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Towards the History of Ideas in Ethnomusicology: Theory and Methods between the Late 18th and the Early 20th Century

ABSTRACT
The history of ethnomusicology is the history of ideas and concepts of why and how to deal with expressive practices in social formations which are usually located outside the researcher's primary cultural experience. Ideas in ethnomusicology (comparative musicology, anthropology of music, folk music research, folkloristics) are interlinked with other scholarly disciplines and academic fields. The history of the field is sometimes described as a shift from either a more philologically oriented study of "national" folk music or "armchair anthropology" to a modern anthropological concept expressed in context-oriented, sociological, and performer-centered research, as well as in urban ethnomusicology. However, a great deal of issues frequently associated with English-speaking mainstream ethnomusicology of the last five decades (the "ethnographic turn") appeared in the intellectual folk music discourses as early as the late 18th and the 19th century. In a similar way, the history of comparative musicology as a scholarly concept can be traced back at least to the Age of Enlightenment. This article traces the emergence and early history of motivations, theoretical paradigms and research methods by discussing the following key issues and conceptual oppositions:
Comparative study of musical cultures; Fieldwork experience; Aesthetic appreciation vs. value-free textual analysis; Relativism of expressive cultures: "our" and "their" concepts (emic/etic issues); The paradigm of orality vs. Kunstlieder im Volksmunde; "Living antiquities" vs. the sociology of folklore; Cultural homogeneity vs. performer-centered research; Studying songs vs. studying singing; Music in its cultural context—"uses and functions"; Standards of notation and documentation; Rural vs. urban research; 'Cultural purity' vs. intercultural exchange.

KEYWORDS
Ethnomusicology
History of ideas
Folkloristics
Folk music research
Comparative musicology

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"[…] the history of the field is far more extensive than many had assumed or admitted".
Philip V. Bohlman (1991: 148)

Introduction

The history of ethnomusicology is a history of ideas and concepts of why and how to study expressive practices in social formations mainly (but not exclusively), located outside the researcher's primary cultural experience. New approaches to expressive culture can emerge in various ways and in various intellectual settings. Sometimes they arise as a passing thought, sometimes, however, they are initially established as fundamental concepts of academic scholarship.

Ethnomusicology is interlinked with other scholarly disciplines and academic fields dealing with expressive culture from different (and sometimes not so different) angles, such as comparative musicology, folkloristics, folk music research. These fields of research are defined and configured in most disparate ways. There is no prospect of a generally accepted disciplinary framework, neither in the international academic landscape and nor, perhaps, in any single country.

In the present article, I will give an overview of the emergence and early history of motivations, research methods, and theoretical approaches in the above-mentioned fields. The primary focus will be on key issues and conceptual oppositions emerging either within established academic disciplines or at least in an intellectual environment, characterized by the principles of scholarly thinking, interdisciplinary and international dialogue. Broader social discourses on folk/traditional music, shaped more by cultural and political activism, will be considered to a lesser degree.

The arrangement of the key issues and oppositions approximately follows the chronological order of their origin, in comparative musicology or European folk music research and folkloristics. The first section, which is also the most extensive, covers the topic of comparative study of musical cultures. The second, which deals with the fieldwork experience, is concerned with another fundamental idea in ethnomusicology. The section entitled "Aesthetic appreciation vs. value-free textual analysis" presents different motivations for studying non-European and folk music. The section called "Relativism of expressive cultures: 'our' and 'their' concepts (emic/etic issues)" explains when ethnomusicology came to deal with different

sonic systems and their cognitive foundation. "The paradigm of orality vs. *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde* [Art Songs in the Mouths of the Folk]" traces conceptual oppositions in European folk song research. "'Living antiquities' vs. the sociology of folklore" describes the shift from historical to contemporary perspectives. "Cultural homogeneity vs. performer-centered research" traces the growing interest in individual performers and the gradual abandonment of the idea of homogenous traditional cultures. "Studying songs vs. studying singing" discusses a shift from philological repertoire studies to the performance process. "Music in its cultural context—'uses and functions'" explains the early history of the anthropological perspective, while "Standards of notation and documentation" refers to something like "the crisis of representation" in 19th-century European folk music research. "Rural vs. urban research" deals with ethnomusicologists' preferences of different social settings, while "'Cultural purity' vs. intercultural exchange" discusses the significance of chauvinist ideologies of 'the untouched' for academic research, as well as the recognition of cultural transfer.

The time period under consideration extends, roughly speaking, from the early Enlightenment period to the first third of the 20th century. By 'early history', I mean the period before the establishment of the principles both of comparative musicology (Guido Adler) and of post-war ethnomusicology (Alan P. Merriam). I will also include the history of more recent trends and approaches in mainstream ethnomusicology, which are considered to be new. In doing so I will focus less on the well-known periods of the history of the field discussed by Schneider (1976), McLean (2006), Nettl (2010), and others.

Comparative study of musical cultures

Bruno Nettl in his famous four-part definition of ethnomusicology defines it as *"The study of the world's musics from a comparative and relativistic perspective"* (Nettl, 2005: 13, emphasis in the original)[1]. The origins of comparative musicology are generally associated with the systematic use of the phonograph and with new possibilities of precise tone measurement starting in the late 19th century. A history of ideas in ethnomusicology, however, should focus not primarily on the technical

[1] The other parts of Nettl's definition include "*music in culture*" (2005: 12), "*fieldwork*" (2005: 12) as well as "*all musical manifestations of a society"* (ibid.).

possibilities researchers have at hand, but on the intellectual interest towards the musical cultures of the world. The phonograph would never have turned into such an effective tool in the hands of so many ethnographers and musicologists, if the key issues of comparative musicology had not been prepared and developed long before this remarkable technical innovation. Paradoxically, the early history of comparative musicology has been studied by historical musicologists (Rainbow, 1986; Ringer, 1991; Zon, 2006 and 2007; Irving, 2009) more profoundly than by ethnomusicologists, among which Joep Bor (1988), Philip V. Bohlman (1991), and Mervyn McLean (2006) may be called pioneers. Notably, Frank Harrison (1973) covered both disciplines.

The initial research interest for comparative studies was motivated by an universalist, anthropological perspective on music, particularly highly developed during the Age of Enlightenment. Since the late 18th century, comparative methods were also used to identify specific traits of the researcher's "own" musical culture and explore its historical depth.

Anthropological comparativism

The anthropological approach, i.e. curiosity towards different ways of organizing cultural and social life, seems to be an integral part of European culture from the times of Herodotus. German Historian Egon Flaig, with reference to Jacob Burckhardt, even claims a "far-reaching interest towards foreign cultures" [2] (Flaig, 2007: 253) as one of several exclusive characteristics of European intellectual history.

As Bohlman has shown "a place for non-European music in the European discourse on music" (1991: 132) was provided quite early on. Athanasius Kircher's accounts of non-Western music "would appear to establish him as the first European ethnomusicologist" (1991: 145). Given that ethnomusicology does not necessarily study music outside of Europe, Johannes de Grocheo and his triple model of vernacular (*musica vulgaris*), composed secular, and ecclesial music also deserves a mention (Stockmann, 1984: 165).

[2] Titels of non-English books as well as citations from those in the main text are given in the author's translation.

Only four decades after Kircher's *Musurgia universalis, sive ars magna consoni et dissoni* (1650), German composer and musical writer Wolfgang Caspar Printz in his *Historical description of the noble Art of singing and playing* (Printz, 1690) offered a systematic framework for nothing less than a well-elaborated anthropology of music. The author draws from biblical stories, taken literarily, from classical and medieval texts, as well as from personal experience in Germany and Italy. Printz explains "the final purpose of music and its different use" (1690: 170–194), distinguishing 14 basic functions of music-making. They include religious, societal, military, psychological, educational, therapeutic, dance, and work-related aspects. According to Printz, the biblical Adam must have invented the art of singing, as he had previously received from God the psychological dispositions and incentives for it (1690: 4). Such theology-based historical speculations (Schneider, 1984: 362f., McLean, 2006: 22), nevertheless, reveal a fundamentally anthropological understanding of music as a precondition of human existence.

In Printz' essay, ethnography is present, yet limited to accidental observations of European practices. The interest in the world's musical cultures increased when systematic accounts by Western explorers, missionaries, traders, and diplomats started to circulate among the social elites. An early comparative study, based essentially on personal observations, is Charles Fonton's posthumously published *Essai sur la musique orientale comparée à la musique européenne* (1750 cf. Bohlman, 145 f. Jäger, 2011). A wider readership was impressed by Captain James Cook's descriptions of music and dance of the South Pacific. As Erica Lind suggests "Cook's words show a higher degree of anti-ethnocentrism than was common at the time or, indeed, for years after" (Lind, 2008). Lind considers Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité parmi les homes* (1754) as one of the writings "directing European focus away from a sense of ethnocentrism to an awareness of the diversity and civility of other cultures" (ibid.). Nevertheless, I think that Cook's ideal of colonial engagement as a collaborative process, to be conducted at eye-level with the natives, is far from Rousseau's essentially anti-Enlightenment stance (Hicks, 2004: 92), idealizing the "noble savage" and seeking to protect him (and her!) from any economic and social progress.

Three years before Cook's tragic death, English composer and music historian Charles Burney synthesized substantial observations of non-Western music in a *General history of music* ([1]1776, [2]1789). This work is largely based on classical texts from Greek antiquity, but also on historical sources on the early civilizations. Burney occasionally includes recent observations of non-European musical practices. His universalist approach derives from his very definition of music:

> *The love of lengthened tones and modulated sound, different from those of speech, and regulated by a state measure, seems a passion implanted in human nature throughout the globe; for we hear of no people, however wild and savage in other particulars, who have no music of some kind or other, with which we may suppose them to be greatly delighted by their constant use of it* (Burney, 1789: 11).

The "science of musical sounds" (1789: 9) essentially depends on the comparative perspective as a precondition for the identification of universal genres, which correspond with most of the basic psychological and societal functions of music so clearly delineated in Printz's essay.

Unsurprisingly, Burney, just like most 18th-century writers, was convinced of the global superiority of European music:

> *Music being the object of a sense common to all mankind, if genius alone could invent and bring it to perfection, why is China, which has been so long civilized, still without great composers and performers? And why are the inhabitants of three-fourths of the globe still content, and even delighted with attempts at such music as Europeans would qualify with no better title than noise and jargon? It cannot be supposed that nature is entirely to blame, and that there is a physical defect in the intellects or organization of all the sons of men* (1789: 703).

Burney, however, does not explain differences of sonic systems as an 'innate' inferiority of non-European peoples, but in terms of different listening habits and aesthetic expectations: "the best music of every age and nation is delightful to hearers, whose ideas of excellence are bounded by what they daily hear" (1789:

704). Seen in this light, it seems premature to claim a "racism of Burney" (Zon, 2007: 5). Unfortunately, Bennett Zon seems to follow Edward Said's popular, yet lopsided concept of 'orientalism' to be discussed later.

According to Joep Bor, Burney did "compile and condense the research of others" (1988: 60), while only François-Joseph Fétis went a step further and "drew his own far-reaching conclusions" (ibid.). Without detracting from Fétis' enormous merits in comparative musicology, we have to admit that Burney conducted comparative research in historical perspective as well. Thus, comparing Greco-Roman sources on the lyre with recent ethnography from Abyssinia, he came to the conclusion that "this instrument seems to have been originally invented in this country, and to have continued in use there ever since" (1789: 25). Contrary to Greek mythology, Burney also, based on recent ethnographies, concludes that "[t]he natives of every quarter of the globe seem to have invented their own flutes (1789: 359).

The fundamental role of organology for early comparative musicology has been recently elaborated by David R. M. Irving. Early modern writings by Europeans "provided crucial building blocks for the development of comparative musicology" (2009: 373), starting with Michael Prätorius. According to Irving,

> *observations made about non-European musical instruments demonstrate Europeans' curiosity about the musical practices of others (and vice versa), their desire to empathize with other cultures through musical exchange, or their refusal to acknowledge or appreciate foreign musical aesthetics* (2009: 374).

A second topic of interest for the early comparative musicologists is the scale systems of the Orient. Their study is as old as the discipline of acoustics (Joseph Sauveur 1653–1716, cf. Ghrab, 2005). Thus, it was definitely not Alexander J. Ellis who "brought into question the superiority of western tempered tuning and led the way to open-minded cross-cultural comparisons of tonal systems", as Helen Myers (1992: 4) claims.

Most authors praised the ancient civilizations for their "arts and sciences" as "advanced to a high pitch of perfection, when the rest of the world remained in a

state of barbarism and ignorance" (Stafford, 1830: 14). However William C. Stafford was interested not only in treatieses and other historical sources, but also in music of the contemporary Orient. In a chapter devoted to "Modern Egyptian music" he notes that

> *performers make use of very minute intervals, singing passages of embellishment with a rapidity and volubility, the imitation of which would be found difficult, if not impracticable, to most European singers* (1830: 27).

Stafford's *History of Music* was partly translated into German and Russian and faced several reeditions, but is nearly forgotten in contemporary ethomusicology—or heavily underestimated. At the very least, it is hard to agree with Bennett Zon's opinion that "for Stafford non-Western music is a metaphor for nature. It is unchanging, aesthetically rudimentary, and potentially dangerous" (2006: 190).

Following Stafford, Fétis (since 1837) offered historical explanations for the diverse musical cultures of the world. Of particular interest is Fétis's emphasis of the "oriental" foundations of Western musical culture. While earlier authors believed in the Egyptians' leading role in bringing art and science to Europe, Fétis's studies of India's stringed instruments led him to the famous conclusion that "there is nothing in the West which has not come from the East" (1864 [1856]: 9). Unlike most of his predecessors, Fétis was also highly interested in European folk music. Thus, analysing recent descriptions of chordal accents, typical for Russian instrumental music, he was convinced enough to identify the origin of the Western harmonic system (Morgenstern, 2010: 284).

Another key figure in comparative musicology is German-British musicologist Carl Engel (1818–1882). Bruno Nettl (2010: 43f.) and David Jonathan McCollum (2014: 10f.) have mentioned his open-mindedness and aesthetical appreciation of non-Western music. However, it is somewhat surprising when Jonathan McCollum claims that "Engel was perhaps the first notable scholar to publish substantial historical works on an array of music traditions outside of the Western canon" (2014: 11). In the same year when Guido Adler established 'comparative musicology', John Frederick Rowbotham, a Scottish theologian and conservatory-trained musicologist,

in his monumental *History of Music* offered an evolutionist model of music history according to organological taxonomies:

> *the order of the 3 Stages in the development of Prehistoric Music, the Drum Stage, the Pipe Stage, and the Lyre Stage, which, it seems to me, are to the Musician what the Theological, Metaphysical, and Positive Stages are to the Comtist, or the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages to the archaeologist* (1885: xx).

According to his obviously speculative model (Schneider, 1984: 368), "the history of savage races is a history of arrested developments […] The dawn of history in the hoary civilizations of Egypt and Assyria, which seems twilight to us, is radiance compared with their gloom." (1885: 1)

To the contemporary reader this may appear to be entirely racist, however Rowbotham, in his empathic way, concedes an "aesthetic instinct in the harsh practical rounds of their every day life" (ibid.), as

> *[i]n their often ineffectual struggles to realise the beautiful and the good we may see enacted over again the struggles of our common ancestor—Man. And we cannot but sympathise with them in their naïve efforts to realise these things and more especially the first* (ibid.)

In his second book, 'The music of the elder civilizations', Rowbotham distinguishes between 'lyre races' (Egyptians, Assyrians, Hebrews) and 'pipe races' (China, Indo-China or Mongoloids). His through hierarchization of 'savage', 'barbarous' and 'civilized' peoples bears the hallmarks of 18th- and 19th-century comparative musicology—regardless of the author's sympathetic attitude towards the general creative potential of any human being.

We can conclude that comparative musicology from its very beginning in the Age of Enlightenment was fundamentally anthropological, still with ambivalent attitudes to non-Western musics:

> *The convergence of different societies around the world as a result of sustained contact through trade, diplomacy, or colonialism in the early*

> *modern period meant that hierarchies of cultural and religious symbolism had to be recast in the light of intercultural comparisons, but in some cases they were unceremoniously supressed by a hegemonic imperial power* (Irving, 2009: 383).

To be sure, not any convergence in the musical cultures of the world can be explained by intercultural exchange. Whatever the case may be, Irving's study of early modern comparative musicology could be a starting point for ethnomusicologists to overcome well-established stereotypes of postcolonial theory. In the light of European music anthropology Edward Said's objection that "every European, in what he could say about the Orient, was consequently a racist, an imperialist, and almost totally ethnocentric" (1978: 204) appears more than ill-informed.

Comparative approaches are not foreign to European folk music research either. Thus, Johann Gottfried Herder observed "war-cry and lament, battle-song and funeral dirge, historical paeans on their forefathers" ([1773] (Nisbet, 1985: 157) among native Americans as well as in what he considered to be ancient Scottish poetry (cf. Morgenstern, 2015). While focusing in his comparative research on textual and functional aspects of the *Volkslied*, Herder didn't play a considerable role in musicological discourse of his time. As Matthew Gelbart puts it:

> *Yet Herder's anthropological and artistic claims in his writing on Volkslieder did not translate directly into musical terms; so when it came to formulating the technical side of folk music, Burney played a larger role than Herder even in Germany* (Gelbart, 2007: 137).

In a similar way, Alexander Nebrig (2014: 320f.) has pointed to Herder's limited involvement with music. The actual founder of folk music research in Germany was not Herder, but Friedrich David Gräter (1768–1830, cf. Mueller, 2012; Morgenstern, 2015) whose conceptual innovations will be shown below.

A universalist approach is clearly expressed in early British folkloristics, which was developed as a realist counter-model to the historically oriented mythological school of the Grimm brothers. When William Thoms replaced "popular antiquities by folk-

lore" (Boyer, 1997) he did so as he hoped for a "discovery of some unvarying principles of the human mind" (Thoms, 1848: xii-xiii).

Comparativism in a national context (and for national purposes)

Comparative musicology in some cases focuses on ethnically and/or linguistically related groups in order to identify common traits of textual and musical means of expression. Gräter was one of the first who encouraged, in analogy to linguistics, "to compare our folk songs with the folk songs of related peoples" (1794: 208). Ludwig Uhland preferred to draw comparisons between German folksongs and not English or Scandinavian songs, but with those of the Netherlands, motivating his preference with closer linguistic relation (1845: vi f.) Such research could make or not make a claim for the legitimization of the nation or of the dominance of a particular group within an ethnically heterogeneous country.

Strangely enough, a strong chauvinist bias can be observed in the first conceptual introduction to comparative musicology in Germany. For the nearly (and luckily) forgotten Oskar Fleischer, comparative musicology was subordinated to his obsession with Germanic antiquity (Morgenstern, 2015). In the first half of the 20th century ethnomusicologists continued comparative research on musics of ethnically related groups. Needless to say that Béla Bartók, as well as Zoltán Kodály in Hungary, Łucjan Kamieński in Poland, and Klyment Kvitka in the Ukraine represent a scholarly level and an intellectual environment far from Fleischer's ideology-driven speculations.

Be it historical reconstruction, an empathy for the diversity of expression, or the quest for particular national or ethnic characteristics—the comparative approach to the musics of the world is fundamental to European musical thought.

Fieldwork experience

Sociological approaches in ethnomusicology and folkloristics naturally emerged whenever researchers shifted the perspectives from written sources to personal experience with living expressive culture. Fieldwork is the *conditio sine qua non* for any ethnomusicologist and is included in the definition of the field (Nettl, 2015: 16f.).

For Herder, personal experience with living traditions was not only the starting point for his interest in folk songs. He even developed a clear concept of how to do fieldwork:

> *There I wanted to hear a living performance of a living people's songs, see them in all their effectiveness, see the places that are so alive in all their poems, study in their customs the remains of that ancient world, become for a while an ancient Caledonian myself* ([1773] Nisbet, 1985: 157).

Herder could not make his dream true. Yet the fundamental concept of ethnomusicology—context-oriented fieldwork, and even the strategy of temporal '"going native"—was born. One of the first to practice the former was Gräter. Convinced that folk songs should be studied not only from written sources but from actual performance, he describes typical research situations when he listened, secretly and unrecognized, to the intimate singing of shepherds, reapers and village girls (1794: 248f.).

Fieldwork not only made empirical data accessible to ethnomusicologists, it also helped them develop theoretical concepts. This is all the more important to folklorists and folk music scholars who, as a rule, were able to communicate directly with their research partners in the field and to explore their understanding of expressive culture.

Aesthetic priorities vs. value-free textual analysis

Following Alan P. Merriam, Mervyn McLean makes a case for a strictly academic profile of ethnomusicology: "As a discipline ethnomusicology is more concerned with science than with art. Appreciation of exotic forms of music, their intrinsic worth, and even the desire to promote them may play a small part, but is not essential" (2006:21).

This may be true for ethnomusicology as a scholarly discipline, but McLean does not necessarily reflect the personal motivations and agendas of ethnomusicologists themselves. Some early comparative musicologists (Fonton, Guillaume-André Villoteau, possibly also Augustus Willard, cf. Zon 2007 253f.) learned to play non-

European instruments under the tutelage of native teachers. Others, however (Burney, Forkel, Raphael Georg Kiesewetter) despite viewing foreign musical systems as legitimate research objects, were less empathetic to their aesthetic qualities. Both approaches can be found in European folksong scholarship.

Herder and his followers established folk songs as a positive model (albeit not a normative criterium) for the development of national literatures. Since the late 18th century up to the present countless poets, composers, pedagogues, revival musicians, or simply connoisseurs, celebrated folk song texts and vernacular music for their expressive qualities, as did Gräter. However, he spent a lot of effort on the description and explanation of song texts he considered to be of low aesthetical but high historical value. Sceptical about "lyrical flower-picking" (1794: 208), he implicitly established a contraposition to Herder's aesthetics (cf. Morgenstern, 2015).

Gräter's essay anticipates the spirit of the post-romanticist 'realist turn' in mid-19th century folk music research. One of its early representatives was Ludwig Uhland. His collection of texts of German folk songs "is neither a moral or aesthetic sample collection but a contribution to the history of German folk live." (1845: viii)

Of particular interest is the non-romantic folk song concept of Russian writer and revolutionary democrat Nikolai Dobroliubov. Contrary to what he called "gastronomic science" (1962 [1857]: 237) he called for a study of folk songs within a sociological perspective with political consequences: "We are to know the inner life of the folk, if we want to do anything for their enlightenment and refinement […] we have to begin with the widest possible knowledge of their ideas and their stage of development" (ibid.: 233f.)[3].

