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Özgün Makale

2000'li Yıllarda Yunan-Türk Müzikal Yakınlaşması ve Osmanlı Müzikal Mirası*

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Öz

Bu makale bazı sosyal bilimcilerin geçtiğimiz on yılda "Yunanistan-Türkiye Yakınlaşması" olarak adlandırdıkları süreci müzik kültürü açısından inceliyor. Burada sunulan malzeme mülâkatlardan, gazetelerden, konferans kataloglarından ve CD metinlerinden toplanan verileri içeriyor. Bu makale için Temmuz 2007 ve Mart 2008 tarihleri arasında dokuz Yunan ve altı Türk müzisyenle/müzikologla görüşme yapıldı. Makale, Osmanlı müzik mirası algılarını, Yunanistan ve Türkiye'de ulusal kimliklerin oluşumu ve ifade edilmesi, geçmiş algıları ve kolektif hafıza ve 1980'lerden itibaren meydana gelmiş olan toplumsal ve siyasi değişimlerin bağlamında irdeliyor. Belli bir uzunluk limitini aşmamak ve tutarlığın sağlanması adına, pop müzik ve diğer eğlence müzikleri makale kapsamına alınmamıştır. Çalışmanın ana teması, Osmanlı şehir müziği üzerine söylemlerdir; buna ek olarak rebetiko ve smyrneiko türlerine de yer verilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Yunan-Türk ilişkileri • Yakınlaşma • Osmanlı müziği • Rum bestekârlar • Geleneksel müzik

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Original Article

The Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement and Ottoman Musical Heritage in the 2000s*

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Abstract

This article explores the process of what some social scientists in recent decades have called the Greek-Turkish Rapprochement from the perspective of musical culture. The material presented here consists of data collected mainly from interviews, newspapers, conference catalogues, and CD texts. Nine Greek and six Turkish musicians/musicologists were interviewed between July 2007 and March 2008. This article investigates the perceptions of Ottoman musical heritage, situating these within the context of the formation and assertion of national identities, perceptions of the past, and collective memory, as well as the social and political changes that have taken place in Turkey and Greece beginning in the 1980s. For the sake of brevity and consistency, pop music and other kinds of entertainment music have been left out. Whereas the article concentrates mainly on discourses over Ottoman urban music, it also addresses in less detail other genres such as rebetiko and Smyrneiko.

Keywords

Greek-Turkish relations • Rapprochement • Ottoman music • Rum composers • Traditional music

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Winds of Change[2]

The Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement is an on-going process, wherein both countries look into their own pasts to confront their Ottoman imperial heritage. This period of intensive musical exchange and collaboration was instigated by Greece in the 1990s when they began to investigate the Eastern constituents of their identity and turned to Turkey with the belief that they could be found there. In September 1996, immediately after the elections in Greece and eight months after the Imia/Kardak crisis[3] in the Aegean, a concert by a group of Turkish and Greek musicians took place at the Herodion Theater in Athens; its great success surprised even its organizers, given the delicate political situation with Turkey.[4] Almost a decade later, Lambros Liavas, the concert's organizer, stated:

> The Greek are in dire need of hearing the music of the East; I mean the non-tempered intervals, the modal music. In general, the Greek have not cast off their Eastern side; even if we have tried to belong to the West and embarked on a one-way civilization (*monodromos politismos*). (Lambros Liavas, professor of ethnomusicology at the Department of Music Studies at the University of Athens and the former director (1992–2014) of the Museum of Greek Folk Musical Instruments, Athens, February 22, 2008)

Greek-Turkish relations entered a new phase in the aftermath of two earthquakes: the first one hit the Marmara region of Turkey in August 1999 and caused considerable human loss and economic damage, and the second one happened in Athens in September 1999. These natural disasters created feelings of empathy between the peoples of the two countries based on the notion of being neighbors and sharing the same geography and destiny. Millas (2004, pp. 53-67) noted that, as opposed to the negative image of 'other,' which literary texts had predominantly presented as historical in character, a positive image of other in the period of the earthquakes was created in both countries and presented as real, concrete, and alive. In the 1990s, Turkey's wish for accession to the EU led to intensified relations with non-Muslim groups in the country. At the same time, this had to do with a revival of interest (more specifically in institutions and the multiethnic, multi-religious, and multilingual populations) in the history of the Ottoman Empire regarding mostly its later period. Within this context, new academic literature appeared particularly exploring the Population Exchange of 1922 between Turkey and Greece and its consequences.[5] A

2 The term is inspired by Nur Batur's article (2003).

3 The Imia incident brought Turkey and Greece to the verge of armed conflict during the last days of January 1996. It was the first time since the Greek-Turkish settlement of the Peace of Lausanne in 1923 that Turkey challenged the Greek sovereignty over parts of its land territory. http://www.hri.org/MFA/thesis/spring97/two_islets.html

4 The concert was composed of two parts: in the first part, the ensemble of the nay player Süleyman Erguner performed the music of the whirling dervishes (Mevlevi music), and in the second part Turkish and Greek musicians performed compositions of the well-known *Rum* musicians of the Ottoman Empire. The musicians who performed in the second part were Süleyman Erguner, Christos Tsiamoulis, Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, Hasan Esen, Socrates Sinopoulos, Özer Özel, Ahmet Sıtkı Cennet, Apostolos Tsardakas, Mustafa Doğan Dikmen, and Vasilis Vetsos.

5 For a brilliant work elucidating the everyday experience of being an Asia Minor refugee in Greece, see Hirschon (1998). Also, see Milas (2004), Aktar and Demirözü (2006).

plethora of novels and documentaries were produced on this theme (e.g., Yalçın, 1999). The word *mübadele* (exchange) became part of the collective consciousness and stood as a keyword for past coexistence, a sense of sharing the same lands, forced migration, and suffering, and perhaps a bit of guilt within the Turkish national conscience. On the other hand, as Lowenthal (1985, p. 62) rightly noted, the past is appreciated because it is over; for this reason it can be ordered and domesticated. With a population of around 2,000 today, the *Rum* minority in Istanbul has lost much of their vitality.

Anastassiadou and Dumont (2007, p. 206) aptly used the term *Ellinomania* ("the Greek craze") for the recent affection and fondness of the Turkish educated middle classes for *Rum* culture and more generally for Greek music, Greek gastronomy, and the sites of Greek Orthodox worship such as churches and sanctified springs.

Now let's look at how political scientists have evaluated the Rapprochement between Greece and Turkey in the post-earthquake atmosphere. According to a nationwide representative survey made in Turkey in 2001 regarding the Greek-Turkish conflicts, around 63% of respondents favored diplomatic negotiations as opposed to the use of military power (Çarkoğlu & Kirişçi, 2004). Evin (2004) asserted that the earthquakes did not mark the beginning of a new détente but had served to reinforce and accelerate a self-conscious process of gradual rapprochement that had already begun. According to Evin, the self-confidence, sense of security, and higher quality of life that Greece had achieved as a result of its own EU membership since 1981 enabled it to begin a process of rapprochement with Turkey. Furthermore, the need to promote a positive environment at home and in the region was reflected in Greece's support for the accession of Turkey to the EU. Likewise, Keridis (2001) observed that throughout the 1990s, modernist and reformist forces had come to the fore in Greek domestic politics, which supported reducing the state's role, opening Greek society to its multicultural origins, and internationalizing the economy. He further noted that the new Greece realized it was the only successor state of the Ottoman Empire to become a full member of the EU and wanted to play a leadership role in stabilizing the Balkans and Eastern Mediterranean, as well as in promoting the European vision in the region. This becomes rather interesting when seen in light of the view that the creation of nation-states in the Balkans (including Greece) was built on negating its Ottoman past and depicting its Ottoman legacy as alien (Todorova, 1996).

