

Makamsız

Individualization of Traditional Music on the Eve of Kemalist Turkey

Martin Greve



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on the Eve of Kemalist Turkey

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Makamsız:
Individualization of Traditional Music
on the Eve of Kemalist Turkey

Martin Greve

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I Introduction

In 2010, Istanbul was crowned by the European Union as the “Cultural Capital of Europe,” together with Pécs, Hungary and Essen-Ruhr, Germany. Following some scandal and resignations, Mehmet Güntekin, Director of the *Istanbul State Classical Turkish Music Choir* was appointed as the Director of the music program. During the year 2010 numerous events, festivals and concerts took place in Istanbul, including the first *Yorgo Bacanos International Ud-Festival*, the *First International Istanbul Opera Festival*, a harp concert series, the *Festival of Youth Choirs* of the Boğaziçi University and the *Contemporary Music Sonic Festival*.¹ The main focus of the “Cultural Capital of Europe” program was not “European culture” in Turkey, but rather the culture of the Ottoman Empire, or more precisely, its contemporary cultural heritage (i.e. that culture which meets European orientalist expectations). Major parts of the festival budget were invested in the renovation of historic Ottoman buildings and in the music program, many concerts presented Ottoman-Turkish music. The concert series, *Music of Istanbul’s Architecture (İstanbul Mimarisinin Müziği)* featured Mehmet Güntekin’s *Istanbul State Choir for Turkish Classical Music*,² with Ottoman-Turkish music performed at historical venues; another concert series with the ensemble *Bezmara* was dedicated to the 400th anniversary of Ali Ufukî’s birth. Other projects were intended to have an impact of greater longevity. Under the art directorate of Doğan Dikmen, the classical edition of Ottoman art music, *Darü’l-Elhân Külliyyâtı*, printed in the early Republican era, was re-edited into four DVDs, containing replica of the notations together with new recordings of the pieces (Dikmen & Türk Musikisi Vakfı 2010). A collection of 70,000 notations of Turkish music was made available publicly available on the websites of the *Turkish Music Foundation* and the *Istanbul State Classical Turkish Music Choir*. Finally Cüneyd Kosal’s archive and library, consisting of more than 80,000 notation sheets and around 120 notation books, including autographs of several famous musicians from the late nineteenth and twentieth century, was bought for the Islamic Research Center Library (ISAM). Some of the book series edited as part of the program included music history; for example the memoirs of Neyzen Süleyman Erguner (b. 1957), a book on musicians of Istanbul written by Mehmet Güntekin himself and two volumes on Armenian music in Istanbul.³ Noteworthy was also the publication in English of books on *makam* and on traditional Turkish instruments, as well as an edition of folksongs collected in Istanbul between 1936 and 1951 in a fieldwork project by

¹ Istanbul 2010a, b; Hein 2010; Öner 2009.

² Meanwhile: Choir for Classical Turkish Music of the Presidency of the Republic (*Cumhurbaşkanlığı Klasik Türk Müziği Korosu*).

³ Erguner 2010, Güntekin 2010; Kerovpyan & Yılmaz 2010; Bora 2010

the Ministry for Education.⁴ Even the reconstruction of the *laterna*, the barrel piano, popular among the Greek population of Istanbul around 1850-1920 received financial support from the Istanbul 2010 program (CD *Pera Güzeli Later-na*, 2010). The eminent Armenian music scholar and composer, Gomidas was honored on the 140th anniversary of his birth and 75th anniversary of his death, in several events organized by Istanbul's Armenian community. Islamic music occupied a particularly important role in the program, for example with more than 50 publicly held performances of *Mevlevi* (an Ottoman mystic brotherhood) *sema* ceremonies.⁵ During Ramadan a separate program offered concerts at venues such as the historical *Feshane* and the *Bağlarbaşı Culture Center Garden* (Istanbul 2010c). Another series reconstructed the historical tradition of *enderûn terâvîhi*, religious singing during Ramadan (Şahin & Kemiksiz 2010), while *Jazz in Ramadan* featured internationally renowned Muslim jazz musicians. This festival has been performed on an annual basis since.

However, many of the concerts included original, sometimes even bizarre programs or ensembles without any obvious or direct historical predecessor. On November 22 for example, I attended a concert in the historic pavilion, *Sepetçiler Kasrı* (located at the entrance of the Golden Horn), entitled, *An Italian in Istanbul: Callisto Guatelli Paşa*. During the first part the *Tabir Aydoğdu Ensemble* played instrumental interpretations of *şarkı* (urban songs) of the late nineteenth century, performed on *kanun*, *ney*, *kemençe*, *tanbur*, cello and *daire*. More interesting, however, was the second part: Again *şarkı* by nineteenth century composers such as Şevki Bey, Rifat Bey, Karabet Ağa and Gırlızen Asım Bey, but now harmonized by the then director of the Ottoman court orchestra, Callisto Guatelli (1819–1900) and published by Hacı Emin Bey (1845-1907). Surprisingly these songs were not performed in their notated form for piano, but rather on *kanun* and guitar – hence they were rearrangements of historically reconstructed arrangements of Ottoman art songs (CD Küçükay & Aydoğdu, 2006).

Actually the creation of new “hybrid” ensembles, arrangements or repertoires is far from new in Turkey. Popular Ensembles such as *İncesaz*, *Yansımalar* and *Kardeş Türküler* (all founded in the 1990s) are known for their combinations of Western and Ottoman or Anatolian instruments. In recent years several Turkish ensembles also tried to cooperate with Western symphony orchestras or chamber orchestras. In 2010, however, when I tried to attend as many concerts as possible, I realized that “hybrid” music has become the mainstream music in Turkey. After a period of excitement and curiosity, I became tired of this general obsession with hybridity. Even entirely convincing new ensembles, arrangements or compositions were soon replaced yet again by new concepts on a subsequent concert

⁴ This fieldwork was conducted by Muzaffer Sarısözen, Halil Bedii Yönetken and Rıza Yetişen; Şenel 2010; Aydemir 2010; Altınay 2010.

⁵ One special concert presented Islamic sufi and Byzantine music together: *Terirem/Teremüm* with the groups *İncesaz* and the *Romeiko Ensemble*.

or CD. Notwithstanding a few stable ensembles, almost every concert or new CD in Turkey today presents a new mixture of music performed by a new type of ensemble: a trio with *kemençe*, bass and cello; a combination of Ottoman and Baroque music in the form of a fictional opera from Handel; a concert with 40 *ney*-flutes, or a duo of *bağlama* and Iranian *kamanche* (bowed fiddle) and many others. In recordings of popular folk music the use of keyboards, electronic drums and bass has been almost obligatory since at least the 1990s. Combinations of *bağlama* and guitar are also common practice today, similarly *bağlama* and *ney* or *bağlama* and *kemençe*. Today, even Turkish composers of contemporary international music often use instruments and/or musical elements from traditional music.

I

This book describes the story of the extremely vibrant musical life of Istanbul in the early 2000s. It describes the confusing, contradictory and individualized musicscape in Turkey around the turn of the twenty-first century, including its pre-history throughout the twentieth century and sometimes beyond. One focus lies on the recent tendency towards disintegration of musical traditionals into internationalism and multiple musical hybrids. Instead of a tendency towards unification and standardization, intense Western influence has caused Turkish music to open up to the point where it becomes difficult to see any common foundation. However, the stylistic diversity mainly concerns arrangements and performance styles and far less, new compositions. Turkish music has expanded, both geographically and in terms of musical variety; yet its main traditional repertoire has been exhausted, and is hardly perpetuated by new compositions. As Bülent Aksoy (2008: 220) pointed out: “*Ottoman Music has not seen the rise of important composers since the 1950s.*”

For the analysis of more or less traditional music in Turkey today, a range of theoretical frameworks could be applied, including globalization, glocalisation (Robertson), cross-cultural, trans-cultural (Welsch), hybrid (Pieterse), creole (Hannerz), third space (Bhabha), cultural collage or bricolage (Slobin).⁶ Since the 1980s the developing theoretical discussion has turned away from essentialist concepts of culture as coherent units. However, the overwhelming trend in theory writing impedes a rational approach. A detailed discussion of related theories would fill a book by itself (of course many such books have been written), while the recent consensus tends to the opinion that all cultures are “hybrid” (trans- or cross-culture) anyway.