In Anglo-American folk song research, conflicts between romanticist idealism and realism emerged later, as James Porter (1991) has shown in detail. The key figures, Cecil Sharp (1859–1924) and Percy Grainger (1882–1961), both stood for a transfer of folk music to modern life: the former as a pedagogue, whose aim was 'to return' idealized folk songs to the people, as a positive model for social life, "a symbol of

[3] Some more about Dobroliubov's concept I will present in my forthcoming publication (s. footnote 4).

better things to come" (Nettl, 2015: 346), the latter as a folklorist with high standards for documentation and transcription, and as a composer, whose valorisation of folk music was primarily a matter of aesthetics.

It seems that from the times of Grainger and Bartók up to the 1980s only two ways of involvement with folk music, two role models, enjoyed a high reputation in the intellectual elites of Europe: the dispassionate academic researcher and the advanced composer. It was only in the Golden Age of European folk music revival when academia opened the door for new ways of combining scholarship and artistic initiatives.

Relativism of expressive cultures: 'our' and 'their' concepts (emic/etic issues)

Bruno Nettl emphasized ethnomusicology's "comparative and relativistic perspective" (Nettl, 2005: 13, see above). In the third edition of *The Study of Ethnmusicology*, however he changed 'relativistic' to 'egalitarian' (2015: 16). Personally, I prefer his older definition. It is doubtful that most people seriously involved in art would agree that "in terms of quality we regard all musics as fundamentally equal" (ibid.). Given that ethnomusicologists concentrate on "music that is accepted by an entire society as its own" (Nettl, 2005: 13) this cannot be any music. In other words, Nettl's prior definition is more appropriate in terms of avoiding the postmodernist concept of ethnomusicology McLean has caustically characterized as "the application of scholarship of any kind to music of any kind" (2006: 13).

Today it is almost common sense that ethnomusicologists study a musical system or a set of local practices "in its own terms" (Hood, 1960). Nevertheless, it was argued that the emic perspective may conflict with the comparative approach (Schneider, 1997: 20-23) and that a radical cultural relativism is hardly compatible with the idea of human rights (ibid.: 30f., see also: Flaig, 2007). Less problematic is a relativistic approach to the study of expressive cultures.

The acceptance of different aesthetic concepts can be traced back to at least the 18th century. An early attempt for a systematic understanding not only of different tonal systems, but also of different concepts of musical thinking is Fonton's above-mentioned essay on Turkic music (1750). Ralf Martin Jäger sees this as a general

shift "towards an emic-intracultural perspective that seeks to make accessible foreign music according to the principles of its own theory, considering its own terminology" (2011: 479).

Cultural relativism is fundamental to Herder's anticolonial impetus (Noyes, 2015) and to his readiness to regard "culture" not a privilege of "civilization", but an essential part of any social formation. Izaly Zemtsovsky (2012) informs us that an understanding of different ways of hearing in peasant culture and in the social elites drove mid-19th century Russian folk music research to the study of emic concepts as one of its main tasks. A clear distinction between insiders and outsiders of the folk music culture within a single country was, at least until recently, typical, in scholarly as well as revivalist discourses in most parts of Europe.

The paradigm of orality vs. *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde*

A particular field of conflicts between idealism and realism is the lively debate on the significance of oral transmission on the one hand and the role of writers and composers on the other. From Herder and Gräter and beyond Roman Jacobson and Pëtr Bogatyrëv, generations of folklorists have admired, and theorized on, how rather complex repertoires could be transmitted without the help of medial fixation. Most clearly the 'paradigm of orality' was formulated in Gräter's definition of the *Volkslied*: "actual folk songs" are "songs, originally sung by the people, commonly known and preserved solely through oral transmission and folk singing" (1794: 208).

Naturally, oral transmission has consequences for the structure of a repertoire, as well as for the decisive role in its social acceptance. All this is crucial for the development of academic folkloristics and its emancipation from literary studies. On the other hand, oral transmission does not necessarily imply an origin in illiterate settings. Since the late 19th century, folklorists have been discussing the role of written literature for Russian epics, English ballads and many other genres. Discourses on the provenance of vernacular songs are one of the battlefields in which adherences to the realist turn challenge the romanticist folksong concept. That's why debates on orality so often take a heightened note. Wilhelm Tappert (1830–1907) presented the results of his investigation, which proved many German

vernacular melodies to be the work of domestic or foreign composers, in a rather sarcastic way (Nettl, 2015; Morgenstern, 2015). In a similarly categorical tone, a leading US-American folklorist William Wells Newell (1839–1907) discussed the origin not only of children's games but also of other folklore genres:

> *It is altogether a mistake to suppose that these games (or, indeed, popular lore of any description) originated with peasants, or describe the life of peasants. The tradition, on the contrary, invariably came from above, from the intelligent class* (Newell, 1884: 7).

In German folksong research, generally, John Meier's *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde* (1906) is presented as the starting point for the *Rezeptionstheorie*. However, international history of folkloristics shows that he was neither the only and nor the first one to make a case for the significance of written origins of many vernacular songs.

Increasingly folklorists challenged the paradigm of orality, and not only in terms of the origins of certain repertoires in bourgeois culture. Literacy was more and more discussed as a cultural technique continuously used by the members of the communities under study. Written texts are crucial not only for the circulation of song and melodies in traditional communities, but also for instrumental music. In 19th-century Austria and Germany many rural musicians, notably fiddlers, were able to read notes, and collected numerous manuscripts. It is obvious that the role of what is called *written folklore* (Alan Dundes), i.e. poetry albums, graffiti, etc, increased with the general progress of education.

In mainstream ethnomusicology, until recently, orality/aurality has been taken for granted as defining the basic field of investigation: "In general, music in oral tradition and living musical systems are the realms that have most appealed to ethnomusicologists" (Myers, 1992: 3). However, since their increasing interest in non-Western (media-based) popular music, such positions were being continuously, and tacitly, eroded. Nettl appeals to the personal experience of his reader, concluding that "[m]usic is transmitted to almost every individual in many ways" (2015: 295).

‘Living antiquities’ vs. the sociology of folklore

A historical perspective is of high priority both in comparative musicology and in European folk music research and folkloristics. The development of specific genres has been widely discussed, several methods of reconstruction were offered, and, in many cases, speculative approaches developed and debunked (Schneider, 1976). In the 19th century, romanticist folklore discourses were inspired by the imagination of Ancient Germans, Celts, Slavs, etc. Probably, the most reliable historical studies were offered by historical organology, due to a more favourable source basis.

Gräter, Herder and other 18th-century folksong researchers focused on recent musical practices, which were largely understood as ‘living antiquities’. In Herder’s concept, the antiquity of the folk songs he preferred necessarily guaranteed their aesthetic value. The preference of older genres is typical for the first half of the 19th century. As fieldwork was intensified in the following period, contemporary repertoires came into view as a research object in its own right—be it to distinguish (privileged) old genres from new ones, or due to an unbiased, quasi-sociological, research interest in modern life. This was the way “From Antiquities To Folklore” (Boyer, 1997).

In a systematic way, sociological methods were developed in the first third of the 20th century by Klyment Kvitka in the Ukraine, Evgenii Gippius in Russia, and Constantin Brăiloiu (1970 [1931]) in Romania. Therefore, the widespread scepticism of some US-American folklorists towards the ‘antiquarian’ European folklore studies with their “historical bias” (Dundes, 1966: 241) is short-handed (see also Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1983: 177).

Cultural homogeneity vs. performer-centered research

The growing understanding for the diversity of the world’s musical cultures initially carried in itself a tendency to consider the latter to be a closed system. The nation or the ethnic group as a collective subject plays a big part both in comparative musicology and in folk music research. This can be explained, in some cases, by the cultural distance of European scholars from non-European musics, and by the limited range of sources, which sometimes led them to premature generalizations. In folk music discourse, collectivist ideologies sometimes promoted the belief in

homogenous national cultures, be it as an imagination of the past or as an ideological claim to the future (Morgenstern, 2011: 251-254). The idea of a unified folk culture is reflected in stereotypical phrases like 'among the people', formerly widespread in European folk music studies.

Nevertheless, even in Herder's writings the 'national spirit' (*Nationalgeist*) is always present in balance with the creative individual. Again, intensified fieldwork led folk music researchers to a more differentiated and realistic picture. This considers not only the social diversification of traditional societies, but also a closer look at the personality of the performer.

The performer-centered paradigm in folkloristics and ethnomusicology came about in the last third of the 19th century.[4] At first only exceptional performers were the focus of field research, but later 'average' singers and musicians came under consideration as well. The fields in which 'ethnomusicology of the individual' has been most developed are: Russian epic studies (starting with Pavel Rybnikov, 1864), Irish and Anglo-American ballad research (Percy Grainger, 1915), tale studies (Mark Azadovskii, 1925), US-American (Francis O'Neill 1913) and European (Felix Hoerburger, 1966) ethnoorganology, US-American "applied folklore" (Benjamin A. Botkin 1954), as well as and Hungarian and Romanian ethnochoreology (György Martin, Anca Giurchescu). Alongside with strategies of advocacy and 'public folklore', performer-centered research was always close to sociological trends in folkloristics and ethnomusicology. Theories on individual creativity were developed in late 19th century and later by Russian and US-American folklorists.

In mainstream ethnomusicology, performer-centered research was, until recently, less developed. Alan P. Merriam devoted two chapters of his Anthropology of Music to the social behaviour and the learning process of the musican (1964: 123-184). However, studies of individual performers, in any considerable number, only appeared in the last two decades.

[4] S. my paper *The Individual Paradigm in Ethnomusicology and Folkloristics: 150 Years of History*, held September 19 2015 at the *31st European Seminar in Ethnomusicology Making a Difference: Music, Dance, and the Individual*. As a publication is in preparation I will only briefly touch the most important trends in performer-centered research, and recommend to the reader Colin Quigley's exceptionally well-informed *Bibliographical essay* (1995, 251–263).

Studying songs vs. studying singing

In modern ethnomusicology, as well as in German *musikalische Volkskunde* in the tradition of Ernst Klusen, it is frequently claimed that a shift from studying songs to studying the process of singing is a comparatively recent trend. However, dealing with genres from oral transmission, folklorists have been long aware of the variability of song texts not only in different regional and local frameworks but also within the individual repertoire of a single performer. The acknowledgement of the processual nature of folklore not only helped 19th-century British and Russian folklorists emancipate themselves from philological theories developed for the study of written literature, it also sharpened the researchers' attention to inner and outer impulses during the process of performance.

Performance can be studied as social interaction within a vocal and/or instrumental ensemble, between musicians/singers and dancers. Russian ethnomusicologists such as Evgeniia Linëva (Eugenie Lineff, 1854–1919), composer and musical thinker Boris Asaf'ev, as well as his disciples Zinaida Eval'd (1894–1942) and Evgenii Gippius (1903–1985) focused not only on large social formation, but were highly attentive to the process of singing in small groups, as well as to the interaction between performers and possible audiences.

In ethnomusicology, Bruno Nettl and Thomas Turino have significantly contributed to the study of performance. Particularly inspiring is Henry Glassie's understanding of tradition as a creative process, as "tradition in performance" (1995: 401–405), as "continuous process situated in the nothingness of the present, linking the vanished with the unknown" (ibid.). Folklorists' approach to "tradition", could help ethnomusicologists break the deadlock of Eric Hobsbawm's hopelessly overstated concept of tradition, which has very limited value for the study of vernacular expressive cultures. Without any doubt a reconsideration of tradition, and therefore of "traditional music" is a key issue for modern ethnomusicology (cf. Richter ed. 2012).

Music in its cultural context—'uses and functions'

The study of the musics of the world in their cultural context is crucial to many representatives of comparative musicology, beginning with Printz and going beyond

Curt Sachs. Again, organology played a leading role: "[c]omparative organology proved to early modern scholars that musical instruments served a diverse range of functions throughout the world, and that their use was often governed by religious tenets" (Irving, 2009: 383).

It is questionable whether it would be possible for any open-minded intellectual involved in foreign or folk music through fieldwork, to fully ignore its social contexts. At least, context-oriented research came about when scholars were ready to study non-European music in the field with the help of native specialists or when they did 'ethnomusicology at home'.

Cultural context is discussed in European folk music research most of all with regard to the diverse social and aesthetic functions. This was a corner stone in Gräter's musical ethnography (Morgenstern, 2015), and it is only natural wherever scholars focus not only on written sources, but also on their personal observations. Thus, 'music in culture' to a higher or lower degree, is initially a part of any fieldwork-based musicology. Without functional analysis any concepts of musical genres would be obsolete.

In European folk song and folk music research, at least since the mid-19th century, the traditional functions of the songs are noted in most of the academic song collections. This leads us directly to editorial standards for the publication of folk songs.

Standards of notation and documentation

As Bohlman points out "[e]thnomusicology has always relied on a variety of media and techniques to represent other musics and musical cultures" (1991: 139). The proper way of using these representational techniques has been critically discussed since the late 18th century. This initially concerned the accuracy of folk song texts to be published. Herder mocked "the follies of our song improvement" (1773: 69). In his *Deutscher Liederhort* Ludwig Erk expressed his "foremost aim to present the melodies securely and unadulterated, not less the words, particularly from oral tradition" (1856: vi). Similarily, Vissarion Belinskii demanded to write down Russian folk songs and tales "as faithfully as possible after the dictate of the folk and not to renew and to rework them" (1835: 144). Throughout nearly the entirety of the 19th

century, folklorists decried the widespread practice of publishing folk songs with piano accompaniment.

The claims of accurate presentation of songs from oral tradition went hand in hand with the development of heightened standards of documentation of time, place and, eventually, also circumstances of performance and the names of the singers. The emotional tone of these debates on proper representation can be understood as a case for the intrinsic value of vernacular music, and against imposing bourgeoise standards on the tradition under study. It is impossible not to notice parallels to early postcolonial approaches in ethnomusicology.

Rural vs. urban research

It is often said that European folk music research is directed by an idealisation of the village, largely ignoring urban styles and repertoires. This may be true of certain trends in popular folk music discourse, and to some extent, of 19th century academic agendas. However, Jacob von Stählin who invented the term "*Volks-Musik*" (1770: 65) in his Russian ethnography included "the common Russian national music of the common people in villages, small settlements and cities" (1770: 61). Gräter studied song and dance practice of his native city Schwäbisch Hall in great depth, comparing rural and urban styles and repertoires.

Nevertheless, tendencies of philoruralism cannot be overseen in the history of European folk music research (Bennett, 1993). In the romantic period, but also in the period after the realist turn, a general prioritization of rural genres may be explained by the fact that locally diversified traditional repertoires in rural areas were more resistant to transformation processes—and were, therefore, an attractive subject for historically oriented research (the 'living-antiquities' approach). In 19th century, however, an aesthetic and increasingly ideological anti-urbanism affected large parts of the folk music discourse. At the turn to the 20th century anti-urbanism happened to merge in an ideological amalgam with anti-modernism, sanitarianism (life reform), antisemitism and reactionary anti-capitalism (Morgenstern, 2017: 23, 31f.). It goes without saying, that most innovative directions of European academic folk music research of that time (in Russia, Finland, Great Britain) were far from being involved in these discourses.

Notably, folklore studies in the United States from the very beginning had a strong focus on expressive cultures of the urban area. Nevertheless, Adelaida Reyes, whose merits in this field are without question, states that "[i]n the 1970ies, urban ethnomusicology was a new term" (Reyes, 2007a: 9). This is true—but only for the term itself, and not for the study of vernacular music in urban areas. The "Bibliography of Urban Folklore" (Collins, 1975) counts 58 titles related to music and published between 1892 and 1969, among them articles by Charles Seeger, Willard Rhodes, Alan P. Merriam, and Bruno Nettl. None of them are mentioned in Reyes' "Urban Ethnomusicology Revisited" (2007b).

Very often urban folklore goes hand in hand with politically inspired activism of "applied folklore" (more precisely, "applied folkloristics"), initiated by Benjamin Botkin in 1954 and institutionalized in the early 1970s. This early history of "applied ethnomusicology" (initially interlinked with minority studies), until recently, was hardly known in mainstream ethnomusicology.[5] A more critical stance towards such continuous reinventions was expressed, not surprisingly, in theoretical folkloristics:

> *Indeed, the persistence of the phenomena we like to study does not guarantee the survival of our disciplinary subject. Every time anthropology, ethnomusicology, and cultural studies take up "our" topics, they remind us of this axiom. Herein lies the crisis.* (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998: 302).

'Cultural purity' vs. intercultural exchange

Ideologies of cultural purity have a long history in folk music discourse. They can be found in Herder's, and sometimes in Gräter's writings, yet Herder as a universalist played a most contradictory role. But above all, and in the most aggressive way, these ideologies manifest themselves in non-academic agendas of folklore enthusiasts, cultural activists, and nationalist composers. Only a few internationally known folk song researchers, notably Vuk Karadžić, Franjo Kuhač, and (to some degree) Zoltán Kodály, put a strong emphasis on cultural exclusiveness in the sense that Svanibor Pettan has described as the "purist paradigm in folk music research" (2001: 130). In general, however, it seems that Pettan's lucid analysis of a nationalist

[5] See briefly my paper mentioned in footnote 4.

folk music ideology is less applicable to academic scholarship than it is to popular, and without a doubt, persistent discourses, and to cultural activism.

Interestingly, Herder's younger contemporary Gräter was skeptical to the idea of a *Nationalgeist:* "I don't know how one is be able to define sufficiently the national spirit in which German folk songs differ from the English, Scottish, Danish, and others." (1794: 207)

According to Gräter, the general character of "all good folk songs" (ibid.) is easier to identify than its national belonging. In a similar way, Walter Wiora argued that Chopin and Grieg used musical elements, considered to be national, which should be better explained as common features of early European folk music styles (Wiora, 1957: 163).

Nearly all important European folklorists and folk music researchers have always been highly attentive, and sometimes also sympathetic, to the processes of intercultural exchange. Particular contributions to this field belong to Friedrich Salomon Krauss, Ingeborg Weber-Kellermann, to nearly all notable ethnoorganologists, and also to Béla Bartók, who categorically refuted the idea of "Race Purity in Music" (1944).

Conclusion

Even a short overview of the study of non-European music, as well as of European folk music since the Age of Enlightenment shows that the intellectual history of ethnomusicology is based on concepts, which could emerge independently from each other in different times and in different places. Historical, anthropological and comparative perspectives have been established, and largely discussed, long before Guido Adler declared comparative musicology as a sub-discipline of musicology.

Dániel Lipták recently suggested that the organological legacy of Hungarian ethnomusicologist Oszkár Dincsér (1911–1977) "includes almost every topic and approach set out by Merriam twenty years later" (2017: 36f.). I would go even further and state that except certain postmodernist ideas (and doctrines) there is not a single influential concept in theory and method of modern ethnomusicology

that has not been developed much earlier in European and American folk music research and academic folkloristics, or in early comparative musicology.

After all, the history of ideas in ethnomusicology shows that the concept of 'Orientalism', fashionable in the ivory towers of the West, is not applicable to the position of our discipline's leading representatives. Early comparative musicology in its historical narrative doesn't impose a hierarchy between "the West and the rest" but distinguishes "barbarism" from "civilization", which always encompasses Europe and the Orient. That's why we have good reason to think about a necessary 'depostcolonialisazion of ethnomusicology'[6].

For the future of ethnomusicology it is of paramount importance that we come to a deeper understanding of our discipline's intellectual history. Recognition of the innovations in theory and methodology, launched by academic folkloristics and folk music researchers, as well as of their past critical debates, is pivotal to ethnomusicology's scholarly location and to its future agendas. Albeit, claims for a place of ethnomusicology in a clearly defined disciplinary framework appear to be utopian, history of ideas in our field can help ethnomusicologists come to fairer and more harmonious interrelations with our neighbouring disciplines and other intellectual projects in the study of expressive culture.

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[6] An essay on this topic will be published in *Musicologica Austriaca* (www.musau.org).

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The Musical Performance Presented for Sultan Abdülaziz at the Crystal Palace - As an Example Using Music as a Diplomatic Tool[1]

ABSTRACT
There are many examples in music history of using music as a political and diplomatic tool. Governments and monarchs used music for getting positive diplomatic results and similar purposes. This article first aims to give an elaborative account of one such case. The case is a musical event organized in Crystal Palace for the imperial guest, Sultan Abdülaziz. The article also gives details about Sultan Abdülaziz, his musical vision, and his travel around Europe, as well as the Crystal Palace as the venue of the event.
Several aspects of the event – historical, musical, and political, will be taken into consideration. The conclusion, while analyzing the findings, provides a comparative examination of similar examples about using music as political and diplomatic apparatus in both countries along their own history.

KEYWORDS
Ottoman Music
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Introduction

The visit of Sultan Abdülaziz, the thirty-second Ottoman sultan, to Europe is a unique case in Ottoman history, as it was the first time that an Ottoman monarch visited the European capitals. This work aims to deal with a particular event that took place during the London part of the visit, a musical performance which was carried out in honour of Sultan Aziz in the Crystal Palace in London, although the whole visit has already been studied in several works. Apart from this, we have to mention that Emre Aracı has already dealt with the same subject in one of his works. But, his work is based on limited primary sources about the event. This paper differs from it in a number of ways. First, this work provides more detailed information on Sultan Aziz and the venue of the event, Crystal Palace, depending on primary sources, particularly on archival documents. Another difference from Aracı's work is the approach to the subject. This paper aims to show that music was considered a political and diplomatic tool during the visit of Sultan Aziz, and particularly in the event.

Sultan Abdülaziz, born in 1830 in the Topkapı Palace as the son of Sultan Mahmud II, inherited the throne after his brother Sultan Abdülmecid's death in 1861. In his private life, he lived independently during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecid. For his primary education, he studied the Quran and other religious sciences and then took lessons in calligraphy, music, and drawing. Furthermore, he was very interested in hunting, swimming and wrestling (Küçük, 1998: 472).

An interesting peculiarity of Sultan Aziz was that he was the first member of the Ottoman dynasty who composed in Western musical form. Some sources demonstrate that Sultan Aziz had piano tutorials from an Italian musician, Senior Callisto Guatelli. A British newspaper provides an anecdote on this issue:

> *Aziz Efendi has always been upon as belonging to old Musluman part; but the following anecdote shows toleration for Christians. Signor Guatelli the late band master had been in the habit of giving lessons on the piano to Abdülaziz Efendi. On the day after the accession of the latter his music master called Palace. He was at once admitted to the presence of the new Sultan who asked him to what he was indebted for*

> *the honour of the visit. ¨I have come to give your Majesty your lesson on the piano¨ was the answer. You know rejoined the Sultan ¨ a Pasha can not condescend to give lesson in music…. (Foreign Intelligence (Turkey), 1867)*

Some music historians mention that the sultan had four musical pieces in Western musical forms. However, we currently have only one of them, titled *Invitation A'la Valse*.