The aim of this article is to explore the musical fields that are in contention between the two countries and the strategies for referring to a shared Ottoman musical heritage.

How Did the Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement Begin?

This study does not address the migration of young and educated Greeks, professional musicians included, to Turkey in the aftermath of Greece's debt crisis that began in 2010. As such, the reader should keep in mind that the data in this

article was collected prior to the post-2010 period when practicing Greek musicians became visible in the public spaces of Turkish cities (primarily Istanbul). Regarding the history of the reciprocal flow of musicians between Greece and Turkey, between the 1930s-1960s were many instances in which a group of Turkish musicians gave a concert in Greece or certain Greek singers came to Istanbul for a concert or to record with Turkish musicians.[6] In those days, despite the lack of today's technology and easy flow of people and goods that undoubtedly had facilitated this rapprochement, aficionados could still acquire records and albums produced in the other country. So this process, which started in the late 1980s, did not in fact come after a total break-up of musical relations between the two countries.

The Experience of Rebetiko as a Catalyst of the Mutual Process of Discovery

The resurgence of *rebetiko* in Greece in the 1980s and in Turkey in the 1990s was crucial for stimulating the process being analyzed here. No consensus exists on the etymological origins of the term *rebetiko*, while the definition of its social context, its chronological limits, its classification as a folk song or popular song, and its cultural value have been the subject of dispute among critics (Gauntlett, 1982-1983). The loosely employed label *rebetiko* refers to urban songs (referred to as the Smyrna-style) that had been sung by the Greek-speaking singers living in the multicultural environments of major Ottoman cities (e.g., Smyrna and Constantinople) in the last decade of the 19th century till the population exchange of 1922, as well as to songs (referred to as Piraeus-style) sung by the marginalized people of the lower classes living in Athens at a later period.[7]

Investigating the nationalist construction of musical genres in Greek discourse, Risto Pekka Pennanen came up with an intriguing question: How come the so-called café music, which has a popular Ottoman music style, was placed in the same musical/cultural category as the Piraeus-style *rebetiko*, which is a more local and syncretic style? Likewise, the case of *Smyrneiko* (Smyrnean songs) indicates that not musical style but language has been the main criterion in identifying (or inventing) a genre as belonging to one's own musical tradition. In this respect, Pennanen (2004) challenged the nationalist construction of the S*myrneiko* genre, asserting that while a large part of Greek refugees' popular song repertoire was in Turkish, this was later forgotten and replaced with the myth of a separate Greek Smyrna repertoire. In the writings of

6 According to the account of his daughter, the renowned Turkish singer Hafız Kemalettin (Gürses) (1884-1939) gave a concert in Salonica in the 1930s. See the CD *Vasfını bu Resme Tertip Ettiler…Mevlithan, Gazelhan ve Hanende Hafız Kemal Bey,* prepared by Cemal Ünlü, Kalan Müzik, Istanbul, 2006. As an example to the cooperation of musicians from both countries, in the 1950s the renowned Greek clarinetist Tasos Halkias had made a concert tour with the Armenian oud player Hrant.

7 The distinction between the Smyrna and the Piraeus- styles is generally made with regards to instrumentation. Zelepos (2001, p. 61) observed that in the first recordings of what we categorize today as rebetiko music, the *Smryneiko* instrumentalization – violin as a melody instrument, oud, santur or kanun - was dominant. Whereas the Piraeus- style has been associated with the use of bouzouki. Regarding the Smyrna-Pireaus dichotomy, in his recent book Daniel Koglin (2015, p. 96) has noted that the differences were in instrumentation and playing technique rather than discrete sets of songs.

20th-century Greek history beginning with the 1950s, the nostalgic narrative of the commemorations of Hellenic Smyrna turned the city into a myth; hence, Smyrna was dissociated from its actual geographical location due to its privileged place in the Greek collective memory (Kechriotis, 2006).

Koglin (2016, p. 96) noted that not even musical traditions as profoundly rooted in Aegean culture as *rebetiko* or Ottoman artistic music can be regarded as a bridge between Greeks and Turks because they understand and use these traditions in different ways. In his research, Koglin asked various commentators from both countries whether Smyrna- or Piraeus-style songs were more typical of *rebetiko*. On average, Turkish listeners rated Smyrna-style songs as more typical of *rebetiko* than the Piraeus-style, whereas Greek listeners rated Piraeus-style songs as more typical. Koglin concluded that audiences in both countries defined *rebetiko* as the musical tradition of a minority; an ethnic minority in Turkey and a social minority in Greece. For Turkish aficionados, *rebetiko* represents a minority culture that reminds one of Ottoman multiculturalism and the tolerance of a bygone era, while for Greek listeners, it is an expression of social marginality, songs for lowlifes (pp. 98–99). Elsewhere, Koglin (2008, pp. 3–13) asserted that *rebetiko* had undergone a cultural shift insofar as it had been revalued by educated individuals in the middle and upper sectors of society, many of whom were in favor of social change.

Without a doubt, the resurgence of *rebetiko* music in Turkey has had much to do with the conscious recovery of the memory of Ottoman multiculturalism and the past Muslim-Christian coexistence. Musicologist Kaufman-Shelemay (1998) teaches that the role of lyrics and melodies is to encode memories of places, people, and past events, observing, "The songs are intentionally constructed sites for long-term storage of conscious memories from the past." The producer of the first *rebetiko* collections in Turkey in 1996 and 1997, Hasan Saltık noted that Turkish society's increased knowledge of the Population Exchange of 1922 had been both a catalyst for and a result of accepting the familiarity of *rebetiko* songs:

> Yes, the first *rebetika* album… nobody knew what *rebetika* was. The younger generation did not even know that a population exchange had taken place. When they saw in the CD texts that all of them [the *rebetika* musicians] were Rums from Istanbul, İzmir, and Bursa, they were surprised. What's that now? I remember that period very clearly. What's *rebetika*? These melodies are ours. (Hasan Saltık, music producer, owner of Kalan Müzik, July 28, 2007)

Corroborating this, Pappas (1999) wrote that the musical recordings of refugee musicians reflect a conscious agenda to reaffirm and preserve the refugees' perception of their own Greek-ness, referring to a separate identity built from the common recollections of the Ottoman past. The reception of *rebetiko* as an embodiment of Ottoman multiculturalism, however, does not automatically lead to perceiving it

as a music totally embedded in a familiar Anatolian culture. In particular, Turkish musicians who search for new sounds and styles have positively evaluated the innovative and exotic features of *rebetiko* and other genres of Greek music. The founder of the musical ensemble *İnce Saz* said:

> As far as I know, all musicians with an open mind and heart like Greek music and are inspired by it: their use of a harmony we don't have, variety of instruments, arrangement conceptualizations, use of percussive words in vocals, prosody, etc. (Cengiz Onural, Istanbul, December 7, 2007)

During the Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement, some commercial music producers recorded songs with bilingual (Turkish-Greek) lyrics based on the same melody. Muammer Ketencoğlu, a researcher and performer of *rebetiko* and folk music from Anatolia and the Balkans, criticized this approach for its emphasis on only the similarities:

> While trying to show the common aspects of the music of peoples who live together, emphasizing only the common aspects is insufficient, it doesn't explain... [it] leads to the idea that these people speak two different languages and believe two different religions, yet their music is almost the same; there is no such thing. Thus, I try to also display examples that highlight the differences. (Muammer Ketencoğlu, musician, Istanbul, 13.12.2007)

Rebetiko music has a dual nature for Turkish listeners: while the melodies and vocal improvisations (*gazel*s) that are mixed in with these songs relate primarily to a familiar musical idiom, the Greek lyrics have a foreign frame of reference due to being Greek. However, I think the presentation of *rebetiko* songs, at least in terms of CDs, changed from the 1990s to the 2000s. Let's look at the titles of two *rebetiko* collections produced by Ketencoğlu (1997) and Süer (2007). In the older one, the CD is titled İzmir ve *Istanbul'dan Yıllanmış Şarkılar* (Old Songs from İzmir and Istanbul) while the more recent one bears the title, *Aşk, Gurbet, Hapis ve Tekke Şarkıları* (Songs of Love, Exile, Prison, and Hashish). The first one appeals to listeners with its nostalgic connotation, creating and satisfying nostalgia. Unlike the first one, the later *rebetiko* collection is accompanied with a thick booklet that includes a text on the etymological origins of the word *rebetiko*, its history, and short biographies of famous *rebetiko* singers and composers, as well as the song lyrics, which were transliterated and partially translated into Turkish. Hence, the second one built on an already evoked interest yet conveyed further interest in increasing listeners' enjoyment and appreciation by providing them with the chance to sing; perhaps the interest is about transmitting the sounds of Greek.

In addition to language playing an important role in the familiar/unfamiliar duality, an interesting observation regarding the musical appeal of *rebetiko* in Turkey is to be noted:

> Greek *rebetiko* music has an element of flirtation (çapkınlık) that is lacking in Turkish music. Turkish art music is not flirtatious. It is more sober, because originally it was court music. It

> does not belong just to the people *(halka malolmamış)*, unlike *rebetiko*. (Stelyo Berber, *rebetiko* singer and researcher, Istanbul, July 18, 2007)

Regarding the interest in *rebetiko* on the other side of the Aegean, Papageorgiou (1997) stated that *rebetiko* and Greek traditional music had been rediscovered while experiencing their Dictatorship (1967-1974). According to this professor of Ethnomusicology and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Athens, the revival of interest in *rebetiko* came a bit later:

> In that period [around 1980] a return to *rebetiko* was initiated by students who were bored of *politiko tragudi* [songs with political content that were composed by musicians such as Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Loizos during the Dictatorship] as a turn to resistance songs with milder expression. (Lambros Liavas, Athens, February 22, 2008)

In this post-dictatorship climate, the rediscovery of *rebetiko* in Greece activated a broader interest in the idioms and styles of music from the Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East. More specifically, however, it generated a curiosity for Ottoman art and learned music, which was characterized by a multiethnic music-composition that welcomed musicians from various ethnic-religious backgrounds (Turkish Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, and Jewish; Jackson, 2013). Lambros Liavas highlights this relatively recent interest in Greece in the popular urban music of Ottoman Asia Minor, namely *Smyrneiko, mikrasiatiko tragudi* (Asia Minor tragedy), and *rebetiko*, by contrasting them to the musical genres and expressions promoted by the Dictatorship:

> The *dimotiko tragudi*, mostly from mainland Greece, was associated with the Dictatorship, *fustanella*, clarinet, *tsamikos*… But because we associated *Smyrneiko*, *mikrasiatiko tragudi*, and songs from Constantinople more with *rebetiko*, it was easier for us to accept them because they were also associated with the mentality of *rebetiko*, which is freer. Hence it reaches the young people. Whereas they are not interested in the clarinet…the so called Smyrnean song may be the cantata of the middle classes, however the *rebetiko* of the poorer classes…also has characteristics from rural music, hence what we call *Smyrneiko* is much more synthesized… café-chantan and café-aman music coexist. (Lambros Liavas, Athens, February 22, 2008)

With the coming to power of PASOK (the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement) in 1981 a new era began in Greek politics. PASOK's strategy, based on ideological eclecticism and its use of the long tradition of populism and nationalism, successfully unified the two political traditions that had been left out of power for 50 years – the old Venizelists and the National Liberation Front (leftists; Keridis, 2001, pp. 5–6). Supporting Liavas's differentiation between the musical genres and styles of the Dictatorship and the post-Dictatorship periods, the dance anthropologist Loutzaki (2001) observed that the Return to the Genuine Roots Movement, encouraged by the Metaxist rule (1936-1940) and the military junta (1967-1974), promoted certain folk dances that are danced together (i.e., *sirto*, *kalamatianos,* and *tsamikos*) as an

expression of Hellenic culture and civilization. She further noted that in the 1980s, the socialists who had come to power employed *zeybekiko* and *tsiftetelli** to bridge the gap between the authority and the public.

Having thus explored the political and the aesthetic aspects of the rediscovery of *rebetiko* in Greece and Turkey in the 1980s to 2000s, I would like to sketch the landmarks of the Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement.

From Delphi to Istanbul: Recovering Traditional Music That Had "Lost" Its Tradition

In 19th-century Greece, the nation-building process was coupled with romantic visions of the past that perpetuated a scheme of three successive phases of Greek national existence: ancient Greece, Byzantium, and modern Greece. Cultural continuity with ancient Greece was especially emphasized, which attributed a prestigious role to modern Greece as the successor of the founders of European civilization. Western polyphonic music was seen as an index of progress, while monophonic and nasal Eastern music was condemned as a remnant of Turkish yoke (*Tourkokratia*). Even church music had attempts at modernizing and introducing polyphony. The art of the Byzantine chant began being taught systematically at the Music Conservatory of Athens in 1904 with the transfer of a church cantor, Constantinos Psachos from Constantinople. Highly under the impact of German romantic nationalism, Greek musicians collected folk songs (*dimotika tragudia*); these were perceived to bear the national essence and linguistic testimonies of historical continuity (see Erol, 2015).

