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OTTOMAN INTIMACIES, BALKAN MUSICAL REALITIES

Edited by Risto Pekka Pennanen, Panagiotis C. Poulos and Aspasia Theodosiou

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Foreword

The cultural legacy of empires is bound to be connected with the perceptions of "self" and "other" current among the peoples who had been dominated by or participated in an empire. Geography also plays a role – was this an overseas empire of a truly "foreign" cultural entity, or a land-locked expansion over contiguous territories? The sheer temporal distance too plays an important role in how this legacy is viewed. After the passage of many centuries, will the empire be remembered for spectacular acts of cruelty and long-term oppression alone, or will cultural development and interchange also be regarded as part of the imperial legacy?

While the Assyrian legacy is generally regarded as so negative as to be a "skeleton in armor" – a military machine lacking any cultural infrastructure that could be exported – the Persian Empire is usually seen through both the moderately negative view of the Greeks, and the far more positive view of the Judeans, who wrote several Biblical books under Persian rule, and were deeply influenced by certain Zoroastrian beliefs. The ongoing debates about the legacy of Hellenistic Greeks and the Romans are endless and multifaceted, as new material is discovered or examined. The legacy of recent Western European empires, especially England, France and the Netherlands are sometimes still part of current events. The same is undoubtedly true for Russia in both its tsarist and its Soviet forms. Among these varied imperial histories, how can we begin to discuss the Ottomans, and especially in terms of the most ephemeral of artistic expression – music?

Unlike the British and the French, whose empires in Africa and Asia came to an end within a single generation, the Ottomans lost their European and Balkan territories over a very long period, from 1699 until 1912, with the last major exchange of populations occurring as late as 1923, not to mention unofficial expulsions of Muslim populations long after World War II. In most cases the Ottoman was a very long historical era in each country, often leading both to demographic changes through immigration and to the Islamicization of significant parts of the local populations. Thus, in many cases musical changes caused by the Ottoman presence were so deeply ingrained (at least in some genres) as to be considered virtually native.

On the one hand, unlike London or Paris, Constantinople/Istanbul/Tsarigrad was geographically contiguous to its European territories, and so it became the locus of many sorts of absorption of regional styles and a diffusion point for artistic, religious, military and entertainment music. On the other hand, the Balkans contain some of the most remote and marginal territories in Europe, reminiscent of the South Italian village described by Carlo Levy in *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, whose inhabitants in the mid-twentieth century were resentful of and impervious to all cultural influences coming from the outside, whether Greek, Roman or Christian. Ismail Kadare created the entire theme of his novel *The Three-Arched Bridge* on the dire consequences for Albania of the gradual penetration of its physical isolation, first by Western European traders and then by the Ottomans.

Even in the Eastern Arab world, where the Ottoman Sultan was also the Caliph, defending the World of Islam, the Ottomans today are rarely seen as the culmination of the historical experience of the region. In the Balkan nations of today – in their long post-Byzantine, post-Ottoman, and more recent post-communist reincarnations – the relationship of the Ottoman experience to their own historical and cultural trajectory is a topic, in music as in other cultural features, barely under discussion. As seen in the topics treated

in the present volume, the historical realities of social "intimacies" in the Balkans have faded or been suppressed in the popular consciousness. As the actual social presence of Ottomans recedes into history this presence becomes a theme for representation. The varied musical Ottoman presence has been replaced by two themes: the manipulation of collective memory by nationalist interpretations of the Ottoman past in the newly independent states (in the nineteenth century), and the still existing Roma popular music as a low-brow cultural koine, featuring gestures toward the Ottoman past, which can become the target of hostility of the majority population in the post-communist era. While in Romania this new Roma/Gypsy popular music can be viewed as a continuation of much earlier cultural linkages with the Balkan countries – even though to the intelligentsia on a low cultural level – in Bulgaria it may be seen as a threat to the national existence. And yet how differently Bulgarian intellectuals viewed their position within the functioning Ottoman Empire in the decades following the Greek Revolution, which seemed to free up a possibly more significant cultural and political space for the Ottoman Bulgarians.

To examine the musical impact of the Ottoman centuries on the Balkan nations would demand a much higher development of Ottoman cultural studies, which has continually lagged far behind political and economic history. As it is, we are often in the situation of the blind men trying to describe the elephant while only feeling one part of the giant animal. Because of their major presence in the Ottoman capital it is possible to begin to assess the role of Greek musicians and composers on several cultural strata over a period of several centuries. But the situation of the European provinces is far more obscure. Despite their critical importance to the military and political history of the Ottoman Empire (including several Grand Viziers), it does not appear that Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania nor Bosnia contributed much to the development of Ottoman music. Indeed, remote Moldova held more significance through the brilliant personality of Prince Cantemir, the late eighteenth-century violinist Miron, and popular dance music antecedent to the kasap/sirba and the longa. What enduring legacy there was in these Balkan countries came through indigenous groups converting to Islam and creating Islamized forms of native music, and the ubiquitous presence of the Roma musicians (both Muslim and Christian) in each territory. An even more marginalized musical influence came through the Sephardic Jews, whose folk and religious music represented Ottomanized norms emanating from Istanbul, even as far away as Bucharest. And of course, under the Phanariot regime the Greeks, and the Hellenized natives – even in Bulgaria, Wallachia and Moldova – proved to be among the most effective musical Ottomanizers. Among local Muslims the "middle-brow" music of the Sufi orders, linked both to the Court and to popular urban styles, had a major impact over time, and in some cases (especially Albania and Bosnia) well into the twentieth century. Add to all this the demographic complexity formed by Turkic groups who preceded the Ottomans in Macedonia and Thrace, the Tatar presence along the Black Sea, and sectarian (Alevi) Turks settled among Bulgarians. And just beyond our Balkan zone, Hungarian folk music exhibits both Turkic and occasionally Ottoman features, the latter also appearing in the klezmer and Hasidic music of Ashkenazic Jews at least since the eighteenth century, in a zone spanning Moldova, Ukraine, Poland and even Prussia. Thus, the present volume represents a welcome first step in the exploration of a deep and largely submerged topic.

Walter Zev Feldman
New York University, Abu Dhabi (UAE), June 2013

Up until recently, academic interaction between researchers from Southeast Europe was to a large extent a privilege of the fields of Classical and Byzantine studies. The recent advancement of Ottoman and Turkish Studies, which in Greece has been largely promoted by the founding of the Department of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies at the University of Athens in 2003, has broadened the scope of this interaction, expanding the time limits up to the present and embracing an array of disciplines.

The present volume, the fruit of a highly stimulating international academic meeting at the University of Athens in 2010, reflects more aptly this new research direction. The critical study of the Ottoman Empire, particularly its culture and arts, can contribute to our understanding of the past and the present of the broader area. As the contributors of this book eloquently demonstrate, music can be a very constructive way of approaching the wide historical and social transformations that are grounded in the formation, expansion and collapse of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the ways through which we connect to the past through music can be very telling of how we perceive our current identities.

I believe that this book is not only aimed at specialists, as it touches upon issues of the historical and cultural heritage in Europe, the Balkans and Turkey that are much discussed nowadays outside the world of academia. I personally hope that the echo of this book will resonate broadly and inspire similar endeavours in the near future.

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Introduction

Aspasia Theodosiou, Panagiotis C. Poulos and Risto Pekka Pennanen

Encountering the Post-1989 Balkan Realities

Against the background of the "new order of things" occasioned after the 1989 events in the Balkans, the question of legacy – the influence a previous political and cultural arrangement has on its successors – comes to centre roughly around two poles: the currency of the socialist and the Ottoman past. Questioning the "spectre" of the latter amid the often violent state-building projects in the post-1989 Balkans is indeed a challenging exercise and a controversial subject across much of the region; its tumultuous existence in the past, its ability to still excite passions, and its recently gained visibility invite a variety of different political interpretations.[1]

Most of the relevant issues are very contemporary in nature, and they touch on very sensitive issues of identity. The national, regional and international press are full of articles regarding the imminent "resurgence" of the Ottoman Empire in the twenty-first century.[2] Whether on a regional political level, or on a more European one, the issue of the Ottoman legacy constitutes an important element of the alleged agenda of the so-called "neo-Ottomanism", and/or the thorny "Muslim question", that seems to dominate discourses on multiculturalism, and values like democracy, freedom, diversity and tolerance across the European public sphere.

The spectre of Ottoman legacy seems to haunt the Balkans on another level as well: even a glance at the Balkan mediascape[3] today is enough to prove that the current Balkan vernacular culture is being besieged by a great number of Turkish television series[4] (e.g. *Magnificent Century*) aired all around the region. These have gained immense popularity, and are said to provide an exciting arena for various Balkan people to re-evaluate "their common Ottoman history"; or to constitute an idiom of "soft occupation" exercized by Turks, who have "made the whole Balkans almost nostalgic for a not so fabulous past".[5] Whether articulated in a language of nostalgia echoing from the Ottoman past, or developed along the lines of new forms of cosmopolitan imaginary, such attitudes bring to the fore a complex re-imagining of the Ottoman Empire and its multicultural polity. Thus, the Ottoman past is upheld as a melting pot of different identities and religions in the Balkans, and is remembered as a harmonious locus of multiethnic tolerance.[6]

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[1] For a similar analysis with regard to historiography in particular, see Brunnbauer 2004.

[2] Indicative article titles include *The Rise of Turkey in the Balkans* and *The Growing Influence of Turkey in Balkans*. See Taleski 2011.

[3] Cf. Appadurai 1996.

[4] See Anonymous 2011.

[5] Jovanović and Tokyay 2012. For a parallel discussion with regard to the production of the epic film *Conquest 1453* referring to the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, see Bilefsky 2012.

[6] To give an apt, although more complex, example: recently, a documentary series on the Greek Revolution of 1821 triggered an important public debate in Greece. Broadcast on the private channel SKAI, the series was promoted as an attempt to shed new light on the Greek struggle for independence. Its innovative approach was evidenced, among other things, by the manner in which the series highlighted the political nature of the Ottoman Empire with regard to the status and policies towards its non-Muslim subjects. See Kechriotis n.d. for more.

Such a revision of the area's common Ottoman legacy, at the same time as bringing people of the Balkans together and pushing them to recognize their common culture, coincides also with various regionalization efforts, which the EU has prompted.[7] Arguably, though, the role of the latter has been ambivalent: a multiplicity of cross-cutting and overlapping policy frameworks, regional arrangements and international agreements exists, to such an extent that, to adopt Raffaella Del Sarto's point about the European Union area, it has become less and less clear what is "inside" and what is "outside" the Balkans .[8] Interestingly enough, as a result of the EU's failure to craft a single Balkan political strategy, various initiatives at an intra-Balkan level have been fostered.[9] Against this background, one can detect an interesting number of pan-Balkan cultural initiatives such as Balkan Beyond Borders and Balkanica Music Television, that concentrate on the recognition and promotion of cultural similarities accumulated over the centuries,[10] and attest to the emergence of a shared Balkan identification.[11]

Thus, whether within a more cosmopolitan imaginary realm, or a more regional framework, the sheer number of academics, journalists, cultural ambassadors, local politicians etc. who are eager to become enthusiastic participants of cosmopolitics[12], and adepts at the language of exchange among people in the Balkans, seem to form an alliance in order to exorcize the spectre of the misinterpreted Ottoman legacy.

However, such regionalism and/or cultural cosmopolitanism cannot *but* be deeply entangled with, and entrenched by, processes of national identification.[13] The combined images of "Ottomans", "Turks" and "Muslims" and their conflation do not often evoke positive responses.[14] They are blamed for the economic and cultural decay of the Balkans in comparison to Western Europe.[15] It was, after all, against the Ottoman Empire that the people of the Balkans fought, in order to gain their independence and regain the opportu-

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[7] In trying to craft a Balkan specific policy, combining regionalism and integration, the EU has arguably adopted an ambivalent role as both a catalyst and a constraining factor in Balkan regionalism (Bechev 2006, 41).

[8] Del Sarto 2010, 163.

[9] See Bechev (2006, 28) for a similar point: "While grand multilateral initiatives packaging the whole region together have failed to capture the hearts and minds of Balkan policy makers, this has not been the case of more flexible schemes operating at what could be called, for a lack of a better term, a 'less-than-regional' level". Those intra-Balkan initiatives focus mainly on issues such as the stabilization of the peace process, environmental protection, and development objectives.

[10] Iordanova's edited volume, entitled *The Cinema of the Balkans* (2001), forms an example of this phenomenon from the world of academic and arts publishing. For Todorova (2004a, 183), these attempts at the articulation of a shared Balkan identity on the basis of cultural similarities are seen as "a form of defensive response to an ascriptive identity from the outside".

[11] See Todorova's (2004a) keynote speech on the theme "Do or should the Balkans have a regional identity?". See also Archer 2012, 200.

[12] Cf. Cheah and Robbins 1998.

[13] A number of studies reveal the close interrelation between processes of cosmopolitanism and nationalism. For a similar approach with regard to city landscape and the politics of memory in Istanbul, see Mills 2010. For musical cosmopolitanism, see Stokes 1996; *id*. 2010; Turino 2000.

[14] See, for example, how the Greek Orthodox Bishop, Anthimos has strongly criticized Greek fans of the Turkish soap opera *The Magnificent Century*: "Watching Turkish soaps is tantamount to telling them we've surrendered" (Papapostolou 2012).

[15] Pettan (2007) delineates a series of responses, which the Balkan nation-states adopted towards the erasure of the Ottoman past. In the field of music, he acknowledges various attempts to revitalize the pre-Ottoman music, literally to destroy Ottoman cultural heritage (especially monuments), as well as attempts to avoid the use of certain musical instruments; see also Pennanen 2008. Todorova (2009, ch. 7) provides a more detailed exploration of the way the Ottoman past is currently discussed.

nity to rejoin the European family of modernity.[16] The "Ottoman yoke" or "Turkish domination" is still generally perceived as a very painful historical experience and constitutes a testament to the way nationalistic historiographies constructed the Ottoman past: "Ottoman legacy has often a negative connotation that legitimizes (or even requires) a clear break with the Ottoman past",[17] which is therefore often either rejected or misrepresented.

Along the axes of such a bipolar representation of the relationship between the Balkans and their Ottoman past – let us devise the rather schematic division between the cosmopolitan and the nationalistic – the entanglement between the Ottoman and the socialist legacy, for most of the Balkan countries, brings to the fore another important twist: the optimism, which the Eastern European revolutions occasioned, was soon to be replaced by disaffection towards the Balkans, and their constitution as the irredeemable "other" of Western civilization. The establishment of the "new order of things" after 1989 also meant the erection of new boundaries within and across the area. In Michał Buchowski's account, for example, the post-socialist milieu is characterized by the way the East-West divide and its modifications run mostly across societies, whereas before this it was mainly a division crafted on the geographical map.[18] Throughout the 1990s, various attempts on behalf of certain Balkan countries (i.e. Croatia, Slovenia) to "exit the Balkans" and "return to Europe" marked the euphoric embrace of Europe.[19] Such claims, although suggestive of going back to a place where one does not actually belong (Europe), are, nonetheless, predicated upon an act of differentiation from neighbouring states that are seen as "as unfit for Europe";[20] their relation to Islam, the Muslim populations they contain, the Christian Orthodox tradition and, of course, their long history of Ottoman rule constitute important factors for such an alleged categorization.[21] More recently, the expansion of the EU in the Balkans accompanied the decline of the Balkanist discourse,[22] the constitution of the Western Balkans[23] as the new problematic zone of Europe, and the employment of the category of South Eastern Europe.[24]

The issue of cementing their place in the European family seems to be a perpetual struggle for the Balkan countries. It is indicative of the prevailing and recurrent nature of this issue that some of the most prosaic understandings of the Greek crisis today are

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[16] See, for example, Verdery 1993, 196.

[17] Yılmaz and Yosmaoğlou 2008, 689. On the repertoire of negative connotations, one should consider the identification of the Ottoman past with the supposed matrix of violence in the Balkans that is often invoked, in an essentialist manner, as proof of particular violent moments in the history of the area. For a wide array of this type of representations, see Bjelić and Savić 2002 and for "violence" in general see Mazower 2002.

[18] In Buchowski's words: "the spatially exotic other has been resurrected as the socially stigmatized brother" (2006, 476).

[19] See, for example, Lindstrom (2003) for an anthropological analysis of such a case. See also Njaradi 2012.

[20] Iordanova 2001, 32.

[21] Here the connections with the practice of "nesting Orientalisms", which Hayden and Bakić-Hayden (1992) and Bakić-Hayden (1995) discuss, are more than apt. According to this, members of one Balkan nation present themselves as superior/western/European, whereas they consider their southern and eastern neighbours inferior, part of an Oriental "east".

[22] Some, like Green (2005, ch. 1), would even argue that the Balkans have disappeared again.

[23] Here, again, one can notice the way a geographical appellation is imbued with political and ideological overtones. European Union institutions and member states define the "Western Balkans" as Albania and the former Yugoslavia, minus Slovenia. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development uses "Western Balkans" to refer to the above states, minus Croatia.

[24] Todorova's point, that the category of Central Europe was constructed in opposition to the Balkans, is relevant. The decline of the Balkanist discourse led to the disappearance also of the category of Central Europe.

articulated on the grounds of the long-held Easternness of the Greek society and polity, and its inability to properly engage with the political and moral consequences of Europeanization. Along the same lines, a recent controversy over the allocation of EU development money to a top *chalga* music producer[25] in neighbouring Bulgaria brought to the fore an awareness that Bulgaria's place in Europe is not ontologically secured[26] and that its European identity is a project to be achieved.[27]

In this light, and against this background, "the Balkans" are clearly then as much an ideological and political designator as a geographical one; as their contours have changed over time, they have moved from being Western Europe's "first Orient"[28] to being its-not-"fully"-European communist "Other", and now the Balkans are again gradually taking up an ambiguous Oriental status.[29]

The conventional division of Europe into East and West, a relatively recent invention, as Larry Wolff has argued (1994),[30] was followed by the establishment of a politically useful tension between those two mutually defining poles; the latter were inflected in various ways (modernity-tradition, communist-capitalist etc.), in order to suit a number of different political agendas and to be linked to larger cartographic imaginaries of South-North, Occident and Orient.[31]

If then the Balkans seem simultaneously "both fully known and wholly unknowable"; if the tendency to lump all the Balkans together is followed by an acknowledgement of their inherent fragmentation, if the "familiarity" with which the Balkans are approached is also "overlaid by distance", as K.E. Fleming so eloquently argues,[32] how is one to comprehend the contemporary intricacies of the Balkans' location? How is one to explain the persistence of a sense of commonality among Balkan people and their refusal to be identified as Balkan? How is one to move beyond a monolithic and polarized East-West divide constituted by and/or entrenched by the stigmatizing discourse of Balkanism, and account for the creative dissent encountered in contemporary Balkan popular culture?

The "Ghost" behind Balkanism, or the Issue of the Ottoman Legacy

In addressing these previously mentioned issues, this volume leaps into a musical maelstrom. The ability of music to refer to an experiential realm that transposes people to a subjunctive mood, while also remaining within the limits of the indicative terrain,[33] provides an excellent vantage point from which to attend to the intricacies of the Balkan

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[25] See Sotirova 2013.

[26] Lindstrom 2003, 326.

[27] Kølvraa's (2012) point is very apt here; he argues that European identity is an ideological construction that seeks to bring about a desire of attachment to a utopian political project .

[28] According to Wolff (1994), the Balkans provided Europe's first Other, and thus cemented the Western category of "Europe".

[29] See Buchowski (2006) for a relevant point.

[30] Wolf's argument has been very important in questioning the hegemonic nature of this division. Yet, it should be noted at this point that prior to the Balkans there have been a number of other internal "Others", mainly religious ones (i.e. Jews, Muslims, heretics), from Europe, aside from the external ones. For an overview of the topic, see Delanty 1995.

[31] For a recent discussion on this issue, see also Calotychos 2013.

[32] Fleming 2000, 1219.

[33] Auslander 2006, 151.

"public sphere".[34] To offer an apt example: the main task that Donna Buchanan's edited volume *Balkan Popular Culture and the Ottoman Ecumene: Music, Image, and Regional Political Discourse* (2007) sets out to comprehend is the overlap and complementarity of discourses and practices involving the Balkans, their European-ness and the issue of Easternness – in both its politically imbued ties with "socialism" and its "Oriental status" – and the way they touch on, or intersect with, a recently established, intraregional circuit of music, song and dance.[35]

In her attempt to account for the similar musical endeavours occurring across today's Balkans, Buchanan considers the importance of four intertwined factors: the Ottoman legacy; the similar, yet locally distinct, genres, styles, instruments etc.; the crucial role of the Romani musicians; and the impact of the post-1989 political developments .[36] Yet, at the same time she is ready to accept – following Jane Sugarman's argument in the same volume – that such affinities in style do not necessarily point to the acceptance of a shared Balkan identity.[37] Buchanan's volume undoubtedly manages to crystallize existing concerns in a manner that aims to set itself against the rampant discourse of Balkanism:

> The approach taken is one that shifts the analytical gaze from the disjuncture and dissension of balkanization to the dialogue and interchange of a potential Balkan cosmopolitanism, while at the same time attending carefully to the local distinctiveness and significance of musical phenomena in specific moments and places. In its the use of the term *ecumene*, the book's title reflects this shift; it signals a deliberate reconsideration of the Balkans as a geopolitical construct whose inhabitants were once linked, for hundreds of years, by a sprawling, multicultural, cosmopolitan Ottoman theocracy. […] As implied in the notion of ecumenism, an ecumene is a space evidencing an international sharing, interchange, collaboration, or dialogue across boundaries of some sort, here of nation as well as faith.[38]

Insofar as Buchanan's contribution on the Ottoman *ecumene* is considered,[39] there is an interesting reversal of the all-too-often stereotypical representation of the Ottoman past "as an inassimilable pre-modern background against which the proper development of modern nation-states progressively unfolded in the Balkans".[40] For Buchanan it is as if "a grass-roots Ottoman heritage"[41] lies at the centre of our current Balkan cultural identity and gives it a meaning, which, until recently, it lacked: it is the Ottoman *ecumene* upon which the current Balkan reality is predicated, and this can bestow on it an air of mystery,

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[34] According to Habermas (1992, 36), the public sphere refers not only to debates and deliberations about politics, but also incorporates art, music and literature.

[35] The ethnomusicological literature exploring Balkan music is vast. Some major themes of such research are the reactions of the Balkan educated classes and scholars of music to Ottoman musical influences in their native countries (Koglin 2008; Pennanen 2008; Costin 2011), the history of local urban music styles (Koço 2004; Pennanen 2004), the Turkish-influenced styles of Balkan popular music and dance which have developed during the last few decades (Rice 2002; Statelova 2005; Silverman 2007; Giurchescu and Rădulescu 2011; Archer 2012) and music, identity and nationalism (Buchanan 1995; Sugarman 1999; Seeman 2012). For a discussion of several of these themes in Greece, see Kallimopoulou (2009).

[36] Buchanan 2007, xix.

[37] Buchanan 2007, xix.

[38] Buchanan 2007, xx.

[39] She draws inspiration from Appadurai's (1996) "ecumene" and Hannerz's (1989) notion of "global ecumene".

[40] Hajdarpašić 2008, 717.

[41] Njaradi 2012, 185.

as well as its rather post-modern, multicultural and cosmopolitan outlook.[42]

Alexander Kiossev's understanding of the recently developed popular (counter) culture of the Balkans evokes different images. In considering its refusal to be Western-like as its most distinctive characteristic, he is tempted to term it "a new type of arrogant Balkan intimacy". He contends that the new Balkan cultural industry is "an aggressive and arrogant, yet democratic and intimate, mass media, new types of amusements, a new-old type of music". [43] In his own words:

> The result is less a music of protest and trauma […] than a tricksterlike, comic, and aggressive transformation. It turns the lowermost picture of the Balkans upside down and converts the stigma into a joyful consumption of pleasures forbidden by European norms and taste. Contrary to the traditional dark image, this new popular culture arrogantly celebrates the Balkans as they are: backward and oriental, corporeal and semi-rural, rude, funny, but intimate. As an act of counter-identification, it scandalizes what Elias called the 'civilizational standards' and the 'borders of taste, shame and uneasiness, combining into a controversial structure warmth, familiarity and 'Oriental' epatage. It is a kind of willing regression into a great, scandalous, Balkan 'neighborhood,' away from both Europe and the annoying official homelands.[44]

The two studies mentioned above have been received both approvingly and critically.[45] Yet, what is arresting about them is not the idea of the Ottoman *ecumene* and/or of Balkanism as a counter-identification project as such, but rather the articulateness with which either the first (Ottoman *ecumene*) or the second (Balkanism as counter-identification) are embedded in specific academic genealogies.

Against the veritable index of the Balkan nationalisms and their *a posteriori*, almost exclusive, focus on the insurmountable divide between Muslim-Ottomans and Christians as their structuring norm,[46] Buchanan's Ottoman *ecumene* refers to a project of unearthing that which the most recent national past buried and overlaid.[47] Understood more in the context of what Dunja Njaradi calls the "historiographic approach",[48] the Ottoman *ecumene* seems to be apprehended through a celebratory, yet underdeveloped, emphasis on what Todorova coins the "Ottoman legacy" (an issue that will be discussed further below).

In the course of his argument, Kiossev introduces a switch he would have us regard as directed and irreversible between two epistemological frames: the model of Balkanism attributed to modernism, and his post-colonial take on Balkanism.[49] For the circle of radical intellectuals from Belgrade, where he belongs, Balkanism is marked positively[50] and

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[42] Njaradi's (2012, 185–186) point is similar: "The Ottoman heritage of the soon-to-be European Balkan countries is seen as a positive trait and the Balkan itself emerges as a powerful and dynamic, although often tense and ambiguous process of regional cultural consolidation".
[43] Kiossev 2002, 184.
[44] Kiossev 2002, 185.
[45] See, for example, Njaradi 2012.
[46] Hajdapašić 2008, 722.
[47] E.g. Pettan 2007.
[48] Njaradi 2012, 189.
[49] Spivak (2008, 251–252) discusses the post-colonial perspective of the Belgrade circle.
[50] See also Archer 2012, 201.

seen as a means to undermine the hegemonic qualities of globalization;[51] it is recognized that "it has bestowed on Balkan scholars an opportunity to mount representational resistance against the imperial depredations and shallowness of global culture".[52] Whether or not one follows Kiossev is his shift, his Balkanism is irrevocably re-contextualized and thus, displaced by this challenge.[53] While many scholars have discussed the issue of the Balkans' liminal status,[54] here it is precisely this ambiguity, this blurriness, generated out of Balkans' liminality,[55] that provides the people of the Balkans with the material to challenge and resist "the representational stability that Balkanism implies".[56]

This edited volume sets out to refine rather than refute such perspectives. As much as it builds on these, it also attempts to break the boundaries in analyses that are limited to existing frames of reference. If, as Marilyn Strathern argues, "people routinely shift the basis of their awareness of the world, and know this as 'knowledge', [then] the process involves encompassing and focusing moves that […] create *orders*, *scales* and *levels*";[57] our account considers the relation between the Ottoman past and the Balkan present as the constitutional *order* for its contribution. Nonetheless, while remaining within such a historicized order of knowledge, there is a more fundamental disposition, that of encouraging a scale-switching in intellectual terms.

Let us turn for a moment to the issue of "play", as Stuart Hall evokes in his discussion on Caribbean identities.[58] Hall's joint discussion on musical and identity play is a useful starting point to think about the way we understand the politics of popular music culture in the contemporary Balkans. For him, the metaphor of play has a double meaning: "it suggests, on the one hand, the instability, the permanent unsettlement, the lack of any final resolution. On the other hand, it reminds us that the place where this 'doubleness' is most powerfully to be heard is 'playing' within the varieties of Caribbean musics."[59]

In this light we approach the encounter between Ottoman past and Balkan musical realities through a historicized order of knowledge, which, nonetheless, is predicated upon an understanding of Balkan cultural identities as a matter "of becoming as well as of being; [they] belong to the future as well as to the past […] they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power".[60] It is precisely this "play" *scale* that cannot be represented "as a simple, binary opposition – 'past/present', 'them/us' […]. At different places, times, in relation to different questions, the boundaries are re-sited. They become, not only what they have, at times, certainly been – mutually excluding categories, but also

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[51] Bjelić 2002, 8.
[52] Bjelić 2002, 19.
[53] See Njaradi 2012 for a more elaborate discussion.
[54] Fleming's (2000, 1232) words are apt here. She argues: "The Balkans' liminal status – at the interstices between worlds, histories, and continents – is tantamount not so much to marginality as to a sort of centrality. To be 'liminal,' after all, is to be between (and overlapping) two (or more) domains, while to be marginal is merely to be at the edges of one."
[55] See, for example, how Wolff's (1994) and Stoianovich's (1994) accounts make use of the liminality of the Balkans in order to reach their contrasting arguments. Wolff considers the Balkans to be the first Other of Europe, whereas for Stoianovich the Balkan peoples are the first European.
[56] Bjelić 2002, 7.
[57] Strathern 1995, 11 (emphasis added).
[58] Hall 1990.
[59] Hall 1990, 228.
[60] Hall 1990, 225.

what they sometimes are – differential points along a sliding scale."[61]

On yet another *level* and in order to attune to Strathern's call for shifting contexts as a precondition for the creation of knowledge, we engage with the challenge of accommodating the Ottoman legacy in the understanding of Balkan and European popular culture[62] through the notion of intimacy, an issue that will be developed further in what follows. Let us parenthetically and pre-emptively argue here that we consider intimacy to be a productive notion from which to overcome the various reconfigurations of East/West, Islam/Europe, tradition/modernity, past/present, hegemony/resistance, and the way they mask a much greater complexity of global, regional, and local dynamics at play (i.e. globalization, flexible capitalism, transgressions, migrations, transnationalism or the media-covered global village).[63]

As it will become evident, in introducing the notion of Ottoman intimacies (thus pluralizing and historizing the concept of intimacy), more specifically, our aim is to account for those aspects of the Ottoman past that, according to Michael Herzfeld, "are considered a source of external embarrassment but that nevertheless provide insiders with their assurance of common sociality, the familiarity with the bases of power that may at one moment assure the disenfranchised a degree of creative irreverence and at the next moment reinforce the effectiveness of intimidation".[64]

In an area as burdened with dispersal and fragmentation as the Balkans, such an emphasis on elements that slip between locales, genres, and historical moments, and constitute key markers of "embarrassment, [and] rueful self-recognition"[65] invites us to go beyond imposing a single imaginary coherence, such as that of the Ottoman legacy, and rethink intimacy, much like Hall's post-structuralist account of identity, as having a sliding meaning: an intimacy that is "on its way to new meanings without completely erasing traces of other meanings".[66]

However, let us firstly turn our analytical gaze to the issue of the Ottoman legacy as explored by Maria Todorova in her groundbreaking work *Imagining the Balkans*.

Ottoman Legacy and Neo-Ottomanism

To confront the specificities of representations in South East Europe, Maria Todorova has coined the term "Balkanism", as the discursive "project" of constituting the Balkans as "the other within" Europe, as a backward and dishevelled "self" rather than an alien "other". She argues: "unlike orientalism, which is a discourse about imputed opposition, balkanism is a discourse about an imputed ambiguity".[67]

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[61] Hall 1990, 228.

[62] Mazower's (2004) and Hajdarpašić's (2008) works are good examples of such a way of accommodating the Ottoman past within the premises of the Balkan and European history as a whole.

[63] Helms's (2008, 91) words are pertinent here: "These formulations follow a more general pattern of social distinctions, what sociolinguists have called fractal recursions, in that oppositional pairs such as west/east, European/oriental, male/female, public/private can recur within one half of a broader oppositional pair, making for endless possibilities of repositioning within categories of superiority and inferiority like those associated with east and west".

[64] Herzfeld 2005, 3.

[65] Herzfeld 2005, 6.

[66] Imre 2008, 325.

[67] Todorova 2009, 17.

In her attempt to combat the stigmatization of the Balkans that followed the Yugoslav wars, Todorova focused on teasing out the complex interplay between genealogies of representations, identification and power formed around the area. In striving to deconstruct the discourse on Balkanism she highlighted its historical specificities. For her, the term "Balkans" has four different, yet, inextricably linked meanings: it is a name, a metaphor, a geographical region, and it also constitutes a distinct historical legacy. It was through allotting due attention to the "ontology"[68] of the Balkans,[69] that Todorova was compelled to develop the idea of the Balkans as an Ottoman legacy more explicitly.[70] Not only does she attribute the name of the Balkans to the Ottoman period, but more crucially, she also links the Ottoman elements to the current stereotyping practices employed within the Balkanist discourse. For her, the project of the Balkans' Europeanization is closely linked with the process of "shedding the last residue of an imperial legacy".[71] In her own words:

> Of the political legacies that have shaped the southeast European peninsula as a whole (Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman, and communist), two can be singled out as crucial before the nineteenth century. One is the Byzantine millennium, with its profound political, institutional, legal, religious, and cultural impact. The other is the half millennium of Ottoman rule that gave the peninsula its name and established its longest period of political unity. The Ottoman elements – or those perceived as such – have contributed to most current Balkan stereotypes. In the narrow sense of the word, then, one can argue that the Balkans are, in fact, the Ottoman legacy.[72]

Todorova undoubtedly managed to bring together interesting avenues of investigation; for one, she provided an account that runs counter to Balkanism as an exclusive discursive position identical to Orientalism[73] because she took into account the issue of place[74] and historical specificity.[75]

Todorova's analysis, nonetheless, seems to be related to the current historical moment. Although there is no intention at this point to conflate scholarly work and media coverage (although growing contact zones exist between the two, as the opening of this introduction partly indicates) some kind of nostalgia for the Ottoman empire can be discerned in today's Balkans.[76] Whether as a result of the indifference showed towards Ottoman cultural heritage in the past or as a product of the strategic bracketing of the Ottoman

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[68] Todorova 2009, 196.

[69] Todorova devotes an entire chapter (2009, ch. 7) to responding to the question "what, then, are the Balkans?".

[70] For Todorova, tradition is different from legacy: tradition refers to a "conscious selection of the past" while legacy involves "everything that is handed down from the past" (2009, 198). In this light, the term "Ottoman legacy" is not identical to that of the Ottoman polity or Ottoman period; it refers to a series of markers that are handed down from the Ottoman past.

[71] Todorova 2009, 13.

[72] Todorova 2009, 199. While Todorova claims that the Ottoman legacy has shaped the Balkans, others (e.g. Kitromilides 1996) argue that the real driving force is Orthodox Christianity.

[73] She is not alone in this: see Fleming 2000.

[74] Bjelić 2002, 4.

[75] See also Calotychos 2013.

[76] Here we disagree with Todorova (2004b, 15) when she argues that although some sort of nostalgia for the Habsburg Empire in the form of artistic outputs, for example, has already been noticed, there is "no comparable nostalgia for the Ottoman legacy […] to be discerned". For a recent critical work on nostalgia for the Habsburgh Empire, see Ballinger 2003.

past by the Balkan nation-states, such a shift can also be linked with the emerging concern about Neo-Ottomanism.[77]

"Neo-Ottomanism" is a controversial term used in relation to Turkey's political aspiration to have a leading role in the broader region, in a parallel fashion to its preceding political formation, the Ottoman Empire. This aspiration is attributed to the politics of the moderate Islamic Justice and Development Party (in Turkish, Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)[78] that emerged in the political scene after winning the local elections in 1994 and has ruled the country since 2002. Although neo-Ottomanism has been particularly identified with the current minister of foreign affairs of Turkey and academic, Ahmet Davutoğlu, a broad selection of literature that traces the earlier formation of this notion in relation to the constitution and rise of the political Islam in contemporary Turkey is present.[79]

Neo-Ottomanism has been strongly connected with the politics of culture in Turkey since the 1990s, when the status of Ottoman legacy, conceived in a number of diverse manifestations, started to be publicly discussed and debated. Efforts devoted to the foregrounding and revival of Ottoman cultural heritage within Turkey, whether those of the state or private agents, have been widely discussed by a number of Turkish and foreign academics, and social scientists in particular. For the most part, the relevant literature discusses this phenomenon within the broader context of modernity and in relation to the issue of secularism and nationhood.[80] A very instructive thread of this scholarship concentrates on the relation between Ottoman legacy, cultural policies and public space in urban context.[81] It is in this context that music also appears in the discussion as part of revived cultural practices and public performances. An important critique in discussing the Ottomanist agenda of AKP's cultural policies is the overlap and complementary role in relation to the government's overall neo-liberal policies.[82]

Strong concern about, and criticism of, neo-Ottomanism has been expressed also in cases when "local" interest in Ottoman cultural heritage was expressed outside the limits of Turkey. In the Greek public sphere (media, academia etc.), for example, such

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[77] See Njaradi 2012, 186.

[78] Hereafter, AKP.

[79] For an earlier overview of "neo-Ottomanism", see Yavuz 1998. For a more recent analysis from the point of view of international relations, see Taspinar 2008.

[80] Bozdoğan and Kasaba 1997; Çınar 2001; *id*. 2005, 142; Navaro-Yashin 2002, 47, 96, 124; Özyürek 2006, 156. Indicatively, Navaro-Yashin (2002, 47) discusses neo-Ottomanism in relation to post-imperial consciousness as well.

[81] For studies focusing particularly on Istanbul, see Göktürk *et al*. 2010; Keyder 1999; *id*. 2010, 27; Mills 2006, 371; *id*. 2010; Öncü 2007, 235–236. For a critical view on Cyprus, see Hatay and Bryant 2008.

[82] For instance, Çağlar Keyder (2010, 27), with regard to the recent intensive marketing of Istanbul's Ottoman heritage, states the following: "Their [AKP'S] adoption of the neo-liberal discourse found a perfect fit in projects preparing the city for global exhibit, implying that traditional solidarism would be abandoned in favour of chasing after investment. […] The archaeological layers of the city's many incarnations were alternative candidates for foregrounding. The Byzantine city, the Ottoman city of many cultures, or the imaginary Islamic city of the devout had to wage a battle with the Turkish city of the Republic. Since this last had too narrow a reference and obviously lacked marketing potential, what won out after a few years of competition was an inclusive Ottomanism, a re-imagined rubric encompassing the multifarious heritage of which the city could boast. […] [C]hurches and synagogues were carefully restored along with mosques and the architecture of the everyday […]What it achieved was a narrative that could be easily appropriated by the global media, the art world, and taste makers who helped put Istanbul on the map – of investors, discerning tourists, curators of exhibits, real-estate developers, buyers of residences in 'in' cities of the world, and sundry consumers of culture."

cases have been treated suspiciously. They have been often interpreted and criticized for being the result of a strategic policy by the AKP, reinforcing Turkey's cultural and consequently political hegemony in the area. This criticism has mainly focused on the work and political role of Ahmet Davutoğlu[83], who has, nevertheless, publicly denied being a "neo-Ottomanist".[84] It is interesting that, the far-right, ultra nationalist newspaper *Eleftheros Kosmos*[85] adopted this discourse when openly accusing the organizers of the conference *The Ottoman Past in the Balkan Present: Music and mediation* (partly the driving force behind the present volume) of serving a neo-Ottoman agenda.[86]

Returning to Todorova's work on the importance of the Ottoman legacy for the Balkans, the merits of such an analysis can also constitute one of its most significant shortcomings. One of the most prosaic objections to Todorova's work refers to the way the perceptions of the Ottoman legacy vary widely across time and space.[87] Furthermore, as Rastko Močnik points out, Todorova falls into an empiricist trap when she takes the Ottoman legacy as the primary arena for the constitution of the Balkans,[88] for she fails to acknowledge other issues, such as the way the Balkans are "already shaped by Balkan discourse in the very Europe that regards Balkans as 'non-European'"[89], or the way Balkanism works with the context of the ideology of globalization. In other words, she adopts a static, rather than a dynamic, perception of historical phenomena.[90] In voicing such a criticism, Močnik allows us to move away from the possible subterranean trends of the "blame game" constructed around the Ottoman past (a game that Todorova's emphasis on the Ottoman legacy can facilitate) and to foreground the importance that Balkanism can play in shaping the specific experience of living under its spell.[91] On yet another level, it is important to highlight that, although, for Todorova, Ottoman legacy is a matter of perception and cannot be objectively analyzed and defined,[92] her account can easily be read in line with the more pedestrian understanding of the Balkans: that is to say, the Balkans is a region "cursed with too much history, with an excess of historical memory"[93] which the former imperial subject cannot escape.[94]

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[83] See Mazis 2012.

[84] Neo-Ottomanism 2013.

[85] See Anonymous 2010.

[86] We need to treat the adoption of an anti-imperialistic rhetoric by the far right in the Greek case with particular cautiousness, and in the context of the general anti-systemic framework within which such political entities operate.

[87] See Hajdarpašić 2008, 716 for a relevant point.

[88] Močnik's (2002) attempts to challenge Todorova's thesis on the importance of the Ottoman legacy for Balkans by exploring the ways Balkanism works within the context of the ideology of neo-liberal "globalization". He argues that the Balkanist discourse is structured on two axes. The first consists of a "horizontal" antagonism among the Balkan nation-states and ethnic groups, and the second relates to a "vertical" system of co-operation between each of these groups or states and the EU.

[89] Njaradi 2012, 192

[90] However, it is noteworthy that there is not much material which substantiates this argument in the proceeding chapters. See Njaradi (2012, 193) for a critique of Močnik's work.

[91] See Roudometof 2003 for more.

[92] Todorova 2004b.

[93] Todorova 2004b, 2. Such reading of the Ottoman legacy adheres to Kaplan's (2005) extremely reductionist book *Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History*.

[94] Sindbaek and Hartmouth 2011, 1.

Ottoman Intimacies

How is it possible to account for the particular experience of encountering the Ottoman alterity within the contemporary Balkans, whilst also acknowledging historical specificity like the one which Todorova provides? How is one to explore Balkan identities not just as artefacts of the past, but also imminent processes of formation related to present Balkan societies and cultures? As already indicated, the concept of Ottoman intimacies is employed here as a prolific notion and a luminous analytical device for framing the articles of this volume.

The notion of intimacy affords a unique opportunity to rethink a series of interrelated issues in the exploration of today's Balkan musical realities: firstly, it brings into sharp focus the link between past/memory and current cultural identity in the Balkans, in a way that overcomes the binary present experience-past legacies. Hall's argument is pertinent here: "The past continues to speak to us. But it no longer addresses us as a simple factual 'past', since our relation to it […] is always-already after the break. It is always constructed through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth."[95] Intimacy saturates the scene of the present by carrying with it the residuals of the past in a manner reminiscent of what Tim Ingold argues in relation to the motion "The past is a foreign country": "If, as history, the past lies behind us, as memory it remains very much *with* us: in our bodies, in our dispositions and sensibilities, and in our skills of perception and action. In the first sense, the past seems *alien* to present experience, in the second it appears to be *generative* of that experience."[96]

Secondly, intimacy allows for the exploration of relatedness, for it "involves an aspiration for a narrative about something shared, a story about both oneself and others that will turn out in a particular way [...] the inwardness of the intimate is met by a corresponding publicness".[97] Here we should take into account Sarah Green's masterfully written analysis of the Balkans, where she argues that it is the hegemonic understanding of the Balkans that spreads their chaotic and fragmented image, their fractality;[98] for her, while the Balkans have served as a crossroads, they are in a state of permanent disconnection at the same time. As a result of that, she argues that there is too much of a relationship there, rather than too little.[99] Crucially for our purposes, it is the connections, the realm of relatedness, the discursive and embodied, and the rhetoric and material among contemporary Balkan realities and between them and the Ottoman past that we would like to highlight through employing the notion of intimacy.

Finally, the notion of intimacy in its pluralized form calls out not only for rethinking Herzfeld's well-known account of cultural intimacy, but for its transformation.[100] Her-

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[95] Hall 1990, 226.
[96] Ingold 1996, 202.
[97] Berlant 1998, 285.
[98] As Strathern (2011, 99) points out, "What is hegemonic, we might say, is understanding or knowledge that propagates fractally".
[99] Green 2005, 129.
[100] Whilst Herzfeld coined the notion of cultural intimacy, the notion of intimacy was discussed and debated prior to his works; in a series of contributions on literature, sentiment and sexuality, Berlant and Warner describe cultural intimacy as "the endlessly cited elsewhere of political public discourse, a promised haven that distracts citizens from the unequal conditions of their political and economic lives, consoles them for the damaged humanity of mass society, and shames them for any divergence between their lives and the intimate sphere that is alleged to be simple personhood" (Berlant and Warner 1998, 553).

zfeld, in his insightful account on cultural intimacy as a kind of symbolic economy, has tried to capture its link with nationalism. For him, "embarrassment, rueful self-recognition: these are the key markers of what cultural intimacy is all about";[101] these nonetheless "provide[s] insiders with their assurance of common sociality"[102] in societies where official representations of identity dominate the discursive environment. Kiossev's essay on contemporary Balkan culture, previously mentioned, could be easily be paralleled with Herzfeld's work. Kiossev effectively draws the picture of the "Homo balkanicus", as a cultural species: for every "Balkanian" the aim is to conceal his Balka-ness within himself, and yet, no matter how hard "Balkanians" try to hide it, the Western outsiders find it easy to recognize its distinct nature.[103] Whereas Herzfeld talks about the use and appropriation of official idioms within a nation-state framework of understanding the idiom of cultural intimacy, Kiossev questions such a link;[104] he agrees with Herzfeld that popular culture appropriates the official codes of national representation, while also recognizing that the agency is a multifaceted one. In having to deal with discursive enactments such as globalism, post-colonialism and multiculturalism, the official national discourse extends beyond the limits of the nation-state. Herzfeld himself readily accepted such a criticism, when he pointed out more recently that "all institutional structures are capable of generating their own peculiar intimacies".[105]

Building on Kiossev's insights, our notion of Ottoman intimacies moves well beyond the context of distinct nation-states, and a bipolar image of self-other. We argue that a variety of "peculiar intimacies" is generated in relation to the Ottoman past through a complex nexus structured around the discourse on Balkanism and its workings on "domestic politics, cultural production, and international relations both in the region and throughout Europe", as well as around the way contemporary Balkan nation-states figure "in the complex local-global relationships between the region and the modern world-economy, the contemporary cultural industries, and regimes of global governance and regulation".[106] The Ottoman elements that infiltrate the habitual spaces of ordinary experience (symbolic, linguistic, musical spaces, for example) that a contemporary Balkan audience feel familiar with and relate to in an effective way, and/or even feel the urge to distance themselves from the eyes of the outsiders, provide a site for both the elaboration and the blurring of Balkans' distinctiveness. Furthermore, they constitute a "text" through which complex imaginings and narratives of the self, the nation and the region can be articulated and understood.

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[101] Herzfeld 2005, 6.
[102] Herzfeld 2005, 3.
[103] Kiossev 2002, 167.
[104] Kiossev (2002, 190) argues: "[P]opular culture […] scandalizes the official idioms (both high national culture and Western civilizational standards), rather than using and appropriating them. In its extremes, its regional intimacy joyfully breaches national borders, norms of politeness, and archaic taboos, aping a momentous 'Balkan identity', which is just a form of anarchic protest against any kind of identity and any kind of symbolic order".
[105] Herzfeld 2005, 51. Relevant is also Herzfeld's point that "the nation-state is thus not the sole arena of tension between official self-representation […] and the acknowledgement of cultural intimacy" (2005, 65).
[106] Roudometof 2003, 181.

Book Overview

The core of the contributions within this book consists of reworked versions of selected papers from the conference entitled *The Ottoman Past in the Balkan Present: Music and Mediation.* The conference took place in October 2010 at the Department of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies of the University of Athens, in collaboration with the Finnish Institute at Athens. Given the broad scope of that meeting and the consequent revisory paths, which each individual author followed, it is evident that there can be many possible options as to how these materials may be organized, ordered and framed in the context of a book. The two main axes of the initial topic, namely the relation between "past/present" and the issue of "mediation", are somehow theoretically integrated through the employment of the notion of *intimacies*: a notion developed in detail in the previous section of the introduction. Although such a theoretical underpinning fully encompasses the interplay between past and present in all its possible forms and ways of mediation, there are obvious overlaps and points of departure among the contributions that need to be taken into consideration. This book does not aim to cover exhaustively a significantly large geographical region, nor how its various cultural forms developed over the course of history. Individual chapters, drawing from the experience of specific historical and geographical areas, aim to function as case studies within a broader framework of critical enquiry. Furthermore, since the conference, the obvious dichotomy between history-oriented and ethnography-based works has been at the centre of methodological and epistemological discussion. The need for a fruitful and productive interaction between these two broad disciplinary orientations is certainly foregrounded. One can argue that this is one of the brave initiatives and risks that the present project takes in bringing together different approaches and engaging authors from different disciplinary stances into one prolific dialogue.

The three-section structure of this book reflects the remarks above. Thus, although a clear sense of chronological progression is present as one moves from the one section to the next, the thematic grouping offers alternative points of entry into the historical linearity, which the ordering of the chapters suggests.

In the first section, entitled *Imperial Musical Worlds and Their Peripheries,* Cem Behar's article provides an overview of an element which is central to the understanding of Ottoman music in general, and a connecting feature of the diverse Ottoman musical cultures: musical orality. In Behar's analysis, orality, far from referring to a restrictive technical aspect of musical practice, becomes the actual field through which one can approach and understand the cultural politics of the artistic worlds of Ottoman urban centres, Istanbul in particular. The use of memory in learning, transmitting and performing Ottoman music, considered in relation to the history of scares and distinct attempts at the facilitation of musical notation, foregrounds the issue of tradition and modernization and the relevant tension that follows it. This tension is promulgated not only by the initiative of "incomers" (Ali Ufki and Cantemir) from musical traditions familiar to musical literacy in the musical milieu of Istanbul, but also from those within the local musical élite (Hacı Emin Efendi). Starting in the second-half of the nineteenth century and carrying on to the present, the history of the adoption of Western musical notation in Ottoman/Turkish music also narrates the story of the dramatic political and cultural transformations that came hand-in-hand with the gradual collapse of the Ottoman empire and the founding to the Turkish Republic. The persistence of oral practices in the twentieth-century perfor-

mance, which Cem Behar highlights through a number of contemporary examples (Cevdet Çağla and Refik Fersan), alongside the prominence given to notation, renders orality a complex field for the various articulations between nation and modernity and points to Turkey's peculiar intimacy with its Ottoman cultural heritage

The impact of the Ottoman "long nineteenth century" on music, largely expressed through an urge for modernization, is not confined to Istanbul. The chapters by Darin Stephanov and Risto Pekka Pennanen shed light on aspects of the musical life in parts of the empire and just beyond its borders that are often overshadowed by the emphasis given to the major urban cultural centres. The two authors, by shifting emphasis westwards to the Balkan provinces and Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina respectively, comply with the paradigm that has become increasingly prominent lately in the field of Ottoman historiography.[107] Studies focusing on Ottoman provinces and their relation to the imperial centre challenge the hegemonic historiographical narratives that give pride of place to Istanbul; furthermore, they provide a voice for the non-Muslim subjects, as preserved in archival and other sources.

Darin Stephanov examines the lyrics of songs of praise for the sultan by non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, in particular Bulgar (Bulgar-minded Rum). Through this study, Stephanov explores a musical genre that has only recently caught the attention of scholars, and which constitutes a very significant gateway for the understanding of the social and cultural history of the non-Muslim communities of the Ottoman Empire. More specifically, Stephanov examines the composition and performance of these songs in the context of sultanic celebrations as a means for cultural integration. The need for cultural integration stems from the urge for the political reform of the Ottoman state in the nineteenth century, proclaimed in 1839 through the *Hatt-ı Şerif* of Gülhane ("Imperial Decree of the Rose Chamber") and shaped further into the reforms known collectively as the *Tanzimat* ("Reordering") (1839–1876). In his analysis, the author examines the articulation, understanding and negotiation of local notions of loyalty and belonging in relation to the central authority, thus pointing to the function of song texts and their performance as a kind of imperial, intimate/shared public space in the modern sense.

Musical genres and their instrumental uses in expressing political aspirations are also at the centre of Risto Pekka Pennanen's argument. Through the examinations of a rich array of archival sources, the author analyzes the Austro-Hungarian colonial policies in the Habsburg-occupied (1878–1908), and later annexed (1908–1918), Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Pennanen points to the strategic uses of music on behalf of the Austro-Hungarian administration as a means of controlling and regulating the relation of its Muslim subjects with the Ottoman Empire on the one hand, and the anti-Habsburg opposition's symbolical use of Ottoman music for resistance on the other. In this context, Central European (read colonial), Ottoman and Orientalist genres form an intimate field for the negotiation of identities and loyalties between the two imperial centres and the Bosnians. With regard to the discussion on the role and relations of centres and peripheries in late Ottoman history, Pennanen's study offers a complemetary example to that by Stephanov. When considered together, these two chapters contribute to the construction of a broader view of the politics of culture and identity in the western provinces of the Ottoman Empire, particularly to the rise of the consequent Balkan nationalist movements in the nineteenth century. Explored through the lens of Ottoman intimacies,

[107] Faroqhi (2004, 174–203).

these cases of expression of loyalty via music constitute critical tools for reading and questioning the nationalistic historiographic narratives in the area.

The section concludes with the paper by Panagiotis Poulos who follows the echoes of the Ottoman legacy back to Istanbul. However, this time, Istanbul does not hold the position of the cultural and administrative centre of an empire, but that of a peripheral urban centre of a modern state, namely the Turkish Republic, a position which it has held until quite recently. The cultural demarcation from the imperial past has been at the heart of the founding project of the modern Turkish state, as has the issue of the status and position of the remaining non-Muslim subjects in the process of nation building. Poulos's analysis concentrates on memory, which differentiates between different modes of remembrance of the city's non-Muslim musical presence. By focusing on the turning point, in which the intimate experience of this cultural past becomes recorded memory and therefore history, the author links the validity of the status of Ottoman musical and other legacies of Turkey to current discussions and debates on identity.

The second section, entitled *Ottoman Pasts, Representation and the Performing Arts*, acts as a marker for a number of transitional processes which are embedded in the principal underlying themes of this book. Seen from a historian's perspective, the geographical focus of this section on various post-Ottoman states and their subsequent modern political transformations in South East Europe address the era of the collapse of imperial powers in a broader geographical area. A consequence of this passage from empire to various local national modernities was the conception of the experience of Ottoman rule as a "past", or better as "Ottoman pasts". Another transition which this section marks is the broadening of the expressive/representational media, which is involved in this process of the conceptualization of Ottoman pasts in the context of nation-states. Opera and cinema shed light on the interplay between music and the other performing arts, a necessary turn in shaping contemporary approaches for the understanding of the complex media space that emerged dynamically in the late twentieth century.

In her article, Tatjana Marković compares and contrasts four operas, Serbian and Croatian, dating from the second-half of the nineteenth to the very beginning of the twentieth century, thus reflecting the complexity of the political transitions in the area. The author traces, in a very detailed manner, the various representations of the "Ottoman" and its function as the Other, an overall central process in the formation a national schools of opera. Marković, by highlighting the multiplicity of the "Oriental Other", which is conceived and articulated in operatic terms, questions the actual idea of "national operas" in South Eastern Europe. Although these local trends were largely affected by the tradition of European Romanticism, Marković argues in favour of the need for the different classification of Serbian and Croatian musical Orientalisms, on the basis of a more recent and direct experience of the Other. In her analysis, the image of the Ottoman is revealed in the spectrum of "unacceptable" Others (e.g. military ally, lover etc.), yet always in an intimate mode: that of a "respected enemy".

The multiplicity that qualifies the representation of the Other in Tatjana Marković's paper accounts also for the case of the articulation of the Yugoslav cinematic "Self". In their article, Nevena Daković and Marija Ćirić discuss this multiplicity through the form of the metaphor of the "Balkan wreath". The cinematic sound(scape) becomes the field of negotiation of identities, hosting the tense interplay between Orientalism, Occidentalism and Balkanism. This interplay is traced throughout another major transition that is marked by the collapse of socialism, in the work of the composer Zoran Simjanović

in collaboration with the director Srđan Karanović between 1978 and 2003. Central to the analysis is the foregrounding of in-between-ness that characterizes this phenomenon, which the authors term the "Balkan wreath".