One of the sultan's compositions is mentioned in the newspaper article. This means that Sultan Aziz composed a barcarolle, which was played in front of him during his visit. This piece of information is important, as it enables us to detect that the sultan had at least one composition by 1867, the date of his visit.

Soon after he came to the throne in 1861, Abdülaziz faced many difficulties within the empire. Economic problems had increased during the time of his brother's reign, and in many respects, had become nearly insoluble. Nationalist feelings among the minority groups in the empire rose, and some of these groups started to rebel in different parts of the empire.

At the same time, the sovereignty of Ottoman Empire in Egypt was becoming shaky. To sort out this problem, Sultan Aziz made a courtesy visit to Egypt in 1863. Consequently, he received substantial support and favor from the Egyptians during this visit. The sultan attended many meetings, as well as some art events that were organized for him. Abdülaziz brought to Istanbul an Egyptian ensemble that he enjoyed during the visit. This ensemble served at the Ottoman court in Istanbul for a considerable time. On the other hand, Guatelli Paşa, who was the chief and senior educator of the sultan's orchestra, was brought to Egypt by the sultan (Aksüt, 1944: 8).

Sultan Aziz made his second visit during his reign to Europe for the purpose of stabilizing the strained relationship with European countries. First, he accepted the invitation of King Napoleon III of France. Following this visit, the queen of England extended her invitation to him, and he accepted this invitation as well. Furthermore, Sultan Abdülaziz visited Prussia and Austria during this tour.

The sultan and his entourage set out for their journey to Europe on 21 June 1867. After a long journey, they arrived at the Port of Toulon, then moved to Lyon, and finally, they settled at the Court of Tulieri in Paris. During his stay in Paris, the sultan attended many officially organized events. It can be gathered from the available sources that some of these events were musical performances. For instance, Ali Kemali Aksüt mentions in his book *Sultan Aziz'in Mısır ve Avrupa Seyahati (The Sultan Abdülaziz's Journey of Egypt and Europe*) that the sultan went to a theatre to watch an opera performed to honour him. Aksüt also states that despite the efforts to hide this royal visit to the theatre, the news had quickly circulated in the city, and thousands Parisians gathered in front of the theatre.

Following the sultan's tour in Paris, he and his group continued travel to London. They arrived at the port of Dover on 12 July 1867. The day after, the sultan was accepted by the queen at Windsor Castle, and then he settled in London.

During this visit, he attended many musical performances that were arranged for him. The performances in London are listed below:

- The Royal Ball organized to honor him at Buckingham Palace on 13 July.
- Performance by the Royal Italian Opera in Covent Garden on 15 July.
- Concert and fireworks at the Crystal Palace on 16 July.
- Concert organized by Lord Mayor to the honor of the sultan in the Guildhall on 18 July.
- Ball organized for the sultan in the Indian Office on 19 July.

About the Crystal Palace

This work, in particular, is about the performance carried out in the Crystal Palace on 16 July 1867. Before going into detail about this concert, it would be useful to provide some information about the Crystal Palace itself.

The first organization of the British Exhibition of National Design was initiated by Prince Albert and Henry Cole on 27 June 1849. (Prince Albert was president of Royal Society and Art, and Henry Cole was an important member of the same society.)

Somerset House was offered as a place of exhibition, but it was decided to build a specific exhibition hall in Hyde Park because of the lack of room in Somerset. For this purpose, an executive committee was appointed by the Royal Commission, chaired by Robert Stephenson. This commission published their project, but this project was not liked by the public (Musgrave, 1995: 7).

On 16 July 1850, a new and different plan appeared. It was created by Joseph Paxton, the head gardener for the Duke of Devonshire. The main difference between this project and the previous one was the use of iron and glass as the main structure (Musgrave, 1995: 8). After this plan was accepted, the project was completed on 1 May 1851. Despite the fact that it was built in just seven months, the new exhibition hall was commonly called as the Crystal Palace because of its appearance, and it attracted people with its huge size.

The Great Exhibition stayed open for six months. During this time approximately six million people from all over the world visited the exhibition, which hosted thousands of objects, including 1800 musical instruments (Musgrave, 1995: 9).

After the exhibition, it was thought that the Crystal Palace would be destroyed. However, John Paxton prevented such an attempt by founding the Crystal Palace Company. He purchased property for its re-erection in South London and then the foundation for the new Crystal Palace was laid on 5 August 1852. It was completed after a two-year construction period. The newly affixed Crystal Palace became one of the most important leisure places in London (Musgrave, 1995: 9). The Crystal Palace, where many musical events were organized over time, was eventually burnt and destroyed in 1936.

Image 1. A photo of Crystal Palace. (Musgrave, 1995: 16)

About the Musical Performance

As mentioned, Abdülaziz attended the event at the Crystal Palace in South East London. This event was organized on 16 July 1867, and hundreds of musicians played in this performance.

As can be seen from the sources available in the National Archives, an entertainment committee was created to organize events for the sultan. There are many archival documents, such as dispatches between this committee and the British ambassador in Istanbul at the time. There are also some letters, which were exchanged between the entertainment committee members and Musurus Paşa, the Ottoman ambassador in London at the time (National Archieve, FO 78/2010).

Among these archival documents, only a few are directly about the event in the Crystal Palace. In one of the related documents, the entertainment committee asked for the appropriate date for the sultan for the Crystal Palace event. Another document indicates that the date was settled as 16 July 1867(National Archive, FO 78/2010).

Additionally, this event was put on the official program of the visit, printed by the British government. The Crystal Palace event was described in the program as follows:

> *His Imperial Majesty will be accompanied by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and other members of the Royal Family and will afterwards proceed to the Crystal Palace, Where they will arrive little after six o'clock.*
>
> *After viewing the Grounds the fountains and the principal courts, the imperial party will dine in the Royal Corridor, and, after a concert and a display of fireworks will leave the palace soon after nine o'clock and return to Buckingham palace, escorted as before* (National Archive, LC 5/28).

The sultan attended one musical performance and a bonfire at this event. According to Ali Kemali Aksüt, the choir and the orchestra that night consisted of 2000 musicians.

According to an article in *Pall Mall Gazette*, a London daily, the program started very late. However, the first part of the program was scheduled for 4:30 afternoon and finished at 8:15 in the evening (Sultan and his Music, 1867: 4). The first part of the program was finished in a timely manner by sacrificing the 'Stirrup Cup' and the 'Spinning Wheel' quartet from *Martha*.

The concert program included some of the very famous pieces of opera at the time. These pieces were composed by very famous composers, like Bellini, Donizetti, Verdi, Mozart and Mendelssohn. (Aracı, 1998:32)

Another London daily, *London Evening Standard*, provides some interesting details about the repertoire and performers in its volume published on 17 July 1867 (The Sultan, 1867). According to this article, the concert was divided into two parts. But the British royal family and Sultan Abdülaziz could not attend the first part of the concert. The orchestra and chorus were composed of the Band of Crystal Palace Company and military bands and the Her Majesty Theatre Chorus. All the artists who performed in this event are listed as follows:

> *Mdlle (mademoiselle) Titiens, Mdlle Christine Nilson Midlle Sipico, Madame Trebelli, Bettini, Madame Demeric-Lablache, Midlle*

Baumeister; Signor Mongini, Signor Gardoni, Signor Tasca, Signor Gassier, Signor Foli, Signor Pandefini, Signor Bossi, Signor Argetti, Her Rokitansky, Her Tom Hohler, Mr. Lyall and Mr. Santley.

Two musicians served as conductors in the concert, Signor Arditi and Mr. Augustus Mans. It is mentioned in the article that Mr. Coward accompanied all these musicians on the great organ.

The program for the first part of the concert and the performers were as follows:

1. Overture, *La Gazza Ladra (*Rossini).
2. Duetto, *Suoni La Tromba*, I Prutani (Bellini), Signor Pandolfini and Signor Foli.
3. Rataplan, *Al suon del Tamburo* (Forza del Destino), (Verdi), Madam Trebelli Bettini, and Chorus of Her Majesty's Theatre.
4. Aria, *Loving smile of sister kind*, Faust (Gounod), Mr Stanley.
5. Part song, *O Hills! O Vales!*, Chorus (Mendelssohn).
6. Aria, *Ocean thous mighty monster*, Oberon, (Weber), Mdlle Titiens.
7. Aria, *Una Furtiva lagrima*, L'Elisir d'Amore (Donizetti), Signor Gardoni.
8. Aria, *Ernani involami*, Ernani (Verdi), Mdlle Nilson.
9. Canzone, *La donna e mobile,* Rigoletto (Verdi), Signor Mongini.
10. Solo and Chorus, *Calm as the glassy ocean,* Idomeneo (Mozart), Mdlle Sinico and Chorus.
11. Ballad, *My Guising Star,* Robin Hood (Macfarren), Mr. Hohler.
12. Soldiers, *Chorus* from Faust (Gounod), the chorus of Her Majesty's Theatre.
13. Polacca, *Vien un Giovin*, Freischütz (Weber), Mddle Sinico.
14. *First Finale of Don Giovanni* (Mozart), Mdlle Titiens, Mddle Nilson, Mdlle Sinico, Madame Trebelli Bentini, Mddle Baumeister, Madame Demeric-Lablache, Signor Mongini, Signor Gardoni, Signor Gassier, Signor Pandolfini, Mr. Hohler, Signor Rossi, Signor Folli, Signor Agretti, Mr. Lyall, Herr Rokitansky and Mr. Stanley, with a full band and chorus from her majesty's theatre.
15. *Overture*, Zampa (Herold).

It can be understood from this article, that the sultan and the Royal Family arrived at the Crystal Palace at the end of the first part of the concert. After they dined in the

palace building, the second part of the concert started. The repertoire of the second part was as follows:

1. The quartet from the Oberon, *Over the dark blue waters* sung by Mddle Titiens, Madame Trebelli, Signor Gardoni and Mr Stanley.
2. National Anthem (It could be the Turkish National anthem).
3. *New Ode* composed by Signor Luigi Arditi.
4. *Queen of the Night* from the Flauto Magico, sung by Mdlle Nilson.
5. *Romanza* from the Martha, Signor Mongini.
6. *The prayer from Mose* (it must be Mose in Egito composed by Rossini) by chorus.
7. *The Hallelujah* from the Messiah (Handel) by the chorus.(The Sultan, 1867)

The articles on the issue mention that Turkish National Anthem was performed on the arrival of Sultan Abdülaziz at the Crystal Palace. It should be noted here that the article titled *Sultan and his Music* mentions that Donizetti composed the Turkish National Anthem, which was performed in the Crystal Palace. However, this information was inaccurate because *the March of Aziziye*, recognized as the Ottoman national anthem during Abdülaziz's reign, was composed by Signor CallistoGuatelli, not by Donizetti. On the other hand, Guiseppe Donizetti composed *the March of Mecidiyye* which was the national anthem in the time of Abdülaziz's elder brother and predecessor, Sultan Abdülmecid (Sultan and his Music, 1867: 4). Donizetti was also the composer of another march for Sultan Mahmud II, the father of the two successive sultans, Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz.

This article also indicates that large numbers of Londoners were interested in this event. Thousands of people struggled to find a suitable place where they could watch the fireworks easily and acquire the best possible view of the sultan.

Another piece performed that night was an ode composed by Luigi Arditi. Arditi was an Italian conductor and composer, born in 1822. He studied violin and composition at the Milan Conservatory. He composed his first opera, *I Briganti,* in 1841. After his education, he served as a violin-conductor in Vercelli and Milan. Following this, he worked in different orchestras in Italy and then performed in Canada, USA, and the Ottoman Empire as a conductor.

After his experience as a conductor in different countries, Luigi Arditi settled in London as the conductor of Her Majesty's Theatre in 1858. He maintained this position for 11 years. In the meantime, he toured with many Italian opera companies.

Between 1878-1894 he was mainly interested in Mapleson's Annual Opera Tour of America. He also worked at different London theatres. Luigi Arditi, who had served in England's musical life many years, died in Essex 1 May 1903 (Burton and Horner, 2001: 866).

The lyrics of this ode were written by Zafiraki Efendi in Turkish. This piece was performed by the choir, numbering 1000 persons, in Turkish. The newspaper also gives some details on this performance:

> *The ode in honour of his imperial majesty Abul-Aziz , Sultan of Turkey; composed and written by Zafiraki Effendi, and set to music by Signor Arditi, is like Turkish music. You know at once that it is Turkish by the drums in the introduction. Then forgetting all about the drums, you fancy it is only a polka played far too slowly. Then, however, a few Turkish phrases, genuine Turkish phrases, are heard and the imaginative believe themselves in Constantinople.* (Sultan and his Music, 1867: 4)

As mentioned in the article, the ode contains some melodic words similar to the Turkish melodic style. Therefore, it is quite possible that this piece was not the first experience for Signor Arditi in Turkish and Turkified music, considering his background in Turkish music while serving in the Ottoman Empire.

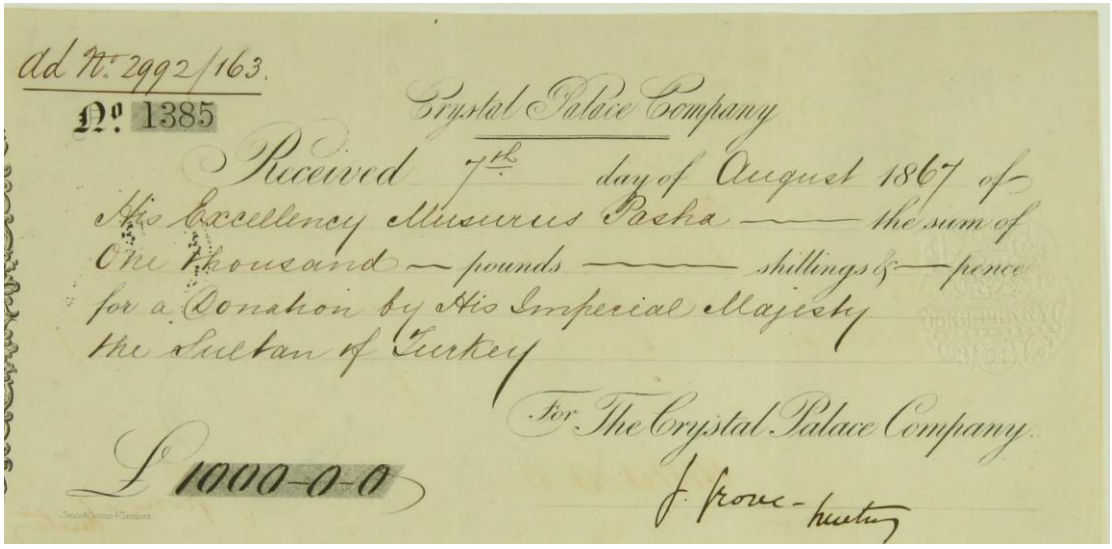
When examining the score of this ode, it is noticeable that this piece had been formerly presented to Sultan Abdülmecid, the predecessor and brother of Abdülaziz. EmreAracı states that the score of the ode presented to Sultan Abdülmecid was same as the one presented to Abdülaziz. Aracı also indicates that only the lyrics were different from each other. Consequently, Arditi performed the same composition twice for the two sultans. (Aracı, 1998: 26-27)

The lyrics of *the Ode* performed for Sultan Abdülaziz were published in some newspapers at the time as follows:

> In the garments of thy gladness, why, O London, art thou bright,
> As a bride in her apparel, fresh and fair art thou to-night!
> Why, P Palace built of diamond, still with fragrant flowers bedight,
> Do thy stones all flame as rubies, flash and glow with fiery light?
> The Sultan Abdülaziz comes, hail the cause of our delight!
>
> Mighty ruler over nations, none may with his power compare,
> Day and night his constant study that his people well may fare;
> Son of İslam call him Father, Christians own his kindly care.
> Truly great and wisely powerful, giant action he shall dare,
> Noble thoughts and aspirations prosper under Osman's heir.
> (Visit of the Sultan to the Crystal Palace, 1867:4)

After the conclusion of these performances, the sultan gifted 1000 pounds to the performers. An Ottoman archival document refers to this imperial beneficence (BOA, HR.TO, 77/46). According to this document, Sultan Aziz gave 1200 pounds to the management of the Crystal Palace, 200 pounds for the performers and the other 1000 pounds for the reconstruction of some of the places which had been burned in the 1866 fire. During that time, this amount of money was considered to be a fortune. Even the newspapers talked about the size of the donation the sultan had given:

> *…. to get a true idea of the of the munificence of our Eastern visitors we must remember that the Sultan and the Viceroy of Egypt between them, given to the Crystal Palace exactly three times what the British Parliament, after much deliberation and with much grumbling, has agreed to give annually towards the support of a National Academy. (Sultan and His Music, 1867: 4)*


Ad N. 2992/163.

No 1385

Crystal Palace Company

Received 7th day of August 1867 of His Excellency Mussurus Pasha —— the sum of One Thousand — pounds —— shillings & — pence for a Donation by His Imperial Majesty the Sultan of Turkey

For The Crystal Palace Company.

£ 1000-0-0

J. Grove - Secretary

Image 2. Receipt of Abdülaziz's Donation to the Crystal Palace. Ottoman Archives, BOA, HR. TO, 77/46)

As we stated previously, besides these beneficences, Sultan Abdülaziz awarded the medals of Mecidiye to Signor Arditi and to Signor Costa, chief master of the Royal Italian Opera.

Conclusion

The details provided above provide an example of the use of music as a political instrument. As we can see from some sources, music was used as a political instrument by the British monarchy since the very early times of British history. Musicologist Katherine Butler Schofield mentions how Queen Elizabeth I, who was herself also a Lute player, used music as a political instrument in the following way:

> *Aware of their political potential, Elizabeth employed the intimacy of private music-making to charm foreign visitors, to develop relations with courtiers and ambassadors, and influence the course of diplomatic negotiations. Moreover, Elizabeth's courtiers began to follow her example, singing or commissioning intimate performances of their own poetry to the Queen in the hope of renewed or continued favour at the expense of their rivals. This politics of intimacy was characteristic of the workings of the Tudor government, in which political power depended on access to the monarch and a courtier's or diplomat's personal relationship with the Queen. In such circumstances recreational*

> *activities like music gained political significance as a means through which personal relationships could be fostered, which in turn would lead to power and influence* (Buttler, 2015: 42).

In addition to this, sources show that Queen Elizabeth I dispatched an organ along with Thomas Dallam, organist and master organ craftsman, to Constantinople in 1599. Thomas Dallam assembled and then played this organ, before the Sultan Mehmed III at the court. (Aracı, 2007: 28)

The main reasons for gifting the organ to the sultan were economic and political. The gift of the organ promoted economic goodwill and facilitated the trading of English business in the Ottoman Empire. In fact, this situation created competition between the British (Levant Company) and the Venetians who dominated trade deals between the Ottoman Empire and Europe (Dallam and Covel, 1892: vii). The second reason for this gift was political. With the gift of the organ, Queen Elizabeth I desired to advance good political relations with Sultan Murat III (father of Sultan Mehmed III) as described by J. Theodore Bent:

> *Yet another and that a political cause promoted our intercourse with Turkey. Queen Elizabeth was just entering in to her vital contest with Philip II of Spain, and to secure the alliance and co-operation of the Sultan was one of her favourite schemes at this critical juncture.*

Even though this information is not directly related with our topic here, it clearly refers to the important phenomenon that music was used as a diplomatic and political tool in the Ottoman past, a very long time before the Crystal Palace concert.

Several examples indicate the use of music to gain positive results in diplomatic relations. Sometimes we can see the effect of using music as a diplomatic tool on some western art pieces. An important case regarding this phenomenon is the illustration created by Hans Holbein (the younger), which shows two ambassadors with some musical instruments and a globe between them. Many researchers state that the instruments and the globe represent harmony in the world.

Image 3. The Ambassadors by Hans Holbein (the younger) (Mahiet, 2011: 25)

The sources also show that it was not only Western countries, but also Ottoman rulers, used music in diplomatic relationships.

There are many sources demonstrating the Ottoman use of music in diplomatic ceremonies. For instance, the reception ceremony for the ambassadors in the Ottoman palace started with the marches performed by *Musika-i Hümâyûn* (the Ottoman Imperial Military Band). (Toker, 2016: 270) There are also many other such occasions in the Ottoman music history as well. The Ottoman protocol registers (*teşrifât defterleri*) set out the rules of diplomatic receptions and official ceremonies. According to these registers, when an ambassador came to Seraglio to meet the sultan, a military band was to be ready at the palace gate. It can be seen that similar rules applied for the visits of foreign dynasties' members to the Ottoman land. For

example, a music ensemble was assigned to play music during the Lord and Lady Walse's visit to Turkey (Toker, 2016: 201).

In addition to this, we know that an orchestrate was appointed during the visit of the Shah of Iran to the Ottoman palace (Toker, 2016: 174) and the orchestrate played during dinner time (Örenç, 1998: 71). Such examples demonstrate that the procedure for diplomatic receptions included a musical performance in the Ottoman ceremonial system (Örenç, 1998: 57).

We can see from such cases that all diplomatic events started with music and included some musical aspects in the Ottoman diplomatic system.[2]

In the case of the Crystal Palace event, the huge donation from Sultan Abdülaziz to the performers and to the theatre is another example of the use of music and musical performance as a political instrument. When we think of the generosity of this gift, it seems that, most probably, Sultan Abdülaziz gave that money not only for the purpose of showing his gratitude, but also to show the power of his country and his dynasty.

Awarding the two medals to Luigi Arditi for one composition that was presented to both Sultan Abdülmecid and Sultan Abdülaziz points out that some compositions were seen as just as political object.

You can see this phenomenon in many cases in the Ottoman musical history. When a composer sent his/her composition to the sultan, firstly he had to apply to the Ottoman consulate. After a long diplomatic procedure he/she could get a gift or an award from the sultan in return. There are many examples of composers whose pieces were never played before the sultan because of this long diplomatic process.

Finally, it would not be wrong to argue that music was seen as a good apparatus for influencing the diplomatic relationships in both countries. The Crystal Palace case can be seen as one of the most explicit examples in this regard.

[2] For further information about the use of music in diplomatic ceremonies in the Ottomans, see, Selçuk Alimdar (2016), *Osmanlı'da Batı Müziği*, İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, pp. 28-52; Hakan T. Karateke (2004), *Padişahım Çok Yaşa!: Osmanlı Devletinin Son Yüzyılında Merasimler*, İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi, pp. 143-54.

