadar, that otherwise could be forgotten. Importantly, this acoustic territory is not a site to forget the violent past but rather to reconcile with it.

St. Mary's church acoustic territory:

1. This acoustic territory is composed of the churches of St. Mary and St. Donatus, ancient ruins and the Roman forum, the museum of archaeology, a parking lot, restaurants and all sort of commercial activities. In this sense, this territory brings together into one site the ancient past and the present, tradition and technology.
2. This complex is the centre of the city of Zadar. For instance, its inhabitants regularly spend their afternoons on this site, making it a melting pot of sounds and diverse social activities.
3. The anthropogenic source 'bell' creates a particular atmosphere in this site while it contains the rest of the sonic events in one single event. Interestingly, this source, through recurrence and consistency, dictates the social agenda for the inhabitants of the old town. For adults, the afternoon's chimes can formalize the time for meeting up with known people at the Roman forum, while for children those sounds represent playtime.
4. This territory possesses invisible forces that 'discipline or restrict' the social behaviours and aspirations. This could be explained by the permanent visibility of the ancient ruins and the churches which give to this site a semi-sacred sense.
5. In a meaningful way, St. Mary's acoustic territory nurtures the social roots and the biographical histories of Zadar's inhabitants.
6. Through diverse testimonies it was possible to reveal that when people listen to the sonic events of this territory, the sounds firmly hold and bring into light part of their individual biographies.
7. St Mary's acoustic territory can be considered as a site of memory because it preserves and fosters social interactions. Furthermore, the social interplay serves to bond generations.
8. Finally, the sounds within this territory seem to serve as the focus of public culture and rituals, where the past and the present coexist.

Caffe Bar Illy acoustic territory:

1. Caffe Bar Illy is a small sonic microcosm composed of a large number of anthropogenic sources. As a consequence, the large number of sonic events of this territory creates an immersive sonic experience of what means to drink a coffee in Zadar.
2. Amid the constellation of sounds happening at the Illy, it is possible to discern certain acoustic patterns. For instance, during the day, the sounds start with the coffee grinder, then, voices, next, the coffee machine working intermittently, mugs knocking tables, and so on. At the end of the day, most of the sounds begin to retreat one by one.
3. Particularly, the sounds of the Illy seem to trace individual stories and also to draw timelines of the different events occurring on this site.

4. This territory is a frequent meeting point to discuss the everyday life of Zadar. Moreover, it seems to be the extension of the office or the study room of the Croats.
5. In this site, every object and every sound stimulates, leads, moves, and seduces and also culminates, from an espresso to the music playlist.
6. On the one hand, this *lieu* nurtures ritual practices and retransmits fragments of the culture of Zadar: to drink coffee.
7. While, on the other hand, it also functions as a *site of amnesia* in which the scarcity of coffee suffered during the last decade seems to have been forgotten.
8. Finally, this acoustic territory is similar to a paradox because it functions as a site of memory but also as a site of amnesia.

Summarising the argument of this research it seems that Zadar's acoustic territories can function as sites of memory in which is possible to materialise, augment, assemble, reactivate or retransmit memories and traditions generation to generation, as well as forget them. Furthermore, these acoustic territories do not only accomplish those tasks topographically but also metaphorically. On the one hand, the sonic events can describe an accurate representation of the material features of the territory (topographically). On the other hand, they can also evoke representative or symbolic forms which depart from a literal use (metaphorically). It is also important to note that Zadar's acoustic territories evolve over time to suit new cultural, social, political, individual or collective needs. They are in constant metamorphosis and evolution.

This thesis has suggested a mix-method approach that might contribute first, to the use of acoustic territories as a contemporary model for thinking and experience the everyday life through the surrounding sounds. In this research, I have found that sounds can reveal all sorts of information and meanings, and what is more, they can disclose the relationships among the people and events, places, living things and objects, and moreover, the past and memories. In that sense, I can argue that sites of memory do not only attach themselves to sites (Nora, 1989:22) but also to the sonic events happening within the acoustic territories.

Second, this research might also contribute to the generation of more *creative sites of memory* which, undoubtedly, "are the most interesting to seek, classify and elaborate."²³ (Nora et al., 1998:31). In this sense, I think that sites of memory observed and listened through the prism of acoustic territories may offer a creative alternative to revisit the past of a place. Further, they may also result in an alternative way to crystallise, revive but also forget memories and traditions. This alternative proposal may also infuse a more active dialogue among history, past, and memories through an aural experience.