⁶ To mention just a few important writings, see Kim 2016; Siebert 2015; Utz 2014; Greve (2002) 2016; Pieterse 1995; Featherstone 1995; Robertson 1995; Kartomi & Blum 1994; Welsch 1992; Slobin 1992; Abu-Lughod 1991; Bhabha 1990; Hannerz 1987, 1989.

However, if we follow the results of postcolonial studies, like those of Stuart Hall and Homi K. Bhabha, who stated a fundamental hybridity as the starting point of all cultural processes, then we realize that the term “cross-cultural” is in fact tautological. For every culture, in whatever form it may be constituted otherwise, is in essence “cross-cultural” and by no means “mono-cultural.” (Kim 2016)

Meanwhile, no serious contemporary academic discussion argues for the existence of essential cultural units, such as the West, Turkish culture, East Asia etc. (Kim 2014). In this situation theoretical approaches as mentioned before increasingly lose their analytical and differentiating quality; while the growing use of them in popular discourse weakened them further (Solomon 2015: 319; Lo 2000: 156). Today, public (and partly also academic) discourse tends to the use of either hyphenated terms, such as European-Turkish, Ottoman-Turkish; or composite expressions based on the metaphor of “post” or “beyond”, an approach beginning with concepts such as post-modern, post-structural, or recently, post-migrant. For several years while working on this book, I considered “post-traditional music” as an appropriate term for the musical situation in Turkey at present. Sofia Kompotiati told me that she had used the expression “post-traditional music” in her (Greek) Ph.D. thesis (*Music, Identity, Globalization and Nationalism in modern Turkey*, University of Athens, 2005), in particular for groups such as *Baba Zula*. However, already the term “tradition” provokes serious theoretical problems (Coplan 1993). Since Eric Hobsbawm’s eminent book, at least in academic contexts, the word is hardly understood separately from his concept of “invented traditions” (Hobsbawm & Ranger 1983). Of course numerous aspects of contemporary Turkish music could easily be described as “invented traditions” in Hobsbawm’s sense, for example the Arel-Ezgi-Uzdilek pitch system, *saz* orchestras or today’s *mehter* (Janissary) bands. In the Turkish context, however, the term “tradition” would be used in its more general meaning. In Turkey expressions like “*gelenek*” and “*geleneksel*” (tradition, traditional) are common in daily use and also in reference to music, e.g. *geleneksel halk müziği* (traditional folk music) or *geleneksel Türk müziği* (traditional Turkish music). This notion of “tradition” is hardly discussed in Turkey, though in many cases of obviously invented or at least recently transformed music traditions, one might be tempted to refer to this widespread approach as “imagined traditions.” In a general sense, however, “tradition” might further imply an opposition to “modern” and the title therefore indicates a eurocentric, or even culturally imperialist position. The western “world music” market for example regularly refers to “traditional music,” excluding all kinds of traditional Western music (such as opera, string quartet etc.). Here exoticistic associations are quite obvious and often even intended, and a notion of “timelessness” as being implicit to the term “tradition,” impedes a sources-based historical approach.

The actual title of this book, “*makamsız*” attempts to focus the idea of “post-traditional” on music. In a strictly musical context *makamsız* means “without *makam*,” hence “without the traditional melodic concept called *makam*.” It is

borrowed from a composition by Evrim Demirel and a CD containing this composition. However, the term “*makamsız*” as used by both Evrim Demirel and myself, goes beyond its direct musical-technical meaning to be understood as a metaphor which emphasizes the consciousness of a bygone musical tradition. The notes on the Evrim Demirels CD read:

The title makes clear that Evrim Demirel is acutely aware of his own cultural heritage in how he conceives and perceives his work. All five pieces [of the CD] refer quite emphatically to his background, Turkish elements having been woven into the music.

In this sense both expressions “*makamsız*” and “post-traditional” (which I ultimately decided to omit), share a common meaning: a musicscape in which traditions are more or less abandoned, though not completely destroyed, and whose fragmented elements still, in some way, influence and possibly even dominate most artistic music in Turkey today. At the same time the use of the term *makamsız* instead of the more general (and problematic) “(post-) traditional” emphasized the focus on music and aesthetics.

For the analysis of artistic music in Turkey today, however, yet another category seems to be much more appropriate, that is “individual”: individual musicians, individual music pieces, individual life experiences, identities and approaches to music, individual musical projects, individual CDs and concerts, even individual concepts of music theory, conferences or research projects. A general theory of individualization as a social process was put forward by Ulrich Beck as early as 1983. Beck describes the dissolution of social classes, family models, gender roles and other social forms in Western industrial societies after the Second World War as a consequence of an individualization of the labour market. The main aspects are the expansion of education and the need for personal selection within it; further mobility, particularly concerning work; and growing competition, which forces individuals to develop personal abilities and profiles (Beck 2007). In 2001, Abu-Lughod proposed an *ethnography of the particular*. In fact, individuals had already become a particular focus within ethnomusicological studies. As a result of their analysis of ethnomusicological monographies published between 1976 and 2003, Ruskin & Rice (2012, 316) realized that “*the study of individuals is now a norm in the discipline.*” Almost half of the books in the main parts of the study focused on individual musicians as innovators of a given musical tradition, as prominent key figures, as musicians “normal” or “typical” for a tradition, or even as non-musicians, usually anonymous auditors. However, this growing focus on individualization has hardly been theorized in musicology or even in cultural studies. The concept of religious individualism, proposed by Martin Fuchs and Jörg Rüpke, is at least close to what I have in mind here. We simply replace the terms “religion” and “religious” by “music” and “musical:”

A focus on processes of religious individualization puts the experiences and activities of individuals center stage: how individuals interact with religious ideas and institutions; engage with religious practices; choose options and take decisions; critically reflect on

their experiences, their being, their positionalities and their leeway for action, and on their relationships with larger reality; and how they develop new religious practices and new religious ideas. More specifically, the eyes are on such constellations in which the individual personality becomes a central focus of religious activities (which does not mean that this would have to apply to all actors in a given social context). There may be different shapes and grades of individualization in a given context, as also not all dimensions of individual agency encountered here must necessarily congregate around one mode of individualization. Viewed this way, 'religions' appear not so much as unified, but rather as diverse, complex and unruly. (Fuchs & Rüpke 2015: 324)

Similar to the persistence of discreet religions, musical styles (hence "traditions") such as classical Turkish music, *bağlama* of the Arif Sağ school, or Romantic piano music as well as political, aesthetic, religious and other discourses continue to exist – even in a growing number. However, hardly any musician nowadays would perform or compose exclusively in one style, and if they did, then only for a limited period of his or her life. In addition, the approach to "traditions," or whatever is understood by that again differs across individuals. My understanding of individuum hence also appeals to Heiner Keupp's concept of patchwork identities (Keupp 1999). Musical traditions in contemporary Turkey, to put it in other words, are seriously disintegrating.

In the case of Turkish music several factors lead to this individualization: A growing rate of and importance of migration and international mobility; the availability of almost all Ottoman-Turkish, Anatolian and global musical styles, instruments and other elements via media; the increase of cross-cultural encounters and experiences; the opening up of identity discourses. To summarize, all the elements which have long been discussed under the headlines of globalization or glocalization.

The perception of a culturescape which mainly consists of individuuums and disintegration, rather than of stabile traditions, poses serious challenges for everyone involved, that is musicians, the audience, media, managers, venues and culture politicians. The main risk is that the audience might become bored, both by purely traditional music (now perceived as old fashioned and simple) and by the overheated and incomprehensible totality. The general atmosphere of commerce and entertainment in Turkey today anyway promotes the attraction of popular music while artistic music (of any style) is losing its prestige and appeal.