This rapid, yet dense, coverage of these major transitions, from empires to modern nation-states, and from the socialist certainties to the post-socialist condition of flowing, turbulent and, in some cases violent, politics in the provinces of South East Europe, sets the stage for the following section on the *Ottoman Echoes in the Current Mediaspace*. This section shifts the question of Ottoman intimacies into the realm of popular musical genres. This shift in itself justifies the relevance of Ottoman intimacy to the current Balkan musical realities. The issue of the Ottoman intimacies is in most cases interwoven with the questions of gender and ethnicity.

Carol Silverman offers a penetrating analysis on the process of negotiation of Roma musicians' identity in the Bulgarian popfolk genre *chalga*. Her analysis focuses on the inner challenges which affect the hegemonies of the mainstream *chalga* market, indicating that *chalga* does not simply constitute a point of tension between the Bulgarian intelligentsia, the nationalists and the Roma, but a dynamic field of intimacy and thus of power negotiation of power between a number of internal actors as well. Silverman argues that the interplay of economic, political and representational dimensions largely define this field, and that some musicians manage to succeed within this framework. Foregrounding the economic and the political dimensions of the music market with regard to the issue of representation, Silverman argues the importance of the Bulgarian case in the study of musical identity with regard to ethnicity and sexuality.

According to Carol Silverman, the music video is among the central elements that define the *chalga* musical market. Although, in this case, the produced and promulgated imagery radically contrast with that discussed in the case of cinema (Daković and Ćirić, chapter six), we are clearly witnessing the strong uptake of the visual aspect in the representation processes of this musical world. The broad dissemination through the Internet and its effect on the fields of locality and identity is the topic of the chapter by Vesa Kurkela. Kurkela traces the evolution of *chalga* in relation to the history of recording technologies, from the cassette to the current digital mediascape. Through this overview, the author follows the transformation of *chalga* from a Bulgarian local popular genre into a component of Western "technoculture" that nonetheless remains peculiarly intimate to the Bulgaria's Ottoman past. The role of special Internet services such as the Chalga-Tube is central to this transition. However, the author questions to what extent this transition, followed by the broad exposition of the genre's subdivisions and their imageries are meaningful when considered in the international context of the digital mediascape.

Along similar lines, Aspasia Theodosiou explores processes of representation among the Gypsy musicians of Parakalamos in northwest Greece. In her ethnographic analysis, Theodosiou focuses on processes of self-identification that cannot be structured around the notions of branding and visibility which the market largely regulates, and compares them with hegemonic representations, such as that of the broadly consumed image of the "Balkan Gypsy" musician. This identity interplay is discussed with regard to the production of and discourse on the "non-genre" *fantasia*, which the musicians of Parakalamos practise masterfully. In the case of *fantasia*, the epithet-qualifier *anatolitiko* (Eastern, Oriental; in this context also "Ottoman") highlights the Gypsy musicians' own intimate musical world, and foregrounds their peculiar relatedness to the area's Ottoman past. Evoking this world through the performance of *fantasia* allows them to enact and

maintain a dynamic process of self-identification that, in many respects, is the very feature that renders themselves musical agents and historical subjects.

In the final contribution to this volume, Derek Scott offers an intriguing analysis of the European Song Contest, underscoring its role as a productive field of identity interplay. Specifically, Scott examines the tense relation between local and European manifestations in musical identities through a historical overview of Balkan entries and voting strategies. As he argues, sameness and otherness are seriously at stake in this process, both among Balkan countries and in relation to the rest of the European contesters. This process has been recently shifted to the domain of sexuality, where "camp" in particular is adopted as an alternative option for expressing sameness and otherness. Scott concludes that it is high time for this "competitive" feature to transform into an honest process of European cultural integration.

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Section I

Imperial Musical Worlds and Their Peripheries

Text and Memory in Ottoman/Turkish Musical Tradition

Cem Behar

The status of the written text as compared to that of the essentially oral nature of the overall Ottoman/Turkish musical world is best represented by the following comparison: in Europe, the first piece of printed music appeared, in Parma to be more precise, barely fifteen years after Gutenberg's first edition of the Bible. In the capital city of the Ottoman Empire, however, this time-gap was of no less than a century and a half. Indeed, almost exactly a century and a half after the first book was produced by İbrahim Müteferrika's first Ottoman printing press in 1727, Hacı Emin Efendi set up the first printing press devoted entirely to the publication of Ottoman/Turkish music in Istanbul in 1875–1876.

The numerous possible technical or financial causes of this delay all point towards a wider and more pervasive reason. Basically, the almost totally oral Ottoman/Turkish musical world at large had no interest whatsoever in the written musical text. Even supposing that the technical problem of which precise kind of notational system to use could have been solved, no printer or publisher would have considered the publication of musical scores to be a profitable enterprise. The market for these scores simply did not exist. The teaching and transmission of music and the repertoire were done on an almost entirely oral basis, and no need was felt for written material, except perhaps for collections of song-texts. The use of notation and scores was frowned upon and even often considered totally unethical.

It is therefore not really surprising that most of the musical works published by Hacı Emin Efendi in the course of the last-quarter of the nineteenth century were pieces of Ottoman/Turkish music but "with a piano accompaniment". It appears that these publications mainly addressed the Levantine and European public of Istanbul and the district of Pera. *Bona fide* publications of Ottoman/Turkish music picked up only after the Constitutional Restoration of 1908 and a number of specialized publishing houses then appeared. Thereafter, the use of notation prevailed.[1]

I do not intend to digress at length on the technical details and the consequences of the prevalence of an oral system of teaching and transmission within the Ottoman/Turkish musical tradition until the beginning of the twentieth century. This system of transmission, which I have named *meşk,* has been studied and analyzed in detail elsewhere.[2] On a much more general level, the contrasts between an oral and a written cultural universe and the possible transitions and interfaces between them have been masterfully analyzed by the British cultural anthropologist Jack Goody.[3]

From the same anthropological perspective, oral cultural systems and those (mostly Western ones) where the written text prevails, have frequently been considered

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[1] A more complete picture of the state of literacy in the late Ottoman musical world would, of course, involve a consideration of the uses to which the Hamparsum musical notations were put by Armenian and other musicians, as well as the published collections (from the 1830s onwards), in the Greek-Orthodox church music notational system. One must emphasize, though, that these two notational systems had a very restricted and highly specialized readership.

[2] See Behar 2012.

[3] See Goody and Watt 1963; Goody 1986; *id.* 1987.

as clearly distinct and disjoined, if not as diametrically opposed. The strict oral-written duality, however, is often too simplistic and does not entirely do justice to the multiple overlaps and grey areas that necessarily prevail in a number of instances. I will attempt to offer a few examples of these overlaps. The examples have all been taken from the mainstream Ottoman/Turkish musical tradition. I will pick up two types of examples: firstly, those that stress the awkward and even paradoxical situations involving the widespread desire for a literal, textual memory within a totally oral musical environment. Secondly, those examples originating in a musical environment where notation and the use of written scores are pervasive, but where a large number of references to orality, to oral teaching and transmission as well as to the virtues of musical memorization still survive.

In today's world of Turkish classical music, the use of written scores is pervasive and notation is universal, as an instrument for teaching as well as for the transmission of the classical repertoire. Nevertheless, much of the ethical foundations of the purely oral teaching, transmission and performance processes of former times are still part and parcel of today's musical practice. On the other hand, the idea of absolute fidelity to the composer and the *verbatim* reproduction of a musical work, an idea that is normally attached to cultures based on the written text, was, paradoxically, also present and effective in the early Ottoman/Turkish musical universe (and even in the inceptive seventeenth century); a world that might seem, at first sight, to function on pure orality. The simultaneity and the overlap of characteristic items coming from both types of musical universes is what I will attempt to exemplify here.

The musical concept, around which all this seems to revolve, is the concept of fidelity/faithfulness (*sadakat*). Indeed, in the almost totally oral world of pre-twentieth-century Ottoman/Turkish music, one of the basic duties of all music masters was to transmit the repertoire, and thus to contribute to the reproduction of the collective musical memory. The composer himself is also under the same obligation, obviously. The pre-composed musical work, that has been memorized, must necessarily be transmitted; but what musical work are we talking about? Obviously, a work that has been learnt from a master, and that master has learnt it from yet another musician. It is all too clear that the notion of authenticity and the reference to a work's "original version" have no validity in a musical universe where orality prevails and more than one performance-generated variant or version of the same work coexist. Indeed, the composer has not put down his work on paper, and neither have those musicians who have memorized, performed or transmitted the same work. No one should therefore imagine being in possession of the only real, true rendering of a musical composition because more than one version or variant of the same work may be taught and in circulation at the same moment in time, and that is bound to be the usual course of things. This practice was probably particularly true in periods (the mid-eighteenth century, for instance) where the musical forms themselves were in a state of flux.

So, what does "faithfulness" mean in such a context? Faithfulness to what exactly? Obviously, musicians could and would be faithful to particular variants of the same work, but to a variant that had been learnt at a given moment in time from a particular master musician, who was himself the last link in a particular chain of transmission. Was this chain trustworthy? That remains to be seen. Was it unique? Certainly not: thence the possibility of debates and conflicts. The notion of "authenticity" is, by the same token, also laden with ambiguities and misconceptions.

In this musical universe, from a purely objective point of view, there is obviously

no room for the notion of an absolute fidelity, be it to the composer himself or to the "original" musical work. Each fidelity is therefore particular to a master-pupil relationship, and it is perceived not only as a musical duty, but most of all as an item of personal loyalty. We are thus brought back to the problem of *memory*, for in such a universe there can be no question of *textual memory* – or *verbatim memory*, as Jack Goody has so aptly called it.

Orality and the Musical Norm

However paradoxical this may seem (and, of course, it is this apparent paradox that is the real subject matter of the present paper), it seems that this state of things, with all the consequences of orality, was not universally perceived as "normal". Many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century traditional Ottoman/Turkish musicians took note of the existence and the circulation of multiple variants of the same musical work. Some of these musicians even seemed to disapprove of this state of affairs. I will give three of the most significan examples.

In chronological order, the first musician to mention the existence of multiple variants of the same work, without taking sides or making any particular value judgement, is Ali Ufki Bey. Wojciech Bobowski, also known as Ali Ufki, (1610?–1675), was a Polish renegade who was brought to Istanbul as a captive around the year 1635 and spent the rest of his life as a page, musician and music teacher in the Topkapı Palace and later as an official diplomatic translator in Istanbul. He also translated the Bible into Turkish, and parts of the Qur'an into Latin. Among the works he left behind are two large and important musical manuscripts containing hundreds of notations of Otoman/Turkish as well as European pieces. Both of these manuscripts were most probably written in the 1640s or the early 1650s. One of these manuscripts is now kept at the British Library in London, and the second one in the Oriental Manuscripts Section of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris.[4]

One special item in the Paris manuscript is of particular relevance to the matter that is the object of this paper. On folio 293b of this manuscript, we have the notation of a rather short piece, an anonymous instrumental *semai* in *makam* Rast-Pençgah, and in three parts (three *hane*s). It seems that more than one version of this *semai* (or, at least, of one of its parts) was in circulation at the time, for just below the notated piece is another short line of notation which is accompanied by a comment in Italian: "The second *hane*, but in another manner/style".[5]

Indeed, this "second manner" is noticeably different from the first.[6] Ali Ufki had the immense advantage of using Western staff notation and, therefore, of being able to juxtapose the two renderings of the same piece on paper. He makes no other comment, however, and puts forth no judgment, but provides us nevertheless with an important testimony on the variability in performance of compositions of traditional Ottoman/Turkish music.

Our second, and more judgmental, witness to this state of affairs is the Moldavian prince Demetrius Cantemir (1673–1723) who was active about half a century after Ali Ufki. Ample evidence on the existence of variants is also provided by Cantemir who, in

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[4] GB-Lbl MS Sloane 3114 and F-Pn MS Turc 292.

[5] "*Il secondo hane in altra maniera.*"

[6] For an analysis of Ali Ufki's Paris manuscript, see Behar 2008.

a musical treatise composed in the first decade of the eighteenth century, and thanks to a system of notation of his own invention, put down on paper no less than 350 compositions – almost all of them instrumental – in the repertoire. Cantemir provides two examples of variants in this collection; that is, Cantemir has notated two significantly differing versions of two instrumental compositions (a *peşrev* and a *semai*).[7] Furthermore, he confirms that two rather different versions of a *hane* of a *peşrev* were being performed and provides the second version of this *hane* under the title "the third part in another version/account" (*hane-i salis bâ qavl-i ahir*).

Cantemir, however, does not seem to approach the existence of such widely differing variants with as much indifference as Ali Ufki did half a century before him. Basically, Cantemir was a musical critic and also a reformer, and he wished that all compositions were played as their author had intended them. As a matter of fact, one of the reasons why Cantemir says he set out to invent a system of notation that also includes tempo and beat indications is precisely to make sure that every single piece of traditional Ottoman/Turkish music could be performed in perfect conformity to the intentions of the composer. He says it himself in just as many words in his manuscript: "[T]ying it to the letter with a written measure, we can thus perform the *beste* or the *peşrev* as the composer designed it".[8]

One may object that the two authors that I have just cited, although themselves fully part and parcel of the oral Ottoman musical world, both had direct access to the written musical text.

As for the third author, musician and composer that I will call upon here to illustrate the paradox I am talking about, he had no access whatsoever to any sort of notational device. Mehmet Es'at Efendi (1685–1753), a member of the *'ulemâ* class, was a prominent member of the Muslim religious hierarchy. At one time in his career he served as the *kadı* (judge) of Salonica, and in 1748/49 he occupied the post of Şeyhülislâm, at the very top of the Ottoman religious establishment. Şeyhülislâm Es'at Efendi was also a theologian, a poet, a lexicographer and a musician. A few of his compositions have survived and are still performed today.

Among his more important works is a biographical dictionary (*tezkire*) of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Ottoman composers and musicians. This biographical dictionary, named *Atrabü'l Âsâr fi Tezkire-ti 'Urefâ-il Edvâr* is unique. In the Ottoman centuries, a considerably large number of biographical dictionaries of poets have been written in Turkish but *Atrabü'l Âsâ*r is the only known Ottoman *tezkire* of musicians. It was written in 1728/29 and contains short biographical notes concerning about one hundred composers. Es'at Efendi also provides examples of song-texts from each composer's works and, most importantly, a basic evaluation of each of these composers' musical achievements.

Among his criteria for evaluating the musical career of a composer, Es'at Efendi refers a few times to that musician's ability to perform the "original versions" of pieces of the repertoire. For example, in the biographical entry for Serhânende Mustafa ağa, we read: "[B]y completely acquiring the works of old masters as they were composed originally, he became a straightforward master himself […]".[9] In another biographical entry,

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[7] Wright 1992.

[8] "*[R]akam-ı vezn ile harfın altında bend idüp lâzım olan peşrevi yahut besteyi şart-ı musannif üzre okuruz […]*" (Cantemir 2001, 7–8).

[9] "*['A]lâ mâ-'umile fi'l asl âsâr-ı külliyât-ı selefi zabt ü tekmil etmekle üstâd-ı rast-kâr olmuştur […].*"

that for Molla Mehmet Efendi from Üsküdar, Es'at Efendi says: "[H]e used to sing the artful works of the old masters as they were originally composed […]".[10]

What is striking here is that there was absolutely no way Es'at Efendi could have known what the original compositions, those created a century or more before his time, could have initially sounded like. Nevertheless, Es'ad Efendi places a high value on the abstract notion of absolute fidelity to the original composition and is highly appreciative of those that appear to have conformed to this canon. For him, this notion of fidelity is obviously not a realistic requirement but rather an aesthetic construct, a product of his own historical and musical imagination. The attitude of Es'at Efendi, however, indicates that, in eighteenth-century Istanbul, while there was widespread awareness of the production of multiple variants and versions of the same piece within an almost totally oral musical world, high aesthetic value could still be placed upon the – albeit impossible and imagined – reproduction and intact transmission of "original" compositions.

Standard Versions

If we now turn to the ethos of Turkish music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, we may observe similar discrepancies and paradoxes involving, on one side, a real or imagined oral musical tradition, and the written musical text itself on the other. Of course, however, things are now turned the other way around. Notation and musical literacy have been, since the beginnings of the twentieth century, quasi-universal and the use of musical scores is the general rule. Teaching, transmission and performance take the written musical text as a basis, and learning Western staff notation is the unavoidable starting point of all Ottoman/Turkish music teaching processes. Moreover, nowadays, the Internet is also full of all sorts of notations of pieces of Ottoman/Turkish music, and these are easily accessible to all. Nevertheless, it appears that the basic logic of literacy, more adapted to a musical universe where everything is there, laid out on paper, is still far from fully functioning.

For one thing, the production of variants and versions of the same work has not ceased, as one would, *a priori* have expected. This may seem somewhat surprising, but the passage from the oral tradition to universal musical literacy, the use of staff notation, and the written score has not managed to stop the process of the branching-out of variants. Indeed, variants now are not anymore exclusively "performance-generated" than they were before the twentieth century. Different editions or printings of the same work may include variants. These might now even appear, unexpectedly sometimes, at some stage in the usage and the reproduction of a computer-generated score. In a recent article,[11] Owen Wright has traced the multiple variants of a single *peşrev* in *makam* Nihavend from its first notated appearance in Cantemir's treatise at the beginning of the eighteenth century to its latest publication in 1996. Surprisingly, he found that the greatest number of variants of this particular piece, variants that he traces from one publication to the other, had been produced in the course of the twentieth century.

Even I, in the course of my relatively short musical life as a performer, have been an eye-witness in both amateur and professional musical groups to the process of gen-

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[10] "*[Â]sâr-ı musannâat-ı seleft 'alâ mâ-umile fi'l-'asl hânende idi […].*" For Esat Efendi's work, see Behar 2010.

[11] Wright 2007.

erating a new variant of an old piece. The group begins performing any given, notated variant of the piece and then, in the course of the rehearsal, finding this or that bit of the notation not exactly to its taste, introduces slight modifications. The initiative may have come from the head of the group or from any one of the musicians. A discussion among the musicians may ensue, but in many instances the whole thing ends up in the production – with the help of music software – of a new variant. The modifications might have been minor but the result is nevertheless the same. As regards the initial motive for the change, it may have been the wish to be in line with another, previously learnt variant, or simply a pure matter of taste as expressed by a single person or by the group as a whole.

The basic problem that Ottoman/Turkish music has had to face, from the very beginning and throughout the twentieth century, is the absence of standard musical texts. There are simply no universally accepted "standard versions" or "standard editions" of classical works, no standard and authoritative publications to which teachers and musicians can always turn in case of doubt or of conflict. Some musical publications are more prestigious than others, of course. But even the most prestigious ones, for instance the collection published in the 1920s and early 1930s on behalf of the Istanbul Conservatory by a committee headed by Rauf Yekta Bey, a collection known as *Darülelhan Külliyatı*, even that collection has been the object of much criticism and doubt. No written version is, in fact, held as absolutely trustworthy. Given what we know about the multiplicity of versions and variants of the same piece in circulation, this is no real surprise.

The absence of universally acknowledged and authoritative musical publications has given rise to two diametrically opposed attitudes towards notation and notated works. At one extreme of the spectrum is the contempt in which the notated versions of musical works (as opposed to memorization, *meşk*) is held. At the other end is an attitude of quasi-veneration of which some musical publications are the object. I will offer some examples taken from both extremes that will illustrate both types of attitudes.

My first example concerns Hâfız Ahmet Efendi (1869–1943), who was the son of the famous nineteenth-century composer Zekâi Dede, better known as Zekâizâde (the son of Zekâi). Ahmet Efendi's musical life sits astride the traditional and the so-called modern periods of Ottoman/Turkish music. The musical stances Ahmet Efendi took now and then perfectly exemplify the paradox I am attempting to illustrate. Ahmet Efendi had, as a child, received a very traditional musical education from his father and, at an early age, had memorized an enormous repertoire of religious and secular music. He had, however, later in life, also learnt Western staff notation and used it when teaching his students in a high-school music class.[12] In the early 1920s, Ahmet Efendi was appointed to teach the religious repertoire at the newly founded Istanbul Conservatory (*Darülelhân*). At some point, however, he disagreed with the Director of the Conservatory and he resigned from his post.

The disagreement was about *one single note* in a piece that the Conservatory intended to publish. The director maintained that this precise note was an F# (*eviç perdesi*). Ahmet Efendi, however, was adamant: for him it was not an F# but an F (*acem perdesi*). That was indeed how, as a child, he had learnt that piece from his father. As a consequence of this fundamental disagreement, Ahmet Efendi resigned from his teaching post at the conservatory. In the background of his resignation was both a distrust of the process of musical notation as well as the idea of an absolute fidelity to the version of the work as he

[12] For Ahmet Efendi's biography and basic musical choices, see Behar 2005a.

had first learnt it from his own master.

The contempt, in which standard notated versions of a work were sometimes held, is nowhere better exemplified than in the attitude towards their own compositions of two other very well-known twentieth-century composers of Turkish music: Cevdet Çağla and Refik Fersan. Cevdet Çağla died in 1988 and Refik Fersan in 1965. The former composed mostly songs (*şarkı*), and the latter is better known for his instrumental music. Needless to say, both of them could read and write music perfectly. Nevertheless, neither of these two composers ever thought of setting down on paper and establishing once and for all *standard and non-controversial versions of their own compositions*. On the contrary, both of them personally and directly contributed to generate different versions of their own compositions.

Cevdet Çağla used to play the violin and the viola at the Istanbul Radio Ensemble. Eyewitnesses report that often, when one or other of his songs were to be performed at the Radio, some of the performers would ask him how they should play this or that passage and present him with two variants of the same passage. Invariably, Cevdet Çağla's answer would be that the two manners of rendering the same passage were both correct.

As for Refik Fersan, his manner of generating variants of his own works was much more straightforward. He personally put on paper more than one "original version" of some of his own instrumental compositions. It is as simple as that.

Variants and versions of the same work that used to be exclusively performance-generated – given the absence of notation – have now been manufactured with the help of musical scores, and, in this precise case, by these two composers themselves. These two composers seem to have regarded their pieces as a sort of "mobile", capable of being varied by themselves and also by performers. Is their composition, then, just a sort of "work in progress", an "open work" that may later acquire a varying number of possible "realizations"? What would have been just part of the normal course of things in previous centuries and could have been expected to disappear with the advent of universal notation and musical literacy, has been turned by some composers into an instrument of their own compositional fantasy. This type of attitude obviously raises questions about the ontological status of the "composer" and of his "compositions".[13]

At the other extreme, I can also point out a few cases of what could be called "score-veneration". I will provide only two examples. The first example concerns the early twentieth-century great virtuoso Tanburi Cemil Bey, and the second example concerns Dr Suphi Ezgi, who was, with Rauf Yekta Bey and Hüseyin Sadettin Arel, a member the trio of "modernizers" of Ottoman/Turkish music.

Tanburi Cemil Bey, who died in 1915, was, during his lifetime, better known as an instrumentalist, a virtuoso performer on the *tanbur* and the *kemençe*. As such, he also made a large number of recordings. He also composed a number of vocal and instrumental pieces, but never thought of publishing them himself. His collected compositions (and there are about 25 of them) were posthumously published in 1919 by the private music conservatory *Darüttalim-i musıki* under the editorship of Kemal Emin Bara.[14] Among these published pieces is also his very famous instrumental *semai* in the *makam* Şeddiarabân. This same piece, however, was also recorded by Tanburi Cemil himself, and this recorded version differs widely from the notated and published version.

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[13] For a thorough theoretical and historical review of this basic issue, see Neubauer 1997.

[14] Tanburî Cemil Bey 1919.

What is interesting in this instance is that almost all subsequent performers of this piece have remained faithful to the posthumously published version of the Şeddiaraban *semai* and not to the composer's recorded rendering of his own work. The posthumous 1919 version of the composition has been turned into an object of veneration, a sort of fetish, notwithstanding the fact that the composer himself has provided ample aural evidence to the contrary. The enormous aura of prestige, that still surrounds Tanburi Cemil, has not been sufficient to make his own rendering exemplary. For this piece, the standard version, that which every student of instrumental Otoman/Turkish music comes to memorize at some point during his or her education, is the posthumously published version.

As for Dr Suphi Ezgi (1869–1962), he is the author of straightforward attempts to create or recreate "original" and "standard" versions of sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century compositions. Ezgi, in his five volume *opus magnum* published between 1935 and 1955 attempted to establish "real", "authentic", "original" versions of hundreds of compositions. Suphi Ezgi knew perfectly well that there was no way he could reach the original versions of these compositions, that there was no solid and justifiable historical evidence and no valid musicological method he could use to reach out to the initial intentions of the composer. The only justifications that he ever put forward were references to his own personal musical experience based on his self-declared, infallible artistic intuition. Ezgi was, in fact, endeavouring to reinvent compositions which were two-three centuries old, whose current versions were simply not to his personal taste. Sometimes he proceeded, unfortunately, through outright forgery.[15] We cannot say that his attempts were very successful and that the versions he fabricated were widely used by musicians. Still, Suphi Ezgi was adamant and kept maintaining that he had managed to turn the clock backwards, that his published versions were the only trustworthy "originals", that he had managed to dig up the authoritative versions of pieces composed two or three centuries ago. He prided himself on having "purged" classical compositions from all later accretions and "deformations". He insisted that these recomposed works should be performed as he himself had defined them and put them on paper.

To conclude this long list of examples, I must add that I have been recently (October 2010) informed that a website in Turkey – a website presently "under construction", as the phrase goes – is attempting to collect, within the same website, the complete repertoire of Ottoman/Turkish music (about 70 000 compositions or notations, or so they say) together with all existing versions and variants of each single piece.

Assuming that this could really be possible (total exhaustivity, as we well know, is always something of an illusion), where will these almost infinitely branching versions and variants stand? Will the virtual world replace the real, and serve as a notated standard? Will the website, when and if it is completed, make all previous publications musically obsolete? In addition, what motive will determine the precise version or variant of a piece that the musician selects for performance and the master for teaching purposes? Perhaps we will just see, finally, yet another – but ironic and virtual – vindication of the well-known Latin saying: *Verba volant, scripta manent…*

[15] Behar 2005b.

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Solemn Songs for the Sultan: Cultural Integration through Music in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1840s–1860s

Darin Stephanov

The purpose of this paper[1] is to draw attention to musical lyrics as a way of moulding the Ottoman non-Muslim populace into loyal imperial subjects from the 1840s to the 1860s.[2] Even though Sultan Mahmud II (reign 1808–1839) had announced his plans for the cultural integration[3] of provincial non-Muslim populations in an edict (*ferman*) read in Morea (the Peloponnese peninsula of Greece) as early as 1829, they were not consistently implemented throughout the rest of his reign.[4] Moreover, the initiation of annual royal accession (*cülus*) and birthday (*veladet*) festivities across the Ottoman Empire in 1836, a major step in this direction over the long run, did not gain sufficient momentum by Mahmud II's death in 1839. Even Mahmud II's 1837 tour of Rumelia (the European part of the Ottoman Empire)[5] had only a fleeting effect on a provincial populace utterly unaccustomed to direct contact – be it physical/visual or symbolic/mental – with the centre of power.

The first undertaking to have a real impact on the domestic ruler-ruled equation, especially in terms of eliciting an active local response on a mass scale was Abdülmecid's

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[1] This paper draws on a section of my PhD dissertation. For an overview of the entire conceptual framework and the highly diversified body of evidence it rests on, see Stephanov 2012. For an earlier extensive conceptualization of the localized forms of belonging predating ethnonationalism, see Stephanov 2000, 3–10.

[2] This period, a time dominated by pre-existing microregional (town or village and vicinity) attachments when autocracy still had no viable domestic alternative, is critical for our understanding of the practical, lived dimensions of abstract communal concepts such as *millet* (a community of co-religionists) and, by extension, the gradual formation of national consciousness in the Ottoman Empire. Here I have deliberately rendered the controversial term *millet* as a "community of co-religionists." This is, in my view, the historically accurate meaning. Today, needless to say, *millet* means "nation", but such a translation, with reference to a pre/non-national past is simply untenable. If one's starting point and way of historical conceptualization relies on the axiom that nations are primordial entities, an exploration of the kind I attempt here would be impossible.

[3] The term "cultural integration" here refers to the mid-nineteenth-century process of active engagement of provincial Ottoman populations with the Ottoman ruler by way of the escalating annual sultanic celebrations and other novel communal ritual practices at a local level. This continued symbolic interaction was without precedent in Ottoman history. Bypassing, in some key aspects, long standing local intermediaries, it accomplished the central goal of forging a direct mental link between imperial subject and sultan. Over time, the increasingly popular sultanic ceremonies created ever more numerous and regularized opportunities for imperial populations, near and far, to experience the centre and consciously or not, situate themselves in relation to it, within the fabric of a rapidly changing Ottoman society. Reflected in and amplified by a vibrant, fast-growing, multilinguistic Ottoman press, these ceremonies brought about a gradual revolution in thinking, creating, for the first time, an imperial public space in the modern (macro) sense of the term and a playing field for communal alignments, which had never been necessary or possible on a macro scale before. Therefore, I argue that modernity and, eventually, ethnonationalism, can be construed as processes of extension of long-standing localized (micro) forms of belonging and their linkage to the centre for a macro form of belonging. According to my research, both were, at least in their early stages, inextricably linked to the ruler.

[4] Here is an excerpt from this speech: "There will be in the future no distinctions made between Muslims and *re'aya* and everybody will be ensured the inviolability of his property, life and honor by a sacred law (Şeriat) and my sublime patronage". See Safrastjian 1988, 74.

[5] The best source on this tour remains Moltke 1841.

(reign 1839–1861) 1846 tour of Rumelia.[6] This tour was undertaken seven years after the promulgation of the landmark Gülhane ("Rose Chamber") Rescript, which ushered in the reforms known collectively as the *Tanzimat* ("Reordering") (1839–1876).[7] According to witness accounts, along the way, the sultan was greeted everywhere with poetic recitations and songs of praise and prayer.[8] A Bulgar[9] songbook, published in 1851 in Serbia, contains the repertoire of one welcoming ceremony for the sultan along his tour's route. This book opens with the texts of two prayers, recited by Bulgar school children to the sultan on his arrival at Tırnova on 14/26 May 1846.[10] The first prayer appears in a highly formulaic Cyrillicized Ottoman, a rare and fascinating occurrence in print. This may have been a standard reading at all schools, regardless of faith, across the imperial domains at the time. Such was indeed the case with the second prayer, in Bulgar.[11] Its title *Mnogoletstvenno vospevanie* ("A Hymn for Many Years") unmistakably points to its Orthodox liturgical origins – a familiar and comfortable zone for Orthodox Christian believers; hence, an ideal platform for appealing to their sensitivities and directing their praises to the ruler. The author, Hadzhi Nayden Yoannovich, who witnessed the event, explicitly indicated that the hymn was "used in the Tırnova school" (*supotreblaemoe v Ternovskoto uchilishte*).[12] This hymn, as well as the author's lengthy dedication to the sultan, printed on the book's first page, contains an unusually high number of references to the ongoing reform process in the empire. The dedication summarizes in substantial detail, according to the author's understanding, the reform measures, broached by the Gülhane Rescript, twice mentioning it by name (*Hatt-ı Şerif*).[13] This subject matter seems rather unusual for a songbook's opening lines and must reflect the decree's profound impression on and

[6] For a recent study of this undeservedly under-researched tour, see Keleş 2011.

[7] One of the rescript's main explicitly stated goals was to establish equality between Ottoman Muslims and Christians and guarantee their lawful co-existence. For an excellent treatment of an early local communal response from Filibe (Plovdiv in present-day Bulgaria), see Lyberatos 2010.

[8] In Gabrova (Gabrovo in present-day Bulgaria), the rehearsals, led by the Metropolitan of Tırnova's (Veliko Turnovo in present-day Bulgaria) chief singer, lasted for several days prior to the sultan's arrival (see Burmov 1994, 22).

[9] I am purposefully avoiding present-day ethnonational markers, since these were not used in a consistent, standardized manner before 1878. In that year, with the creation of the Principality of Bulgaria by the Congress of Berlin in the aftermath of the 1877–1878 Russo-Ottoman War, what had previously been a loose religious (mainly Eastern Orthodox), linguistic (South Slavic) and cultural marker, became firmly ethnic and national. Therefore, for purposes of historical accuracy, I prefer to use the terms "Bulgar" (the Ottoman designation) and "Bulgarian" (the modern nation-state designation), respectively. Along the same lines, I use the terms Hellene-minded Rum and Greek to denote group identifications before and after modern nation-state formation, as well as without and within state borders where the frame of reference is centred on the modern Greek nation-state set up in 1832. By insisting on the cognitive merits of such differentiations (in terms of what I call "an archaeology of the mind"), which to my knowledge, do not figure in the existing literature, I hope to avoid the trap of present-day national(ist) superimposition on, and therefore contamination of, the past into which so much historical scholarship still regularly falls. Instead, I aim to initiate a scholarly discussion and invite further research into matters of identity formation with, potentially, far wider implications than the Bulgar(ian)s and Hellene-minded Rum/Greek(s) of the mid-nineteenth century.

[10] The date is given in old (Julian calendar) style and new (Gregorian calendar) style, respectively.

[11] This umbrella term encompasses a set of regional South Slavic dialects of the mid-nineteenth century. In my view, it better reflects contemporary linguistic realities and respective mentalities. To use the term "Bulgarian" would be to suppose the existence of a standardized literary language and a corresponding prevalent (macro) group consciousness, neither of which was a fact until decades later.

[12] Yoannovich 1851. Nayden Yoannovich (1805–1862) was a Bulgar teacher, poet, publisher and book vendor.

[13] Here is an excerpt: "[…] May trade be free everywhere […] and the tax with good measure; may life be lived with a fear of God, without difference among persons and faiths and may all people be equal before the law […] may everyone keep his father's faith, without changing it by force […]".

popularity among Ottoman non-Muslims. Judging by the hymn's text, this was indeed so. In the text, the Bulgars collectively thank the sultan for the "acts of goodness" (*dobrini*) they received and continue to "incessantly" (*neprestanno*) receive, as well as for the persistent service of justice in "the time of the most resplendent, most serene, most peace-loving and most merciful […] Tsar and Autocrat". The latter titular phrase bears uncanny resemblance to medieval Bulgar and broader Slavic formulae, as does the prayer's repetitive, incantatory solicitation of peaceful and prosperous "many years" (*mnogaya leta*). It seems that the whole set of such notions was recently dusted off old books and brought back into public usage in the Ottoman Empire of the mid-nineteenth century.[14] It was then married to the discourse of reform.

As a curious 1849 newspaper announcement shows, on the interface of these two main narratives, there was substantial room for improvisation, the expression of local sentiment and the advancement of local objectives. In this posting, the townspeople of Tırnova expressed their gratitude to the sultan for the dispatch of a certain Cemaali Paşa to govern the affairs of their town. The text starts with an exact reproduction of the hymn discussed above, before launching into praise for the above-mentioned bureaucrat's beneficial actions in Tırnova. Through him, the posting focuses on the ruler's upholding of justice, in line with "divine justice" (*bozhya pravda*). In the process, it twice refers to the Tanzimat and once to the rescript itself.[15] This posting helps place Yoannovich's book in perspective. It serves as a preliminary indication that prayer texts such as this one were influential in a number of ways, going beyond the direct, short-term encounter with the ruler, into the realm of the long-term symbolic, with profound inculcating effects on the populace.

What is most remarkable about this book is that it also contains songs, which Yoannovich, inspired by the sultan's visit, composed in its aftermath for the purpose of creatively re-enacting and symbolically framing the encounter. Three of them merit closer attention and add important new dimensions to the interaction between the ruler and the ruled. Two of these songs appeared shortly after Abdülmecid's Rumelian tour in the 1847 Almanac also composed and published by Yoannovich in Wallachia (a region of present-day Romania).[16] They contain what seems to be a largely factual account (with occasional metaphoric touches) of the sultan's visit. The first song explains to the people the purpose of the sultan's tour in the following terms:

> May there be peace and love
> And no violence
> Whoever has a need
> May tell him
> Give him a complaint

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[14] The exact circumstances of this major transformation have yet to be clarified. It remains unclear whether there was an explicit initial order to this effect from the Ottoman centre or whether inspiration came from below in the aftermath of the Gülhane Rescript. Perhaps it was a combination of both. One way or another, this new discourse of the ruler gained prominence in the mid-1840s and lasted for several decades.

[15] *Tsarigradski Vestnik* (literally, "Tsar City Newspaper") 72, 5 November 1849. The posting is signed "P.D.". "Tsar City" (*Tsarigrad*) is still a widespread nickname for Istanbul (Constantinople) in modern Bulgarian and other Slavic languages. Ironically, it seems to have outlived its Ottoman counterparts in Turkey – *Dersaadet*, *Asitane* and others.

[16] Yoannovich 1846? Perhaps in an intended gesture of added solemnity, both this publication and the 1851 songbook were printed in old Church Slavonic letters, as if these were liturgical texts.

And hope
That somehow he will receive [it]
In his time
Whatever one begs
The tsar carries in his pocket[17]
Ready to bestow
And to make good
For this reason
He passed here [Tırnova] too
To see his *reaya*
To go around his land[18]

These poetic lines reveal a close, direct emotional connection between the (Muslim) ruler and the (non-Muslim) ruled, a radically new phenomenon in Ottoman history. The excerpt paints a picture of a sensitive, highly accessible, benevolent and generous ruler, who is also omnipotent. The song continues with a first-hand account of the particulars of the sultan's visit to Tırnova. In the process, the motif of the sultan's larger-than-life stature is given a new dimension through the reverence Christian clergymen display for him. With a gospel in hand, they bow to the ground and stretch their hands up in a prayer to God for many years. The clergymen then accompany the sultan into town, singing songs for many years along the way. Their enthusiasm infects the popular masses who pray to God and perform an animal sacrifice for the sultan's health that evening.[19] In gratitude, the sultan bestows monetary gifts to all, ranging in value from five *piasters* (to boys) to twenty *piasters* (to clergymen).

The second song paints the whole encounter with the brush of folk fairy tales:

We reached golden years
We saw Sultan Midzhit [*sic*]
Our fathers have not seen
Our grandfathers have not heard
Such a serene tsar (*hrisimo tsarche*)[20]
Such a merciful Sultan (*milostivno Sultanche*)

The choice of such an expressive medium and the mythic tone of the narrator's voice may perhaps be attributed to a combination of, on the one hand, the improbability of the above sequence of events and, on the other, the high degree of common fervour it generated. Along these lines, the use of the first person plural seems highly significant, as does the introduction of a temporal component via the blood connection to fathers (*bas-*

[17] This and all subsequent underlinings are the author's own.
[18] The notable lack of punctuation is in accordance with the original.
[19] The Balkan folk practice of *kurban* (in Bulgarian) and *kourbania* (in Greek), from the Hebrew *qorban*, survives even today. Its roots remain contentious. Whether it originated in pagan times or not, this ritual was shared by Muslims and Christians alike, perhaps with overlapping justification. For a lengthy discussion on this topic, see McClelland 1999.
[20] The diminutive form *tsarche* can be literally rendered as "tsarlet" or "little tsar". One might think that this is a derogatory term, yet the author's intention here is clearly different. This diminutive form was probably justified by the sultan's young age (23 in 1846) and it shows fondness for the ruler, the sort of gentle attitude one would normally exhibit to a youngster.

hti) and grandfathers/ancestors (*dedi*), and the exponential hyperbolizing deep into the past – the length of time during which the fathers have not seen anything like this pales in comparison to the length of time the grandfathers/ancestors have not heard anything like it. In its natural flow, this extreme popular excitement bridges divides based on strict interpretations of faith and leads to results, which, from our present-day point of view, seem paradoxical. The indications for a trajectory of religious and cultural syncretism, which are more or less subtle, are interspersed throughout the song.[21] At its very outset, the sultan is compared with a serene newborn lamb as well as a mighty lion.[22] Then, in the above passage, another word for "serene" is used (*hrisim*). However, neither these, nor the outbursts of ecclesiastic reverence for the sultan, detailed above, seem to adequately prepare the reader for the song's closing lines. They convey a popular rapture which can be qualified as nothing less than a personality cult:

Wherever he stepped and sat
And whichever way he looked
We kiss that place
And commemorate him
With joy we were all weeping
And in the trees we were climbing
And for the sultan we watch
Whence will we see him again
Oh, will we prove worthy
For him to twice appear to us
In the year of 1846,
He passed through Ternovo [*sic*]
Most merciful he appeared to us
Inaugurated the land customs
God [gave to] us to lord over.

The theme of visibility, the act of visual exchange between the ruler and the ruled, unobtrusively present in all of the above excerpts from this song and elsewhere, carries the gradually unfolding stages of popular embrace of the ruler as the people's own to such an intense conclusion.[23] As the poem makes clear, the cult of the monarch is centred on the space inscribed by the sultan's movement and vision. Perhaps most indicative of a cult is the shift from past to present tense, in tune with the shift from the account of the sultan's visit to an account of popular behaviour afterwards. Whereas the visit is a one-time event, the response is a repetitive occurrence, unbounded in time – "we kiss that place and commemorate him". Based on this evidence, poetically enhanced, yet largely grounded in reality, it may not be far-fetched to state that the people treat the sultan as they would a saint. This impression is only made stronger by the use of the verb *da se yavya* (to appear) with reference to the sultan. This verb has a mystic, otherworldly connotation and

[21] For the purposes of this paper, I define *syncretic* as follows: "of a mixed nature, combining heterogeneous, potentially conflicting elements into a seamless harmonious whole".
[22] Serene (*krotuk*) as a lamb / Upon its birth / Strong as an aslant [a profanation of the Ottoman Turkish word *aslan* = lion].
[23] Interestingly, the song has more references to Abdülmecid as "tsar" (seven) than "sultan" (six, including the title).

is often employed in relating supernatural, dream- or vision-like experiences. Thus, this song ends on a high point of ruler sacrality.

The same two songs appeared in Yoannovich's 1851 songbook, with some highly suggestive changes, including an entirely new segment. The changes touch on several aspects of the relationship between the sultan and his subjects. Whereas in the 1847 version of the first song the sultan carried that which his subjects needed in his pocket, in 1851 he held it in his bosom (*pazva*).[24] Thus, the ruler seems to be holding his subjects' needs in greater esteem in 1851. After all, the bosom is next to one's heart, where one might also carry a love letter. This sultanic gesture of good will is then matched by a concession on the part of the people – "Only we should beg and implore him" – another novel addition. The trend towards a more pronounced popular reverence for the ruler is manifested in other ways as well. For example, the students welcoming the sultan in the 1851 text "were sitting dutifully" (*chinno sedyaha*), a remark absent from the earlier version. Whereas the clergymen "were bowing to the ground" in 1847, in 1851 they "all fall to the ground" (*vsi na zemla padat*). The list of animals sacrificed for the ruler's health is longer in 1851. In addition to oxen, cows, lambs, kids and calves, it includes "birds and sparrows, little pigeons". That such an extensive description (a total of six poetic lines) should be included attests not only to the reality of the event of animal sacrifice (*kurban*), but possibly also to the wide range of social strata involved, with everyone contributing what they could afford. Perhaps in recognition of such a broad spectrum of devotion, a line from the 1847 version – "[the tsar] Bestowed gifts on all of them" (*Sichkite dari*) – was sung twice in the 1851 version. More importantly, the first song received an entirely new ending, consisting of two parts. The first relates the sultan's didactic words to a gathering of local notables before his departure from Tırnova:

From the *saray* he looked at them,
And ordered them,
To look after the *reaya*
And not harm it
To guide it,
To instruct it
From the *saray* he descends,
And says to all:
Turks of Muslim faith
Christian *reaya*
I recognize alike
And equal honor give
Both Muslim faith
And Christian
Both Armenian
And Jewish
I recognize alike
And equal honor give.

Once again, the visual exchange is prominent. It is a key element in the process of

[24] See excerpt cited earlier, entitled "May There Be Peace and Love…".

conveying the will of the ruler to his proxies and ensuring the enforcement of that same autonomous omniscient will for the benefit of the imperial subjects. What is surprising, however, is the protagonist's choice to segment this heretofore faceless, malleable "flock" (*reaya*) of non-Muslims, based on religious denomination. The text is deliberately repetitive in listing communities and insisting on their equal rights. It reveals an intense preoccupation with the Tanzimat's focus on equality. Since Yoannovich was not only an author, but also a publisher and a bookseller, what he wrote was probably in tune with what people thought, felt, wanted to hear/read and were willing to pay for. In all likelihood, the act of naming in this excerpt reflects processes of acceleration of communal events and the gradual crystallization of a communal (*millet*) frame of mind twelve years after the promulgation of the Gülhane Rescript. As the passage immediately following demonstrates, this choice in no way contradicts the overarching paternalistic role of the sultan in the familial metaphor of Ottoman society:

In the coach he sat,
To the *reaya* he turned his eyes,
As a father to [his] children,
That is how he looked,
Outside of town he came,
And told all of them:
I hereby depart,
To God I thee entrust,
To God I thee entrust,
My shadow I leave here,
So you may not be sad
And of me grievous

The last four poetic lines contain references to a universalized God and, just as striking, the invocation of the shadow of God (*zil-i allah*) – a profoundly Muslim title of the sultan, in order to keep his Christian subjects from grieving his departure. One would be hard pressed to find a passage which better illustrates the syncretic nature of the integrationist project and the inclusive notion of faith on which it largely rested. This symbolic separation of the shadow of the ruler from his body is an early signal for a trajectory of abstraction in the terms of the glorification of the sultan, which would gradually lead to a full-blown personality cult by the end of the nineteenth century under Sultan Abdülhamid II (reign 1876–1909).[25]

Despite the protagonist-sultan's call, a final segment of the first song, not quoted here, captures in great detail the shared common sorrow accompanying his departure. Allegedly, the sultan's sheer physical presence gave people joy and allowed them to share their needs with him. Since the same segment also relates factual details of the sultan's departure from Tırnova and the people's return to town after seeing him off, it cannot be easily dismissed as a figment of Yoannovich's imagination.

The second song also displays changes in terms of ruler glorification. Whereas in the 1847 version the sultan, aged 24, is treated lovingly as a youngster (see fn. 20), the 1851 version casts the image of the older Abdülmecid (aged 28) with correspond-

[25] See Stephanov 2012, Chapter IV.

ing respect, in a more mature light. There is no trace of the diminutive form "little tsar" (*tsarche*), his mercy is further emphasized ("merciful" becomes "most merciful") and the "serene" (*hrisim*) marker is replaced by the image of a ruler with some experience, "a good master" (*dobar gospodar*). At its end, the second song has two new lines which serve as a thematic prelude to the entirely new third song "May God continue [his] days and upon us bestow him". The first of these lines replaces an earlier line "God [gave to] us to lord over". This change acts to soften the notion of the sultan's control over his subjects, as imposed from above (God), and instead shifts the emphasis to the theme of the ruler as a gift to the people. Therefore, it serves as a perfect transition to the last song dedicated to Abdülmecid.

The new, third song grabs the reader's attention from its very title – *Lyubov k sultanu ot poddannicite mu* ("Love for the Sultan by His Subjects"). It includes, in the most overt and intense form yet, the call for individual mobilization in the name of the ruler:

> Whoever loves the sultan,
> Runs to him,
> Loves him from the heart,
> Expends labor for him,
> Exhausts life,
> Does not leave the Tsar,
> Does not spare one's health,
> Always praises the Sultan,
> For the smallest need
> Summons all the strength
> Serves him faithfully,
> And remembers him.
> Prays for the Tsar,
> And slaughters *kurban*,
> Rams and rams,
> And fattened oxen
> So good-loving
> He is God-loving,
> As he does not reject [the tsar]
> So the tsar loves him,
> (And) whoever hates the sultan,
> He enters into sin
> (And) whoever thinks ill of him
> May God destroy him.

In an unprecedented manner, mobilization unfolds in both prescriptive ("runs to", "expends labour", "exhausts life", "always praises", "serves", "remembers"), and proscriptive ("does not leave", "does not spare one's health") lines of reasoning. Therefore, it inscribes a complete moral universe. The individual behavioural model is based on love, though it is a love which is unequal. Of the five references to "love" in this segment, four originate with the individual and flow towards the sultan, and only one proceeds in the opposite direction. Moreover, the roots for "love" in the original – *obich* and *lyub*, a duality which the English translation does not reflect, are also employed in an asymmetric

manner. For example, all of the *lyub* forms, the root carrying the more passionate type of love, are centred on the sultan. However, the most remarkable aspect of this song is that it goes beyond love. The extreme call of popular duty to the sultan transforms what would otherwise be irrational behaviour into normal regularity, thus creating a higher plane of activity ("for the smallest need summons all the strength"). Here, for the first time, the notion of *duty to* the ruler enters the territory of *sacrifice for* the ruler. Once outlined with unusual detail, this higher plane is then taken a step further, into the realm of the divine, which seals its legitimacy; the good-loving (*dobrolyubiv*) becomes God-loving (*Bogolyubiv*). Since Abdülmecid is both "sultan" and "tsar", each term employed three times, on an alternating basis, he enters seamlessly into a Christian theological reference frame regarding the rightful universal ruler.[26] Therefore, actions against the tsar-sultan invoke notions of sin, with the ruler claiming divine protection.

Far from being spurious or idiosyncratic, the themes pioneered by people like Nayden Yoannovich on a micro level drew on parameters set by the macro frame of the Tanzimat. In fact, at least as far as the Bulgars are concerned, Abdülmecid's 1846 tour of Rumelia gave the vast majority of such works a jump-start.[27] Sia Anagnostopoulou and Matthias Kappler cite an anthology of songs in Greek and Ottoman (written with Greek letters) printed in Istanbul in 1847, which also contains prayer hymns dedicated to Abdülmecid.[28] If the book was published in 1847, it may not be too far-fetched to speculate that it in part reflects the flurry of sultanic celebratory activities of the previous year. Indeed, the publication of the entire songbook may have been inspired by the 1846 tour.

The mental connection of provincial Bulgar populations to the sultan, forged single-handedly and vividly by the tour, was perpetuated afterwards by a nascent Bulgar periodical press. Barely a month after the tour, a eulogy for the sultan appeared on the pages of the only Bulgar periodical publication – the monthly magazine *Lyuboslovie* ("Love of Words") – published by Konstantin Fotinov in Izmir. It was written by Stefan Izvorski, a teacher in Şumnu, Rumelia (Shumen in present-day Bulgaria). The poem was dedicated to Abdülmecid "as an eternal proof" of the good will of "the Bulgar people (*Bolgarskiy narod*) to their August Master and Benefactor".[29]

Izvorski was instrumental in the institutionalization of another of the tour's lasting legacies. Two issues later, in August 1846, *Lyuboslovie* published an account of the local school's examination ceremonies, held on 11/23 August in Şumnu. The event drew so many spectators that the school building could not contain them and they spilled out all around it. The article explicitly noted that this was "a custom which has never been held in their town, nor have their ancestors for so many centuries proved worthy and able to see it".[30] The entry into the school building was played out as a solemn public procession of the first order. Archbishop Porfiriy, surrounded by church singers, led the

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[26] It is worth noting that this text lacks explicitly or exclusively Christian or Muslim markers of faith.

[27] When more evidence of the type evaluated here, which was long conveniently ignored and/or suppressed by national(ist) historiographies, emerges, future research will allow a more complex, multi-communal evaluation of this, in my view, landmark sultanic tour. At present, I have no reason to believe that the effects studied here did not affect all Ottoman non-Muslims in similar ways and with similar force.

[28] Anagnostopoulou and Kappler 2005–2006, 65. For a more recent version of this article, see Anagnostopoulou 2010.

[29] *Lyuboslovie* 2, 18 (June 1846) 85. Interestingly, this magazine ceased publication a few months later due to, in the words of its editor, "a listless popular commitment" (*narodna sklonnost neuserdna*). See its last issue dating from December 1846.

[30] *Lyuboslovie* 2, 20 (August 1846) 125.

way, followed by priests, town notables, merchants, artisans and everyone else. The archbishop performed a sanctification rite and delivered a speech in Ottoman highlighting the importance of education during the reign of Abdülmecid. Porfiriy reiterated the uniqueness of this open-door ceremony. His act was followed by a carefully choreographed song-dialogue between the teacher (Izvorski) and his students. It was a song of praise and prayer for the sultan, capped with religious formulae: "for ages and ages" (*vo veki vekov*) and "amen" (*amin*). Afterwards, Izvorski, in turn, delivered a speech of his own, with education yet again the primary focus. Apparently, this speech had profound effects on the multitude, causing some to fall into "deep silence", giving others "absorbed looks" or "irrepressible tears". Finally, all students dressed in white shirts, with little red fezzes, seated in twelve groups of twelve individuals, stood up and began reciting poems of praise. They proceeded in a strict order, group after group, with each student pronouncing four lines. The recital culminated in the turn of a very young child with a strong voice, seated in the sixth group amidst all the students and spectators.

In its entirety, this two-part teacher-student performance was more intricate than anything the sultan witnessed on the tour itself. The theme of education, a central component of Abdülmecid's "scenario of power"[31] hereby found some of its earliest grassroots resonance. Rather than an outlier, the Şumnu ceremony is a telling example of the sort of activities which the sultanic tour inspired across Rumelia. *Lyuboslovie*'s very next (September) issue contains an account of a strikingly similar ceremony, involving all five schools of Kotel, a Rumelian town not very far from Şumnu (Kotel in present-day Bulgaria). Moreover, the same Archbishop Porfiriy presided over the event. In this instance, the high cleric's speech explicitly acknowledged the importance of the sultan's "people-loving/humane" (*chelovekolyubiv*) wishes with respect to his "flock" (*stado*). Tsarist references proliferate yet again throughout this account, becoming ever more firmly embedded into the contemporary discourse of Ottoman rulership.

In a rare demonstration of the pan-imperial, trans-communal nature of Abdülmecid's image-making policies, the same page of the June issue of *Lyuboslovie* on which Izvorski's eulogy appeared (see fn. 29) related the story of a choir of 25 (Hellene-minded) Rum schoolgirls greeting the sultan with "God Save the Tsar" upon his exit from Friday prayers in the Bebek neighbourhood of Istanbul. The article explicitly acknowledges the song's roots – "[…] and there they sung to the Tsar a song, after an English Tsarist song, which began as follows: 'God save our Tsar Abdul Mecid [*sic*]'."[32] Once again, in less than two lines of text, the tsarist reference appears twice with reference to the sultan. While future research will clarify the exact relationship between Eastern and Western Christian hymns in informing the origins of such celebratory practices among Ottoman non-Muslims of the mid-nineteenth century, one thing seems clear. These practices were part of a broader, two-pronged Ottoman strategy for the consolidation of subject loyalty on the one hand, and recognition by and symbolic reciprocity with the West on the other.[33]

An 1851 letter from Razgrad, Rumelia (Razgrad in present-day Bulgaria) relates the visit of a number of local (town and district) dignitaries, including the district (*kaza*) governor (*müdür*), Adil Bey; the religious judge (*qadi*), Mustafa Efendi; and the chief jurist (*müfti*), Hüseyin Efendi, to a Bulgar school on the sultan's birthday. Much to the

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[31] For this term's origins, see Wortman 1995 and 2000.

[32] "I tamo peyaha na Tsaria pesn' spored Angliyska Ts. pesn', koia nachnuvashe taka: 'Tsaria nashego Abdul Medzhida spasi Bozhe'". (Capitalization original) *Lyuboslovie 2*, 18 (June 1846) 85.

[33] Note that the second occurrence of "tsar" here refers to the English Queen (Victoria).

guests' delight, upon entry, the students instantly stood up and sang a hymn, entitled "May God give Many Years to the Most Peaceful, Most Serene and most Nobly Born Tsar Sultan Abdul Medzhid [*sic*]".[34] As the article made clear, this hymn was sung in schools on a daily basis at that time, in accordance with musical notation. While the article itself contains no musical notation, contemporary Bulgar songbooks do; see Fig. 1 for one such example. Afterwards, the governor delivered a didactic speech to the students. The judge then addressed the town notables with words of advice and guidance, which included the expression of "the tsar's burning [literally, 'hot'] desire for the enlightenment of the peoples in all of His State". That such events did indeed solidify communal consciousness is evident in the manner of this article's conclusion: "this visit is a sign of the prosperity of our town and of the Bulgar kin" (*roda Bolgarskago*).