Ecclesiastical music and folk music constitute the two pillars of Greek music and converge under the term *paradosiaki musiki* (traditional music). A prominent Greek musician of the 20th century, Simon Karas is considered a key figure in the cultivation and dissemination of these two traditions in Greece. This nationalist-spirited founding father established the Society for the Dissemination of National Music in 1929 and the School for National Music, which educated generations of Greek musicians. The Society for the Dissemination of National Music contributed enormously to forming an awareness of the national repertoire of folk music collected through ethnographic research from almost every part of Greece. Its musical productions are generally accompanied by lyrics with strong nationalist discourse, which is exemplified in the following phrase:

> So, the message of our National ideals had to be passed on from one generation to the next by word of mouth, unnoticed by the conqueror and disguised as dance songs. (Georgios Konstanzos, from the CD booklet of *Constantinople, My Beloved City*. *Lamentations on the Fall of Constantinople*; n.d.)

The first sparks of Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement and the revived interest in Greece for Eastern *maqam* music go back to the mid-1980s. In 1985, the renowned Turkish *saz* (lute) player, Talip Özkan, was invited while living in Paris to a meeting on music, Greek-Islamic-European Medieval Music, organized by the European Cultural Center of Delphi[8] in Greece. The following excerpt from the published program of the meeting reveals the perception of traditional Turkish music in Greece at that time: "The traditional Turkish music of the coasts and inner parts of western Turkey is characterized by the amalgamation of musical traditions from all civilizations that developed in that space." A second landmark was a series of concerts during the same year that were organized to celebrate Athens being selected as the cultural capital of Europe. These international concerts were held at Palas, the prominent concert hall of Athens. The whirling dervishes of Konya were invited to perform at one of these concerts, which was an unprecedented performance in the Greek capital. The organizer of the concert, Lambros Liavas, said it was a very shocking experience for the audience, a source of great enthusiasm and admiration. The following year, the European Cultural Center of Delphi organized an international symposium on Greek music, called *Ancient, Byzantine, Modern, Traditional*. The titles of the papers presented at the symposium suggest an endeavor to create a forum for discussing the contemporary musical heritage of Greece within a discursive field that had been informed through an idealized schema of continuity of the Greek nation over time.[9]

I should mention that the participation of Agnès Agopian, an Armenian *kanun* (zither) player who also was then living in Paris, to this symposium accompanied by the violin player, Nurhan Hekimoğlu, is considered by many contemporary Greek musicians as a milestone of the Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement. Here, I must note that the Greek commentators interviewed for this study did not refer in the least to the beginning of this process as a mutual one or as a desire of discovering the totally exotic "other," but as a reintroduction of a cultural element into Greece which had been there in the recent past but had gotten lost or fated to be lost under the apparent conditions. Kallimopoulou (2006, p. 13; 2009) has noted that the urban music movement of the 90s *paradosiaka* (as she called the new interest among Athenian youth towards Eastern instruments) had the traits of a revival, yet without any revived tradition per se. Kallimopoulou further stated, "The focal point was the Eastern instruments not as bearers of a specific tradition but as potential enrichments of a broad context of music-making viewed as 'traditional.'"

Yet, simultaneously with a growing interest in the Sufi, folk, art, and musical traditions of Turkey, another process was at work regarding the continuity of Eastern

8 Delphi is a very important archaeological site in central Greece.

9 *The Appellations* Canon *and* Canonion *in Ancient Greek and Byzantine Music Theory, Survivals of the Demotic Song and the Byzantine Music in the* Rebetiko *of the Period of Anonymous Production (1850-1925), or The Rebetiko and the Ancient Greek Lyric Poets*.

instruments in Greece. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Asia Minor refugee musicians, namely the *oud* and *kanun* players as well as the masters who could produce these instruments through the knowledge acquired from their families and who had direct experience with the musical traditions of Istanbul and İzmir, began to pass away. Hence in the early 1980s, a fear of losing how to play the instruments and the art of instrument-making became dominant in the traditional music circles of Greece. The death in 1981 of Asia-Minor refugee *kanun* player, Nikos Stefanidis, who was the last representative of his art and had almost no students, was the most specific instance where this was realized. Lambros Liavas (from the February 22, 2008 interview) said, "After the death of Stefanidis, we really felt that the tradition of *kanun* was ending…an instrument with such an ancient history, the kanun of Pythagoras, an instrument with a Greek name still used by Turks and Arabs, 'the *kanun.* "'

One of the key persons in this process of reintroducing the "lost" elements of the traditional musical arts was undoubtedly the late Greek musician, Nikiforos Metaxas. Metaxas first came to Istanbul in 1982. In 1984, he became a student of the prominent *nay* player, Niyazi Sayın.[10] In 1985, he was financed and appointed by the European Cultural Center of Delphi to study Turkish music, learn *kanun* playing, and bring his knowledge and accumulations back to Greece. In Metaxas's words, "I wanted to reinforce the traditional music in Greece, and the best way was to ask Turkey's help."[11] Hence, beginning in the mid-1980s, young Greek musicians started to visit Metaxas in Istanbul and come into contact with master Turkish musicians, buying instruments, music scores, and CDs. Christos Tsiamoulis,[12] instructor of *oud* and traditional music theory at the Music Conservatory of Athens, commented on this process of intense mobility and learning, "We understood that we had to learn what we thought we knew."[13] I would not exaggerate to say that Metaxas became a bridge between the musicians of Greece and Istanbul, initiating a mutual flow of musicians that would become even more intense in the 1990s.

Many young Greek musicians heard the music of the Ottoman Empire for the first time at the concerts of the music ensemble *Bosphorus*, founded in 1986 by Nikiforos Metaxas, who brought together much-respected representatives of this music: İhsan Özgen, Reha Sağbaş, Erol Deran, Hasan Esen, and Arif Erdebil, all known for their classical style.

10 Niyazi Sayın (1927-) born in Istanbul is regarded as the most important nay player in Turkish classical music. He continues a musical tradition begun by Tanburi Cemil Bey and has been a student of Halil Dikmen.

11 From my interview with Nikiforos Metaxas, Istanbul, July 23, 2007.

12 Christos Tsiamoulis was one of the members of the music ensemble *Dinameis tou Aigaiou* (Powers of the Aegean) who produced a pioneering album (1985) consisting of traditional songs from regional and urban traditions of Greece and Asia Minor featuring instruments like the oud, saz, lauto etc. For a lengthy account of and a fruitful discussion about the musical style and sound of Dinameis tou Aigaiou and how the group members confronted their contacts with the Turkish culture, see Kallimopoulou, 2009, pp. 79–103.