In fact music in Turkey has experienced a dramatic fall in its political importance. The ideologization of music, the political project of the early Republic period to "Westernize" Turkish music and at the same time to strengthen its national "roots," which were supposed to be "Turkish folk music," has lost most of its force. Over the course of the last few decades, it became possible to appreciate traditional Ottoman-Turkish music without being perceived as an enemy of the Republic. In contemporary Turkey, Western music is established enough to allow its younger musicians to re-encounter traditional music too. Hüseyin Sadettin Arel's (at that time clearly nationalistic) idea of a unity of "Turkish music,"

today, has become at least partly a reality and partly lost its former ideological baggage. Within the great ideological and political debates of recent years (over the sale of alcohol, the headscarf, the struggle against the Fethullah Gülen network, issues of democratic rights, independence of the judiciary, the Kurdish issue, relations with the European Union etc.) the field of music did not play any role at all. Only some well-known polemicists such as the pianist and composer, Fazıl Say or the (music) historian, Murat Bardakçı initiated occasional and short-lived public discussions on music. In his column in the daily *Habertürk*, on November 8, 2010 for example, Murat Bardakçı forcefully claimed that the Kemalist musical reforms (*inkılâb*) had been a complete failure. Over the following weeks violent responses appeared in blogs, on *Facebook*, or on the nationalist website *OdaTV*. Murat Bardakçı's most prominent opponent became Cihat Aşkın, at that time Director of the State Conservatory for Turkish Music at the İTÜ (Bardakçı 2010; Aşkın 2010). Similarly Fazıl Say regularly initiates public discussions. He is known for his harsh criticism of popular music (in particular of *arabesk*) and his polemics against the AKP.

While there is hardly any serious debate in Turkey on what I would call an aesthetic crisis of Turkish music, there are endless debates in musicological publications, at conferences and panels, on basic concepts of Turkish art music, including pitch system, *makam* and notation. There is an obvious struggle to maintain or even to establish standards within a growing chaos. These attempts to fix (at least partly) and standardize Turkish music and its education have existed since at least the early Republic of Turkey. They have (and this is the second argument of the present book) overall completely failed.

The difficulties inherent in perceiving and understanding an individualized musicscape also affect researchers (who of course also work as individuals), including the present one. The main problem here is the challenge in creating a narrative of this incoherent field, even more problematic if this narrative tries to integrate a historical dimension. Though the present book will also include some short personal stories of individual musicians, an apparently random selection of individuals for closer attention would of course not form a convincing narrative (Stock 2001).

The general approach of this book is the search for precursors of the present, or predecessors of elements prevailing today, rather than a historical march from, say, the late nineteenth century till today (as for example Paçacı 1999; Aksoy 1985; Oransay 1973), while trying to understand each period according to its own values and conditions. The primary aim of this book is to understand the present. However, no linear structured narrative is able to describe this process of individualization. Of course the writing of a history of a given discourse or issue (e.g. Turkish nationalism, or the violin etc.) is still possible (according to the availability of relevant sources). A general periodization however, is difficult. No new period will be described here, nor the end of a former one; rather the musical

situation in Turkey (in particular that in Istanbul) at present, together with a plethora of fragments of prehistory. These fragments are disunited, highly diverse strips of prehistory, some of them only beginning in the 1990s, others going back to the early nineteenth century. The dominance of the individual does not signify a new period whose inception might be dated, but rather has developed in a long, complex and from the 1990s, intensifying process.

The 1990s in fact, represent a crucial period for these changes in Turkey, as these years followed the general political, social and cultural decline of the 1980s, caused by the military coup on September 12, 1980. The 1980s in general were marked by structural adjustment, economic liberalization, and privatizations. The deregulation of the media began in the early 1990s. On a global level of course the collapse of East European Socialism, the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and the ensuing “new order,” caused deep changes in the world’s political and economic landscape. In Turkey this affected relations and business with Russia and the Central Asian Turkic Republics. In Turkey musical life grew again during the 1990s, and the decade became a fairly creative period, during which some new important music groups, musicians and musical approaches emerged, including *Kardeş Türküleri*, Erkan Oğur, *Bezmara*, and *İnce Saz*. At the same time some influential books, in particular on Ottoman music history, were published, including Cem Behar’s analysis of the traditional *meşk* education and transmission (1989), Owen Wright’s edition of Cantemir’s *edvâr* (1992), and Walter Feldman’s groundbreaking book, “Music of the Ottoman Court” (1996). The record label *Kalan* music, founded in 1991, released numerous widely unknown historical recordings of Turkish art, folk and western music as part of its “archival series.” In 1993, the “Copenhagen Criteria” of the European Union seemed to open Europe to the possibility of full Turkish membership, at the same time calling for (among other issues) the “protection of minorities” as a condition for Turkey’s membership. In particular the late 1990s and early 2000s were dominated by a liberal multicultural discourse and many ethnic and religious minorities in Turkey formed new identities, and sought to revive their cultures.

Many of the described changes occurred simultaneously and with various interrelations. In addition, most of the musical changes in Turkey which have become important recently had already begun much earlier, though the scope of this prehistory differs according to musical styles and socio-cultural context. Despite the suggestive subheading (“On the Eve of Kemalist Turkey”), I do not perceive this process as a result of Kemalism or of its failure. The historical roots of this disintegration of musical traditions go beyond the Republic of Turkey and Turks as a people, and are spread over a large international area. On the contrary, I suggest that the impact of Kemalism and in particular that of the person Mustafa Kemal on contemporary musical life in Turkey is widely overestimated.

Another challenge in writing this book is the extremely broad field it has to deal with. For instance it is impossible to track all developments over their full

international remit, including for example Iran, Azerbaijan and Georgia. Similarly the almost endless musical hybrids in Turkey stretch all possible strategies of description, and the field of music theory in Turkey today is full of extremely complex and sensitive issues, whose description would alone fill a book.

Another limitation should be highlighted. The focus of the present book is the recent developments in the field of artistic music, in particular in Istanbul (as the main musical center of Turkey). The economic dimension of music, and connected with it the huge and dynamic world of popular music in Turkey is beyond its scope. I will focus on music that in any way perpetuates or reflects elements of Anatolian folk music and / or urban Ottoman-Turkish music. Purely Western music, as also performed and composed in Turkey will not be discussed here.

Finally I can only try to describe the situation as perceived by a foreigner. About thirty years after my first visit to Istanbul and after nine years of regular residence in the city, I actually don't feel a stranger anymore. Nevertheless, I did not grow up in Turkey, Turkish is not my mother tongue, and I am not a musician.

II

This book is the result of several years of practical experience with Turkish music, followed by historical and theoretical research. After completing my book on German-Turkish musical life in Germany more than fourteen years ago (Greve 2003), I was working on practical issues, such as the integration of the *bağlama* into the annual German music competition *Jugend Musiziert* (Youth Making Music), or giving training programs for cross-cultural competency and music education. From 2005 I was in charge of the re-organization and management of the first regular study course of Turkish music outside of Turkey, at the *World Music Academy, Codarts Rotterdam* in the Netherlands. Together with the academy's artistic director, Leo Vervelde, and the artistic director of the Turkish music program, Kemal Dinç, we developed and tested curricula for *bağlama*, improved and extended them, and enlarged the program with further instruments such as Turkish percussion, voice or *ney*, with Kudsi Erguner as master teacher. In order to compensate for our lack of experience in teaching Turkish music, we invited the musicologist Melih Duygulu from Istanbul as a regular guest teacher and musicians from Turkey such as Erkan Oğur and Barış Güney gave additional lessons in ad-hoc workshops. Official cooperation was established with the State Conservatory for Turkish Music of the Technical University Istanbul (İTÜ). Later, I mirrored the first steps of some music academies in Germany (Berlin, Cologne, Mannheim) to prepare comparable programs for *bağlama* and other Turkish instruments.

The more I learned about music education in Turkey, the more I realized that even in Istanbul, teaching traditional music in an institution of predominantly western origin was a difficult and much debated issue. A professional education in Turkish folk music singing for example, is without any historical model and

only a few decades ago would have attracted no interest. Whoever had a beautiful voice (or was supposed to have one), would simply sing. The only exception was the *aşık* tradition: In several Anatolian regions young men could accompany well-known *aşıks* for a number of years (as their *çıraks*) and learn by more or less intentional imitation. The traditional education for Turkish art music (*meşk*) never separated theory, practice, repertoire and performance techniques as western academies do, but rather taught music in a holistic approach.