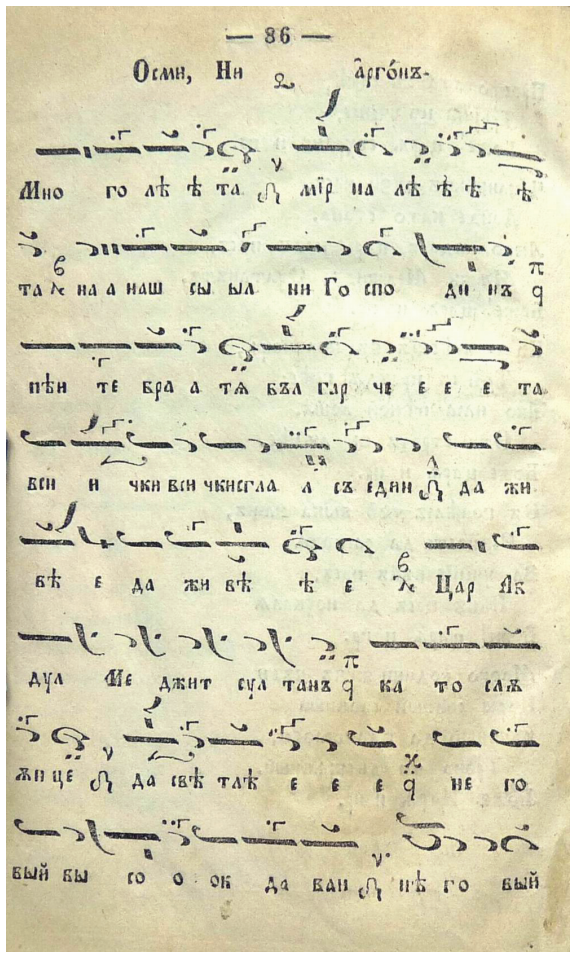

Fig. 1. A page from a Bulgar songbook.[35]

[34] "*Tishaishago, Krotchaishago, I Blagoutrobneishago Tsaria Sultan Abdul Medzhida, Bozhe sohrani na mnogaia leta*." *Tsarigradski Vestnik* 2, 12 July 1851. This letter to the newspaper editor was written on behalf of Razgrad's Bulgar inhabitants.

[35] Belchev 1860.

The theme of the ruler as the conduit of goodness from God to the people evolved further in songs of prayer and praise for the sultan dating from the last years of Abdülmecid's reign. An 1857 songbook, published by two Bulgar teachers – Spas Zafirov and Tsani Zhelev – contains a prayer song for the sultan, which was clearly composed for the purpose of being performed at Bulgar schools on a daily basis.[36]

Two of its stanzas are worthy of note:

To our Fortunate Tsar,
Our Father and Lord[37]
Abdul Mezit [*sic*], oh Lord,
Extend your Protection
Grant [him] extreme health,
Create [protection] for many years.
[…]
Oh, you, Tsar of heaven,
Protect our most kind
Tsar Abdul Mezit [*sic*],
Extend Him many days,
For our prosperity,
And heavenly protection.[38]

In yet another demonstration of religious syncretism, these lines describe the stages via which divine blessings reach the people. First, the students implore God to extend his protection to the sultan-tsar. Second, the latter's long life and well-being in turn guarantees the people's own prosperity and celestial protection. In this scheme of events, the sultan-tsar is an indispensable link in the chain of bounty descending from heaven to earth. By echoing in period Bulgar eulogistic poetry and polemic prose alike, this notion became a widely held truism. For example, an 1859 *Mnogoletstvie* ("Prayer-Song for Many Years"), allegedly performed "in every Bulgar Church" (*u seka Bulgarska Tsurkva*), commences by urging "our people" (*nash narod*) to rejoice, glorify God and thank the tsar for its peaceful life (see Fig. 2).[39] In the same vein, an essay appearing on the pages of *Tsarigradski Vestnik* in the same year, appeals to God in the following terms: "Glory to You God our Lord, who supports on the throne our Autocrat Sultan ABDUL MEDZHID [*sic*] and *pours through him your mercies on us*!"[40]

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[36] Spas Zafirov (?–1885) and Tsani Zhelev (1828–1907) were Bulgar teachers. The songbook was entitled, *Bl'garska Gusla*. The marker of belonging – *bl'garska* – is here purposefully kept in accordance with the original. It reflects the fluid, pre-codified nature of the Bulgar group project. This fluidity, reflected in the equal circulation of a number of terms – *slavenobolgarski*, *bolgarski*, *bl'garski*, *bulgarski*, etc. – ends much later, after the establishment of the Principality of Bulgaria (see fn. 9).

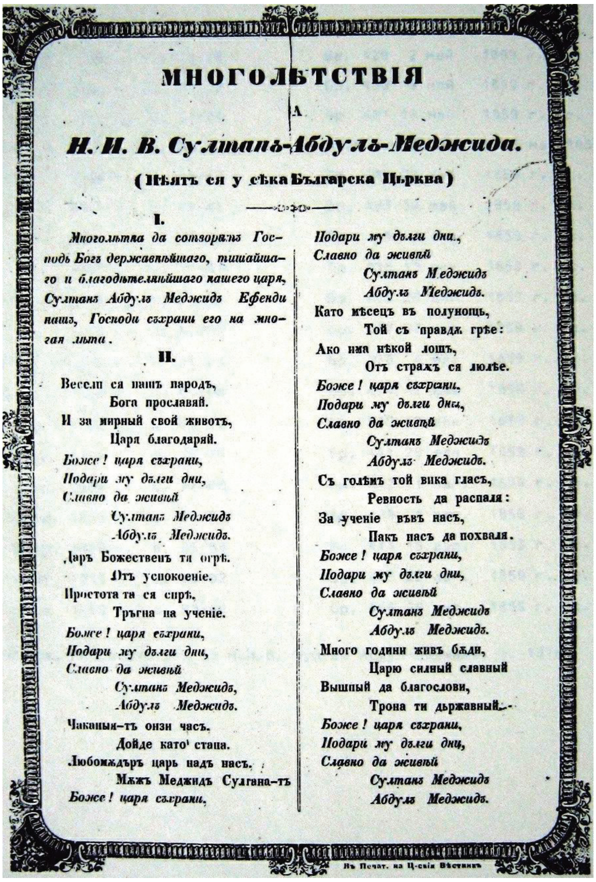
[37] Whereas in English, the word "lord" may refer to both God and an earthly ruler, Bulgar has words for both "God/Lord" (*gospod*) and "ruler/master/Lord" (*gospodar*). In this case, both are employed.

[38] Zafirov and Zhelev 1857.

[39] See Fig. 1. Anagnostopoulou reflects on the same practice in the case of the Hellene-minded Rum school children in the exact same year; see Anagnostopoulou 2010, 88. Her source is "Encomium to His Majesty the Sultan" from *Kalliphonos Seirin* (Georgiadis 1859, 223–259).

[40] Tsarigradski Vestnik 24 October 1859. Capitalization is original; italics are my own. The author's initials – "T.S.B." – most likely point to Todor Stoyanov Burmov. This is the same Todor Burmov, who, at age twelve witnessed Abdülmecid's 1846 tour in his hometown of Gabrova (see fn. 8). Captivated by the splendour and sophistication of the sultan, his retinue and the entire procession, Burmov decided to go to Istanbul and study

The 1850s mark a progressively higher point in the popularity of such conceptual formulations of Ottoman sultanic authority. The main vehicle for their dissemination remained the songs of praise and prayer. With the above analysis in mind, it becomes easier to situate historically the following statement made by Ivan Vazov, one of the best-known Bulgarian writers, regarded as "the patriarch of Bulgarian literature": "In the school of my native town [Sopot] one would glorify Sultan Abdul Medzhid [*sic*] in Turkish hymns long before one heard about and glorified the [Bulgarian] Enlighteners Cyril and Methodius…"[41]



МНОГОЛѢТСТВІЯ

А

Н. И. В. Султанъ-Абдулъ-Меджида.

(Пѣятъ ся у сѣка Българска Църква)

I.

Многолѣтна да сотворитъ Господь Богъ державнѣйшаго, тишайшаго и благодѣтелнѣйшаго нашего царя, Султанъ Абдулъ Меджидъ Ефенди нашъ, Господи съхрани его на многая лѣта.

II.

Весели ся нашъ народъ,
Бога прославяй.
И за мирный свой животъ,
Царя благодаряй.
Боже! царя съхрани,
Подари му дълги дни,
Славно да живый
Султанъ Меджидъ
Абдулъ Меджидъ.
Царъ Божественъ ти огрѣ.
Отъ успокоеніе.
Простота ти ся спрѣ,
Тръгна на ученіе.
Боже! царя съхрани,
Подари му дълги дни,
Славно да живый
Султанъ Меджидъ,
Абдулъ Меджидъ.
Чаканыя-тъ онзи часъ.
Дойде като' стапа.
Любомждъръ царь надъ насъ.
Мжжъ Меджидъ Султана-тъ
Боже! царя съхрани,
Подари му дълги дни,
Славно да живый
Султанъ Меджидъ
Абдулъ Меджидъ.
Като мѣсецъ въ полунощь,
Той съ правдж грѣе:
Ако има нѣкой лошъ,
Отъ страхъ ся люлѣе.
Боже! царя съхрани,
Подари му дълги дни,
Славно да живый
Султанъ Меджидъ
Абдулъ Меджидъ.
Съ голѣмъ той вика гласъ,
Ревность да распаля:
За ученіе въвъ насъ,
Пакъ насъ да похваля.
Боже! царя съхрани,
Подари му дълги дни,
Славно да живый
Султанъ Меджидъ
Абдулъ Меджидъ.
Много години живъ бжди,
Царю силный славный
Вышный да благослови,
Трона ти държавный.
Боже! царя съхрани,
Подари му дълги дни,
Славно да живый
Султанъ Меджидъ
Абдулъ Меджидъ.

Въ Печат. на Ц-скія Вѣстникъ

Fig. 2. A Bulgar "Prayer-Song for Many Years for H.I.M. Sultan Abdul Medzhid" from 1859 by an anonymous author.[42]

When he said this, Ivan Vazov, born in 1850, probably had in mind the late 1850s when he himself was a schoolboy. By the end of the decade, these songs infiltrated a growing number of festive occasions and cultural settings. For example, they were performed at regularized ceremonies for the completion of the annual school exams, such

there, which he indeed accomplished.

[41] See Grannes 1996, 89.

[42] Addendum to *Tsarigradski Vestnik* 29 August 1859.

as the one in the town of Gabrova in 1859.[43] Apparently, that same year they were also an integral part of a large welcoming ceremony for the sultan at Saray Burnu in Istanbul. Worthy of note is the fact that "children from the Muslim, Christian and Jewish schools" all came together to welcome, with their songs and chants, Abdülmecid back from a sea voyage.[44]

The widespread use of songs of praise and prayer as tools of endearment of, and attachment to, the monarch – a dynamic two-way relationship – continued throughout the early 1860s as well. The major new trend was the appearance and accentuation of communal rivalries, expressed through the medium of sultanic glorification. From the outset of the 1860s, the movement for recognition of the Bulgar-minded Rum people as distinct from the Greek-speaking, Hellene-minded Rum, relied heavily on ritual as a venue for open competition on the basis of demonstrated zealous attachment to the sultan. The rise to power of Abdülaziz (reign 1861–1876) created an especially welcome political opportunity in the aftermath of the 1860 Easter incident, which first brought into sharp focus this rift within the Ottoman Rum.[45] Thus, on his way by boat to his sword girding ceremony (*kılıç kuşanma*) at Eyüp in Istanbul, Abdülaziz was greeted by the songs of Bulgar students and clergy in their Sunday best, neatly arranged around a decorative set facing the Golden Horn in honour of the new sultan. Here is how an anonymous columnist of a Bulgar newspaper reflected on the spectacle: "This very charming decoration was perfect in its execution and unique in its existence, since only the Bulgar people resorted to such a beautiful expression of their love for their master."[46]

The trope of love, central to Abdülmecid's image throughout his 22-year reign, was thus carried over as an instant, natural expectation for his brother's reign. This exuberant show of subject loyalty upon the rise to power of a new sultan was not a phenomenon restricted to the capital alone. Reports in various Bulgar newspapers recount similar events in distant Rumelian locales, such as Sofya (Sofia) and Tırnova, for example. In Sofya, the order of student singing for the Sultan, after the prayers for his health and long life, uttered by the *qadi*, followed the usual communal order of local preponderance – Muslims, Bulgars and Jews.[47] In Tırnova, however, the popular grief for the deceased ruler and the enthusiasm for his successor reached such levels that a special dual, commemorative-cum-congratulatory service was held in the town church *Sveta Bogoroditsa* ("The Holy Mother of God"). The event culminated in a student performance of *Mnogoletnata Pesen* ("The Song for Many Years") of the new Tsar Sultan Abdul Aziz [*sic*], joined by priests from the altar! The speech, by a local schoolteacher, which preceded the songs, calls on the townspeople to "pin their hopes" on the new ruler, "unanimously [lit. 'with one soul'] and with love" (*edinodushno i s lyubov*).[48]

The theme of unity in demonstrations of professed group devotion to the monarch bridged religious distinctions and gradually acquired totalizing implications. One finds it expressed identically in both Bulgar and Ottoman Turkish in Ottoman archival sources

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[43] *Tsarigradski Vestnik* 18 July 1859.
[44] *Tsarigradski Vestnik* 25 July 1859.
[45] The Easter incident, dated 3 April, 1860, originated from the deliberate omission of the Ecumenical Patriarch's name from the Easter services at the Bulgar church on the Golden Horn in the Balat neighbourhood of Istanbul.
[46] *Dunavski Lebed* 41, 11 July 1861.
[47] *Dunavski Lebed* 40, 4 July 1861.
[48] *Bulgaria* 7, 24 July 1861.

ranging geographically from Halep (Aleppo) in Şam (Syria) to the Rumelian town of Lom (Lom in present-day Bulgaria) on the Danube. Thus, a prayer for the ruler on the anniversary of his first accession, in the former location, was uttered "in one voice" (*bir ağızdan*; lit. "from one mouth") by a mixed (Muslim and Christian) crowd of some 4 000–5 000 people, whereas the Bulgar students of Lom sang the Sultan's praises also "in one voice" (*s glas iedin*) on his birthday the following year.[49] The celebrations of Abdülaziz's second accession anniversary in Tırnova involved "the students of all the schools in town".[50] Whereas in the above-mentioned example from Razgrad in 1851, it was the local dignitaries who visited the students in their schools, in 1863 the opposite took place. The Lom students marched to the local administration building (*konak*) and the Tırnova students to the chief district official's (*kaymakam*) summer residence (*köşk*), thereby paying their proper homage. Most tellingly, when they sang and prayed, the students in Tırnova did so not only for the monarch, but also for his ministers, finally coming down the ranks to the *kaymakam*, the local representative and embodiment of central authority. Anagnostopoulou and Kappler mention a similar practice by the Hellene-minded Rum on the Aegean island of *Midilli* (present-day island of Lesvos in Greece) during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (1870). In that case, one can actually see how the lyrics changed in accordance with the rank of the dignitary being feted.[51]

This gradual process of vertical extension of the number of feted celebrities in a decreasing formal ranking order, but in an increasing order of familiarity from the local perspective, illustrates the workings of two opposing processes. On the one hand, it shows a higher degree of cultural penetration and indoctrination of provincial populations and their corresponding activation within certain limits acceptable to the centre. Simultaneously, however, such ceremonies create a host of novel opportunities for intra- and inter-communal interaction, (re-)drawing boundaries and clarifying the nature and essence of group belonging in the process. As the number of ritual settings, conducive to the performance of these songs, became virtually unlimited, they attained pledge-of-allegiance or state-anthem qualities. Thus, throughout the 1860s, the Bulgars also performed these hymns and eulogies at ceremonies of their own making, such as, for example, on 11/24 May, a newly invented holiday celebrating the Cyrillic script and Slavic literature.[52]

Conclusion

The sultanic songs of praise and prayer created a lasting image of the ruler in the minds of multitudes of ordinary people, where, in most cases, none had existed before. Over time, this image became subject to contradictory influences. On the one hand, its symbolism and level of abstraction grew in the direction of a personality cult; on the other, an equally powerful trend of humanizing the ruler and shortening the distance between him and his subjects was also at work. In this complex repetitive interplay of image, rhetoric and practice, a key factor in the creation of a modern public space, Ottoman subjects developed and reinforced new, more abstract ties of allegiance and experiences of group-ness, both

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[49] A.MKT.UM. 573.88 (22 June 1862) and I.DH. 504.34313 (22 January 1863).
[50] See *Suvetnik* 15, 13 July 1863.
[51] See Anagnostopoulou and Kappler 2005–2006, 66–67.
[52] Ceremonial field descriptions from Tatar Pazarcık (Pazardzhik in present-day Bulgaria), Kotel and Izmir in 1866 can be found in Vremia 41, 28 May 1866.

real and imagined.

In the case of the Bulgars, the imperial decree (*ferman*) for the establishment of the Bulgar Exarchate, a separate Bulgar ecclesiastical organization, issued on 28 February, 1870 signalled the end of the paradigmatic dominance of Ottomanism in the life of this non-Muslim community and the beginning of the rise of the national idea among its members. Judging by the memoirs of some of the Bulgar leadership in Istanbul, the turn of the 1870s brought a profound shift in the common mood. Political independence soon became a priority, the sense being that it was simply a matter of time.[53] The 1870s indeed witnessed a rise in Bulgar revolutionary activity culminating in the 1876 April revolt and the Bulgarian Massacres, and ultimately in the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878.

[53] See, for example, Balabanov 1910.

Abbreviations

A.MKT.UM. = Sadaret Mektubi Kalemi Umum Vilayet Yazışmalar (Decrees of the Interior Ministry)
İ.DH. = İradeler – Dahiliye (Sublime Porte's Provincial Correspondences)

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Between Sultan and Emperor: Politics and Ottoman Music in Habsburg Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918

Risto Pekka Pennanen

This article focuses on two main themes, namely the use of Ottoman music in Austro-Hungarian colonial policies in the Habsburg-occupied Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina[1] on the one hand and the anti-Habsburg exploitation of such music in the twin provinces on the other. More precisely, this article analyzes various ceremonial events which the colonial administration attached to Islamic religious rituals and holidays, and the occasions – usually evenings of music and drama – which enabled the anti-Habsburg opposition to use Ottoman music as a political symbol. As we will see, the most powerful musical symbol of the Ottoman Sultan Abdülhamid II (reign 1876–1909) was his imperial march *Hamidiye marşı*, the cultural and political utilization of which I will analyse in detail.

Habsburg colonial policies in Bosnia in particular interlock with invented traditions which have been subject to relatively intense scholarly exploration in recent decades.[2] For Eric Hobsbawm, invented traditions comprise traditions which are genuinely invented, constructed and formally initiated. Such traditions may also emerge in a more difficult-to-trace manner within a brief and datable period. Invented traditions consist of a set of practices, governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules, and symbolic rituals which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour through repetition.[3] Actually, the Austro-Hungarian administration in Bosnia often transformed earlier Ottoman-invented traditions which the authorities made optimally suitable for colonial policies.

More often than not, Bosnian musicology exploits music from the viewpoint of the national canon, thereby excluding Ottoman music. In addition, Bosnian scholars have tended to examine music as an autonomous phenomenon with few connections to ideas, doctrines, policies and the surrounding society. By and large, previous research has therefore ignored the political role of music in Habsburg Bosnia. For instance, in her seminal studies, Tünde Polomik lists musical repertoires in exactly the same form as the press offers them, without investigating the pieces and their antecedents or analyzing the performance contexts.[4]

The provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina had belonged to the Ottoman Empire since 1463, but in 1878, at the Congress of Berlin, the Great Powers gave the Habsburg Monarchy the right to occupy the provinces and administer them. Consequently, Bosnia remained nominally under Ottoman suzerainty until its annexation on 5 October 1908 by Austria-Hungary, which retained it as a Crown land until the end of the Great War. Habsburg rule in Bosnia was imperialist in nature, the officially pronounced goal of the colonial administration being to bring Bosnians over to the values of "true" civilisation (i.e. Central European high culture). Simultaneously, however, the administration declared its

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[1] Henceforth, I will refer to Bosnia-Herzegovina as "Bosnia".
[2] See, e.g. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Deringil 1998, 16–43; Richards 2001, 88–151, 211–247.
[3] Hobsbawm 1983a, 1.
[4] Polomik 1989; *id.* 1990; see also Pinjo 2007, 117–119.

desire to preserve the essence of Bosnian culture rather than Germanize the provinces.[5] The indigenous Slavic population in the area consisted of three main ethno-confessional components: Muslims, Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. The occupation also opened doors to the migration of colonizers, such as military men, administrators, businessmen, craftsmen and farmers, from Austria-Hungary.

The person behind the construction of the colonial policies and the administrative apparatus was Benjamin von Kállay (Béni Kállay de Nagy-Kálló, 1839–1903), a Hungarian statesman who served as Joint Minister of Finance (Ger. *gemeinsamer Finanzminister*) in Vienna from 1882 to 1903 and, as such, was responsible for the administration of Bosnia. Kállay accomplished the process of the creation of new Catholic, Serbian Orthodox and Muslim religious hierarchies, thereby seeking to weaken the ties between Bosnian groups and outside authorities on the one hand, and to achieve dominant influence over Bosnian confessional hierarchies on the other.[6] These measures were aimed at the growth of legitimacy in the eyes of the local population and the prevention of the spread of South Slavic nationalism. Furthermore, to fight Serb and Croat nationalism, Kállay emphasized a common Bosnian nationality; the Muslims formed a loyal counterweight to the unreliable Serbs in this scheme.

Ottoman Music in Habsburg Colonial Policies

In December 1878, a few months after the occupation began, cannons in Višegrad signalled the festival of sacrifice *Kurban bajram* according to the Ottoman system by firing three salutes before the five daily prayers during the four-day holiday.[7] In Sarajevo, Commanding General Wilhelm von Württemberg allowed 21 cannon salutes four times daily during the four days. In addition, he stationed an honorary company with a military band in the courtyard of Gazi Husrev-Beg Mosque, the main Islamic house of worship in Sarajevo.[8] In the following year, the colonial administration decided to adopt the Ottoman tradition of celebratory gunfire during the Islamic holidays of *Kurban bajram*, the *Ramazan* fast, the *Bajram* feast following it, and the Prophet's birthday *Mevlud*. In 1880, the administration introduced the salutes to certain Serbian and Catholic holidays as well, obliging the respective religious communities to defray the costs of the cannon salutes.[9] This decision reflects the effort of the colonial administration to maintain a balance in the confessional policy. The Muslim religious officials, however, declined to pay anything since before the occupation, the Ottoman state had borne all costs of such salutes. In June 1881, the Imperial Ministry of War interrupted the long dispute by deciding that it would not exact the payment from the Muslim religious community.[10] Interestingly, although the press described cannons signalling Islamic holidays in Sarajevo throughout the 1880s,

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[5] Donia 1981, 14; *id*. 62.
[6] See Donia 1981, 18–21.
[7] *Bosansko-hercegovačke novine* 15 December 1878.
[8] *Bosansko-hercegovačke novine* 5 and 8 December 1878.
[9] HAS, GP 3784/1879: General Commando to PG and STC, 8 March; STC 3804/1879: General Commando and Platz Commando to STC, 18 September; GP 253/1880: General Commando and Platz Commando to STC, 14 January.
[10] HAS, GP 372/1881: Platz Commando to STC, 22 January; GP 5046/1881: PG to Mufti Mehmed Hulusi Efendi, 5 August.

it did not mention the participation of a military band in the celebrations until 1893.[11] The case of the Islamic salutes is an example *par excellence* of the difficulties which the colonial administration faced when endeavouring to act as a protector of already existing Islamic institutions.

As the colonial government noted, cannon signals at Islamic holidays were not innovations but a continuation of the Ottoman practice.[12] Brass band music for Islamic feasts has a similar background; some sources mention that in Istanbul the sultan's brass band performed music during the intervals between *Kurban bajram* rituals and during the sultan's reception in the palace.[13] The Ottoman use of Western musical styles and brass bands during Islamic celebrations probably dates from 1828 when the reformist Sultan Mahmud II (reign 1808–1839) established the Imperial Band (Mızıka-i hümayun) and employed Italian Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856) as its first conductor. Ottoman traditions did influence the new repertoire since Ottoman composers in particular tended to combine Western and Ottoman musical characteristics.[14]

The delayed reintroduction of military bands into Islamic holidays in Habsburg Bosnia may seem strange, since military bands played in processions for the Catholic and Orthodox Easter, the Catholic feast of Corpus Christi, and the Orthodox Theophany in Sarajevo soon after the outset of the occupation and continued to do so annually.[15] Perhaps we will find the reasons for the interruption in the conservative attitude of the Bosnian Islamic intelligentsia – the *ulema* – towards musical instruments and non-religious music in religious contexts. One can also speculate whether the consecration of the new Catholic cathedral in Sarajevo in September 1889 forced the colonial administration to reintroduce further Ottoman ceremonies and create new ones for Islamic holidays as balancing acts.

Beginning with the official rituals during the annual departure of the pilgrims to Mecca, the reintroduction and transformation of Ottoman practices – frequently incorporating brass band music – seem to have taken place gradually. Prior to 1890, the colonial administration did not participate in the departure festivities of Muslim pilgrims. Until that year in Sarajevo, such festivities consisted merely of a procession, with religious chanting, to the Ali Paša Mosque, where the pilgrims performed their prayers, and a similar procession to the railway station. A large crowd followed such pilgrims during their walk to the mosque as well as the station.[16]

The ceremonies changed with the 1890 departure of pilgrims from Sarajevo: prior to the prayer in the mosque, the pilgrims had an audience with Provincial Governor (Ger. *Landeschef*) Johann von Appel and other high-ranking colonial authorities in the hall of the Provincial Government Palace where Appel gave a public speech praising the pilgrims and the emperor. Thereafter, Civil Adlatus Hugo von Kutschera transported the leader of the pilgrims to the train station in his cab. Among the crowd at the railway station was the Military Commandant Anton von David and his family. A military band played on the platform during the departure of the pilgrims' train to the port of Trieste. The administration orchestrated similar official festivities in other Bosnian towns, such as

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[11] See, e.g. *Sarajevski list* 16 August 1883; *id.* 31 August 1887.
[12] See also Andréossy 1828, 90; Gardey 1865, 64, 282.
[13] *Carigradski glasnik* 25 May/6 June 1895.
[14] Akdemir 1991, 20–21; Greve 1995, 52–53.
[15] HAS, GP 269/1880: Platz Commando to STC, 16 January; Bosansko-hercegovačke novine 20 January 1881; Bosansko-hercegovačke novine 24 April 1881; *Sarajevski list* 27 March 1883.
[16] *Sarajevski list* 5 June 1889.

in Dolnja Tuzla, where the miners' brass band performed for the pilgrims and the public.[17] Upon their return to Sarajevo, the pilgrims again had an audience with the Governor at the Provincial Government Palace. The newspaper does not mention the participation of a military band in the arrival ceremonies.[18]

Subsequently, the administration revived and transformed pre-1878 Ottoman practices connected with Islamic holidays, created new invented traditions and increased the presence of colonial officials and military bands in the ceremonials. A newspaper source notes that during the *Mevlud* festivities in Sarajevo in January 1884, Bosnian Muslim soldiers marched away from the parade to join the prayers in the two main mosques of the city. The notice does not mention any music.[19] From 1893 onwards, however, a military band playing marches accompanied Bosnian Muslim soldiers' parades from their barracks to the Gazi Husrev-Beg Mosque for their communal morning prayer and then back to the barracks during *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram*. At least some of the marches may have been Ottoman ones. In addition, the band played "a few Oriental pieces" in the mosque courtyard after the prayer.[20] The new tradition of a short concert after the prayer ended in January 1901. According to the local informer, who used the code name Filan, the Bosnian supreme Islamic authority Reis-ul-Ulema Mehmed Teufik Azabagić (served 1893–1909) personally ordered the military band not to play in the mosque courtyard nor escort the Muslim solders back to the barracks but to hurry to the front of the Kiraethana (Muslim reading room)[21] in the Bendbaša neighbourhood instead, in order to play at the official reception. Filan further stated that the Muslim audience felt frustrated since the band performed for the dignitaries rather than them.[22] Even though the Reis-ul-Ulema terminated the courtyard concerts after the *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* players, the tradition reappeared occasionally between 1913 and 1916 during the holidays *Mevlud*, *Lejlei regaib* (Turk. *Leylei Regaib;* the conception of the Prophet), *Lejlei berat* (Turk. *Leylei Berat;* the night when the destinies are fixed for the coming year) and *Lejlei miradž* (Turk. *Leylei Mirac;* the night of the Prophet's journey to heaven). Usually the press mentions that the military band played before the prayer, but on one occasion it claims that the concert took place during the prayer which sounds extraordinary.[23] Interestingly, apart from the *Mevlud*, all these concerts were connected with lesser Islamic holidays and occurred in the evening.

The press does not mention the attendance of high-ranking colonial authorities at the *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* receptions in the Sarajevo Kiraethana until 1891, two full years after the first reception.[24] The morning receptions apparently took their final form in 1898, when a military band performed a concert consisting of various pieces, including Ottoman marches, in front of the lavishly decorated Kiraethana. The reception yielded the Governor and other high-ranking colonial administrators the opportunity to perform a rit-

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[17] *Sarajevski list* 11 June 1890; *id*. 17 May 1891.
[18] *Sarajevski* list 12 November 1890.
[19] *Bosnische Post* 17 January 1884. From 1882 a company and from 1894, a battalion of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 was stationed in Sarajevo (Neumayer and Schmidl 2008, 55).
[20] *Bošnjak* 20 April 1893; *id.* 12 April 1894.
[21] *Kiraethana* (< Turk. *kıraathane* "public reading room, coffee house with newspapers") was a social and cultural institution for Muslim men in Bosnia. The Sarajevo Kiraethana opened in 1888.
[22] ABiH, ZMF, Pr BH 156/1901: confidential report of Filan, 24 January.
[23] *Bosnische Post* 19 February 1913; *Sarajevski list* 19 July 1913; *Bosnische Post* 29 May 1914; *Sarajevski list* 30 May 1916.
[24] *Sarajevski list* 7 August 1889; *id.* 10 May 1891.

ualistic act of symbolic legitimacy by wishing the Muslim elite a happy *Bajram*. As was customary in all important religious festivities with the emperor's representative present, the band played *Kaiserhymne*, also known as *Volkshymne,* by Johann Gabriel Seidl and Joseph Haydn.[25] However, after Sulejman Šarac resigned from the post of Reis-ul-Ulema in early August 1912, the official celebration of Islamic holidays changed considerably. In September 1912, Military Governor Oskar Potiorek led a delegation of high-ranking colonial authorities which met the top Muslim civil servants and the Islamic religious elite of Sarajevo and even the Ottoman consul at the Town Hall. The next *Kurban bajram* reception took place in the mayor's private home, and for the 1913 *Bajram*, the mayor, the Director of the Islamic religious foundation *Vakuf* and the Deputy Reis-ul-Ulema Mehmed Teufik Okić each organized a reception.[26] After the break-out of the Great War, *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* receptions were not held regularly.[27] In 1917, however, Auxiliary Councillor Riza beg Kapetanović and Reis-ul-Ulema Mehmed Džemaludin Čaušević (served 1914–1930) received official *Bajram* greetings in their respective residences.[28] The sources mention no music at post-1911 receptions; rather, at least during the *Kurban bajram* celebrations of 1917, a military band marched in the streets of Sarajevo early in the morning playing "various pieces".[29]

The discontinuity of the official receptions in the Kiraethana was a considerable loss for both the Muslim community and the colonial administration; the religious community lost a visible and audible social event, whereas the regime lost an important opportunity to express its legitimacy of power over the Muslims in a public setting.

Although the newspaper sources fail to specify the compositions the military bands played during the *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* celebrations, we can safely assume from the commercial recordings of the Band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Markgraf von Baden No. 23 (K.u.k. Infanterieregiment Markgraf von Baden Nr. 23), stationed in Sarajevo in 1908, what sort of pieces these are likely to have been.[30] Judging from the title, *Bajram marš* (Odeon 70785) belonged to the repertoire for Islamic holiday celebrations, and the same applies to the flip-side piece *Nassr-Edin marš* by Austro-Hungarian military band conductor Johann Nepomuk Král (1839–1896). Apparently composed for the visit of the Shah of Persia Nasser al-Din Shah Qajar (reign 1848–1896) to Vienna in 1878, *Nassr-Edin* was originally subtitled as a "Persian March". Without the subtitle, however, the march could pertain to the legendary, satirical *Sufi* mystic figure Nasrettin Hoca, who lived in thirteenth-century Konya. The "Persian" march is a typical Orientalist composition which represents the Orient for the Western audience through certain musical devices, such as the interval of the augmented second.[31] A third tune, of similar function, in the recorded repertoire of the band is *Turska pjesma* ("Turkish Song"; Odeon 70786).[32] Other pieces for *Bajram* and *Kurban bajram* celebrations were probably the same ones as those, which the military bands played in the musical evenings of vari-

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[25] *Bošnjak* 5 May 1898.
[26] *Sarajevski list* 14 September 1912; *Sarajevoer Tagblatt* 19 November 1912; *Sarajevski list* 3 September 1913.
[27] *Sarajevski list* 19 August 1914.
[28] *Sarajevski list* 19 July 1917; *Bosnische Post* 22 July 1917.
[29] *Sarajevski list* 28 October 1917.
[30] Drucker 1910, 70.
[31] Scott 1998, 309–313.
[32] Possibly the title refers to a Bosnian urban *sevdalinka* song rather than an Ottoman song, since the old designation for *sevdalinka* is *turćija*, i.e. "Turkish song".

ous Bosnian Muslim societies; I will discuss them in detail below.

The Kállay regime did not provide religious holiday celebrations with imposing ceremonial events and music out of kind-hearted altruism; Kállay had two main motives for his policies toward Bosnian Muslim traditions. The first was related to domestic policy: the regime attempted to strengthen the direct bonds of all Bosnian subjects to the emperor, in order to build legitimacy and to "rally their loyalty as potential citizens".[33] After Bosnian Catholics, Muslims were logically the second best ethno-religious group for this purpose. Moreover, since Vienna had promised to honour Bosnian Islamic customs and traditions in the 1879 Novi Pazar Convention with the Ottoman Porte, it was important not to disappoint Bosnian Muslims. In confidential documents, however, Kállay speculated about the possibility of Muslim apostasy and conversion to Catholicism.[34] His attempts to win over the Bosnian Muslims failed in large part because of Muslim resentment at what was perceived to be Catholic proselytization.[35] Kállay's second motive stemmed from Austria-Hungary's long-term foreign policy strategy, which comprised of striving to pave the way for future expansion by showing the Muslims of the Ottoman Balkans the beneficial treatment which Bosnian Muslims received.[36]

The Austro-Hungarian administration was not the only party to exploit Ottoman music. As we will see below, certain types of Ottoman music had totally different associations and functions in Habsburg Bosnia.

Ottoman Music in Music and Drama Evenings

Performances of Ottoman music formed an integral part of certain events and festivities in Habsburg Bosnia. Among the most important such events were the evening spectacles of Bosnian Muslim cultural and temperance societies, sports clubs and craftsmen's associations, often during *Bajram*, *Kurban bajram* and the Islamic New Year. Some societies commemorated their own annual events as well. The organizers of the large-scale evenings of music and drama hired Austro-Hungarian military bands stationed in Bosnia to perform at least part of the programme, which often included Ottoman music – usually marches – in a Western or mixed style. For tactical reasons, some Bosnian Serb societies included such music in their gatherings as well; the Serb opposition hoped to exploit Muslim dissatisfaction in a common anti-Habsburg movement calling for Bosnian autonomy under Sultan Abdülhamid, thus weakening Austria-Hungary.[37]

The heyday of Bosnian associational activities began in the late 1890s when Kállay had to admit that his policy of a common Bosnian nationality had failed; the regime had to allow the formation of societies bearing Serbian or Croatian national names. His successor, Count István Burián de Rajeczi (served 1903–1912), further eased the firm control over Bosnian civil society. This liberalization enabled the establishment of various socio-cultural and political organizations in Bosnia, such as the Orthodox Serb Prosvjeta (Enlightenment), the Bosnian Muslim Gajret (Zeal, from Turkish) and the Catholic Croat

[33] Hobsbawm 1983b, 266.
[34] Okey 2007, 60.
[35] Okey 2007, 106–107.
[36] Kraljačić 1987, 364–365.
[37] Okey 2007, 133–134.

Napredak (Progress).[38] Established in early 1903, the Society for Cultural Enlightenment Gajret was the most important Muslim association. In April 1905, the board of the Islamic Youth organized the first large-scale annual evening of music and drama for the benefit of Gajret and the Muslim bicycle and gymnastic club El-Kamer in the Association House (Ger. Vereinshaus, Srp.-Hr. Društveni dom; nowadays the National Theatre) in Sarajevo. For political reasons, the highest colonizing civil and military authorities frequented the larger-scale evenings as guests of honour.[39] Such gatherings formed a platform for the government to ceremonially display its prestige and legitimacy. Simultaneously, the authorities were able to demonstrate their respect for the local population and its culture.

When analyzing the musical repertoire of Gajret, one should bear in mind that the political line of the society changed in 1907. Initially in the hands of Croatophile Muslims, Gajret was taken over by the Serbophile party, the Muslim National Organization (Muslimanska Narodna Organizacija, abbreviated MNO).[40] Despite the political change – or rather thanks to it – the musical programmes of Gajret's evening parties continued to include Ottoman pieces. Ottoman marches and many Orientalist compositions were instrumental in symbolizing the Bosnian Muslim identity and demonstrating the hope of the Muslim and Serb anti-Habsburg opposition for the resurgence of Ottoman authority. Alluding to the Ottoman era, the programmes were printed not only in Latinized Serbo-Croatian, but also in Ottoman Turkish.

The selection of pieces for the first evening of music and drama of the Society of Islamic Youth (Udruženje islamske omladine), held in the Sarajevo Association House on 11 April 1908, offers a case in point for the musical symbolism the organizers utilized. Two groups performed the music programme: the choir of the Muslim Workers' and Craftsmen's Association Hurijet (Muslimansko radničko i zanatlijsko udrušenje Hurijet), under Hakija Buljušmić, and the Band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Margrave von Baden No. 23 under the conductor Alexander Szeghö. In addition, a soloist sang a Bosnian folk song.[41] The programme of the evening was as follows:

1) *Pobjeda na Tesaliji* ("Victory in Thessaly") by Arturo Stravolo. Military band.
2) *Domovini* ("For the Homeland") by Basin (actually Radoslav Razlag and Benjamin Ipavec). Choir.
3) *Türkische Scharwache* ("Turkish Patrol") by Theodor Michaelis. Military band.
4) *Imitiranje raznih deklematora* ("Imitation of Various Reciters"). Abdul Mehmed Hasiba.
5) *Pjesma Sultanu* ("Song for the Sultan") by Yûsuf Enderûnî. Military band.
6) *Ravna* (a folk song in flowing rhythm). Sali Hadžiabdagić (baritone) and Nuraga Džabija (long-necked lute *saz*).
7) *Turski zvuci* ("Turkish Sounds") by Dede Ahmed Efendi. Military band.
8) *Karišik* ("Potpourri") by Franjo Maćejovski. Choir.
9) *Chor der Derwische* ("Choir of Dervishes") by Gabriel Šebek. Military band.
10) *Makedončeva ženidba* ("Wedding of a Macedonian Man"). Abdul Mehmed Hasiba.
11) *Đavo pod čergom* ("Devil under the Tent"), farce in one act by Ekrem. Amateur actors.
12) *Tombola* (raffle).
13) *Kolo* (folk dancing).
14) Š*aljiva pošta* (party game: Chinese Whispers).

[38] Donia 2006, 101; Okey 2007, 143.
[39] E.g. *Bosnische Post* 3 April 1906; *Sarajevski list* 12 February 1910.
[40] Kemura 1986, 42–55; Imamović 1998, 414.
[41] *Sarajevski list* 10 May 1908.

The repertoire of the choir carries only mild ideological overtones. Such elements are noticeable in the Slovenian patriotic lyrics of the song *Domovini* ("For the Homeland") by poet Radoslav Razlag (1826–1880) and composer Benjamin Ipavec (1829–1908). The "Potpourri" by Czech-born composer and music pedagogue Franjo Maćejovski (František Matějovský, 1871–1938) is possibly the folkloristic work known as *Karišik narodnih i turskih pjesama* ("Potpourri of Folk and Turkish Songs"), which combines traditional songs of Bosnian ethnic groups, "Turkish" referring to urban *sevdalinka* songs.

The farce by Hamid Šahinović (pen-name Ekrem, 1879–l936) probably contained no music, but the military band may have accompanied folk dancing after the play and the raffle.

The repertoire of the military band on this evening included both Orientalist and Ottoman music. Two of the three Ottoman pieces deserve particular attention due to their links with the contemporary political situation and the sultan. The composer of *Victory in Thessaly* was Italian Arturo Stravolo (1867–1956), who served as the opera director of Abdülhamid II's private theatre in Yıldız Palace. The title refers to the Graeco-Ottoman war of 1897, the only Ottoman military triumph of the Hamidian era. *The Song for the Sultan* must have been an instrumental arrangement of *Sâye-bânısın dîn-ü devletin* (*makam* Hüzzâm, *usul* düyek 8/8).[42] Cretan-born composer Kadıköylü Attâr Hâfız Yûsuf Efendi (1857–1925) dedicated this *şarkı* song to the sultan.[43] These two pieces, referring respectively to the victorious Ottoman army and the Sultan, seem to carry a thinly veiled political message of the anti-Habsburg opposition. As we shall see below, Abdülhamid II was the main reference point in the symbolism of the anti-Austrian opposition.

The 1908 evening of music and drama was not the only occasion to pay tribute to the war of 1897: the Zenica Islamic Temperance Society Ittihad (Islamsko antialkoholsko društvo Ittihad) organized an Islamic New Year party on 23 January 1909 at the Hotel Central where the *tamburitza* long-necked lute orchestra of the society performed *Yunan muharebesi marşı* ("March of the Greek War").[44] The newspaper credits Vilim Brož (1861–1915), a Czech-born conductor and composer working in Bosnia, with the composition, even though he was the arranger. The piece could be Zekâi Dede Efendi's (1825–1897) well-known *Muharebe marşı* (*makam* Suzinak, *usul* sengin semai 6/4).[45]

Uses of the "Sultan's March"

As the Ottoman Empire lacked a national anthem in the Western vein, each sultan since Mahmud II commissioned a Western-style march for that purpose – for instance *Mahmudiye*, *Mecidiye* and *Aziziye*.[46] Therefore, the imperial march of Abdülhamid II was *Hamidiye marşı* – or *Ey velinimet-i âlem* after the opening line of the lyrics – by Yesarizade Ahmet Necip Pasha (1815–1883), a student of Giuseppe Donizetti (see Fig. 1).[47] Like

[42] A set of modal rules called *makam* (pl. *makamlar*) directs the melodic movement in a classical Ottoman piece, whilst *usul* (pl. *usuler*) rhythmic mode directs the melodic rhythm of a piece of music.

[43] See Öztuna 1990, s.v. Yûsuf Efendi (Kadıköylü). Another possibility is the şarkı song *Ey menba'-î cûd-û sehâ* (*makam* Mâhûr, *usul* türk aksağı 5/4), which Yûsuf Efendi dedicated specifically to Abdülhamid II. However, the 5/4 time of the piece may have posed an insurmountable challenge for the military musicians.

[44] *Bošnjak* 22 January 1909.

[45] See Öztuna 1990, s.v. Zekâi Dede Efendi; Akdemir 1991, 19–20.

[46] See Greve 1995, 56–57.

[47] For a reissue of early Ottoman recordings of *Hamidiye marşı* in two different styles, see Kalan CD 150.

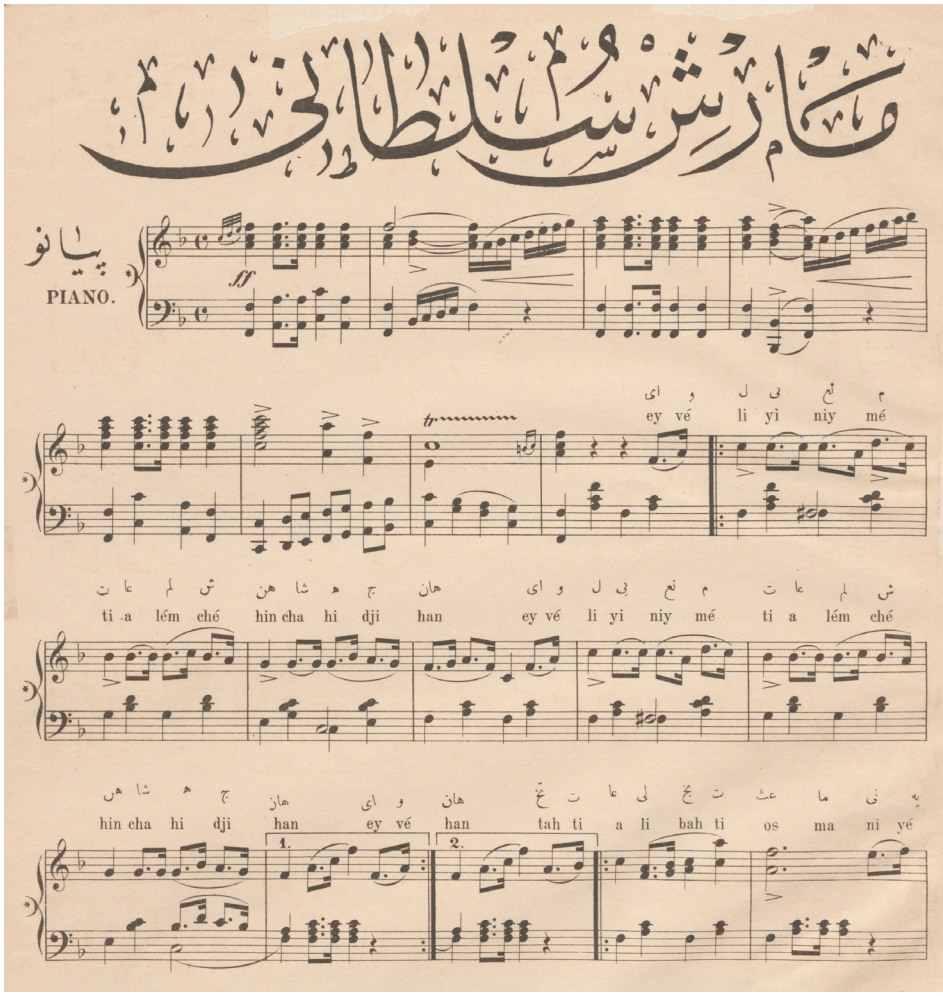

Fig. 1. An excerpt from the piano score of *Hamidiye marşı* by Necip Pasha.[48]

many prominent Ottoman march composers before and after him, Necip Pasha served as the conductor of the Imperial Band.

Hamidiye marşı had various markedly different performance contexts of in Habsburg Bosnia. I will analyze such performances, firstly during the sultan's rule as an absolute monarch, and secondly after the Young Turk revolution in July 1908, which transformed him into a constitutional sultan. The third phase began with the annexation of Bosnia on 5 October 1908 and the fourth after Abdülhamid II's subsequent deposition in favour of his brother Mehmed V Reşad in April 1909 following an attempted countercoup. These changes in the political status of Abdülhamid in Istanbul had repercussions on the use of his imperial march in Bosnia.

Prior to the annexation, *Hamidiye marşı* was of marked political importance in

[48] Nédjib Pacha n.d.

Bosnia. Due to its symbolic value, the march formed an integral part of various Bosnian Muslim evenings of music and drama. Bosnian Muslim and Serb activists shared similar political aspirations from the mid-1890s up to the months after the annexation: the end of the Austro-Hungarian domination and autonomy under the sultan's sovereignty.[49] Therefore, the two opposition groups relied on the "Sultan's March" to represent their objectives symbolically. The availability of *Hamidiye marşı* in several commercial recordings reflected its popularity: two local versions by Bosanski instrumentalni i pjevački Terzett M. Sudžuka i Merkuš (the Bosnian Instrumental and Vocal Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš) and others recorded in Istanbul were available in Bosnia.[50]

The symbolic value of *Hamidiye marşı* was extremely pronounced among some Bosnian Muslims; the Orientalist use of the march to represent India in the stage setting of Jules Verne's *Around the World in 80 Days* (Srp. *Put oko zemlje*) by the visiting Serbian theatre troop Dragoš in Sarajevo in October 1906 shocked the journalist of the government-subsidized Muslim newspaper *Bošnjak*. In his review, the writer severely criticized the scene in which the Indian Princess Aouda is rescued from being forced onto a funeral *pyre* whilst the accompanying band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Baron von Reicher No. 68 (K.u.k. Infanterieregiment Freiherr von Reicher Nr. 68) performed the Ottoman imperial march. According to the review, "[t]he feelings of our Muslims were so badly offended. […] It simply should not be allowed".[51]

Most importantly, *Hamidiye marşı* belonged to the standard repertoire of evening spectacles of various Bosnian Muslim societies, especially prior to the annexation. For example, a military band performed the march at the evening party of the Mostar Muslim Reading Room and Charitable Society (Muslimanska čitaonica i dobrotvorno društvo) on 4 November 1904.[52] Interestingly, since it appears on a short list of forbidden songs written with a pencil, *Hamidiye marşı* may have been temporarily banned in spring 1908.[53] Even so, according to available sources, military bands performed the march until early 1909, after which a few amateur brass, string and *tamburitza* orchestras of Muslim societies kept it in their repertoires.

The victorious Graeco-Ottoman war of 1897 greatly increased the sultan's status in Bosnia; during and after it, somewhat surprisingly, the *Bošnjak* regularly reported on the anniversary of Abdülhamid II's accession to the throne (Turk. *cülûs-ı hümâyun*) which was celebrated on 31 August of the Gregorian calendar, and his birthday (Turk. *velâdet-i hümâyun*) on 16 Şaban of the Islamic lunar calendar.[54] Overlapping with the mid-Şaban religious feast of *Leyle-i Berat*, the birthday moved each year relative to the solar calendar.[55] Both sultanic holidays ranked high in the Porte's arsenal of propaganda devices. In Bosnia, the Porte exploited the celebrations politically by decorating, among others, prominent Bosnian Muslims, Nikola Kašiković, the editor of the Bosnian Serb

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[49] Donia 1981, 178; *id.* 2006, 108–109.

[50] *Hamidija marš* (mat. 5691L[lc]/cat. Zonophone X 100659) recorded in Sarajevo in late May 1907 and *Hamedi marši* (Lyrophon 47778), recorded probably in 1908. See Pennanen 2007, 120.

[51] *Bošnjak* 8 October 1906.

[52] *Bošnjak* 10 November 1904.

[53] ABiH, ZVS, 2146 res/1908: Gradačac District Commissioner to PG: forbidden songs, 29 April.

[54] Donia (1981, 179; 2006:83) and Imamović (1998, 402) erroneously take the accession anniversary for sultanic birthday celebrations. All known sources exclusively mention Muslims and Serbs celebrating the *cülûs-ı hümâyun* in Habsburg Bosnia; see also ABiH, ZMF, Pr 4930/1907: PG to Joint Finance Ministry, 7 October. The local authorities reported that no celebrations of the Sultan's birthday took place.

[55] See, e.g. *Carigradski glasnik* 4/16 February 1895.

literary review *Bosanska vila*, and even high-ranking civil and military officials, among others, with medals of various Ottoman orders.[56] As we will see, the holidays were politically undesirable in the eyes of the Provincial Government, which took strict measures against them. However, in the neighbouring Sandžak of Novi Pazar, occupied but not administered by Austria-Hungary, the feasts were openly celebrated. Thus, the *Bošnjak* occasionally reported on the sultanic festivities in Pljevlja (Turk. Taşlıca), where the local Austro-Hungarian garrison cannons fired salutes and the garrison's military brass band performed *Hamidiye marşı* in front of the Ottoman barracks. In addition, the local Ottoman authority invited Austro-Hungarian officers to a festive meal in honour of the sultan.[57]

In Bosnia, during the year 1900, the Muslim and Serb opposition prepared to demonstratively celebrate the 25th anniversary of Abdülhamid II's accession. The Kállay regime was extremely concerned, demanding that the celebration be solely of a religious character. In addition, the authorities attempted to prevent the forbidden forms of celebration from spreading among rural Muslims, a large population that might demand the return of Bosnia to the sultan.[58] The regime's policy of limiting the celebration to a *dova* (Turk. *dua*) prayer for the caliph, the leader of the Islamic polity, in mosques became apparent in some pro-Habsburg newspaper articles as well.[59] Despite the ban, the opposition organized protest celebrations widely in the twin provinces, especially in the Sarajevo bazaar quarter Baščaršija.[60] Furthermore, some oppositionists were able to travel to Pljevlja and celebrate the accession anniversary there. Take, for instance, the year 1907 when, according to an Austro-Hungarian report, 40 members of the Bosnian Muslim opposition participated in the ceremonial events which the local Serb notables had organized.[61]

Apart from non-religious contexts, *Hamidiye marşı* also served a symbolic function at Bosnian Muslim evening parties connected with Islamic holidays, as the Ottoman sultan was the Caliph of Islam. During his reign, Abdülhamid II promoted Pan-Islam to encourage the common identity of the worldwide Muslim community and highlighted the political dimensions of the Ottoman caliphate in the empire as well as in Islamic areas under Western colonial rule.[62] Given Ottoman political and economic weakness, the Sultan valued all the more the potential prestige and influence inherent in his role as caliph.

In Bosnia, *Hamidiye marşı* belonged to the musical evenings of Muslim societies during *Bajram*, *Kurban bajram* and the Islamic New Year. Bands performed it, for instance, at the *Kurban bajram* evening party of the Muslim Workers' and Craftsmen's Association Hurijet on 11 January 1909 in the Sarajevo Association House, as well as a year later at the *Bajram* party of the Jajce Islamic Reading Room (Islamska kiraethana u Jajcu).[63] Thus, politics and religion intertwined during the musical evenings. However, realizing that the Young Turk government would offer them no support, the leaders of the Muslim opposition party MNO accepted the annexation and declared their loyalty to the Dual Monarchy after 10 February 1910. The declaration coincided with a large-scale Ga-

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[56] *Bosanska vila 11*, 17 (1896) 279; *id.* 13, 2 (1898) 31; *id.* 13, 18 (1898) 294; cf. Deringil 2004, 35–37.
[57] *Bošnjak* 16 September 1897; *id.* 7 September 1899.
[58] Imamović 1997, 94, 121.
[59] Bogićević 1969, 325–327; *Bosnische Post* 31 August 1900; *Osvit* 5 September 1900.
[60] Bogićević 1969, 327–328.
[61] ABiH, ZMF, Pr BH 1096/1907: PG to JFM, 17 September 1907.
[62] See Deringil 2004, 46–49; Karpat 2004, 132.
[63] *Musavat* 13 January 1909; *Bošnjak* 2 January 1910.

jret evening of music and drama which reportedly suffered from poor attendance.[64] The political turn brought about a change in the entertainment programmes as well.

Performances of *Hamidiye marşı* continued throughout February 1910. Whilst available sources indicate all other performers seem to have abandoned it, the piece remained in the repertoire of the band of the Banjaluka Muslim Craftsmen's Association Fadilet (Muslimansko zanatlijsko udruženje Fadilet) at least until March 1911. In addition, the *tamburitza* orchestra of the Nevensije Muslim Temperance Society Iršad (Muslimansko antialkoholno društvo Iršad) performed it at the society evening party in May 1914. The latter occasion is the last known Bosnian performance of the march.[65] The date is surprisingly late, since by mid-1913 the Balkan states had defeated the Ottoman Empire in the First Balkan War and had nearly driven it out of the peninsula; the role of the empire as the protector of the Bosnian Muslims had vanished.