13 From my interview with Christos Tsiamoulis, Athens, June 19, 2007.

I should also mention the Irish musician, Ross Daly, who according to Kallimopoulou (2009, pp. 54–78) was among the first to establish the idea of Turkey as a legitimate source for learning Eastern instruments. After he settled in Crete in the 1970s, Daly learned Cretan music, his musical philosophy based on the view that all modal traditions belong to the East geographically and, though distinct, are closely linked to one another. At his concerts, he brings together musicians from different Eastern traditions: Afghan, Indian, Turkish, and more. He rejects narrow ethnocentric definitions of Greek-ness and advances a concept of "pan-Mediterranean" melodies that project the possibility of supra-national bonding.[14]

The Music of Istanbul/Constantinople

In the 1990s, young Greek musicians who wanted to learn the playing techniques of traditional instruments and who desired to breathe the atmosphere where they believed the Ottoman art of music had survived saw Istanbul as the genuine source. If one looks at the history of Ottoman music, it developed under the aegis of the Palace, and many practitioners of this music had contact with and support from the bureaucratic elite of the Ottoman capital. In the Republican period, even though many musicians had also performed on Ankara Radio and many talented and prominent musicians had been active in İzmir, Istanbul Radio and later the Turkish Music Conservatory at Istanbul were the major institutions that shaped the musical formation of Turkish musicians. The conviction of Istanbul's centrality to this music was expressed by a prominent Turkish *kemençe* player:

> Classical Turkish music is the music of Istanbul. Ottoman music belongs here. Tones are the most important component of our music. We can learn the *makam*s and the intervals here because the most prominent singers and instrument players are in Istanbul. (Derya Türkan, musician, Istanbul, July 23, 2007)

For Greek musicians, too, Istanbul represents an accumulation of musical knowledge, mostly due to its past as the imperial capital. One Greek *kemençe* player said that he titled his PhD thesis as *The Theory and Application of 'Makam' in the Scholarly Musical Tradition of Constantinople*, commenting:

> [The musical tradition of Constantinople is] learned music because it focuses on Constantinople as a very important center of music. It also plays a role with is the Ottoman Empire in its past, and later, the Turkish nation. Moreover, it has to do with instruments. It is a unique phenomenon that an instrument [*Istanbul kemençesi* or *politiki lira*] belongs to a city. It was shaped there. (Socrates Sinopoulos, musician, March 5, 2008)

In addition to the expectation and desire of being introduced to a strong and continuous musical tradition in Istanbul, one should not forget the symbolic meaning

14 Kallimopoulou also provides us with an interesting account of how Ross Daly has been received in Greece and the perceptions and criticisms of the Greek *paradosiaka* musicians about him.

of Constantinople in the Greek imagination. In Greek collective memory, the city represents the glory of the Byzantine Empire, the privileged center of the Hellenic East and the Ottoman imperial capital where Greek Orthodox economic and cultural wealth was everywhere. A *kanun* player expressed his fondness for Constantinople/Istanbul, comparing it to Smyrna/İzmir, which in his eyes did not lack the former's cosmopolitism and syncretic culture but did lack the same appeal:

> Personally, I do not like the *Smyrneiko* genre. No, I don't like it. It doesn't remind me of Byzantium, do you understand me? For me, it isn't bad, it's good, but I consider it to be secondary with respect to Constantinople. Constantinople was also cosmopolitan but it had character. Even now you can observe it. Smryna is different from Constantinople. (Manolis Karpathios, musician, Athens, February 24, 2008)

The Naming, Memory, and Making of an Elite Musical Tradition

Practices of naming are inherently related with imaginations of the past. Naming is a dynamic process shaped mainly by the definition of identities in the present. Before I explore the contemporary naming practices regarding Ottoman music in Greece, let me give a brief account of the perceptions of Ottoman music in 20th-century Turkey.

The Ottoman Musical Heritage and the Institutionalization of Classical Turkish Music

In the late 1890s, some polemical essays focusing on the origins of Ottoman/Turkish music appeared in the Turkish dailies. The two camps consisted on one hand of a few musicologists who advanced the concept of oriental music, whose favor was shared particularly by the Muslim peoples of the East, and on the other of the Turkists who emphasized that music was basically a national creation (Kushner, 1997, p. 85).[15] Yekta (1986, p. 57), who is considered as one of the most prominent Turkish musicologists of the early 20th century, claimed that the music of the Turks was based on a certain musical scale, which he called the Turkish scale, that had passed from ancient Greeks to medieval Arabs.

During the first decades after the foundation of the Republic, the attitude of the state elite toward Ottoman music was biased, and the state cultural policy was informed by a denial of the Ottoman legacy (see O'Connell, 2013). Shaped by the ideas of the Turkist ideologue, Gökalp (1970), who saw human culture as a synthesis of international civilization and national culture, claimed the new Turkish music was designed to emerge from the processing of authentic folk music with the methods of Western music (see Erol, 2014). Furthermore, Gökalp's view that Ottoman classical music was a mixture of Arab, Persian, and Byzantine music had a great impact on the

15 Kushner refers here to the polemics in the newspapers İkdam and *Malumat*, between Ahmed Midhat, Salih Zeki, and Necib Asım.

heavy-handed Republican cultural policy that banned the broadcasting of this type of music on Turkish Radio in 1934.

The Ottoman/Turkish art of music owes its vindication to Hüseyin Sadettin Arel (1880-1955), one of the master minds behind contemporary Turkish music theory and the author of the infamous book, *Türk Musıkisi Kimindir* (*To Whom Does Turkish Music Belong*, 1969/1939). The book is composed of Arel's essays published in 1939 in the periodical *Türklük* (*Turkishness*), in which he sought to refute the thesis that Turkish music was shaped under the influences of Arab, Persian, and Byzantine (Greek) music.

Beginning in the 1950s, Turkish radio took an active role in instructing and promoting Ottoman/Turkish music. Finally, this instruction was systematized and institutionalized with the foundation of the State Conservatory of Classical Turkish Music in 1976. Furthermore, in the decades that followed, choirs were established for performing classical Turkish music under the aegis of the Turkish Ministry of Culture.

As an alternative to the terms of classical Turkish music or 'Turkish music, a few Turkish musicologists have also used terms such as Ottoman music, traditional Ottoman/Turkish music, or Ottoman urban music (Behar, 1998). These terms obviously have sought to reject the ethnocentric and exclusivist definitions of Ottoman music. Nevertheless, avoiding an outright Turkish nationalist approach to Ottoman culture did not always mean having a nuanced and accurate lens for the Ottoman past. I will give as an example an album of Ottoman music issued in Turkey (2001) that contains compositions of *Rum* musicians. The CD-text refers to Ottoman music as an "open music tradition" derived from the concept of tolerance, a term with hierarchical overtones. In the CD-text, non-Muslim musicians were included in a shared realm of culture, but on the condition they were stripped of their ethnic-religious identities and denied any credit of having contributed to their own traditions. "Nonetheless, Ottoman musicians of Greek, Armenian, and Jewish origin lived in the past not as a member of their societies but of the artistic tradition they contributed to; that is in the memory and written sources of Ottoman musical tradition."[16]

The Issues with Naming and Avoiding Terminology in Greece

Naming music is often based on one of three criteria: the geography where it emerged/developed, the ethnic composition of its musicians, and the language of its repertory. Of course, the choice depends on the user's ideological stance. As mentioned before, the nationalist discourse dominant in Turkish musicology labeled the art of music in the Ottoman Empire as classical Turkish music. The major point of contention

16 *Osmanlı Mozaiği, Rum Bestekârlar* (Mosaic of Ottoman, Greek Composers), Sony Music, Turkey, 2001. This album was issued as part of an album-series that comprised the compositions of Ottoman women composers and Ottoman sultans, hence the series aimed at highlighting the three neglected groups who contributed to the traditional music culture, the non-Muslim, women, and sultan composers. Also I would like to mention that in the CD-text, the *Rum* composers are constantly referred to as "Turkish composers of Greek origin".

for Greek musicians is that the Ottoman Empire was not a Turkish empire, and hence its cultural expressions cannot have been the creation of a single ethnic group. Whereas Ottoman music is occasionally used as a term, a geography-based term like Music of the Ottoman Empire seems to be more popular among Greek musicians.[17]

In 2001, the music ensemble *En Chordais* Müsik Topluluğu, based in Salonica, released an album including seven vocal and instrumental secular pieces and two ecclesiastical compositions from the prominent 18th-century musician *hanende* (singer) Zakharia.[18] The content of the CD presented a "classical near-Eastern music from 18th-century Constantinople. This double reference, one to Constantinople and the other to the near East, served two purposes. The former stressed this music's connection to Constantinople, the center of Byzantium and Byzantine chanting. While near-Eastern music indicated a search for broader definitions of identity, it connected Ottoman *Rum* music with the musical traditions of the Mediterranean, near-East region.