In 2013 the *Landesmusikrat Berlin*, an umbrella organization for music in Berlin officially announced the *bağlama* as *Instrument of the Year 2013*. While working at the *Orient-Institut Istanbul*, I took part in the organization of workshops, concerts, a congress for *bağlama* teachers in Berlin and finally the first symposium on *bağlama* in Germany, again in cooperation with the State Conservatory for Turkish music of the ITÜ (Çiftçi & Greve, forthcoming 2017). In 2006 the Berlin *Philharmonie* concert hall assigned me to the new concert series, *Alla Turca*.⁷ The basic idea of the series was to organize joint concerts with excellent examples of both traditional musicians from Turkey and international non-Turkish musicians. Over a period of five years I took part in planning and organizing these concerts, experienced multiple communication problems and sometimes overwhelming musical encounters.

In 2008, I moved to Istanbul, henceforth traveling regularly between Istanbul, Rotterdam and Berlin. Working for two outstanding music institutions, *Codarts Rotterdam* with its (at that time) unique *World Music Academy*, and the *Philharmonie Berlin*, provided me encounters with the best musicians in Turkey. Finally, a position as Research Fellow at the *Orient-Institut Istanbul* began in 2011, giving me the opportunity to systematically analyze the confusing situation of (post-) traditional music in Turkey. Back in the field of musicology – but now in Turkey – I followed academic discussion in conferences and workshops, took part in the organization of some of my own and worked on the editing of some related books.⁸ At the same time I tried to observe Istanbul's musical life over several years, developing contacts with musicians, musicologists and producers.

Moving from small and peaceful Berlin to Istanbul in 2008 confronted me with the daily experience of a megalopolis. Since the mid-twentieth century Is-

⁷ Initially together with Shermin Langhoff and in communication with Vladimir Ivanoff, Director of the ensemble *Sarband*, later only in cooperation with the Director's assistant, Sara Braun.

⁸ Conference "Writing the History of 'Ottoman Music'," in cooperation with the State Conservatory for Turkish Music in 2012; "Hören Sie – Erfahrungsaustausch Deutsch-Türkischer Musiktherapie" on music therapy (Istanbul 2012); "Erstes *Bağlama* Symposium in Deutschland" on the *bağlama*, in cooperation with the Landesmusikrat Berlin and the Universität der Künste Berlin; "Transfer and Diversity" (Berlin and Istanbul, 2014); "Integrative Approaches to Contemporary Cross-Cultural Music Making" (Rome, 2016) in cooperation with the German Historical Institut Rome and Bahçeşehir University Istanbul. Kalaitzidis 2012; Greve 2015; Jäger, Olley & Helvacı 2016; Yıldız 2016; Çiftçi & Greve 2017.

Istanbul has rapidly expanded in size and population. In 1960 it had 1.5 million inhabitants, in 1984 (during my very first visit there) it numbered about 5.5 million, today the official figures declare some 15 million residents, with an unknown number of unregistered inhabitants. During these decades the population structure also changed dramatically, and today the vast majority of Istanbul inhabitants are of Anatolian origin. Beginning in the 1950s, migrants from Anatolia settled in improvised *gecekondu* neighborhoods, which with time became regular parts of the city. A second wave of immigration arrived during the 1980s and early 1990s, propelled by the terror of the Kurdish PKK and the civil war of the Turkish army against them. In the 1990s the high-risers of Maslak signaled a new phase of urban concentration (Esen 2005).

During these years Istanbul's character changed "*from a typical Third World sprawl to a global city*" (Keyder 2010). Together with growing tourism, Istanbul became attractive for international business, arts and science.

There is no doubt that Istanbul's success in capturing a share of the global dazzle is due in large part to the world economy, since the 1980s, favoring the resurgence of the metropolis: this was a period in which the control and management functions of global capital shifted to the great cities of the world and those sectors which are specifically urban gained ground. (Keyker 1999b: 26)

In the early twenty-first century the international hype over Istanbul changed the image of the city to *Cool Istanbul* (so declared the title of *Newsweek*, August 29, 2005).⁹ During my initial years in Istanbul I was constantly besieged by visitors from Germany or the Netherlands. Almost everybody seemed to be attracted by the rising metropole of Istanbul. International media regularly wrote on Istanbul, and the city itself began to perceive itself as an international center rather than part of an imagined periphery. Within Turkey, Istanbul was always a central hub for IT, design, mode, media and music (Enlil & Evren 2011), and similarly for political, social or culturally alternative movements or underground arts (e.g. hip-hop, LGBT, comics). The *gezi* movement in the summer of 2013, protesting initially against the destruction of the *gezi park* at the *Taksim* square, with its striking creativity, demonstrated a strong Turkish civil society and was perceived, at least internationally, as a culmination of this *cool Istanbul* – however, also as the beginning of its forced decline.

III

This book is composed of three essays focusing on three factors of central importance to Turkish music today, that is: internationalisation, historicisation and hybridisation. These three aspects are interrelated to a degree that even the sequence of reading might easily be changed. In the end, I decided to begin with

⁹ Göktürk, Soysal & Türeli 2010: 1; Özkan 2014.

internationalisation in chapter II mainly because this point includes my own position as an observer from more or less the outside. At the same time this chapter will recall the situation of music life in Turkey today, in addition I tried to include all important aspects of globalization as necessary for an understanding of today's Turkish (post-) traditional music. Chapter III will deliver the prehistory of this recent musicscape, though not plainly described in a historic narrative, but rather as a short recapitulation. The main emphases will be on changes in the perceptions of the past as a precondition to understanding the present. This chapter therefore deals with historiographic concepts and sources, popular narratives of music history, and historical reconstructions and revivals. Chapter IV focusses on the music itself, hence on the musical consequences of the developments described before. In a basically systematic approach several strategies of musical hybrids will be described in their respective historical development, looking back from the present rather than following a historical continuum. The fifth chapter is intended as a short reflection on the question of how this unprecedented musical expansion could have happened within an authoritarian state and society such as the Republic of Turkey.

The publication of this book falls in a period of fundamental change in Turkey. The "New Turkey" of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the ruling AKP turned away from the Kemalism, which dominated the state for most of the twentieth century. The story of this book hence seems to end around 2016. After the Gezi riots, and in particular after the general elections of 1 November 2015, the political atmosphere in Turkey changed dramatically. Current political discussions are dominated by debates over the renewed rise of Turkish nationalism and Islam, the distrust of the AKP government towards the EU and the USA (also spread by the major media outlets), a growing political censorship, numerous terror attacks and war in Syria and Iraq, discussions about a political reorientation from the West towards Russia and the Eurasian Shanghai Pact, and even a possible break with the EU. The consequences of these state-level developments for music and musical life are not clearly visible yet. In particular since the failed coup on July 15, 2016, and in the context of widespread political arrests of opposition groups and journalists, a possible economic crisis and the change towards a presidential system where political power is concentrated in a single person (that of President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan), music life in Turkey seems to be substantially reduced. The thrilling atmosphere of the early 2000s with its almost overheated creativity gave way to a general feeling of depression and insecurity. Today, Beyoğlu is losing its central position in the cultural life of Istanbul, while many intellectuals and artists have moved to neighborhoods such as Nişantaşı, Beşiktaş or Kadıköy. The *dengbêj* house in Diyarbakır, the symbol for the revival of Kurdish music has partly been damaged during the fights between PKK fighters and the Turkish army in 2016.