After the deposition of Abdülhamid II, ideologically opposing Ottoman pieces began appearing in the musical programmes of Bosnian Muslim societies. In April 1911, for instance, a military band performed *Mahmud Şevket Paşa marşı* by Gerardo Coletti at the evening party of El-Kamer in the Sarajevo Association House.[66] At that time, Mahmud Şevket Pasha (1854–1913) was an Ottoman general and a Young Turk leader who had played a vital role in subduing the reactionary counter-coup and ending the reign of Abdülhamid II in April 1909.[67] If the performance of *Mahmud Şevket Paşa marşı* was a political statement, it signalled a shift in Bosnian Muslim politics. The crucial questions are: which side selected that march for the programme, the programme committee or the military band conductor, and on what grounds?

Hamidiye marşı was also one of the political symbols of the anti-Austrian Bosnian Serb opposition, which nominally supported Bosnian autonomy under the Porte. The following examples illustrate the uses to which the imperial march was put at Serb evening parties. During the Kállay regime, the *Bosanska vila* reported that in Pljevlja across the border, the local Serbian Singing Society Bratstvo (Brotherhood) organized a celebration on 31 August 1897 for the 22nd anniversary of Abdülhamid II's accession. The programme included the "Hymn of the Sultan" (i.e. *Hamidiye marşı*).[68] After the liberalization of Habsburg colonial policy, Serbian cultural societies were able to perform the sultanic march in Bosnia proper: in Bjelina (nowadays Bijeljina), north-eastern Bosnia, the Serbian Singing Society Srbadija sang *Hamidija* at its musical evening on 1 October 1905, using the arrangement for a mixed choir by Czech-born Serbian choirmaster and composer Vladislav Štirski-Nikolajević (1862–1931).[69]

Another vocal version of the march belonged to the repertoire of a visiting choir, which sang it in Bosnia in May 1907. During its concert tour in Bosnia, the Serbian Academic Singing and Tamburitza Society Balkan (Srpska akademska pjevačko-tamburašna družina Balkan) from Zagreb performed the choral arrangement *Hamidija – Ej veliji nijme a lem* by the leading contemporary Serbian composer Stevan Mokranjac (1856–1914).[70]

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64 Donia 2006, 109; *Muslimanska sloga* 15 February 1910.
65 *Muslimanska sloga* 3 March 1911; *Vakat* 30 April 1914.
66 *Muslimanska sloga* 24 March 1911.
67 Zürcher 2004, 404.
68 *Bosanska vila* 12, 17 (1897) 270.
69 *Srpska riječ* 15/29 September 1905.
70 ABiH, ZVS, opći spisi, 22/218/3/1907: censorship report, 28 May; *Srpska riječ* 6/19 May 1907; *id.* 15/28 May 1907. Mokranjac wrote the arrangement in 1895 for the Belgrade Singing Society's (Beogradsko pevačko

Interestingly, all the Serb performances mentioned above were vocal – in phonetic Ottoman Turkish – rather than instrumental, which was the standard practice at Bosnian Muslim musical evenings.

The First World War revived performances of Ottoman marches in Bosnia and placed them in an entirely new context: at the end of October 1914, the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers thus becoming an ally of Austria-Hungary. Thus, in certain ceremonials, military bands in Bosnia probably performed *Reşadiye marşı* by Italo Selvelli (1863–1918) which was the imperial march of Sultan Mehmed V (reign 1909–1918).[71] Newspapers reported that the Ottoman Consul General Resul Efendi participated in various official ceremonies, such as the *dova* prayer for the new Ottoman Sultan Mehmed VI Vahideddin (1918–1922).[72] The imperial march that the bands performed on these occasions between early July 1918 and the end of the war was *Mahmudiye marşı*, which Giuseppe Donizetti had composed for Sultan Mahmud II; Mehmed V also used it as his imperial march.

Ottoman Brass Band Music at Evening Parties

Imperial marches represented only a fraction of Ottoman brass band music performed in Habsburg Bosnia. One of the frequently performed Ottoman marches was *Cezayir marşı* (Turk. *Cezayir* "Algiers, Algeria"), or *Džezair* as it was known in Bosnia, from about 1839. The march is often attributed to Giuseppe Donizetti, and the reference to Algeria was probably due to the French invasion of that Ottoman province in 1830.[73] *Cezayir marşı* spread widely during the nineteenth century: in Greece, it was known as the wedding melody (*patinada*) *Tzizayir*, in Macedonia as a listening piece of the Ottoman-style *čalgija* repertoire and in some Arab areas of the Ottoman Empire as a march or a dance piece.[74] In Habsburg Bosnia, *Cezayir marşı* was frequently performed at the musical evenings of Muslim societies, and since Bosnian professional folk bands recorded it commercially, it arguably belonged to the standard Bosnian urban repertoire.[75] Against this background, the complete disappearance of *Džezair* from modern Bosnian music culture seems odd; Sarajevo *saz* lute player Amir Haskić (b. 1900) made the only known post-Second World War recording of *Džezair* for Radio Sarajevo in 1963.[76]

Another Ottoman march of relatively frequent public performances at evening parties was Toni von Görög's *Hıdiv Abbaspaşa marşı*, "The March of the Egyptian Khedive Abbas Hilmi II" (reign 1892–1914). In addition, the *tamburitza* orchestra of the Temperance Society Iršad performed Rıf'at Bey's (1820–1888) *Sivastopol marşı* (*makam*

društvo) tour of Sofia, Plovdiv and Istanbul. The choir performed the arrangement for the Sultan in Istanbul in April 1895 and recorded it in Belgrade in 1903 for the Gramophone Company (mat. 2004h/cat. 14626) (*Carigradski glasnik* 13/25 April 1895; Andreis et al. 1962, 621). For the score, see Mokranjac 1994, 165–168.

[71] For a reissue of an early recording of *Reşadiye marşı*, see Kalan CD 150. For the march in Ottoman Macedonia, see Džimrevski 2005, 87.

[72] *Sarajevski list* 13 July 1918.

[73] Jäger 1996, 66–67.

[74] See Markos 1978, 242–245; Džimrevski 1985, 345–347; *id.* 2005, 305. Syrian- and Lebanese-American musicians Anton Abdel Ahad (*ud* lute) and Philip Salomon (violin), with an anonymous percussionist, recorded the march as the dance piece *Al-Jazayer* in the USA in the early 1950s (for a reissue, see Rounder CD 1122).

[75] E.g. *Bošnjak* 20 April 1905.

[76] Damir Imamović, pers. comm. 2010. For Amir Haskić, see Milošević 1962; Talam and Karača 2008, 36.

Rast, *usul* düyek 4/4) from the 1853–1856 Crimean War at several Muslim evening parties between 1911 and 1914.[77] Judging from the numerous recordings, the march was still part of the active repertoire during the last two decades of the Ottoman Empire, and Rauf Yekta used the piece as an example of the *düyek* rhythmic mode in his famous study of Ottoman music.[78] The march must have been a well-known piece in Bosnia since the Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš recorded the march twice in Sarajevo around 1907.[79]

İzmir marşı, which Mehmed Ali Bey (c. 1825–1895) composed in 1877, was extremely popular in Ottoman cities and towns, but was apparently less well-known in Bosnia.[80] One of the known performances of the march took place at the Gajret evening of music and drama in the Sarajevo Association House, which the Society of Islamic Youth organized on 15 March 1907: the band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Baron von Reicher No. 68 performed *İzmir marşı* under the conductor Josef Neuner along with several other pieces.[81] The programme attributed the march erroneously to "Ouddži Šamili Selim" (i.e. *udci* [*udî*][82] Şamlı Selim, 1876–1924), a music publisher who was active in Istanbul around 1900.

Not all Ottoman brass band pieces in Bosnia were marches. Take, for example, the second annual evening of music and drama, which Gajret and El-Kamer organized on 2 April 1906 in the Sarajevo Association House. The artistic programme consisted of choir singing, brass music, recitation and a theatrical play. The male choir of Gajret performed under singing teacher Kosta Travanj, whilst the band of the Imperial and Royal Infantry Regiment Baron von Reicher No. 68 performed under the conductor Josef Neuner.[83] The programme was as follows:

Kaiserhymne. Military band.

First Part

1) *Overture Muhayyer* by Kanûnî Edhem Efendi. Military band.
2) *Gajretova himna* ("Hymn of Gajret") by Safvet-beg Bašagić and Hakija Buljušmić. Choir.
3) *Grande Mazurka* by Osman Zeki. Military band.
4) *Poem Savjet očevima* ("Advice to Fathers") by Safvet-beg Bašagić. Recitation by N. Aličehić, pupil of the third form.
5) *Na straži* ("On Guard"), authors not given. Choir. Baritone solo by Selim Hadžiabdagić.
6) *Vozila se po moru galija* ("A Ship Sailed in the Sea") by Hüseyin Niyazi Efendi. Military band.
7) *Bosanski napjevi* ("Bosnian Melodies") by Franjo Maćejovski. Choir.
8) *Cezayir marşı*. Military band.

Interval

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77 E.g. *Musavat* 27 February 1911; *Vakat* 30 April 1914.
78 Rauf Yekta Bey 1922, 3029.
79 *Sivastopal* (mat. 5698L[lc]/cat. Zonophone X 100666), recorded in Sarajevo in late May 1907 and *Sivastopol!* (Lyrophon 47777), probably in 1908.
80 See Pennanen 2004, 15.
81 *Bosnische Post* 11 March 1907.
82 Player of the *ud* lute.
83 *Sarajevski list* 30 March 1906; *Bosnische Post* 3 April 1906.

Second Part

9) *Sulejman Pascha Marsch* ("March of Suleyman Pasha") by Franz Sommer. Military band.
10) Theatrical play *Hadžun* by Riza-beg Kapetanović-Ljubušak. Amateur actors of Gajret and the military band.

Third Part
Refreshments in the foyer.

The evening began with *Kaiserhymne*, which the audience listened to whilst standing.[84] Such a ritual performance of the Austro-Hungarian imperial hymn was a standard procedure at large-scale evenings of music and drama in the presence of regime dignitaries.

As almost always in such musical programmes from Bosnian Muslims, the military band performed both Ottoman and Orientalist music. The band Kanûnî Edhem Efendi's (c. 1850–1920) "Overture in *makam* Muhayyer" must have been a brass band arrangement of a classical piece in *peşrev* form which begins the Ottoman *fasıl* concert cycle. The third piece, *Grande Mazurka* by conductor, violin virtuoso and composer Osman Zeki Efendi[85] (later Osman Zeki Üngör, 1880–1958), is a mixed-style "*mazurka*" and actually a eulogy to Abdülhamid II. By naming the work *Bûselik semâî Hamidiye*, Turkish musicologist Yılmaz Öztuna implies that in this work Osman Zeki strives to exploit the scale-level similarity between the Ottoman *makam* Bûselik and the Western minor and to treat *usul* semâî (3/4) as the *mazurka* rhythm.[86] The composition consists of two vocal sections and an instrumental trio. Considering the instrumental rendition of the piece, it remains a mystery whether the performers and the audience at the Gajret evening realized the close association of *Grande mazurka* with the reigning Ottoman sultan.

The information about the song *Vozila se po moru galija,* as a composition by an Ottoman composer, one Hüseyin Niyazi Efendi must be erroneous, since the title refers to a *sevdalinka* song.[87] Available sources say practically nothing about Hüseyin Niyazi Efendi and his output. All told, the sixth piece in the programme remains unknown.

The Orientalist part of the evening is typical of the era; Austro-Hungarian military band conductor and composer Franz Sommer (1852–1908) named *Sulejman Pascha Marsch* after the Ottoman general Süleyman Hüsnü Pasha (1838–1892), who was a general in Bosnia during the Montenegrin-Ottoman war in 1876–1877 and the chief Balkan commander during the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878. This popular piece was the regimental march of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Infantry Regiment No. 1 (Bosnisch-herzegowinisches Infanterieregiment Nr. 1) stationed for the most part in Vienna.[88] Lastly, the band performed unspecified music during the interval of the historical drama *Hadžun* by Riza-beg Kapetanović-Ljubušak (1868–1931).

The choral pieces *Gajretova himna* ("Hymn of Gajret") by Bosnian poet Safvet-

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[84] *Bosnische Post* 3 April 1906. The authorities monitored that the *Kaiserhymne* was sung to the original text or one of the authorized translations; see ABiH, ZMF, Pr 1006/1907: PG to JFM, 28 August.
[85] During the Republican era, Osman Zeki Üngör became the conductor of the Presidential Symphonic Orchestra, and in 1930 his composition *İstiklâl marşı* replaced an earlier march as the Turkish national hymn (Öztuna 1990, s.v. Osman Zeki Üngör).
[86] Öztuna 1990, s.v. Osman Zeki Üngör.
[87] The Trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš recorded the song *Vozila se po moru galija* in late May 1907 (mat. 5705L[lc]/cat. Zonophon X 100673).
[88] Brixel *et al.* 1982, 351.

beg Bašagić (1870–1934) and choirmaster Hakija Buljušmić, *Na straži* ("On Guard") possibly by Czech-born Slovenian composer Anton Nedvěd (1829–1896) and *Bosanski napjevi* ("Bosnian Melodies") by Franjo Maćejovski contain few direct ideological references. The clearest case is *Gajretova himna,* whose text stresses the importance of education for the Muslim youth.

As we have seen, the most important settings, in which military bands performed Ottoman pieces in Sarajevo, were the large-scale Muslim charitable parties in February, March or April in the Association House by or for the benefit of Gajret. The society sometimes organized such events alone but usually with El-Kamer, the Sarajevo Muslim Youth Society or the Muslim Workers' and the Craftsmen's Association Hurijet. The annual evening parties began in 1905 and waned in 1911 as a tradition directly connected with Gajret. This discontinuity may originate from developments within the organisation. Gajret was in disarray during the last few pre-war years because the MNO strove to control opposition elements within the association. Consequently, even annual general meetings were suspended in 1912 and 1913.[89] Fund-raising, however, did not cease, and other Muslim societies organized evening parties for the benefit of Gajret after January 1911.

Evidently, the last pre-war Muslim charitable evening party in the Sarajevo Association House, with El-Kamer and the Sarajevo Grocers' Association (Udruženje bakalskih i špecerajskih trgovaca u Sarajevu) as organizers, took place on 4 January 1912. The programme included only one Ottoman piece, namely İsmail Hakkı Bey's (1865–1927) *Yâdigâr-ı millet marşı*, a march dedicated to an Ottoman warship.[90] According to newspaper sources, this date marks the advent of a period in which military bands participated more rarely than before in the evenings of music and drama in favour of *tamburitza* and other amateur bands.

The change in performer formations raises the question of whether the military bands abstained from performing at minor-scale evening parties or whether the Croat, Serb and especially Muslim societies decided to favour their own and other amateur orchestras over foreign professionals for economic or political reasons. Nonetheless, Bosnian amateur soloists and *tamburitza*, brass and string orchestras had certainly developed their skills over the years, and thus were able to perform part of the required orchestral repertoire. Simultaneously, new *tamburitza* arrangements had become available through, for example, the work of Vilim Brož. Accordingly, the process of Westernization, which the Austro-Hungarian occupation had accelerated in Bosnia, provided avenues for local societies to perform folkloristic arrangements and Western music.

Conclusion: Music, Politics and Aesthetics

All things considered, the colonial administration in Bosnia attempted both to connect itself with Ottoman and Islamic traditions and to disconnect the Bosnian Muslims from politically harmful influences of the Ottoman Empire. In this scheme, music played very significant role.

Ottoman music in Habsburg Bosnia was always connected with the political and cultural conditions of the times; not surprisingly its political usage was multi-layered.

[89] Kemura 1986, 63–66; Okey 2007, 243–244.
[90] *Zeman* 4 January 1912.

Firstly, from the Central European colonial point of view, Ottoman and Orientalist music represented the Orient, the Ottoman past of Bosnia and the traditional urban culture of the provinces. Consequently, the regime acted as a protector of selected Islamic institutions, and its military bands could perform Ottoman and Orientalist music for appropriate Ottoman and neo-traditional ceremonials, thus contributing to the quest for the legitimacy of power. Concurrently, the regime offered minor concessions to the anti-Habsburg Muslim opposition through such acts as, for example, establishing separate train compartments and waiting rooms at railway stations for Muslim women and favouring the Neo-Moorish or Neo-Oriental style in the construction of new public buildings. The policy aimed to silence critical voices and induce the opposition to tolerate – if not accept – the occupation.

Secondly, the anti-Habsburg opposition was able to use Ottoman music, especially *Hamidiye marşı,* to express its resentment of the occupation and to challenge the legitimacy of the Austro-Hungarian rule. Culturally, Ottoman music was closer to the Bosnian Muslim identity than the Central European music the colonizers had imported, and opposition leaders were able to utilize this sort of music in their political propaganda.

The third feature of Ottoman music in Habsburg Bosnia was aesthetic. Certain strata of urban Bosnians, including some colonists, undoubtedly appreciated various Ottoman styles as beautiful or exciting music without thinking of the implied political messages the performances might have had in certain contexts.

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Abbreviations

ABiH = Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine
cat. = catalogue number
GP = Gradsko poglavarstvo (Sarajevo Town Council; the provisional Sarajevo administration till 1884)
HAS = Historijski arhiv Sarajevo
JFM = Joint Finance Ministry
lc = lower case
mat. = matrix number
PG = Provincial Government, Sarajevo
Pr = *Präsidial* (Presidial: for more important documents)
res = *reservat* (Under professional secrecy)
STC = Sarajevo Town Council (Sarajevo Town Council; the provisional Sarajevo administration till 1884)
ZMF = Zajedničko ministarstvo finansija (Joint Finance Ministry)
ZVS = Zemaljska vlada Sarajevo (Provincial Government, Sarajevo)

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Muslimanska sloga, Sarajevo.
Muslimanska svijest, Sarajevo.
Sarajevoer Tagblatt, Sarajevo.
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Vakat, Sarajevo.
Zeman, Sarajevo.

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The Non-Muslim Musicians of Istanbul: Between Recorded and Intimate Memory

Panagiotis C. Poulos

This chapter explores certain instances and modes of remembrance of Istanbul's non-Muslim musical heritage in modern Turkey. More specifically, this chapter traces the genealogy of nostalgic responses towards the non-Muslim musical heritage of the city, juxtaposing a short ethnographical account of the cultural events of Istanbul 2010, when the city was – along with Essen and Pécs – one of the European Cultural Capitals, with narratives on the life and career of a musician from the Greek Orthodox minority (*Rum*)[1] of Istanbul, namely Aleko Bacanos (1888–1950), in the first-half of the twentieth century. This juxtaposition aims to situate the loss of the non-Muslim musicians of Istanbul in an historical context and to look beyond the generalized formal commemoration of "Istanbul's minorities", within the lives and interrelations of the actual actors of this historical event.

The use of the notion of "intimate memory" in this chapter derives initially from Pierre Nora's formulation of the theory of "sites of memory" (*lieux de mémoire*).[2] The content of the term "intimacy", as implied in most of the analysis that follows, however, draws widely from Lauren Berlant's notion of the "range of attachments" that link the experience of individual lives with the more institutionalized events that define collective life.[3] In this respect, the texts which are analyzed and compared cover a wide range of metadiscourses that record various ways of attachment to the "non-Muslim musician" in modern Turkey; in the case of Bacanos these include administrative documents like community records, formal biographical notes and obituaries, to mention just a few.

Overall, this analysis aims to question, on a diachronic level, nostalgia as a response to major socio-political turns in modern Turkish history. In addition, this analysis is a means of highlighting the various "reorientations" of the musical heritage of the city of Istanbul, and consequently of its past, that have been inevitably embedded in features of the current process of remembrance.

In Quest of a New Concert Venue

The venue of the concert of the, otherwise familiar, Istanbul State Classical Turkish Music Choir (İstanbul Devlet Klasik Türk Müziği Korosu), puzzled both me and my Turkish friends – some of them members of one of the various Turkish classical music[4] amateur

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[1] For an overview of the term *Rum*, covering the shift of its meaning from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, see Ors 2006, 24–31. In this chapter, the term *Rum* is used exclusively to refer to the Greek Orthodox community of Istanbul, and it does not account for the rest of the Greek Orthodox communities of the Ottoman Empire that demonstrate a certain degree of differentiation. For a general history of the Greek minority of Istanbul since the establishment of the Turkish Republic, see Alexandris 1992.

[2] Nora 1989.

[3] Berlant 1998, 282–283.

[4] "Turkish classical music" is a genre-term that was introduced after the establishment of the Turkish Republic

societies of Istanbul. Rather than one of the usual concert halls such as, for instance, the Cemal Reşit Rey Concert Hall or the Ataturk's Cultural Centre (Atatürk Kültür Merkezi)[5] which for years has been the principal venue of concerts of Turkish classical music in Istanbul, we were now trying to locate the Armenian Catholic Church in Taksim! This unusual choice of venue was due to the fact that the concert we were about to attend was not one of the weekly, scheduled appearances of the Choir in the AKM. Instead, this was a themed concert entitled "Our Armenian Composers" (Ermeni Bestekârlarımız), the ninth in a series within the project "The Music of Istanbul's Architecture" (İstanbul Mimarisinin Müziği), which was organized within the context of Istanbul's nomination as the European Cultural Capital 2010.

Our sole navigating tool in the remapping of our concert-going habit was some vague information about this church being "somewhere behind the French Consulate" in Taksim, and after a few failed guesses about which building this might be, we arrived at Taksim square. The dense commercial and leisure activities of İstiklal Caddesi (Independence Avenue) created a noisy and lively soundscape.[6] A contributing part of this was a rock n' roll band at the top of İstiklal Caddesi performing on a replica tram, which was circling around at the top-end of the regular Tünel-Taksim tramway line. Ironically, in the context of our quest for the Armenian Church, the art gallery in the old water storage facility in Taksim (Taksim Maksemi Cumhuriyet Sanat Galerisi), a few steps away from the tramway musical happenings, was hosting another exhibition of the European Cultural Capital, entitled "History and Destruction in Istanbul/Ghost Buildings".[7] Eventually, a short stroll in the backstreets of the French Consulate revealed to us the gate of the walled Armenian Catholic Church of Surp Ohan Vosgeperan (St. Jean Chrisostomus).

The courtyard was full of regular followers of the choir, and members of the Armenian community of Istanbul, as well as followers of the European Cultural Capital's events. While observing the audience I wondered whether they shared my mixed feelings of excitement and surprise at the same time, due to this rather curious concert setting. I thought that for those following the scheduled concerts of the Choir it was exciting to watch their favourite musicians of Turkish classical music performing in such an unusual, almost exotic, space at the very heart of Beyoğlu. One could not possibly fail to think that

(1923) serving the need of the newly-founded state to redefine its Ottoman urban musical heritage. For a thorough analysis of the term, see Feldman 1996, 15–19.

[5] At this point, it should be noted that the Atatürk Kültür Merkezi (hereafter AKM) has been closed down since 2008 for renovation. Its renovation, undertaken by the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture agency, resulted in a long public dispute over the socio-historical significance of the building and its future architectural identity. This dispute led to a series of legal actions between those opposing the plan, the Union for Culture and the Art and Tourism Workers (Kültür Sanat-Sen) and the proponents, the Culture and Tourism Ministry and the Preservation Board that halted the renovation works throughout the period of the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture activities. The debate over the renovation of AKM is, in many respects, relevant to the topic of this paper, as it is brings forth a number of current issues related to the politics of memory, identity and urban planning in Istanbul. An analytical examination of this issue is, however, beyond the scope of this paper.

[6] In this article, the term "soundscape" has the meaning of an "auditory landscape", after Thompson (2002, 1). Yet, at this point in the text the term "soundscape" adheres to its general definition of a "sonic environment" (Schafer 1994, 274).

[7] This exhibition traced the history of twelve extinct buildings of Istanbul, from their foundations until their demolition, answering also, through fascinating 3D representations, the question of "what would have happened if their destruction never took place?" Hayal-et Yapılar – Ghost Buildings, http://www.hayal-et.org/i.php/site/bilgi_info. Accessed 9 January 2012. It should be noted that the title involves an interesting word play: the hyphenated word *hayalet* (Turk. ghost) alludes to the verbal form *hayal et*, meaning "imagine", therefore the title can be read as "imagine buildings".

having a Turkish state orchestra performing a bizarre repertoire under the title "Our" Armenian Composers in one of "their" – meaning an Armenian – sacred spaces made an intriguing interplay between the notion of majority and minority.[8] The concert programme added further to this ambiguity, as it consisted of a type of Ottoman popular songs (*şarkı*s) from the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century, as opposed to Armenian church music (Fig. 1). The composers featured included members from both the Armenian Catholic and the Apostolic Churches, and represented the diverse social and cultural strata of the Armenian musical community. For instance, the compositions of the head cantor of the Armenian Church in Kumkapı and Mevlevi affiliate Nikoğos Ağa (1836–1885) were featured next to those by Kemânî Tatyos Efendi (1858–1913), the celebrated Armenian tavern (*meyhane*) musician of the Pera (Beyoğlu) district.

Fig. 1. Programme of the concert "Our Armenian Composers".[9]

[8] This is not the first time that a Christian church has been used as a concert venue in Istanbul. The most renowned example is the Orthodox church of Holy Peace (Gr. Αγία Ειρήνη, Turk. Aya İrini) at the outer courtyard of Topkapı, which has been used since the 1980s as a concert hall of mainly Western classical music. The decision to convert the church into a concert hall was taken in 1963. The discourse regarding this decision is documented in Öngen 1963, 105.

[9] From the author's archive.

The performance was in accordance with the standard concert typology and aesthetics of Turkish classical music as they were formulated in the mid-twentieth century.[10] The musicians, in their usual formal dress, were seated in a semicircle in front of the main altar, with the mixed chorus standing behind them, and all of them facing the director who was standing with his back to the audience. Choir songs were sung in unison and alternated with vocal solos and instrumental improvisations (*taksim*s). The audience listened attentively most of the time. While I was trying to balance in my mind the customary image of this typical Turkish classical music state orchestra and that of the magnificent Christian decoration of the church, surprise gave way to familiarity, followed by enthusiasm. We were, in fact, listening to well-known songs from the bulk of the repertoire of Turkish classical music, performed in the way that this music has mostly been performed since the second-half of the twentieth century. As the concert progressed, some people from the audience started beating the rhythmic cycle discreetly on their knees, whereas others were singing along with the choir, scarcely consulting the detailed programme brochure, which included the song verses in both Ottoman and modern Turkish and short biographical notes of the composers and the soloists. At the end of the concert, the musicians were warmly applauded by the enthusiastic audience, which called for continuous encores. After the concert, in a small beer-hall in Beyoğlu, conversation with my musician friends began to concentrate on the musical aspects of the performance, while the impact of the bizarre venue and the theme of the concert gradually faded away…

Showcasing Minorities, Reorienting the Past

Fortunately, the Armenian Catholic Church of St. Jean Chrisostomus was not one of the buildings presented in the aforementioned exhibition of Istanbul's *Ghost Buildings*. Instead, the Church of St. Jean Chrisostomus was properly featured in another exhibition of the Istanbul 2010 European Cultural Capital, dedicated exclusively to the "Armenian Architects of Istanbul in the era of Westernisation" (Batılılaşan İstanbul'un Ermeni Mimarları). It opened its gates to the public a week after the Armenian composers' concert, this time in the Istanbul Museum of Modern Art (Istanbul Modern). Interestingly, this exhibition had a "Greek-Orthodox" twin, the "Batılılaşan İstanbul'un Rum Mimarları" (Greek Architects of Istanbul in the era of Westernisation). So far, from this short tour of the events of the concluding month of the Istanbul 2010 European Cultural Capital, it is clear that the historical ethno-religious minorities of Istanbul constituted quite a prominent component of the organizers' agenda. Specifically, with regard to music, in the overall programme of the Istanbul 2010 European Cultural Capital, two out of the thirteen projects listed under the label of Turkish classical music were directly related to minority musical culture, whereas in cases like the aforementioned project on "Music of Istanbul's Architecture", minorities were also represented as a sub-component. Among these, it is worth noting the launch of "Yorgo Bacanos Istanbul International Ud Festival", which was a tribute to the Rum *ud* virtuoso Yorgo Bacanos (1900–1970), commemorating the 110th anniversary of his birth.

The foregrounding of minority cultures in the cultural life of Istanbul, whether in their tangible or intangible forms, can be traced back to before the city was nominated

[10] For the processes of modernization in Turkish classical music in the early Republican era, see Tekelioğlu 1996 and O'Connell 2002.

as a European Cultural Capital. Specifically, this foregrounding has been an element of a wider trend of interest in "Old Istanbul" which started at the end of 1980s;[11] this was put forth by both the world of cultural managers and that of academics, resulting in a boom in publications on all aspects of the history of the city and of public artistic events. In this context, non-material cultural practices like, for instance, musical genres and community religious celebrations as well as aspects of the material fabric of the city – especially places of worship of the various communities – were rediscovered and restored, marketed and consumed.[12] Overall, this trend has been much debated in the recent critical literature in relation to its selective reading of the city's historical heritage and its imaginary approach towards recent Turkish history, the politics of exclusion and nationhood, and to the neoliberal entrepreneurial strategies involved on the part of cultural managers in their efforts to proclaim Istanbul a "global" city. Of late, all of these issues are being discussed within the secularist vs. Islamist (neo-Ottomanist) debate in contemporary Turkish politics that follows the gradual emergence of the moderate-Islamic Justice and Development Party (Turk. Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)[13] onto the political scene since 1994.[14]

Within the rediscovery of the historical quarters of Istanbul's minorities, their places of worship and (communal) cultural practices, Amy Mills sees the negotiation of a complex relationship between the city's landscape, social memory and identity, within the context of inscribing the "boundaries of belonging to and being excluded from the nation."[15] Projects like "The Music of Istanbul's Architecture", which, as stated in its programmatic description, aims to restore the unity between the architecture of a period and its musical sound,[16] and also the auditory component in this negotiation process. The themed concert "Our Armenian Composers" constructs a unifying soundscape of a non-Muslim community, bound to one of its liturgical spaces. In this manner, the Armenian musical heritage of Istanbul in this spatially and conceptually well-defined form is then easily appropriated, as the title of the project states. This careful appropriation can be seen as a strategy on behalf of the Turkish economic and cultural elite to sustain the ideal of a European identity that values cosmopolitanism and tolerance, at the same time as reinscribing national and class boundaries; thus establishing a canon of who is included and who is not.[17] The concerts' concept is an invitation to the auditory experience of this canonization process for those who can actually "find their way" towards the concert venue. It is these people who identify with the terms of this process.

As recent critics observe, in this process of rediscovering the cosmopolitan past of Istanbul, it is not only the future of the city that is subject to "reorientation", as illustrated in the above ethnographic episode, but also its past.[18] For the musical modernization programme of the early years of the Turkish Republic's "cosmopolitanism", as well as other historical features of the Ottoman musical tradition that challenged the unifying national narrative of the history of Turkish music, were systematically attacked and largely

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[11] Göktürk et al. 2010, 10–11; Türeli 2010, 303.
[12] Yardımcı 2007, 4.
[13] Hereafter AKP.
[14] See Keyder 1999; *id*. 2010, 27; Mills 2006, 371; Öncü 2007, 235–236.
[15] Mills 2006, 371.
[16] İstanbul Mimarisinin.
[17] Mills 2010, 31.
[18] Göktürk et al. 2010, 7.

dismissed.[19] Although compositions by the non-Muslim composers from the seventeenth century onwards constituted a well-integrated component of the standardized repertoire of Turkish classical music, the position and role of non-Muslim musicians in the world of Ottoman music was not, until recently, a distinct topic in the canon of twentieth-century Turkish music history. The history of non-Muslim musicians was preserved throughout the twentieth century mainly through the transcribed compositions that had been orally passed down, and secondarily through scattered biographical information concerning certain musicians. It was in the late 1980s that the history of non-Muslim musicians of Ottoman music started appearing as a distinct topic in Turkish music historiography and then in the recording and cultural events industries under the heading "minority" (azınlık) musicians.[20] This turn in Turkish music historiography coincided with the broader revisiting of Ottoman cultural heritage mentioned above, and it accounts for the reframing of the minority musical component of Istanbul and its new "placement" in the context of the "global" city narrative.

Interestingly, this turn provides an important paradox concerning the auditory experience: the devotees of the genre from the twentieth century onwards might not have been familiar with the historical details of the role and contribution of non-Muslim musicians in Ottoman music, yet they would have been well-accustomed to their compositions, which were always performed alongside those by Muslim composers. This also explains the "familiarity" that gradually overtook the "surprise" of the audience of the concert on the Armenian composers. The musical fabric (repertoire, performance style etc.) of this concert was drawn from the standard resources of twentieth-century Turkish classical music. In this respect, the soundscape of this concert was really about the relocation of a very "republican" sound to the space of the Armenian church, which had been first emptied of its original sound.

Modes of Remembrance: Investing in Historical Rupture

A central vehicle in this reorientation process has been the feeling of nostalgia, which has been the subject of much theorization in the fields of social sciences and humanities. As in most cases where nostalgia is studied as, broadly, "a distinctive […] way we have of relating our past to our present and future",[21] in the Turkish case, critics have put forth an array of interpretations, highlighting diversity and heterogeneity in utterances of nostalgia for Turkey's various types of "bygone days". For instance, in the longing for the various layers of the city's imperial heritage, particularly its Ottoman past, which in this context often appears as synonymous with the concepts of cosmopolitanism and religious tolerance, critics recognize an "inclusive Ottomanism" stemming from the politics of the dominant AKP.[22] Contrary to this, Özyürek, in her recent study entitled "Nostalgia for the Modern", highlights the nostalgia of the disillusioned Kemalists for the early republican days. This counter-nostalgia develops while political Islam gains visibility within Turkey's public

[19] Feldman 1990/1991, 100–101.
[20] Özalp 1986. For a general discussion on this issue, see Poulos forthcoming. For the Jewish minority in particularly, see Jackson, 2011 and O'Connell 2011.
[21] Davis 1977, 419.
[22] Keyder 2010, 27.

sphere and takes a form of the privatization of political state ideology.[23] Both cases confirm that the significance of nostalgia, regardless of its content, lies in its relationship with the present rather than the past.[24] It is the recognition of this heterogeneity that constitutes a prolific step forward towards a critical understanding of nostalgia, its openings and limitations, and consequently towards an effective historical interpretation.[25]

Alongside the prevailing critical approach that views nostalgia as a challenge to the certainties of Turkish modernity, particularly those related to nationhood,[26] recent studies underscore the link between the various forms of commodification of the past and neoliberal ideology.[27] In fact, this seems to be a meeting point for the various expressions of nostalgia, appropriated in such manners that fit diverse political agendas in the present. In this context, the marketed nostalgia for Istanbul's multicultural and cosmopolitan past becomes a tool in the hands of the state's Islamist managers that is fully compatible with the neoliberal discourses on "global cities". With regard to music, this tool, as Stokes observes, allowed them to hold together traditional and bourgeois sectors in a "fragile accommodation"; the locus of all that is the "re-cosmopolitanized" city.[28] The themed concert on the Armenian composers serves as an illustration of the commodification of the minorities' musical heritage in Istanbul. It manages, in a way, to accommodate a number of the above diverse political agendas and the aspirations of those involved in the rediscovery, promotion and consumption of Istanbul's multicultural past; all that, though, within a very familiar and secure soundscape.

The spatial rupture discussed above is followed by a historical rupture. The quest for the "Old Istanbul" emerges after a period of approximately forty years, during which time the minorities of Istanbul experienced a gradual extinction due to certain policies of Turkification on the part of the Turkish state.[29] Therefore, there is an interesting paradox in this shift towards a specific aspect of the history of the city, which is related to the precondition of this particular historical rupture. As Amy Mills puts it: "Greek and Jewish minorities are beloved, and their homes restored, only after they themselves have abandoned the city and no longer pose a challenge to the space of the nation. They are present in contemporary urban culture today, then, only through their very absence."[30]

In other words, the celebration of Istanbul's minority cultures is in fact of minor significance to the minorities themselves, as their physical presence in the city is limited, as is their position in social memory. Their place of residency is largely in forms of mediated memory, and this is precisely what constitutes their revisiting, after this social rupture, a production of a *site of memory*. It is a "celebration" founded precisely in that "push and pull" process between "moments of history torn away from movements of history, then returned", as described by Pierre Nora.[31] As such, this process occurs right at the time that "immense and intimate fund of memory disappears, surviving only as a

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[23] Özyürek 2006.
[24] Özyürek 2006, 31.
[25] Tannock 1995, 454.
[26] Öncü 2007, 260; Mills 2006, 371; Stokes 1996.
[27] Keyder 2010, 27; Özyürek 2010, 3, 7. For a broader analysis of the relations between nostalgia and commodification, see Appadurai 2005 [1996], 75–79.
[28] Stokes 2007, 8. The term "re-cosmopolitanization" is after Yang 2002.
[29] See Alexandris 1992; Zürcher 1998.
[30] Mills 2006, 388.
[31] Nora 1989, 12.

reconstituted object beneath the gaze of critical history".[32] In the case of music and musicians, immense and intimate memories of friendship, professional companionship and performance completely fade away, overtaken by archival memory, which in the case of music takes the form of recorded sound. The music of the minorities is now revisited as a "reconstituted object", through the various reissues of historical recordings, either in the form of CDs or on the Internet, which, as Stokes notes, allowed Turkish middle classes to rearticulate their Turkishness, which is imagined as "urbane, cosmopolitan, multi-cultural, tolerant of its minorities and (at last) on good terms with its neighbors".[33]

A prerequisite of this type of remembrance is segregation that links us back to the politics of belonging. The themed concert on the Armenian composers is a case where the musical past of a community is singled out from the wider historical context and is represented as an isolated, self-contained entity. This type of indexical remembrance of a community that is grounded solely by markers such as religion and ethnicity eliminates both intra-community and inter-community dynamics, which constitute an indispensable feature in understanding Ottoman social and cultural history. Pairing the diverse milieu of Ottoman Armenian composers with the Armenian Catholic church building is an example of this type of segregation. Put differently, a late nineteenth-century Armenian nightclub composer certainly had more in common with his contemporary professional colleagues from the Rum community than with an Armenian Church cantor, who was affiliated with the upper-class Ottoman Mevlevi intelligentsia of his time. In addition to this, the space that historically hosted the activities of the professional musicians in Istanbul's entertainment scene, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was not the church, but rather the tavern, which was also frequented by Muslim customers. However, exploring the soundscapes of the entertainment scene of Istanbul was obviously not part of the agenda of the Istanbul 2010 European Cultural Capital event.

Remembering the "Average" Musician

Complementary to the current trends of nostalgia for the music of the minorities of Istanbul, this part explores the occasions of "intimate", in Pierre Nora's opinion, remembrance of a non-Muslim musician from the Rum community of Istanbul. This type of remembrance is situated socially and historically at the time when the presence of the Rum population in Istanbul was not wholly established as a subject of social memory, or, more precisely, at the threshold of becoming a subject of social memory. Specifically, the following text examines narratives of the life story of a single Rum musician, namely the *kemençe* player Aleko Bacanos – brother of the aforementioned Yorgo – as these are documented in different Turkish texts following his death. These texts vary from canonizing biographical notes to commemorative articles written by his fellow musicians on the occasion of this death. A close reading of these narratives reveals further layers of nostalgia bound to the historical circumstances of the time that are added to the long genealogy of Turkish nostalgic responses in the twentieth century. The purpose of this analysis, apart from filling in gaps within the genealogy of Turkish nostalgia for the non-Muslim musicians of Istanbul, is to explore the thin line between intimate and recorded memory.

[32] Nora 1989, 11–12.
[33] Stokes 2007, 8.

Alexandros (Aleko) Bacanos was born in Istanbul, in 1888, into a Rum family of musicians.[34] His parents, Charalambos (Lambo) and Panagiota, were both born in Silivria (Silivri) and moved to Istanbul at some point in the third-quarter of the nineteenth century, settling in Beyoğlu. Alexandros' father Lambo was a *lavta* player and his uncle was the celebrated *kemençe* player Anastas.[35] Unlike his brother Yorgo who, as seen earlier holds a special position in the pantheon of Turkish classical music, Aleko remained in the background and made a name for himself mainly as a performer in the nightclubs (*gazino*s) of Istanbul; in this sense, he was an average professional musician.

For the musicologist and music encyclopaedist Yılmaz Öztuna,[36] Aleko Bacanos was a bad musician. In a short biographical note on the musician that was first published in 1960 in the legendary İstanbul *Ansiklopedisi* ("Encyclopaedia of Istanbul"), edited by Reşad Ekrem Koçu, and included later with modifications in his *Türk Musikisi Ansiklopedisi* ("Encyclopaedia of Turkish Music") he states the following: "His *kemençe* playing was not good; his sound was not bright and he made quite a lot of mistakes. However, he was reputable in the entertainment musical scene and he was among the most well paid musicians. It is said that when he was younger his playing was better."[37]

Instead, Öztuna does acknowledge the compositional skills of Aleko Bacanos, though he stresses the fact that these were limited to the genre of light popular songs (*şarkı*s).[38] Actually, in the modified version of this entry published later in the *Encyclopaedia of Turkish Music* – nowadays, a fairly standard reference source on Turkish music and musicians – the author stated explicitly that Bacanos's compositions were "artistically weak".[39] For the modernist musicologist Öztuna, the identification of Bacanos' musicality with the popular and entertaining domains of music is a subtle way of excluding him from his vision of Turkish classical music history[40]. The social and cultural connotations of the nightclub scene of early twentieth-century Istanbul seems to be incompatible with the aims and values of the classicisation process of Ottoman music that was initiated by pioneer reformers like Hüseyin Sadeddin Arel (1880–1955) and was pursued intellectually and institutionally by Öztuna. Notably, this attitude reveals the conservative aspect of the ideology of this particular strand of music intellectuals. Not surprisingly, as discussed above, the same incompatibility remains an issue for the current revisionism at play in the history of the non-Muslim musicians of Istanbul.

When tracing back the genealogy of Turkish biographical sources on Rum musicians, it is noticeable that the uneasiness of Öztuna towards the entertainment aspect of

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[34] All Turkish sources state Silivria (Silivri) as Aleko's birthplace. Rona (1970) and İnal (1958) date his birth to 1892 and Öztuna (1960) to 1888. However, in the census of the Rum community of the parish of Stavrodromi (Pera) in the first-quarter of the twentieth century which records the whole of Bacanos family, Aleko is registered as born on 1888 in Istanbul (Anthemion Θ2, 721). His place of birth is also confirmed in his autobiographical note that appeared in the Encyclopaedia of Istanbul in 1960. In the same source, Yorgo Bacanos' date of birth is 1898 rather than 1900, which is the standard date given by the Turkish sources.

[35] Özalp 2000, 400.

[36] For an analysis on the ideological background of Yılmaz Öztuna and his role in sustaining a type of Turkish modernist musicology that drew on the Ottoman musical heritage, see Stokes 1996.

[37] Öztuna 1960, 1782.

[38] Öztuna 1960, 1782.

[39] Öztuna 2006.

[40] An additional element regarding Aleko Bacanos' identity that can be relevant in this context is the widely shared view among Turkish musicians about him being of Gypsy origin. The fact that his family's origin was from Silivria can be an indication of this, yet this issue requires more detailed research. In particularly, with regard to what were the nuances of 'Christian Orthodox Gypsy' identity in this historical context.

Turkish music is not necessarily shared by the previous generation of biographers.[41] An essential difference between the modernist encyclopaedic writing of Öztuna to that of the compilers of biographies of Turkish musicians like Mustafa Rona (1900–1970) and İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal (1870–1957) is that the latter, to a large extent, base their writings on the memoires of the musical world written by musicians like Aleko Bacanos. In particular, the late-Ottoman intellectual İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal's concludes his short biographical note on Aleko Bacanos by citing an incident of them meeting at one of the places where Bacanos was performing:

> […] One day, while sitting at the Çiftlik park with Nuri Bey – the son in law of Said Paşa who was one of the past prime ministers prior to Fethi and Sadrı – and two other people, Aleko Efendi came to us. He said that they would play and sing whatever we wished. I proposed some special songs from the preferences that my companions suggested to me. They played and sung beautifully.
>
> When we complained about those disrespectful customers who spoke and laughed loudly during the music – breaking the enthusiasm and offending the greatness of the performers, and annoying the rest of the audience –, a manner that was contrary to the rules of conduct, he replied: "Don't feel sorry. We play in order to please a couple of people. Their listening – with deep appreciation and pleasure – is enough for us.[42]

This extract is a significant document which attests to a number of issues related to the social and cultural transformations of the early twentieth century. Firstly, it records the memory of a non-segregated musical world where performance served as the meeting point for former high-ranking Turkish officials and minority musicians of popular music like Aleko Bacanos. Secondly, the reference to the complaint about the disrespectful attitude of certain customers in relation to the music and the musicians records the changing ethics and attitudes towards listening to music. The most noteworthy feature in İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal's text is, however, the fact that by citing his conversation with Bacanos he voices the musician, and consequently preserves his agency. In other words, in this recollection the non-Muslim musician is named, he converses with his Muslim audience and he exposes his very own views and expectations on his performance and his audience.

Fig. 2. Aleko Bacanos on the cover of the memorial issue *Türk Musikisi Dergisi*.

[41] On the genre of musical biography in Turkish classical music, see Stokes 1996.

[42] İnal 1958, 48. All translations from Turkish are mine. I would like to thank Sofia Prokou for her invaluable language comments and amendments.

The identification of Aleko Bacanos' life within the nightclub scene of Istanbul was sealed by his dramatic death on stage. Mustafa Rona, in his biographical note for Bacanos includes this historical detail of his death while performing at the Turkuvaz Gazino on 27 December 1950.[43] Bacanos' death was also commemorated in an issue of the musical magazine *Türk Musikisi Dergisi*, which had his picture on the cover (see Fig. 2). His fellow musicians Burhanettin Ökte and Osman Nihad, who contributed the two commemorative articles, described the absence of Aleko in equally dramatic terms. For them, his absence was irreplaceable both as a friend and an artist.[44] The mournful tone of Ökte's article entitled *Alekoyu kaybettik* ("We lost Aleko") is further amplified by the dominant reference to Aleko Bacanos' financial hardships that he was facing towards the end of his life and the implications of this for the fate of his wife and two daughters:

> The wreaths sent to the funeral filled up a whole truck. From what I gathered, they cost at least two thousand liras. However, what Aleko left behind was seventeen liras, a watch, and above all a wife with two daughters in need of their father's tenderness and support [...]. Reflexively, I cursed those who introduced in this country this wreath custom. If only the two thousand liras spent for this stack of leaves that will be stolen by the cemetery's crooks and sold back to the flower-sellers before midnight were given instead to Aleko's family, which at the moment has no other help than God's, it would soothe part of their sorrow.[45]

The sad end of Bacanos' career, described by Ökte, contrasts with Öztuna's entry that names him as "one of the well paid musicians." As Ökte writes, Aleko had fallen from a first class ensemble leader into an ordinary musician playing all day long, Sunday matinees included, in order to earn very little. In their discussions in the corridors of the radio station right before his death, Alekos' sole hope was to become a member of the permanent staff of the national radio, something that as Ökte notes, he "unfortunately did not live to see" (see Fig. 3).[46]

Fig. 3. Aleko Bacanos' family gravestone.[47]

[43] Rona 1970, 361.
[44] Ökte 1950, 6, 20; Nihad 1950, 6.
[45] Ökte 1950, 6
[46] Ökte 1950, 6.
[47] Photograph supplied courtesy of Stelyos Berberis.

For *neyzen* Burhanettin Ökte, Bacanos' death was also an occasion for lamenting the sad ending of Istanbul's long tradition of non-Muslim musicians. In this context, Bacanos is registered in the long genealogy of Ottoman non-Muslim musicians that goes back to the celebrated Zaharya in the eighteenth century: "Aleko was Zaharya's continuing companion. At the moment, there is only a Yorgo left. On his back, Paraşko's head comes into sight, that's all. On the path crossed by Vasilis, Sotiris, Tatyos' and Nikoğos' there is only one Yorgo and one Paraşko [...]."[48]

Burhanettin Ökte's expression of nostalgia for the gradual fading of the non-Muslim musicians of Istanbul resembles, one can argue, the current nostalgic trends for Ottoman cosmopolitanism. However, for Burhanettin Ökte, who was born in 1904 and had experienced the social and cultural effects of the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic, this cosmopolitanism was partly based on recorded memory and largely on intimate memory. It is nostalgia for a cosmopolitanism coined by Robbins as "actually existing cosmopolitanism", socially and locally situated in the context of the aforementioned political transition.[49] What accompanied this particular loss was highly relevant to Burhanettin Ökte's own life story. Being a *ney* player, Burhanettin Ökte had experienced the closing down of the Mevlevi *tekke*s in 1925[50] and, as a radio musician, the ban on Turkish music in 1934–1936. These two illustrative reforms are indicative of the direct consequences of the wider modernization programme of the newly established Republic on music and musicians. This programme led to the gradual marginalization of Turkish classical music. In this respect, Ökte's nostalgia conveys the anxiety towards this marginalization. Two years later, through a very militant editorial in the same magazine, Ökte accused the policy of the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*) for being responsible for the absence of any type of formal education in Turkish Classical music within the state music institutions since the establishment of the Turkish Republic.[51]

The above narratives of the life story of Aleko Bacanos have an important textual companion; an autobiographical note by Aleko Bacanos written in 1947, three years before his death. This note was produced on demand by the *Istanbul Encyclopaedia* and it is interesting that it was included in the encyclopaedia's entry on Aleko Bacanos that was originally authored by Yılmaz Öztuna. The importance of this note lies in its complimentary role to Ökte's narrative, for it adds to it the voice of the subject of nostalgia; that of the minority musician.

Aleko Bacanos starts his autographical note by narrating the genealogy of his family, going back to his grandfather who was a clarinet player, and his initiation into the *kemençe* in his early childhood by his uncle Anastas. Through that, he places himself within the lineage of the celebrated Rum nightclub musicians of Istanbul. This is followed by his early entrance into the music business, playing next to celebrated performers of the rank of his father, namely the clarinet player İbrâhîm Efendi (d. 1925), the singer *hânende* Karabaş, and the Armenian *lavta* player Ovrik Kazasyan (1872–1936). This is followed by a detailed reference to his acquaintance with the celebrated musician Tanburi Cemil Bey (1871–1916):[52]

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[48] Ökte 1950, 6.
[49] Robbins 1998, 2–3.
[50] Zürcher 2007, 173.
[51] Ökte 1952, 1.
[52] For biographical notes on Ovrik Kazasyan and *klarnetçi* İbrâhîm Efendi, see Öztuna 2006.

> At the age of twelve-thirteen, I got a part as an amateur in the most famous ensembles of which my father was a member and which, at that time, had made it into the palaces. At that point, I started receiving offers from other competent ensembles. Within a short time, these offers increased so much that I was taken to the ensemble of the clarinet player İbrahim, the singer Karabaş and the *lavta* player Overik which at that time was as good as my father's band. So, in this way, I was thrown into the music business at a very young age. Following that, the celebrated artist Tanburî Cemil Bey came frequently to listen to us, and he continually proposed to me that we might play together. It is a pity that at that time we were stuck to those who first grabbed us. Only one night, we got together at Şehzade Bürhaneddin Efendi's. The great Cemil Bey said: "There you are son, that's the way one can get you". On seeing him, I got so excited that I nearly got out of control. After the music, he left his *tanbur* aside and hugged me with a pale face: "Congratulations, to this day I have not enjoyed playing so much, it is as if we had done lessons together for a long time".[53]

As seen in the case of İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal's biographical note, this extract confirms the social and cultural pluralism of the early twentieth-century musical scene in Istanbul. Ensembles like that cited above constituted inter-community contexts of music making. Furthermore, Aleko Bacanos acquaintance with Tanburi Cemil Bey at the house of Şehzade Bürhaneddin Efendi illustrates the social overlap between the domains of music entertainment and the private musical gatherings of the Muslim elite. The picture conveyed here is certainly far away from the segregated musical worlds of non-Muslim communities that are presented in current nostalgic responses.

Finally, Bacanos rounds up his life story by giving the names of the places he worked: "In that way, our life passed in Beyoğlu's historical places like Kafe Ruayal, Eftalopos, Eldorado and Türk Yuvası. Masters like Kemanî Memduh and Bülbülî Salih introduced me and let me lead ensembles that even experienced musicians could not get into."[54]

Following Benjamin Fortna's critical remarks on late Ottoman autobiographies,[55] it is obvious that Bacanos in constructing his narrative was trying to make a consistent pattern of his life on the basis of a selective recapturing of his own past. His narrative is based on certain high points in his life, like his family's celebrated musical genealogy, the praise he received from Tanburi Cemil Bey, and the heyday of his professional career at the various historical nightclubs of Istanbul. What was certainly not selected on this occasion is the financial hardship and anxieties he faced after the decline of his professional career; this bit of his life story was to be filled-in three years later by his friend Burhanettin Ökte in his commemorative note. Instead, Bacanos prefers to close his note in a more modest manner: "My everyday life passes quietly, and I thank God for keeping up myself in its current state".[56] As Fortna notes, autobiographers who have experienced the political, social and cultural effects of the transformation from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic face a challenge in keeping the aforementioned consistency in their narratives when trying to accommodate the turbulent events of this traverse. In Aleko Bacanos' narrative, there seems to be a gap somewhere around the time of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, puzzling the reader as to the connection between the heyday

[53] Bacanos in Öztuna 1960, 1782–1783.
[54] Bacanos in Öztuna 1960, 1783.
[55] Fortna 2001, 7.
[56] Bacanos in Öztuna 1960, 1783.

of his career and his later "quiet days". The sole hint concerning this rupture, it can be argued, is his selective reference towards the end of his note to the heyday of his career: "The brightest days in my artistic life were at the Kadıköy Yoğurtçu fields and in all the aforementioned nightclubs (Kafe Ruayal, Eftalopos, Eldorado, and Türk Yuvası);"[57] a nostalgic turn on his own life's bygone days.

Although the two texts together construct a larger picture of Istanbul's bygone musical days by complimenting each other, they both fail to acknowledge the causes of the fading-out of the minority musical culture of Istanbul. The nostalgic overtones in both texts act as a compensation for the absence of any traits of the massive political and cultural transformations that both Aleko Bacanos and Burhanettin Ökte experienced in their lives. Bacanos, like most of the musicians that Ökte lists in his genealogy, were professionals in the nightclub scene of Istanbul, traditionally run by non-Muslim businessmen. Since the early years of the Turkish Republic as part of the Turkification policies, these businesses had been much affected by a number of state policies, like the law concerning the alcohol monopoly in 1926.[58] Following this law in 1942–1943, the implementation of the Wealth Tax (*Varlık Vergisi*) was also a further factor in the gradual extinction of the non-Muslim minorities of Istanbul.[59]

Through the examination of the above "intimate" texts it becomes clear that the history of the non-Muslim musical heritage of Istanbul is far more complicated than the manner in which it is perceived and represented in the current commemorative and celebratory events. This complexity becomes apparent only when the "past" is examined in relation to its actual actors and their interrelated discourses. The nostalgia expressed both in the biographical and autobiographical texts are complimentary in that it is a response to the dramatic social and cultural transformations that Turkey went through in the first-half of the twentieth century. Unlike the current trends of nostalgia for the depersonalized and indifferent "minority", whether Greek or Armenian, this nostalgia is situated within a web of diverse emotions defined by companionship, grief, anxiety and hope, which are based on actual lived experience; a nostalgia that embodies human agency. Additionally, these texts largely record a nostalgic response to the milieu of exponents of Ottoman music in the early Republican era towards their marginalization, exercised by the Turkish modernizing programme. In this respect, rather than a nostalgic response based on entrepreneurial motivations, this one is a nostalgia forced by the anxiety of the uncertainty of one who is seeing his life turning from a real experience to a *lieu de mémoire*.