Nikiforos Metaxas, a Greek musician whom I interviewed, asserted his satisfaction with the term *ilm-i musıki* (the science of music) that he reintroduced, a term that had been used in the old music books (e.g., Kantemir, circa 1700). According to him, *ilm-i musıki* meant, "music as *techni*, the way to find the wisdom (*gnosi*), the divine wisdom…" On one hand, there is the use of the Greek term *techni* and on the other, music leading to divine wisdom; both suggest a merging of the elements of Greek philosophy and Sufism. During our interview, Metaxas referred repeatedly to the dervish-like qualities of some of the Turkish musicians whom he especially preferred to work with in his musical productions. His spiritual and mystical definition carries music to a level beyond the human production and gives it a universal color unbound by the questions of origin, ethnicity, or religion.

Greece has had particularly favorable discourse over Ottoman Sufism, which considers Sufism and, more particularly the Mevlevi brotherhood, as a continuation of the neo-Platonic tradition of thought and an interpretation of Islam that allows rapprochement with Christianity (as opposed to the orthodox version of Islam). Moreover, Sufism is often found to resemble the Byzantine tradition. The concert of the whirling dervishes in Athens (1996) was presented as a mystical rite that was a synthesis of "Persian mysticism, Byzantine tradition, Buddhist teaching, and the deep religiosity of Islam."[19]

Traditionally, Greek musicians employ two terms to refer to the lay music of the Ottoman court and the music that prevailed in the urban space of the Empire:

17 Nikiforos Metaxas said that he used to use the term 'music of the Ottoman Empire' because there were also Armenian and Jewish musicians, implying that the term "Turkish music" is not appropriate because it does not take into account musicians from other ethnic backgrounds.

18 This CD was reproduced in Turkey in 2005 by Kalan Müzik under the license granted by En Chordais.

19 Lambros Liavas, "Η Μουσική ενώνει!...", from the concert brochure of the 1996 Herodium concert (see Footnote 1).

exoteriki music (external to the ecclesiastical) and *Arabo-Persique* music. Judetz and Sırlı (2000, p. 9) argued, "The factitious '*Arabo-Persique*' epithet purports semantic ambiguity inasmuch as it may be understood as a euphemism for Turkish music." According to a Greek music researcher, today's Greek musicians continue to use this expression deliberately to try and avoid the term Turkish music:

> Apostolos Konstas used such terminology before the 19th century. Today, in order to reduce the number of times the words Turkish or Turkey appear in a text or a discourse, they try not to use it. They cannot give consistent meaning to the term *Tourkiki*. Therefore they say *politiki kuzina* (Istanbul cuisine; see Erevnidis,[20] 2004). Turks do the same thing; they don't use the terms *Yunan*, *Rum*, or Greek consistently. (Pavlos Erevnidis, music researcher, Athens, June 29, 2007)

Even though the terms *exoteriki* and *Arabo-Persique* are less and less used, the mentality of avoiding terms like Ottoman or Turkish continues.

In Search of a Learned Musical Tradition: The Rum Composers of the City

The 20th-century Greek musicology tried to come to terms with the following two shortcomings: firstly, the repertoire of Byzantine secular music that did not survive to the present,[21] and secondly, the chanting traditions of the Greek Orthodox Church, (Byzantine music) as a vocal music that does not employ instruments. In Greece, one of the reasons why music theory instruction has been a heated debate at schools for traditional music is that the ecclesiastical music theory that is taken as a basis does not give any reference to musical instruments. This means that, regarding intonation, intervals are not defined mathematically as ratios of string-lengths on a stringed instrument (Zannos, 1990). In the music treatises of the 17th through 19th centuries, the tones (*perdes*) of the octave were generally and traditionally shown on a diagram of the long-necked lute, the *tanbur*. In contemporary Greece, the issue of how to teach non-tempered intervals was confronted for the first time at the end of the 1980s in the newly founded schools of traditional music (see Dionyssiou, 2000). The *saz* (tambura) and the *lavta* (both are translated as lute) came to be the main instruments employed. In fact, regarding music theory, Turkish and Greek musicians have similar concerns: on one hand is the forming of a theoretical basis compatible

20 See Pavlos Erevnidis, "Politika Mutfağında Tavuk Göğsü," *Yemek ve Kültür*, no.1 Winter 2004. Here Erevnidis criticizes the Greek gastronomists - living in Greece and in the US- who claim historical continuity for Greek cuisine and culinary habits since Greek antiquity. He says that they tend to deny any innovation to the Turkish invaders and claim that today's Turkish cuisine is a synthesis of the Byzantine, Persian, Arab and Balkan cuisines. Erevnidis's emphasis on the localness of the cuisines rather than the ethno-national characters breaks with the nationalist paradigm that divides Asia Minor cuisine into Greek and Turkish subcategories and evaluates the culinary habits of the different regions of Greece like Thrace, Epirus, and Crete as enrichments in a unified national food culture. One of his main criticisms applies to restaurant guides. In order to avoid using the term Turkish cuisine, they categorize restaurants that offer food from different regions of Turkey under the label Istanbul cuisine *(Politiki kuzina)* with the excuse that all kinds of food are represented in Istanbul.

21 Christodoulos Chalaris, a Greek composer, musicologist and mathematician released a series of albums, the first of which came out in 1990, entitled *Music of the Post-byzantine High Society*. This album contained examples of Byzantine secular music that Chalaris had discovered in manuscripts. Ultimately, Chalaris received severe criticism from some musicologists. See M. Leiwo & R. P. Pennanen's "Byzantine Secular Music –Fact or Fiction?" (*Acta Byzantina Fennica* VIII 1995B 1996, pp. 37–51), for a discussion of Chalaris' thesis concerning the origin and continuation of musical tradition in the Byzantine Empire.

with Western European music theory, and on the other, defining and interpreting their own historical music tradition. The choice of theoretical system (or rather how to make use of different theoretical systems selectively), the supporting instrument, and the naming and choosing of repertoires are contested issues because their musical roots are embedded in a past that has been continuously questioned and reinterpreted.