In parallel to these political developments the concept of this book changed several times; while simultaneously new individual musical projects constantly appeared (and often disappeared again after a short time). However, it is important to reiterate the crucial point that many apparently recent tendencies were in fact already discernible even before the founding of the AKP, or even before the early Republican period, i.e. the tendency to combine and intermingle “musical traditions.” During the 1920s and ‘30s, Ottoman-Turkish musical traditions in particular were forced to struggle against the impact of Kemalism. Today, in the early twenty-first century, while a post-Kemalistic political atmosphere is growing, again musicians are under political observation, though the AKP barely exhibits any explicit music policy (yet), and in general seems hardly interested in music at all. On May 3-5, 2017 the Ministry for Culture and Tourism organized a much discussed council on music (*III. Millî Kültür Şûrası Müzik Komisyonu*), and even announced plans for the foundation of a University of Music, possibly a model for further political influence on music and music education in Turkey. This unclear situation might be reminiscent of the founding years of the Turkish Republic, where only ten years after the founding of a new Turkey a serious cultural policy was implemented. Today, the political project of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s “New Turkey” still lacks a vision concerning music. We therefore do not yet know when – or if at all – a new and distinct musical period will be established in Turkey (or within any broader framework), nor how long this present period of transition will continue. Even the end of political Kemalism, though highly advanced, has not yet been completed and might be reversed at least to some degree. It is possible that President Erdoğan, once he has secured power, might be tempted to repeat Mustafa Kemal’s mistake and overestimate his ability to influence and adjust what he imagines to be the appropriate music for his country. In the worst case imagineable then, for a given period of, say, one or two decades music life could be partially blocked or dominated by state control and ideology. In particular “Islamic music” could gain further importance over the coming years, with for example the growing popularity of the *ney* over the last ten years as a potential indicator of this development (Senay 2015a). “Islamic music” as a concept, however, is hardly less ideological than its “Turkish” counterpart, and similarly unclear concerning its musical implications, as might be seen for example in the German-based rap group, *Sert Müslümanlar* or interpretations of the Koran and *ilahis* on piano (as by Tuluyhan Uğurlu). A complete roll-back to Ottoman music traditions is hardly imaginable anyway. A purely ideological approach to Ottoman history and its music, would have no chance of convincing serious Turkish musicians. Historical research on Ottoman music has already advanced too far for simply ideological or political approaches. Further, the tradition of *meşk* on a large scale, crucial for Ottoman music, has disappeared, most probably to a irreversible degree, and even after a potentially forced shut-down of conservatories in Turkey the mainly private-based *meşk* could not be revived simply by

order of the state. Western music on the other hand, is widely established in Turkey (though less than in Europe). Even if the new state would withdraw its financial support for institutions such as orchestras and operas, musicians, composers and most importantly the audiences will not change their musical preferences simply to follow political directives.

Opening the focus again to an international perspective, we might perceive the situation of (post-) traditional Turkish music as only one case within the phenomenon of world-wide music globalisation. If no serious global disaster (such as a global economic crisis or even a war) harms, decimates or even deletes the field of culture, cultural globalisation will most likely continue anyway, and together with it the individualization of music – whatever a single government might do. Also in Turkey the extent of globalisation with its medialisation, migration and general mobility is probably irreversible. Turkish musicians abroad, in Europe, Greece, the USA and elsewhere, are much less effected by the political and psychological situation in Turkey anyway. Also “New Turkey” is internationally active (Aksoy 2009), possibly with a changing focus on Russia, Arabic countries, and in general Asia. Even in Africa Turkey tries to push back the influence of the Fetullah Gülen movement and expand its own influence and trade. The worldwide decline of physical music albums (CDs and audio cassettes) and their replacement by digital availability of music online will further open the international musicscape.

In this larger context, the specifics of the Turkish case are merely colored by local factors, that is the structure of its traditional music and music life, and, most importantly its particular structure of nationalism and the Kemalist cultural policy during the early twentieth century. The individualization of the field of music, however, might be understood as a general, international and cross-cultural development of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century.

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II International Turkish Music

During my work for the Berlin Philharmonic concert hall I cooperated regularly with the Istanbul-based booking agent Rıza Okçu, the owner and director of the agency *Stage Art*, which specialized in Turkish traditional music. I once complained to him about my ever growing collection of phone numbers (German, Turkish and Dutch). He laughed and opened a small box, which he carried in his jacket. It contained at least 40 SIM cards. Rıza took out one after the other, looked at them and explained; this is for Belgium; this for Sweden; this must be Bosnia, this is Spain, this Greece, Finland, the UK, etc.

Today, Turkey is deeply connected to the global world – politically, economically, through its media, in the arts and many other fields. Actually for Istanbul, this situation is far from new, as Çağlar Keyder put it, “*unlike other global cities, Istanbul has always been a world city.*”¹ As the capital of the Ottoman Empire for centuries, Istanbul was an international metropolis, which attracted visitors from both Islamic and European countries, in addition to numerous waves of migration and refugees (Erdoğan & Kaya 2015). In the field of music, Iranian musicians were particularly active at the Ottoman court until the seventeenth century, with intense musical exchanges between Arab countries and Istanbul emerging later, in particular with Cairo during the nineteenth century (Behar 2006; Feldman 1996: 39-44, 65-67; 2015). Long-standing and close contacts also connected Istanbul and Europe, fostered by a range of agents, including travellers, embassies and the Italian and Levantine communities in Galata / Istanbul.

One can also conclude that the majority of European musical instruments which had been incorporated into common musical circulation in Turkey (such as the violin, the viola, the viola d’amore, the clarinet or the European *lauta*) came predominantly through the channel of the Venice-Istanbul connection. (Aksoy 2010: 65)

We know about Western operas, Italian musicians, concerts, church music and a *Società Operaia Italiana* in Istanbul. In the other direction, for example, the *colascione* (an instrument similar to the Turkish *bağlama*) was adapted in Venice and Padua already in the sixteenth and seventeenth century (Baydar 2010; Aksoy 2010; And 1989). The first known Turkish opera and operetta composer Dikran Çuhacıyan (1836-1898) received his musical training in Milan.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, political relations developed further, and a cosmopolitan lifestyle including European culture and entertainments, emerged in particular in Istanbul’s Galata and Pera districts. Also European musicians began to travel to Istanbul, for concerts or even longer residence. By the 1890s, non-Muslims constituted the majority of the city’s population

¹ Keyder 1999b: 3. This could similarly be said about Thessaloniki / Selanik and Izmir / Smyrna, see Kaliviotis 2002 / 2013.

though in 1914, after the arrival of refugees from the Balkan Wars, the portion of Muslims increased to 55 percent.² Non-Muslim minorities in particular developed good contacts with Europe, for example the Ottoman Jews were part of the Paris-based *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, founded in 1860. Around the mid-1870s, the Greek “Literary Society of Constantinople” came into contact with French composers and musicians (Erol 2009: 204f). “*At the beginning of the twentieth century, the Ecclesiastical Music Society members became interested in investigating their common musical heritage with Russia and got into contact with Russian musicians.*” (Erol 2009: 279) During the Hamidian era Bohemian and later Russian musicians arrived in Istanbul and Izmir, influencing the entertainment music market too (Alimdar 2016: 183; Fuhrmann 2009; Deleon 1995).

During the twentieth century however, and in particular at the turn of the 21st century, the level of internationalisation increased to an unprecedented degree. Several factors led to this development. First, the sharp rise of migration and travel inside Turkey and later, to and from Europe (Castles & Miller 1993; Dündar 2014). Beginning in the 1960s, transnational migration and growing international markets deeply changed the economic and cultural landscapes worldwide. As a result there was an increase in the influence of the growing Turkish diaspora on the musical life of Turkey. Second, the relations with Turkey’s neighbouring countries improved, and they also began to influence Turkish musical life. Third, the emergence of so called “world music,” a new transnational musical field which increasingly interacted and mingled with the music scene inside Turkey.

This chapter will describe the internationalisation of Turkish music, hence the emergence of new international musical projects, collaborations between musicians, pedagogical practices, as well as the consumption of music. After a scetch of the situation in Istanbul around 2010, I will dwell upon the emergence of a public music live in Istanbul and Turkey as a precondition of the later internationalization. The following parts analyse the international migration and its consequences for Turkish music and the intensifying musical relations between Turkey and its neighboring countries. The last part deals with the implementation of Turkish music in the emerging World music scene and market.

Istanbul – the Global Music City

No reliable figures are available on cultural activities and musical preferences in Turkey, neither in the past nor the present. We do not know exactly what kind of music is popular within different social groups, nor the amount of music production of the numerous popular and artistic musical styles in Turkey. In a survey on cultural activities conducted in 2006, Turkish citizens reported that they

² Keyder 1999b: 10; Christian population in 1914: 450 000, however in 1927 dropped to 240 000.

watch an average of 63 hours of television per month, while time spent on concerts, museum visits and other artistic performances averaged just 30 seconds.³ In Turkey today, much more important than live music, is the listening to music on CDs, the internet, television (in particular music channels such as *Kral TV*, *Dream Türk*, *Number 1*, *Number 1 Türk*, *Powertürk*, *TRT Müzik* etc.) or on radio. During the first half of the year 2009 more than 50 million CDs were sold in Turkey, more than in Italy or Spain, which does not include downloads and pirate copies (Yazıcıoğlu 2010: 241). Since then, however, the CD market worldwide collapsed due to the possibility of copying and downloading music from the internet – a common practice in particular in contemporary Turkey. This commercial music is clearly dominated by Turkish popular music with its numerous styles.