Conclusion

The choice of venue of the concert on the part of the Armenian composers was indeed a powerful act of reorientation of the city; by adding to the contemporary concert-going map, the Armenian Catholic Church of Surp Ohan Vosgeperan in Beyoğlu foregrounded a very important feature of Istanbul's historical heritage. This reorientation, however, restores only partly the historical soundscape of a non-Muslim community of Istanbul. In this musical remapping of Beyoğlu there is a significant historical part missing. This is the Beyoğlu documented in the autobiographical narrative of Aleko Bacanos with which

[57] Bacanos in Öztuna 1960, 1783.
[58] Alexandris 1992, 108, 263; Aktar 2000; 2012.
[59] Aktar 2000; *id.* 2012.

the author identified his life and musical career. Aleko Bacanos' map of Beyoğlu is constructed by the narration of the various nightclubs that hosted both the heyday of his career and the most modest days towards the end of his life. This map is also shared by a number of musicians who formed Istanbul's entertainment scene and who were of different faiths, social strata and varying degrees of fame. However, this point is not intended to emphasize a naïve conception of an Ottoman cosmopolitanism based on the "melting pot" rhetoric.[60] On the contrary, it aims to contribute to the critical inquiry into the politics of exclusion following the current nostalgic trends. In this respect, the analyses followed in this article adhere, to a large extent, to the argument, stressed by Amy Mills, that considers cosmopolitanism and nationalism as interrelated ideals, rather than oppositional.[61]

The point of intersection of the nostalgia expressed in the current commemorative acts of the non-Muslim musical heritage of Istanbul and in the biographical, and the autobiographical texts of the mid-twentieth century is that in both cases the story is half-told. It is only through the combination of the various nostalgic narratives that one can get the whole picture of what has been actually lost, and why this loss matters. Nonetheless, as in the case of the parallel reading of Aleko Bacanos' and Burhanettin Ökte's texts, the reasons behind loss are not necessarily explicitly revealed. While the puzzle of nostalgia will continue to be filled-in, the causes of loss will carry on being the subject of further interpretations.

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[60] For a critical assessment of the notion of Ottoman cosmopolitanism in the context of revisiting Istanbul's urban history, see Eldem 1993.
[61] Mills 2010, 31–32.

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Section II

Ottoman Pasts, Representations and the Performing Arts

The Ottoman Past in Romantic Opera's Present: The Ottoman Other in Serbian, Croatian and Montenegrin Opera

Tatjana Marković

My point of departure is the idea that nations are primarily signified by their narrations, which are based on the constructed or mythicized national past. These cultural memories from the distant or recent past were embodied also in the national traditions of opera. I will demonstrate this point through four representative case studies from Southeastern Europe, that is, from the Kingdoms of Serbia, Hungary and Croatia-Slavonia and the Principality of Montenegro. The operas are: *Balkancka carica, drama u tri radnje Nikole I knjaza crnogorskog* ("Balkan Empress, Drama in Three Acts by Nikola I The Prince of Montenegro", Cetinje, Montenegro, 1891) by Dionisio de Sarno San Giorgio (1856–1937), *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* (Zagreb, Croatia, 1876) by Ivan Zajc (1832–1914), *Na uranku* ("At dawn", Belgrade, Serbia, 1904) by Stanislav Binički (1872–1942), and *Knez Ivo od Semberije* ("Prince Ivo of Semberija", Novi Sad, the Kingdom of Hungary, 1910) by Isidor Bajić (1878–1915). I will show that the so-called national opera is national only because it is arbitrarily chosen as such, in accordance with the idea of self-representation, which assumes "us" and the Other.

In the four chosen Serbian (related to Serbs in Montenegro, Serbs in the Habsburg Kingdom of Hungary and Serbia proper) and Croatian operas, as well as in numerous operas from the Balkans, the Other is understandably embodied through Ottoman characters.[1] The Ottoman Empire (1299–1922) included, during the nineteenth century, the majority of the Southeast European areas, which nowadays form the states of, for example, Bulgaria, Macedonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro and Romania. Other regions from the area, such as Hungary, Transylvania, Croatia and Slavonia, Serbian Vojvodina, and Banat of Temeswar (1849–1860), and Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878–1918), were included in the Habsburg Monarchy, that is, the Austrian Empire (1804–1867) or Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867–1918). Due to historical circumstances, the patriotic discourse of musical Romanticism in Southeast Europe or, in this case, the areas where Serbs lived (Serbia, Vojvodina and Montenegro) and also in Croatia-Slavonia, was expressed through the military *topoi* in choir and opera music.

These operas are modelled mainly upon the Italian Romantic opera, and certain national elements are introduced through genre-scenes, mostly dances. Various layers of Orientalism are also recognizable in all the operatic *texts* (libretto, music and iconography) of the aforementioned works. Although it is embodied through certain stereotypes and "fabricated constructs" in the relationship between East and West – "the Orient arouses anxieties and fears in almost equal measure with both imperialism itself and the social and intellectual conflicts of home"[2] – we cannot say that the Romantics from Southeastern Europe – "had highly individualized responses to their visions of the East,

[1] Western and Central Europe had "two main sources of influence: the Ottoman Empire, both its Turkish heartland and the Levant, and the 'Moorish' lands of the West" (MacKenzie 1995, 144).
[2] MacKenzie 1995, 31.

each a projection of their own fantasy worlds" like Byron and Shelley, for instance.[3] In opposition to this, the Romantics' Other was part of their reality, their own political and cultural context.

Due to this, the relation to the "Orient" in the Balkans was rather different from that of Western and Central European authors and composers. Keeping this difference in mind, I would suggest a classification of the chosen Serbian and Croatian operas according to the treatment of the Ottoman characters. Characteristic of all four operas is that "the 'cultural work' that is done by the arts when they evoke another society […] is not necessarily as repressive and regrettable. […] It should not, that is, be assumed that the worldview that musical and other cultural texts of this sort support is necessarily pro-imperialist."[4] In this manner, the Ottoman characters in the operas are represented as the Other; an unacceptable military ally or a lover, but still a respected enemy.

Case Study 1: The Muted Other

Dionisio di Sarno San-Giorgio: Balkanska carica, drama u tri radnje Nikole I knjaza crnogorskog *("Balkan Empress, Drama in Three Acts by Nikola I The Prince of Montenegro"), 1891*

The composer Dionisio de Sarno San-Giorgio[5] explained in the preface to the vocal score of his opera that

> [E]verywhere in the Slavic literary world, this celebrated and famous theatre play is regarded as the most beautiful flower in the glorious wreath of the Prince-Poet for its wonderful verse as well as its great content. The play has not been intended to be set to music. But since I found in it many places of wonderful lyrical beauty, and also several choruses similar to the ones from classical Greek dramas and the dramas by the Italian Metastasio, I decided to set some parts of the drama to music. […] I took as much from the drama, as it was allowed in order to evade too long an action. Yet, this work could not be performed on the stage, partly because it lacks continuity needed for musical drama, partly because of its length and many *a solo* characters; and if it would be necessary to stage it, many numbers would need to be shorten in order to reduce the singers' efforts, especially the Tenor's.[6]

Such a position of the composer makes apparent that he wrote his opera only as his (political) dedication to the Montenegrin ruler, in whose country he was a diplomat, and also that he was aware of the shortcomings in the dramaturgy and did not expect to see the work performed. Further on, San-Giorgio said: "The most beautiful award for my

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[3] MacKenzie 1995, 31.

[4] Locke 1998, 106–107.

[5] Dionisio de Sarno San-Giorgio was an Italian diplomat in Montenegro and Serbia, as well as a composer and organizer of musical life. After studying in Naples and Florence, he arrived in Kotor, Montenegro in 1886. Over the next six years he contributed considerably to the development of local musical life but, since his efforts did not have significant results he moved to Belgrade where he was also active as a diplomat, as well as consul of Spain, between 1893 and 1932. He spent his last years of retirement in Kotor and donated about 400 of his compositions to the Kotor Archive. Unfortunately, the scores of his two other operas, also in the Serbian language, Gorde and Dane, are lost.

[6] De Sarno San-Giorgio n.d., 1. Translation T.M.

work would be if I am lucky to receive His Excellency Prince Nikola The First's graceful acceptation and respect for it. I am proud of his highest permission to write my name at the end of this modest work."[7] For this reason, the composer named his opera *Balkanska carica, drama u tri radnje Nikole I knjaza crnogorskog* ("Balkan Empress, Drama in Three Acts by Nikola I the Prince of Montenegro").

San-Giorgio's treatment of the Ottoman characters in the opera should be viewed in the mentioned context. The theatre play by Nikola I Petrović is signified by the identification topics of Serbs from Montenegro, and these are: (1) the epic narrative of history, usually in the form of recitation to the bowed lute *gusle* accompaniment, (2) men and women are heroes and warriors in the name of patriotism, and (3) the Serbian Orthodox church, which is also recognizable in the cover design of the opera edition (see Fig. 1). By choosing the lines almost exclusively from the roles of the two main characters in the drama, Stanko Crnojević and Danica, with the supporting roles of Ivan Crnojević, Uglješa and Marta, the composer did not shed enough light on the plot, and therefore the libretto itself does not provide a sufficiently clear idea about the connections between events, the motivations of characters as to why they act in a certain manner, or the wider late fifteenth-century political context.

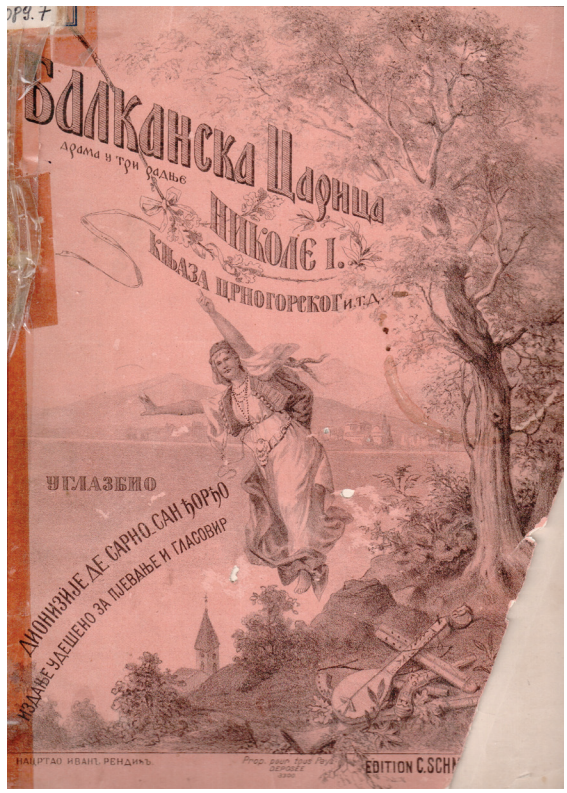

Fig. 1. Dionisio de Sarno-San Giorgio, *Balkanska carica, drama u tri radnje Nikole I knjaza crnogorskog* ("Balkan Empress, Drama in Three Acts by Nikola I The Prince of Montenegro"), the front cover.

[7] De Sarno San-Giorgio n.d., 1. Translation T.M.

In the drama itself, the characterization of the Ottomans is based on the nineteenth-century (author's) perspective of the heroic mediaeval mythical time. Understandably, Nikola I Petrović tended to promote Serbian national history, as well as the continuity of the Montenegrin statehood. The image of a small, heroic Montenegro, known as the "Serbian Sparta", is emphasized by references to the states that were political partners of the country, and also states like Albania which asked for the help of Montenegrin warriors for protection against the threat of Ottoman conquest. The penultimate scene, called "The Battlefield", is an image of the battle between Montenegrin and Ottoman armies. In spite of the overwhelming power of the Ottoman soldiers, Montenegrins win the victory due to their fearless fights.

The Ottomans are referred to as the enemies, butchers, merciless wolves and the Islamic threat to Christianity.[8] Maria Todorova touches upon such images: "The enormous output of anti-Turkish propaganda obviously created a stereotyped image of the Ottoman as savage, bloody, and inhuman, and produced a demonized antagonist epitomizing the hereditary enemy of Christendom".[9] In spite of such negative characteristics of the Other, the Montenegrin heroes respect the most important qualities in their own hierarchy of values: the heroism of the Ottoman warriors, their "swords which cut well" and "lances which fly straight" and, consequently, their power, as expressed in the libretto. It is precisely this power that is a fatal temptation for Stanko Crnojević, the younger son of the Montenegrin ruler Ivan Crnojević: eager to struggle and become a famous hero, he feels neglected as a younger brother, who has no chance of making independent decisions, and is frustrated with the lack of possibilities for ascending the throne in the future. The turning point in the drama is the meeting of Stanko and the representative of Sultan Murat II, Ibraim-aga (Ibrahim II of Karaman), who succeeds in convincing him to join the Ottoman troops in exchange for the position of future Balkan king. Unable to accept such a development, and his offer to become the Balkan empress some day, Danica commits suicide, proving that patriotism and honour are the most important aspects in the life of a true Montenegrin woman.

San-Giorgio shifted the focus of the opera from a wide patriotic and political context of the original theatre play to a more personal love story.[10] In the opera, judging from the libretto, the main reason for Stanko's joining the Ottoman camp is to overcome the obstacles on his path to marrying Danica, which he could not do in Montenegro because of her modest origin. That said, the musical concept of the opera is grounded both in the eighteenth-century Metastasian (Neapolitan) type and the early-Romantic Italian opera. The three acts contain a sequence of arias by Stanko, Danica and other characters. As in all the operas considered in this paper, and also in numerous Romantic operas, the central genre scene or the *khorovod* has a significant role; in order to celebrate the Montenegrins, it contains folk songs performed by a choir and *kolo* circle dances (see Fig. 2).

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[8] Danica: "Naša je vjera lijepa, prava, / a turska nije no zla, krvava". (Our [Orthodox, T.M.] faith is beautiful, true / and Turkish is evil, bloody) (Petrović Njegoš 1989, 143).

[9] Todorova 1997, 86.

[10] This concept is similar to Stanislav Binički's opera *Na uranku* ("At Dawn", 1904). It also focused on a love story placed in the context of Serbian-Ottoman dichotomy.

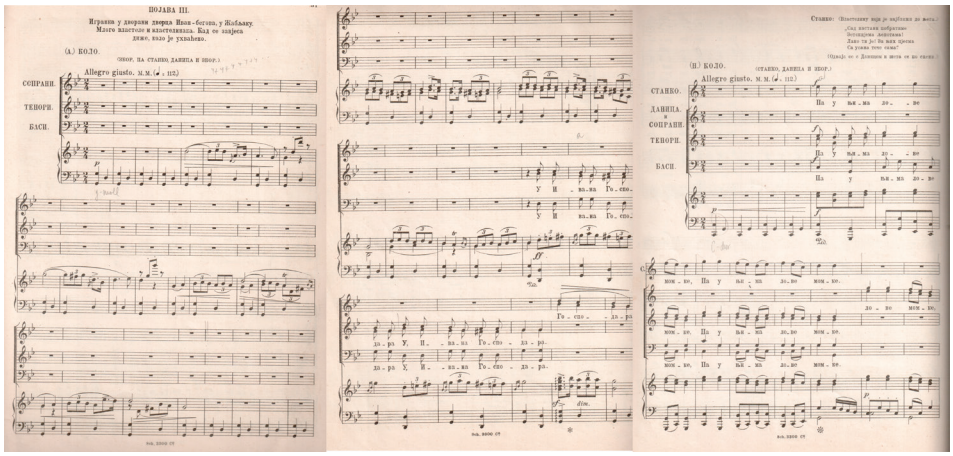

Fig. 2. Dionisio de Sarno-San Giorgio, *Balkanska carica, drama u tri radnje Nikole I knjaza crnogorskog* ("Balkan Empress, Drama in Three Acts by Nikola I The Prince of Montenegro"), Scene 3: Dance in the hall of the Ivan-Beg's castle, Žabljak. Sequence of the *Kolo* dances, A and H.

The composer omitted all scenes where the Ottomans participate in the stage action; he treated them as the hidden and muted Other. They are presented only indirectly, through the words of Montenegrins. Therefore, the Other's words and sound representation are "occupied" by the dominant political perspective, which also prevents musical differentiation or characterization. The conventions of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italian opera show that the Western point of view sheds light on the Montenegrin-Ottoman dichotomy and on the Serbian-Montenegrin national identity.

Case Study 2: The Amazed Other

Ivan Zajc: Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*, 1876*

As with numerous Romantic national operas, the most popular nineteenth-century Croatian opera, *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* by Giovanni von Zaytz, alias Ivan Zajc,[11] presents the patriotic subject through the struggle between the national heroes and their enemy.[12] In this case, the national military forces are led by Zrinjski, a Hungarian general of Croatian origin in the service of the Habsburg Monarchy, while Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent himself and his vizier, Pasha Mehmed Sokolović (Sokollu Mehmed Pasha) led the Ottoman army. This antagonism can be understood in the context of the struggle between the

[11] Giovanni von Zaytz was born in the Austro-Hungarian city St. Veit am Flaum (It. Fiume, today Rijeka in Croatia), to where his father Johann von Zaytz, a military conductor from Prague, had moved with his band. Giovanni von Zaytz was a composer, conductor, music teacher and entrepreneur. He studied at the Milan Conservatory (1850–1855) and had to refuse the offer to take the position of a conductor in La Scala; instead, he returned to Rijeka (Fiume) to continue his late father's work. In 1862, Zaytz moved to Vienna and began a successful career as an operetta composer. Eight years later he moved to Agram (Zagreb) and became a conductor at the Croatian Opera, music teacher and leading entrepreneur of musical life. Furthermore, he composed operas and other works in the Croatian language.

[12] This opera reached the status of the most popular Croatian opera, since it was performed 1317 times between 1876 and 1990 and since 1992, in Zagreb alone, 609 times (see Paulik 2005, 95).

Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, which is emphasized by the sultan's intention to revenge Emperor Maximilian by conquering Vienna. Before that, the sultan has a great desire to conquer Szigetvár, despite the warnings of his advisors that the famous hero Zrinjski is there and it would be better avoid a battle with him. Being old and ill, the sultan soon dies, but Mehmed Sokolović does not reveal it before the battle is over. Later on, Zrinjski is praised by his soldiers as a Croatian hero. The opera ends with the scene of the beginning of the battle, in which the choir, which is still popular even now, *U boj!* ("To the Battle!") is followed by a short instrumental number called "Catastrophe", implying that Zrinjski and his circle will not survive the struggle.

In the drama *Zriny* (1812) by Theodor Körner, Croatia-Slavonia was regarded as a Hungarian territory, though with a certain degree of self-governance. Therefore, the plot of the drama, which praises Hungarian patriotism, was revised for the opera in order to present Zriny as a Croatian, rather than a Hungarian, hero.[13] Moreover, librettist Hugo Badalić added many references to Croatian bravery which did not previously exist; when the opera was premiered in Zagreb in 1876, the poster did not even mention that the libretto was based on Körner's German drama, as John Neubauer points out.[14] However, in his thorough analysis, Neubauer presents only the Hungarian tradition of the Zrinyi myth, thus ignoring the long Croatian history of constructing the myth. Therefore, he interprets Badalić's motivation in exploiting Körner's drama as follows: "Basing the libretto on Körner's *Zriny* gave it an Austrian pedigree that the Hungarians, the junior partners in the Monarchy, would be hard put to challenge".[15] This conclusion is acceptable but not quite satisfying if we keep in mind that the cult of Zrinjski was established in Croatian literature immediately after the Siege of Szigetvár: the only existing report of the siege – *Podsjedanje i osvojenje Sigeta* – was written by Zrinjski's chamberlain Franjo (Ferenc) Črnko, who was among the very few surviving soldiers. Until 1876, when Zajc composed his opera, the Zrinjski cult was not only firmly established but also revived by historiographers and politicians such as Ante Starčević and Eugen Kvaternik of the *Stranka prava* (Party of Rights).[16] As Badalić himself explicated:

> […] In his drama, German poet Theodor Körner elaborated that material, regarding our Nikola as a Hungarian, in accordance of the contemporary attitude. It seems needless to prove to a Croat, of which race and tribe Nikola Šubić is; moreover, due to the names of his officers and soldiers, even our enemy will admit that the Sziget crew was purely Croatian. I would not like to argue with anybody; even Hungarians have, at least in the past, called our Nikola 'a brave Croat.' I would only like to mention that I used Körner's plot – and how? Everybody will see: I do not need to be judged for it.[17]

In accordance with the above statements as well as with the numerous performances of the opera *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*, it seems that John Neubauer's view that the German nationalism of Körner's drama has been "quietly 're-nationalized'" in the opera is not justified.[18]

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[13] Marković 2011.
[14] Neubauer 2004, 522.
[15] Neubauer 2002, 230.
[16] Štefanec 2009, 399.
[17] Badalić 1876, 3–4. Translation T.M.
[18] Cf. Neubauer 2004, 522.

Let us return to the opera stage. The Ottoman camp is presented not exclusively by the sultan and his vizier Mehmed Sokolović, but also by many other characters: the sultan's doctor, Levi Mustafa; Ali Portuk and Ibrahim Begler-beg, the sultan's advisors; Turkish soldiers; Timoleon, a keeper of the serail; the five women from the harem named Osmanka (an Ottoman girl), Sokolica (the Falcon-girl), Meira, Fatima and Zuleika; as well as odalisques, eunuchs and keepers of the serail. In other words, the entire world of the Ottoman court is there. As my recent research shows, the composer actually added an extensive part of his earlier Viennese operetta *Nach Mekka* (1868) to this opera, or more specifically to the drama; the material served as the basis for the libretto. Such a cast of characters contribute to the representation of the Other in a multi-layered fashion, including not only the public (male and military) but also the private (female and sensual) spheres of sultan's life. Therefore, here, the Other mirrors the Western European image of the Oriental world, which is seen as a mixture of cruelty, despotism, a thirst for fighting, sensuality, seductive corporeal dancing and the beauty of the harem women.

In contrast, the Croatian camp is presented by two couples from one family: Zrinjski with his wife Eva, and Zrinjski's daughter Jelena with her fiancé Juranić. Thus, Zrinjski is a brave soldier, national hero, faithful husband and a father of three children. For him, military honour, patriotism and faithfulness to the Habsburg Emperor are the most significant ideas, for which he is ready not only to sacrifice himself, but also to sacrifice his sons. As such, his enemies regard him as undefeatable. Moreover, openly showing their admiration, the Ottomans are amazed by his courage.

The presentation of both camps, the Croatian (Habsburg) and the Ottoman, is set in a juxtaposition, symmetrically, within the framework of three acts and eight scenes (21:17 musical numbers, and two in which both appear together, cf. Fig. 3.) The spectators alternately follow the atmosphere and preparations for the final battle in each camp. In the second act of the fifth scene, the two lines cross each other in a unique, direct meeting between the representatives of the opposing sides, Mehmed and Zrinjski. The characterization of the two groups includes arias, ensembles, choirs and genre-scenes, although they are staged differently. While the sultan and Mehmed Sokolović are presented mainly through their own arias, or through their dialogues or ensembles with other male characters (male choir), and the separated female world is embodied in a female choir or dances (instrumental numbers), Zrinjski is mainly portrayed in the context of his family, and also with his soldiers and people (mixed choir). Both rulers are characterized musically as heroes. The sultan's words are set mainly in *sostenuto grandioso* or *allegro grandioso* tempi with horn, bassoon and timpani accompaniment, and a motif referring to his military successes often follows his appearances.

Zrinjski's enthusiastic calls to battle include conventions of the heroic idiom, such as trumpet fanfares or *unisono tutti* of the male choir and the orchestra. He has only two arias, the intimate *Romance* (his farewell to the beautiful, shiny city before the war destroys it, with a hint of the inevitable catastrophe, accompanied by a solo oboe motif with the augmented second signalling the approaching arrival of the Ottomans) and the *Oath* (he asks his Croatian soldiers to be brave, to fight for King and freedom, expressing his own readiness to fight until death), see Fig. 4.

Act I		Introduction
	Scene 1	1. Introductory duet (Levi, Suleiman) 1½. Recitative (Suleiman) 2. Aria (Suleiman) 3. Duet (Mehmed, Suleiman) 4. Finale 1 (Soli and choir)
	Scene 2	5a. Duet (Jelena, Juranić) 5b. Romance (Jelena) 6. Duettino (Jelena, Eva) 7. Terzet (Jelena, Eva, Zrinjski) 8. Quartet (Jelena, Eva, Zrinjski, Alapić) 9. Sextet (Jelena, Eva, Juranić, Paprutović, Zrinjski, Alapić)
Act II	Scene 3	10a. Military choir 10b. Dance with lances through a big ring 10c. Battle dance 11. Quintet (Jelena, Eva, Juranić, Zrinjski, Alapić, choir) 12. Oath (Zrinjski)
	Scene 4	13a. Turkish camp in front of Szigetvár, mixed choir 13b. Couplet (Timoleon, choir) 13c. Mixed choir and Oriental dance 13d. Ballabile Andante 13e. Arabian dance 13f. Fantastic Oriental solo dance with ensemble 14. Duet (Mehmed, Suleiman) 15. Finale 4 (mixed choir, dance)
Act III	Scene 5	16. Ensemble (Juranić, Paprutović, Zrinjski, Alapić) 17. Recitative (Zrinjski) 18. Romance (Zrinjski) **19. Duet (Mehmed, Zrinjski)** **20. Finale 5 (Ensemble, choir)**
	Scene 6	21. Terzet (Suleiman, Levi, Mehmed) 22. Duet (Suleiman, Levi) 23. Prayer and death of Suleiman 24. Allegro arioso (Mehmed) 25. Ensemble. Finale 6 (Mehmed, Mustafa, Ali Portuk, Beglerbeg)
	Scene 7	26. Duet (Jelena, Eva) 27. Recitative and lullaby (Jelena) 28. Dream (Jelena, choir of fairies; dialogue of Jelena and Juranić) 29. Recitative (Jelena). Duett (Jelena, Juranić)
	Scene 8	30. Duet (Eva, Zrinjski) 31. Terzet (Eva, Juranić, Zrinjski) 32. Finale 8: To the battle (quintet and choir) Allegory (Catastrophe)

Fig. 3. The scene sequence of *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski* by Ivan Zajc (1876) is based on the score manuscript (The Music Collection of the Croatian National and University Library in Zagreb) and piano score edited by Nikola Faller. Light gray represents the Turkish scenes, while the Croatian scenes are in dark gray. The two numbers, 19 and 20, are underlined and in bold as the only meeting point of the representatives of the two camps.

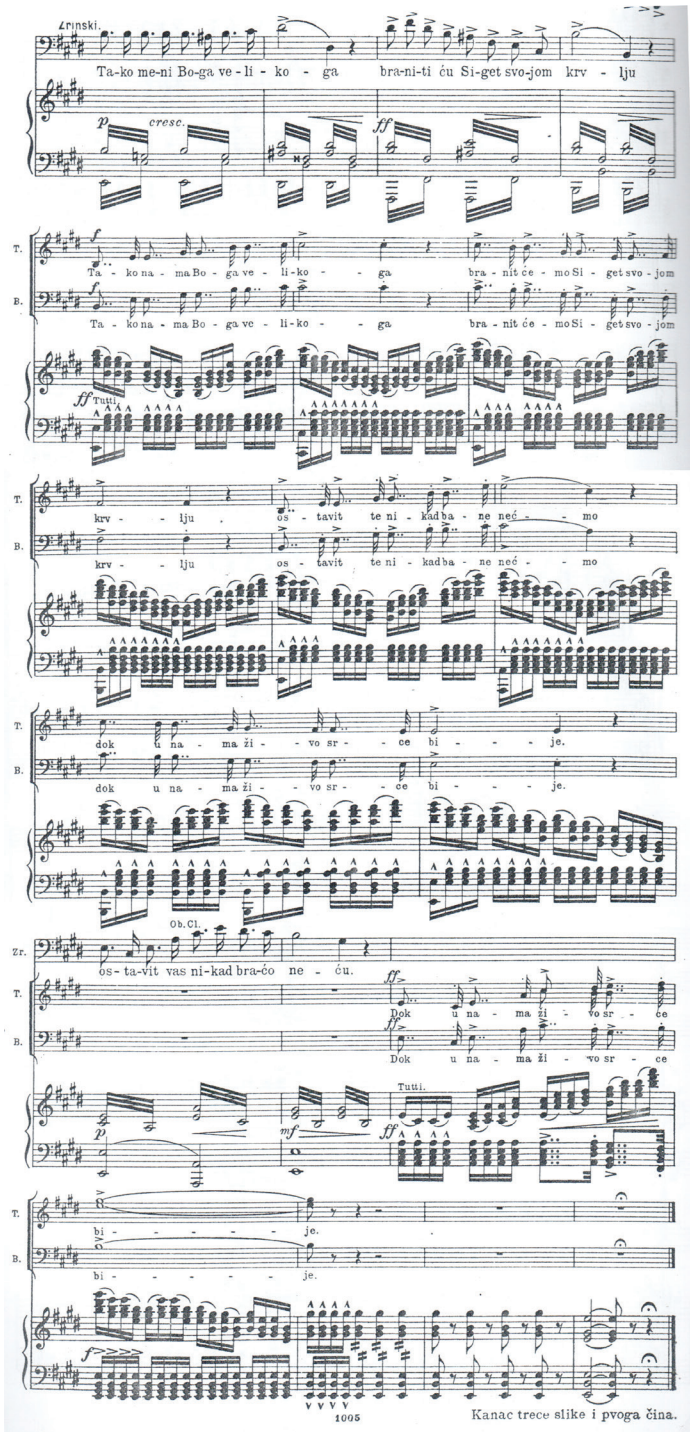

Fig. 4. Ivan Zajc, *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*, No. 12: Zrinjski's Oath.

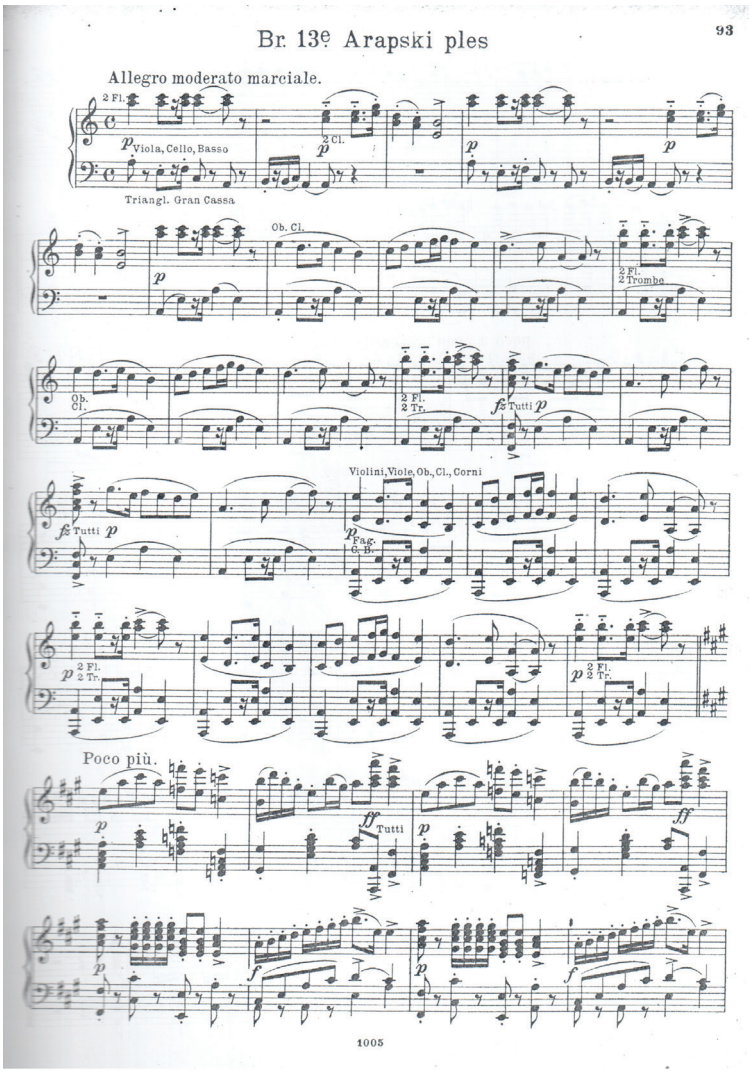

Fig. 5. Ivan Zajc, *Nikola Šubić Zrinjski*, No.13e: Arabian Dance.

The presentation of both groups includes characteristic genre scenes: the Croatians perform a male battle dance (*bojna igra*) with lances, while the Ottomans amuse themselves with exotic female dances (see Fig. 3, numbers 13b–13f). Among the latter, only *Arapski ples* ("Arabian Dance", see Fig. 5) contains the augmented second as a conventional musical mean of music Orientalism.

Importantly, the depiction of the preparations for the battle in both camps also includes the recognizable motif from the beginning of the *Kaiserhymne,* which the composer quotes as a symbol of the Habsburg Monarchy, for which Zrinjski and his soldiers fight and heroically give their lives. The composer treats the motif as the *leitmotiv* for Zrinjski's bravery, and it leads us to the main message of the opera: in the beginning, it

"explains" that the opera is about the bravery of Nikola Šubić Zrinjski, the Habsburg-Croatian general. Subsequently, when appearing in diminutive form before Suleiman's decision to take the Ottoman army to Szigetvár, the motif can be understood as a signifier of the approaching battle. The *Kaisehymne* is quoted for the last time at the beginning of the last duet of Zrinjski and Eva in the eighth scene (number 30). At the end of this duet, the motif appears for the first time in the vocal part (Eva i Zrinjski in octaves, *fortissimo* with *tutti* orchestra).

Case Study 3: Sharing the World with the Other or Self-Orientalization

Stanislav Binički: Na uranku *("At Dawn", 1904); Isidor Bajić:* Knez Ivo od Semberije *("Prince Ivo of Semberija", 1910)*

The first Serbian operas were premiered at the beginning of the twentieth century: *Na uranku* ("At Dawn") by Stanislav Binički[19] and *Knez Ivo od Semberije* ("Prince Ivo of Semberia") by Isidor Bajić.[20] The libretti of both operas were written by the leading nineteenth-century Serbian dramatist Branislav Nušić.[21]

In the opera *Na uranku* ("At Dawn"), the patriotic subject is embraced in the romantic plot, treated as a *verismo* tragedy played out against the background of the Serbian-Ottoman opposition. The story of two rivals (the Serb called Rade and the Turk called Redžep-aga), who are in love with the same girl (a Serb called Stanka who loves Rade), is situated in a patriarchal Serbian village at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Turk, upset by the girl's rejection, decides to take revenge on the young couple and interrupts their wedding ceremony by revealing a long-held secret: Rade is illegitimate by birth. Since the sin of his mother Anđa – the fourth character of the opera – is unjustifiable in the given society, a tragedy is inevitable. Thus, the final climax, typical of the *verismo* dramas, is marked by Rade, who is unable to forgive his mother and therefore murders her.

The dichotomy between the Serbs and the Ottomans is even more evident in the opera *Knez Ivo od Semberije* ("Prince Ivo of Semberija"), in the story of the Turk Kulin-beg, who pursues a group of Serbian slaves through the area ruled by the Serbian Prince, Ivo. The prince and the local people try to release the slaves, offering to give the Turks all their money in return. Kulin-beg liberates all the prisoners except the beautiful Stanka. Determined to free her as well, Prince Ivo gives away his house, property and even

[19] Stanislav Binički received his musical education and started composing very early. After finishing his studies at the Munich Music Academy, he returned to Belgrade in 1899 and established the symphony orchestra Vojni orkestar (Belgrade Military Orchestra), conducting it for five years. As one of the founders of the Srpska muzička škola (the Serbian Music School), he worked there as a singing instructor. In 1920 he founded Belgrade Opera, and was its first director. A very successful composer, Binički contributed remarkably to the Belgrade musical life.

[20] Isidor Bajić was born in Habsburg Vojvodina, today part of Serbia. He studied music at the Budapest Music Academy and subsequently, 1901–1915, taught at the Velika srpska pravoslavna gimnazija (Great Serbian Orthodox High School) of Novi Sad, where he founded a music school (1909) and initiated the publication of the Srpski muzički list (Serbian Music Magazine) and the Srpska muzička biblioteka (Serbian Music Library). In the early twentieth century, he published two textbooks on music theory and piano playing. Bajić also collected Serbian folk melodies.

[21] See Marković 1997; *id*. 2005.

his weapon, ignoring his mother's anxious warnings. When the Turk refuses to release Stanka despite all of these offers, Ivo takes the final step by giving away family treasures: a silver icon and a *kandilo* (a kind of oil lamp, an Orthodox religious symbol). His mother, witnessing this scene, falls dying; moved by the mother's death, Kulin-beg releases Stanka. Apparently, the group of slaves signifies the Serbs who are ready to sacrifice all their possessions and even their lives to free themselves from slavery. In both operas, the Serbian people, embodied in the choir, take an active role in the plot. It is interesting that a mother dies in both operas, presenting the ultimate loss.

In this context, the Ottoman world of both the operas represents the opposite to the realm of the Serbian people. The Serbian-Ottoman dichotomy is introduced in the opening act of the operas through the Islamic call to prayer of the *muezzin* which is immediately followed by musical motifs related to a Serbian national dance (*Na uranku*) or by an *echo* (modal melodic pattern) from an Orthodox chant (*Knez Ivo od Semberije*). The *muezzin*'s call is a melismatic melody with the repetition of Allah's name (see Fig. 6). In comparison to this, musical material based on folk melodies symbolizes the idyllic life of a Serbian village (church festivities, harvest, folk dances and wedding) mainly through choral parts and the orchestra.

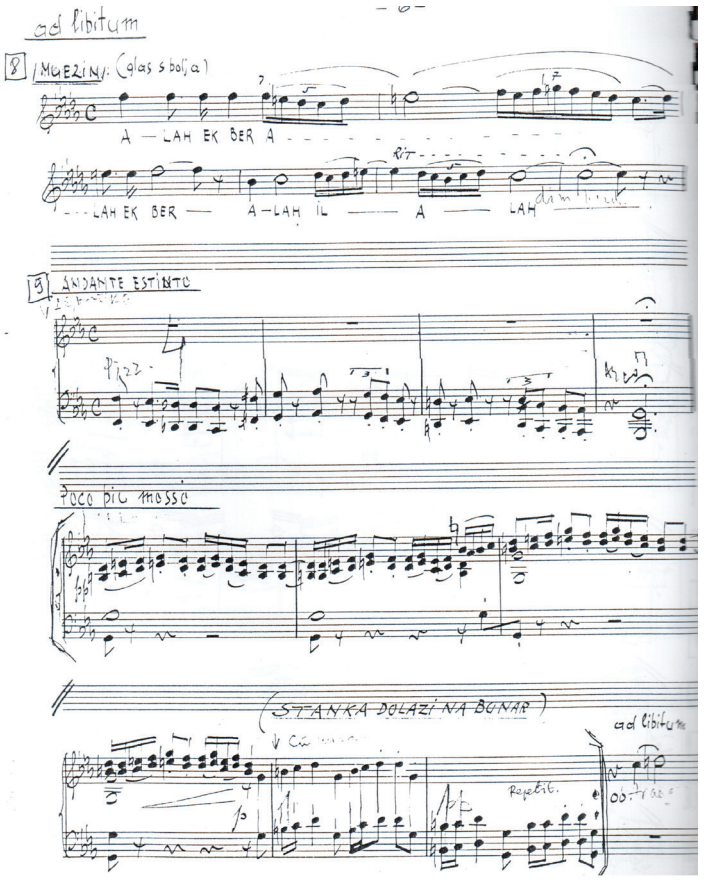

Fig. 6. Stanislav Binički, *Na uranku* ("At Dawn"), Muezzin's call to prayer.

From a musical point of view, the Serbian and the Ottoman worlds are not strictly separate in either opera. The lack of clear separation is due to the characteristics of Serbian traditional music. Namely, certain musical devices are related to the standard vocabulary of Romantic West-European opera numbers (such as the duet of Rade and Stanka) and, consequently, the references to Serbian folk music actually obtain the role of an intersection for the sounds of the two worlds. The Serbian folk tunes are in the Balkan mode with the augmented second, or in the Gypsy mode with two of them; the interval is one of the most perceivable references to "Oriental" music. In the light of the implied westernization of Serbian folk tunes, which is determined by their harmonization in major-minor system rather that in latent harmony, the setting consists of elements signifying the East and the West. This use of harmonization confirms the opinion that the exotic does not mean "merely distant (indeed, distance is not even a necessary prerequisite)," as Jonathan Bellman writes.

> The exotic equation, therefore, goes well beyond familiar versus unfamiliar, and it is in large part the attendant cultural connections, tensions, and suggestions that make such stylistic blends as compelling, alluring, and ultimately troubling as they are. […] Exoticism is not about the earnest study of foreign cultures; it is about drama, effect, and evocation. The listener is intrigued, hears something new and savory, but is not aurally destabilized enough to feel uncomfortable.[22]

At the same time, however, I disagree with Bellman's opinion about music: "The suggestion of strangeness is the overriding factor: not only does the music *sound* different from 'our' music, but it also suggests a specifically alien culture or ethos. To the fertile imagination, a different culture or distant place suggests far more than the sum of its external music indicators […]. Musical exoticism above all seeks to state the otherwise unstatable."[23] Obviously, in the case of self-Orientalization akin to the Russian attitude to the "Orient", the Other does not necessarily have to *sound* different.

The operatic genre scenes – the wedding and the religious festival in honour of St. George – are also based on folklore material, and such scenes have much in common with those of Glinka (the wedding in *Ruslan i Ljudmila*), Borodin (the *Polovtsian Dances* in *Prince Igor*) and others, in as much as they are formed as separate musical numbers within a through-composed flow. Whereas the main role in the dramatic line of Binički's opera is given to the *Hor seljaka i seljanki* ("Choir of the Peasants") in charge of the wedding preparations, indicating that the genre scene belongs to the Serbian people, in Bajić's opera the celebrations signify two discourses: festivities after the Orthodox church service and the Turkish celebration in *Igra čočeka* ("The *Čoček* Dance").

In both operas, the realm of the Other, related to the Ottoman invaders, represents a discourse of the Oriental East. In the words of Bryan S. Turner, the Orient appears within this discourse as "strange, exotic and mysterious, but also as sensual, irrational and potentially dangerous".[24]

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[22] Bellman 1998, xii–xiii.
[23] Bellman 1998, xii–xiii.
[24] Turner 1994, 44.

Conclusion

The Balkan – or Serbian, Croatian and Montenegrin – opera shows different manners of self-representation of the local nations, in regard to their Other. Therefore, the typical images and narratives are signified in accordance with the two distinct manners of relating to the notion of Orientalism, understood ultimately as "a political vision of reality whose structure promoted the difference between the familiar (Europe, the West, 'us') and the strange (the Orient, the East, 'them')".[25] In the case of the Habsburg province of Croatia-Slavonia, the Ottoman characters are presented as respected, but at the same time dominant, and as a "different" Other.[26] In areas under a long period of Ottoman dominance, this characterization is much more "exotic", since the cultural and musical traditions were in direct contact; their musical depiction is actually halfway between the Occidental and Oriental conventions. From the Western point of view, the Serbian opera shows a way of self-Orientalization or "the exotic self"[27] in the intersection of exoticism and folklorism which is akin to the Russian tradition.

Therefore, Western European composers,

> at the high point of imperialism in the late nineteenth century […], began to discover in eastern music the opportunity to extend the language of their art. In an age when so many old conventions were breaking up, in music as in all the arts, composers found new tone rows, fresh harmonic and rhythmical potential, a different sound world, particularly of percussion and wind, which they could adapt to their own purposes. Their exposure to oriental music was at first limited, and they were in no sense accurately reproducing it, but they were securing stimulation from it, revitalising their craft in the process.[28]

However, this practice could not be utterly applied to the Southeastern European opera, since the Ottoman past was obviously considerably more present in the Balkan musical cultural and artistic – romantic – present.

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[25] Said 1978, 43.

[26] Meaning "the Oriental is irrational, depraved (fallen), childlike, 'different'; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, 'normal'. However, the way of enlivening the relationship was everywhere to stress the fact that the Oriental lived in a different but thoroughly organized world of his own, a world with his own national, cultural, and epistemological boundaries and principles of internal coherence. Yet what gave the Oriental's world its intelligibility and identity was not the result of his own efforts but rather the whole complex series of knowledgeable manipulations by which the Orient was identified by the West" (Said 1978, 40).

[27] Cf. Schimmelpenninck van der Oye 2010, 199–223. The treatment of the Other in the Serbian opera is more similar to the Russian attitude, although not quite the same: "Balakirev did not see the Oriental style as a means for representing a separate, alien people, and Other, in current parlance, but as an essential component of musical Russianness" (Frolova-Walker 2008, 153).

[28] MacKenzie 1995, xv.

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The Balkan Wreath: Multicultural Balkan Identity in Film Music

Nevena Daković and Marija Ćirić

The turbulent history of the Balkans, conceived as crossroads (the point of intersection between Ottoman and Occidental influences), is examined as it is inscribed and constructed within the multicultural cinematic (sound)scape. Through an interdisciplinary approach combining ethnomusicology, cultural studies, film studies and anthropology, this article addresses the relationship between music, image and identity.

We argue that influences of identity of the Orient, the Balkans and the Occident and their intricate relations can be expressed in film music that, furthermore, articulates and expresses Balkan multicultural, intercultural and eventually transcultural identity. The formal structures, melodic and rhythmic patterns, instrumental colour and orchestration of such music represent the coexistence and interactions of the different identities in the common Balkan cultural space. Through the analysis of the chosen body of films by two authors, the paper focuses particularly on the work of the composer Zoran Simjanović (b. 1946) in collaboration with director Srđan Karanović (b. 1945). The five films chosen as case studies are: *Miris poljskog cveća* ("The Scent of Wild Flowers", 1978), *Petrijin venac* ("Petrija's Wreath", 1980), *Nešto između* ("Something in Between", 1983), *Virdžina* ("Virdzina", 1991) and *Sjaj u očima* ("Loving Glances", 2003).

The term "Balkan wreath" is a metaphor used in this chapter for Balkan music and other facets of culture which are constructed through intertwining various musical and cultural influences, and we analyse this phenomenon through concentrating on a narrower and specific space that accommodates the narratives and music scores of the selected films. This space is defined by the borders of former Yugoslavia as a typical Balkan country; its typical nature is constructed on the basis of ethnic, national, language, religious and cultural heterogeneity. The issue of former Yugoslavia as the paradigm of the Balkans and their identity expressed in images, legends and fiction-faction forms has been raised during this century by different researchers, for instance military strategists, historians, politicians, anthropologists and cultural theorists. Regardless of the approach, the "Balkan problem" always turns out to be a Pandora's box. Furthermore, the negative spotlight which the raging Yugoslav wars cast over the region at the beginning of the 1990s revived the historical metaphor of the Balkan powder keg and yielded the hitherto richest and fullest meaning of the pejorative term "Balkanization".

The world book market continues to proliferate with books exploring the topic, either concerned with the different representations of the Balkans or searching for their putative essence, i.e. their "Balkanness".[1] Inspired by previous research, this paper seeks to briefly examine the representations and constructions of the Balkan hybrid and the multicultural identity in the film music of Zoran Simjanović. Thus, although the films belong to the cinema of the former Yugoslavia, they most certainly testify about the broader phenomena of Orientalism, Occidentalism and Balkanism in Balkan identity.

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[1] See, e.g. Petrović 1989; Stoianovich 1994; Todorova 1997; Goldsworthy 1998; Norris 1999; Golemović 2006; Milosavljević 2007 and Hobsbawm 2008.

The problematization of the film score is somehow pushed into the background in spite of the fact that the work of music, although it is more discreet, is not less efficient. Additionally, research on the music as an element of the film text is supported by the claims that we live in a visual culture and that contemporary art theory prefers image.[2] Thus, the hypothesis of the analysis is that only joint works of image and music provide insights into the process of Orientalization, Occidentalization and Balkanization of the regional identity. The original film scores of Zoran Simjanović are not preserved and thus we are not able to provide concrete musical examples. The analyses are based upon the film soundtracks and interviews with Simjanović. We start with the theoretical framework and the definition of the basic terms and subsequently analyse the film scores as the multicultural and transcultural field of conflicting and interacting formative influences of the Orient, the Occident and the Balkans.

The Films in Multicultural Context

The three resonant terms, were conceived of as Orientalism, Balkanism and Occidentalism. In inspiring book, *Imagining the Balkans*, Maria Todorova offers a complex historical, political and geographic study of this topic and appropriates the original notion of orientalism provided by Edward Said. She discusses the relationship between Said's Orientalism and Balkanism, and suggests a definition through analogy as "dealing with it by making statements about it, authorizing views of it, describing it, by teaching it, settling it, ruling over it: in short […] a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient".[3] This paper expands Todorova's notions replacing -ism with -ization terms, i.e. Orientalism, Occidentalism and Balkanism are replaced by Orientalization, Occidentalization and Balkanization. The new -ization terms, instead of -isms, designate the broadest cultural influence in identity construction, self-representation and self-imaging. They imply the Balkan identity as the field of zealous conflict and dense interaction of all various cultures. All of the influences are to be found in the music score of Zoran Simjanović as an exponent of multicultural, dynamic Balkan identity, within the field of their representation and construction.

The notion of cultural identity is taken from the theories of Stuart Hall and his discursive approach: "In part, we give things meaning by how we represent them [i.e. identities] – the words we use about them, the stories we tell about them, the images of them we produce, the emotions we associate with them".[4] The Balkan identity is cinematically and musically constructed through narratives on diverse cultural border crossing: between the Orient and Occident and within the Balkans. The borders are concretely and metaphorically marked in space (the centre and periphery, Europe and the USA, the Balkans and Europe) and time, but also between male and female, refugees and old settlers, rural and urban, traditional and popular culture.

Srđan Karanović, a prominent member of the Czech School[5] explains that within

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[2] See, e.g. Fulkinjoni 1980; Jay 2006.

[3] Edward Said, quoted in Todorova 1997, 7.

[4] Hall 1997, 3.

[5] The Czech School consists of the prominent ex-Yugoslav directors Rajko Grlić, Srđan Karanović, Goran Marković, Goran Paskaljević and Lordan Zafranović and the cameramen Predrag Popović and Živko Zalar who graduated from the famous FAMU (Film and TV School of the Academy of Performing Arts in Prague) in the

his work one can distinguish three tendencies.

> The first one is 'experimental.' These are films that offer space to amateur actors to allow them gain a reputation, films where improvisation allows different versions of popular culture to become the prevalent element of fiction (Društvena igra/Society Game, 1972; Pogledaj me, nevernice/Faithless Woman Look at Me, 1974; and Miris poljskog cveća/The Scent of Wild Flowers, 1977). […] The second tendency is represented by films preoccupied with characters from the director's generation, where the plot is located in a middle-class environment (Nešto između/Something In-between, 1983; a section of Za sada bez dobrog naslova/Film with No Name, 1988). Here, the middle-class setting usually determines both the psychology of the characters as well as their morality: it imposes values and lifestyles, and determines relationships. The third tendency involves films that are, foremost, of 'ethnological interest.' These are based on myths and stories of the past, which include sufficient material to fuel the telling of a story. Films like Virdžina (Virdzina, 1991) and Petrija's Wreath […]. In these films, it is popular tradition, manners and customs that determine the framework, and it is their dynamics that create the necessary conflicts in the plot.[6]

The film scores of Zoran Simjanović, one of the best and most prominent composers of film music in the region, are characterized by adaptability, unexpected textures and fine, catchy themes which were often created under the influence of popular music genres, including folk styles. His music smoothly transcends particular films; it independently achieves huge popularity (themes of *Nacionalna klasa* ["National Class"], 1979, dir. G. Marković), *Scent of Wild Flowers*, *Something in Between;* Petrija's theme is (mis)recognized as a folk song) and elegantly fulfils distinctive genre demands. Together, film and music vividly portray the situation and theme of the cultural identity clash which is typical and ever-present in Karanović's films that are of ethnological interest. These are based on myths and stories of the past, which contain sufficient material to fuel the telling of a story focused on identity transition, changes, mutual (re)defining and othering. *Petria's Wreath* traces the rural-urban migration; *Something in Between* explores the relations between the Balkans and Europe, while *Virdžina* walks the tightrope of sexual ambiguity. The Balkan identity is metonymically problematized in the narrative about the main character through the identity transitions of rural-urban, male-female, national-(multi) cultural, patriarchy-modernity, America-the Balkans and West-East. Furthermore, the Balkan identity is expressed in the pattern of relations between various cultural legacies inscribed in iconography, *mise-en-scène* and music. As well as underpinning identity and the reality of the Balkans as intercultural space, film music also investigates the articulation of the moments of disenchanted reality. These moments are those of changes or loss of the original identity through the enchantment by the different, Other, and the encounter with the cultural "other".

late 1960s. Their filmmaking, however, is not stylistically uniform. The work of the Czech School initiated the revitalization of the Yugoslav cinema.

[6] Daković 2006, 162–163. Vlaško in English means Vlachian, whereas the word Vlasi refers to the Vlachs.

Male-Female and Urban-Rural Turning Points

Most obviously, *Petria's Wreath*, *Virdzina* and *The Scent of Wild Flowers* are built upon the same ethnological and anthropological theoretical and genre foundations of melodrama and women's film. In the context of the predominantly macho Yugoslav cinema, Karanović stands out as a director adept at representing various women on-screen. *Petria's Wreath,* made after the eponymous novel of Dragoslav Mihajlović, recounts the life story of the ordinary and illiterate Petrija who is one of the strongest and most vibrant female characters of realistic literature. She lives through hard historical and personal moments, loses her dearest ones, only succeeds in gaining some emancipation, and moves from a small village to a blossoming miner's town. The narrative accommodated in the contrasted surroundings, together with an array of typical and persuasive characters, is neatly reflected in the musical themes and the overall score.

> The ethnographic background here is provided by the vlaško surrounding. The Vlasi are an ethnic minority inhabiting the North East parts of Serbia and speaking a Romance language that is believed to be close to Latin. They live near the Bulgarian and Romanian borders and are known for magical talents that take on a certain primitive and atavistic sensibility, as well as for a supernatural heritage that finds expression in various superstitious beliefs, healing practices and fortune telling rituals.[7]

Since it is mainly women who are endowed with such powers, the world order is matriarchate, while the film genre can be described as a matriarchal melodrama. Petrija's greatest tragedy, accordingly, is her inability to bear or foster a child.

The conceptualisation of Petrija's theme sustains the ever-present motif of border transgression. The original melody belongs to Serbian folklore but is set apart from it. The increasingly complex harmonic structure reveals the assimilation of Western models which, in return, erase the untempered and modal rural tradition. The arrival to the town and ensuing emancipation is announced by the waltz-like character of the theme and by the arrangement which is in urban folk style; the waltz does not exist in Serbian rural folk music. Iconographically, the transformation is visible as she takes off her headscarf, cuts her hair short and perms it. In diegetic structure she is finally able to return the gaze, to look man straight in the eyes and she confirms her role as narrator.

The *Scent of Wild Flowers* could be viewed as a gender-inverted story of rebellion and emancipation, this time of the man, in search of a new, truthful and honest life. His escape involves the episodic appearance of a female Petrija-like figure. Ivan (Ljuba Tadić) is a cynical, promiscuous actor dreaming of an idealized rural-pastoral life far away from the stage, media and city. He decides to realize his dream of escape to the scent of wild flowers, but the curious media crowd and fans follows him. When the rural, almost utopian, resort is destroyed by obtrusive intruders, Ivan is disappointed; in the ambivalent ending, the issue as to whether anyone has found and gained something remains unsolved. The first musical theme of *The Scent of Wild Flowers* is meticulously and functionally related to Ivan's contemplations and indecisiveness, but retains a non-diegetic status. The first theme is shaped in a slow tempo, through a folk motif played on a non-folk instrument – the synthesizer. The melody successfully represents the ambivalence of Ivan's po-

[7] Daković 2006, 164.

sition: being part of the urban milieu and being frustrated with the everyday city routine.

During his stay in "paradise lost", Ivan longs for the ideal, rural (but somebody else's) girl and experiences disappointment. As the rural milieu is divested of its "ideal" nature, the "ideal" Stana (Rastislava Gucić) goes through an (un)expected transformation. The moment of triple identity transgression – the loss of her rural appeal, her disappointment and timid steps towards emancipation – is marked by her playing the title theme on the leaf. She takes over the man's task of playing the instrument. The second dance theme of the Serbian traditional dance *kolo* gradually acquires a more prominent place. Subtly revealing the true origin of the *kolo,* Simjanović underlines the revelation of the true nature of urban characters. The *kolo* theme emerges from another secondary theme which already depicts the contamination of the rural milieu. The melody is highly efficient in the theatralisation and spectacularisation of the traditional modes of life saturated with rows, drunkenness and gluttony. All these audio, visual and narrative effects smoothly grow in the satirical media images.