This work tried to analyze this case from different perspectives, namely diplomatic, musical and historical. We have seen that this musical performance was designed as a diplomatic tool by the diplomats. In addition, all musical events organized by an entertainment committee for the sultan's visit. The foundation of this committee is quite noteworthy. The archival documents about this committee reveal that all the musical events during the sultan's visit were settled by this committee after a long correspondence between the British and Turkish diplomats. It is also important to see that the educational and artistic background of Sultan Abdülaziz played a role in his approach to music. He was a sultan closely interested in the classical and European styles of music, as can be seen in the case of the Crystal Palace concert and the other performances he attended during his visit.

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The Spring Holiday *Nauryz-Meiramy* in the Kazakh Tradition

ABSTRACT
The present article is the first attempt by the author to give a scholarly interpretation of the interesting yet under investigated phenomenon of Kazakh 'Nauryz'. The ethno-cultural traditions of 'Nauryz', lost as a result of Islamization and Sovietization of Kazakhstan, have been revived over the last 30 years.
The article reviews the basic socio-historical prerequisites of 'Nauryz' in the system of Kazakh traditional culture, taking into account the typological features of spring holiday (the idea of cyclic revival of life), as well as specific aspects of Central Asian nomadism. The author regards 'Nauryz-meiramy' as a complete calendar-ceremonial complex of high social and spiritual significance and conditionally differentiates three interconnected components of the traditional 'Nauryz-meiramy' (ritual, competitive, entertaining) and emphasizes their duplicative character.
The article devotes special attention to an examination of the musical context of 'Nauryz-mejramy'. The author argues for the existence of the currently lost song genre specific to Nauryz-meiramy (akin to carols) and based on the available data attempts to reconstruct its original model.

KEYWORDS
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Spring holidays
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Genre model

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Introduction

The traditional New Year holiday *Nauryz-meiramy* had been actively celebrated by the Kazakhs until 1926, when the Soviet power, in the context of the struggle against 'vestiges of the religious past', imposed a ban on it. Contemporary Kazakh historians point to that fact, although briefly (Omirzakov and Isljamov, 2001:20). It is reported that there was no formal decree prohibiting the holiday, but rather an implicit ban imposed by the Bolsheviks. A staff member of Zhambyl Regional Archive (town of Taraz), Mr. Makulbeck Rysdaulet shed some light on the issue (Mamashuly).

Even if the traditions of *Nauryz-meiramy* were not entirely banned, they were definitely subject to significant distortion during the process of consecutive Islamization of Kazakhs (15-19 centuries). From about the 8th century on, Islam (primarily in its Sufi form) entered the territory of contemporary Kazakhstan (Sultangalieva; Mustafina, R.M. Everyday Islam in Kazakhstan), and began its spread in the South and South-East of contemporary Kazakhstan, where the settled lifestyle prevailed, starting around the 10th century, and gradually spread to the local population, through the 19th century. The length of this process was due to competition from Tengrism, Nestorianism, Shamanism, Mongolian invasions, as well as the nomadic lifestyle. In the 15th century, the Kazakh khanate was formed, and by the 16th century, the Kazakh elite had adopted Islam. However, some elements of the cult of the ancestors and animism, inherent in both shamanism and Tengriism, were preserved in the Kazakh consciousness. A.T. Toleubaev points out that the "pre-Islamic beliefs of Kazakhs" are "pagan, or folk, beliefs of Kazakhs which are a conglomerate of multitemporal strata" (Toleubaev, 1991: 6). "Intertwining and interacting, pre-Islamic traditions of Kazakhs and Islam represented a syncretic religion, which for centuries hallowed in the life of Kazakh society" (History of Kazakhstan, 2010: 585).

The Islamic clergy systematically eroded the intrinsic vernacular character of *Nauryz-meiramy* (Omirzaqov and Isljamov, 2001: 15-28). Abai, the most eminent 19th century Kazakh poet and thinker, wrote that in his time the Spring holiday was moved to the Summer time to coincide with the Moslem celebration of *Kurban ait* (ibid.) At the same time, traditions of *Nauryz-meiramy*, in one way or another, survived in the Kazakh folk culture (Mustafina, 1992: 176).

According to S. P. Snesarev,

> *Islam's domination in Central Asia, its rites and holidays, connected with the lunar calendar, were alien to the peoples of ancient agricultural oases, but they were adopted, and to a large extent replaced Pre-Islamic representations and ceremonies, reflecting the cult of the dying and resurgent nature that were common to the Central Asians. They could not, however, vanish completely; Central Asian ethnography preserved some traces of the cult of the dying and resurgent nature albeit scattered in different ceremonial complexes, and often redefined* (Snesarev, 1969: 186).

This is the process that occurred within the Kazakh culture. The *Nauryz-meiramy* prohibition explains the almost complete loss of this cultural tradition by the Kazakhs by the middle of the 20th century, as well as the absence of a significant body of scholarly work investigating the phenomenon. Only in the late 1980s, after the ideological landscape shifted, restoration of the principal ceremonies associated with this holiday became possible. It was done on the basis of residual local manifestations of the lost tradition and the unique information preserved in the memory of the older generation. Through the efforts of enthusiasts, and thanks to the new cultural policy of the state, folk traditions began to gradually recover, and, upon Kazakhstan's declaration of independence in 1991, *Nauryz-meiramy*[1] officially became a holiday. To date, its celebration has grown wide and quite popular, and received informal recognition in all regions of Kazakhstan, which, in our opinion, is largely due to the opportunities for ethnic consolidation and cultural identification this holiday currently offers.

The present article is the first ethnomusicological interpretation of such an interesting and complex phenomenon as the Kazakh *Nauryz,* which largely defines its preliminary character, not seeking to give a broad and complete analysis of the issue. The principal goal of this work is to attempt to uncover the main historical and social background of *Nauryz-meiramy* and reveal the place this holiday occupied in

[1] Further for brevity we shall use the term *Nauryz*.

the lives of Kazakhs. An important task of this analysis is to situate *Nauryz-meiramy* within the rites system of the Kazakh traditional culture calendar.

Historical Background of *Nauryz-Meiramy*

Unique features of the time-honored domestic ways practiced by the Kazakhs up until the middle of the 20th century were determined by the nomadic type of economy and culture which clearly defined the temporal order of life of the ethnos. Seasonal association with the nomadic Kazakhs' traditional calendar is obvious, and orientation based on the change of seasons is clear. As N. E. Masanov points out, "The seasonal dynamics of natural processes have had a profound and comprehensive impact on both the system of material production of nomads and their way of life" (Masanov, 1995: 114). The calendar year was divided into two large seasonal periods associated with the cattle-breeding cycle: spring-summer/autumn-winter (*koktem-zhaz*/*kjuz-qys*). Kazakhs practiced pasture cattle breeding, and followed year-round maintenance of cattle at grass, changing seasonal pastures (winter, spring, summer and autumn - *qystau*, *koekteu, zhailau* and *kyzdeu* (Kaz.).

The harsh continental climate of the Central Asian region, the habitat of the Kazakhs, as well as the extremely rigid calendar of migrations geographically associated with the cycle of animal grazing, defined a relatively clear delineation between seasons, with the orientation on the day of the vernal equinox (March 22). By this time, most of the land allocated to the spring and summer pastures was snow-free, which allowed the nomads to leave their winter camps. It is precisely the day of March 22 that became the *Nauryz-meiramy* celebration date.

This astronomical date gained a twofold designation with the Kazakhs. First, the authentic, i.e. specifically Kazakh, concept was not a semantic copy of the concept of *Nowruz*. It had its own lexical meaning that directly corresponded to the significance of this day in the life of the whole society as the beginning of the New Year. This is the reason why this concept appears to be a historically earlier practice, in any case relating to the pre-Islamic period of the Kazakh History. There is no historical record of the specific time when this second name was introduced into Kazakh culture. Yet it is important to note that the two are not interchangeable, but rather augment one

another: the two principal concepts of the Day of Spring Equinox and the holiday associated with it come into each of their own accord, complementing each other.

The other name of the holiday, *Nauryz* (from Persian '*novruz*', new day) is common with Persian- and Turkic-speaking peoples (Lobacheva, 1986: 6-31; The Magic of Navruz, 2007; Dorzhieva, 2007: 29-36; Dzharylgasinova and Kryukov, 1998).

All ethnic nuances considered – which, regrettably, cannot be elaborated on within the framework of the current study, the semantic keynote of the *Nauryz* celebration remained: it was, and still is, a holiday marking the New Year and the Spring renewal. "*Nowruz* has been, either in fact or by intention, a celebration of early Spring, when the sun begins to regain strength and overcome Winter's cold and darkness and when there is a renewal of growth and vigour in nature" (Encyclopedia Iranica) It is precisely "the symbolism of spring that is so deeply significant for the "New Day" feast" (Encyclopedia Iranica).

As Akbar Turson points out, "Navruz is the most versatile among all famous folk festivals, both nature- and cultural archetypes- based. The universality of Navruz as a natural phenomenon is obvious: The beginning of the New Year is the moment of the first sunrise after the astronomical equinox, which is reflected in all known systems of solar chronology" (Turson, 2012).

It is appropriate to trace certain historical reasons behind the emergence of the concept of *Novruz* in the traditional Kazakh vocabulary as a marker of a New Year holiday on the day of the Spring Equinox. In this context, taking into account the fact that the Northern track of the Silk Road had been going through the territory of modern Kazakhstan for a long time (2nd millennium BC-15th century AD) is essential. It would be more appropriate to talk about the territory of modern Kazakhstan, which for many centuries (approximately from 8-7th centuries BC) was inhabited by dozens of proto-Iranian and Turcic tribes. The "Turkic footprint" in the territory of modern Kazakhstan can be traced to around the middle of the 1st millennium, as evidenced by the Chinese sources and characteristic types of burials attributed to the so-called "Turkic' (in the archeological sense) culture". (Akishev; Baipakov, 1979; Kazahstan Arheologijasy, 2006; Altynbekov, 2014; Kljashtornyj; Sultanov,

1992). In fact, the Kazakh nation consolidated into the system of the Kazakh Khanate, dates back to the 15th century.

It is known that the peoples residing on these territories actively participated in both trade and cultural exchange (Hansen, 2012; Mamleeva, 2001; Medeu and Askarova, 2015). This process naturally resulted in mutual permeation in lexical as well as in a wider, linguistic, sense. The word *Nowruz (Navruz)*, which transformed in the Kazakh language into *Nauryz*, is likely to be an example of this process.

The term *Nauryz* is also used by Kazakhs as the name of the first spring month; this meaning has been firmly consolidated in the Kazakh language. At the same time, it is worth mentioning that there is a discrepancy in the terminology when it comes to marking the first month of spring, which is connected with the local traditions of Kazakhs of Western Kazakhstan. Apparently, it is in this context that R.M. Mustafina indicates the following: "by some accounts, Kazakhs referred to Nauryz as only the first day of spring - the first day of the month of *Hamal* (Arab.)" (Mustafina, 1992: 116).The rarely used concept of *Amal* (*Hamal* – from Arabic 'Aries') has been preserved in the Kazakh language to mark the first month of the solar calendar (March 22 to April 21)[2], as well as a cold snap one or two weeks before the day of the vernal equinox (the 'farewell' part of winter). It is interesting that in Western Kazakhstan the tradition of celebrating the so-called *Amal meiramy* on March 14, which corresponds to the climatic pattern of the region, where winter recedes earlier, is still preserved. The main ritual component of this holiday is *Koerisu* (literally, 'come to see'), the custom of mutual visiting of friends and relatives after the long winter, with a customary blessing by seniors. *Amal Nauryz* in calendar time predates the common for all Kazakhs *Nauryz meiramy*, and today in Western Kazakhstan the two holidays are united, forming a unique cycle.

It is clear that *Nauryz* as a tradition of greeting spring at the time of the vernal equinox stands as part of a typological series of holidays tied to the rhythms of nature and associated with the cult of fertility.

[2] Before the Soviet period, the Kazakhs used Arabic and Turkic notations of the months of the year at the same time. In 1990s, the Kazakh calendar has been returned to the Turkic basis. The exception is the month of April: instead of the Kazakh *Kokek - Səyir* ('Taurus'- Arab.) is used.

What sets the Kazakh holiday apart is the synthesis of the ceremonial traditions of New Year formed in different regions of Kazakhstan and a few special characteristics defined by the dominant type of economy. Thus, the Kazakhs of the Southern, primarily agricultural region had much in common in their ways of celebrating of *Nauryz* with the neighboring peoples of Central Asia[3] (Snesarev, 1969; Karmysheva, 1986.). Yet the *Nauryz* traditions in the Central, Northern, and Western regions of Kazakhstan, where nomadic cattle breeding dominated, were similar to the Mongolian New Year rites. We shall note only, among other things, the semantics of the color white, symbolizing happiness in both the rites of *Tsagaan sar* and in the Kazakh *Nauryz*. "...The color white, in the Mongolian symbolism, is associated with the idea of happiness. A nomad most often understood happiness as abundance of cattle and all that it provides: meat, milk and dairy products" (Dzharylgasinova and Kryukov, 1985: 179).

This is a question of sacramentalization of milk as an important cattle rearing product. "A respectful attitude to milk can be seen as a remnant of the pre-Islamic cattle breeding cult" (History of Kazakhstan, 2010: 263). So, the semantically significant New Year wish, "*Aq mol bolsyn!*", that is uttered by the participants of *Nauryz* throughout the celebratory cycle, literally means "Let there be an abundance of milk!" or "Let there be an abundance of prosperity (happiness)!", a cattle breeders' equivalent of a magical imperative[4].

It is important to note that with the natural season change, the nomadic Kazakhs experienced a change in their spatial zone of habitation: migration from the winter to the summer pastures (through spring-autumn). A change of the type of dwelling took place: from the adobe huts to the modular structures specially adapted for the nomadic way of life, *yurts* (i.e. Kazakh *kiiz ui*, literally 'felt house'). This change of the space-time continuum, which had an important sacral meaning in the traditional culture, naturally called for a ritual to accompany it. Undoubtedly, this explains why such a vast celebratory cycle as *Nauryz-meiramy (Nauryz-toi)* appeared in the Kazakh culture.

[3] In particular, in Southern Kazakhstan, there was a tradition of glorifying of the Red Flower (*Qyzghaldak*), similar to the traditions of *Navruz* among the peoples of Central Asia.
[4] On the magical dialog and the appeal of calendar rituals and well wishes, see in particular: Sagalaev and Oktyabrskaya, 1990: 160.

The main point of the calendar as a regulatory mechanism of the Kazakh public life is focused on this unified and comprehensive complex which performs the principal calendar function because it is associated with the New Year celebration.

The Structure of *Nauryz-Meiramy*

Celebrating the New Year on the day of the vernal equinox as a key calendar event in the national life strikingly symbolizes the interlacing of the natural and economic rhythms of life, thus being the starting point of the annual cycle. The main idea of *Nauryz-meiramy* is essentially a universal 'New Year' idea of the renewal of life, the birth of the new; securing fertility and well-being for the future. According to M. Eliade "the mystical and religious content of the Spring Festival was the revival of nature and the renewal of life" (Eliade, 1999: 356).

Hence, the most important characteristics of this ritual and celebratory complex reflect its high social significance and clear sacral meaning.

First of all, it should be noted that all gender and social groups participated in the celebration of *Nauryz*. The mass character of the celebration within the framework of nomadism was almost exceptional, and reserved for particularly significant moments in the life of Kazakhs. "... Dispersed organization of the system of material production and lifestyle was a fundamental property of Nomadism" (Masanov, 1995: 121).

The other characteristic feature of *Nauryz* was its duration: three days of the festival itself (falling on the days of the vernal equinox, 21 to 23 March) were followed by an entire month of guest rituals, visitations, and festivities. Here is an example from the memoirs of Vazifa Majzholova (1911-2010, Eastern Kazakhstan): "Every day in Nauryz we went visiting. People dressed more elegantly, rocked on altybakan, sang songs, girls and guys arranged *kajym-aytys*...".[5]

The basic scenario of the traditional *Nauryz* is as follows:[6]

[5] Further explanations in the text. (From personal archive, D.A.)
[6] We generalize the data on *Nauryz* below. See: Janibekov, 1991; The magic of Navruz, 2007: 291-298; Mustafina, 1992:173; Karmysheva, 1986, etc.

- On the eve of the holiday (in any case, in advance), dwellings and adjoining territories are cleaned, plentiful food is prepared, including the ritual dish *Nauryz-kozhe*[7].
- At night people stay up awaiting the symbolic meeting with the holy patron of *Qyzyr* (*Qydyr*)-*Ata* (*Qyzyr tyni* – Night of Qyzyr) – a mythical character, "the Giver of Abundance, luck, well-wisher and patron of good people, hard workers and travelers" (Karmysheva, 1986:50).
- At dawn on March 22, residents of *auyl* (village – 'auyl' Kaz.) gather to see the sunrise (if possible, on a nearby hill).
- After that, men leave to clean the water sources (wells, canals, springs), and women sprinkle trees with milk and prepare *dastarkhan* (the table set for a meal) in the house, getting ready to greet numerous visitors (relatives and neighbors).
- At noon, a bull is slaughtered on the outskirts of the village, and a dish made with its fresh meat is served to the men. According to the cited sources, the dish was called *Bel Koterer* (literally 'Belt Lifting'), the meaning of which is quite obvious given the context of the spring rites[8].
- Mutual visitations continued for three days, with New Year wishes and hugs. At mealtime, elders would pray to the ancestors and bless the feast.
- Wrestling competitions and horse races in the steppe took place afterwards.
- At last, in the evening, the swings were set up, bonfires lit, *aitys* (competitions in musical-poetic improvisation) were arranged.
- At the end of the festive day the youth lit torches from bonfires and went from house to house.

It is possible to conditionally differentiate the three interconnected components of the traditional *Nauryz-meyramy* as ritual, competitive and entertaining. Within the system of the celebratory complex, all its components are subordinated and at the

[7] More detail further in the text.
[8] There is an explanation that this dish was prepared for wrestlers participating in competitions.

same time contain all three of these principles. So, for example, wrestling competitions, being ritual, are aimed at an active spectator's perception, while performing an entertainment function as well[9].

The ritual context of *Nauryz-meyramy* is saturated with sacral symbols connected to the productive magic, which, perhaps, is most strictly regulated. The main components of it (on some of which we will elaborate further) are introduced below:

- Cleansing rituals of magical character: purification of habitats, dwellings, water sources.
- Filling of all the empty containers in the house with grain, milk, spring water.
- Dressing in clean, preferably new clothes.
- Kindling of cleansing bonfires.
- The rite of slaughtering of the sacrificial animal (ram, *qoshqar* in Kazakh), associated with both the productive magic and the cult of ancestors.
- The custom of forgiveness in order to leave any resentment behind in the passing year; gift exchange and debt settlement.
- Mutual visitation (which, it is believed, had to be done seven times) with an obligatory communal feast.
- Preparation of the ritual dish *nauryz-kozhe* or *nauryzdyq* made of seven varied dairy, grain and meat ingredients. R. M. Mustafina cites versions of the dish's name in Southern Kazakhstan: "The ritual dish Nauryz-kozhe, which is also called zhyl-kozhe, uyz-kozhe, is prepared from the first milk of the cow that just gave birth" (Mustafina, 1992: 116). The dish is a kind of chowder with a base made of broth from dried horse and lamb meat that remained after winter, with the addition of wheat, barley, millet, dairy drink *airan* (buttermilk, yogurt) or dry cheese (*qurt*) diluted in water, and salt. In the South of Kazakhstan, the composition of *nauryz-kozhe* varied with the prevalence of vegetable (peas, corn, rice, etc.), in other regions - with the prevalence of meat and dairy ingredients. The dish, prepared by women in a

[9] The latter prevails in the *Nauryz* celebration nowadays.

large cauldron (*qazan*) outside of the house, symbolized the prosperity and well-being expected in the coming year. Filling the cauldron to the very top was an important consideration. "*Nauryz-kozhe* was cooked in a large cauldron filled to the top, which had to contribute to abundance, satiety and health" (Tohtabaeva, 2007: 293). *Nauryz-kozhe* was a mandatory attribute of the festive *dastarkhan*, and the most important guests were certainly treated to it. J. H. Karmysheva points out that "in some places it was accepted to treat people inside the house, in others-to put food out in an open elevated place, on a lawn" (Karmysheva,1986: 54). It was believed that the more of this delicacy people consumed the more prosperity they would have in the New Year. As noted by V.Y. Propp, "Abundance of food on the first day of the New Year provides abundance for the whole year" (Propp, 1995: 35), and "the desire for abundant food on New Year is explained by the so-called" magic of the first day... "(Propp, 1995: 36).

- Youth games (on the Games of youth in Kazakh tradition see: Radlov, 1989: 319-320), with the participation of single young men and women (on the ceremonial eroticism of such games see: Propp, 1995: 131) with hints on possible subsequent marriage between participants and other typical elements of spring rites: pairs swinging on the swing (*Altybaqan*- the swing set on six poles, from the Kaz. *alty*, meaning 'six'). "Swinging on the swings – a widespread custom – was intended to accelerate the growth of the sown crops, increase the fertility of the Earth" (Tokarev, 1977: 340);
- A game that allowed young people to spend some time alone (*Aq Sujek* – a 'white bone', was thrown into the steppe in the dark, and a couple was sent to search for it);
- Tug of war;
- Horse racing between a *qyz* (a young girl) and a *dzhigit* (young unmarried man), *Qyz Quu*. Literally 'catch up with the girl' – a race with the following rules: if the girl wins, she whips the guy, and if the *dzhigit* wins, he gets the right to a kiss and even, as indicated by U. Janibekov, to the hand and heart of the girl (see: Janibekov, 1991: 38-39).

Youth participation in the structure of *Nauryz mejramy* stresses the idea of the procreation characteristic of a spring holiday. As to the senior generation, it was given the responsibility of a ritual blessing (*Bata beru*). However, this Kazakh ritual has no fixed connection with *Nauryz*. Various well-wishes (*bata*, *algys*) are widely used in general during any guest ritual, feast, or a significant family event, having situational and initially magical (motivational) meaning. According to the traditional Kazakh belief, a wish, once uttered, acquires the power of a spell.