In the past 20 years, new terms have been coined to distinguish the music composed by Greek Orthodox musicians who had lived in Constantinople/ Istanbul in the past centuries from the more general category of *paradosiaki musiki*. These terms emerged out of the need to refer to a refined and secular repertoire, which could neither be defined as *demotic/folk* music nor as church music (the two main customary components of the *paradosiaki musiki*):

> Zakharia is *paradosiaki* (traditional) in the sense that his music passed from generation to generation but is artistic. He knows music; he is not a practical folk musician. The classical music of *Poli*, Rum composers of *Poli*, analogous to Chopin and Bach… the *sirto* of Bacanos [Yorgos] is not demotic. It is for concert and is the same every time. (Lambros Liavas, Athens, February 22, 2008)

The term of The *Rum* Composers of the City (Constantinople)' (*Λόγια Μονσική της Πόλης*) was employed in the title of a book that, for the first time in 1998, compiled the musical works of Greek Orthodox composers who had lived in Constantinople in the 17th-20th centuries (Tsiamoulis & Erevnidis, 1998).

Another popular term from the past few decades, Learned/Savant Music of Constantinople (Λόγια Μουσική της Πόλης), corresponds to a need for the reformulation and reinterpretation of the social status of the Greek Orthodox element in Ottoman society, as well as for the projection of its culture as a fundamental element of the Ottoman Imperial/cultural mosaic. Secondly, the recovery and invention of a learned/ elite music would serve contemporary Greeks' competition with other European nations by having a long established tradition of artistic music. In contemporary usage, *musique savante* is a general term utilized to describe a type of music related to musical traditions by implying advanced structural and theoretical considerations (Siron, 2012). A significant trend closely related to the revival of Greek savant music is the recent upsurge of musicological research and dissertations written in the field of Byzantine chants. These works are based on demanding research through the music manuscripts that have survived from the 18th and 19th centuries. I would like to mention two musicians, Kyriakos Kalaitzidis and Thomas Apostolopoulos, who use the term Learned/Savant Music of the City (Constantinople). Members of the *En Chordais Music Ensemble*, these two musicians received instruction in Byzantine chanting and have pursued scholarly interest in Byzantine music. Apostolopoulos points to a new 'learned' secular expression of Hellenism that is considered to have emerged under Ottoman rule:

> Already during the *Turkokratia*, ecclesiastical music stopped being the only [art] or [learned] expression of Hellenism, which was the status quo in the post-Byzantine period, especially during the vigorous centuries of the Chanting Art. Introducing the elements of Arabo-Persique art (especially in Constantinople) and Western Classical (especially in independent Greece), in addition to the local artistic creations of [secular] music, confined the presence of Chanting to the musical affairs of Greece. (Apostolopoulos, 2002, p. 19)

In a similar fashion, the musicologist Feldman (Apostolopoulos 1996, pp. 23–24) noted a significant entry of non-Muslim musicians of Greek, Jewish, Armenian, and Romanian origins into secular court music, especially during the 18th century, was explained by the partial secularization of Ottoman society. Feldman also noted that the structural and stylistic changes in music during the 18th century (e.g., the expansion of melodic structure, introduction of new modal forms, and emergence of improvisatory genres enforced by changing performance conditions) did not parallel previous or later centuries.

Beginning in the 1990s, some Turkish musicologists turned their interest to secular song collections that had been published by 19th-century Greek Orthodox musicians. These song books contain the music of songs written in Byzantine notation, with their lyrics written in Turkish using Greek characters. Bardakçı (1993) wrote, "These song collections were for the consumption of the *Rum* aristocracy, the Phanariots, the Turkish-speaking Orthodox population of Anatolia, and the other Greek Orthodox of the Ottoman Empire."[22]

As far as the Greek aristocracy of the 18th century, the Phanariots (or neo-Phanariots as the descendants of the former came to be called after the Greek Revolution) are concerned, broader research is needed to assess the change in Greek academic discourse, which is beyond the scope of this article. Here it would be sufficient to note the following point. Contrary to the negative assessment of the Phanariots in traditional Greek historiography, who had been seen as oppressors in collaboration with the Ottoman ruler, in the album containing the compositions of *Hanende Zaharya* (En Chordais Müzik Topluluğu, 2005a, p. 25) they are presented as individuals who moved within both Orthodox (ecclesiastical) and Ottoman (secular) contexts, who "were merely exploiting the opportunities that their age was holding out for them." The new educational ideals that drew their source from plural traditions were likened to a certain period of the Byzantine Empire, hence implying the major role of the Phanariot elite, whose "intellectual reference point lay firmly in the past with the idea of Byzantium…" (p. 26):

22 In the foreword of his book, Bardakçı thanks Nikiforos Metaxas and Agnes Agopian, which I consider to be another instance of Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement. Let us note that some of the songs contained in the book, *The Rum Composers of the City* (see footnote 43), were also taken from these 19th century sources. About these secular song collections, see also Salaville & Dallegio's *Karamanlidika, Bibliographie Analytique des Ouvrages en Langue Turque Imprimes en Caracters Grecs,* Athens, I (1958), II (1966), III (1974); and Evangelia Balta's *Karamanlidika Additions (1584- 1900) Biblographie Analytique*, Athens, 1987. From a musicological point of view, see Cem Behar's "Türk Musikisinin Tarihinin Kaynaklarından Karamanlıca Yayınlar" (Karamanlidika Publications as Sources for the History of the Turkish Music), *Müteferrika*, Behar, 1994, pp.39–52. For a linguistic analysis, see Matthias Kappler's *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik in griechisch-osmanischen Liedanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Klaus Schwarz Verlag Berlin, 2002.

> However, during this so-called age of decline of the Ottoman Empire, the ruling caste seemed to have turned increasingly to learning and the arts. A new phenomenon was observed in Ottoman Islam: book collectors, men of learning, and writers began occupying high positions in the administration. It was from the learned and peaceable ranks of scholars who combined the theological language of the Arabs with the poetical skills of the Persians that the new class of the *efendi* emerged. Writers or compilers of historical and theological works abounded; men were studying logic, geography, and astronomy. It was an age of polymaths, strongly reminiscent of Byzantium. (Athanasios Angelos, as cited in En Chordais Müzik Topluluğu, 2005b, p.13)

Searching for Greek "learned" music, the producer of this album gave a privileged place to the Phanariot princes as patrons of a long-established music tradition:

> Of course, its strong patrons were mainly the Ottoman Sultans and the high-ranking bureaucrats. But later, the Phanariot princes, post-Byzantine music teachers, and members of the bourgeois class of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th and 19th centuries were also added to these. (Kyriakos Kalaitzidis, Music Ensemble *En Chordais* Müzik Topluluğu, email communication, January 2008)

In 2005, the Music Ensemble *En Chordais Müzik Topluluğu* issued an album containing the works of another 18th-century *Rum* musician, Petros Peloponnesios (1740- 1778). The innovative aspect of the album was that the prominent church cantor secular compositions were presented, which far outnumbered his church music on the album. For Petros' compositions of secular music, Kalaitzidis (2005, p. 47) employed the term '*Phanariotika*,' justifying his choice on the grounds that "their composers and lyricists – cantors, men of letters, and nobles - lived in the Phanar district of Constantinople or came from it."[23] Petros' works in the classical forms of Ottoman music were already known, whereas the three songs in the Greek language were performed for the first time on this album. Musicologists noted that the Phanariots produced interesting output by combining the Arab *maqam*s, the Byzantine *echoi*[24] and the French verse systems (Baud-Bovy, 1984). Research has been made and published on the music manuscripts containing the secular compositions of Petros Peloponnesios. For instance, the *Melpomeni* codex of the Vatopedi monastery and the *Mismayia* collection in the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA) were published between 1998 and 2000 (Plemmenos, 1998; Plemmenos, 1999-2000).