²³ The quote as cited in "*La aventura de Les Lieux de mémoire*" is: "No faltarían los grandes lugares creativos, sin duda los más interesantes de buscar, clasificar y elaborar", which can be approximately translated as: "Do not miss the great creative sites which, undoubtedly, are the most interesting to seek, classify and elaborate." (Nora et al., 1998:31).

Next, I would like to mention that acoustic territories as sites of memory suffice with what Nora pointed out as caveats for the *creative sites of memory*. First, the *lieux* through the lens of acoustic territories are not absolute or mere material and visible sites, but rather highly symbolic entities (Nora et al., 1998:32). Second, these *lieux* are not about an exhaustive and rigid inventory but rather an exploration of the different realms which include multiple material and immaterial elements (ibid.). Throughout this research, I tried to understand and appreciate the administration of the history, the past and the memories of Zadar by using acoustic territories as a tool to dissect this city.

Finally, I would like to express my keen interest in the way acoustic territories as sites of memories beautifully addresses highly sensitive issues such as war, violence, peace, solidarity or resistance. To some extent, the voices (sonic events) of the territories can promote a plurality of past narratives beyond discourses and agendas and without imposing definitions, meanings, and experiences.

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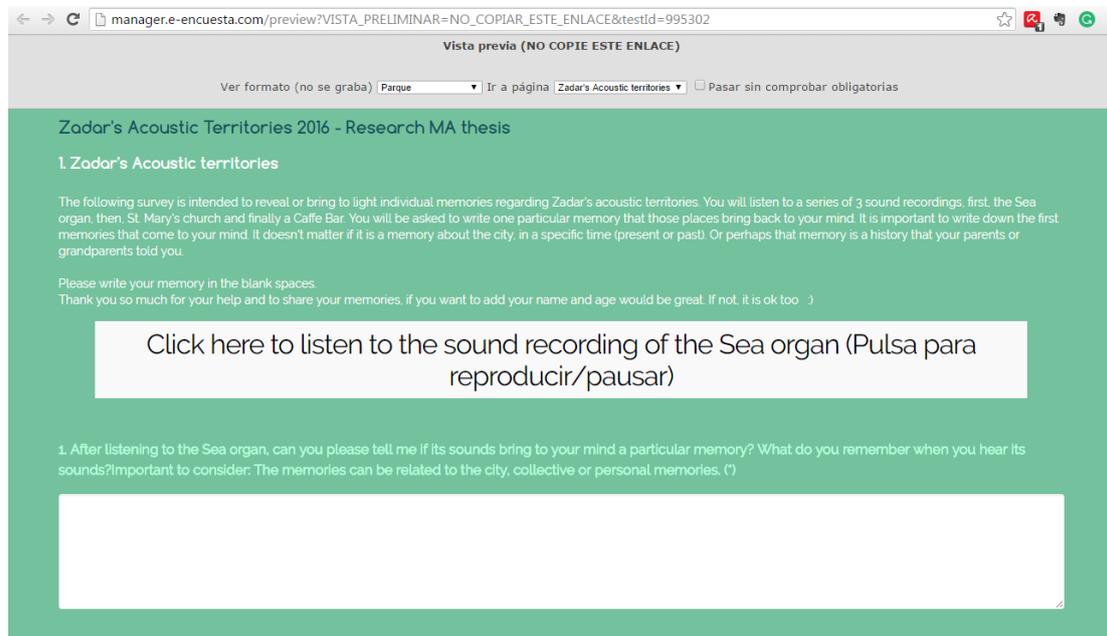
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* Sound files are also available online at: https://soundcloud.com/orozco_rita

Appendices

Appendix A - Zadar's Acoustic territories 2016 - Research MA thesis

This is the layout in which the survey was presented to the respondents:



Transcript:

The following survey is intended to reveal or bring to light individual memories regarding Zadar's acoustic territories. You will listen to a series of 3 sound recordings, first, the Sea organ, then, St. Mary's church and finally a Caffe Bar. You will be asked to write one particular memory that those places [and sounds] bring back to your mind. It is important to write down the first memories that come to your mind. It doesn't matter if it is a memory about the city, in a specific time (present or past). Or perhaps that memory is a history that your parents or grandparents told you.

Please write your memory in the blank spaces.