Ulysyng On bolsyn.	*May your people be in good health.*
Aq mol bolsyn.	*Let there be a lot of milk.*
Qaida Barsang Zhol bolsyn!	*May there be a road everywhere you go!*
Ulys Baqty bolsyn.	*Let the earth blossom,*
Tort tulik aqty bolsyn.	*Let the cattle thrive.*
Ulys Bereke bersin	*Let the people be prosperous.*
Bjale-zhala Jerge ensin!	*Let all misfortune perish!*
Zhaz kelip, koeniling zhəj bolsyn.	*With the advent of summer, let the spirit be uplifted!*
Korgening Shattyk toi bolsyn!	*Happy festivities!*
Abzal Dosyng koep bolsyn,	*May you have many noble friends,*
Bergen Bata Sol bolsyn! Aumin!	*That is my blessing! Amen!*
	(Aq bata: 1998:19)

Ulystyng uly Kuninde,	*On the great day of the people*
Ulyng Қonsyn Ujaga,	*May your son settle in the nest,*
Qyzyng Qonsyn Qijaga	*And the daughter settle nearby*
Dauletingdi Asyrsyn,	*And multiply your wealth,*
Dushpanyng Basylsyn.	*Let your enemies calm down.*
Mening Bergen bul Batam-	*This blessing I gave-*
Ulys kunge saqtap zhurgen sur bata!	*Is kept by me for the day of the people! Amen!*
Aumin!	(Aq bata: 1998:20)[10]

A pronounced competitive spirit is present in the structure of *Nauryz* in general; it symbolizes the struggle of the two opposing principles: Winter and Summer (Evil and Good). This is the expression of the main idea behind the New Year holiday, its strategic task to symbolically ensure future fertility through the struggle of the old with the new, the weak with the strong. The "motive of the universal struggle between Winter and Summer", which "is simulated in the rite in the form of a symbolic struggle between two parties", is celebrated in Spring ceremonies (Tokarev, 1977: 342).

[10] English translation – K. Clod-Svensson

The competitive elements, which are part of the *Nauryz* ritual-celebratory complex functionally duplicate each other at different levels. Thus, the musical-poetic competitions (*aitys*) alternate with competitions in horse riding (*baige* - racing), running, and also in force and dexterity (*kures* - wrestling, *kokpar* - a kind of game similar to polo, *baganaga ormeleu* - pole climbing, *arqan tartys* - tug of war) etc.). This duplication can be treated as a feature of the ceremonial complex excessiveness aimed at emphasizing its main idea. As noted by Baiburin, "This redundancy (plurality of expression within a single plane of content) provided the necessary level of immunity: the loss of any elements could not lead to oblivion of meaning, as these elements were duplicated and therefore could easily be restored" (Baiburin, 1993: 11).

It would be relevant to mention here an interesting parallel of *Nauryz* with the traditional meal Kazakhs arrange a year after a man's death. A very vivid and detailed description of a Kazakh feast is given by V.V. Radlov (Radlov, 1989: 316-319). If the deceased had a high social status, a memorial feast (*As* - Kaz.) was served in his honor, and it lasted from three to seven days (Taizhanova, 2004: 261-262); dozens of yurts were installed, and everyone present was treated lavishly. The completion of the mourning period at the end of the year was symbolically marked by a festival involving wrestlers' competitions (Propp, 1995: 133), *aqyn*'s *Aitys* - competitions of the professional folk poets-improvisers who composed *zhyr* - praises in memory of the deceased[11], and finally, races (Taizhanova, 2004: 261-262). This clearly was a way to symbolically assert the infinity of life.

In both cases, multidimensionality with a stress on competition can be observed. The symbolism of the latter, connected with the affirmation of a new life, is evident in both cases. The mass character of both ritual structures is also worth noting.

The festive-ritual character of *Nauryz* implies a fair amount of entertainment, which, as has already been pointed out, is closely associated with the ritual and competitive nature of a traditional holiday.

[11] In modern conditions only the meal part of this ceremonial complex has remained.

Music within the Context of *Nauryz-Meiramy*

The atmosphere of universal joy and fun is achieved, in addition to the ceremonies and competitions mentioned above, through the use of music. According to descriptions, the fabric of the traditional New Year's festivities was saturated with music throughout: "Laughter, jokes and music were heard everywhere" (Tohtabaeva, 2007: 296).

Within the structure of the New Year celebration, the performance of lyrical songs (*Qara-oleng*[12]) accounted for a large part of Nomadic Kazakhs' non-ritual music playing. This kind of musical performance not only served an important entertainment and aesthetic purpose, but also marked free pastime as such. In addition, playing music expanded the very dense (thanks to the ritual saturation) and festive (New Year in particular) chronotope.

The loss of authentic musical context of *Nauryz* greatly complicates its study. At the same time, even the most general descriptions of such context, found in the available sources, juxtaposed with the well-known characteristics of the Kazakh traditional musical culture as a whole, allow us to reconstruct its basic model. Thus, it is possible to distinguish the three main locations of the festive music:

- the home-based feast,
- the evening *aitys*, which were held before sunset,
- the open-air youth festivities (evening-night). Janibekov points out: "The akyns competitions stopped with the sunset, when it was believed good defeated evil" (Janibekov, 1991: 38).

A. Seidimbekov, describing *Nauryz*, says the following: "... During the table meal <...> songs were performed, cheerful and noisy competitions in wit, humor, ability to improvise; *kuis*[13] were held"(Seidimbekov, 1985:131).

In the traditional Kazakh culture, music-making has consistently been part of the festive feasts, including family/household feasts (on the occasion of wedding or

[12] The genre of literally folk lyrical song, with a melody within the interval of quinte-sixth, usually performed without instrumental accompaniment, which is based on the form of two 11-complex semi-stanzas. Widespread up to the middle of the XX century.
[13] *Kui*–Kazakh traditional instrumental composition.

childbirth). As a rule among those present there were always singers (*aenshi*) and dombra players *dombrashy*)[14] from a circle of local talented amateurs (including family members). Lyrical folk songs (*Qara oleng*) were usually performed.

Depending on the social status of the house owner, professional musicians (singers and dombra players) could have been invited; and they were, as a rule, generously paid. V.V. Radlov, describing the grandiose feast on the occasion of the anniversary of the funeral of a Kazakh nobleman, writes: "My singer was given a wonderful reception, invitations poured on him from all sides, and he brought generous gifts back every time. He got at least a dozen robes [Chapans-D.A.]" (Radlov, 1989: 317).

Judging by the available descriptions, the same can be said about *Nauryz*. Music-making during a feast tended to have a non-ritual character and was accompanied by stories/commentaries explaining the history of creation or lyrics of a song and *kui*. The exception is *Toi Bastar* - a blessing song, opening a celebration (*toi*) and intoned by an *aqyn* (singer-improviser) in particularly formal cases: necessarily during a wedding feast and the praises of the Guest of Honor[15].

The music making of the youth that gathered around the set swing *Altybaqan* (« ... at the swing, they sang and danced[16], completing the holiday *Nauryz mejramy*" - Janibekov, 1991: 38) is characterized by the pairing of two genre oppositions: *Qara oleng* (lyrical song) and *Qajym-aitys* (comic competitions in song and poetic improvisation). In his time (mid-19th century), Chokhan Valikhanov defined *Qajym-aitys* as "songs <...>, consisting of questions and answers between young gentlemen and maidens, they consist of quatrains, in which the first two verses rhyme with the fourth" (as cited in: Akhmetov, 1964: 243). Usually a popular song, an eleven-syllable verse is taken as the basis. Two groups of girls and boys, improvising, in pairs exchange comical, funny lines.

[14] *Dombra*- a two (rarely three) plucked chordophone of the Kazakhs.
[15] In the context of the family-oriented festival, *Toi Bastar* is performed today by those present. In response, the hosts of the festivities hand a special tray (*Tabaq*), filled with gifts, which the performer shares with the guests seated nearby.
[16] Probably it is a question of dance traditions of the South of Kazakhstan which were likely borrowed from the Uzbeks.

Given the original ceremonial and ritual subtext of youth song contests, it is possible to a certain extent to see an interesting and rather specific 'spring' juxtraposition between the lyrics and the rite. *Qajym-aitys* was performed during winter gatherings of unattached youth[17]. But this genre acquires a particular semantic emphasis in the context of *Nauryz*.

To the Question of the *Zharapazan* Songs

Considering the musical context of *Nauryz* and taking into account the typological features of the holiday itself, it is legitimate to raise the question of whether there were any song genres connected specifically to this festive/ ritual complex. Since, as previously noted, the present study is merely an initial approach of ethnomusicological understanding of the Kazakh *Nauryz-meiramy*, a thorough search for reliable data sources must be performed in the future. Regrettably, systematic and reliable records, such as audio-recordings or music notations that could serve as samples for the study, are lacking. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that there must have been a local variety of New Year's ceremonial songs within the structure of *Nauryz* lost due to the holiday ban, especially since some of the sources cited by us have rare, though indirect, mention of the songs, ostensibly performed during the celebration of *Nauryz*.

For example, J. H. Karmysheva in her article "Agricultural Rites of the Kazakhs" quotes fragments of unique song lyrics published in 1925 (the year before the ban on *Nauryz*) which explicitly mentions the New Year's holiday:

Ulys kuni qazan tolsa,	*If on the day of Ulus the pots will be full,*
Ol zhyly aq mol bolar.	*Then that year the milk will be abundant.*
Uly kisiden bata alsang,	*If on the day of Ulus a blessing from an elder is received (…),*
Sonda olzhaly zhol bolar.	*Then the path will be gainful.*

(Karmysheva, 1986: 51)[18]

According to the yet unverified data, the lyrics of a song supposedly connected with *Nauryz*, have been preserved. The authors who published the text listed no source

[17] In winter, the auyl youth gathered in the evenings in different houses, where under the light of lamps girls exchanged jokes with young men, competing in *Qajym-aitys*, sang, played dombra. (Memoirs of Vazifa Maizholova - from personal archive, D.A.)

[18] English translation – K. Clod-Svensson

there was no description of the tune or performance available. It is possible that the informant only relayed the text of the song:

Самалық, самалық,	*Samalyk, samalyk,*
Көк құс көзін ашты ма?	*Has the blue bird open her eyes?*
Аяғын жерге басты ма?	*Has she stepped onto the Earth?*
Самалық, самалық,	*Samalyk, samalyk,*
Самарқанның көк тасы	*Have you seen how the blue*
Жібіді ме, көрдің бе?	*Stone of Samarkand melted?* [19]
Самалық, самалық,	*Samalyk, samalyk,*
Қап тауының көк құсы	*Have you seen how the blue bird*
Жүгірді ме, көрдің бе?	*Ran away from Caucasus?* [20] [21]

(Omirzakov and Isljamov, 2001: 21)

The publication's authors relayed that the song was a form of address made by the adults to the children holding snowdrops (*baisheshek*) in their hands and a rabbit in the bosom (*kozhek*) (ibid.). This text is an address in the form of an inquiry, which leads to the assumption that the song itself was a kind of a dialog, the format quite characteristic of the Kazakh comic and game songs. Brevity, or fragmentary nature of the text, combined with the inquiring form prompt us to conclude that only a part of the dialogic song lyric has been recorded. A follow-up study would certainly require a search for an analog in the Kazakh culture, as well as in the other ethnic traditions connected with *Nowruz*.

A hypothesis follows from the use of a key word in the above text. The word *samalyk* most likely is a derivative of the Kazakh word *samala*, which means 'ray' or 'light', in turn pointing to the song's connection with the Day of Equinox. The text as a whole is infused with Spring symbolism which points to *Nauryz-meiramy*.

The search for traces of the New Year ceremonial songs of the Kazakhs unexpectedly leads to another, once widespread yet presently lost genre of songs, which were called *Zharapazan*[22] and performed during the Muslim fast of *Oraza* (during the

[19] According to a Kazakh legend connected with *Nauryz*, the hot Sun heats up and melts the blue tiles of the Samarkand cupolas on the day of the Spring Equinox.
[20] The blue bird here is Blue Rock Thrush that flies to the Kazakhs lands, the region of Tian-Shan around the time of the Spring Equinox.
[21] English translation K. Clod-Svensson
[22] The genre is related to the Muslim rites, spread among the Kazakh population along with its Islamization. *Zharapazan* was banned in Soviet times, but remained in the people's

sacred ninth month of the lunar calendar, *Ramazan-Ramadan*). There was a certain order in performing *Zharapazan*: five to six days at the beginning of the thirty-day fast, three to four days in the middle and two to three days in the period of breaking the fast (Tolybaev, 2000: 90).

The genre function and the circumstances of the performance of *Zharapazan* have an obvious resemblance to the European Christmas carols: youth, children, sometimes old people (it is worth noting here the rare, in Kazakh tradition, form of group performance), visiting the *auyl* residents in the evening, after sunset, when those observing the fast were allowed to take food (period of '*Auyz Ashar'*-literally 'mouth opening'), perform songs-wishes, with the request to bestow them, and in return receive treats from each house. R. M. Mustafina notes: "The main content of ceremonial songs are Megalynarions, which reflect the traditional story situations and motives, accompanied by the wishes of well-being, abundance and other set formulas-some expressing gratitude and even threats" (Mustafina, 1992: 122-123).

But what is more essential is the fact that the meaning, form, character and even the performance aspects of the Kazakh *Zharapazan* songs coincide in many ways with the traditions of Iranian *Nowrus*! To the point: "In rural areas the nowruz-k̲^{v}ānān, that is, minstrels consisting of boys, youths, and even adults, go around at evenings before Nowruz and stop before doors; they recite chants in praise of Nowruz, play on drums (tonbak) and tambourines, and receive rewards in kind or money" (Encyclopedia Iranica). Azerbaijanis had very similar *Nowruz* caroling traditions: on the last Tuesday before Nowruz children knock on doors, put their hats or small sacs at the threshold and hide. The house owners should give the hats back with holiday dainties» (Huseinov).

In the introduction, I already mentioned the fact that the vernacular meaning of the Spring holiday had been eroded by the Islamic clergy. This was reflected in the fact that even the Kazakh concept of *Ulystyn Uly Kjuni*, denoting New Year, was used in place of a canonical Moslem celebration-offering *Kurban-bairam* (*Qurban ait* - Kaz.), which takes place on the twelfth month of the Islamic Lunar calendar (in the

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memory up to the present day. Today there is a revival of *Zharapazan* among religious youth.

Summer time) and is not historically connected with *Nauryz* (see Omirzakov and Isljamov, 2001: 20.) It is likely that functional adaptation of the Spring songs of *Nauryz-meiramy* took place in the process of this revision and eventually were replaced with the religious hymnals that are the *Zharapazans*.

The earliest example of musical notation (without lyrics) of a *Zharapazan* is present in the collection "1000 Songs of Kyrgyz (Kazakh) People" by Zataevich (Zataevich, 2004: 328). The collector recorded the *Zharapazan* in 1925, performed by Oraz Dzhandosov (1889-1937)[23]. Zataevich notes that "this song accompanied O. Dzhandosov in his childhood years, when he, along with other young boys, walked from aul to aul (from one vilage to another) as a caroler during the time of the Urazy fasting" (Zataevich, 2004: 411)[24]. Seven examples of *Zharapazan*, recorded at different times by the staff of Kazakh State Conservatory named after Kurmangazy (Almaty) are given in the collection (Baikadamova and Temirbekova, 2001).

In 1970s, during one of the field trips in Eastern Kazakhstan, a remarkable gatherer of Kazakh song folklore, Taliga Bekhozhina, recorded rare samples of the 'songs of glorifiers' which used to be quite common in Kazakh tradition. For Bekhozhina "glorifiers" are the performers of *Zharapazan* who were glorifying and thanking the owners of the house for their generous reward. Kazakhs called them *zharapazanshy* (see: Qazaq Phonetics Tusindirme sozdigi, 2008: 271).

There appears to have been a peculiar specialization of such performers. A character who is a talented *zharapazanshy* called Tolepbergen is depicted very vividly in a story by one of the founders of contemporary Kazakh literature, Ilijas Zhansugurov (1894-1938). The author shares his childhood insights, and quotes his grandmother: "This dog (hobo - D.A.) has been howling for a long time, this business he got from his grandfather; he did not get rich on Zharapazan; except the old horse, he does not have any cattle, what good is this" (translation from Kazakh - D.A.). I. Zhansugurov explains how *zharapazanshy* were paid: "Qurt (dry cheese – D.A.), butter, treats are brought outside from the house. A ring is tied in a scarf. Money is given" (Zhansugurov, 1992: 22-25).

[23] Kazakh state and community leader, purged during the Stalinist years.
[24] Melodic and rhythmic aspects allows to qualify this tune as *qara-oleng*.

Judging by the published samples, the style of *Zharapazan* is quite typical for the Kazakh ceremonial and domestic singing traditions, which indicates pre-Islamic origins of the genre. At the heart of the melodies there are two common compositional types:

1. The formulaic, narrow volume 7-8-syllabic recitative songs (*Zhyr*). Example 1 (Bekhozhina, 1973: 19);
2. The 11-syllabic tune - the so-called *Qara-Oleng* (literally, 'vernacular', i.e. the actual folklore version of Kazakh lyrical song, in contrast to the professionally performed popular song), with elements of chant and repeating of the second half-stanza. Example 2 (Bekhozhina, 1973:19). The sample of *Zharapazan* that has been recorded by us also belongs to this type of melodies. Example 3 (from personal archive – D.A.)

We were interested in the comments of the collector, which indicated that there was a connection between *Zharapazan* and the songs performed during *Nauryz*. T. Bekhozhina suggested that *Zharapazan* "was influenced by the songs from the New Year's Holiday *Nauryz*, during which "joyful, congratulatory songs were sung"[25] (Bekhozhina, 1973:19). A similar suggestion was made by R. M. Mustafina, who notes "that *Zharapazan* was influenced by the New Year ceremonial ritual greetings and well-wishes, the motive of which is closely related to the cult of fertility ascending to the ancient layers of the local Pre-Islamic tradition" (Mustafina, 1992: 122-123).

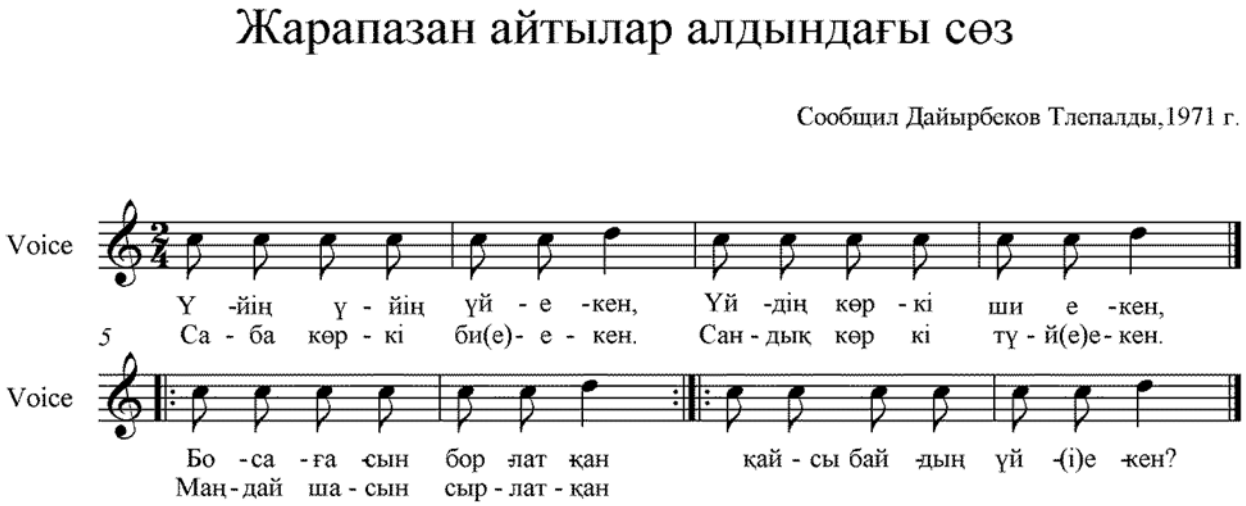
It is possible that we are dealing with an interesting case of contamination[26] and amazing survival of a genre within the traditional culture. It is difficult to disagree with R. M. Mustafina, who suggests that "under the influence of Islam, the heavily transformed New Year ceremonial songs have found shelter and new life within the Muslim rites" (Mustafina, 1992: 122-123). In this case, we see an example of a common blending of pre-Islamic and Islamic cultures in the Kazakh traditional culture, contributing to the preservation of the authentic tradition.

[25] Unfortunately, T. Bekhozhina left out the explanations given by the informants on the subject of the actual *Nauryz*, and, as she writes, 'congratulatory' songs.
[26] This refers to the widely observed phenomenon of folk song writing creation–interchangeability of tunes and lyrics.

The following can serve as the basis for the invariable genre model of the original Kazakh New Year's 'glorifying' songs:

- Functional and semantic similarity of *Zharapazan* and the presumed 'glorifying' songs in the context of *Nauryz* (Songs-Greetings, Greetings, wishes-blessings);
- Descriptions of the general character of songs performed during *Nauryz* (cheerful, loud);
- Structural commonality of the available lyrics of both *Zharapazan* and '*Nauryz* songs', with 7-8-or 11-syllabic basis, allowing to assume their compositional and stylistic affinity (see two types of melodies *Qara-oleng* and *Zhyr* – p. 19);
- There are indications that the performance of *Zharapazan* employed popular song tunes (Islam. Entsiklopediyalyq anyqtamalyq, 2010), which allows us to consider contamination which is characteristic of the Kazakh folk song making in general (the same, with a high degree of probability, can be attributed to the New Year's "glorifying" songs);
- Presence of a wide typological number of similar phenomena elsewhere (i.e. carols).

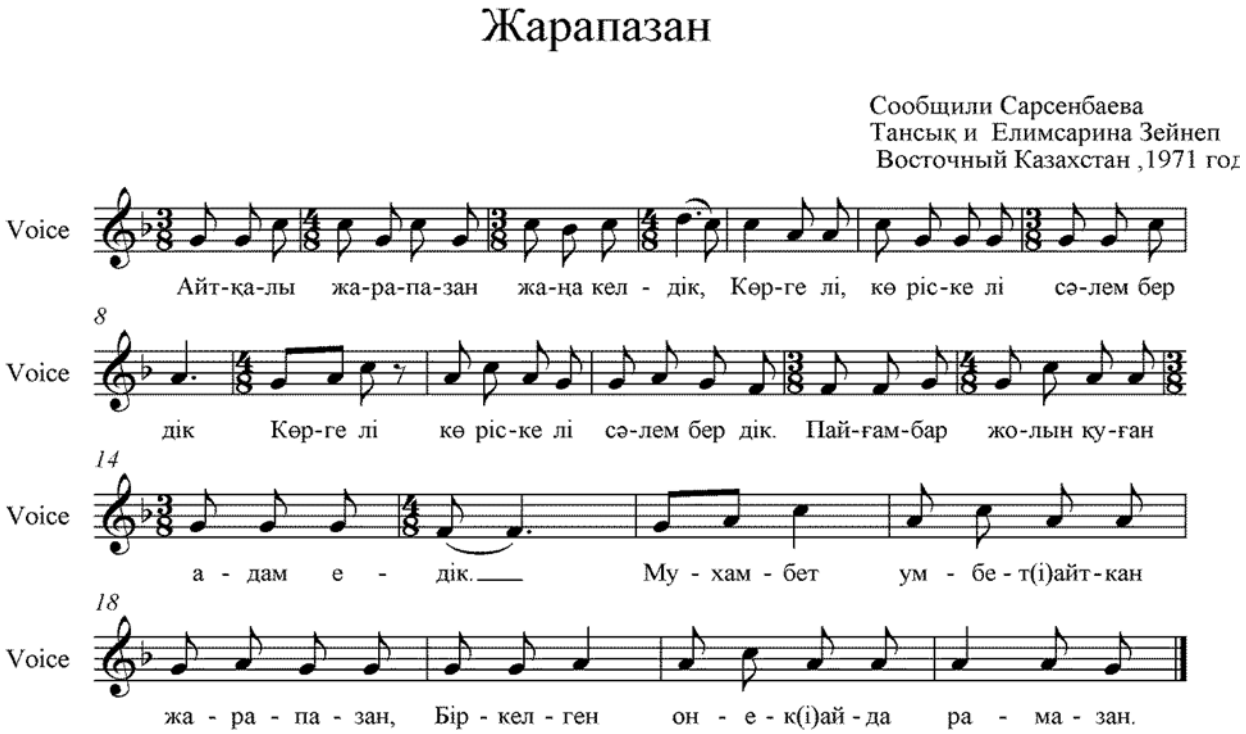
Refinement of the parameters of the above model is a task for the future. In this article, we have merely tried to identify the prerequisites of its solution. It is still necessary to assess much of what is interesting in the Kazakh *Nauryz meiramy*, in both its historical past and the present rebirth.