Gendered identity transformations supported by music are also visible in the film *Virdžina,* which deals with the rural custom of the isolated Dinaric Serbs. The narrative of *Virdžina* is an austere, ethnographic story, while the twist and melodramatic happy ending allows for a strong pro-feminist reading. In the widest sense, the plot depicts a battle for true gender identity through the growth and development of the main female character. In some poor and ultra-conservative parts of the country, one of the daughters is ordered to adapt a male role if the family lacks a son. She pledges never to reveal her true gender but to accept the socially-imposed travesty that effaces her biological identity. These girls are called *virdzinas* or *virdžinas*. Virdzina (Marta Keler) grows up torn between two worlds, the hidden female and the public male, drifting into situations that are familiar from Shakespearean comedies and comic tradition in general, but acted melodramatically and occasionally highly dramatically. Someone is in love with him (or her); she is in love with a boy (her or his best friend) while he is in love with another girl: mapping out entangled love relations. Virdzina's mother dies after giving birth to yet another daughter, and that prompts Virdzina to break through the sham and reveal her true woman-self. Her initiation is both carnal and emotional as she, for the first time, meets intimately with the man-boy she loves. She decides to run away with him and his uncle to America, taking her baby sister with her. When the small group is walking through the barren countryside, Virdzina's father appears, threatening to kill her if she does not return. The boy's uncle, also revealed to be a *virdzina*, kills him. While Virdzina cries over the father's dead body, parting from the past and the country, the long-awaited rain starts to fall.

Here, the gender conflict stands for multiple identity conflicts: between the biological and inherent on one hand, and the social and imposed on the other; between private and public; between natural, progressive and ritual, atavistic and, finally, between the present and the past – resulting in an ultra-conservative concept of patriarchy that turns out to be auto-subversive. Auto-subversiveness is additionally expressed through the elaborate score and inscribed "musical labour division" analogous to the phallocentric structure of the society.

Despite the prevailing patriarchate, Virdzina's constant fight for the denouncement and announcement of her true identity transforms the film into an undercover story of the matriarchate. When dealing with the Serbian traditional cultural and musical concepts, the notion of music obviously exists in two separate forms: singing (*pesma*) and playing

(*svirka*), or vocal and instrumental.[8] The former positions the woman as the backbone of the Serbian vocal tradition, but does not exclude the man from the vocal tradition[9]. In the latter case, a musical instrument belongs to men and makes the playing of the music a "man's" duty[10]. As the main musical theme of the film lacks singing, it confirms that men oppress and dominate women. The singing is set apart, pushed into the background, arguing the separation of *pesma* and *svirka.*[11] The instrumental part is imbued with the Dinaric tradition; the melodic line is untempered and the range restricted.[12] The theme underlying the score is played on the duct flute named *svirala* or *frula.* In the score of *Virdžina*, both terms could be applied as the story takes place at the beginning of the twentieth century.[13]

The *svirala* or *frula* explicitly represents the spiritual context of the film *Virdzina*. The sound of the flute with its levelled, almost monotonous rhythmical progression and simplified two-bar melodic line, convenient for fragmentation and sampling, perfectly epitomizes the meagre musical substance of the Dinaric region. The fact that Simjanović uses the forms of musical instruments ambivalently glorifies the seemingly dominant patriarchy, while simultaneously and emphatically concealing the true, female identity of the main character.[14]

Singing is heard only occasionally. The girl in the role of a man only secretly reveals her femininity when stealing the dolls from her sisters and singing when nobody hears her. Women are traditionally given the roles of *dodole* or rainmakers summoning the rain, in periods of drought. When no one hears her, the *virdzina* hums the melodies heard from the *dodole* groups of girls going around the villages and pleading for rain.

Lastly, the music can be understood as an exponent of the Serbian national identity, which is equal to the tribal one. Simultaneously, the music raises the question of the eternal tribe, or whether the nation inevitably preserves and keeps characteristics of a tribe.[15] The hybrid character of the score, using music from different historical periods, when Serbs were interchangeably labelled as an eternal tribe, ethnicity and nation, supports the thesis that the tribe or the ethnicity are synonymous with the nation. Furthermore, the music confirms that the nation and national identity are still, after a century of disputes, "an organism that changes slowly, and can endure influences, but has a pure ethnic core reflected in language, memories, emotions; and this core must be purified from foreign influences as the major cause for *bleeding,* and its members must be convinced that they are the same as they had been a thousand years ago in order to save the nation".[16] The recognition of bleeding as a purely female characteristic relativizes the notion of purification; the nation epitomized in the group leaving for America. The nation is to be

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[8] Petrović 1989.
[9] Golemović 2006.
[10] Golemović 1995.
[11] Petrović 1989.
[12] See Golemović 1995, 102.
[13] Svirala and frula are almost synonymous terms for a typical Serbian woodwind instrument. The word svirala can refer to all kinds of woodwind instruments, but the basic meaning of the word refers exclusively to a duct flute; the frula is synonymous with it. In addition, svirala is the term used in the western parts of former Yugoslavia, while frula is used in the eastern parts, and supposedly it derives from the Vlach language. Today, the distribution of the terms is blurred because of migration and the interferences of musical traditions; frula is undoubtedly the more frequently used term, however (Gojković 1989, 88, 175).
[14] See Ćirić 2008, 56.
[15] See Ćirić 2009, 116.
[16] Milosavljević 2007, 230.

preserved and sustained exclusively by its female members since it leaves the single true male member lying dead.

Multicultural Identity: The New York of the Balkans

Something in Between is one of the rare pure melodramas in the cinema of former Yugoslavia. The carefully-written script is by a group of authors, among whom the American screenwriter Andrew Horton provided a formative foreign gaze. The film is "a portrayal of a young American woman journalist who, in a brief six-week stay in Belgrade" on her way to Istanbul "finds herself caught 'in between' her sexual and sentimental attachments to two Yugoslav men who are best friends".[17] Here, an unexpected stay in Belgrade provides the opportunity for examining stereotypes and prejudices on both sides and for arriving at new self-recognition. Belgrade is presented as a place of initiation and coming to maturity, providing a nostalgically-viewed return to the lost paradise of the pre- or early consumerist era. Under the American visitor's scrutinizing gaze the city undergoes a miraculous change from an old-fashioned, prejudice-ridden Socialist capital with Ottoman feudal hues to the "New York of the Balkans", a city rewritten in cosmopolitan terms.

Being both a melodrama and a nostalgia film, *Something in Between* permits the analysis of the complex role the music plays in both genres. The main bittersweet musical theme during the opening credits is deciphered as a melody of remembrance. Furthermore,

> Nina Kirsanova's appearance and the first words uttered in her old female voice, slightly cracked and trembling, with a strong Russian accent evoke part of the Belgrade urban myth. It is the myth of the 1920s, of white Russian refugees as the last traces of the romantic and nostalgically-looked-upon era of Czarist Russia; of the role they played in cultural life and European urbanization of Belgrade. Probably, the awareness of her Russian origin allows us to compare the music of Something in Between with Maurice Jarre's theme of Doctor Zhivago (1965, dir. David Lean) regarding the magnitude of mood and emotional variations. Moreover, both films are great melodramas when the importance of music is confirmed both etymologically – melodrama derives from the combination of melo+drama, or drama with music – and functionally. In the Shakespearean way, music is the food of love, as in melodrama it expresses and 'nurtures' the genre's pertaining emotions of love, sorrow, despair, romance etc. The narrative growth is underlined by the variations of the opening credit's motives. After Kirsanova's scene-a-clef of the card game jablan or 'something in between', the opening credits begin. They are made up of the set of photographs from the Dubrovnik episode – the moment of creation of a ménage à trois as well as of paradise lost – showed on the zoetrope: the optical toy that preceded the invention of cinema. When the wheel –its literary meaning is the wheel of life – spins, the photographs are put in motion, they are brought back to life, and the past is instantly revived. The memory narrative is retold through the turning of the wheel and relived by the audience. The circular moves echo the motive of the Merry go Round (of their relation, destinies, technical device) or Le Tourbillion that is another of the repleted references to Jules et Jim (1962, dir. François Truffaut). Thus, the very first shots set the triple-pastiche nostalgic evocation of the history, the (hi)story of their

[17] Goulding 2002, 175.

past love (photos); the history of film as media (zoetrope) and history of cinema as art (Jules et Jim).[18]

The overall hues of pastiche, provided by contaminated references, are most obvious in the portrayal of Marko (Dragan Nikolić). He is a Belgrade's *bon vivant* and the owner of the restaurant *Clementine* (*My Darling Clementine;* 1940, dir. John Ford), which is decorated with posters of cult scenes from *Casablanca* (1943, dir. Michael Curtis). As a popular culture connoisseur and fan, who knows English, he explains his own life attitudes through popular culture lines from films, music and comics. In addition, the wristwatch, that reminds him of appointments, plays different film tunes. The carefully selected music from *Godfather* (1972, dir. Francis Ford Coppola) to *The Sting* (1973, dir. George Roy Hill) provides some additional comment on the main narrative situation. On a more general level, Marko creates a pastiche image of Belgrade and the Balkans by perpetuating controversies and prejudices made in the West about the country, as well as by translating reality into Western idioms. This translation perfectly illustrates Frederick Jameson's claim that "the very style of nostalgia films [is] invading and colonizing even those movies today which have contemporary settings as, though, for some reason we were unable to focus our own present, as though we have become incapable of achieving aesthetic representations of our own current experiences".[19]

The stylistic escape of the film is symptomatic of the crises of former Yugoslavia: the timid beginning of the break-up of the country and shattered identities. Such issues are too traumatic to be presented in any contemporary regional language, and thus the film escapes into the idioms of the past, Western popular culture, cinematic and popular culture memories that acquire explanatory value for outsiders. The film constructs Belgrade as a multicultural space, a space of ubiquitous transcendence of cultural and identity borders, a space where everything is like somewhere else with a bit of Vienna, Budapest and Italy. Accordingly, the score has the important task of mapping out a multitude of meanings situated somewhere in-between: between Turkey, Vienna and New York, between capitalism and communism, between wine and soda, i.e, spritzer, and, finally, between two men.[20] Eve (Caris Corfman) cannot decide until the very end whether to choose Marko or Janko.

The theme appears as a simulation of barrel organ or circus music, which weaves together several cultures accidentally present in Belgrade at the beginning of the 1980s; the period when the Yugoslavian capital was truly the New York of the Balkans. Simultaneously, the theme points to the underpinning concept of the Socialist Yugoslavian "circus". Simjanović occasionally handles the melody in common time and orchestrates it in the style of a big classical Hollywood score; as well as the glamorous Hollywood style, he emphasizes the power of the system from which Eva originates. The theme has a hymnal or march-like character. The Hollywood-ized conception of music underlines the overall American hegemony based not only on "bombs, but on an immense wealth of the USA and the core role its gigantic economy had in the world", as Hobsbawm writes. He further concludes that, regarding culture, the hegemony is based upon the allure of the consumer's society and its multiplication through the Hollywood conquest of the world.[21]

[18] Daković 2008, 158–159.
[19] Jameson 1993, 170.
[20] See Ćirić 2009, 112.
[21] Hobsbawm 2008, 15.

Simultaneously, the theme neatly reflects the identity split of the characters, their longing for the West amidst Belgrade's Western-like glamour of the years that develops through the plot.

The most complex presentation of the theme is found in the barrel organ melody of the epilogue which is arranged for a symphony orchestra, and repeats the re-emphasized waltz-like tune of a vicious multicultural circle. As well as the standard instruments of the symphonic orchestra, instruments of the pop, rock and folk music spectrums, i.e. the electric guitar, bass guitar and cimbalom, are used. Simjanović again relies upon the charm of recognition in the new context, particularly in the colours of the sounds from the margin. He frequently uses old, played-out and untunable musical instruments or non-musical objects, such as combs and leaves, that produce the desired sound; fusing the classical and standard instruments. Such an exploitation of traditionally incompatible instruments can, according to Peter Kemper, be compared with the witticism of the bricolage combinatorics, i.e. the unconventional use of pre-existing elements, which offers a richness of association. The recognition of a theoretical joke expressed in contrast sustains the richness of association.[22] The marked contrast unites the plethora of various identities in a common multicultural circle, thus marking their intricate relations. Through music we learn that these cultures are not incompatible with each other, nor are their overlaps coincidental.[23]

Karanović's 2004 film *Loving Glances* could be seen as a variation of the generational theme, imbued with typical sentimental optimism. The story depicts a love triangle set among a group of refugees in Belgrade in the late 1990s. As a cross-over between characters from previous works, the protagonists in the film, Labud (Senad Alihodžić) and Romana (Ivana Bolanča), posses the same stoicism and soft humorous resignation as Petrija. They also talk with spirits from the past who, unlike Petrija's, keep them apart. The talk evokes the eternal conflict between the urban identity of the young refugees and the traditional nationalism of their peasant ancestors. Set in Belgrade, in the years of crises before the wars of the nineties, the narrative neatly combines nostalgic and grey Belgrade, warm and romantic love stories between refugees with humour, and a basically stoic and slightly pessimistic life attitude. The reminiscing of the characters sums up their identities as in-between urban and rural, displaced, lost, melancholic – yet warm – human beings. They bring together recognizable binaries; rural-urban and old-young are explored throughout Karanović's work.

Simjanović opts for a functional theme whose original form is taken from pop music and, as such, symbolizes the general urban setting. Depending on the character it depicts, the theme develops into an instrumental or a song, folk or popular music number shaped in the urban or the rural manner. It charts the space of Serbian and Balkan national and cultural identity as essentially transcultural and transnational. The final scenes take place on a football pitch metaphorically presented as a "sport" battlefield for the warring parties and identities. The fight of the real, invented or mythical ancestors is replete with an amazing wreath of Balkan identities: Christian, Islamic, Jewish, Serbian, Slovenian, Turkish, Greek, Croatian and even Neolithic. They all coalesce into the image of Labud's multicultural identity, accompanied by the particular variation of the main theme. He is ethnically undefined, and he explicitly chooses to be nationally neutral in music as well. His variation of the basic theme retains the Serbian language but distanciates itself from

[22] See Kemper 1993.
[23] Hobsbawm 2008, 15.

any other folk music determinant, thus staying within the transnational pop genre.

Otherwise, the title theme of *Loving Glances* is presented as a multilingual construction that goes beyond the Balkans as in the moments of tranquillity, joy or pleasure; the characters of the film hum the song in his or her own language or dialect – not only Balkan but also in French and English. The appearance of "Simjanović (as) himself", as a fine touch of *mode retro*, in this last of the thematically-related films, contributes to the intricacy of references and music. Simjanović is a member of the band playing the title song of the film, simultaneously re-enacting a part of his real career. His figure inscribes an additional layer of personal memories, while the chronotope of the 1960s adds nostalgia for the time when the characters, the authors and the city were young. In addition, the film is saturated with nostalgia for the country that all Yugoslavs used to have.

The visual aspect and the audioscape of Karanović's and Simjanović's work successfully portray an array of Balkan identities. All elements map out both films and their Balkan provenance (especially of former Yugoslavia) as the field of a permanent and dynamic intercultural encounter. The role of music in the composite audiovisual systems, such as film, is usually defined in terms of psychology and emotions. But the analyzed case studies confirm that the music also works in the domain of the representation and, more importantly, as a constituent of diegesis. As a narrative agency, music provides additional information, speaks instead, and for, the characters and frequently replaces verbal narration. Due to all of these narrative functions, music provides an insight into the problems and issues of the Balkan identity or identities. Intercultural and multicultural identity encompasses a span of forms and their transformations, for instance: urban-rural, male-female, manifested-hidden, monoethnic-multiethnic, social, economic, class, historical (Ottoman-European, Oriental-Occidental) and traditional-modern.

Mapping the cultural interferences in the Balkans in his film music, Simjanović offers folkloristic models but also paradigmatic rock, pop and classical arrangements, often combined in a most unexpected manner. Good examples are the bricolage model of the film *Something in Between,* or a folkloristic theme played on an electronic instrument, such as in the title theme of the *Scent of the Wild Flowers*. Simultaneously, Simjanović employs diverse ethnic melodies highlighting the mixed origins and identities of the characters as well as the multicultural Balkan world. A number of Simjanović's folk melodies are of Oriental character; others escape to or emerge from Western popular culture, cinematic and musical memories. Their permanent "harmonization" includes a span of elements from music to identities. The result is a Balkan identity with recognizable Ottoman and Oriental influences, thus supporting Todorova's thesis that Turkish or Ottoman heritage is an inevitable pivotal point of reference for the Balkans. The perennial historical Ottoman identity neatly allows the Balkans to become both the reflection and the sum of multitude identities in multiple fluctuating forms. The Balkan identity is confirmed as the floating signifier constituted not only within, but also outside, the text. As Todorova writes, "identity is a discourse utilizing the construct as a powerful symbol conveniently located outside of historical time".[24]

Unlike the Orient, which is incompatible with the West, the Balkans are always considered as something in-between, a bridge or a crossroads, a unique discourse of imputed ambiguity. The ambiguity does not encompass only geography, but also temporal dimension, as the Balkans are found somewhere in the semi-developed, semi-colonial

[24] Todorova 1997, 7.

space and suspended between the epochs and civilizations. The peninsula is the spot of various cultural influences coming together in the vortex and creating multicultural, transcultural and intercultural entity and identity.

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Section III

Ottoman Echoes and the Current Mediaspace

Negotiating the "Oriental": Roma and the Political Economy of Representation in Bulgarian Popfolk

Carol Silverman

Popfolk or *chalga*, a fusion of folk music with pop music, wedding music and Romani music, has become a huge phenomenon in Bulgaria with thousands of fans. Similar fusions exist throughout the Balkans, yet each version has an ideological role specific to its nation/state. This paper analyzes Bulgarian *chalga* economically, politically and representationally, with an eye to the role of Roma and the debates about "orientalism, Easternness and Balkan-ness".[1] Critics of *chalga*, composed of the intelligentsia, nationalists and many folk musicians, accuse it of being crass, low class, pornographic, banal, kitch and of using bad and/or formulaic music and too many Eastern elements. Defenders see *chalga* as a bridge between East and West or as pan-Balkan entertainment and emphasize musical unity with Balkan neighbours.

Among scholars, *chalga*'s Ottoman legacy in the form of inclusiveness, "symbiosis" or "cosmopolitanism" has been discussed as a strength and possibly as a counteraction to ethnic nationalism.[2] The situation on the ground is more complicated. As Bulgarian DJ and New York City resident Joro Boro wrote: "*Chalga* defines Bulgaria as a country ambivalently placed at Europe's cultural border with the Middle East, incorporating both Soviet and Ottoman rule in its past. Viewed from there, Bulgarian culture, like the culture of its neighbours, has a history of cultural hybrids and *chalga* takes its rightful place in that history."[3]

Why my emphasis on Roma? For some opponents, *chalga* has become the enemy of the nation, and Roma are to blame. True, *chalga* uses many Romani musical styles and visual elements, and Roma are sometimes employed in the industry. However, at the same time that their music has been appropriated, Roma have faced exclusions from and challenges within mainstream forms of *chalga*, where the real money and power are located, and *chalga* itself has been recruited for nationalistic projects, often anti-Romani. Moreover, Roma are often caught in a representational dilemma where the only depictions available to them are stereotypical images and music/dance styles that define them (and by extension all Balkan people) in the public's eyes as "backward". Furthermore, Roma are rarely in charge of creating their own representations. Unlike in Romania, where Roma control the production of popfolk or *manele*, in Bulgaria, no Roma own or manage popfolk companies. This article analyzes these contradictions and also analyzes how two Romani *chalga* stars have strategically manoeuvred in this charged terrain.

Chalga styles can be grouped into several categories. The Europop style uses standard 2/4 pop rhythms and rhyming verses, has no Eastern ethnic markers and may be seen as division of Europop. A second style uses Bulgarian folk music styles, such as the

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[1] Portions of this paper are taken from Silverman 2012 with permission of Oxford University Press.

[2] Rice 2002; Buchanan 2007; Dimov 2001.

[3] DJ Joro Boro, email 20 June 2011, quoting from his unpublished essay "Chalga and Bulgaria's Place in Culture" that was part of the 2009 exhibit "The Temptation of Chalga" at the Sofia City Art Gallery; see Balkan Travellers 2009 and Trankova 2009.

7/8 rhythm characteristic of the Pirin/Macedonia region, evoking nostalgia for rural life. The Gypsy style is the most widespread, marked by the *kyuchek* rhythm (in varieties of 2/4 and 4/4) and solo instrumental improvisations. *Kyuchek* is shared by Turks and Roma and symbolically codes the genre as "Eastern" or "Oriental". For Bulgarians, *kyuchek* as a dance is known as a female Romani solo "belly-dance" genre involving sensuous movements of the hips, shoulders, torso and hands.

The Eastern-ness in *chalga* is often depicted as an "Oriental" fantasy of sensuality, neither a real place nor a real ethnicity. As Kurkela pointed out, in *chalga* there are few specific references to Turkey or the Middle East in text or place,[4] rather there are symbolic allusions in terms of rhythm, melody, texture and imagery. In Bulgaria, Roma are coded as free, sexual and musical: all three themes contribute to the "production of the oriental" via symbolic Eastern instrumental styles plus Eastern references in texts, such as sheiks and harems.[5] Certain scales are used, for example Phrygian (often *makam* Kürdî) and *makam* Hicâz, although these are not exclusively employed, and synthesized flutes and *zurnas* (double-reed pipes played exclusively by Roma) and *arabesk*-like instrumental fillers signal "Eastern-ness". In videos a full range of Eastern images are added – women belly-dance wearing skimpy *shalvari* (billowing Muslim pants) with much exposed skin, sometimes in scenarios featuring palm readers, sultans, harems, gongs and horses. In addition to *kyuchek* as a rhythm and dance, an important Gypsy musical hallmark in *chalga* is the *taksim* or *mane*, the improvised free-rhythm solo; however, its presence has diminished in recent years. This highlights the increasing invisibility of Romani instrumentalists at the same time that generic Gypsy musical style remains ubiquitous. Whereas in early (pre 2000) *chalga*, one could see live Romani musicians in videos playing live improvisations, this is rare is more recent *chalga*.

Post-2000 Trends in *Chalga*

Drawing from Western models, *chalga* videos have always featured the partially unclothed female body as an object of male desire. As a Bulgarian musician in Chicago said to me, "The *chalga* crowd listens with their eyes". This trend can be linked to the sexualization of the female body, the rise in pornography and the rise in prostitution during post-socialism. After over forty years of images of women as socialist, neutered peasant workers, today many Bulgarians have embraced femininity in its most commercial form: beauty products, cosmetic surgery and *chalga* videos. [6]

Chalga always had an erotic thread, but by the mid-2000s the female star had eclipsed the musicians and all other elements; now the female voice and the star's image reigns. Stars are known by their first names, wear designer wardrobes, have bodyguards, pose for pin-ups and men's magazines and endorse products such as beer and telephones. Like movie stars, they have fan clubs and websites with interactive chat rooms.[7] The typical female *chalga* star is a non-Romani bombshell with fair skin and often blonde hair. On the other hand, some Bulgarians accuse all *chalga* singers and musicians of being Gypsy – this relates to the representational contradictions in *chalga*, its Eastern elements

[4] Kurkela 2007, 156.
[5] Kurkela 1997; *id*. 2007; Dimov 2001; Buchanan 2007.
[6] Ranova 2006; Daskalova 2000, 348–350.
[7] See www.bg-fen.com for *chalga* gossip, news, music reviews and interactive discussions.

and its low status, as I will explore later.

The media hype about *chalga* stars is carefully orchestrated by production companies. Since its debut in 2001, the Payner Company helped shape and now dominates the industry, causing Romani clarinettist Ivo Papazov to comment in 2005: "Payner is stronger than the government. They run the popfolk empire." Payner records artists, produces and distributes CDs and DVDs, orchestrates promotions, sponsors tours, festivals and contests, publishes calendars, pinups and fan magazines, and runs a radio station, two cable television stations,[8] a cosmetic surgery business, a party-planning service, an amusement park and hotel and many music stores and *chalga* clubs.[9] Payner regularly sponsors its contracted artists on tours to other Balkan countries and to the West, especially to cities where there are large Bulgarian émigré populations.

I argue that since the early 2000s we can observe the development of "mainstream *chalga*", characterized by the female sex star and the orchestration of large media promotions and as a by product, a diminished role of Romani musicians. Payner's events have the formula of high production values and a bevy of female stars in skimpy outfits. In addition to the mainstream, other branches of *chalga* exist, including Romani, Turkish and wedding music, but they receive less mainstream media attention.

Fig. 1. Emilia.

Trends in mainstream *chalga* in the last decade include more sophisticated production techniques (e.g. computer simulations, animation and complicated stagings), more narrative stagings, better dancing and a more pronounced Europop aesthetic, specifically collaboration with DJs and the use of hip hop dance and clothing styles. Political texts, common in early *chalga*, have dropped out of mainstream *chalga* almost entirely, emphasizing its entertainment function. For example, in the 1990s, texts critiquing political parties and corruption were common, but now they are rare. Recently, more sexualized

[8] See Planeta.
[9] See Payner.

male singers have entered the scene, but women still predominate. Another trend is collaboration with popfolk singers from other Balkan countries, especially Romania.

The Romani *Kyuchek* elements are still visible and audible in mainstream *chalga* but they have become more stylized and abstract, and have been absorbed into formulaic narratives of the "Orient" enacted by larger casts of dancers and actors. For example, Emilia's 2005 song *Zabravi* ("Forget!" [Bulgarian]) features a text about failed love and a visual display that includes a bare-chested man striking a gong (engraved with E for Emilia, but reminiscent of the sign for the Euro).[10] In addition, a harem-like group of women in sheer veils dance synchronous steps that are closer to Hollywood or Bollywood than belly-dance. The dancers are then transformed into hip hop performers with a DJ, and the video concludes with the gong. Another example of the stylized Orient is the song *Vlez* ("Enter" [Bulgarian]), a collaboration between the new star Tsvetelina Yaneva and Romanian singer Ionut Cercel (Costi).[11] Analyzed in Vesa Kurkela's paper in this collection, Vlez combines the pseudo-realism of a Middle Eastern marketplace with Eastern sensuality and exoticism.

Bulgarian audiences have recently shown signs of fatigue with mainstream *chalga* and now cable channels have broadened their offerings. Payner's cable channel Planeta Folk that debuted in 2008 shows how *chalga* and wedding music (a hybrid of folk and Western styles) are moving closer to each other.[12] Payner now features some of its *chalga* stars singing wedding songs with wedding bands in village stagings with folk dance ensembles. This illustrates the assimilation of the allure of *chalga* into a more wholesome folk image of wedding music; moreover, it is tied to an emerging ideological strain of nationalism (see below). It also reveals a conscious marketing strategy; Payner is not only legitimating *chalga* by allying it with wedding music, but it is also putting glitz into folk music by having *chalga* stars sing it.

Kyuchek rhythms are still very common in mainstream *chalga* but no longer are musicians depicted; there are fewer and shorter solo *taksims* and the synthesizer has taken over. In 2001 Payner's Planeta compilation hit mix CD included Turkish and Romani songs, but by 2004, Payner's hit mix had only Bulgarian language songs sung by predominately female stars. Romani and Turkish music is certainly released by Payner and other companies (such as songs by Amet, Yuliya Bikova, Kondyo, Ork. Kristali, Nazmi'ler and Ana-Maria) but on separate CDs and videos, often labelled "Oriental rhythms". Mainstream *chalga* has become less ethnic precisely at a time when nationalism is on the rise. However, there are several Romani singers that fall in the more mainstream category such as Boni, Toni Storaro, Sofi Marinova and Azis. Below I discuss representational choices of Marinova and Azis.

Another popfolk forum where Roma seem to be invisible is the Balkan Music Awards, which debuted in May 2010 in Sofia. These annual awards are sponsored by the Balkanika music television channel, part of the media conglomerate Fen TV, owned by the Kazŭmov brothers, who also manage the labels Ara-Diapason and the cable channels

[10] See Emilia 2005. The song appeared on the album Hitove na Planeta Payner 3 (2005). Emilia is one of the top stars promoted by Payner. She has been featured on the cover of the Bulgarian edition of FHM (For Him Magazine) and in several revealing photograph spreads in the fan magazine Nov Folk. See Fig 1.

[11] See Yaneva and Cercel 2010.

[12] Silverman 2007.

Fen (Fan)[13] and Folklor[14]. According to its website,[15] Balkanika has presented the "united music of Balkans [*sic*]" since 2005 from eleven countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Republic of Macedonia, Romania, Slovenia, Serbia, Montenegro and Turkey. Balkanika claims that: "The channel acts as a virtual bridge between fans of the Balkan rhythms from different ethnic, religious and cultural background" [*sic*]. Note that its genres are labelled "pop, rock, ethno and retro music." Although Romani styles and *kyuchek* rhythms are common on this channel, the word Gypsy is not mentioned; perhaps it is too stigmatized. Also note that Kosovo is not included; its status is too controversial.

Furthermore, at the Balkan Music Awards in 2010 and 2011, Europop styles with virtually no Eastern ethnic elements predominated in every entry from every country despite the dominant discourse about pan-Balkan strengths. In an insightful conference paper, ethnomusicologist Ana Hofman interprets the lack of Balkan styles at the awards as a deliberate distancing from the stereotypic image of the Balkans because it is tainted by Gypsies.[16] She employs Bakić-Hayden's 1995 concept of "nesting orientalisms" to decipher this shifting denomination (see below), whereby the Balkans are "Oriental" to Europe but Roma are "Oriental" within the Balkans. The underlying question, however, in the awards and in the subtext of many cultural debates is: are the Balkans part of Europe? Deriving legitimacy as "the Balkan Eurovision", and calling its judges "the Balkan Academy", the Balkan Music Awards emphasize Balkan commonalities and shared European values. However, in the awards pan-Balkan Gypsy styles were erased in favour of showcasing European popular musical culture.[17]

Chalga, "Balkanism" and Ethnic Politics

We may now return to an analysis of the culture wars over *chalga*, which have polarized Bulgarian society. Not surprisingly, debates about popfolk in various countries have centred on what it means to be Balkan, often contrasted to what it means to be European.[18] The historian Maria Todorova, for example, has written eloquently on the ambivalent attitude of Bulgarians toward the Ottoman past, and Kiossev reminds us that for Bulgarians, Balkan can be coded as either positive or negative. It can mean uncivilized, Oriental and backward or familiar and intimate or "tricksterlike".[19]

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[13] See Fen.

[14] See Folklor.

[15] See Balkanika.

[16] Hofman 2011. Note that despite the lack of Balkan styles in the competition, Goran Bregović and Esma Redžepova performed as guests in a gala concert in June 2011. These two artists, the former non-Romani and the latter Romani, are both strongly associated with Gypsy music and drew a large audience. Thus, Gypsy music seems to be acceptable for entertainment for generating crowds, but not in the official competition.

[17] Eran Livni notes that the awards as well as other parts of the Fen TV media company are run according to a strict business model where profits are paramount (pers. comm.).

[18] Ditchev writes "the new identity debates in the 1990s was largely dominated by the question of whether or not to be Balkan" (2002, 235). The issue of European Union membership has heightened these issues.

[19] Todorova 1997. Kiossev writes of the "dark intimacy" of acts of identification, as in "we're all just Balkan shit" (2002, 182, 183 and 189). Herzfeld's concept of cultural intimacy can be fruitfully applied here (1997). Kiossev writes: "Balkan culture domesticates the official codes of national representation […] through the multiple uses, misuses, and flexible appropriations performed by social actors in everyday life. Popular amusements in the Balkans produce ironic self-images and display them in semi-public spaces of insiders' 'collective pri-

Note that the figure of the Gypsy looms rather prominently in the imagery of the backward/Oriental Balkans or in Kiossev's terms "the stigma".[20] In all Balkan languages (in fact in most European languages), Gypsy is used as a slur, meaning thief, and in Bulgarian *tsiganska rabota* (Gypsy work) means a job poorly done or a deceitful business move. Again, the concept of "nesting orientalisms"[21] can be helpful in teasing out who is perceived as more Balkan or more "other" than whom. Bulgarians may be Balkan/Oriental to Western Europeans (or even Croatians) but Gypsies are Balkan/Oriental to Bulgarians. Sugarman reminds us that not only are Roma the most marginalized group, but they are precisely the group from which pop/folk appropriated its style: "Within this dynamic of musical 'nesting Orientalisms,' Roma are of course in a class by themselves, both as the group which all others have stigmatized and as the musicians who once dominated the spheres in which the majority of the new regional genres arose".[22]

Eran Livni claims that "the exclusion of Romani music from the national music canon reflects the low social status to which Roma people are confined: the most derogated 'Balkanist Other.' A common perception in Bulgaria is that maintaining the public space 'European' and 'civilized' means cleansing it from 'backward Gypsies'".[23] Critiquing a narrow application of "Orientalism" to the Balkans, Todorova introduced the concept of "Balkanism" to show how the Balkans are constructed as a locus of "backwardness" for the West.[24] Looking at multiple layers of "othering" and lack of "civility", film scholar Dina Iordanova expanded Todorova's concept to underline the special position of Roma in "Balkanist" discourse. She explains that Roma in the Balkans serve as a metaphor for the entire Balkans to Europe: "when choosing Roma stories and characters, Balkan film-makers use them as a metaphor in 'Balkan to Europe as Gypsies to us' sense. The fact that the Roma are considered to be the least integrated ethnic community in these parts bears direct parallels to the way the Balkans are seen in a wider context – as the least integrated group of countries within the greater European realm."[25]

In the debates about *chalga* in Bulgaria, it is, then, not surprising that the criticism about Eastern elements is often phrased specifically against Roma; for example, I frequently heard the following phrase: "It is a shame that now Bulgarians only want to hear Gypsy music". Levy cites slogans from newspapers such as "Down with *kyuchek*" and "It wouldn't be surprising if soon the national anthem sounded oriental", and she describes a 1999 petition to parliament signed by prominent cultural figures which pleaded for a "cleansing" of the national soundscape, where the petitioners referred to *chalga* as "bad", "vulgar", and "strange" sounds coming from the "uncivilized experiences of the local Gypsies and Turks". The petition expressed concern "about an invasion by their music which might result in the 'gypsification' and 'turkification' of the nation".[26] Note that *chalga*, and thus Roma, are associated with low morals and lack of civilization. Levy points out that nationalists see heritage as threatened and they personify the threat in

vacy'[…]. It also often scandalously perverts these negative auto-stereotypes into positive ones, with a peculiar emotional ambivalence […]" (2002, 189–190).

[20] Kiossev 2002, 189.

[21] Bakić-Hayden 1995.

[22] Sugarman 2007, 303.

[23] Livni 2011, 273–274.

[24] Todorova 1997.

[25] Iordanova 2001, 215–216.

[26] Levy 2002, 224.

Roma.

Ironically, despite the branding of the entire genre of *chalga* as Gypsy, therefore negative, one recent strain in *chalga* emphasizes Bulgarian nationalism which is inherently anti-Roma. Around 2005, patriotic texts and imagery began to appear and some *chalga* singers started to display their religiosity by wearing large Eastern Orthodox crosses (crosses are also a symbol of wealth) and indentifying with nationalistic issues. Precisely during this period the xenophobic Attack (*Ataka*) party made its noticeable debut. In 2005 it achieved a stunning victory when it captured 8% of parliamentary votes. Its anti-Romani platform (i.e. Roma are dangerous) and its anti-Turkish, anti-Muslim platform (i.e. Turks are fanatics) embraces cultural issues such as supporting the Eastern Orthodox Church and protesting the construction of mosques.[27]

More recently, Attack supporters have declined in numbers but more mainstream parties, including the ruling centrist party, have adopted some of its tenets; furthermore, Attack is legitimated by having representatives in the European Parliament. I don't think it is an accident that nationalistic imagery and texts arose in *chalga* along with the rise of nationalistic parties. For example, in the finale from a 2005 Payner megaconcert, after views of Bachkovo Monastery (signifying religious heritage), *chalga* stars on stage were filmed holding hands performing a song about the Virgin Mary with the refrain "Thank God we have such a clean and good land". This text is not so much about religion but about patriotism. In this concert, children were brought on stage, emphasizing the "family values" of *chalga*. Other *chalga* songs with patriotic texts from this period refer to the Iraq war and to Bulgarian soldiers' sacrifices throughout history.

Thus, *chalga* embeds contradictory messages regarding state loyalty, market relations and ethnic diversity. One message demonizes the genre as backward/Gypsy; another blames Roma for the commercialism of Balkan music; another lauds *chalga* as the modern successor to Ottoman cosmopolitanism; another emphasizes the Europop elements and proclaims European modernity; another appropriates Romani styles but rejects Roma and embraces nationalism. Moreover, Roma are either branded as Oriental stereotypes or hybrid innovators or else rejected as polluters of national purity.

Imre uses the phrase "double cooptation" to refer to the untenable position Roma artists occupy as they are caught between the state and the market.[28] "The Roma are twice rendered abject in the negotiation between nation-states and corporate agents of globalization and Europeanization. First because they are perceived as unable and unwilling to assimilate to the national project […]. Second, the Roma are also demonized because of their inherently transnational identity affiliations which turns them into convenient suspects for allying themselves with the dreaded forces of globalization."[29]

Ditchev points out that *chalga*, as "low class music", is totally excluded from the rubric "culture"; this rubric is reserved for the high arts and folklore that "instill love for the homeland". Bulgaria is not conceived of as a place where different ethnicities live together but rather a "form of kinship, based upon pure and direct (imagined, of course) filiation". Roma are, of course, left out of this equation of place with monoethnicity. Furthermore, culture is opposed to pleasure and consumption.[30] Thus, Roma are twice erased: first in terms of being outside the nation and second in terms of being too tied to

[27] Ghodsee 2008.
[28] Imre 2008, 335.
[29] Imre 2006, 661.
[30] Ditchev 2004.

consumption.

Ideological statements about music need to be placed in a larger political framework, specifically the rise in nationalism. A 2005 Gallup poll conducted by the Bulgarian Helsinki Committee shows that one-fifth of Bulgarians are so anti-Romani (and also anti-Turk and, to a slightly lesser extent, anti-Semitic) that they do not recognize the right of these minorities to live in the same country as "pure Bulgarians"; 27% of Bulgarians would not want to live in the same country as Roma. In answering the question "would you personally accept a Roma as a local police chief?" 82% said "no"; similar figures were obtained when the question asked about a government minister or an army officer. 85–86% of respondents agreed with the statement that Roma are lazy, irresponsible and untrustworthy (57% agreed with the statement that "Turks are religious fanatics"; and 29% agreed that "Jews are taking up many leadership positions", in spite of their total absence from state leadership). The poll found that these attitudes are clustered neither by age, nor region, nor educational level, nor income level but rather spread out among all Bulgarians, indicating "deeply rooted prejudices, carried over […] from the entire child-rearing and educational system".[31]

It is not surprising, then, that the racist themes of parties like Attack are attractive to some Bulgarians. As mentioned above, in the June 2005 parliamentary elections Attack received 8.14% of the vote and became the fourth largest party in parliament. In October 2006 Volen Siderov, head of Attack, received 21% of the votes for president. Attack is against the European Union membership of Turkey, and one of Attack's campaign mottos is precisely the phrase used in the petition discussed above: "No to Gypsification! No to Turkification!" On its cable channel SKAT, Attack broadcast seven programmes on criminality and "Gypsy Terror" in which Siderov suggested that Bulgarians "were being murdered, robbed, beaten and raped daily by an alien minority and were not getting any protection from the law enforcement authorities who had united with the Roma against the Bulgarians because they are the employees of a corrupt ruling class."[32]

Attack and other nationalist parties claim that there is reverse discrimination and that Bulgarians are now the victims and Roma are the perpetrators. They have managed to take the Roma, the most vulnerable citizens of Bulgaria, and construct them as a criminal race that "sows terror against Bulgarians unhindered by the state". In fact, in one Attack TV broadcast, Roma were called cockroaches.[33] Attack supporters have used the slogan "Gypsies into soap", and a rap song with this phrase circulated on private channels. Attack has found many allies in the European Parliament and is part of a group called "Identity, Tradition and Sovereignty", whose platform is anti-immigration, anti-European Union constitution and anti-Turkish membership. The leader of the group was fined by the French Court for remarks made in 2004 questioning the Holocaust.

Thus, returning to the topic of music, we can see that as Romani music has been appropriated into *chalga*, Roma themselves have not become more integrated socially, economically or politically into Bulgarian society. Rather, Roma remain marginal, and, in fact, Romani activists claim that the human rights of Roma have deteriorated since Bulgaria became a member of the European Union in 2007. Ironically, Bulgaria is no longer subject to the strict EU monitoring of human rights that accession required. The ruling party is moving toward the right; for example, in 2010 it did not raise objections to the

[31] Cohen 2005; also see Ghodsee 2008.
[32] Kanev 2005.
[33] Kanev 2005.

deportations of Roma from France back to Bulgaria, and in 2011 it audited many Romani organizations in a long and harassing process.

True, Romani musicians found work as *chalga* musicians in the 1990s, but in the last two decades the Romani presence in *chalga* has become a topic of national debate. Thus, I now briefly turn to two of the handful of Romani stars who have managed to be successful in mainstream *chalga*, Sofi Marinova and Azis.

Sofi Marinova

Sofi Marinova is one of the most talented *chalga* vocalists but, being Romani, she does not fall into the category of the typical bombshell, and thus her career has not been standard. She was born in 1975 in Sofia, speaks Romani, is self taught, and from a young age she performed in bars and at Romani weddings.[34] Called the *Romska perla* ("Gypsy Pearl" [Bulgarian]), she recorded for several years with the Romani band Super Ekspres and in 1996 they won the grand prize at the Stara Zagora Romani festival. Sofi's masterful technique can be heard in her Romani songs where she executes exquisite descending runs and repeated mordents.

Fig. 2. Sofi Marinova.

In the past, Sofi had many fans, but she was slow to achieve visibility in mainstream *chalga*, probably due to her ethnicity. In 2005, however, Sofi became part of a huge public scandal involving television host Slavi Trifonov and the Eurovision Song

[34] Cartwright 2005b.

Contest. She was the butt of cruel comments and racist remarks, and the polarization of Bulgarian society around *chalga* surfaced. A virulent anti-Romani campaign focused on whether a Romani artist could properly represent Bulgaria in a European-wide contest. Note that Sofi and Slavi's song *Edinstveni* ("Unique Ones" [Bulgarian]) that was derailed from Eurovision in 2005, had extremely subtle Romani elements.[35] Its rhythm is the type of *kyuchek* typically used to invoke India, accented by *darbuka* and *daire*, two typically "Eastern" instruments. But there are also strong pop elements in the song.

As a result of the Eurovision scandal, Sofi's career mushroomed; she began to perform in the West (e.g. Brussels, London), and her image was transformed. On her earlier albums she was depicted as a Middle Eastern playgirl, whereas after 2004, she became more elegant (see Fig. 2). Her 2004 album was titled *5 Oktava lyubov* ("Five Octaves of Love" [Bulgarian]) referring to her five-octave range. On this album Sofi shows her mastery of multiple Balkan vocal styles as well as languages: two songs are in Serbian, two in Greek and two in Turkish, in addition to several songs in her native Bulgarian and Romani languages. For example, she sings *Ušest* (Serbian line dance) with regional ornamentation in a Serbian dialect of Romani. She also sings a duet with Serbian Romani singer Zvonko Demirović. Finally, she uses talented guest musicians on this album rather than using the bland synthesized arrangements typical of most *chalga* singers.

Sofi partakes in all the trappings of mainstream *chalga* stardom described earlier, but she also openly identifies as a Romani singer. However, being a practical artist, she does not avoid formulaic sexuality in her more mainstream videos. This is a delicate balance. In *Stiga nomera* ("Enough of That Trick" [Bulgarian]), for example, she dances *kyuchek* to a reworked Romani tune in a contemporary setting.[36] We may say that she participates in her own stereotypification, but for Sofi there are two levels: first as a mainstream *chalga* sex symbol and second as an exotic Romani female vocalist. Remember that not only do stereotypes sell, but also that music videos are manufactured by private production companies, none of which are owned or operated by Roma; thus Roma usually are not making independent decisions about their representations. Sofi, however, has achieved a level of success that allows her some power to shape her songs and image.

On Marinova's 2006 album, she sings *Vyatŭr* ("Wind" [Bulgarian]), a remake in the Romani language of pop diva Lili Ivanova's hit song, with brass band instrumentation. Indeed, Sofi used to be called the Romani Lili Ivanova. She also described her affinity for films from India, the Romani homeland, and she claimed the timbre of her voice "resembles a bit an Indian voice" when she sings in Romani.[37] Indeed, in her song *V Drug svyat zhiveya* ("I Live in Another World" [Bulgarian]) she uses a high-pitched Indian voice timbre and sings one verse in Hindi. The song also features a variant of a *kyuchek* rhythm associated with India, synthesized Rajasthani drums (*dhol*) and string and flute fillers reminiscent of Indian film music.

The fact that Sofi clearly identifies as a Romani popfolk singer was narrated by an astute fan, Nick Nasev: "Sofi performed at a concert in Gotse Delchev to a sold-out crowd of non-Romani elite businessmen and middle-class Roma; poor Roma who couldn't afford the tickets gathered outside and climbed on an adjacent building to see and hear her; they knew every word of her songs. When Sofi realized this, she went outside to sing directly to them. She said to them (in Romani): "This is where I was as a little girl." The

[35] See Sofi and Slavi 2007. The Eurovision scandal is discussed in Silverman 2012.
[36] See Sofi 2006.
[37] Lozanova 2006, 18.

management was annoyed but they knew the huge Romani crowd was a tribute to her, so they gave out free Cokes to the Roma" (pers. comm.).

In the last seven years, Sofi has re-emphasized her personal brand of popfolk with many songs in Romani. In 2005 she released *Vasilica* ("St. Basil's Day") that describes the Romani customs of this winter holiday. Also in 2005 she released *Ah lele* ("Oh Dear") which is a Bulgarian language remake of an Albanian Romani song by Muharem Ahmeti, a Romani singer from Tetovo, Macedonia. On her 2008 album she sang the "Romani anthem" *Dželem dželem* ("I Travelled" [Romani]), *Mik mik* ("Wink, Wink"; a remake of a popular older song) and *Bubamara*, taken from the Serbian Romani singer Šaban Bajramović. In 2009 she and rap star Ustata released *Bate shefe* ("Uncle Boss") which is a playful parody of both rap and Romani songs, in English, Bulgarian and Romani languages.[38]

Marinova's ties to Romani music were further cemented with her 2007 collaboration with Azis (see below) but five years later she entered the national Bulgarian Eurovision contest in 2012 with a song that had neither Romani nor Balkan elements. Rather than viewing this as contradictory, I observe Marinova making strategic representational choices. With *Love Unlimited*,[39] a song in pop style where Marinova sings "I love you" in multiple languages, she won the right to represent Bulgaria despite being Romani. She was denied this in 2005 when her duet with Trifonov was mired in a musical/ethnic scandal about Gypsies. Has Bulgaria become more tolerant of Roma since 2005? I think not; rather Sofi's strategy changed. In 2012 she won by playing it safe and being more mainstream; by erasing telltale Romani markers and emphasizing her European and Bulgarian identities, as well as her vocal abilities, she won a place in Eurovision. On the other hand, playing it safe has not been the strategy for Azis.

Azis

Azis is a notable exception to my earlier observation about the predominance of female *chalga* singers. Indeed, Azis, who emerged as a mega-star in the last decade, is an exception to many of the rules of *chalga*. A Romani male who is ambiguous sexually, transgendered and transvestite, he breaks every Balkan gender code of behaviour. In his videos, he dances erotic *kyucheks*, loves fancy gowns, make-up, feathers, sequins and high heeled boots, has sex with men, women, himself or several people at once or watches others engage in sexual acts. He can be super macho or super feminine or both simultaneously. The public fascination with him draws on his transgressive behaviour which is tolerable and even expected because he is Romani; if he were a Bulgarian man he would be despised (see Fig. 3).

Azis is by far the most radical Romani performer in Bulgaria today. In 2005 he was a candidate for a parliamentary position in the Evroroma political party but did not win. Bulgarians either love him or hate him, and consequently he has amplified the debates about the crassness of *chalga*. In 2006, Sunny Records published his autobiography (with pin-up photographs); it is basically a guide to his sex life, including cosmetic surgeries.[40]

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[38] See Sofi and Ustata 2009.
[39] See Sofi 2012.
[40] Azis 2006.

Music journalist Garth Cartwright wrote that "You don't count Azis's press cuttings, you weigh them […]. His metamorphosis into the most controversial entertainer in Bulgarian history involved a demonic appearance-shift and videos so lurid, so hallucinated with desire, they leave efforts by The Prodigy and Marilyn Manson gathering MTV dust".[41]

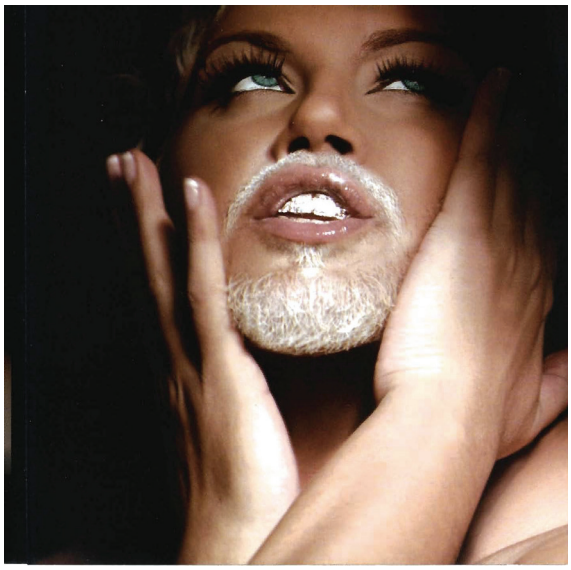

Fig. 3. Azis diva.

A Kalderash Rom, Azis was born Vasil Boyanov in 1978 in Sliven and at a young age started singing Christian Romani songs with his Pentcostal family. He performed in a bar where he worked as a waiter and sang at weddings, eventually winning the best singer award at the 1999 Stara Zagora Romani music festival. Azis realized from a young age that he was an outsider in multiple ways (in terms of ethnicity, gender and sexuality) and that he could either suffer from this situation or capitalize on it. His autobiography begins by describing the 1996 Bulgarian National Television contest (for pop music) for young talent, which he says he deserved to win. He wore blue contact lenses and a great deal of hair gel: "They stopped me in the middle [of my song]. They told me thank you. By their tone I realized that I lost. And I knew why. Because I am a Gypsy. I was ashamed of this. That's how they lost a male pop singer. But Azis was born. Even Gypsies hate me […]. Because I am fair and blue eyed."[42]

As a child Azis played with dolls and dressed in his mother's clothes. As a teenager he cleaned offices, walked dogs for rich people and performed as a transvestite.[43] When he was interviewed on Slavi's TV show in 2005 he admitted that as a young man he could not make a living as a wedding singer, so he and his agent invented the persona Azis. On the show he refused to define his sexuality – part of his mystique comes from audiences guessing. In October 2006 he married a man at a huge wedding in a Sofia nightclub in front of an audience of *chalga* stars and 200 journalists. Still, he would not pigeonhole his sexuality. His wedding was the first public homosexual union in Bulgaria, a country with very traditional values. He and his partner now have a child. While he is not overtly political, Azis underscored that part of being in the European Union is being tolerant toward homosexuals.[44]

Like Madonna and Lady Gaga, Azis capitalizes on shock value in his performances. He has broken numerous taboos, and the list is growing. Not only does he refuse to be categorized by sex (male, female), gender (masculine, feminine) or sexuality (homo-

[41] Cartwright 2005a, 262–263.
[42] Azis 2006, 12–13.
[43] Cartwright 2005a, 260, 266.
[44] Nov Folk 2007, 4.

sexual, heterosexual, bisexual), but his clothing and image shift constantly. Musically, he is a versatile and talented vocalist and can sing slow Bulgarian folk songs with complicated ornamentation. On his 2004 album *Kralyat* ("The King" [Bulgarian]) he includes one of these traditional songs, juxtaposed with a poster-sized pin-up that exaggerates the contrast between his brown skin and bleached white hair. The album also includes a Bollywood song, plus its inside cover shows Azis masturbating, and in another shot he wears red thigh-high platform boots and a pink fur hat. Thus the traditional, the erotic, the exotic and the transgressive are all juxtaposed.

Azis took his name from Turkey, and, indeed, he can be fruitfully compared to two transgressive Turkish (non-Romani) singers: Zeki Müren and Bülent Ersoy. Müren had multiple gendered personas, sometimes wore female clothing and played with a Liberace-type flamboyant male style. Ersoy is a transsexual, that is, she declared himself a woman after surgery, but she keeps much about her personal life hidden. Both artists were influenced by the female singer Müzeyyen Senar.[45] Azis has similarly drawn one of his main personas from the hypersexuality of mainstream *chalga* singers; the trick is that he is a man exacting the hypersexualized female role. From a historical perspective, Azis evokes professional Ottoman dancers who staged elaborate pageants and assumed various sexualities. Indeed, the comic and the playful have an important place in Azis's style.

Azis has also found affinities in the Romani homeland, India. He told Cartwright that when he was a child: "A friend […] gave me a cassette of Indian music and […] I listened to it day and night […]. Whenever they showed Bollywood movies […] hundreds of Gypsies would be waiting and when the movie started we would all begin to cry."[46] Embracing India, the song *Antigeroi* ("Antihero" [Bulgarian]) is filmed in grainy black and white and depicts kaleidoscopes of Azis wearing animalistic claws and green, yellow and orange body paint while dancing in front of a Hindu temple that has erotic sculptures.[47] This is obviously not a typical mainstream *chalga* video.[48] The song is taken from the popular 1993 Bollywood movie, *Khalnayak* (released in Bulgaria as *Antigeroi*). Azis sings the original song (in mangled Hindi) and then we hear the original female film singer. The lyrics caused a scandal in India because the Hindi refrain, *Choli ke peeche kya hai,* asking a woman "what is behind your shirt", could be interpreted sexually instead of the more acceptable answer, "my heart". The music, in a *rag* similar to *makam* Hicâz, features synthesized Indian instruments.

Azis portrays the fluidity of categories not only through his sexual encounters, but also through his musical voicings and through the shifts in the audience's point of view in his videos. In the 2008 clip *Nakarai me* ("Force Me" [Bulgarian]) Azis introduced (by name) three buff men (sometimes wearing women's accessories, one noticeably dark-skinned) and one practically nude female, and suggestively offers variable sexual combinations of the assembled five actors. Finally, in *Teb obicham* ("I Love You", [Bulgarian]), also released in 2008, he appears in a dress, earrings, make-up, and presents shifting sexualities in a black and white pageant; he also sings a vocal *mane* on the syllable *ah*, reminiscent of Romani instrumental improvisations.

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[45] Stokes 2003, 319. Stokes analyzes these two singers in relation to concepts of modernity and reminds us that they cannot assumed to be critical of existing categories (2003).
[46] Cartwright 2005a, 266.
[47] The temple pictured is Khajuraho, in North India and it is, indeed, known for its erotic Hindu sculptures. There are other temples pictured in this video as well as shots of Tibetans praying at a Buddhist sacred site.
[48] See Azis 2007.