At the same time Turkish cultural life is still concentrated in Istanbul. In 2009 ten percent of all Turkish theatres and twenty-five percent of all cinemas were situated in Istanbul (Ada 2009: 99). Let us take a short glance at Istanbul's music venues of the early 21st century. In contrast to the media industry which had been located in Babiâli since the 1870s, but from 1980 left the centre of Istanbul and moved to the Ikitelli district (Yücesoy 2011), the musical life of Istanbul is still concentrated at the very heart of the city. It thrives particularly in the traditional entertainment neighbourhood Beyoğlu, with its restaurants, bars, clubs, recording studios, *türkü bars* (folk music bars), rock bars, discos, and night clubs (Bates 2008: 137ff; Beken 1998: 32ff); but also in Beşiktaş, Şişli and much less in Fatih, Üsküdar or Kadıköy. Besides the well-known concert halls such as *Cemal Reşit Rey* concert hall, *İş Sanat*, *Borusan Müzik Evi*, *Süreyya Opera*, *Babylon*, *Ghetto*, *Nardis Jazz Club*, *Akbank Sanat*, *Bariş Manco Kültür Merkezi*, *Garaj Istanbul* (the well-known *Atatürk Kültür Merkezi* has been closed since 2008), the abundant music scene in Beyoğlu around İstiklal Street (the former *Haymatloz*, *Hayal Kahvesi*, *Peyote*, *The Mekan*) offers numerous venues for all kinds of music ranging from Anatolian folk music and jazz to heavy metal. Some of these venues focus on particular styles, such as western music (e.g. *İş Sanat*), world music (*Babylon*),⁴ avant-garde (*Borusan Müzik Evi*), or Jazz (*Nardis*, *IKSV Lounge*). Others offer a wider repertoire, for example the prestigious *Cemal Reşit Rey* concert hall. In addition the five conservatories of Istanbul need to be mentioned (İTÜ, Mimar Sinan GS University, Istanbul University, Yıldız Technical University, Haliç University), in addition to numerous private music schools, studios and music associations.

The main reason for this geographical concentration is Istanbul's disastrous traffic situation, which makes peripheral areas simply difficult to access. The situation is self-perpetuating as the intensity of cultural life in the centre makes it

³ www.turkstat.gov.tr/icerikgetir.do?istab_id=171 (accessed December 15, 2015).

⁴ Babylon was twice voted among the best 100 jazz clubs of the world (2002 and 2004) by the music magazine, *Down Beat*. (Değirmenci 2013: 19, fn 47)

attractive for national and international tourists. Over the last several years the centre of Istanbul has undergone a strong process of gentrification (in particular the districts of Beyoğlu, Galata, Tophane, Balat and Tarlabası), and areas such as the historical peninsula, the area around Taksim square and Galata have turned into a kind of open air museum, attractive only to hotels and representatives of national and international companies. The AKP-controlled (Justice and Development Party / *Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*) municipality tried to break the monopoly of the central area, and during the last few years several cultural centres have opened in other neighbourhoods (some of them administrated by CHP), most of them offering mixed cultural programs of all genres and traditions.⁵

In addition to these regular venues, throughout the year a growing number of music and other festivals attract tourists and local audiences. The main actor is the private *Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts* (*Istanbul Kültür Sanat Vakfı*, IKSŞ) founded in 1973 (and financed by its main sponsor Dr. Nejat F. Eczadebaşı and others), which organizes a number of important festivals, including the *Istanbul Müzik Festivali*, *Istanbul Film Festivali* (since 1982), the (arts) *Biennale* (since 1987), *Istanbul Tiyatro Festivali* (since 1989) and the *Istanbul Jazz Festivali* (since 1994). Beginning in 2004 IKSŞ became active internationally, with festivals in European cities,⁶ and occasionally even organizing music and other conferences such as the *International Modal Music Congress* (1985) or *Contemporary Performance in Turkish Music* (1988). In addition other private festivals take place over the year, many of them during the summer and focusing on popular music, for example *Rock'n'Coke* since 2003, or the *Pera Festival*, which offered a mixed program. In autumn 2012 the 5th *International Body Music Festival* took place in Beyoğlu, organized by the Istanbul-based ensemble *KeKeCa* together with *Crosspulse* (USA). Public street festivals include *Hidrellez* (since 1997), which takes place in Ahırkapı in May and features Roman music from Istanbul and Trakya, as well as several local festivals (Ada 2011; Erdoğan 2011). From 2010–2013 the first of May was celebrated peacefully in the Taksim square, including a concert of left wing musicians and groups (e.g. Timur Selçuk, *Kardeş Türküler*, *Grup Yorum* and others). After 2013, on the eve of the *gezi* protests, the meeting was forbidden which resulted in riots.

Nevertheless, traditional Ottoman-Turkish music today is in a difficult position. Only during the month of Ramadan does the state sponsor numerous concerts with religious art music (Stokes 2013), while during the rest of the year such concerts often attract less people in the audience than musicians on stage. Sev-

⁵ E.g. *Caddebostan Kültür Merkezi*, Bülent Ecevit Kültür Merkezi, *Atakent Kültür Merkezi*, *Altunizade Kültür ve Sanat Merkezi*, *Cem Karaca Kültür Merkezi*, *Başakşehir Kültür Merkezi*, *Emir Efendi Kültür Merkezi*, *Erdem Bayazit Kültür Merkezi*, *Sultanbeyli Kültür Merkezi*, *Tuzla İdris Güllüce Kültür Merkezi* and others more.

⁶ E.g. Berlin 2004, Brussels 2004, London 2005, Stuttgart 2005, Amsterdam / Rotterdam 2007 and 2012; Russia 2008; Vienna 2008 and 2009, France 2009 and 2010.

eral state ensembles offer high quality concerts for a shrinking audience, as well as a regular income for many traditional musicians. Such musicians, instrumentalists in particular, often depend on the international market, and try to build up a personal international network.

Official biographies of Turkish traditional musicians as presented on CD covers, concert programs, as information on websites or by their booking managers, regularly describe an impressive number of countries in which the respective artist has already performed. In addition numerous international musicians, reflecting a wide range of musical styles, are mentioned as former musical partners. For example the biography of the *ud* player Yurdal Tokcan:

Yurdal Tokcan was born in Ordu, on the Black Sea Coast of Turkey in 1966. He is a 1998 graduate of Istanbul Technical University's Turkish Music Government Conservatory. While completing his Masters program there, he joined the faculty as an *ud* instructor. In 1990, he joined the Culture and Tourism Ministry's Istanbul Government Music Ensemble under the artistic direction of Tanburi Necdet Yaşar. As a member of this ensemble, Yurdal performed in France, Holland, Belgium, and Spain. He is a member of the Istanbul Fasil Ensemble and the Istanbul Tasavvuf Music Ensemble, and a founding member of the Istanbul Sazendeleri (Musicians of Istanbul), a group dedicated to presenting Turkish instrumental works. Tokcan has participated in many recording sessions and has performed internationally, in Germany, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, Greece, Japan, Turkmenistan, Israel, Tunisia, Lebanon, USA, Bosnia, and Northern Cyprus.

As a soloist, Tokcan performed in the Netherlands with the Amsterdam Percussion Group and Chamber Orchestra in a program entitled European Music Around Oud, and with the Tekfen Philharmonic Orchestra in Turkey, the United Kingdom, France, Germany and Belgium. (...)