Example 1. Address before performing Zharapazan**.** Performed by Tlepaldy Dajyrbekov, recorded in Eastern Kazakhstan, in 1971.

Ujin, ujin, uj eken,	Your home, your home, truly your home,
Ujdin korki shi eken,	The home's ornament is a floor mat, it turns out,
Bosagasyn borlatqan,	The doorstep is bleached,
Qaisy baidyn yj(i) eken?	Which house belongs to the rich man?
Saba korki bi(e) eken.	The kumiss's mortar's ornament is the mare,
Sandyq korki tuj(e) eken.	Camel is the ornament of the trunk,
Mangdai shashyn syrlatqan	Hair above the forehead is dyed,
Qaisy baidyn yj(i) eken?	Which house belongs to the rich man?[27]

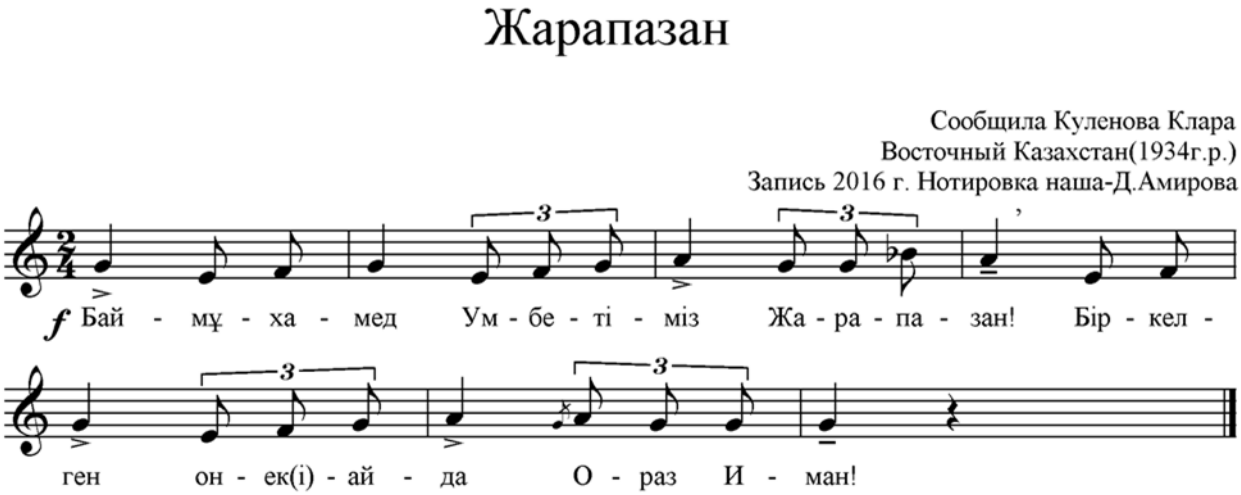
[27] Translation K. Clod-Svensson



Example 2. Zharapazan**.** Performed by Tansyq Sarsenbajeva and Zeinep Elimsarina, Eastern Kazakhstan, recorded in Eastern Kazakhstan, in 1971.

Aitqaly zharapazan zhanga keldik,	We came to sing Zharapazan,
Korgeli, koriskeli salem berdik.	Meeting, seeing, greeting one another.
Korgeli, koriskeli salem berdik.	Meeting, seeing, greeting one another.
Paigambar zholyn qugan adam edik.	We are the people following the Prophet's path.
Muhambet umbet(i) aitqan zharapazan,	Zharapazan is sung by the followers of Mohammed,
Bir kelgen on ek(i) aida Ramazan.	Ramadan that comes once in 12 months. [28]

[28] Translation K. Clod-Svensson



Example 3. Zharapazan. Performed by Klara Kulenova, was born in 1934 in Eastern Kazakhstan, recorded in Almaty, 2016, notated by author - D.A.

Baimukhamed Umbetimiz Zharapazan!	Zharapasan of the followers of Mohammed!
Bir kelgen on ek(i) aida Oraz Iman!	Ramadan coming once in twelve months! [29]

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List of Score Examples:

Notated songs:

1. Performed by Tlepaldy Dajyrbekov. Eastern Kazakhstan, recorded in 1971 (Bekhozhina, 1973: 19).
2. Performed by Tansyq Sarsenbayeva and Zeinep Elimsarina. Eastern Kazakhstan, recorded in 1971 (Bekhozhina, 1973: 19).
3. Performed by Klara Kulenova. Eastern Kazakhstan, recorded in 2016 (Dina Amirova: personal archive).

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Metaphors and Meaning in the Turkish Contemporary Christian Music

ABSTRACT
The aim of this article is to investigate the musical experience, musical meaning, and metaphors in religious music in the case of Turkish Contemporary Christian Music (TCCM). In the general sense, we can say that Contemporary Christian Music simultaneously carries symbolic, functional, and pragmatic meaning. Thus, this paper focuses on how Turkish Christians apply metaphors in order to give meaning to TCCM in the process of expressing experiences, and what other elements, unrelated to music, play a role in this process. People use the metaphors in music in two ways: to explain their experience of music and to give meaning to music, and to create music according to their ideas or beliefs. In this context, music as practical consciousness affects the metaphors used for musical practices as discursive consciousness; but also metaphors as discursive consciousness affect musical practices by creating proper sound in accordance with ideas or beliefs about music. In the context of TCCM, metaphors are used for expressing supernatural or transcendent experience as well as for sounding worship and link the worship music to the religious belief.

KEYWORDS
Metaphor
Musical meaning
Musical experience
Turkish Contemporary Christian Music

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Introduction

Music is not only perceived individually, but it also takes place in social interaction, representation of group identity and social activities. However, people turn to metaphors to convey the experience of music, express their understanding of nature of music and give meaning to music in a broad sense: these are the functions fulfilled by metaphors in the collective dimension of music. This article attempts to describe and explain the experience of music, nature of music, and musical meaning in rituals and religious music in the case of Turkish Contemporary Christian Music (TCCM) through the lens of the concept of metaphor.

According to Blacking (1973: 61), "if feelings could be expressed in words people would not need music" (as cited in Blacking, 1979: 10). Therefore, music functions in individual experiences and it plays a role in strengthening human relationships in society because "its structures are reflections of patterns of human relations, and the value of a piece of music as music is inseparable from its value as an expression of human experience" (Blacking, 1995: 31). From this point of view, this study raises a few questions in the context of the function of music: how do people express their individual musical experiences? How does language, as a vital part of communication, play role in conveying musical experiences or feelings? In which way is the meaning of music understood by the people who create it? By answering these questions we are able to derive the value of music in the system of social interaction and mainly, with regards to the question of what music is ontologically in social structures. Although this paper doesn't investigate what music is, it takes music in ritual context, according to ethnomusicologists, "one of the most pervasive contexts for music cross-culturally" (Tolbert, 2001: 85), in order to demonstrate the meaning of music and its semantic components at the level of religious dimension through "practical and discursive consciousness" (Giddens, 1984: 6-7).

The first part of the paper seeks to demonstrate the meaning of music through different cultural perspectives on the literature, such as symbolic meaning (Vannini and Waskul, 2006; Larsen, Lawson and Todd, 2010), functional meaning (Campbell, 2010; Brown, 2003: 15) and pragmatic meaning. As Meyer (1956: 1) indicates, "composers and performers of all cultures, theorists of diverse schools and styles, aestheticians and critics of many different persuasions are all agreed that music has

meaning and that this meaning is somehow communicated to both participants and listeners". However, the problem is how the meaning of music is conveyed to listeners and how the meaning of music is interpreted by listeners. From this point of view, people might express their experience of music, emotions, feelings and interpretation way of musical meaning discursively.

When people talk about the experience of music and meaning of music, they might apply metaphors, "link music to other aspects of human experiences" (Rice, 2001: 22), in order to communicate with 'others' on the matter of music or convey our experience of music. Nevertheless, the issue of music and metaphor is a 'two-way street' in which questions can be asked both ways. Music as practical consciousness affects the metaphors used for musical practices as discursive consciousness, but there is also a sense in which metaphors as discursive consciousness affect musical practices by creating sound that corresponds to particular ideas or beliefs about music. We can observe both approaches about music and metaphor especially in rituals and religious music practices. Metaphors play a crucial part in religious music practices. For instance, if one distinguishes musical metaphors from the basilar ideas, which create musical sound, it becomes more difficult to understand the essence of religious practices which include music.

The second part of this article considers this phenomenon in the context of Turkish Contemporary Christian Music. I have observed how Turkish Christians apply to metaphors in order to give meaning to Turkish Contemporary Christian Music in the process of expressing experiences and what other elements which are not related to music take a role in this process. At the same time, people use metaphors for music in two ways: to explain their experience of music, and to give meaning to music and make it accord with particular ideas or beliefs.

Contemporary Christian Music as a genre of Christian Music is grouped among Popular Music practices. This music is rooted in the late 1960s and early 1970s Jesus Movement in the USA (Pang, 2017:82). Although Contemporary Christian Music was born in the USA, thanks to the process of globalization, this music can be heard in the different corners of the world. Popular music practices are mostly embraced by the Protestants, especially Evangelists who put an emphasis on sharing the God's

Word with others. From this point of view, one can encounter different kinds of interpretations of Contemporary Christian Music according to different cultural contexts. Turkish Protestant believers turn to popular music practices with blended musical elements in their religious practices in order to express their supernatural experiences and live these experiences collectively in a Turkish cultural context. This musical practice, called Turkish Contemporary Christian Music, has a unique understanding and experience among Turkish Christians with their cultural and religious background. However, metaphors are a crucial part of experiencing Turkish Contemporary Christian Music and conveying this experience. Turkish Christians create music according to their beliefs and at the same time use this music according to their expectations from religious practices. In this case, the process of using metaphors in the production and consumption of music gives another point of approach to the musical meaning. The main research question of this paper then, is how metaphors take place in the scope of assigning meaning to Turkish Contemporary Christian Music, and this question is strongly tied to the issue of musical meaning and experiencing music.

Musical Meaning and Experiencing Music

"Music is sound that is organized into socially accepted patterns, and music-making may be regarded as a form of learned behavior" (Blacking, 1995: 33). In this sense, music has a function which is articulated in cultural practices. However, "we hear music as the socially meaningful presence of another person. We understand music as an embodied voice, produced directly from a human throat or by instrumental proxy" (Tolbert, 2001: 86). This description of music provides a useful tool for approaching the meaning of music. First of all, music is created by people, with a purpose, which can be functional, symbolic, or even pragmatic, and the meaning of music can be diverse depending on culture's social codes. From this point of view, we can say that "a cross-cultural perspective on music reveals that it also involves multiplicity of reference and meaning; a piece or performance is simultaneously capable of bearing many different meanings" (Cross, 2001: 5).

The second approach to music is more individual than music as 'a social construct'. The component of music originates from the nature of music. As Rice (2001: 34) indicates, "it is in the nature of music as text or symbol that composers and

performers cannot control its interpretation and the meanings that subsequently accrue to it". Meaning of music, at the same time, is individual due to the structure of evocation. Experiences outside the music, evocation and symbolic meanings of music can differ from one person to other. Consequently, music can be perceived in a different meaning among individuals.

The meaning of music is partly related to musical experience and "musical experience is essentially temporal" (Mantare, Sillince and Hämäläinen, 2007: 450). People, firstly, hear music and then give meaning to it. Classifying music as 'good' or 'bad' is the next process of perceiving music. However, experiencing music precedes the meaning given to it. Besides that, "ethnomusicologists generally believe that music is emotionally meaningful primarily due to context, suggesting the existence of musical semantics" (Tolbert, 2001: 85). This point of view shows that it is possible to approach the meaning of music via linguistic or semiotic analysis.

Music enables communication among people via the expression of musical experiences through the "language-like features of music" (Tolbert, 2001: 85). Like language, music symbolizes emotions and ideas, functions as an intermediary and is used as pragmatic signs, (such as songs for an election). In this context, linguistic and semiotic approaches provide a useful tool to reach a more profound level of knowledge about the meaning of music.

Firstly, Saussurian linguistic approach and Levi-Strauss's structuralism is used by ethnomusicologists such as Feld (1984). For instance, as Turnstall (1979: 62) indicates "according to Saussure's definition, music must be considered not a system of signs but a system of signifiers without signifieds. Its elements are not signs, but the relations between them are coherent and meaningful" (as cited in DeNora, 1986: 87). Nevertheless, in the structuralist approach of music studies, music communicates and functions communicatively. The main focus of this approach is musical structure itself. However, the relations between elements are another crucial component of structuralism as well. An illustration of this approach, Feld's (1984) *Sound Structure as Social Structure* takes into account musical structure and then applies it to social structure through encoded meanings, symbols, and patterns in Kaluli people.

Secondly, semiotic approaches of Charles Sanders Peirce (1894), Boiles (1982), and Robertson (1976) provide deep insight into musical meaning. Pierce, the inventor of the field of semiotics, talks about three fundamental concepts: "icon, which signifies by resembling what it stands for; index, tied to its object by some kind of causal relationship; symbol, which is an arbitrary but agreed-upon sign such as a word" (as cited in Nettl, 2015: 306). If we illustrate these three types of signs through musical samples, sound itself might be called as an icon due to being a literal sign. Specifically chosen sound, tempo, and rhythm are called as an index due to an implied sign. For instance, the first motif of Beethoven's 5th symphony is a kind of index. It is an index because it is used for conveying specific meaning according to culture such as fear, surprising situation and so on. The symbol might be the word 'music'. The word 'music' is an agreed-upon sign among people although the description of music is problematic among scholars.

Both in linguistic and semiotic approaches signs and symbols are crucial to the investigation of meaning. In the context of music, it is clear that music conveys meaning through signs and symbols. Thus, in any kind of situation the sound of music signifies something, and we give meaning to music. Therefore, attributing meaning to music might be both individual and social depending on culture. However, metaphors occur when meaning is attributed to music. Therefore, metaphors should be considered a component of musical meaning.

Musical Metaphors and Symbols

Metaphors embody the nature of music. They are used for expressing musical experience. According to Rice (2003: 157), "experience is not an inner phenomenon accessible only via introspection to the one having experience. Rather, experience begins with interaction with a world and with others". In terms of metaphor and musical experience, "metaphors make claims about the nature of music and bring music closer to other domains of human experience. These metaphors ideologically ground the behavioral, interpretive, and discursive strategies that put those claims into practice" (Rice, 2003: 159).

When we search for an inclusive description of metaphor, borrowing Zangwill's philosophical language might provide a clear idea of what metaphor is about. "Using

metaphor is a way of trying to make the ineffable affable, or more affable. It is a way of communicating to others what cannot otherwise be communicated" (2011: 2). From this point of view, a metaphor is established by discourse. Zangwill (2011: 2) illustrates this idea via the sample of 'migraine'. 'The word 'migraine' applied to headaches, is not metaphorical; but since I am fortunate never to have had one, someone needs to describe their migraine to me metaphorically if I am to acquire a good idea of how it feels". If we apply this example to the way we express musical meaning through metaphor, it can stand in for explaining how music makes me feel and conveying this experience as closely as possible to its actual feeling.

As the discussion above demonstrates, musical metaphor is about experience and nature of music. However, Blacking (1979: 8) indicates that "as a metaphor of feeling, music can both reflect and generate a special kind of social experience". In further discussion, however, Blacking (1979) talks about symbols and symbolic meaning, which is applied to music in terms of using metaphors for expressing experiences. From this point of view, we can say that understanding symbols in a given musical structure or social system is crucial to the understanding of the use of metaphors. It seems like all these components are interlinked with each other.

According to Rice (2001: 22) "metaphors make a truth claim about the ontological status of music: music is art, music is meaningful action, music is humanly organized sound, and so forth". Nevertheless, a metaphor also makes a claim about the epistemological status of music due to nature of music and its knowledge. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 156-184) "metaphors are not simply literary devices. They are a construction that helps us to understand our world, when we take them as true they powerfully inform our view of the world and our actions in it" (as cited in Rice, 2001: 24).

Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 37) present another crucial difference: one between metaphor and metonymy. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 37), as they discuss in their influential book *Metaphors We Live By*, "metaphor and metonymy are different kinds of processes. Metaphor is principally a way of conceiving of one thing in terms of another, and its primary function is understanding. Metonymy, on the other hand, has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one

entity to stand for another". If we illustrate these differences in terms of music and worship, claiming that 'music is worship' is a kind of metaphor because it presents music *as* worship. However, claiming that 'I'm worshiping' which includes making music in this action, creates a metonymy because the action of worshiping contains making music and stands for this action as well.

Meaning of Turkish Contemporary Christian Music

Contemporary Christian Music (CCM) functions as a tool for the expression of religious identity and at the same time, takes place in rituals. Therefore, we can say that CCM carries symbolic, functional, and pragmatic meaning simultaneously. It is symbolic because it symbolizes Christianity through the lyrics. Thus, it functions as a religious tool in rituals and it has the pragmatic meaning of introducing Christianity through music.

CCM defines the forms and styles of popular music in religious space of popular music specific to Christianity (Aslan and Yükselsin, 2015: 876; Abelman, 2006: 209). CCM is mostly practiced among Protestant groups, especially Evangelists who aim to share the message of Christianity (Gormly, 2003: 251). For this pragmatic reason, CCM is part of popular culture practices. It also uses mass media to express the message of Christianity. Although CCM was developed in the United States due to Jesus Revival Movement (Dumbauld, 2012: 5), it is spread, now, around the world due to practices of Christian missionaries and the process of globalization. However, this music has been practiced among Turkish Christians, (which for this study means Protestants), since the 1970's due to increasing number of believers, missionary practices and a need for a new identity for this group. Protestants in Turkey embraced the theological approaches of Western countries, such as England and the USA, thanks to missionary movements. As a result, most communities use musical instruments, as opposed to the musical practices of Eastern Christians which are primarily vocal. Although some Protestant communities are against using musical instruments during worship, most of the Protestant Churches in Turkey practice CCM due to Pentecostalism and Evangelism, which came from Western countries. In this context, musical practices of Turkish Protestants distinguish these communities from Orthodox Christian practices both theologically and musically.

Although there were Evangelist practices before 1970, Turkish Contemporary Christian Music had not yet appeared due to a lack of Turkish believers. There were only a few Christians who gathered at home and played English worship songs. As a result of an increasing number of Turkish believers, in 1970, the first Turkish Christian songbook, *Tanrı'yı Yüceltelim* (Lets Glorify God), was published and became the main source for Turkish Christians (Buckley, 2015).

Nowadays, Turkish Christians have three categories of worship songs: 1-) Translated songs from English 2-) songs that are composed in Turkish in mainstream genres such as Pop, Rock etc. and 3-) songs that are composed in Turkish for traditional musical instruments such as *bağlama, kanun*.

TCCM is a crucial component of the religious identity of the Christians who live in Turkey. Therefore, all lyrics in TCCM are written in Turkish. It signifies being a 'Turkish Christian' for the believers. Using traditional musical instruments, composing in 'maqam' (mode of music) and the use of *usûl* (rhythmic cycle) expresses the culture of the place, which is commonly used in the Middle East. Thus, the churches that have more Turkish attendees than foreigners practice these musical elements more than Occidental elements. In this context, Turkish Contemporary Christian Music differs from Western-style through its Oriental musical elements. These elements also function as a tool for expressing Turkish Christian identity.

Secondly, music functions in two ways for them: attracting attention to Christianity in order to spread the message of Bible, and the use of music in their rituals. According to these two functions, the metaphors used for music change in terms of the message conveyed by the music. As discussed before, applying metaphor is about the nature of CCM. If we ask why Christians need to use metaphors, the answer might be what Zangwill (2011) illustrated by the example of 'migraine'. In religious contexts, the emotions that people experience during musical worship might be problematic to convey through words. Although they use terms such as 'supernatural' and 'mystical', they are in need of describing these experiences in more detail by applying metaphors. It is clear that there is no other way to illustrate supernatural experience except applying metaphors. Metaphors also show the

meaning of religious music in this context. From this point of view, analysts should pay more attention to the metaphors, which take place in the discourse of believers in order to investigate the meaning of religious music. In this context, the next section of this paper tries to analyze the meaning of TCCM through metaphors, in addition to analyzing practices during worship.

The church is an organization, and there are specific actors that play roles in this organization. If we talk about music, the worship leader, who is the responsible person for music in the church, is an important actor in the organization. However, their roles, practices, place in the church, and of course discourse should be considered in the investigation of the meaning of Contemporary Christian Music.

Worship leaders should have a healthy relationship with pastors and community. At the same time, s/he should embrace the vision of the church and should spend enough time in this community as a member. Secondly, there are crucial competencies, which a worship leader should have. These are: knowing the worship songs which are sung in the church, musical ability in technique and singing, moral competence suitable for serving for the church, competence in individual features such as leadership abilities, and necessary experience.

From the point of view of these competencies, the worship leader has specific duties in the church. We can sort these duties in an order: 1-) making the order of worship, 2-) ensuring that community has spiritual/emotional experience during musical worship, 3-) conducting the worship, 4-) creating the worship band and 5-) giving music lessons to the members of the community in order to provide new musicians for the worship band.