Finally, I turn to the 2007 duet *Edin zhivot ne stiga* ("One Life Isn't Enough" [Bulgarian]) because it pairs the two Romani *chalga* stars I have discussed above, Azis and Sofi Marinova.[49] The vocal style is typically Romani, with florid ornamentation and with emotional cries, glottals and gasps. In a dramatic moment Azis even switches to falsetto briefly at the end. The text is a love poem in Bulgarian but it switches to Romani for the last two lines.[50]

Obich moya nenagledna, slŭntse i luna	My darling love, sun and moon
Radost pŭrva i posledna	My first and last happiness
Ti zan men si dar ot raya	For me you are a gift from heaven
I bŭdi taka do kraya	And stay that way until the end!
Ti si izgrev za ochite	You are like dawn for my eyes
Moyat zvezden chas	My starry hour
I piyan ot obich peya	And I sing drunk with love
I za tebe az kopneya	And I yearn for you
Vinagi shte zhivee lyubovta vuv nas	Love will always live inside us
Chorus:	
Edin zhivot dvama s teb shte razdelim	We two will divide one life
Edin zhivot ne stiga nezhnostta da spodelim	One life isn't enough for us to share our tenderness
Kato vyatŭr pak me galyat tvoite kosi	Like wind, your hair caresses me
Kato ogŭn dnes me palyat ustnite ti nepoznati	Like fire today your unknown lips burn me
Chustvam ya – lyubovta ti	I feel it – your love
Iskam s obich da opiya tvoeto sŭrtse	I want to become drunk with your heart
Tazi istinska magiya v sebe si, zapazi ya	Keep this magic within yourself
Az pred tebe shte razkriya novi svetove	I'll uncover new worlds for you
Romani:	
Merava tuke, te kale jakhja mangav te dikhav	I die for you, I love to see your black eyes
Merava tuke, te lole vušta mangav te čumidav	I die for you, I love to kiss your red lips

The video depicts a male patron in a club watching Azis and Sofi belly-dance on stage (with a reference to pole dancing). The client snorts cocaine. Sofi and Azis are both wearing make-up and are similarly dressed in belly-dance outfits. Sofi shows her midriff and Azis wears a skirt over pants but the pants are cut-off, exposing one buttock. This video equalizes males and females as sex objects, and the patron seems equally interested in Azis and Sofi. On their part, they seem to vie for his attention – they hardly sing to each other but rather each sings to the patron. The males seem interested in each other just as much, if not more than they are in Sofi. Thus, instead of the standard heterosexual triangle (two males fighting over one woman), the video suggests other permutations.

I suggest that Azis is playing with both gender and ethnic stereotypes; he can be super feminine or super macho, super Gypsy or super non-ethnic. But the ways he

[49] See Azis and Sofi 2007.

[50] Dual language songs are fairly common among Romani and Turkish singers. Note that the song is in Phrygian mode and uses a *kyuchek* rhythm and typical arabesk instrumental fillers; the clarinet provides a powerful solo, employing a neutral second. The melody comes from a Turkish song.

combines these stereotypes is most fascinating. Often Azis adopts the standard Oriental stereotype but overlays it with a gendered stereotype of the super feminine. In many of his videos, however, *he* is the super feminine, which exposes the stereotype as constructed (in Judith Bulter's terms, as "performative"). I am not suggesting that he is critical of Eastern stereotypes; rather, he loves play-acting – the Oriental is a fantasy world for him. But the Oriental is a different type of fantasy for a Romani transvestite man than for a mainstream *chalga* star. To phrase it differently, if he can be as Oriental as any *chalga* star, he can be as feminine; and if he can be as feminine, he has destabilized the categories. Despite his elaborate stagings, Azis is actually much more grounded in Romani music than most mainstream *chalga* stars; he sings live frequently; he consistently uses real guest musicians and gives them solos; and he features instrumental *kyucheks* on his albums, quite unheard of on the albums of the female mainstream stars.

In comparing Sofi Marinova with Azis, we can see that both artists faced exclusions early in their careers due to their ethnicity; as their careers matured, they both have publically and musically claimed their Romani identity. However, while Marinova has strategically enacted the mainstream non-ethnic heterosexual *chalga* bombshell (most recently for Eurovision 2012), Azis has not had this opportunity. Perhaps due to the stigma of his multiple and fluid marginalities (ethnic, sex, gender, sexuality) he has chosen a more radical direction.

Conclusion

In sum, Bulgarian popfolk can serve as an important window into ethnic relations and representational strategies. In *chalga* we see how debates about "Balkanism" are discursively expressed and enacted performatively, either embracing a new version of Ottoman pan-Balkan culture as cosmopolitan or rejecting it as Oriental and backward. In these debates, Roma occupy an especially charged position; they are demonized for lack of civility, yet lauded as genetically gifted musical performers. Livni notes that music is the prime medium through which Roma in Bulgaria can imagine themselves as a legitimate public, but, on the other hand, music reaffirms their stigma of being the backward Balkan other.[51]

Roma performers, then, occupy challenging terrain in Bulgaria. Whereas their musical styles have been appropriated into *chalga*, Roma themselves face high levels of prejudice and segregation in Bulgarian society. Some forms of mainstream *chalga* have become nationalistic and exclusionary, while other branches of *chalga* trade in orientalist fantasies. *Chalga* production companies are not run by Roma and Roma rarely have the power to determine their own representations. However, a few Romani stars, such as Azis and Sofi Marinova, have attained successful careers in mainstream *chalga*. Their negotiations offer a glimpse into the strategies of representation that Roma employ when trying to market themselves in a highly politicized context where the meanings of being Bulgarian, Balkan and European are contested.

[51] Livni 2011.

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ChalgaTube: Bulgarian *Chalga* on the Internet

Vesa Kurkela

Introduction

Bulgarian *chalga* – local popular music, that is also called "ethnopop" and "popfolk" – has been well-known and celebrated for more than fifteen years in Bulgaria. Musically speaking, *chalga* is a complex mixture of various traditions and musical styles. The components of this fusion include Serbian, Macedonian, Greek and Turkish popular music; older Bulgarian popular songs; various styles of Balkan Gypsy music – especially *svatbarska muzika* (wedding music) and *kyuchek* by Bulgarian Romani players – Western pop, rock, techno and rap; as well as the global currents of flamenco and Afro-Latin music among others. One of the best short definitions of *chalga* and its musical roots is by Carol Silverman: "From wedding music *chalga* drew instrumentation, from Romani music it drew the ubiquitous *kyuchek* rhythms plus eastern melodic and visual motifs, and from pop it drew a slick presentation style plus rhyming texts about money, sex, and corruption".[1] Most scholars stress the eastern musical traits; as Donna Buchanan puts it, *chalga* is "Bulgaria's musical Orient".[2]

During the last ten years, the *chalga* scene and related music production have changed considerably, mostly for technical reasons. Like everywhere in the world, digital technology has pervaded all kinds of cultural industries, resulting in major changes in production and consumption practices. Today, older *chalga* production with audio and video cassettes, and analogous sound technology, mainly belongs to the past. It has given way to audiovisual music production based on digital technology. Increasingly, *chalga* music is also available on the Internet. This paper discusses the changes in the Bulgarian *chalga* scene in the late 2000s, at the point when *chalga* began to be a permanent part of the digital mediascape. In other words, this is a story about how Bulgarian indigenous popular music became part of Western "technoculture" and how new digital technology implicates cultural practices involving music.[3] The change will be analyzed through *chalga* videos distributed by a special Internet service, the ChalgaTube.

Since the mid-1990s, c*halga* has been very popular in the Bulgarian pop scene. However, the rest of the world hardly knows *chalga* at all. Somewhat surprisingly, this swinging dance music has neither gained access to the world music scene, nor to any other special markets of popular music outside Bulgaria.

This paper goes back to my many visits to Bulgaria in the 1990s. My principal aim was to conduct research on the changes of local popular music and audiovisual media after the Communist regime. The post-Socialist reality quite often seemed confusing, not only to me but also to my local colleagues and friends, who had to organize their lives in very unstable and changing social and economic circumstances. It was a time of eco-

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[1] Silverman 2007a, 83–84.
[2] Buchanan 2007, 236.
[3] Lysloff and Gay 2003, 2, 6–8.

nomic transition that lasted (relatively) a long time.[4]

Chalga was a real novelty in the Bulgarian music market in the mid-1990s, when the transition economy and the deregulation of cultural institutions were just unfolding. Personally, I found two aspects of *chalga* especially attractive: the craziness and the Oriental mood. Firstly, the most interesting *chalga* songs had humorous and sarcastic lyrics, often far from political correctness, emphasized by the embarrassing and even offensive visual content in many videos. Even more interestingly, many songs were highly topical when commenting on the socio-political situation in the country. In a way, *chalga* was not only groovy dance music but a new kind of political song.

Secondly, *chalga* song writers, singers and musicians skilfully utilized several Eastern musical traits and cultural images in their songs. Actually, the stylistic core of *chalga* featured distinguishable rhythmic patterns, overall sound ideals and melodic formulas associated with "Oriental" or belly-dance music. These and many visual characteristics in *chalga* videos referred directly to an imagined "East" and, simultaneously, to all kinds of dance music styles found throughout the Eastern Mediterranean. Even today, *chalga* is a highly interesting example of Orientalism in the modern globalized mediascape. The Oriental elements are often mixed with Romani musical traditions, thus stressing the importance of minority cultures behind Bulgarian national mainstream music.

In its unique manner, *chalga* could combine Bulgarian modernity and the Ottoman legacy, and this very feature made it extremely popular in the late 1990s. Timothy Rice interprets the *chalga* phenomenon as a twofold game between Western – and neutral – *popfolk* and Oriental – and embarrassing – *chalga*. According to him, "the modern in *popfolk* […] gives its fans hope that some day the economic progress they associate with western European and global markets will come their way. As *chalga*, however, the genre seems to fly in the face of those values by performing Bulgaria's Ottoman legacy and by bringing to artistic and performative prominence what many intellectuals condemn as cheap and tasteless."[5] Rice also emphasizes the political and social function of *chalga*: "*Popfolk* is a way of letting off steam for the vast majority of Bulgarians – steam that scalds some intellectuals and politicians".[6]

Cassette Culture

In the 1990s *chalga* was born and blossomed in close relation to and, actually, as a result of the cassette culture. The compact cassette was originally invented in 1963 by the Phillips Company, and in the next decade it became an important part of Western phonogram industries. In the 1980s, the same happened in the non-Western world and, finally, after the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, cassette culture spread all over the Eastern European post-Communist countries. Due to its simple and robust design, the compact cassette spread quite quickly to all levels of the local music market, and radically affected the music consumption habits of everyday life.[7] The compact cassette became the symbol of the new local popular music and related – often hybrid – musical genres. Notably soon, cassette

[4] To a great extent, I reported and summarized the results of the project in two research articles (see Kurkela 1997 and *id.* 2007).
[5] Rice 2002, 37.
[6] Rice *ibid.*
[7] Skågeby 2011.

culture replaced the old and highly centralized music production based on microgroove vinyl discs.

According to Peter Manuel, basing his arguments on the study of cassette culture in Northern India in the 1980s, music cassette production with cheap and portable studio technology had several positive impacts on local music cultures: new local musical styles and genres emerged, and grass-roots music production became possible in the wake of the decentralization and deregulation of music media. These changes increased diversity and the freedom of musical expression, as cassettes can be used at the owner's convenience and discretion. Manuel even speaks about a "socio-musical revolution" in the local music scene "where cassettes and tape players constitute a two-way, potentially interactive micro-medium whose low expense makes it conducive to localized grassroots control and corresponding diversity of content".[8]

Nevertheless, some less positive or at least contradictory aspects were present in the development of the cassette culture. In many countries, old mainstream popular styles disappeared often totally from the local music market.[9] Not only was vinyl technology seen to be outdated, but the music connected to it also often sounded obsolete. In Bulgaria, the *chalga* boom silenced many older folk and popular music styles: *narodna muzika* (arranged folk music) performed by professionally trained, academic musicians; *estrada muzika*, Russian influenced popular songs – "Bulgarian schlager"; and finally even *svatbarska muzika*, wedding music, which was performed mostly by Romani musicians, and (a few years before) had been a symbol of the anti-government and anti-Communist resistance. All of these once celebrated genres lost their popularity in the 1990s, during the first decade of the post-Communist regime.[10]

The other problem was the unauthorized copying of music cassettes. With the special dual deck cassette recorders, commercial recordings could be duplicated quite effectively. This copying usually happened without any licence fees and increasing piracy caused losses not only for international recording companies but also for local labels. In the beginning, piracy was related to music cassettes, but after the writable compact discs (CD-R; CD-RW) became available, quite a large-scale music industry based exclusively on pirated CDs was born in Bulgaria. Thus, in the late 1990s, when Eastern European piracy was a hot topic in the international press and followed by the anti-piracy campaigns targeting local governments, the focus was on unauthorized CD production.[11] By the turn of millennium, the music cassette was still the most frequently used recording format in Bulgaria and elsewhere in post-Communist Eastern Europe.[12] Despite the large scale grassroots activity, cassette users could continue to duplicate unlicensed recordings undisturbed. Officially, all kinds of unauthorized copying were illegal in Bulgaria, but on the eve of the digital revolution, nobody was any longer interested in the alleged economic losses caused by home-taping or poor quality cassette copies sold by street vendors.

Nevertheless, discussion on music piracy persisted in Bulgaria and, likely even today, piracy is an integral part of Bulgarian music market, regardless of the European Un-

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[8] Manuel 1993, 2, 193–195; Jones 1992, 6.
[9] Manuel 1993, 2; Wallis and Malm 1984, 289.
[10] Silverman 2007a, 81–85; Rice 2002, 27–32.
[11] Kurkela 1997, 182–183.
[12] No data on Bulgarian cassette sales are available. However, according to the International Federation of Phonograph Industries in Turkey – Bulgaria's eastern neighbouring country – 87% of recorded music was sold in cassette form in 2001 (IFPI 2001; cf. Morton 2004, 173).

ion copyright legislation and its implementation, or international anti-piracy campaigns targeted at Bulgaria.[13] After the mid-2000s, however, the question of illegal phonogram copies, regardless of the format, was of decreasing importance. In recent years, piracy problems in Bulgaria have followed the general trend in the European Union and the rest of the Western world. The focus of unauthorized copying has moved to the Internet. The catchword of the day in unlicensed copying and circulation is BitTorrent; peer-to-peer (p2p) file sharing protocol and various file hosting networks and services based on it or some other file sharing protocols.[14] These wide-ranging Internet practices provide practically endless opportunities to share and load files with audiovisual content and thereby effectively reduce industry control. Self-evidently the abundant use of p2p exchange very often violates authors' rights and copyrights. [15]

The most popular bittorrent service in Bulgaria is Zamunda (zamunda.net), which is frequently used and difficult for the authorities to control or prohibit. As Bulgarian media insider Ralf Petrov puts it: "Zamunda is an intelligent way to load music files without paying license fees. From time to time, torrent users have troubles with the government but the user network is still growing well."[16]

The cultural practices behind the torrent networks and the massive circulation and loading of non-copyright audiovisual material on the Internet may seem a totally new phenomenon. However, many features of the so-called digital revolution are based on older cultural models, and this also applies to Internet piracy. In fact, the compact cassette – and its audiovisual equivalent, the VHS video cassette – had many features that made cassette culture a kind of prototype of the modern social media typical of the digital age. Music consumption, dissemination and production based on analogous cassette technology were relatively interactive and social in essence. By home taping, listeners could build up their own compilations of music – so-called "mixtapes" – and even record their own music for non-commercial distribution. In the lives of ordinary music lovers – the "end-users" of compact cassettes – cassette culture substantially increased the freedom of choice and easy access to various kinds of music – and, importantly for the economically distressed Bulgarians, this could all be realized at very low cost. When comparing the social networks in cassette culture to those on the Internet, one can easily summarize their differences and similarities. For the user, cassette technology was slower and more inefficient than the digital one, but the attitudes behind using both technologies were similar: the medium is used for accessing and finding one's favourite music as cheaply as possible.[17] From the ordinary user's perspective, the question of copyright is not an issue.

Chalga Videos in the Bulgarian Cassette Culture

After becoming acquainted with Bulgarian *chalga*, I chose music videos for my principal research topic. I realized that audiovisual recording reveals more analytical levels of the overall musical content than audio recordings can ever do. This idea seemed extremely important when Orientalism or other ideological aspects of music were scrutinized.

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[13] Kurkela 2007, 145.
[14] BitTorrent 2011.
[15] Arewa 2010, 436–437.
[16] Ralf Petrov, email 7 September 2011.
[17] Cf. Skågeby 2011.

Furthermore, the most faithful audiences of *chalga* liked to have parties in music bars while watching *chalga* videos on TV screens. Accordingly, video distribution was a very important background factor for the popularity of *chalga. Chalga* videos were also seen as suitable material for commercial TV programmes. At the turn of the new millennium, a few local TV channels in Bulgaria specialized in *chalga,* and these TV services were frequently used in music bars.[18] In a sense, *chalga* music bars are a modern substitute for the centuries old *mehana* tradition, consisting of tavern parties with live music. During the long years of transition economy, the music video became even more important for local social life, since Bulgarians had less money to pay for live music at social parties, such as weddings, birthdays and calendar festivals.

During the last ten years, digital audiovisual formats, most of all digital video discs (DVD), have replaced analogue VHS video cassettes. The technical quality is much better now, but the new DVD products are often so expensive that most *chalga* fans cannot afford them. Nevertheless, another aspect in the DVD production was crucial for the development of *chalga*'s dissemination. Due to new production standards, all new *chalga* videos were almost automatically in digital format and could be loaded easily and quickly onto any other digital sound carrier or music medium. As stated, a need for a cheaper audiovisual medium existed, and this medium could be found on the Internet.

YouTube – ChalgaTube

The Internet has created a very effective network for all kinds of information, and not least for commercial recordings and music videos. Since the central format of modern *chalga* is the digitized music video, it can be easily transferred to, and disseminated via, the Internet. Earlier in the 2000s, this distribution was not possible since no effective video-sharing service was available. However, the situation changed radically in the mid-2000s. The YouTube video sharing website owned by Google Inc. provides a proficient method for making all kinds of music globally well-known. After its launch in 2005, this video streaming service has become worldwide and is frequently used: in 2010, YouTube offered more than two billion videos a day in almost all the countries in the world. In January 2010, this Internet service had over 112 million U.S. viewers and 6.6 billion videos available. Only in a few states, usually with totalitarian regimes, has the watching of YouTube been totally or temporarily blocked: North Korea, China, Libya, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and Thailand.[19]

The original idea of YouTube was to display and circulate user-generated video content, such as movie clips, music videos and video blogging. Thus, in principle, the service was planned for and targeted at mainly amateur use. However, YouTube is increasingly used for commercial purposes, and in November 2008 the company reached an agreement with MGM, Lions Gate Entertainment and CBS allowing the companies to post full-length films and television episodes on the site. In particular, the recording industry has recognized the value of YouTube and other social networking sites that aggregate audiences and provide venues for advertising to affinity groups.[20] YouTube is also often aimed at music and video promotion by smaller music producers outside the inter-

[18] Kurkela 2007, 143; Buchanan 2007, 245.
[19] YouTube; Schackman 2008, 2–4; Arewa 2010, 431–432.
[20] Burkart and McCourt 2007, 3.

national music business.[21] *Chalga* is an interesting local example of this phenomenon.

YouTube provides an opportunity to build one's own sub-website which is directly linked to the main site. In this manner, a group of Bulgarian *chalga aficionados* has founded a service called the ChalgaTube, sponsored by a local Internet gambling agency, Superior Online Casino. They have their own website at www.chalgatube.com, and the service is available in both Bulgarian and English. According to the ChalgaTube's own estimate in 2011, the monthly traffic was about 63 000 visitors.[22]

ChalgaTube Content

Actually, the supply of the ChalgaTube is not just restricted to Bulgarian *chalga*; along with Bulgarian videos are chapters of music videos from Greece, Serbia and Turkey. However, the main content of the site is Bulgarian music, and these videos are presented under the title FOLK & GIPSY with the subtitles Folk, Retro and Gipsy (see Fig. 1).

Subtitle FOLK

In autumn 2010, the subtitle Folk contained about 1700 video clips from a great variety of Bulgarian *chalga* singers. A year later, in September 2011, the number of songs had risen to 1920. This section is the biggest in the ChalgaTube, and watching these videos gives a good picture of the overall style of modern Bulgarian *chalga*: for the most part the songs are highly erotic, usually even sexist, and full of images of modern Western society and daydreams of a prosperous lifestyle.

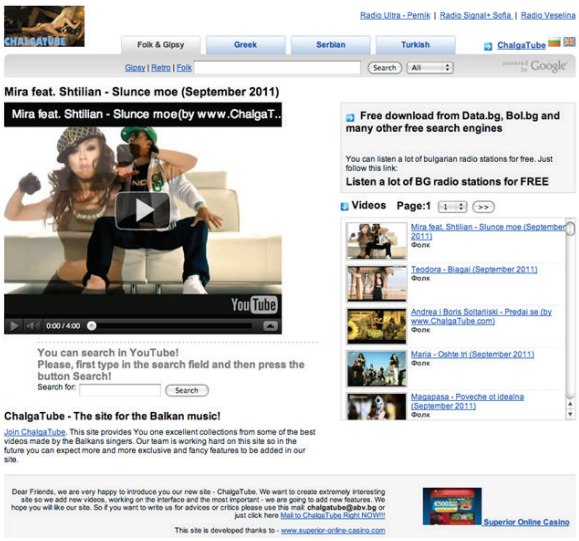

Fig. 1. ChalgaTube site (www.chalgatube.com).

[21] YouTube.
[22] Siteintel 2011.

Oriental images are almost totally absent – practically the only clear marker of Orientalism is the belly-dance rhythmic pattern in 2/4 meter, known in Bulgaria as *kyuchek* (most often mixed with a rhythmic pattern typical of electronic dance, rock or Latin music). In some videos, an Oriental tinge is also created by improvisatory passages using *makam*-derived "Oriental" modalities and nasal and noisy instrumental sounds – usually played by electronic instruments, synthesizers or other computer-aided sound sources.

Most singers are strikingly young, trendy and good looking. The male singers tend to adopt the rough look of the *mafiosi* and businessmen, who are usually the heroes of the video plot; speaking on mobile phones, doing deals and hanging out with beautiful women. The biggest stars, still, are young female singers using short artistic names: Liana, Vania, Emanuala, Dieva, Galena, Mira, Magda and Tedi.[23]

According to Rice, these artists are referred to in the Bulgarian press as "sex-appealing women" and *seksbombi*: "they dress provocatively on album covers and, when they sing, move their hips and bodies sexily in motions related to social dancing in America, Rom *kyucheks* and Middle-Eastern belly-dance styles. They are the perfect objects of men's desire and a symbol of their success." However, due to their roots in the rural folk tradition and university-level training of Bulgarian folk music, at least some pop singers perform the songs in traditional Bulgarian style with a very skilled ornamentation.[24]

The popfolk artists represent the mainstream of the Bulgarian pop scene, and according to other sources, such as commercial recordings and DVD releases, most of the singers do not exclusively perform *chalga* songs but also all kinds of Bulgarian pop songs, including ballads and dance music, without any Oriental tinge. In the ChalgaTube, however, the repertoire seems to concentrate on *chalga* songs. Of course, many older artists are still going strong in the *chalga* business, for instance, Axis, Gloria, Toni Dacheva and Milko Kalaidjiev, but the majority of the *chalga* singers are very young, and many of them are new faces in the local pop music scene. For them, the ChalgaTube is an excellent means of promoting new album releases.

With good reason, however, one can ask why this combination is called "folk". The subtitle arouses some confusing thoughts on the overall terminology surrounding *chalga* music. As already noted, *chalga* is also called "popfolk" which has often made me wonder what the term "folk" has to do with this modern and urban hybrid musical genre. Conventionally, "folk", like its Bulgarian equivalent "narodna", as a musical term refers to the national tradition and in the Bulgarian case, to a monoethnic musical policy typical of communist governments in the 1980s.[25] In socialist Bulgaria, "narodna muzika" (folk music) referred to purely Bulgarian music, and this historical background raises the question as to whether speaking about "folk" in the context of *chalga* means a fundamental change in the conceptualization of Bulgarian popular music. Old nationalist patterns of thought, however, are less suitable for the *chalga* discourse. So far, I have no good answer to this wide and complicated question. One thing is obvious, in any case: "folk" here mostly denotes audiences and, only secondarily, music. Accordingly, *chalga* is music for the ordinary people, the Bulgarian folks.[26]

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[23] ChalgaTube.
[24] Rice 2002, 35.
[25] Buchanan 2006, 39–45.
[26] For a discussion of the fairly nebulous terminology around *chalga* and related musical styles in Bulgaria, see Buchanan 2006, 430–431.

Subtitle RETRO

In autumn 2010, the subtitle Retro contained some 90 old video clips by the most well-known artists. A year later, the number of *chalga* videos in this chapter had almost tripled (240 songs), which may indicate the continuous importance of the older artists and *chalga* evergreens among the Bulgarian audience. Among the singers in this chapter, one can find definite *chalga* legends from the late 1990s: Toshko Todorov, Valentin Valdes, Toni Dacheva, Mustafa Chaushev and Ohran Murad, followed by the younger generation of *chalga* stars like Azis, Svetelina, Extra Nina, DesiSlava, Gloria, Rumjana, Alicia, Ivana and Kamelia. The list reveals that the female singers were especially hot names in *chalga* during the first years of the 2000s – and many of them are still popular in the Bulgarian popular music scene.

The compilation is quite a good review of *chalga*'s history in the last ten years; the oldest clips were originally in VHS format, and thus the technical quality is very poor. In addition, quite often the video is not available at all, but only the text: "video removed by the artist" or "video removed due the terms of use violation". The clips are likely to have been put on the Internet by a *chalga* devotee without permission, and a copyright owner – recording company, artist or songwriter – has informed the Internet service operator. According to its homepage, YouTube controls the use of video content very attentively and acts for any claims dealing with copyright violation.[27]

It can be easily understood that the claims of copyright violation are focused on retro material in particular. The songs in this section are typically evergreens with a continuous demand in the market. The artists and the producers do not need any promotion for the old songs, and illicit streaming on the net simply means financial losses and does not benefit the copyright owners in any manner.

Subtitle GIPSY

In autumn 2010, the subtitle Gipsy contained more than 250 (in 2011, 360) music videos by Bulgarian Gypsy artists and bands: for instance, Amet, Amza, Dingo, Kondio, Aliosha, Kristali, Kozari, Kamenci and Gipsy Aver. Some songs are in Romani or Turkish. Somewhat surprisingly, many videos are simply documentations of band gigs and tavern concerts. Compared to popfolk videos, the overall style of the Gypsy videos is strikingly outdated; except for the videos produced by the big Payner Company, practically no traces of the global Music Television video format, that has been a main model for the mainstream *popchalga* videos since the end of the 1990s, are visible. A very amateurish overall execution and poor technical quality also refer to absolutely low-budget video production.

In these videos, *chalga* is swinging music for dance and celebration, full of attractive Otherness, which is constructed by the versatile application of the Oriental stereotypes and images. It is good to know that at the beginning of the *chalga* boom, the whole *chalga* genre became renowned – and also notorious – above all as music by Roma artists and bands. As Rice puts it, originally, *chalga's* connotations and implications could be captured in the expression "Bulgarianized 'Gypsy' music".[28] The Gypsy connection was apparently the main reason why the growing popularity of *chalga* was a continuous subject of scorn among the Bulgarian Western-minded intelligentsia.

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[27] YouTube Regulations 2011.
[28] Rice 2003, 172.

Gypsy *chalga* constantly seems to be a separate musical style and most likely a genre with its own audience; the close relationship between Romani artists and audiences is often documented in video clips. In the outsider's non-Bulgarian's ears, *chalga* performed by Roma artists often appears to be the most expressive and interesting. In contrast to popfolk videos, the ideals and ideas of video spots come from the East – from Turkey and the Middle East and, even farther away, from India – and the final result is often idiosyncratic and highly exotic. Expressive Roma singers and virtuoso instrumentalists have artistic potential that would make them suitable for the world music scene, as has already happened to some Gypsy artists from other Balkan countries.[29]

Conclusion

In conclusion, *chalga* videos promoted on the ChalgaTube have at least two different contents and meanings of the term: popfolk *chalga* and Gypsy *chalga*. The former refers to the Bulgarian mainstream pop with a few Oriental features, most typically the *kyuchek* rhythmic accompaniment in the 2/4 meter and sometimes instrumental passages played on nasal wind instruments or similarly sounding keyboards.

Compared to Gypsy *chalga* videos, nearly all visual references to the Orient are absent. The overall image is strikingly modern and western. Stereotypical symbols typical of classical Orientalist art, such as belly-dance, veiled harem women, sheikhs and sultans, camel caravans and horseback riding, have been completely replaced by Western ones: luxury cars, sexy young women and men with Western style clothes, romantic love, *mafioso* life and expensive hobbies. I have previously interpreted this transposition of motifs by pointing out how *chalga* Orientalism mirrors and emphasizes its apparent antithesis, the Westernization of culture. The target of humour and possible irony is no longer the oriental past but the Western lifestyle and the dreams connected to it.[30]

The latter type of songs, Gypsy *chalga*, shows that even today, *chalga* also means the music of the Bulgarian ethnic minorities, especially that of the Roma people. These videos are usually full of centuries old Oriental images. All the main musical features – singing style, orchestral timbre and overall sound ideals – sound authentically Oriental, whatever it actually means then in each individual case.

Roma musicians are the real messengers of the Oriental and Ottoman legacy in *chalga*. If *popchalga* performers occasionally use improvisatory sections played by virtuoso musicians, similar instrumental passages resembling *taksim* in the Turkish-Arabic musical tradition are nearly a rule without an exception in Gypsy *chalga* videos. One can easily notice, after watching Gypsy *chalga* on the ChalgaTube, that Orientalism is constructed in a similar manner as in the beginning of the *chalga* boom in the mid-1990s. Contrary to popfolk videos, Gypsy *chalga* does not necessarily transform the Eastern symbolism into a modern one – at least not so often. In these music videos, the Eastern roots of *chalga* are continuously present and by no means hidden.

In the *chalga* musical scene, the cassette culture first gave way to DVD video production and then – as it seems – increasingly to the p2p file exchange networks and streaming services on the Internet. The production of popfolk *chalga* has become far

[29] Silverman 2007b, 344–348.
[30] Kurkela 2007, 172.

more professional than it was ten years ago. Since the turn of the new millennium, Bulgarian video production has been concentrated in the hands of a few local music companies, such as the Payner Company. However, some smaller producers, such as Diapason, Milana, Atlantis and Studio Romano – to name a few – specialized in Gypsy *chalga* and other minority musics.

As already stated, *chalga* is a music genre typical of a small country with its own local languages and musical traditions. Can the ChalgaTube break the regional isolation of c*halga*, and could the Internet give *chalga* access to the international pop music scene? I doubt such a possibility, and one can even ask whether it should be necessary. For the Bulgarians, *chalga* is "our music", an important part of the cultural identity. Several other popular song and dance music styles in the European Union and elsewhere in the world will never gain access to the global music market or become "world music". The Finns have their own *iskelmä*, the Greeks their *laika,* the Turks their *arabesk* and the Portuguese their *fado*. Due to the language barrier, non-native audiences can rarely comprehend the content and meaning of local popular songs.

Afterthoughts

In mid-October 2011, when finishing this article, I suddenly discovered that the chalgatube.com site had totally disappeared from the Internet. Many *chalga* videos were still available on the YouTube main site and even on Facebook, and some other sites for Balkan music were available (videoblast.net; balkanhour.blogspot.com). Slightly earlier, I also noticed that a growing number of *chalga* videos on the site were closed with a simple note "this video was removed by the user" or "this video is no longer available because the YouTube account associated with this video has been closed". A short test with the search engine optimization analyzer (seoanalyzer.net), measuring the visibility of a website in search engines, gave a clear but slightly ambiguous result:

> This can't get worse. Chalgatube.Com ranks lowest in our optimization analysis, with a SEO score of 30% and a world rank of 568.196. This domain has a TLD [top level domain] rank of 312.350 in our .com domains list. […] Almost every time pages that have weak analysis results means that they are parked domains or websites under construction but certainly it's not a website you want to come back to so we estimated the domain value at 397.53 US dollars.[31]

Most likely the site was only occasionally out of use, "under construction", and quite soon the service was likely available for the joy and pleasure of all *chalga* fans. The main experience of this case is, however, as follows: on the Internet, many issues are in a constant state of flux and one can never be sure whether your favourite site or video will be removed tomorrow or next week. The more the content of a site is contradictory in terms of international copyright issues, the more easily a site or part of its content can be closed at any time. One thing is evident: new streaming services or torrent networks will be founded as fast as the old sites disappear. Therefore, in the future, Bulgarian *chalga* will be constantly available for Internet users one way or another. To put all this on a more

[31] Seoanalyser.

general level, the ChalgaTube and similar Internet services certainly provide curious and open-minded music lovers all over the world with a new method for getting acquainted with new local music which were earlier unknown and often totally strange.

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"Fantasia Repertoire": Alaturka, Arabesk and Gypsy Musicians in Epirus, Greece

Aspasia Theodosiou

Identity and Musical Plays

In considering the relationship between music and identity, one could easily take as a point of departure the widely known social constructivist thesis that accepts music as constructing social or cultural identities, or sees the valuation of a certain musical genre as constituting a kind of musical identification.[1] Against this background and in the light of the already established scheme of the "logic of identity",[2] such a theoretical underpinning could further lead to various forms of differentiation: distinct, clearly bounded and explicitly different musical genres could emerge, along with their relevant identifications.

Taking as a point of departure Hall's analysis of the "organic relationship between two senses of play" – musical play, and the play related to diasporic dispersed and unsettled Caribbean identities[3]– my aim is to reflect upon the kind of identity/identification that is expressed and constituted in and through a musical practice and/or a musical "genre", especially in case of the Roma and their music. Against this background, I will explore briefly, and in ethnographic terms, the emphasis put on the Eastern/Oriental/Ottoman (*anatolitiki*) musical practice by the Gypsy musicians in Parakalamos (NW Greece), as well as the way this is understood and conceptualized within the sphere of their musical choices.[4]

Two separate issues lie in the background of such an exploration: firstly, the recent additions to the field of Balkan-Gypsy music, and their reflections in the sphere of world music. By focusing on the use of "Gypsy music" as a powerful means of exoticizing all music types in the Balkans, I raise the importance of the process of branding[5] in relation to the issue of the Roma visibility, their simultaneous appropriation and erasure.[6]

Secondly, I draw on the historical process of identification in relation to the Gypsy musicians of my ethnography. I argue that the absence of/the inability to construct a "genre" around their "Eastern" musical practice, and the visibility and branding that such a genre could guarantee for them, has to be approached through a complex lens: as a product of a dynamic process of negotiation/articulation between themselves, their various cultural attributes (place, past, others) and modernity. Furthermore, the possibilities of understanding this complex phenomenon as yet another attempt by Gypsy musicians to foreground the very process of producing music and of rendering themselves musical agents and historical subjects will be explored.

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[1] E.g. Frith 1996; Middleton 1990.
[2] Rouse 1995.
[3] Hall 1990, 223.
[4] I conducted my fieldwork over different periods; the longest one was during my PhD (1999–2000). For their constructive criticism I would like to thank the participants in the international conference *Popular Culture in Greece and Turkey* (Volos, June 2010), as well as Panagiotis Poulos and Risto Pekka Pennanen.
[5] Lury 1993.
[6] Szeman 2009, 114.

The Setting and the People

In the "neighbourhood of musicians", as Nea Zoi in Ioannina[7] is widely known, the construction of the new main road and the water and sewage facilities – a result of the recent inclusion of the settlement in the city plan – has resulted in a chaotic situation. The illegal buildings of the neighbourhood are nothing more than the product of the rapid urbanization process that took place during the 1970s throughout Greece. It was during the same period that many families moved from the village of Parakalamos (in NW Ioannina, near the Greek-Albanian border), following the more general migratory trend, and started settling down in Nea Zoi.

Next to the squashed, gaily coloured little houses, several freshly washed cars came to tell me of the whereabouts of the neighbourhood's young men who did not have any gigs that night. It was growing dusk and almost everybody was out in the bustling street. A crowd of boys of every age and men stood next to a flashy car, listening to the new CD Giorgos, the car owner, had just finished recording from the TRT channel (Türkiye Radyo Televizyon): "the Turkish channel plays very good music" Giorgos said. Before I even started to wonder about TRT, I noticed many satellite dishes adorning the roofs of the surrounding houses. A bit further the soundscape of the neighbourhood is a bit different; "this music is for the men, the musicians", I was told. As for the girls of the quarter, their taste in music is different, as it is the music of the Latin American soap operas that prompts them to dance on the nearby verandas. They also dance the *Tsifteteli*,[8] some of the older women quickly added: "at our wedding parties, for the eyes of the young men."

Elias Chaligiannis's house is next to the main road that is under construction. In the rather spacious courtyard, Katina, Elias's wife, drenched the cement so that the dust of the constructions works settled. Elias was walking up and down, while trying something on his clarinet. It seemed a difficult phrase; he was playing something "from the 'God', Vasillakis Saleas",[9] as he explained to me later. Before I actually met him in person, many of my Gypsy friends in Parakalamos had referred to "his fantasia, and *Tsifteteli* tunes" as well as to his almost constant offers to play at their weddings: "I cry when I listen to Elias playing", I was repeatedly told by his cousin, Stamato, who continued: "My Thomas is also good but Elias is unbeatable in this style of playing. Like a proper Turk."

The artistic value that Elias and many other musicians (mainly young and middle aged), attribute to what I term the "fantasia repertoire", although recognized by everybody, is more often than not hotly debated and a topic of intense discussion among musicians. Among the Parakalamos Gypsies, the performance of this specific repertoire is seen in a very positive light, while at the same time they point to the importance of "local" music, the music that established them as musicians, "our fathers' songs" as they say. For Dimitrakis, one of my Gypsy friends in the village, "the musicians in Nea Zoi are indeed our relatives; yet, they have become like *Tsiganoi*. You go to the neighbourhood and you cannot listen to a good traditional song anymore. All boys learn only how to play *Tsifteteli* and if they are asked to play a Parakalamos tune, they consider it of lower value." Similar points were also raised by Nikolas, Elias's father.

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[7] Ioannina is the biggest city in Epirus (NW Greece).

[8] As it can be discerned by its name, this is the bellydance rhythm that, in the Balkans, is usually known as *çiftetelli*.

[9] See Saleas 2008 for one of the most popular tunes performed by Vassilis Saleas and composed by Stamatis Spanudakis.

While Elias was rehearsing in his courtyard, Nikolas approached and made some comments on "Saleas's fantasia", the musical theme played: "these songs do not appeal to the *Balame* (non-Gypsies in Gypsy terms) – to the majority of them anyway; and the reason is that they do not know anything about music: if you are not a musician yourself, you won't understand what Saleas plays; this is a Turkish way of playing" Nikolas points out. He continued:

> Well, once we were playing somewhere in the Peloponnese, near Patras, you know, where *Tsiganoi l*ive. And there was competition [*antipalia*]: just opposite the place we performed, a *Tsiganoi* wedding was taking place. Elias started playing things, like those [songs] of Saleas and Bekos, *Tsifteteli* tunes, fantasias... the rest of the band started playing Arabic... and in very little time the place was crowded with *Tsiganoi* people. That was a real disaster. The *Balame* people who invited us did not like such playing. I had to stop the band. Elias gets carried away and plays in a selfish way, he plays what he likes. This is not a professional attitude. I do agree that this is good music, but things are getting worse and worse among the young generation of musicians. And in a few years they will forget all music related to their grandfathers. And then people will be totally right in considering us as *Tsiganoi.*

In answer to my question, as to whether he always counted this specific repertoire as "their music", Nikolas suggested:

> All the music we play is ours, isn't it? Twenty to thirty years ago nobody played like that. And young musicians are certainly right in refusing to play the same things over and over again. They listen to different things, their mind opens up, and this is good. But the good players, like our fathers and grandfathers, can play the Alaturka and the fantasia and express it in our traditional, local Epirot songs. The problem now is that the young musicians do not know the old way of playing and they miss out a lot. In Parakalamos, the village, they retain something of the old way. Yet, frankly speaking they have not made significant progress as musicians. They are stuck in the mud of the Libuzda.[10]

Facets of "Belonging"

A series of issues emerged from the ethnography presented above. The historical link between the process of constructing Gypsy musicians' belonging and the village of Parakalamos brings to the fore a multifaceted articulation, variously entrenched through the relationship between place, people and music; furthermore, it calls for alternative ways of conceiving the self and identity/identification. In this light I employ the term "Gypsy" (*Yiftos)* exclusively, and not "Roma" and/or *Tsigganoi*,[11] when referring to my ethnographic subjects. Such a choice does not *a priori* preclude the widely known derogatory aspects of the term, but allows for their negotiation through the medium of place and music. Moreover, the usage of the term "Gypsy" (*Yiftos)*, as a synonym for settled musicians, is widely known and employed in all of northern Greece,[12] a meaning that is usually

[10] Libuzda is the name of a local river in the Parakalamos area.

[11] The introduction of the term "Roma" in the Greek public sphere is relatively recent and can be explained through the wider processes of identity politics within the European Union.

[12] See also Blau *et al.* (2002, 95) for a similar point.

attributed to the term *Tsigganoi* in southern Greece.[13]

At the core of Gypsy musicians' belonging, a series of ambiguities is performed, constituting, as I have discussed in detail elsewhere, the idiom of "double marginality".[14] Being nomadic in the past, Gypsies settled permanently in Parakalamos rather recently (after World War II). Yet, they form a key element of the constitution of Parakalamos as a place: even before their settlement there, they already had strong affinities with the village during their nomadic routes across the area of the Greek Albanian border. Furthermore, the time of their settlement is crucial, as they settled in Parakalamos before most of the other non-Gypsy villagers. It is worth noting also that the general understanding of Parakalamos in the area is that of a "Gypsy" or "musicians" village, even if Gypsies do not amount to more than 10% of its entire population. What is more, their association with the trope of movement, an element widely exercised in the border area especially during Ottoman times,[15] allows for their recognition as local but not indigenous.[16] Finally, their Muslim affiliation in the past,[17] their becoming Christians and Greeks in the context of the newly established Greek nation-state,[18] renders them as "new ethnic subjects", who somehow became similar to the other peoples in the border area. Yet, they also remained different.

Thus, it is the articulation of a series of layers, the Ottoman and the more recent national past, as they are mediated in and through the area's marginal location, that constitute Gypsies as "dishevelled selves"[19] in relation to the rest of the peoples in the area – both Gypsies and non Gypsies. It is on the basis of such a "dishevelled" identity that their "dishevelled" alterity, or their "double marginality", are consolidated mainly through the medium of music.

It is a sense of belonging that is constituted through fragmentation, dishevel-ness and deficiency in relation to the hegemonic idiom of belonging; these elements gain their significance through Gypsies' difference. With music as their key cultural expression,[20] such a difference is often understood within an essentialist framework: to put it differently, the relationship between Gypsies and music is reified, as music is seen as a "natural" part of their existence. Yet, the idiom of fragmentation and dishevelment allows for an articulation of their belonging through exclusively relational terms: as part of the place, the self, the everyday life in the village and their long co-residence with the *Balame* of the village.

In other words, at every moment of identification there is a series of articulations,

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[13] For a broader discussion of the designations/terms used in the Greek context, see Hunt 1996; Blau *et al.* 2002; Greek Ethnological Society 2002; Trubeta 2001; *id*. 2008.

[14] Theodosiou 2004; *id*. 2008; *id*. 2009.

[15] See Green (2005, ch. 2) for a more detailed discussion of the issue of movement in the area of the Greek-Albanian border.

[16] Given the predominance of the trope of movement in the area during Ottoman times (e.g. Green 2005), it was the kind of movement that mattered the most and worked as an identity marker for various groups.

[17] The ethnographic term used is *Turkoyiftoi* ("Turkish Gypsies") in contrast to the *Romiogyftoi* or *Christianoyiftoi* ("Christian Gypsies") of the neighbouring villages. This does not indicate a national identification, but a religious one. See Kokolakis 2003 and Gogos 1995.

[18] Epirus was incorporated into the Greek nation-state in 1913.

[19] Todorova 2009, 14.

[20] Gypsies' "natural" musicality constitutes a form of established knowledge and its genealogy can be traced back to a whole range of representations (i.e. literature, opera, etc.), often embraced by Roma themselves. See, for example, Trumpeter 1992.

so that it is almost impossible for their belonging to be cut from the networked interrelationality[21] and become articulated as a fixed attribute of their identity. Parakalamos' Gypsies' "double marginality", their simultaneous similarity and difference, does not allow for their investment[22] in a specific position/identity, in just one version/quality of the subjects' positionality. It does not allow the entrenchment of "difference" and the construction of a master narrative about themselves in a clear and coherent way. Each positionality/identity taken up is multiply refracted through their intersubjective relationship with place and music, and thus absorbs different qualities.[23] "The double marginality" is, therefore, a rather complex condition that is summarized as their inability/lack of desire to constitute an "-ism" or to be "identitied",[24] as a condition of an ambiguous marginality.

Due to lack of space I cannot delve into the complex field of issues generated by the way the idiom of ambiguous marginality is constituted and experienced around their musical practice: differences between Parakalamos and Nea Zoi, generational gaps etc. In the following paragraphs I will bring to the fore the articulation of this idiom through the use of what I will call the "fantasia repertoire".

Arabesk and Epirot *Alaturka*

Elias's case certainly raised a multiplicity of issues; yet, in what follows I will more specifically focus upon his "Eastern" repertoire, which also constitutes the chosen facet of musical art for the majority of the young generation of Gypsy musicians in Nea Zoi. The Greek musicians they refer to include well-known and established names, in the field of discography and more generally, like Vassilis Saleas[25] and Lefteris Zervas.[26] The latter actually constitutes a unique case, as he originally comes from Parakalamos.[27]

For the musicians whom I worked with, what unites all those "artists" is their "Turkish" or *alaturka* style,[28] as they call it. Their references extend beyond the above names to include renowned musicians in the field of arabesk in Turkey: İbrahim Tatlıses, Zeki Müren, Bülent Ersoy, as well as Turkish musicians of Gypsy origin, like Şükrü Tunar.[29]

After a storm of applause and cries of appreciation, descriptions like "a Turk-

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[21] Cf. Strathern 1996.

[22] For Hall (1996, 6) the process of identification does not simply presuppose interpellations, but also investments on behalf of the subject: in his own words, "The notion that an effective suturing of the subject to a subject-position requires, not only that the subject is "hailed", but that the subject invests in the position, means that suturing has to be thought of as an *articulation*, rather than a one-sided process, and that in turn places *identification*, if not identities, firmly on the theoretical agenda".

[23] Theodosiou 2010.

[24] Boon 1999, 208.

[25] Here, it is worth mentioning Saleas's co-productions with several well-known Turkish musicians, such as Hüsnü Şenlendirici and of course his popularity in Turkey. See, for example, Saleas and Şenlendirici 2012.

[26] See Zervas 2007.

[27] See Theodosiou (2007) for a more detailed analysis of the Zervas concert in Parakalamos. Reference is also made to other musicians, who are less well-known to the public, usually clarinet players performing in local festivals (*paniyiria*) and in 'clarinet' or *dimotika* ("folk") venues in Athens.

[28] See O'Connell (2005) for an ethnomusicological account of the appropriation of an Orientalist conception of Turkish style in Turkey.

[29] Yet, it is worth noting that for them what is important in the case of Şükrü Tunar is his Turkish identity and not his Gypsy-ness.

ish way of playing", "he plays like a Turk", "he does fantasias", "he stirs my soul", "he transports me to the moon" are nonetheless fragments of an almost established discourse of appreciation, while their ultimate goal is to get "ideas" for their own music playing, when they manage not to get totally enmeshed in the web of high spirits and emotions, of course.

Yet, such aesthetic codes of appreciation and evaluation do not sit at ease with the way they conceptualize the category of Balkan/Gypsy music.[30] I frequently recall the atmosphere of the "parties" organized in the Gypsy neighbourhood of Parakalamos by Yiannis, a Gypsy musician who had for many years in Amsterdam for many years. In these gatherings, CDs of "Gypsy music" were played, as Yiannis stated.[31] Whilst for the kids of the neighbourhood – especially little girls – this music was always received with enthusiasm and dance was passionate, the silence about the artistic quality of such music was, more often than not, deafening. In a similar vein, when we watched Emir Kusturica's film *The Time of the Gypsies*, with some of my musician friends, they commented: "Good playing but emotionless. It cannot lift your spirits. We do not like such music. We are 'Turks'."

How does the "fantasia repertoire" appear from a musical point of view? "When I play in a selfish way", Elias recounted to me, "when they ask me what I like, I do fantasias. I play according to my feelings and then I play *tsifteteli*." Elias's comment refers to the more widely known instrumental pieces in which it is usually the clarinet (and less often the violin) that takes up a solo role. These frequently start with a long improvised piece in free rhythm, and are followed by instrumental or vocal pieces of various origins (traditional, folk, ethnopop, popular or even new pieces) in *Tsifteteli* rhythm.

The similarities between this particular musical practice and the Turkish arabesk are obvious even to the unfamiliar listener. It was during our frequent spontaneous car-stereo listening sessions that my fellow Gypsy musicians and myself were able to spot the "fantasia pieces" of some of the neighbourhood musicians in the arabesk music played: "Elias does this" or "the embellishment is like the one Panos does". On a more general structural level, the form of solo improvisation, *taksim*, that is followed by the rhythmic prominence of *Tsifteteli* can easily be paralleled with the extensive instrumental forms and the opening improvised vocal passages one meets in arabesk music in Turkey.[32]

Similarities can also be seen in the constant rhythmic background – *tsifteteli* – provided by the orchestra,[33] but also in the formation of the overall soundscape through technological applications, such as amplification, sound distortion, and echo. These successive sound overlaps are built to such an extent, however, that when there is a song, its meaning becomes completely obscured and they are often considered to be noise.[34]

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[30] The category of Balkan/Gypsy music is further explored in the following text.

[31] It was mainly world music productions by well-known Balkan Gypsy groups such as Taraf de Haïdouks and Fanfare Ciocărlia which were played.

[32] Arabesk music is found in the night-club context, where dancing takes place (Stokes 1992, 197). These improvised forms allude to the instrumental sections of the folk musical genre *uzun hava* (literally long tune, free-rhythm vocal improvisation) and those in the popular *fasıl* ("music suite") that is performed at the *meyhane*s ("music taverns").

[33] Stokes 1992, 196.

[34] It is interesting to note the following differences: while in arabesk these improvising forms contrast with the vocal sections due to the predominance of lyrics and consequent song form, in the context considered these forms and the subsequent suites they form are exclusively instrumental, featuring a soloist. Another major difference concerns the structure of the ensemble. The combination of clarinet and/or violin, keyboard, drums

On a primary level, the significance attributed to this particular repertoire, but also its persistent usage in the context of Gypsy weddings, could be explained through a series of ethnomusicological works that discuss the distinction between the in-group and out-group Gypsy repertoire.[35] An interesting aspect of this distinction is reflected in Nikolas's account of the difference between the "selfish" and the "professional" musician: "professionalism" is identified as the ability of the musician to meet the needs – aesthetic and otherwise – of his audience; an audience that is rather different to him. A "selfish" musical practice is about the musician's own aesthetic choices; these can perhaps reflect his community's choices too.

Beyond the obvious problems that the distinction between in-group and out-group repertoire presents,[36] problems that stem from the more general understanding of the relationship between music and identity, such a distinction is easily abolished from an ethnographic point of view. For example, there is no strict analogy between this specific repertoire and particular performance contexts, (i.e. Gypsy weddings). In Gypsy weddings, a series of sub-genres are performed: local music, new-folk repertoire *(neodimotika*) and songs known all around Epirus.[37] The "fantasia repertoire" is frequently presented during the local summer festivals (*paniyiria)* in the wider area of western mainland Greece, where "real revellers" still exist, according to my musician friends. Big names of this type of music are invited to play there, and some of them are invited to play in Nea Zoi as well.[38] Finally, it is worth recalling Nikolas's words: "all the music we play is ours".

Against this background, it becomes evident that these particular musical choices cannot be registered in the framework of a clear-cut binary opposition between "self" and "other";[39] for this distinction is predicated upon/constitutes a clearly divided identity field that does not tally with the historically constructed "ambiguous marginality" of Gypsy belonging.

In shifting my analytical gaze two issues will be discussed further in what follows: firstly, the "Eastern-ness" of the "fantasia repertoire", its relation to the ethnographic distinction between the "selfish" and the "professional way of playing", and the continuities and the discontinuities of this particular musical practice with the more widely known ethnopop musical hybrids of the Balkans. In this light, I will refer briefly to the process of branding taking place in the context of world music industry, which results in the identification of all Balkan music with Gypsy music. Secondly, I will appraise the contrast between the profound visibility of the Balkan ethnopop musical hybrids and the invisibility of the "fantasia repertoire". The latter will be examined within the context of the social

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and electric guitar point more to a rock band or the wedding bands of socialist and post-socialist Bulgaria (e.g. Silverman 1996, 244). In addition to the aforementioned improvising forms, a significant musical aspect that accounts for the "Oriental" acoustic properties of the "fantasia repertoire" consists of the various timbres and programmed sounds of the keyboard that are exclusively identified with Turkish or Arabic music (e.g. string orchestra sound, or the use of microtonal tuning that differs significantly from that found in Greek folk music [*demotika*] in particularly in Epirot music).

[35] E.g. Rădulescu 2000; *id*. 2004; Gojković 1986.

[36] E.g. Silverman 1996.

[37] Age and gender are significant for the choice of repertoire.

[38] Local and regional radio stations and TV channels ("Blackman" in the Peloponnese, "Radio-Epirus" and "Epirus-TV" in Epirus) very often broadcast recordings and videos from such local festivals (*paniyiria*). Considered to be less traditional than the ones in the more mountainous areas of Epirus, these particular performance contexts fashion a homogenous aesthetic approach to the surrounding space (plastic tents), sonic environment and repertoire.

[39] See Theodosiou 2007 for a more detailed discussion.

poetics of contemporary Greek cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism.

I will argue that the ethnographic discussion about the "fantasia repertoire", its relation to the distinction between the "selfish and the professional way of playing", as well as its inability to constitute a separate "music genre" brings to the fore a very important issue: that of the negotiation of the terms of visibility; for it foregrounds the understanding of the very process of music production and of Gypsy musicians themselves as musical agents and historical subjects. Such an understanding goes against the very nature of branding that has taken place within the realm of the contemporary Balkan-Gypsy music.

Balkans and Gypsy Music: Local Hybrids and World Music

In a recent collective volume entitled *Balkan popular culture and the Ottoman Ecumene,* Buchanan discusses the ethnopop hybrid musical idioms that flourish in the contemporary Balkans and considered them as creative modifications of the Ottoman past that are mainly directed to domestic consumption.[40] Their close resemblance to each other means that these genres constitute "an emergent popular music circuit",[41] and include popular musical idioms such *as muzică orientală* and *manele* in Romania,[42] *chalga* in Bulgaria,[43] *turbofolk* in Serbia and Croatia,[44] Albanian *muzika popullore*[45] etc.[46] In their multipronged analysis, Buchanan *et al.* contemplate the historical and stylistic junctions between these popular music genres, by examining how Balkanism, the Ottoman legacy and the Oriental seem to merge into each other. They pay particular attention to the way the exoticism is expressed, in relation to Balkan popular music practices, in and through various modes: melodic structures and rhythmic patterns associated with the East (equated with Turkey and the Middle East),[47] visual attributes strongly connected to the Orientalist imaginary, and of course the strong presence of Roma musicians.

As Beissinger notes on *musică orientală* in Romania: "it is a formerly forbidden music that is now experienced as exotic, seductive, "Gypsy", Balkan, Oriental, and even Western, as well as contemporary and relevant".[48] The evidence for the relevance of these expressive forms is pervasive and overwhelming: political debates continue to swirl around their production, and parts of the audience are often greatly attracted, while other segments are repulsed.[49] Issues of "class, ethnicity and nation, as well as gender and generational tensions"[50] are sharply brought to the fore; perspectives eloquently discussed in various academic studies.

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[40] According to Buchanan (2007, 258), these genres were initially not intended for Western audiences. Yet, for Szeman (2009, 112) such a distinction is no longer valid.
[41] Buchanan 2007, 229.
[42] Bessinger 2008.
[43] Kurkela 2007; Buchanan 2002; Kavouras 2010.
[44] Archer 2012; Baker 2007.
[45] Silverman 2007.
[46] According to Buchanan, these musical idioms "must be interpreted as in an intense dialogue with one another […] and in tension with both older layers of cosmopolitanism resulting from European socialism, and competing visions of modernity" (2007, 260).
[47] See also Pennanen 2008.
[48] Beissinger 2007, 97.
[49] See Archer (2012, 191) for a schematic presentation of the criticisms phrased against popfolk musical styles.
[50] Beissinger 2007, 96.