Tokcan represented Turkey in several international festivals and celebrations, including the 3rd International Oud and Lavta Festival in Dresden, Germany and the 2002 International Oud Meeting in Thessaloniki, Greece (along with oud players Ara Dinkjian, Simon Shaheen, Haig Yazdjian, and Omar Bashir). In 2003, he performed at the Oud Festival in Jordan, gave two concerts at the Arabic Music Festival at the Cairo Opera Hall, and performed during celebrations of the 2003 Turkish Year in Japan. Tokcan was invited to perform in Kudus in a pan-Mediterranean music festival (along with Selim Güler, Ross Daly, Zohar Fresko and Yinon Muallem). He has performed with the Mercan Dede Ensemble in various festivals, including the Akbank International Jazz Festival in Istanbul. (...)⁷

Turkish folk music in Istanbul on the other hand, is alive and full of vitality, performed in numerous *türkü* bars, at concerts and privately at home. Many young people learn how to play a little *bağlama* or folk dancing, others play Turkish folk tunes on guitar. A deep change in the traditions of folk music, however, has been prompted by the migration towards large cities, in particular to Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana or Diyarbakır. Many Anatolian villages nowadays are almost emp-

⁷ Promotional biography of Yurdal Tokcan (2012). Since the release of this version of his biography Yurdal Tokcan added several international projects, CDs, and concerts to this list.

ty, at least during the winter. Turkish folk music has therefore become predominantly urban music. Just as with art musicians, folk musicians also focus on international experiences in their biographies.

Western music is deeply established in Turkey today. In several Turkish cities opera houses and symphony orchestras exist, the school education on music normally focuses – on whatever level – on Western music and music theory. Most well-known international orchestras, conductors and soloists have already given concerts in Turkey (mostly in Istanbul). As an example, the year 2013 saw the following performers in Istanbul: pianists Martha Argerich and Katia and Marielle Labèque; violinist Gideon Kremer, Itzhak Perlman, Christian Tetzlaff, and Joshua Bell; the New York Philharmonic; baritone Thomas Hampson; composer Krzysztof Penderecki; and tenor Roberto Alagna, just to mention the most well-known Western musicians (Ivanoff 2013). Western music in Turkey, from its earliest incarnations, was deeply influenced by migration and international exchange. The most well-known Turkish musician in this field is Fazıl Say (b. 1970), who studied piano in Ankara and Düsseldorf (Germany). His international career began in 1994, when he won the international “Young Concert Artists” competition in New York. As a regular guest at leading festivals and orchestras around the world, Say has performed on all continents, together with conductors such as Kurt Masur, Itzhak Perlman, Shlomo Mintz and Yuri Bashmet.

The audience for contemporary Western music in Turkey is even smaller, at the same time even more international. Some of the professors for composition, Ahmet Yürür or Hasan Ucarsu, studied in the USA, many others in Europe. Several Turkish composers are still based in countries such as Germany or the Netherlands (for example, Meliha Doğuduyal, Füsün Köksal, Zeynep Gedizlioğlu, Mahir Çetiz).

World music first became known in Turkey during the 1990s. Turkish musicians began to sing music from the Balkans, from Central Asia or Arabic countries, Latin music and others.⁸ The cultural hype surrounding Istanbul attracted a growing number of international musicians to Istanbul. On the İstiklal Street (similar to other European cities) musicians and groups from Europe, Iran, Peru and many other places of the world came to play for tourists. Today Tango, Flamenco, Salsa, African Dance and many other international music styles are performed in Istanbul, in smaller venues but also at the frequent world music con-

⁸ Some examples are the album *Düğün ve Cenaze* by Sezen Aksu (Plaza, 1997) including compositions of Goran Bregovic (Stokes 2010: 137), the cover version of usbek singer Yulduz Usmanova by Candan Erçetin (*Yalan*, on her album *Çapkın*, Topkapı 1997) or a rai song from Faudel Beloua in a Turkish version sung by Levent Yüksel (*Hayrinnisa* on the album *Adi Menekşe*, Plaza, 1998). In 2000 the album *Pasaporte Latino. Latin türküler* (DMC, 2000) was announced to be the first Turkish Latin-Pop; the first known Turkish Reggae band Sattas was founded in 2004, their first album was released in 2012. In 2000 Sezen Aksu released an album together with the Greek singer Haris Alexiou.

certs in the Cemal Reşit Rey Concert Hall.⁹ In addition international music festivals bring music of different styles to Turkey, for example “International *Ney* Meetings” organized by MediMuses and Süleyman Erguner in 2003, another one by Kudsi Erguner in 2007,¹⁰ an “International Istanbul *Ud* Festival” in 2010,¹¹ or the International *Kanun* Festival in 2012 and 2015.¹² During the annual “Mystic Music Festival” in Konya numerous international musicians and ensembles perform all kind of religious music to the highest standard.

Most Turkish musical institutions, both private and state, are well connected to other international music bodies. The State Conservatory for Turkish Music of the Technical University Istanbul (DTMK) for example, the most important institution for the education of Turkish music, has an extended network of international partnerships, reaching from Europe and North America to Asia, in particular to Central Asia. Several of its teachers have international experience. Cihat Aşkın for example, Director from 2008-2012, graduated with an MA and PhD from the Royal College of Music and the City University of London respectively, and has performed with numerous international well-known musicians. Aşkın’s then Vice Director, the late musicologist and *kanun* player Şehvar Beşiroğlu, did research at Harvard University in 1999. The conservatory organized numerous cooperative projects and concerts with institutions in Sweden, Azerbaijan, the Netherlands, Japan and other countries. On the other hand, only a few non-Turkish musicians are members of the teaching staff of the DTMK.¹³

In 1999 an adjunct to the DTMK, the “Center for Advanced Studies in Music”, MIAM (*Müzik İleri Araştırmalar Merkezi*), was founded. Equipped with an excellent international library and a tone studio, the MIAM offers English-language MA and PhD programs in music and musicology. Academic teachers were recruited

⁹ See for example Abtuman 2012, an article in The *New Yorker* on İnci Turan, Istanbul’s first African dance instructor. In 2010 several concerts presented international encounters, e.g. the Istanbul meeting of Turkish-Japanese drums; another one featuring foreign Istanbul-based musicians including Yinon Muallem (Israel), Brenna MacCrimmon (Canada), Nathalia Mann (New Zealand), Bob Bear (USA), Ruth Hill (Greece), Arslan Hazreti (Iran), Laurent Clouet (France), Chris Moser (Switzerland). Since 2010 an annual international Flamenco festival takes place in Ankara.

¹⁰ Including many international musicians such as Muhammed Mosavi, Mohammed Ali Kaini, Hasan Nahit, Ali Jihad Racy, Qadry Serour, Mahmoud Effat, Sabir Siblini, Rascid Zeroual, Mosoud Jahed.

¹¹ Directed by Necati Çelik, 25. – 31. October, with workshops and concerts with musicians including Elia Khoury, Georgios Marinakis, Haig Yazdjian, Josef Tawadros, Kyriakos Kalitizidis, Münir Nurettin Beken, Naseer Shamma, Omar Bashir, Perikles Tsoukalas.

¹² Other international festivals where for example the “Swiss Festival” in October 2014 (including a course for *Alphorn*), or the “Ruhaniyat” Sufi & Mystic Music Festival, presented by the Mumbai-based cultural organization *Banyan Tree* at Istanbul Technical University, Istanbul on 17 May, 2014.

¹³ E.g. the American perkussionist Jarrod Cagwin, who had learned south indian drumming in Ontario, and conducted several field studies in the Middle East and North and West Africa; <https://jarrodcagwin.wordpress.com/biography/> (accessed February 26, 2015); or Sandra Sindsch, German barock oboe player.

from the United States and the UK.¹⁴ Its director was initially the American-Turkish composer Kamrân İnce (b. 1960; Memphis) together with Cihat Aşkın, and since 2015 Şehvar Beşiroğlu has fulfilled this role. In addition international musicians and musicologists regularly offer workshops at the MIAM.

Conferences in Turkey, including those on music, are often keen to include international guests (though the number of these non-Turkish speakers is often limited to a few individuals).¹⁵ Participation at international conferences is highly esteemed among Turkish scholars, and even smaller Anatolian universities offer generous financial support to enable their teaching staff to participate in conferences abroad. Since at least the 1970s a number of foreign musicologists, anthropologists and historians come regularly to Istanbul for research trips of varying lengths (e.g. Eugenia Popescu-Judet, Irene Markhoff, Kurt and Ursula Reinhard, Owen Wright, Eckhardt Neubauer, Walter Feldman and Ralf Martin Jäger, not to mention the numerous doctoral students). Both international and Turkish scholars are highly interested in long term cooperation and exchanges. Even musicologists working on Anatolian folk music, leave Turkey from time to time for longer stays abroad; in 2015 for example Süleyman Şenel travelled to the United States and Erol Parlak to the UK.