These competencies and duties of the worship leader are also about the community due to a system of social interaction in the church. It creates the boundaries of the music making process according to the understanding of community and the specific meaning they assign to music. Therefore, understanding competencies and duties of the worship leader is also connected with metaphors, nature of worship music, and therefore, the meaning of Contemporary Christian Music.

Metaphors and the Nature of Turkish Contemporary Christian Music

Stephen Harris, a pastor, asked the following question to the fellowship in a church meeting: "What comes to your mind when I say worship?" The answers widely differed from each other, and there were at least six different descriptions of worship from six different people. One of them said, "looking at the sky and raising my hand comes to my mind". The other answered "spending time with God, praising Him, and coming into His presence". Other answers were about the "music", "giving something to God" etc. These diverse answers also show how the term 'worship' is related to many other religious and non-religious terms, including music. However, Christians tend to describe the music which takes place in the churches as a part of worshiping. Indeed, it is difficult to hear the words 'music' or 'making music' at the church. One hears the words of 'worship' or 'worshiping' instead of music. From this point of view, we might say that the issue of metaphor is at the heart of the music-worship relation. Besides that, worshipping is part of the everyday life of Christians, which consists of culture, including music. In this context, listening to CCM in their daily life is part of worship as well, which results in the blurred line between 'music' and 'worshipping'.

Geertz (1993: 90) describes religion as a system of symbols. Symbols exist in religious music as well. Thus, these symbols might be interpreted in many ways, which convey different messages according to the situation. For instance, baptism in Christianity might be interpreted as passing away and getting born again as well as being cleaned from the sins and being saved. In the context of religious music, the clearest symbols can be traced in the lyrics. In Contemporary Christian Music, there are many repeated phrases such as *Güçlü Tanrı* (O Mighty God), *O Çarmıhta Öldü* (He Died on the Cross). However, these phrases might be both index and symbol according to the interpreter. Thus, these phrases mention specific moments from the Bible and at the same time function in a Christian religious context, which means praising God and 'humbling' yourself. Therefore, one can encounter these issues both in a discursive context as well as during practical activities such as kneeling down during the worship at the church service. However, a question arises after this point: while experiencing the music in a religious space how are these symbols interpreted and conveyed? In this sense, the role of the worship leader influences how music should function in the church service.

According to Martijn Van Den Heuvel (2015), the worship leader of the Lighthouse Church in Izmir, describes the role of leader in terms of leading the worship.

> A worship leader shouldn't explain too much about the worship songs, shouldn't talk so much and shouldn't pray that much to cut the music during worship time on the church services. People don't come to church to watch a show. They are there for God. Worship band should provide people to stay with God at that moment by serving music practice. Also, a worship leader can't know what a worship song means to individuals separately. It is a diverse feeling for individuals.

The worship leader should be also aware of the fact that the meaning of music can be diverse according to the individuals' perception. However, they also try to put a limit to worship at least for the context of worship and they explain this issue by applying metaphor. When Van Den Heuvel explained this situation, he used metaphors to make more sense of the 'imagined' or 'agreed-upon' meaning of worship songs:

> It is so important to create a bordered field in which both musicians and community feel safe with the worship leader. Musicians and community might feel free to worship in this field. If there are no boundaries, there won't be any regularity in worship. Therefore, both worship band and community should know where to go to by the worship leader (2015).

"Bordered field" for worship is one of the metaphors used in the discourse of the interviewee. What he describes in this "bordered field" is that people should know what will come next in the music, and the music in this 'field' should be acceptable for everybody. Clearly, mentioning that "worship band and community should know where to go by [following the] worship leader" means both they should know what will happen next in music and when they will create a space for prayer time through these musical movements.

There is no suspicion that these kinds of metaphors affect the musical practices in the church service. It gives the idea of how music should be during the worship time

as well as in the genre of TCCM. Because these ideas and metaphors are not only applicable to the worship time in the church but also to the recording sounds of TCCM. Recordings of the TCCM also function for individual worship time, similarily to other sacred popular music samples (Bohlman, 2003: 290). In this context, recorded worship songs take this issue into consideration as well.

There is communication between the worship band and community during worship time, although there is no speech. Music makes this communication available. Van Den Heuvel talks about communication during worship time as well.

> It is so important to play worship songs in different dynamics as much as we can in order to get the attention of the community to the worship. If we play worship songs as absolutely straight, worship songs become colorless and boring. Playing dynamic is valid even for the worship songs which should be played loud (forte). In those worship songs, you can't play piano because of the structure of the worship songs but you can make differences in rhythm such as syncopation, knowingly playback from the rhythm (laidback) to attain the dynamism (2015).

What Van Den Heuvel says here is both about feelings and messages which are being conveyed through music. These are chosen even before the worship and create the aim of this specific worship time. However, metaphors show up in these situations. Van Den Heuvel also talks about how music can be played in order to convey a specific emotion or experience.

> For instance, I can sing the part of '*Kutsalsın*' (You are holy) in two different ways. First is singing this word by dropping my voice and buckling under. The second one is by shouting out and praising him by saying '*Evet! Kutsalsın!*' (Yea! You are holy!) to Him. It is up to worship leader to choose by which one s/he will sing (2015).

This sample shows how social actors' understanding of lyrics and the meaning assigned to them changes the way of singing and musical practice. Thus, it is related to the idea that metaphors are also about the sound of music. It can be said that

ideas and metaphors about worship affect the sound. “Dropping the voice” and “buckling under” also gives clues as to what worshipping is for them. It is also related to ‘humble yourself’ in front of God according to the belief.

Another metaphoric understanding in TCCM appears especially in the third category (the songs that are composed in Turkish for traditional musical instruments such as *bağlama, kanun*). In the lyrics of these songs, we mostly encounter some transformed terms such as ‘*Allah*’ (means God, which mostly used in Islam) instead of ‘*Tanrı’* (the term which Muslims do not apply so often in Turkey). These songs (such as, for example, *Allah’ın Kelamı Canlıdır* (Gods’ Word is Alive), *Allah’ım Büyük* (God is Great), *Allah Bize Sağlam Kaya*(God is Solid Rock to Us) can also be found in the *Tanrı’yı Yüceltelim,* which is a Turkish worship songs book. Another example takes the *Alevis*’ (A sect of Islam which takes place in Turkey as well) terms as they are and uses them in TCCM. Cem Kervan’s Turkish worship song of *Sevinelim* (2005) provides a clear connection between *Alevi* musical culture and TCCM. These two examples interestingly demonstrate the issue of intertextuality in terms of Islam and Christianity and create a metaphoric description of Turkish Christian identity in music.

Musical metaphors are not only used in terms of lyrics but also musical structure might be related to metaphor as well. For instance, the pianist Paul Baloche, who is a famous Contemporary Christian Musician, in his workshop called *Worship Band Workshop: Roadmap to a Skilled Team* (2011), mentions that using sustained notes as infracture in playing piano can make people connect to something above such as ‘heaven’ or ‘supernatural’. However, sustained notes or drones are often used in TCCM practices as well. It proves that musical sound itself might be a metaphor and signifies something else such as supernatural things.

Conclusion

Engelhardt (2011: 301) mentions that embracing the description of music as ‘humanly organized sound’ might raise further questions about the music and religion issue. These questions might be about describing religious experience through music, supernatural or transcendental experience, magic, and spirituality as

well as the description of religion itself. In this context, explaining “what musical sound stands for” may be a problematic and complex issue for researchers in terms of religious music. Analyzing metaphors in terms of music practices seems like one of the most proper ways to hold the meaning of religious music and its function in rituals.

People use metaphors for music in two ways: to explain their experience of music and to give meaning to music, and to make the music in accordance to ideas or beliefs. In this context, music as practical consciousness affects the metaphors used for musical practices as discursive consciousness; but there is also a sense in which metaphors as discursive consciousness affect musical practices by creating appropriate sound for the ideas or belief about music. The clearest appearance of this issue can be seen in religious music, which is connected with supernatural and transcendental beings. People’s discourses affect the musical sound in the same way as the musical sound affects people's view of religious practices and discourses about it. TCCM is one of the examples of the way metaphor-music relationship occurs in terms of religion and ritual. Social actors in this scene, consciously or unconsciously, are aware of this relationship and shape their musical practices according to these ideas, or these ideas shape their musical practices in religious rituals.

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Shift and Transformation in Salento: Investigating Change in the Polyphonic Structure and Performance Practice of *Canti Polivocali* in Southern Puglia[1]

ABSTRACT
This paper will focus on documenting change and transformation of polyphonic singing in the Salento region of lower Puglia (southern Italy), based on a comparative analysis of early field recordings and recently collected materials. Cantipolivocali ("multi-voiced songs"), the repertoire of vocal polyphony distinct to the Salento region, was once widely practiced throughout the region with subregional musical dialects and a rich repertory of local variants. This rich musical activity was captured in early field recordings by the first major wave of researchers in the field, notably between the mid-1950s to late 1960s by ethnomusicologists Diego Carpitella, Alan Lomax, Gianni Bosio, and Clara Longhini. After mass emigration and significant changes in traditional music's positioning in contemporary Italian culture, the tradition of this singing in Salento has shifted considerably in both its polyphonic structure and how it is situated in cultural spaces. By comparing recordings of the aforementioned early collections with field recordings recently collected by the author through analysis, this paper will aim to document these changes and identify the significant transformations of cantipolivocali in Salento.

KEYWORDS
Polyphony
Vocal music
Salento
Italy
Puglia
Comparative analysis

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What is the *Salento* region? What is Salentine Polyphony?

The Salentine peninsula, often referred to as *Salento* locally, is a sub-peninsula that occupies the southern half of Puglia, located at the southernmost region of Italy's mainland. *Salento* is home to a rich musical culture, including trance rituals and related dance traditions, influence from the Greek and Albanian minorities of the region, archaic sacred chants and rural polyphonic singing.

Due to economic instability in the 20th century, and particularly after the Second World War, the region of Puglia (as well as most of southern Italy) experienced a mass exodus of its people to major cities in in northern Italy, Europe, and the new world. This history of migration greatly impacted the transmission of traditional music in Puglian rural life, which diminished immensely as these rural societies began to decline or disappear altogether. The transmission process of music to succeeding generations was significantly interrupted, as the carriers of traditional music left their homelands and assimilated into the countries they left for in search of a new life. Nevertheless, since the 1990s, Salento has witnessed a growing resurgence and reclaiming of its regional folk musics - most notably, the *pizzica*, a repertoire of folk dances with musical accompaniment rooted in ancient healing rituals that utilized rhythm and movement to induce therapeutic trance (Santoro 2009). As *pizzica* developed its own international audience, many local musicians became increasingly interested in the folk traditions of the region beyond the *pizzica,* and thusly these musicians set out to study, revive, and perform lesser-known regional musics. This included the music of local minorities, sacred songs, balladry, archaic stylings of love songs and serenades, and polyphonic singing. Notably, this has led to the animation of a folklore renaissance within the region, in which its folk culture is valued as an avatar of regional identity. This resulted in the creation of a local movement where these local styles and genres were performed and disseminated through media and young generations, which allowed researchers and scholars greater access to the traditions.

Salentine polyphonic song, often referred to locally as *canti polivocali* (Italian, 'multi-voiced songs') or *canti alla stissa* (Salentine dialect, literally 'songs sung in the same manner'), is the repertory of acapella multipart songs unique to the Salento region that is performed in many cultural contexts (social gatherings, work in the fields,

domestic spaces, harvesting, rituals). This genre of music is traditionally sung in three parts, and can be described as being fundamentally a musical dialogue between two melodic lines, supported by a choral drone as a bass line (either rhythmic or pedal). Two-part songs are also common, and are performed in the same manner but without the choral drone. Two-part songs are often melodically and rhythmically simpler, and typically less strict in the configuration of the voices (number of voices per part). Among contemporary singers, however, songs are not always in two or three parts, and can be performed with a variety of modifications to this foundational structure, with additional voices adding textural density by imitating the main melody with semi-improvised variants: this will be discussed with a selected example in the analysis section of this paper.

One of the most prolific collections of polyphonic singing in Salento was the result of research conducted by Alan Lomax and Diego Carpitella in 1954 (Lomax & Carpitella, 2002) as they traversed different regions of Italy collecting little-known traditional musics of that time. This work arguably initiated a wave of ethnomusicological interest in Salento, and consequently Italian researchers continued to collect and analyze locals musics in this region. In the fall of 2015, I began to conduct my own field research, eager to encounter and collect the polyphonic singing I had been studying from these early collections. Optimistically believing in the romanticized notion of a preserved musical heritage, I was attempting to identify polyphonies and performance practice akin to the findings of these early researchers. Instead, I discovered that multipart singing had transformed significantly, in both its polyphonic structure and the cultural contexts and spaces that it is practiced in. Through a comparative analysis of early materials and recently collected materials, one can identify a correspondence between how the song form has changed in practice and the cultural factors that lead to those changes, namely the societal spaces of gender, ritual, and work, and how the dissolution of those spaces dispersed these songs into other spheres of Salentine society that led to the reconfiguration of their polyphonic structure.

An Analytical Framework for Italian Polyphony, and its Regional Classification

When discussing regional practices of polyphonic singing, scholars sometimes use language models (Jordania, 2006; Shetuni, 2011) to deconstruct how local traditions

may belong to a wider family of similar local traditions. Theoretically, a specified musical language would generally retain defined musical characteristics that are shared within the dialects, and these can be identified as the core musical components (the fundamental structure) of a polyphonic singing tradition: the musical dialects, alternatively, would be the regional variations of the fundamental structure, often adding upon or modifying the characteristic polyphonic form.

Some issues arise, however, in the application of this type of model to Italian folk polyphonies. Scholars who utilize this language-dialect model often deal with folk traditions that fit very well within the confines of this method of analysis, and in fact the confines of identifying a common polyphonic structure of a musical culture enriches the investigation and analyses of the regional variations of that structure. This, however, is quite problematic when one attempts to identify a musical language framework that deconstructs musical dialects of Italian polyphonic song: the musical characteristics that unify all the regional dialects require significant further investigation, and any dialectology should be subject to frequent review and deeper research that considers the contemporary remodelings of traditional music in Italy. The most unifying musical element of Italian folk polyphony is, arguably, the tonal influence[2] of Western art music observable in many regional styles of singing (and, indeed, this is observable in Salento): however, even this is problematic, as it is a flawed concept that does not suitably encompass the underlying continuum of regional dialects in Italian folk polyphony.

For musical analysis, defined regional classifications may not necessarily consider the concept of 'transformation' in the transmission and performance practices of a singing tradition, relying on a certain stagnancy in a tradition's shaping over time that determines a regional musical character. This is due to the insinuation of classifying variations of polyphonic structures by region, in that those variations can be absolutely defined by their geographic situation. The shift and flux of those defined forms, thusly, can undermine the applied theory used for regional classification. This paper will look particularly at a prototype musical dialect map,

[2] Italian vocal polyphonies can be described to have a tendency to use consonant and parallel harmonies (mostly thirds, sixths), with bass lines that predominantly centre on the tonic and dominant degrees.

devised by Alan Lomax and Diego Carpitella from their aforementioned collection, to describe regional variation in Italian polyphonic song. Components of that map act as a framework for comparative analysis between older and newer materials collected in Salento.

Notable Early Field Collections of Polyphonic Singing in the Salento Region: Identifying Musical Dialects

As previously mentioned, the Lomax and Carpitella collection was a significant contribution to the academic investigation of folk music in Italy. This collection was particularly important for two primary reasons: a) it had been conducted when there was still significant traditional music activity in particular regions of southern Italy immediately before major waves of post-World War II emigration; and b) it was one of the earliest and most influential large-scale survey collections that set foundational groundwork for future research in Italian ethnomusicology. Based on his research, Lomax devised a general regional framework of Italian folk music: he identified four major regional divisions, which have been recognized as musical dialects by later ethnomusicologists: Northern, Central, Southern (including Sicily), and Sardinia. There was an observed dichotomy of Northern and Southern folk musics, in which the south retained modes, performance practices, instrumentation, genres and vocal styles reflective of its history (influx of Balkan peoples throughout history, domination by Greeks and Arabs), while the north was musically closer to Italy's continental neighbours, and was musically more choral and more reliant on Western harmony. Central Italy was branded as a transitional zone between the polyphonic, tonal north and the monophonic, modal south. In my view, this mapping of Italian traditional music is a prototype for regional classification, offering a model to investigate and craft a dialectology through comparative analysis.

In the years following Lomax's expeditions, in-depth fieldwork was conducted throughout Italy. The region which this paper focuses on was a location of particular interest to Italian ethnomusicologists, folklorists, and anthropologists. Of particular note in regards to polyphonic singing, Gianni Bosio and Clara Longhini in 1968 (Bosio & Longhini, 2007) conducted an in-depth survey of the diversity of local musical traditions in the Salento region. This collection was an invaluable resource for studying polyphonic song in the region as it contains detailed data documented

in journals and field notes, proving to be an invaluable resource for analysis, and to inform ongoing research. Similar structural characteristics of Salentine polyphony can be observed between Bosio's and Longhini's collection and Lomax's collection, which will be detailed later in this paper through comparative analysis of select examples.

Although broadly defined regional classification can be simplistic and thus problematic for in-depth analysis due to its approximation (and the consequential inattention to exceptional local styles), it does provide a framework to understand how specific regions fit into a larger body of field collections. Supported by the materials of both Lomax's and Bosio's and Longhini's collections, Puglia, and Salento in particular fit broadly within Lomax's regional classification. These earlier materials provide evidence for several key musical characteristics attributed to the "southern" musical dialect: a leaning towards modal scales instead of tonal (western harmonic); a certain timbre and quality of the voice; the use of ornamentation and free rhythm; a cultural connection to specific spaces of ritual and performance practice; engendering of songs, which were performed and transmitted in strictly gendered spaces; and a certain strictness in performing a fixed configuration of vocal parts. These musical characteristics will act as criteria for comparative analysis between select sample materials further on in this paper.

The Three-Part Structure of Salentine Polyphony

The polyphonic style of Salentine polyphony can be typically described as a 3-part texture, in which the upper two voices engage in a musical dialogue of mostly parallel thirds (or move in similar motion, with occasional fourths or fifths), supported by a choral drone that can be sung rhythmically with the same text underlay or as a textless pedal drone.

The voices can be isolated within the polyphonic structure and detailed by their musical characteristics and melodic behaviour in the following chart:

Vocal Part	Translation	Musical Function and Behaviour
1. *La prima voce*	"First voice"	Solo voice which leads each verse Sings the main melody, within a limited range Highly ornamental Can be a solo voice, or several voices
2. La seconda voce/ Contra voce	"Second voice" / "Contrapuntal/counter voice" (lit. "*against the voice*")	Upper harmony, moving in parallel or similar motion to the *prima voce* Highly ornamental; this ornamentation is semi-improvised and could be (or not be) imitative of the first voice's ornamentation, or independent of it Traditionally one voice Can have more melodic freedom than the *prima voce*
3. Il basso/ Bordone	"Bass," or "Drone"	Drone part, sung with the most voices (typically, not always); the most strict of the three parts, no improvisation or variation Drone can be sung on the tonic throughout, or switch between the tonic and the dominant degrees When the drone switches between the tonic and dominant degrees, sliding is a characteristic dynamic Drone is sung in one of two ways; either with the text underlay of the words sung by the other two parts, or as a textless drone on the syllable "Ah." Songs of the latter type are usually free in rhythm and melodic form for the other two voices, while they are more rhythmically strict for the former

The following two transcriptions are two notable examples of 3-part polyphony in Salento, from the field collections of the aforementioned early research of Lomax, Carpitella, Bosio and Longhini, followed by some basic analysis. This analysis is meant to plainly illustrate the fundamental components of the traditional three-part structure of Salentine polyphonic song.

- Example 1, *La Carrozza è Già Arrivata* (**transc. & audio ex. 1**), recorded by Alan Lomax and Diego Carpitella in 1953 in Martano (Puglia):
    - Sung by women; high vocal production and timbre, ornamented with the use of vibrato in the *prima voce* and *seconda voce*
    - Most voices singing the *bordone*; no ornamentation, variation, melodic freedom, or use of vibrato. Drone switches between tonic and dominant degrees; characteristic slides in between these two pitches. Follows the upper voices, and supports the musical dialogue of the *prima voce* and *seconda voce*
    - Compound meter; rhythmically strict, simple text underlay
    - Typical altering of the fourth degree; switch between Lydian to Ionian modes
    - Final interval on the tonic and submediant degrees. The *bordone* and *prima voce* come together on the tonic at the end of each phrase.
    - Simple textural movement; brief instances of simple contrapuntal movement between the bordone and *prima voce/seconda voce* at resolution of phrases.

- The second example *Ci Dice ca Livornu non è Bella* (**transc. & audio ex. 2**), recorded by Gianni Bosio and Clara Longhini in Torrepaduli (Puglia), in Summer 1968:
    - Free rhythm, framed by short and long pulses lead by the *prima voce* and *seconda voce*
    - Highly ornamental melodic phrases in the solo voices (*prima* and *seconda*)
    - Sung by men; high register of the voice, open-throated timbre, use of vibrato in the solo voices (*prima* and *seconda*)

- Strict vocal configuration; two soloists with relative melodic and rhythmic freedom, being supported by a choral pedal drone; drone changes between tonic and dominant degrees, performing characteristic slides between these pitches
- Lydian mode; occasional alteration of the fourth degree
- Parallel and similar motion predominantly in thirds and fourths, with more independent movement at the resolutions of each phrase.
- More complex musical dialogue between the *prima voce* and *seconda voce*; antiphonal entries before the second verse, and imitative phrasing of the *prima voce* by the *seconda voce* at the resolutions.
- Textural movement is more elaborate in the upper voices; oblique motion against the choral pedal drone.

With these two sample materials, one can identify some notable key musical features and aspects of performance practice, that have been subject to change over time:

➔ **The engendering of song**: These songs, like many examples of earlier field recordings, had a practice of gendered performance, in that the men and women sang their own repertoires. While many core elements of the polyphonic vocal organization remain the same between men's and women's songs, some details in vocal quality, rhythmic gestures, and the themes sung in the texts are representation of the gendered space in which a repertory is situated.[3]

➔ **Modality**: Both examples (particularly Ex.2) demonstrate traditional modality in Salentine folk music, particularly the use of the Lydian mode, and/or alterations on the fourth degree between phrases, resulting in a typical modal modulation between the Ionian and Lydian modes (Ex. 1).

➔ **Rhythmic character**: The free-rhythm meter present in Ex. 2 is peculiar when compared to the simpler compound and duple meters that are traditional in most Italian folk musics (as in Ex. 1). The use of long and short

[3] Despite the topic of song engendering linked to certain repertories, performance practices, and aesthetics is important, this is a large topic that is beyond the scope of this paper's analysis.

pulses, a flexibility of phrases, and pauses are common rhythmic characteristics.