Thank you so much for your help and to share your memories, if you want to add your name and age would be great. If not, it is ok too :)

Question 1:

After listening to the Sea organ, can you please tell me if its sounds bring to your mind a particular memory? What do you remember when you hear its sounds? Important to consider: The memories can be related to the city, or can be collective or personal memories.

- 1 While listening to this, I can recall eating an ice cream in the late afternoon, summer after summer. Just sitting there and watching the sea, and experiencing the lightness of those kind of moments. Usually with a friend, after a walk through the city :)
- 1 Ancient ship sailing near the harbour.
- 1 Wind
- 1 It reminds me of the times I would read story Pinocchio and the Whale, when I was in kindergarten. Kristina, 23
- 1 Sunny day on Zadar's organ with my friends. sitting and watching the sea waves with internal peace Marko
- 1 Andes..the mountain in south america, peru...
- 1 The memory of sitting there (Sea Organ) with my then-girlfriend. It's a nice memory. :D
- 1 It reminds me of my childhood - of the times when I was care-free, when I had no particular worries and all i did was spending my summer time on the sea diving and swimming!
- 1 This sound reminds me of walking with my dog
- 1 Beginning of summer 2014 when we spent the best afternoon and took perfect picture with our friend which moved to another city. It's not sad memory, it really brings smile on my face :)

10 Total of respondents

Question 2:

After listening to the "voice" of St. Mary's church, can you please tell me if its sounds bring to your mind a particular memory? What do you remember when you hear its sounds? Important to consider: The memories can be related to the city, or can be collective or personal memories.

- 1 6:00 AM , still sleepy and drowsy, want to continue sleeping at least till 7:30 Marko
- 1 I'm not that keen on any religion, especially the Roman Catholic, so hearing the church bells reminds me of all the bad things that religion represents, from my personal perspective.
- 1 When i hear church bells, it brings a memory about a boy who had to leave and every hour the bells ringed reminded us how time passed quickly
- 1 Not a particular memory, but the picture in my mind is: narrow Mediterranean streets, summer and olive trees.
- 1 summer
- 1 Morning coffe time ind center of zadar..
- 1 I recall standing on the stairs in front of the church, with more than 50-60 other children, after our communion (the sacrament), while our parents took our photos. We were all in white, there was sun shining, and there were lots of flowers around us., 30
- 1 It particularly brings me childhood memory of my days in childhood when I went to sunday school in the church - how beautiful it was, how relaxing it was to listen the priest talking about God and the Church. It also reminds me of my days when I went to the confirmation,

and the lectures the priest gave to us during months before the confirmation!, 29

1 Groggy afternoon in front of St. Mary church with my friend and back then her future to be boyfriend. I didn't feel good at all but it was well spent sunny afternoon.

1 This is the sound I love remembering. It brings me back to childhood when the bells of church would wake me up on weekends. Waking up on late mornings at home and munching on breakfast, enjoying the free time with no school. Kristina, 23

10 Total of respondents

Question 3:

After listening to this Caffe Bar, can you please tell me if its sounds bring to your mind a particular memory? What do you remember when you hear its sounds? Important to consider: The memories can be related to the city, collective or personal memories.

1 Vinka :)

1 Well, the first idea that comes to my mind is that my people (the Croatians) like to spend a lot of time in cafe bars during working hours! (Ivan from Croatia). Plus the cafe's are usually full of smoke.

1 This sounds reminded me of working in the caffe

1 One morning, while working as a receptionist, I was escorting our tourists to the hostel and the street was all wet because it is cleaned in those early hours.. it was really hot, and the sun reflected on those little ponds of water. Older people were in the bars, drinking their coffee and reading the newspapers, occasionally saying hello to me. That is what a working summer morning in the city stands for me :)

1 I just remember this afternoon with my friend from Mexico. It was the beginning of warm weather in Zadar. It brings smile on my face and warmth in my heart.

1 Breakfast at italian coffee bar in assisi...

1 It reminds me of lazy afternoons after classes, drinking macchiato with my friend from Zadar :) and enjoying the sun. Kristina, 23

1 coffee place on the grocery market. everyone talks, but i hear nothing special and it reminds me that i'm still among people and really alive Marko

1 Morning, coffee. Nervous people.

1 It brings me more recent memories - everything good about my college, how great it is to me, and, especially, how great and friendly the people are on my college! It reminds me of our times hanging out together - getting to know each other, becoming friends, how great and respectful they are, and so on. The sound brings me memories of friendship!