Today, some Turkish ensembles have members from several countries, including *Sarband*, *Pera*, *Hezarfen* and Metin Kemal Kahraman. Even if all musicians are based in Istanbul their numerous individual concert trips abroad require coordination to allow for mutual rehearsal time and concerts. Eliot Bates describes the production of the album “*Yıldızlar Kuşandık*” by *Grup Yorum* in 2006 as follows:

The creation of arrangements was managed by the two de-facto project arrangers – İnan Altın in Istanbul, and Ufuk Lükér in Köln, Germany – and group and studio musician performances were recorded at three professional studios (ZB and Sistem in Istanbul and Per Sound in Köln), mixed at three studios, and finally mastered at Monoposto, a German mastering facility. Up until the mastering stage, music charts, lyrics, mixes (on CD-R, flash drive, and mp3 players), session files (on hard disk and DVD-R), and ideas were continuously circulated between spaces. (Bates 2008: 128)

Several international programs currently support student exchanges, for example, Erasmus, Marie Curie fellowships, “Cultural Bridges”, “Civil Society Dialogue: Istanbul 2010” or the Al Farabi Program (covering Islamic countries).

In 2009, nearly 36,000 Turkish students, academics, and artists went to the EU not only to improve their professional skills but also to experience living in a different country, to interact with its people and to understand its culture. (...) In addition, around 4,000

¹⁴ For example Michael Ellison, Tom Solomon, later Robert Reigle, Pieter Snapper, Paul Whitehead, Reuben de Latour, Jane Harrison and Amy Salsgiver.

¹⁵ In addition to the already mentioned International *ney* and *ud* festivals in Istanbul, in 2012, an international *Kanun* Symposium and Festival was organised by the State Conservatory for Turkish Music of the İTÜ, with performances of a number of non-Turkish musicians including Mohammed Saadaoui (Algeria), Manolis Karpachios (Greece), Julien Cellalettin Weiss (France), Jamel Abid (Tunisia), Anahit Valesyan (Armenia).

Erasmus students from the EU now come annually to do their year abroad in Turkey. (Pierini 2011: 160)

Some non-Turkish NGOs and institutions offer international cultural, academic or political programs in Istanbul, including the British Council, Cervantes Institute, French Cultural Institute, Goethe Institute, Italian Cultural Institute and the Turkish-Japanese Association. The ensemble *Bezmara* for example, was instigated and supported by the French Research Institute in Istanbul (*Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes*, IFEA), and for many years the ensemble used to rehearse in their rooms. The Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs runs a number of Turkish cultural centres abroad, in particular the "Yunus Emre Institutes."¹⁶

According to official statistics in 2013, a total of 456,506 foreigners lived regularly in Turkey, among them 135,726 (29.7 percent) citizens of the European Community (Kaiser 2013: 224), In Istanbul alone, 135,018 foreigners (35,677 European citizens) were resident (Balkır & Kaiser 2015). Some are married to Turks, some Turks with German citizenship, businessmen, or retirees (in particular around Alanya) (Kaiser 2013: 228). A recent trend is the so-called transmigration of German-Turks of the second or third generation to Turkey, for improved economic opportunities. In addition, for many years the number of foreign tourists in Turkey has grown steadily, for example German tourist numbers have risen from 67,000 (1984) to 2.5 million (1997) to 5.58 Million (2015). In 2006, "*In 2006, 19,8 million foreign tourist visited Turkey and income was 12,5 billion USD, which is nearly 1/7 of Turkey's export.*" (Sarı 2010: 2) Today Turkey is also a transit country as well as a destination for refugees (İçduygu 2015), and several waves of refugees have entered Turkey, including from Bulgaria in 1989, and Kurds from northern Iraq in 1991. In 2016 about 3 million refugees from Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan and many other countries were residing in Turkey.

Among the foreigners, some musicians (and musicologists) for one reason or another moved to Istanbul, including Julien Weiss (*kanun* player, in 2005), Stefan Pohlit (composer, 2007), Ulrich Mertin (viola, co-director of *Hezarfen* Ensemble; 2008), Bob Beer (baglama, main translator of *Kalan Müzik*, 2000), Sandra Sindsch (oboe player, 2011), several teachers at the MIAM as mentioned before, Jarrod Cagwin (percussionist), and Yinon Muallem (percussionist, 2002). The perception of foreigners in Istanbul can range from almost exotic fascination to suspicion of them as potential foreign agents (according to one of the many conspiracy theories popular in Turkey). Sometimes I felt unclear about how I was perceived, yet I never experienced openly expressed reservations or suspicion towards me as a contemporary orientalist. Turkish naturalization is a difficult and lengthy process which only a few foreigners achieve.

¹⁶ Berlin, Frankfurt, Sarajevo, Tirana, Cairo; to be opened in Algeria, Belgium, Brazil, France, India, Spain, Japan, Kosovo, Libya, People's Republic of China, Russia, Serbia, Spain, the UK and the USA.

Stefan Pohlit:

Today, I see Istanbul more as the centre of the last eleven years, in the sense that we all end up at a place, where we, due to our active structures of personality and thoughts belong to at best. From 1993–1999 the central city in my life was Paris. (...) Actually I was always travelling in the Arab world, and in 1999, as a backpacker on my way to Jordan, I came for the first time to Istanbul. It was Islam, in particular Sufism which fascinated me. From 2000 on I learned Arabic, as an amateur with good success. (...) At that time I found a perfect teacher in Sandeep Bhagwati to help me develop this interest. In 2003 I received a fellowship from the *Landesstiftung Baden-Württemberg* for another stay abroad, which I planned to spend in Jerusalem. Due to the growing troubles in Israel at that time, I decided to change my residence to Turkey with the help of already existing contacts. Officially I was a student of Nevit Kodalli (1924-2009) in Mersin, but in fact I spent most of the time traveling to Eastern Anatolia or in Istanbul. My Turkish friends helped me a lot, most of the time I stayed at the conductor Murat Kodalli. (...) In Istanbul I was introduced to Ottoman music by Cihat Aşkın and Şehvar Beşiroğlu, who still today, together with Ruhi Ayangil, advise me on my PhD thesis [completed in 2011]. In 2006, it became evident that for a permanent position I had to do a doctorate, and I searched for an appropriate place for my PhD study. Instead of continuing my visits to London (with musicologists such as Owen Wright or John Baily), I found myself in Turkey. Again several aides became decisive, in particular musicologist and composer Yiğit Aydın, who at that time was a PhD student in Marburg (Germany). Actually I never had a serious interest in becoming a composer in Turkey. I use to see it as a place for my research, in a kind of blend of Parsifal and Indiana Jones.¹⁷

Following the *Gezi* protests in 2013, Istanbul's image as a "cool city" became tarnished by pictures of police violence, accusations of corruption against leading politicians, extensive purges and the direct intervention of the government in the justice system. In 2015 both the government and the Kurdish Terror organisation PKK declared the cessation of the peace process, which had brought peace to the country for the past four years. As a result, violence from both sides returned, in particular to South-eastern Anatolia, and a series of suicide bombs in 2015 and 2016 in Ankara and Istanbul almost put a stop to tourism.

The Emergence of Public Music Life

The precondition for the international scope of Istanbul's musical life in the early 21st century is the development of a public music life in Turkey during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Beginning in western Ottoman cities, in public concerts, music schools and academies, almost all kind of music became available for growing parts of the population. Similarly media, including printed

¹⁷ Pohlit, born in Heidelberg (Germany), studied composition with Wittinger, Brandmüller, Müller-Siemens and Wolfgang Rihm. He began teaching in Karlsruhe, in 2008 at the conservatory in Ankara, later at ITÜ. He graduated with PhD on Jelal ed Din Weiss at MIAM, at present he lives in Izmir. Interview von Moritz Eggert, in: <http://blogs.nmz.de/badblog/2011/02/25/in-der-fremde-1-stefan-pohlit/>; Bad Blog of Musick, 25.2.2011.