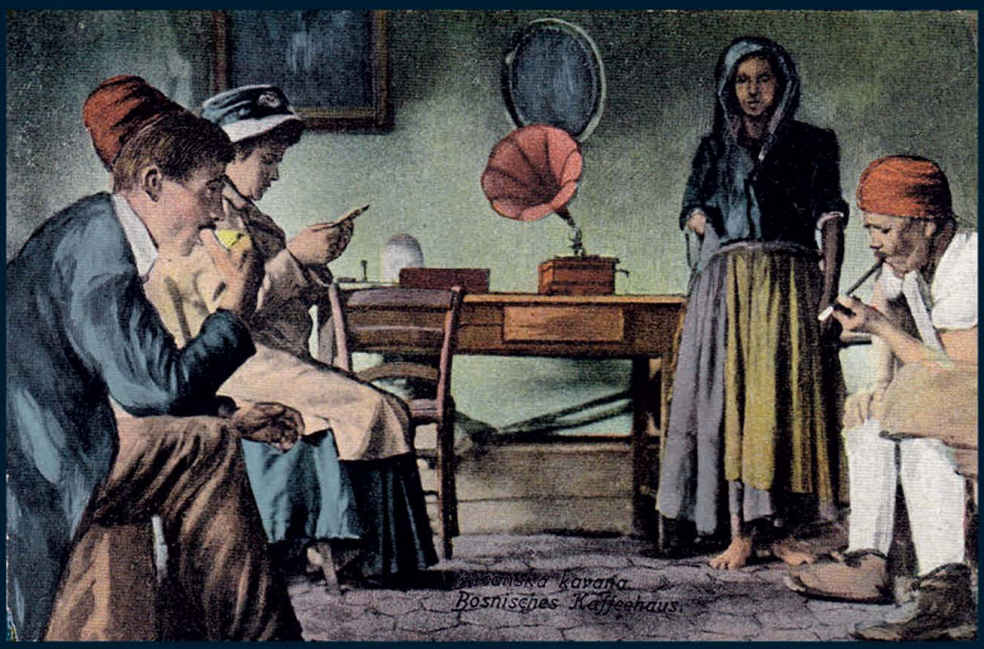
PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. XIX

OTTOMAN INTIMACIES, BALKAN MUSICAL REALITIES



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

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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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