10 Total of respondents

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Website: <http://manager.e-encuesta.com/login?clientLanguage=es>

Username: orozco.rita@gmail.com

Password: Femsub24

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Appendix B - An interview of Mr. Nikola Bašić (Original text of Mrs. Barbara Stelluti)

Fantastic project by Nikola Bašić in the city of Zadar, Part 2

Mrs Barbara Stelluti, Zadar, marina-projekt@zd.t-com.hr

1) How did the idea for the sea organ come to you?

Many believe that the sea organ was designed following the project task made according to the investor wishes. That was, certainly, not the case. My task was, in fact, to reshape the promontory of the Zadar peninsula with its historic part, in order to build the seafront adequate for large cruisers, wishing to visit Zadar. A part of this seafront contained also a promenade, very dear to the Zadar citizens, but due to its small depth not in operative function. It used to be neglected, very dark and deserted in the part where the sea organ is located today. That was the reason for my decision to revitalize this space by providing it with an interesting urban attraction. At the start, I was not sure of the final solution but I proposed to turn the usual seafront, 70m long, into a strong staircase which would give access to the sea. I wanted to make people come into contact with the sea. I wanted to invite them to communicate with the nature. In explaining and defending this intention to the client, I emphasized the change in the sound that the change in the cross section would provoke. I was completely taken by that idea. I became aware that on the global line dividing the two media, the sea and the land, the one that shapes the islands and the continents, the clash of these two media had always been resolved by sound. How much this inevitable encounter could be poetic but also dramatic was close to me because of my childhood spent on an island. I was aware that sound gives an additional dimension to every coastal space, a dimension of the spatial sound or the acoustic space. At that moment I realized what my task should really be. A final result was achieved with professional help of hydraulic engineer, acoustic engineer and the organ master.

2) Why it represents a good symbol for Zadar?

Zadar is perceived through this project as a town aspiring to create new contemporary urban values, the witnesses of ourselves and our present in some future times.

3) To me it seems that having something that is beautiful but is - for the most part - invisible is a great monument for a town with traditional architecture and many opinions of what should and should not be there. **What do you think?**

Instead of the reconstruction of the urban structures lost during the war or even of a greater danger of vulgar commercialization I tried to rethink this space without any usual contents like shops, coffee-shops and their terraces. A town is a chest of metaphoric places shaping its mental picture, a kaleidoscope in whose mosaic structure not only its identity is recognized, but also collective and individual identification with the town. Such metaphors we inherited, in general, as historical heritage but very seldom we come across the urban metaphors created in our times.

Are we at all capable of shaping these new places of our urbanity, especially those that could emotionally touch us and with which we could intimately identify? How to create new places of strong character to which we would like to return? We live in the time of total communication but we are oblivious of the communication with something that is by fate defining us- the nature. I realized that the Zadar seafront – in fact a promenade, which used to be boring in its linearity, should be spatially made dramatic. I was convinced that it is exactly that spatial scenario derived from the communication with nature that could represent a strong point in the shaping of the urban points of expressive quality. Zadar touristic marketing often starts with the story of Hitchcock fascination with its sunset. Namely, during his stay in Zadar in the 1960s he pronounced it the most beautiful sunset in the world. This was the beginning of the idea of an installation, later to be named the monument to the sun. The seafront staircase designed to improve the communication with the sea was turned into the sea organ. In this way two places of great expressive character were created making them recognizable symbols of Zadar on a global scale.

4) Does Zadar make a good place for progressive ideas? Please explain.

I believe that Zadar is a town receptive for many progressive ideas, being a very open town at least in comparison to other Dalmatian cities.

5) How has the attention for the Sea Organ been good for Zadar?

The Sea Organ was acclaimed globally resulting in global promotion of our city.

6) Can you explain, briefly how the organ works?

The sea organ is designed in form of stairs stimulating in this way the change in the walk along the seafront and resulting in people stopping and descending the stairs to the sea. The stone staircase is divided into seven 10m sections containing underneath polyurethane tubes of different diameters. The air is pushed by the waves from the larger into thinner tubes, then accelerated and finally producing sound in the pipes placed in the resonant corridor under the promenade, from where the sound comes out into the space through mystic apertures. In the same way the sea energy is unpredictable in the innumerable changes of high and low tide, in the change of the size, strength and direction of the waves, so is this eternal concert unrepeatable in its music variations, whose author and interpreter is the nature itself.