The strong Romani associations of these musical genres, and the fact that Roma musicians are stereotypically considered to be the main agents for the proliferation of these hybrid forms,[51] to such an extent that Balkan popular music is mainly seen as "Gypsy music",[52] is not simply a matter of mere influence. Rather, they owe a lot to the perceived "essential" – due to their origins – Orientalism of the Roma (which in turn wraps the Roma in Orientalist imaginary). It is also due to the common socialist past and communist aesthetics of the area that enforced significant interdictions upon Roma musicians on the basis of their "alien" and "contaminated" musical practices.[53] The post-socialist era is marked by an important turn: the West looks at Eastern Europe, the Balkans and, I would explicitly add, at the Roma, "in search of novelty and originality".[54] Within the Balkans themselves, the identification of ethnopop hybrid musical idioms with the Roma brought about their aesthetic shortcomings as "kitsch", "vapid", "Balkan" and "Eastern".

Beyond their Balkan ethnopop articulations – around which a pan-Balkan aural public sphere is constituted through recording companies, concertizing networks, the new digital media and/or transbalkan music collaboration projects[55] – the relation between Balkan and Gypsy music revolves around another important realm: that of world music.[56]

Within the world music scene the recent veritable "craze" for "Gypsy music" productions bears significant similarities with the emergence of Balkan ethnopop, in so far as it pivots around the Roma's post-socialist visibility;[57] yet, for several authors the political re-evaluation of Gypsy music also owes a lot to the world cinema industry.[58] In the latter the cinematic references are recurrent: Tony Gatlif's *Latcho Drom*, and Kusturica's well-known films, *The Time of the Gypsies* and *Black Cat, white Cat* for example.

On a different note, it has been argued that a wholesale identification of Gypsy music and Balkan music has recently been prominent;[59] such a recolouring of Gypsy music happens within the world cinema, particularly through the portrayal of the "authentic" Balkan Gypsy musician, made famous by Emir Kusturica's films and Bregović's soundtracks.[60] The deployment of the Roma element constitutes a significant means to exoticize and Orientalize every Balkan music genre, given the recurrent reproduction of

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[51] E.g. Szeman 2009, 110; Bessinger 2007, 130–133.

[52] Although the politically correct term "Roma" seems to have surfaced in the official public sphere, the use of the adjective "Roma" in relation to music (Roma music) is not widely adopted (see, for example, Silverman 2000).

[53] See Bessinger (2007) for a detailed discussion of the interdictions and the marginalization the Roma in Romania have been subjected to during the socialist period. An important element of these ordinances included the policing of their musical practices and their extended musical networks. See also Rice 1994 and Imre 2008, 331.

[54] Imre 2008, 331.

[55] E.g. Stokes 2007; Dawe 2007.

[56] For Imre, the entering of Balkans and Eastern Europe in the world music market constitutes the third phase in the genealogy of the genre (2008, 331–332).

[57] Silverman 2007, 339.

[58] E.g. Szeman 2009; Malvinni 2004, ch. 10.

[59] E.g. Szeman 2009, 112.

[60] As Szeman (2009, 103), among others, points out, many of those groups and festivals seem to imitate the aesthetics (i.e. dress code) adopted in the field of the filmic Gypsy.

romantic-cum-exotic stereotypes[61] in the performances of international festivals.[62] The Balkans come to appear both in group names (e.g. Balkan Beat Box), and as a "logo" for advertising and promoting groups' concerts and tours, thus rendering the participating musicians (Roma and non-Roma alike) as a homogenous and undifferentiated group, despite their different origins. At this point the more general discursive category of Balkanism, as it has been developed and advanced by Maria Todorova, plays an important role: "unlike orientalism which is a discourse about an imputed opposition, balkanism is a discourse about an imputed ambiguity".[63] Following Todorova, if Balkans peoples do not constitute the "Other" in European thought, but rather represent a "dishevelled Europe", a version of a pre-modern self,[64] one can draw important similarities between them and the case of Roma. Iordanova discusses the idea that the Roma represent parts of the West, without though originating in the West; as she argues, they are too close to be cast as entirely remote, though they are marginalized.[65] They are represented as familiar yet dangerous, exotic, although too close to Europe; thus they come to constitute a Balkan variety of what Said calls "the intimate estrangement".[66]

In short, in the realm of the world music scene the articulation of "Balkan and Gypsy music" is constructed around the notion of exoticism that has a Gypsy aura in the Balkans. The same type of articulation is, however, established in the ethnopop musical genres, although in a more Turkish form. In the latter case, it is important to note the following: the role of the common Ottoman past[67] and the Muslim religious affiliation of most of the Roma in the Balkans.[68]

It is interesting that within contemporary academic discourse and identity politics there are various voices that are eager to overcome the thorny issue of whose music it is

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[61] See Sell (2007, 45) for a discussion of the role of "theatricalized authenticity" and "exoticism" as the ideological basis (symbolic and performative) for the bohemians' cultural activism borrowed from the Roma. See also Iordanova (2008, 308) for an analysis of cinematic productions in which exoticism takes the form of taught reality – according to her, the Roma are used in the filmic genre "rough realism as exotica" as a "metaphoric material" that feature in politically "correct" ways.

[62] See Szeman 2009. In her exploration of the presence of Gypsy music in world music festivals, Silverman (2007) takes into account issues of commodification, authenticity and exoticism. By highlighting the strategic embracement of self-Orientalism by Roma musicians themselves, (Savigliano 1995), she focuses on the way their costumes, for example, add to the well-known stereotype of Balkan Gypsy musician, in order to cater for the expectations of their mainly Western audience. See also Silverman (1996). Although the stereotypes about Roma in literature, music and the Balkan cinema are much discussed (Trumpeter 1992, van de Port 1998, Iordanova 2001), the way the Roma embody such stereotypes or the implications of those for the Roma, musicians and otherwise, are not fully explored (except for Szeman 2009, 100 and Silverman 2007).

[63] Todorova 2009, 17.

[64] Todorova 2009, 14. In a similar vein, Bjelić (2002) argues that the Balkans successfully maintain their "otherness", which contrasts to and is situated outside "Western modernity", due to the threat the area is supposed to pose against this particular form of modernity. See also Green (2005, 151) for a critical appraisal of Todorova's approach.

[65] Ioardanova 2001, 216.

[66] Said 1978, 248.

[67] Buchanan (2007, 260) refers to "an emergent Balkan cosmopolitanism, where the Ottoman Empire's musical legacy has become part and parcel of the local grassroots creative lexicon".

[68] The timing of the establishment of such an articulation is particularly pertinent. In the context of Roma activism, Gypsy music is considered to be the emblematic field of Roma's cultural production and constitutes one of the very few fields for a positive representation of their public identity. The activation of the term "Roma music" instead of "Gypsy music" is also relevant (Malvinni 2004, 55). In using music as a critical tool against nationalistic discrimination and European exclusion – and less frequently as a resistance tool, as in the case of Roma, hip-hop-Roma political marginalization, is strongly criticized (e.g. Imre 2008, 326; Malvinni 2004, 204).

that Roma play[69] and to accept that every musical performance belongs to its creators/performers. Against this background, several scholars have highlighted the simultaneous mimesis, appropriation and erasure of the Roma people that is embedded in the articulation between Balkan music and Gypsy music.[70]

As long as the "Gypsy" stamp remains a way to exoticize any music from the Balkans, concerts and videos like those described here will continue to perpetuate the romantic Gypsy stereotypes, ultimately failing to bring either the Roma or the Balkans – in all their diversity and complexity – closer.[71] What is more, the very notion of "Gypsy music" cannot but be seen as an artificial category that unites "the extraordinarily rich cultural hybridity and inherent transnationality of a variety of distinct and diverse musical idioms" as Imre accurately points out.[72]

I argue that it would be instructive to shed some light on the simultaneous visibility, appropriation and erasure of the Roma people, through the process that Celia Lury calls "branding".[73] In her attempt to understand the phenomenon of "new economy"[74] and the essential restructuring of the conditions of cultural production it brought along, Lury explored the shift from a regime of cultural rights based on the principles of the authorship, originality and creative expression of the generated cultural product, to principles like those of trademark, simulation and branding; a shift, though, that does not imply that the notion of creative labour is any different from other forms of labour. To put it differently, for Lury the attribution of cultural value is based on the process of reception, on what she calls, drawing on Benjamin, "exhibition value".[75] For her, as well as for other scholars, such a shift cannot be conceptualized simply as a facet of the commodification of social relations taking place in today's world, but has to be seen as part of a wider process of branding of "matter previously coded as natural and/or social, a process which has been described as type or kind becoming brand",[76] which is defined on the basis of its exhibition value. Furthermore, the "author-function" is related less to claims regarding

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[69] The well-known debate between Liszt and Bartók is relevant. It centred around the issue of whether the music performed by the Roma is "theirs" or is it "true Hungarian peasant music" appropriated by them (Malvinni 2004, 9 and ch. 9; see also Brown 2000).

[70] For Mike Sell, the phenomenon of forgetting the Roma, while also mimicking them, is not a recent one, but a gesture dating back in the avant-garde and the bohemian trend of the nineteenth century: "the Roma […] supply even to those who have forgotten them both a conceptual structure and an ontological model for living virtuously and authentically apart from the mainstream. It is by way of mimicking, appropriating, mythologizing, and, ultimately, erasing the Roma that the idea of challenging political authority through fashion, sex, drug use, cuisine, creative expression, etc., came into being" (2007, 45).

[71] Szeman 2009, 114. Her point about DJ Shantel and the song-video clip entitled *Gypsification* (2009, 113) is acute here: the film is set in the streets of Istanbul, the song includes Romanian *manele*-style singing and brass instruments, but with electronic beats, and "Gypsification" represents the link between them.

[72] Imre 2008, 328.

[73] The notion of brand presupposes the possession of an "essence" that extends beyond the product itself. The example of Coca-Cola is very acute, in revealing that what is actually sold is not the product, but its symbolic interrelations, its visibility in the market (Lury 1993).

[74] E.g. Adkins 2005. The list of books discussing the notion of the "new economy" is paramount. Important elements in this discussion are the emergence of the "network society" (Castells 1996), the recession of the significance of social structure (Beck *et al.* 1994), and of every kind of social contracts, even of the products themselves. Instead, in the emerging model of network sociality which Wittel discussed, emphasis was placed upon the relative flexibility and the move from having relationships towards doing relationships and towards relationship management (Wittel 2001).

[75] Benjamin 1970.

[76] Adkins 2005, 115.

the creator's "creativity and uniqueness", and more to the process of reception.[77]

There is an interesting similarity here with the paradox that Adkins detected in the way gender is understood in the "new" cultural economy realm.[78] By discussing a series of approaches that link the "aestheticisation" of the economic and the issue of feminization, e.g. the claim that feminine performances operate as work resources,[79] Adkins pointed out that some workers "may be denied authorship of their workplace identities and the ability to mobilise identity as a workplace resource". For her, this lack of recognition is inextricably interconnected with "practices of naturalisation, normalisation and romanticisation".[80]

In a similar vein, the fixing of the relationship between Roma and musicality through essentialism, although this results in a certain kind of visibility (i.e. Roma as professional musicians), dispossesses them of the ability to claim their "Roma" musical capital as an occupational resource, and instead constructs it as a naturalized part of themselves. Clearly, the problem related to such an assumption can be further highlighted through a consideration of issues related to the musicians' creativity and agency: if Gypsy musicians are rendered unable to mobilise their Roma identity as a workplace capital – for the latter is seen as an essential part of themselves – then their creativity and musical agency will also not be recognizable, with profound consequences for the politicization of the field of the cultural.[81]

In regard to the process of branding (Roma = music = Balkans = exotic = East = Orient), my point of interest lies in the erasure of any emphasis on Gypsy music, its process of production or its complexity, its status as a cultural practice, as well as in the erasure of the Roma themselves as creators of this cultural value. This, as I have suggested, is gaining significance in the context of an increasingly important, contemporary Roma activism and of the struggles around identity politics in the post-socialist Balkans.[82]

Greece and the "Fantasia Repertoire"

I will now return to the "fantasia repertoire", in order to explore its continuities and discontinuities with the Balkan ethnopop musical incarnations. What is more, I will dwell on its importance in the context of the emerging paradigm of Greek multiculturalism.[83]

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[77] Adkins 2005, 119.

[78] Adkins 2002a.

[79] Adkins 2002a, 58.

[80] Adkins 2002b, 38. "In many service work organisations and occupations it is, for instance, often difficult for women to claim the emotional satisfaction of customers and/or co-workers as an indication of personal effectiveness since performances of what is sometimes referred to as 'emotional labour' are naturalized as part of women's selves" (Adkins 2002b, 38).

[81] I make an implicit reference here to the claim that culture, as a field of resources, is universally available to all and its critique. See, for example, Lury 1995.

[82] If within the brand "Gypsy music", in its Balkan incarnation, (in both versions presented above, ethnopop and world music) there are elements that meet the expectations of both the locals and of the Western audience (authenticity and kitsch, modernity and tradition, Orientalism and Occidentalism), what follows is the appropriation, mimesis and erasure of Roma.

[83] E.g. Tsibiridou 2006; Yiakumaki 2006. The wholesale identification of Balkan with Gypsy music is of course not unknown in Greece. Bands mainly originating in Northern Greece appropriate and mimic Balkan productions and thus they also participate in the well-established by now Balkan-Gypsy trend (see e.g. Cabaret Balkan 2010 and BAiLdSA Band 2012). Pertinent to such a development has been the contiguity, both geographical

The emphasis attributed to the designation "Turkish" or *arabesk* as synonyms of artistic value, the local consumption of this particular musical hybrid, the aesthetic devaluing of such musical choices by the more general public,[84] as well as the identification of this idiom with the Gypsy musicians, are all tangential to the detection of overlaps and similarities among this particular idiom and the Balkan ethnopop musical idioms discussed above.

In sharp contrast to contemporary Balkan popular culture, the "fantasia repertoire" and its associated musical practices and performances have been unable to attain the status of a separate and distinct musical genre and become a brand, and consequently gain the visibility that the latter can bring about.

The "fantasia repertoire" constitutes, according to Gypsy musicians, a significant marker of musicians' "musicality", "virtuosity" and "modern aesthetics". It is relatively popular in the regions where the clarinet "tradition" is extremely important even nowadays (western and central Greece, the Peloponnese and Thessaly), and it is valued and evaluated within and not against this tradition. Thus, it seems far away from the Balkan soundscape of international ethnopop collaborations and networks. What is more, its effect and popularity are very much associated with marginal contexts, such as those of *paniyiria* (local festivals) and the "culture of plastic",[85] as well as with bootleg record networks.[86] There is no current academic interest in this field and of course one cannot but take into account the absolute lack of representation of performances of such repertoire in "established" and "well-respected" concert places or music halls. Perhaps the key for such invisibility is the absence of a specific name for this particular musical practice. The simultaneous usage of a plethora of terms/names, such as "Gypsy" music, "*Yiftoskyladika*",[87] *Tsifteteli* etc. point precisely to its inability to be recognized as a distinct musical genre; the use of the ethnographic term "fantasia repertoire" comes to cater for the absence of a specific name.

In what follows I will try to shed some light on the reasons for this absence and its related issue of visibility, through the discussion of two important points: a more general one related to the wider contemporary Greek society and the situation of Gypsies/Roma within it, and a more specific one relevant to the Gypsy musicians of my ethnography.

Against the background of the "social poetics"[88] of Greek cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism,[89] the existing Romani activism movement has an extremely limited presence in the Greek public sphere. At the same time, the degree to which it has managed to mobilise the separate groups of Gypsies/*Tsiganoi* in a rather concerted way is

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and musical, of the area (Northern Greece) as well as the extended networks of productions and consumption.

[84] They are considered "kitsch", "Gypsicized", "polluting", "of bad taste", criticized for a collapsing traditionality and authenticity, banality, semi-urbanized qualities and unsuccessful modernisation.

[85] See also Theodosiou forthcoming.

[86] Beyond the official recordings, mainly of the clarinet player Vassilis Saleas, the circulation network of this "genre" consists of pirated CDs that are usually live recordings, as well as internet videos on YouTube and MySpace.

[87] *Skiladiko* (or *Skyladiko*; Greek: Σκυλάδικο "doggy") is either a derogatory term to describe *laiko* or a so-called "decadent" form of folk/pop. See Kallimopoulou and Poulos forthcoming.

[88] Cf. Herzfeld 2004.

[89] Relevant to these issues are undoubtedly what Wilk (1995) and Herzfeld (2004) called the "global systems of common difference" and the "global hierarchy of value" respectively. For a more detailed exploration of the official discourse on multiculturalism in the Greek context see, for example, Yiakumaki 2006.

questionable.[90] While this particular aspect is a complex issue that deserves a separate and more systematic exploration, here I will limit myself to a brief account of the different historical route the different Gypsy/*Tsiganoi* groups in Greece have followed, and of the particularities of the process of their inclusion in Greek society.[91] Furthermore, I will touch upon the different historical predicaments of the Gypsies/Roma in the post-socialist era of the Balkans. The historical predicaments will receive most attention, as these constitute the axis around which the claims of contemporary Romani activism are formed.[92]

In this light, it is worth mentioning that the official record productions falling under the category/genre "Gypsy music" and constituting it as a separate brand are very limited in number and usually make use of the lyrics in diverse Romani dialects as their distinctive marker. Finally, given how pertinent the articulation "Balkans/post-socialist condition/Gypsy music" has become, and the limited Balkanism attributed to Greece (which is somehow activated as a symbolic discourse mainly in the case of northern Greece), one can notice the following: the productions around the Gypsy/Roma signifier frequently appropriate the Balkan "Gypsy" stereotype both in terms of musical composition and orchestration (elaborately ornamented, virtuosic, and often improvisational melodic passages) and in terms of performance practices.[93]

Yet, beyond this more general context, my focus on the case of Nea Zoi in Ioannina and Parakalamos village leads me to argue that the invisibility of this specific musical idiom is constituted and performed through the means of the historical conditionality of the Parakalamos Gypsy musicians; what I have called elsewhere their "double marginality".[94] More specifically, I will argue that the tense ethnographic discussion about the "fantasia repertoire", and the highlighting of a relevant distinction between the "selfish" and the "professional" way of playing points, among other things, to the negotiation of the terms of visibility on behalf of the musicians. It focuses the discussion on the process of music production and of themselves as musical and historical agents, a process that cuts across the very nature of branding.

A series of contrasting elements can be detected in the particularly ambivalent attitude of the Gypsy musicians' community towards the "fantasia repertoire": for example, their incessant attempt to foreground their "musicality", and their "artistry", to use their own words. Such a differentiation refers to their own musical past, which is often identified with the derogatory attitudes of the *Balame* revellers towards them. This differentiation also refers to the non-Gypsy musicians who increasingly break into their performance network and compete against them or their "incarceration" by the very "tradition" they are deemed to serve. Moreover, by putting emphasis on the process of improvisation, the *taximi*, as it is known, and limiting the role of the vocals/singer (which is more often than not performed by non-Gypsies), this particular musical practice gives the primary role to the clarinet player.

In and through the performance of such repertoire, a "community of practice"[95] formed, within which the musicians as modern complacent agents bring to the fore the

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[90] It is worth noting here that the first Festival of Greek Rom (Roma) was only organized in August 2009 in the ancient theatre of Fillipoi in northern Greece and it had to overcome a series of difficulties (see Platanou 2009).
[91] See, for example, Trubeta 2008; Papapavlou and Koppasi-Oikonomea 2002 and Vaxevanoglou 2001.
[92] See, for example, Vermeersch 2005 and 2006 for a detailed discussion of Romani activism in central Europe.
[93] BAiLdSA Band provides such an example.
[94] Theodosiou 2008.
[95] Lave and Wenger 1991.

use of technology and the significance attributed to the process of listening, while also revealing the importance of virtuosity. In such a community the participants extend the circle of musicians and are comprised also of the smaller group of revellers; the listening subjects who search for their "communitas"[96] in the circle of "good music", "musical knowledge" and "artistic value". This practice is very much in tune with the "dishevelled" exoticism that is historically expressed in and through the musical practice of *alaturka*. *Alaturka*, to recall Nikolas's reference to it, has never achieved the status of a separate repertoire – "all songs can be ornamented with an *alaturka* way of playing[97] and this is what made our way of playing here in Parakalamos different".[98] Their recalling of the past *alaturka* is embedded in their rather recent Ottoman past: "our fathers used to perform for the Ali Pasha harem" they frequently mentioned,[99] and of course their designation as *Turkiyiftoi* ("Turkish Gypsies") Their relation to the exoticism of the East – both in its essentialist version (their "natural" exoticism) and in its historical incarnation through their connection to place and the area's Ottoman history – constitutes a necessary condition for the existence of their own "double marginality", and thus renders them exotic in a "dishevelled" way.

Yet, there is more to it than that. Their incessant wondering about the compatibility of this specific repertoire with their "professional" identity/capacity, refers to the risk of the elevation of this particular repertoire to a separate and distinct genre, and its becoming a brand. Nikolas's and Dimitrakis's reference to the young musicians of Nea Zoi and their emphasis on *tsifteteli* and "selfish" way of playing is apt here: "good musicians but they have become like *Tsiganoi*". What they meant is that the dominance of these specific musical choices has become more and more visible, and interpreted through an exclusive reference to the Gypsies' essentialism, their "inherent" musicality, their radical otherness, that emanates from their "authenticity" as Gypsies. It is this element that is represented here by their reference to the *Tsiganoi* identity. Yet, such an exclusive identification very quickly comes to recant their local belonging, a fact that has significant repercussions for the distribution of social, political and cultural capital.[100] At this point, Szeman's work becomes particularly pertinent. [101] Her analysis concerns the appropriation, mimesis and simultaneous erasure of the palimpsest of difference that comprises the cultural and political presence of Roma in the realm of the current identification of "Balkan-Gypsy" music, and the association of this specific phenomenon with the process of branding.

Their exclusive identification with the local repertoire and the resulting limitations is not a choice either, as Nikolas's condemnation about the village's musicians indicates: "they are stuck in the mud of the Libuzda". In so far as it is related to their role as "local musicians", such an identification entrenches their belonging, while also simultaneously entailing designations of a lack of "musicality" and "professionalism". This identification, nevertheless, draws its significance from a series of elements, more importantly the

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[96] Cf. Turner 1967.

[97] It is noteworthy that a great number of musicians talk about a "Byzantine way of playing", influenced as they obviously are by the hegemonic discourse on Greek tradition.

[98] Due to its *ala turka* character, the traditional music of Parakalamos is considered different to the traditional music of its surrounding areas (i.e. Pogoni, Zagori) and "of less" value.

[99] Despite the frequent reference to Ali Pasha's court and the role their "fathers" played in it by the elderly Gypsies, there is not enough historical data to confirm such an association. See Brandl 1996 for more.

[100] See Theodosiou 2011 as one example.

[101] Szeman 2009.

marginal position Parakalamos occupies in the realm of what has been called "traditional music".[102]

Epilogue

As a way of conclusion, in what follows I will try to briefly shed some light on the contemporary musical geographies Gypsy musicians are called to dwell upon. These geographies presuppose, among other elements, a balanced mixture of an extensive repertoire, the ability to adapt to the specific needs of the performance context and the ability to establish social networks as well as to articulate a "personal" musical style. It is this last element that constitutes the meeting point between their "professional" and their "selfish" performance practice, but also the point of their subtle, yet, very telling, distinction. Going back to Elias's musical practice and the distinction between a "selfish" and "professional" way of playing, the "problem" for Nikolas, Elias's father, is located in the dominance of the first way of performing over the second. As in the case of *Alaturka*, when the ability to articulate a distinct, personal performance style through the employment of "established" musical codes, (i.e. a Turkish style of playing) is not confined to a particular musical genre, and does not become identified with it, then the musician is in a position to negotiate the terms of conditions of his visibility and to highlight his creativity; elements that compose the notions of "professionalism" and "musicality". [103] Nikolas's point that "all music played by us is our music" virtually affirms not his opposition to the musician's personal style, but rather his opposition to the clear-cut boundaries and identities that often dictate a monolithic identification of the Gypsy musician with what is only a possible fragment of his multifarious musical practice.

The example of Vassilis Saleas, "Vassilakis" as he is known among Gypsy musicians, may help to uncover this fine distinction; "If Saleas is so well-known, it is because he managed to create his own personal style", I was told. The fame of this particular musician does not originate in the visibility of a specific musical "genre" (the "fantasia repertoire"), but in his creativity that becomes evident in all his musical practices, and goes against the clear-cut boundaries of musical genres.

Thus, in so far as the "fantasia repertoire", like *alaturka*, brings together traditional and modern elements and constitutes a manifold hybrid, it establishes another place, where Gypsy musicians are called to negotiate their relationship with modernity and its complexity and their diverse cultural attributes (e.g. their local belonging).

In this light, I argue that the relevance to the ambiguous marginality of Gypsy musicians pronounces this specific repertoire as in opposition to clear-cut boundaries, distinct identities and their essentialist understandings, while also highlighting processes of differentiation, otherness, and "dishevelled" exoticism. To use the words of James Boon: "what makes something truly marginal is its *inability* to become an '-ism' or to be 'identitied'".[104]

The fact that such an inability to identify, or the incessant search for different identifications, finds its space in the liminal field of local festivals (*paniyiria*) cannot be viewed as a mere coincidence. It is in this context that the negotiation of the conditions of

[102] Theodosiou 2006.
[103] Gypsy musicians are exclusively male.
[104] Boon 1999, 208.

their visibility is still happening in ways that the Gypsy musicians can define and control to a certain extent.

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Imagining the Balkans, Imagining Europe: Balkan Entries in the Eurovision Song Contest

Derek B. Scott

When August Zeune, a German geographer, put forward the notion of a Balkan Peninsula stretching below the Balkan Mountains in 1808, "Balkan" was not intended to be anything more than a geographical label. The countries that came to be known as the Balkans, however, were those that were part of the Ottoman Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The term has never been precise and often ignores the fact that parts of Greece, Romania (Transylvania) and Serbia (Vojvodina) were not under Turkish rule. Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly more for political reasons than geographical reasons that some countries find themselves categorized as Balkan.[1]

I am examining, here, how Balkan identity has been mediated through music chosen for the Eurovision Song Contest (ESC). In the first decade of the twenty-first century the contest has frequently been seen, on the one hand, as a means of solidifying national alliances and, on the other, as an opportunity for airing political quarrels. Given the context of an expanding European Union and expanding pan-European legislation, the choices made concerning how to represent Balkan culture are of considerable significance, especially because political ambitions for the Balkans now involve membership of the European Union. The question, then, is should these countries emphasize sameness rather than difference? Alternatively, should there be an attempt to demonstrate a linguistic and cultural diversity that, far from posing a threat to the idea of European unity, adds instead to the richness of European culture?

In exploring such questions, we need to consider the impact that political and social history has had on contemporary mediations of Balkan identity and how the tension between past and present may be evaluated through the play of (post)modernity and tradition when representing Balkan culture in the ESC. In the twentieth century, the term "Balkanization" – referring to disorderly state fragmentation into nationalist entities – reinforced the political rather than the geographical connotation of the Balkans.

Nationalism was not always the driving cause of such fragmentation, however: the establishment of an independent Albania and the carving up of Macedonia in 1913, for instance, were attempts to ensure a balance of power. Most of the Balkans became communist countries after the Second World War, but strife between them was rekindled in the 1990s when independence movements challenged the federal structure of Yugoslavia. Following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, the friction of past and present affects the very description "Balkan", which some would wish to drop as a consequence of its having acquired too many negative associations. In 2003, for example, the *Balkan Times* was restyled the *Southeast European Times*. Greece is now more commonly referred to as a Southern European country, although there is no official definition of what constitutes Southern Europe. Croatia and Slovenia have made efforts to reject the description "Bal-

[1] A history of the designation "Balkan" is given in Todorova 1997, 22–32. I should point out that the similarity between the title of my essay and that of Todorova's book *Imagining the Balkans* is coincidence and not meant to indicate correspondence in our interpretations of representations of the Balkans.

kan", preferring, instead, to be called Central European nations.

National Identities and Eurovision Songs

Generally, Eurovision songs embrace a variety of music I describe as the "third type", by which I mean the music described in different countries as Schlager, chanson, *musica leggera*, *zabavna glazba*, *λαϊκή-δημοφιλής μουσική* and easy listening. This is neither classical music nor folk music, but the commercial popular music that developed in urban environments as part of a leisure industry.[2] Of course, urban popular music has always been able to draw on traditions from a variety of countries, and that is because the urban sensibility is characterized by an inclination towards cosmopolitan taste and liberal attitudes. In the first few decades of the contest, countries often tried to mix something of an ethnic character that would have tourist recognition and appeal, at the same time as incorporating something typical of Eurovision. When Greece first entered the contest in 1974, for example, it was with the inspired idea of combining the sounds of a *bouzouki* with a familiar and much parodied kind of Eurovision song, a song that strives for the widest appeal by abandoning a language specific vocabulary. Such songs have the "boom bang", "ding dong" or "la la la" refrain that aims for universal appeal beyond language borders.[3]

Another familiar kind of Eurovision song is that which carries a political or spiritual message. Sometimes a country goes too far, however: in 2009 when the contest was held in Russia, the Georgian entry *We Don't Wanna Put In* was banned for its overpolitical protest at Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin's intervention in South Ossetia (note the pun on "Put in" in the title).[4] By way of contrast, the Greek song of 1976, performed by Mariza Koch, lamented the Turkish invasion of Cyprus of 1974, but subtly and indirectly. Cyprus is never mentioned, but it was of Cyprus that people thought when they heard some of the words.

Στον τόπο αυτό όταν θα πάτε, όι-όι μάνα μ'
Σκηνές αν δείτε, αν δείτε στη σειρά
Δε θα 'ναι κάμπινγκ για τουρίστες, όι-όι μάνα μ'
Θα 'ναι μονάχα, μονάχα προσφυγιά[5]

In just the same way as a song needs to avoid being too clearly political, a song that evokes a spiritual mood should avoid implying anything specifically liturgical. Broad appeal needs to be maintained in order to be suggestive of the people as one, a British example being *Power to All Our Friends* (No. 3, 1973).[6] Who could possibly object to such a sentiment?

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[2] See Scott 2008, 5–6; *id*. 2009.

[3] It was *Κρασί, θάλασσα και τ'αγόρι μου* (words by Pythagoras, music by Giorgos Katsaros), sung by Marinella and featuring a "la la la" chorus.

[4] The words were by Bibi Kvachadze and the music by Stefane Mgebrishvili. The performance by Stephane & 3G emphasized the homophone with the Russian prime minister's name. They resisted pressure for alterations, and the Eurovision Broadcasting Union declared that the song did not comply with section 4, rule 9 of the ESC, and so was refused entry. See Bakker 2009.

[5] "If you go to this place, oh my mother, if you see a row of tents, it won't be camping for tourists, oh my mother, it will be refugees only." *Παναγιά μου, παναγιά μου*, words by Michael Fotiades, music by Mariza Koch.

[6] Words and music by Guy Fletcher and Doug Flett, sung by Cliff Richard.

A third common Eurovision song type is the "enjoy life" or party-time song. Examples are *Congratulations* (UK, No. 2, 1968),[7] and *Laß die Sonne in dein Herz* ("Let the Sun into Your Heart") (Germany, No. 2, 1987).[8] In these songs the idea of social celebration overrides matters of European ethnicity: the last-mentioned song, for instance, is reggae influenced. Although *Congratulations* was a British entry, it might be thought that the move into the final refrain is indebted, rather, to Greek culture: the acceleration of tempo sounds more than a little like *Zorba's Dance*.

This dance, from the film score by Mikis Theodorakis to *Zorba the Greek* (1964),[9] became known rapidly throughout Europe. It is significant, however, in the light of my previous comments, that *Zorba's Dance* is the *συρτάκι*, which, unlike the *συρτός*, is not a folk dance; in fact, it was composed specially for the film. It mixes two forms of the *χασάπικο* dance: the *βαρύ χασάπικο* (4/4 slow) and the *χασαποσέρβικο* (2/4 fast). In brief, it is born of popular culture (the movies), not of folk culture. Since strong two-beat rhythms are a favourite of Eurovision songs, it would be surprising if no country other than Greece saw the potential of the *χασάπικο*. A modicum of exploration uncovers the Dutch entry of 1972, *Als het om de liefde gaat* ("When It's All about Love").[10]

A final type of tried and tested Eurovision favourite is the song suggestive of public spaces for experiencing leisure-time pleasure, an example being *Ze rak sport* ("Viva Sport", Israel, No. 6, 1992).[11] The Greek entry of 1978 made Charlie Chaplin its subject matter.[12] He was, of course, someone who transcended the language barrier, a silent screen star of international appeal.

It is rare to find a song in the ESC final that is marked strongly with an ethnic character throughout (Bulgaria's *Вода* ["Water"] of 2007[13] is one of the exceptions), and if ethnic features are present, they are most likely to be found in the verse or instrumental interludes rather than the chorus. In the twenty-first century, Greece has generally chosen urban styles that mix a variety of elements. *My Number One*, performed by Helena Paparizou in 2005, mixed folky elements with tourist appeal, contemporary dance and a Europop chorus.[14]

Nationalism, Folk Music Parody and Camp Performances of Identity

The collapse of the Yugoslav socialist federation meant that popular music of a nationalist character took on a strong political dimension, not least because it could open old wounds.[15] Belgrade in the 1990s saw the development of what became known as *turbo-*

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[7] Words and music by Bill Martin and Phil Coulter, sung by Cliff Richard.

[8] Lyrics by Bernd Meinunger, music by Ralph Siegel, sung by Wind.

[9] Directed by Michael Cacoyannis (based on the novel by Nikos Kazantzakis).

[10] Lyrics by Hans van Hemert, music by Dries Holten, sung by Sandra and Andres (Holland, No. 4, 1972). Listen to the section beginning *Ach, wat is het moeilijk om een eerlijk mens te zijn* ("Ah, How Difficult It is to Be an Honest Person").

[11] Lyrics by Ehud Manor, music by Kobi Oshrat, sung by Dafna.

[12] *Τσάρλυ Τσάπλιν* (Charlie Chaplin), words by Giannis Xanthoulis, music by Sakis Tsilikis, sung by Tania Tsanaklidou. It came eighth. Chaplin had died in December 1977.

[13] Performed in Bulgarian by Elitsa Todorova (words and music) and Stoyan Yankoulov (music). Even this song managed to include elements of techno, a musical style well-known in European urban club culture.

[14] Words by Christos Dantis and Natalia Germanou, music by Dantis.

[15] For a summary of the effects the civil wars of 1991–1995 had on music in the formerly multinational Yugo-

folk (a mixture of folk, pop and urban dance club rhythms). Serbian *turbofolk* found an audience in Croatia and Bosnia, even during the time when it might have been considered the enemy's music. Croatia, more particularly its capital Zagreb, had been vitally important to the Yugoslav music industry (despite Belgrade being the capital of Yugoslavia), but links with Serbia dried up after the war. In the 1990s, it was virtually impossible for Serbian and Croatian musicians to perform in each other's countries, even though no official ban existed. Slobodan Milošević's fall from power in 2000 changed that, but there were still those who continued to have strong negative feelings: Oliver Dragojević, born in Dalmatia, allegedly refused 200 000 euros to sing in Belgrade.[16]

As always, what is crucial is the way music with national associations is used or consumed. To choose a British illustration of this, when *Land of Hope and Glory* is sung at the *Last Night of the Proms* it is not a call to reengage with imperialist adventure. The words that call for Britain's boundaries to be set wider and wider are now sung with an ironic knowingness of past colonial exploits. Croatia's entry in the Eurovision Song Contest of 2006 incorporated folk styles from Zagora and Herzegovina, music that was marginalized by the Croatian media as a consequence of political unrest in those areas,[17] but the music was reused in the context of folk parody, and the words were nonsensical. *Moja štikla* ("My stiletto") was performed by Severina, an artist associated with folk-pop crossover, accompanied by the Croatian band Let 3.[18] The promotional video, released before the contest, made the postmodernist character of the song obvious by creating a sense of incongruity between the music and the urban buildings and traffic scenes. The song nevertheless put Croatia in danger of exposing sensitive issues at Eurovision. The composers, Boris Novković and Franjo Valentić, asked Goran Bregović, a Sarajevo rock musician of mixed ethnic background, to do the arrangement. The result sounded Serbian, and newspapers began to debate whether or not the lyrics were in a Serbian rather than Herzegovinian dialect. Catherine Baker, in her book *Sounds of the Borderland*, covers the debate in the media about whether the song was Croatian and, if so, what made it Croatian. It led to the resurfacing of the old notion that Croatia's culture was inclined towards Austria, Slovenia and Hungary, whereas Serbia looked in the direction of Bulgaria, Romania and Turkey.

In the two years that followed *Moja štikla*, Croatia played safe, first with a rock ballad and then with a song in Latin style. This was a way of avoiding the problems thrown up by displaying Balkan features and is easily accounted for: Croatia was seeking a solid European identity, and the Balkan elements may be taken to connote cultural otherness.[19] *Moja štikla* showed that trying to modernize or, rather, postmodernize folk traditions could prove problematic. Croatia was now nervous about whether a Balkan sound might be heard as part of a contemporary and postmodern outlook or whether it still carried connotations of a pre-industrial rural society, economic hardship and political

slavia, see Pettan 2010, 179–181.

16 Gajić 2002, cited in Muršič 2011, 94.

17 Baker 2010, 143.

18 Words by Severina Vučković, music by Boris Novković and Franjo Valentić. When Let 3 later found themselves being censored in Bosnia and Herzegovina, it was not because of making fun of local folk music but, rather, for indulging in the Western European rock-and-roll habit of exposing their penises on stage.

19 "Otherness" is a key concept in postcolonial criticism and plays an important role in debates about ethnic stereotyping. For a lucid introduction to theories of otherness, see Hall 1997. For a collection of essays examining how the Balkans have been constructed as the Other to Europe since the mid-twentieth century, see Hammond 2004.

strife. The ESC exposes countries to the gaze of Europe, the dominant image of which is urban, while the lingering image of the Balkans is rural. The consequence is that a Balkan country may worry about giving an impression of having an outlook that is inward and backward looking, rather than cosmopolitan and international. Yet, ignoring indigenous traditions means that the same country ends up staging a performance that carries no clear message about national identity. This has its own negative effects: it fails to create a distinct impression about the country concerned and fails to generate tourism with its associated economic benefits.

Croatian popular musicians have long sought success across Europe as a whole, and the Eurovision holds out the potential for achieving this. The example of the international fame accorded to the Swedish group Abba following their ESC appearance in 1974 always springs to mind. Yet it is not Croatia but Bosnia that has come closest to imitating Abba. Feminnem's *Call Me*, the Bosnian and Herzegovinian entry of 2005 was sung in English, and that was not the only resemblance it had to Abba's *Waterloo*.[20] Nevertheless, it ended up in fourteenth place when votes were cast. As evidence that ethnic features do not necessarily damage a country's chances at the Eurovision, Bosnia and Herzegovina found that their entry the next year, *Lejla*, finished eleven places higher, at number three.[21]

What was notably absent from the Croatian media debate about the ethnic character of *Moja štikla* was any reference to the concept of camp; yet this is the quality that places the song more firmly in the tradition of Eurovision than in Croatian or Serbian traditions. Robin Deam Tobin, citing lesbian, transsexual and transvestite performances from 1997 on, suggests that the contest "offers a model of European citizenship that is particularly amenable to the needs that are present in queer populations and communities" and that it is a model that "relies on the possibility of camp performances of identity".[22] He holds that the sense of citizenship on offer here is that of belonging, of having a voice and equal rights. The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights put Europe at the fore in defending the rights of gays and lesbians and by doing so recognized that liberal attitudes to sexual minorities and the protection of their rights form an important part of what it means to be European. On 17 September 1998, the European Parliament passed a resolution denying admission to any nation that failed to respect gay and lesbian rights. At the time, this meant Bulgaria, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania and Romania.[23] The Eurovision Song Contest is widely recognized to be an event during which camp is on abundant display.

Camp celebrates artificiality and thus runs counter to blood and soil ideology. Dana International made the gay and camp qualities of the ESC overt in 1998. These days the audience is more than ready to make camp and queer readings of what they see (for example, to see kitsch as intentional and to interpret excessive amounts of machismo or femininity as ironic poses). At the same time there are some subtly nuanced performances: *Молитва* (*Molitva*; "Prayer"), the Serbian entry of 2007 was the first non-English language winner since 1998, and the singer Marija Šerifović dressed as a drag king but

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[20] The words and music of *Call Me* were by Andrej Babić. The words and music of *Waterloo* were by Benny Andersson, Stig Anderson and Björn Ulvaeus.

[21] Words by Fahrudin Pecikoza and Dejan Ivanović, music by Željko Joksimović. Performed by Hari Mata Hari.

[22] Tobin 2007, 25.

[23] Tobin 2007, 31, n. 28.

sang like a woman.[24] Her prayer was not religious but, rather, a plea to be released from the pain of love. Despite the minor key, the song is not especially marked ethnically, and, indeed, the piano is at first the most conspicuous instrument in the arrangement. Marija was surrounded by five women all wearing suits and ties and offering supporting gestures; they were unsmiling and there was no dance routine. This is a remarkable example of Eurovision avoiding any obvious "showbiz" quality and also avoiding the exploitative lesbian packaging of tATu, the duo who sang for Russia in 2003.

Embracing European Values and Challenging Balkan Stereotypes

Having won the contest with *Molitva* in 2007, Serbia was the next to play host to the ESC. After the conclusion of the 2008 Eurovision song contest held in Belgrade, the international media heaped praise on Serbia for running the event so smoothly. They commented on the positive way it affected Serbia's international image, which had been damaged by events of the 1990s. Even in the weeks before the contest, Serbia was receiving negative publicity because Serbian fascists were threatening gay visitors with violence as well as citizens of countries that recognized the independence of Kosovo. In the event, the show was a success, and the Serbian national TV director Aleksandar Tijanić, interviewed by the *Blic* newspaper, declared "we have managed to change the stereotypical image of Serbia and that is something priceless". A CNN report (quoted by *Blic*) concurred with this: "Serbian authorities went out of their way to throw a well-organized party, seizing the chance to present the country to the world as a normal European nation after years of pariah status in the 1990s under late strongman Slobodan Milošević". According to the BBC, the way that the contest was handled proved that Serbia was part of Europe and able to show a friendly face that had not been seen in the media for a long time.[25] The question, then, is how to avoid a negative image of Balkanization – that of an area divided up into squabbling states – in the context of addressing a large group of countries that are committed to moving together with a set of common aims and interests. The ESC clearly allowed Serbia to change the political perceptions of many countries and to signal that it was moving in a pro-European direction.[26]

Thomas Solomon claims that when Turkey won the contest in 2003, it was regarded by many Turks as "a symbol of finally being accepted as a 'European' country rather than a 'Middle Eastern' one" and that it "fuelled Turkey's aspirations to join the European Union".[27] However, Turkey won with a performance that Matthew Gumpert has described as "auto-Orientalism", a song in English (*Everyway That I Can*) accompanied by a certain amount of ethnic stereotyping in both music and dance (belly-dancing being the most obvious where the latter was concerned).[28] Nevertheless, he also makes a case for the performance to be seen as a rejection of Orientalism through its knowing

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[24] Words by Saša Milošević Mare, music by Vladimir Graić.
[25] See *Balkan Travellers* 2008.
[26] In fact, from the 1880s onwards, most of the Balkan states had been making the transition from Ottoman to European patterns of life (see Jelavich 1983a, 45–50).
[27] Solomon 2007, 135.
[28] Gumpert 2007, 147. The words to *Everyway That I Can* were by Demir Demirkan and the music by Cemirkan and Sertab Erener. It was sung by Sertab Erener.

deployment of Orientalist clichés.[29] We have a familiar postmodernist mix of inscription and subversion.

Indeed, Turkey would have felt no need to fall back on Orientalist clichés, given that they had achieved third place in 1997 with *Dinle* ("Listen") performed in Turkish by Şebnem Paker & Grup Etnic.[30] This offers evidence that it is not necessarily fear of a poor result that inclines countries to stress or play down ethnic features. Moreover, compromise is the name of the game: in spite of the ethnic character of *Dinle*, the singer makes Western-style dance movements and wears a black mini-skirt.

An important consideration in choosing a song is what sort of image the country wishes to project, and this is often guided by political rather than aesthetic reasons. Serbia and Montenegro chose to demonstrate that they were in touch with European popular taste by selecting a Montenegrin boy band, No Name, to represent them in 2005, despite nearly winning with the ethnically marked *Лане моје* (*Lane Moje*; My Sweetheart) the previous year.[31] However, the boy band proved highly untypical in their willingness to sing confidently in 7/8 time, the first time Eurovision had encountered a song in this metre.[32]

Political Bias in Voting Patterns

Although many would argue that political voting has become more pronounced, it is difficult to show that the current system of voting allows political *manipulation*. There is clearly a need, however, to account for some of the voting patterns. The contest of 2008 seemed to some to spell the end of the idea that the song itself was the subject of voting. Still fresh in the mind were memories of the previous year, when the votes awarded and received by countries that were new to the contest meant that most of the Western European countries were wiped out at the semi-final stage. The only ones to participate were sponsoring countries like France and the UK, since they could not be voted out at that stage. Not only did the same thing happen in 2008, but it was often predictable which country would award the maximum number of points to which other country. Usually, and perhaps surprisingly, it involved neighbouring countries that had endured a history of conflict with each other. That is why the concept of "buddy voting" is too simplistic (although it may apply in certain cases); it fails to explain why countries are able to award high marks to neighbours they appear to dislike at other times. Alf Björnberg has described the Eurovision Song Contest as filling the function of "focusing issues of national identity and prestige in an international setting".[33] He also notes that the voting system allows a "manifestation of allegiances" between countries who may feel they are on the periphery of Europe rather than politically or culturally central.[34] However, it needs to be stressed that this is not simply a question of allegiances *per se*, but of *allegiances within the periphery*, that is, allegiances that arise from having the periphery in common and not

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[29] Gumpert 2007, 154–157.
[30] Words by Mehtap Alnıtemiz, music by Levent Çoker.
[31] Words by Leontina Vukomanović, music by Željko Joksimović.
[32] *Zauvijek Moja* ("Forever Mine") words by Milan Perić, music by Slaven Knezović. The additive metre is 3+4.
[33] Björnberg 2007, 14.
[34] Björnberg 2007, 17.

necessarily from sharing a history of amicable relations.

Another matter that needs to be brought into the equation is immigration. Some European countries have substantial ethnic minority communities who can affect the voting. For example, although nobody living in Turkey can vote for Turkey (because people are not allowed to vote for their own country), this rule presents no obstacle to anyone Turkish who is living and working in Germany or, for that matter, anyone Albanian living in the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia. The enthusiastic voting of ethnic minority populations in various European countries is sometimes cited as having a major impact on the contest's outcome. It is also something that countries hosting such populations may reflect upon when selecting songs for the competition: Thorsten Hindrichs claims, for example, that Germany's *Reise nach Jerusalem / Kudüs'e seyahat* ("Journey to Jerusalem")[35] of 1999 was influenced by Turkish star Tarkan's ethno-pop song *Şımarık* ("Spoiled"), a European hit of the same year.[36] The words of *Reise nach Jerusalem* were sung in both German and Turkish, taking advantage of the fact that the year it was entered a change in the rules allowed songs to be sung in any language.

Questions about the fairness of the contest have increased in recent years. The voting in 2008 showed that, of the 43 voting countries, 17 (approximately 40%) gave their maximum number of points to a country with whom they shared a border. Yet historic voting patterns between countries were actually taken into account when planning the semi-finals in 2008. The 38 participating countries were grouped into six "pots", and both geographical location and voting history governed who was in each pot. Then half of each pot participated in semi-final one and the other half in semi-final two. Six entries from the Balkan countries were, for example, placed in pot one – Serbia was absent because, as host country, its place in the final was assured. The other automatic finalists were the sponsoring countries: France, Germany, Spain and the UK. They all ended up in the bottom ten when the 25 finalists were voted on. In 2009, there was a return to the use of national juries who would have a 50% say in the votes, alongside the telephone voting in each country. It was not evident that this improved matters very much for Western Europe. It may well be that music styles are developing in Europe that link certain nations into groups (Balkan, Nordic, Western European) and that the Western European style no longer holds sway.

Conclusion: Balkan Beats and Global Fusion

In brief, the Balkan myth is that countries in this culturally varied part of Europe share a set of hostile characteristics threatening Western values. That is why the myth relates to Orientalist discourse.[37] By the middle of the twentieth century, this myth had led to some people making almost no differentiation between Balkan nations. Here is a caricature of a Balkan state from an Agatha Christie novel of 1925: "Principal rivers, unknown. Principal mountains, unknown, but fairly numerous. Capital Ekarest. Population, chiefly brigands. Hobby, assassinating kings and having revolutions."[38]

A more recent example of Balkan stereotyping is found in *Eurobeat*, a stage mu-

[35] Sung by Sürpriz; words by Bernd Meinunger, Deniz Filizmen and Cihan Özden, music by Ralph Siegel.
[36] Hindrichs 2007, 55.
[37] See Norris 1999, 11–13.
[38] *The Secret of Chimneys*, quoted in Todorova 1997, 122.

sical based on the ESC, first performed in Edinburgh in 2007. It is set in Sarajevo, presented by hosts Sergei and Boyka. The Eurobeat website has a helpful list of phrases in Bosnian:[39]

Help! – Upomic!
I've been injured – Povrijedio sam se
Do you have a toilet? – Da li imate je WC?
I need aspirin – Treba me lijek za boi
How much is this turnip? – Koliko je ovo repa?

This says a lot about Western European perceptions of the Balkans as violent, undeveloped and rural, although the musical itself is good humoured and much more interested in being a camp-fest.

In 2007, Romania turned the tables on the "othering" of the Balkans by gently poking fun at stereotypical images of Western European countries in a song sung in six languages.[40] The song tells us that love means the same everywhere. The first character to appear wearing his traditional national costume or, at least, his urban outfit complete with bowler hat, is English. Romania was also at the forefront of the celebration of Balkanness. In 2009, their entry assured us that "Balkan girls they like to party, like to party like nobody".[41] We were also able to witness, in the Romanian official video preview, the ingenuity of Balkan girls in discovering how to avoid the difficulty of driving back home after a night drinking "gin, tonic and lime". They arrive at the dance club using a mode of transport guaranteed to remember the way back for them: horses.

The Balkan myth has frequently guided interpretations of what was happening in this part of the world, and I want to end by asking if we are encouraging further myth-making these days when we suggest that an emphasis on Balkan musical features promotes ideas of cultural isolation and otherness because it indicates Balkan unwillingness or inability to integrate with the rest of Europe. After all, there are musical styles and genres in Western European countries that do not travel easily elsewhere. French chanson, for instance, has never entered mainstream entertainment in the UK. In fact French popular music has for many years, with the exception of jazz, set itself apart from Anglo-American models. In the later twentieth century, however, French popular music began to make a wider impact in the genre of electronic dance music and its associated club culture. In recent years, it appears that Balkan music, too, has been playing a growing role in club culture. Two significant factors have coalesced to make this possible. First, globalization has meant that all kinds of music from around the world have become more accessible. In the first decade of the twentieth century an international audience grew for Balkan brass ensembles, a tradition derived from both the Habsburg and Ottoman past, but reworked as party music rather than military music. The star attractions as I write this chapter in 2011 are the Boban and Marko Marković Orchestra from Serbia and Fanfare Ciocărlia

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[39] See *Eurobeat*.
[40] *Liubi, Liubi, I Love You*, multilingual words by Ghedi Kamara, Vlad Creţu and Mister M, music by Mister M. Performed by Todomondo. The languages used are English, Italian, Spanish, Russian, French and Romanian, but reference is also made to Neapolitan (the word *guaglió*).
[41] *The Balkan Girls*, words by Laurenţiu Duţă and Alexandru Pelin, music by Daris Mangal, Ovidiu Bistriceanu and Laurenţiu Duţă. Performed by Elena Gheorghe (and friends). In verse one Elena informs us, "I'm gonna start my weekend with gin, tonic and lime".

from Romania (the latter being better known abroad than they are in their own country).[42] Second, we have witnessed the rise of the DJ as a creative agent in electronic dance music, a genre that makes much use of sampling. From the sampling of certain sounds to being inspired by those sounds is a small step, and it is now by no means uncommon to hear Balkan sounds in some Western European clubs. In Austria, Anja Brunner was engaged throughout 2010 in a research project investigating what she calls the "Balkan club scene", which embraces music labelled variously as "Balkan Beats", "Balkan Pop" and "Electric Balkan".[43]

A question arises about how far these developments might be viewed negatively as appropriation; but this anxiety may serve only to lead us back into further myth-making and an uncritical adoption of a theoretical framework that relies on ideas of cultural authenticity and culture being "in the blood". Musicians, more than most artists, have always taken whatever they like from whatever culture they encounter. The years of Ottoman rule left a legacy of cultural networks connecting Turkey to the Balkan countries. The most ethnically marked music should not be presumed to have evolved in the rural areas, for the reason that the Ottoman Empire located its administration in the cities.[44] Moreover, despite the nationalist aspirations that have existed within Balkan states, Barbara Jelavich, in her large-scale study of Balkan History, insists that "the legacy of Ottoman rule was an intimate part of the life of each individual and one that could not be easily obliterated".[45] Ottoman musical practices were able to fertilize local musical styles, rather than causing them to stagnate. Donna Buchanan has written an instructive account of the various transformations of the nineteenth-century Turkish song *Üsküdara*. She points out that a phrase from the melody even appears in the German Eurovision entry of 1999 *Reise nach Jerusalem*.[46] To offer another example of cross-fertilization, the instrument so crucial to *rebetiko* and immediately associated with Greece, the *bouzouki*, was most likely developed from the Turkish *buzuk saz*. Moreover, the *bouzouki* is an urban instrument and *rebetiko* a form of urban song that was related in its early days (the 1930s) to Ottoman café music.

Although there are distinct styles associated with particular places and social groups in the Balkans, there are also plenty of shared features, whether in rhythms or vocal production or dance movements. In recent years, indeed, Balkan musicians have been borrowing so much from each other that it might be concluded that a common Balkan music is developing, in which it is difficult to say which elements might be Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian or Turkish.[47] This is at odds with the effort that each country often makes to construct a sense of its own national identity.

Perhaps we need to refocus on cultural choices rather than cultural genes. We have seen time and time again the ability of social groups across the globe to identify wholeheartedly with a musical style that is in no way indigenous to the country in which they were born or reside. This was as true of the Viennese waltz a century and a half ago as it was of reggae from Trenchtown, Jamaica, in the 1970s. We still do not know why par-

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[42] Fanfare Ciocărlia can be seen (and heard) giving a Balkan interpretation of the Steppenwolf song *Born To Be Wild* (Mars Bonfire, 1968) on YouTube, see Fanfare 2010.
[43] See Brunner 2010.
[44] See Pettan 2007, 369 and Norris 1999, 89.
[45] Jelavich 1983b, 104.
[46] Buchanan 2007, 48.
[47] Sugarman 2007, 300.

ticular styles can quickly gain widespread and enthusiastic acceptance. The singer Tom Jones recollected the immediate impact that Bill Hailey's *Rock Around the Clock* had on him as a young man. It says it "jumped out of the radio at him".[48] Note that he did not say he realized simultaneously that he could identify with the people behind this kind of music – although, of course, he later did so. No, the effect was visceral and spontaneous.

Balkan sounds are currently firing the imagination of popular musicians in various parts of Europe, and this could spread rapidly along the DJ circuit. Of course, I am not suggesting that it means we can celebrate some kind of cultural preservation. No, what is happening is alive, out of control, and we cannot determine where it is heading. But we do know that it is bound to help at last to eradicate the notion that the Balkans are Europe's internal cultural Other and replace it with an acknowledgement that the Balkans have a fully integrated role to play in Europe.

[48] Desert 2010.

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