- ➔ **Elaborate ornamentation**: This is present and frequent throughout in all the voices except the bass, which is performed in a very straightforward manner without any variants.
- ➔ **Stylistic vocal timbre**: The use of a controlled vibrato and an open chest voice is distinctive in these early field recordings. Singers, and especially the soloists, have technical prowess and control over their voices.
- ➔ **Strict 3-part vocal configuration**: Singers are designated to sing their respective part, without any change or variants of those singers or parts. A certain aesthetic of movement and style is utilized for the execution of ornaments, and the addition of heterophonic variants or additional voices is not present.

Travelling to Nardò, the Expanded Polyphonic Structure, and Comparative Analysis

In the autumn of 2015, I went to the Salento region to investigate polyphonic singing in its current form. I perused archived documents and utilized older field recordings as a reference point for investigating specific locales that fit into my research interests. Most importantly, I perused a recently published work conducted by the local folklorist and musician Dario Muci (Muci, 2008), who collected and revitalized old songs sung by a group of sisters (referred in his work, and also by locals, as *le sorelle Gaballo,* transl.. 'the Gaballo sisters') from the musically active town of Nardò, some short distance to the South of the regional capital of Lecce. Muci's analysis of these sisters and their songs, and the subsequent recordings of their polyphonic singing, was so distinctly different from what I had investigated from the previously mentioned collections, that I felt compelled to seek them out. The quality of their voices, the multi-voiced structure of their polyphony, the performance practices and spaces these songs inhabited, the flexibility and fluidity of freedom in their interpretation of the Salentine song - all this struck me in the most remarkable way, enticing me to investigate their repertoire more deeply. I engaged in the recording of the Gaballo sisters, in hopes that after an intensive independent study and analysis I could muster some kind of cohesion between the Salentine polyphonic song I had

come to know through recordings, and the songs that I had been intensely experiencing in a very different Salento.

What I came to realize, instead, was that I needed to refrain from aligning the repertoire I was collecting with what I had anticipated I would find. Instead, it was imperative that I approach my fieldwork collection as an ongoing narrative of musical change in Salentine polyphonic song that is traceable to the local resurgence and reclamation of folk music in Salento, and the resultant renewed interest among Salentine people that thusly influences the transmission of these songs. The older rigid structure of the song had collapsed, along with the strictness of the cultural spaces to which that structure belonged – spaces of gender, rural work, and ritual. Without these cultural constraints to hold the tradition in place, the singing shifted beyond those spaces and thus rendered noteworthy shifts in performance practice. Analysis of recently collected material form Salento illustrates some of these changes in the polyphonic structure: frequent mixed chorus singing instead of gendered; the flexibility of interpretation for each part and improvisational treatment of those parts in place of strict voicing; and heterophonic variants of multiple singers singing melodic lines instead of soloists. In view of the fact that the singing is now less conservative in its contemporary form, there also exists a diverse array of vocal stylings and timbres of voices, and the density of the texture and movement of voices has changed as well.

- The following is an example *Quannu te Llai la Faccia la Matina*, (**transc. & audio ex. 3**), recorded by the author in Nardò in the autumn of 2015, illustrating some of these changes:
    - The presence of additional voices to the foundational 3-part structure; mixed chorus
    - A tenor voice providing spontaneous, semi-improvised ornamental variations of the main melody, highly ornamental, and intentionally joining different voices at specific musical phrases (*bordone, prima voce, seconda voce*), rendering uncharacteristic voice-crossing, and a high level of musical freedom and personal expression.
    - A bass voice below the bordone, which imitates the main melody (with variants, semi-improvised). Because of the strictness of the

drone and the melodic freedom of this bass line, this performance practice renders voice crossing and notable dissonances in the two bass parts.

Structurally, there are key components from this example we can extract that directly contrast with the previous example:

- Ungendered singing; diversity of vocal timbres; forward placement of the voice, performed with or without vibrato, that is open-throated or tightly projected
- Additional voices providing variants of the main melody, in both the upper and lower octaves where the melodic lines occur
- Remarkable level of melodic freedom in certain voices; expressive and semi-improvised variants, which enhance the musical interaction of each of the parts
- Voice crossing between the "additional" voices and the "traditional voices:" the variant of the main melody in the bass crosses with the *bordone*, while the variant of the main melody in the upper octave joins the *bordone*, *prima voce*, and *seconda voce* at various points, and these singers are compelled by spontaneous creativity and interpretation that changes with each verse
- Similar motion between the *prima voce* and *seconda voce*: the variant bass also sings similar and parallel movement against this musical dialogue as the lowest voice
- Dissonant intervals in various phrases, often as the multi-voiced result of the independent variants and voice-crossing of the "additional" voices

Concluding Thoughts

Based on comparative analyses of these select materials, one can see compelling musicological evidence of transformation in Salentine polyphonic singing. One can observe changes in both the polyphonic structure and performance practice, and the relationship of those changes to corresponding changes in the cultural spaces that

traditionally embodied this repertory. This is most evident in the fact that these songs are not sung in their original cultural contexts of work, ritual, and social gathering that would have traditionally been gendered in rural society. This has led to some noteworthy changes in performance practice that affect the sound and aesthetic of this singing. One can observe that contemporary singing contrasts significantly the singing documented from these cultural spaces of the past. In addition to the differentiation of vocal timbres between past singers and contemporary singers, the rules of social organization that affect the polyphonic structure have also changed, in particular with regards to the relationship between soloists (melodic lines) and chorus (drone, bass). I was able to identify such changes by deconstructing the examples consulted from Bosio's and Lomax's collections, identifying the social organization between the soloists and chorus, and then using the observations gleaned from the analysis to drawn comparisons with more contemporary renderings of the songs. A case in point is Ex. 3, where one can observe the absence of attention to the customary organization of soloists and chorus. The result is developments of a fascinating nature in the polyphonic structure. Most notable is an increased textual complexity, with the presence of heterophonic variants of the main melodic lines in different octaves, and the crossing of parts in the voices. The absence of attention to the customary organization of soloists and a chorus has lead to fascinating developments in the polyphonic structure. The developments include textural complexity, such as heterophonic variants of the main melodic lines in different octaves and voice crossing of parts. What this reveals is that the former strictness of the polyphonic song form has become flexible and open to change, patently because the contexts that preserved the traditional form and structure of the songs was dismantled. This dismantling thusly led to reconfigurations of the musical form. As such, one can argue that the Salentine polyphonic structure and performance practice has been remodeled and reinvented in contemporary cultural spaces. While this provides compelling comparative analysis, further investigation of more materials and deeper analysis is required to document this transformation, and the factors that contribute to that transformation.

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AUDIO EXAMPLES:

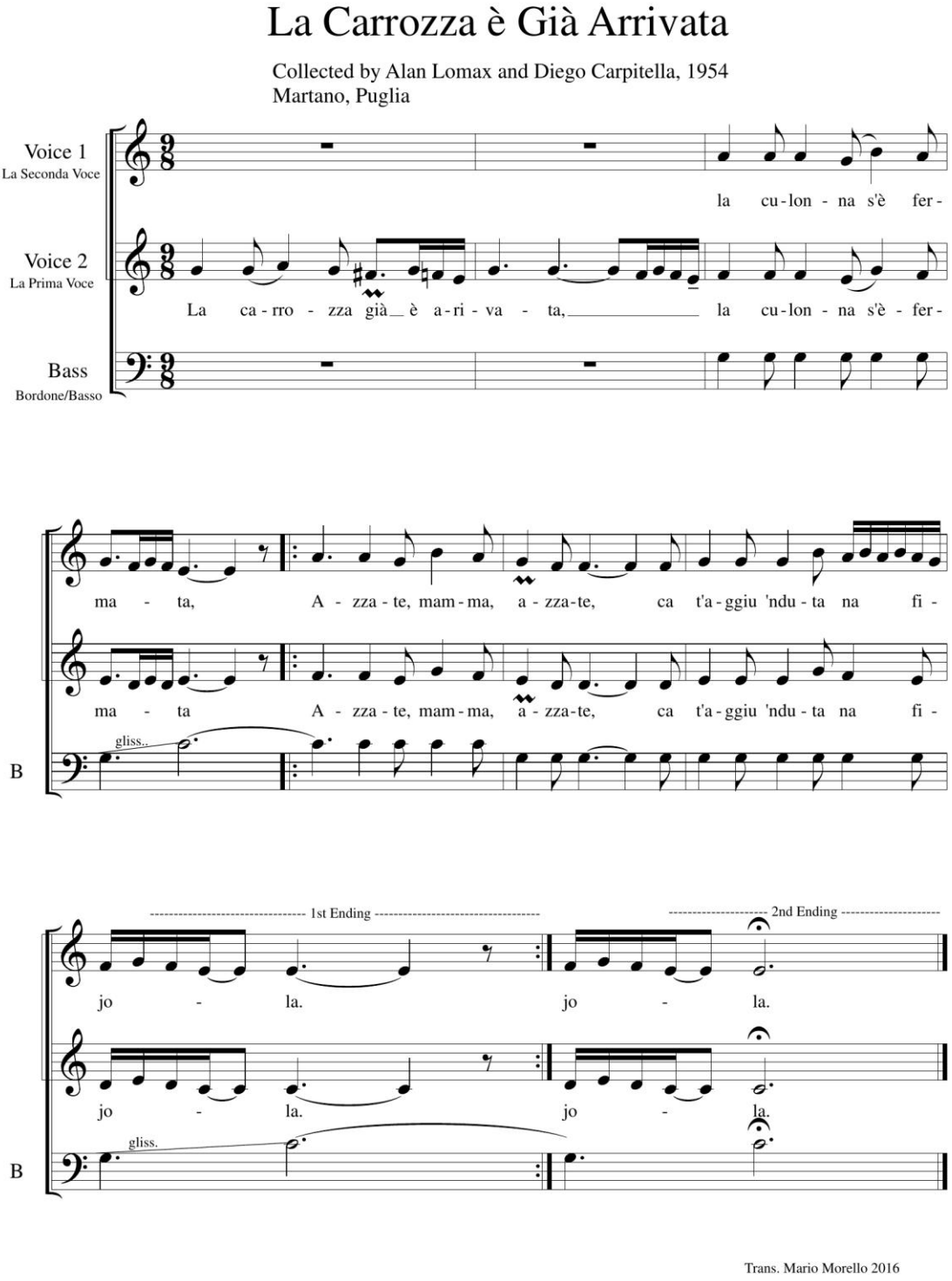
1. Lomax, Alan. (1954) La Carrozza è Già Arrivata. (The carriage has arrived already.) Recorded in Martano, Italy. August 13, 1954. Cambridge, Mass.: Rounder Records.

2. Bosio, Gianni. (1968). Ci dice ca Livornu non è Bella? (Who says that Livorno isn't beautiful?) Recorded in Torrepaduli, Italy. August 15, 1968..Calimera: Edizioni Kurumuny.

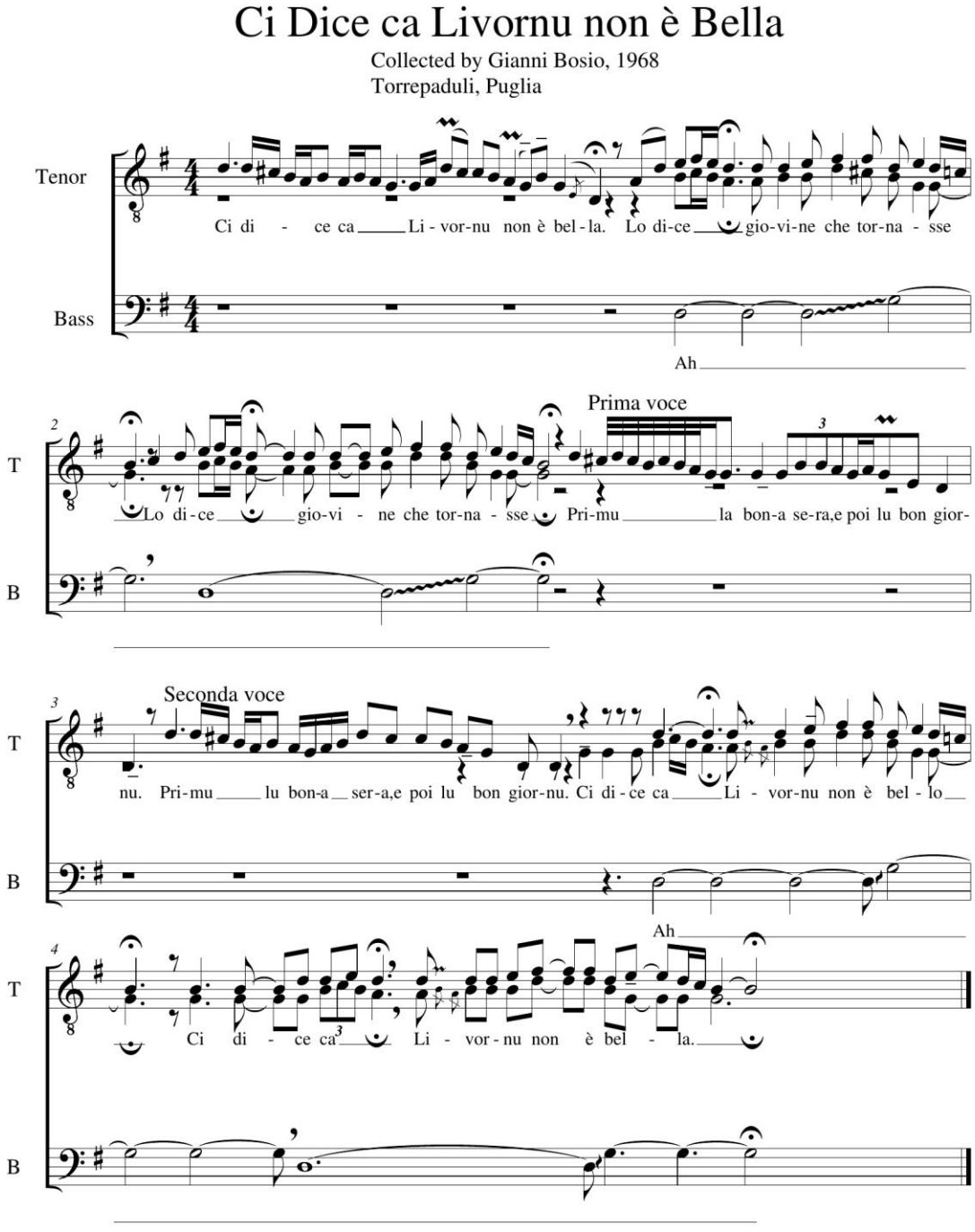
3. Morello, Mario. (2015). Quannu te Llai la Faccia la Matina. (When you wash your face in the morning.) Recorded in Nardò, Italy. October 29, 2015. Toronto, Canada: Private Collection.

APPENDIX

EXAMPLE 1. "La Carrozza è Già Arrivata" ("*The carriage has arrived already"*)

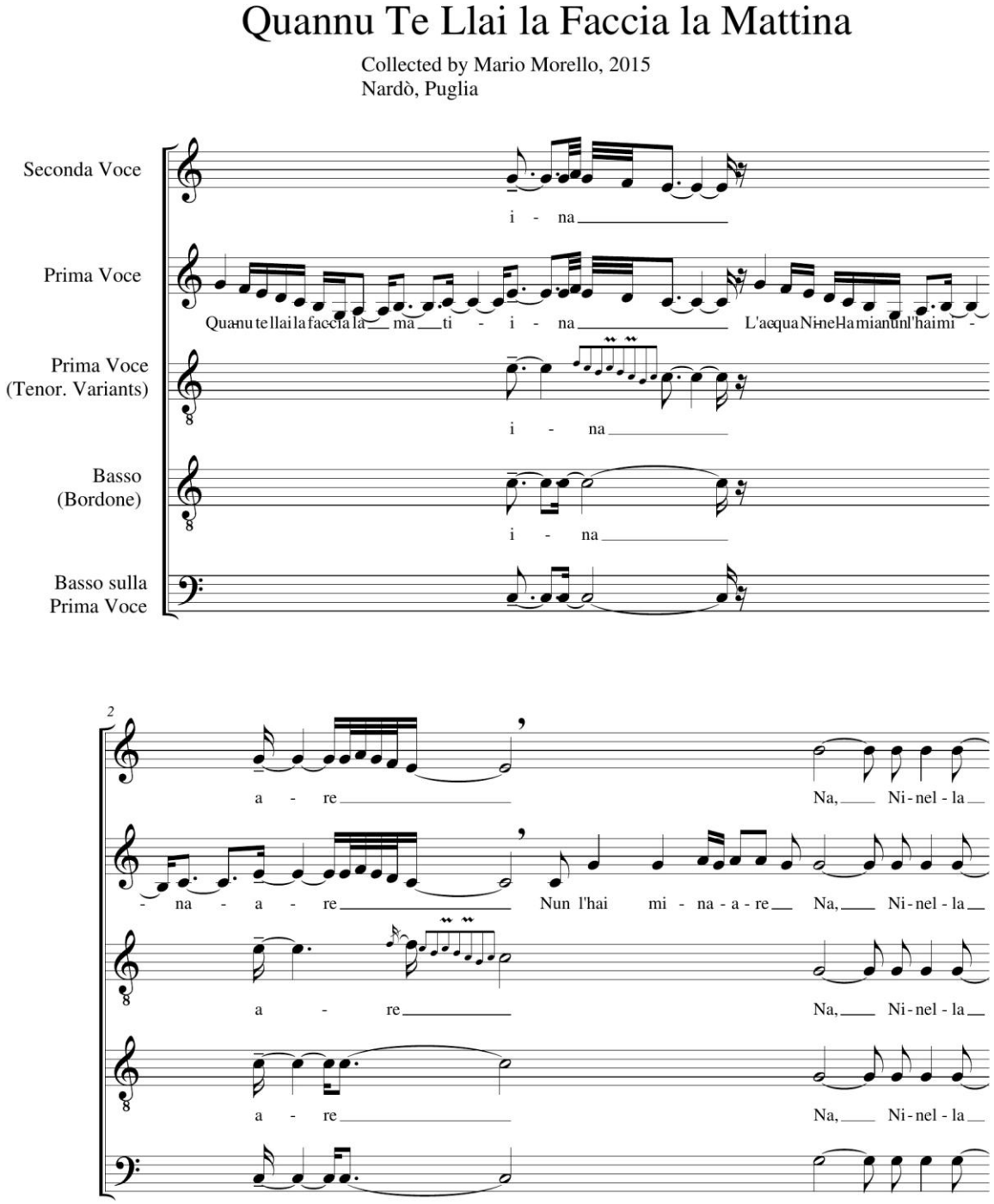


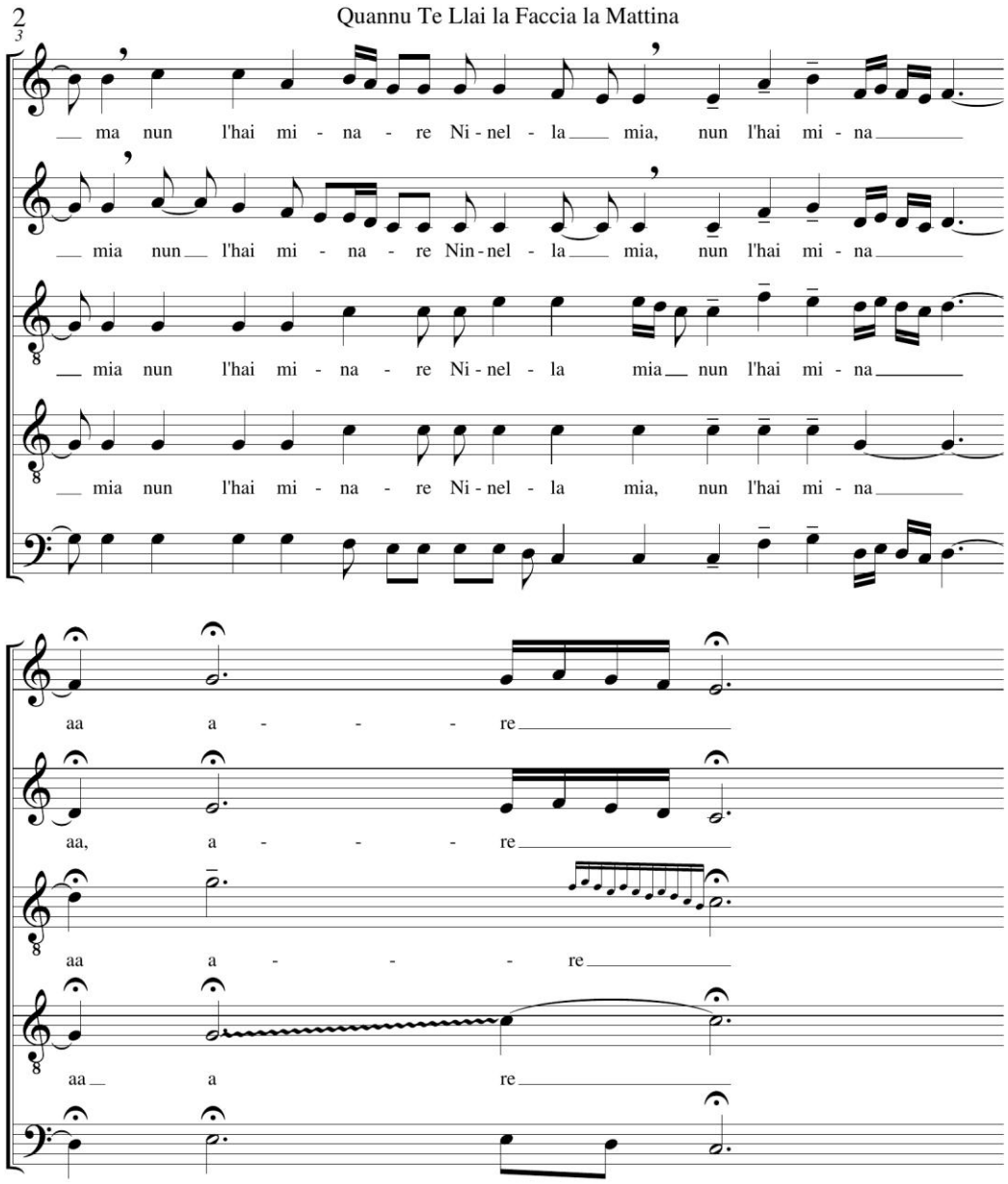
EXAMPLE 2. “Ci Dice ca Livornu non è Bella” (“*Who says that Livorno isn’t beautiful?*”)



Trans. Mario Morello. 2016

EXAMPLE 3. "Quannu Te Llai la Faccia la Mattina" (*"When you wash your face in the morning"*)





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