7) How is the city changing?

With the sea organ the new seafront (Nova Riva) has literally changed its character and has become a scene of new urban sociability and a sign of new urban identity.

Our town has always been a place of great demographic changes. The places we are mentioning are like an urban retort with the 'chemistry' of loyalty and love for the town taking place inside it. They produce urban cohesion and provoke a sense of community and solidarity, everything that stands

for identification with a certain place. This could result in the flow of energy emanating from a town, a very important element in the perceiving of the life quality but also for its future development.

8) What is the basic thing that makes Zadar... Zadar? How could you define the city?

Zadar is defined as Zadar by its historic core, its heart that has always been the heart of its region. Zadar has a very vital continental hinterland but also the densest string of islands in the Mediterranean. This is where the city strength lies.

9) When speaking to dr. Kolega it came to my mind that Zadar is a place that could foresee the future by digging up the past... literally. Does that seem true to you? Or is its past be always a priority for Zadar?

In his long history Zadar was often destroyed and then rebuilt. That is the reason why this town is like a palimpsest- an old parchment with old inscriptions being erased and new ones inscribed. But the old ones are always perceivable. In the same way the old historic structure is visible in many places. But even there where it is invisible, like in palimpsest metaphor, we know that it had existed. Its spiritual force is erupting from the soil and imprinting our soles. This idea is fascinating. We could also use another metaphor. Zadar a city built from archeological fragments. Its contemporary structure is made from the fragments of all the previous Zadar settlements.

Zadar was like a delicate broken vase after the greatest destruction during the WW2. At the time some were convinced that the best thing to do would be to gather the broken pieces, put them back into their original place and glue them together. Luckily that was not what happened. The use of the archeological remnants is characteristic for the Zadar building heritage. These are the parts (mainly stone ones) from the demolished buildings that were later incorporated into new structures. In this way a most marvellous Croatian temple and a symbol of Zadar was constructed from the remnants from the Roman Forum- the St.Dunat church. In the same manner Zadar was renovated after the catastrophic destruction of 1944. The fragments were not put in their previous places but they were used as material to make new forms. That is why Zadar possesses that marvellous and spontaneous mosaic structure. This mosaic and layered urban structure should be also in the future carefully assembled and filled up.

10) How is Zadar "finding" itself and what is its future?

Talking of the Zadar development or of development in general we often forget that the development is not synonymous with growth because development stands in the first place for high quality transformation. High quality development of a town is something worth discussing and what should be stressed at all times. The impression of participating in dynamic, urban, cultural and economic environment lies at the base of high quality life in a certain town.

In place of a town within a region contemporary Zadar is becoming more and more a regional town. It develops urban nodes on the nearest islands and in the coastal area, so we could talk about a nodal urban network.

Contemporary dispersion of production and delocalization of the working place, a process quite contrary to the ideological proletarianization and industrialization of the past times, directs us to view Zadar as a very particular urban structure which I like to call urbo-archipelago.

11) Are you from Zadar? How long have you lived there? Is it most pleasing to you to have projects in Zadar? Why?

I was born in Murter on the island of the same name. The island of Murter lies in a border area of gravitation of two Dalmatian towns: Zadar and Šibenik.

The people from Murter go to Šibenik for administrative reasons, but they are connected to Zadar by the life on Kornati islands. Our ancestors, former serfs of the Zadar landed nobility, bought the islands from their masters.

So I have a privilege of loving two beautiful and special towns. I finished secondary school in Zadar and went to Sarajevo for the study of architecture. After graduating I stayed for five years at the Faculty and then returned to Zadar and in 1981 started my own practice. As I was sure of my future calling in the high school I was already then with great excitement thinking of how I was going to build new Zadar. Now this dream of mine is becoming a reality.

12) Zadar seems like a place with fresher ideas than any other town on the coast. What makes it different from the rest of Dalmatia (Split and Dubrovnik, for instance)?

We, that live and work in Zadar, are not, for most of the time, conscious of the value of these ideas, but I am stressing all the time that it is more important how the others see us than what we think of ourselves.

Zadar is perceived as a successful town especially by people from the outside. It is this external perception important for our town because it brings many good vibrations and a display of positive energy. It is our duty to recognize and use this perception in making our town a desirable place for living for those people that would by their qualities enhance its values and potential. I try very hard to contribute by my projects to such perception of Zadar. It is exactly that what is taking place in Zadar that denies the opinions that the chances for a high quality life are present only in a large city. If Zadar is in any way different from the rest of Dalmatia then it is in its openness and good connections with the world. In this, in my opinion, lies its strength. An open mind for new people and new ideas made so many good things happen in Zadar.

The connections of Zadar with the world do not come from yesterday. In 1292, in Zadar, St Krševan calendar was made, one of the oldest calendars with solar ephemerides and the first in Arabic numerals. This document is kept in Oxford, as some of the Oxford documents are being kept in Zadar. This shows that Zadar was already in the Middle Ages a part of the European science and that the Oxford and Zadar scientific elite was in lively interaction.

That was the reason why we inscribed solar ephemerides for that particular geographic point for the days of all the Zadar saints, into a metal ring that separates the glazed floor of the urban installation monument to the sun from the seafront stone pavement. Our wish was to draw

attention to that significant piece of the Zadar cultural heritage, but also to establish the relation of the installation location to the sun positions.

13) Please explain the latest Monument to the Sun project. When will it be open and why is it appropriate for Zadar?

How does it continue to make the most of the available space? It is a circular glazed surface of 22m diameter, lying in the plane of the seafront pavement, and one can walk on it. It is equipped with photovoltaic plates, with a grid of light points underneath, consisting in fact of a dispersed display with over 10.000 tiny light bulbs. Each single bulb changes intensity and colour induced by a computer. In fact, this is an installation that could emanate light in all its possible sensations, send messages, form graphemes, and write the words. What is most exciting is that one could approach that dynamic light spectacle, that is bringing you into an immaterial environment, physically, with a sensation of swimming or the soil moving under your feet.

The project underwent a long journey and was developed through multi-disciplinary cooperation, but the basic idea of communicating with the nature was always present. As in the sea organ we communicate with the nature by help of sound so in this new installation we communicate with nature by help of light. Both installations are leading us to the encounter with nature. This encounter is taking place on a particular spot which is in this way being strongly characterized and becoming an important point of urban interest.

These places invite one to a specific contact with nature, which in our crazy way of life we almost do not notice.

14) How will the Monument to the Sun work?

Contrary to the sea organ, an almost archaic structure functioning like perpetuum mobile, monument to the sun is a very sophisticated installation involving experts from Croatia and some other European countries.

It is an urban installation inserted into the seafront stone pavement. It is going, by help of photovoltaic modules, to exchange energy with the sun and turn it into a light play. It is important to stress that the same energy is to be used for the general illumination of the seafront making the monument to the sun a device for producing energy from alternative sources. This makes it an ecological installation whose implementation is encouraged by EU programme of reducing the emission of noxious gasses.

It cannot be proved as yet, but the installation has many possibilities and in the future the story will become more complex and rich by involvement of video-artists who could create light effects, introducing them into thematic programmes to be emitted depending on the occasion. I am personally happy that the organ sound could be turned into the light. Nevertheless, with the greatest excitement, I am awaiting the possibility of realizing a communication of the pedestrians and the installation.

15) Please, explain fully how the Monument works.

By entering the light circle a walker will induce a specific light reaction. One person will induce one reaction, the other person another, ten persons will induce ten cumulative effects. We are going to play with the installation and participate in the creation of light effects in this specific interaction.

From the very start I was certain that the ludic approach to the design of the seafront is what I wanted to realize. Civilization is based on play, culture was in its beginning a play, play lies at the basis of every culture. In my installations I wanted to affirm the phenomenon of play as an impulse for social communication and as an impulse for urban culture and specific urban hedonism.

Rejoicing in urban space, in the joy of playing, of meetings, of the possibility to get in touch with nature, the pleasure of recognizing certain important and dear places to which we like to return, all this makes stronger our belonging to a town. Speaking of those places with love and boasting of them, we send a message that they belong only to us and to no one else.

16) What makes Zadar a good place for such types of projects (Sea Organ and Monument to the Sun).

Zadar is equally good place as any other town for the projects by which one tries, in cooperation with nature, to enrich public spaces by specific artefacts bringing new acoustic or visual sensations. These spaces become the spaces in which one aspires to turn the encounter with nature into a cultural experience. This represents a good motivation, a starting point and inspiration for the contents and the shaping of a space in every town.

Many thanks to Mrs. Barbara Stelluti, Zadar, for sending us this interview.

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