The Musicians' Dialogue: Contacts, Ideology, and Aesthetics

During their recent encounters, Turkish and Greek musicians not only had the chance to learn about each other's musical culture but also to discover the personality

23 This CD was produced in the framework of the EU-sponsored MediMuses Project that happened between February 2002 and July 2005 and undertook concerts, international music meetings, and the production of CDs in the *Great Mediterranean Composers'* series. To give another example, the Music Ensemble *En Chordais Müzik Tupluluğu* produced an album and book on the Tunisian musician Sheikh Khmayyis Tarnan (1894-1964).

24 Echos (ήχος) is the term in Byzantine music theory for a type of melody used in the composition of music, similar to a Western medieval mode or a *maqam*.

of the 'other.' A Turkish *kemençe* player tells of his experience while recording the album *Istanbul'dan Bir Mektup* (1999)/ *Gramma apo tin Poli* (2001) wherein he played with the Greek *kemençe* player, Socrates Sinopoulos:

> We made this recording here. Socrates stayed with us for 15 days. These were the first experiences since childhood with a Greek, you know, in our opinion… may be he was experiencing the same thing. But over the course of time these [prejudices] vanished; they cut off at once. It was understood to not be like that, that it was an imposition. (Derya Türkan, *kemençe* player, Istanbul, July 23, 2007)

The fact that Derya and Socrates are peers and that they both have excellent skills on the same instrument were probably the factors that contributed to them establishing a friendship. I would even argue that this collegiality and friendship is often noticed by audiences at their concerts. Beyond the dimension of musical harmony between these two musicians, which they both mentioned during our interviews, they seem to share a wish to reconstruct the Greek-Turkish past coexistence by way of replicating the musical experience of the deceased masters:

> We [the Turks and Greeks] had lived together for years, and the most prominent musicians of this instrument were either *Rum* or Turk, not Armenian for example… For instance, Aleko Bacanos; Paraşko; Lambros; us, too; Ruşen Ferit Kam; Fahire Fersan; and, of course, Tanburi Cemil Bey and İhsan Özgen. I started with that dream. (Derya Türkan, Istanbul, July 23, 2007)

Furthermore, Derya Türkan borrows the Greek term translated into Turkish, İ*stanbul kemençesi*, (trans. of "*Politiki lira")* for his instrument:

> In fact, the term used by the Greeks, İ*stanbul kemençesi*, is very nice. Since I have learned it, I am always using it because when one says *kemençe* in Turkey, people ask impertinently are you Laz, are you from the Black Sea?

Even if common elements of a regional and local musical language have brought Turkish and Greek musicians together, the different routes that the instruction of this music followed in their countries during the 20th century have created different musical aesthetic preferences as well as different perceptions of musical milieu in each country. Contemporary Greek musicians have the tendency to believe the Turkish state's support of this music for at least three or four decades in terms of giving it an institutional framework, forming choirs, and so on has had two results. Positively, the tradition has been kept alive and the chain of transmission maintained; but negatively as a result of homogenized state education, many Turkish musicians lack experimentalism, innovation, and personal style. Moreover, according to the cello player Ourania Liarmakopoulou, Turkish and Greek musicians have different musical aesthetics. Liarmakopoulou lived for two years in Istanbul (2001-2003), during which she had private lessons with a Turkish cello player. She observed that Turkey has a romantic

tendency regarding the aesthetics of music, and that musicians tend to offer a sweet, rounded (στρογγυλό) sound while in Greece, the sound is rougher ("τραχύς").[25]

Two of my Greek commentators noted that Turkish musicians were generally introspective and closed to the neighboring musical traditions outside of Turkey (e.g., North Africa and the Mediterranean).[26] As far as the issue of intonation is concerned, Turkish musicians seem convinced that the intervals and intonation of modern Arab music deviated from the genuine characters of the modes/*makam*s that are claimed to be preserved in Turkey. In his article about the use of food in the nationalist projects in Middle Eastern food cultures, Zubaida wrote:

> The logic of cultural nationalism is to claim for one modern national entity a thoroughly mixed historical heritage. It also implies a historical continuity of a fixed national entity and culture from the point of origin to the present day. This supposed historical antiquity and continuity are cited as some kind of confirmation of the authenticity and superiority of the present-day national cuisine. (1994, pp. 33–49)

The claims of authenticity for national cuisines are very similar to those regarding music. The ideologically colored perception of Ottoman musical heritage by Turkish musicians refers to a common musical tradition where only "we, the Turks" can claim today as "ours", while the "others" (Arabs, Greeks) can take their share as a continuation of their own past historical experience (we helped them by teaching), as long as they do not challenge that it is "ours."

As a final note on styles and musical expression, I would like to mention that, generally speaking, Greek musicians tend to favor popular forms of expressions rather than serious styles,[27] or tend to use instrument techniques that reflect regional playing styles. In a way, this may be seen as a paradox because on one hand there is a search for an elite music repertoire while on the other they opt for popular expressions in musical sound and style. Kallimopoulou (2009, p. 14) referred to a similar paradox, saying that while most of the musicians who represented the *paradosiaka* revival were often fascinated by the rural regional *demotiko* styles, the instruments taken up were not the typical Greek folk instruments but the more cosmopolitan, Eastern instruments. This enthusiasm for both rural traditions and preference for regional expressions in musical interpretation can perhaps be explained partly by the strength of folklore studies in Greece. The nation-formation process in Greece depended on incorporating various rural traditions without

25 Interview with Ourania Liarmakopoulou, Athens, 18.06.2007.

26 Socrates Sinopoulos noted that this is due to the Turkish musician facing a systematic, homogenized course of education, unlike in Greece where the young musician has to do his own search through the various traditions of the Balkans and North Africa. He further said that it might be because Turkey has many intense musical traditions. Likewise, Kyriakos Kalaitzidis contended that contemporary Turkey is more open towards Western music, while being closed to the musical traditions of its neighbors.

27 My contention is partly based on the observation that the late Turkish *kanun* virtuoso Halil Karaduman (dexterous *kanun* player tending towards a popular aesthetic) has been highly esteemed and preferred in musical cooperation in Greece. He instructed Manolis Karpathios in *kanun* playing and performed concerts and an album with the Greek *oud* player Christos Tsiamoulis.

being disdained by an elitist discourse. In this respect, the anthropologist Herzfeld (1986, p. 7) wrote, "If it could be shown that the peasants, the largest demographic element, retained clear traces of their ancient heritage, the fundamental requirement of Philhellenic ideology would be satisfied." Seen in a comparative light in Turkey, an imperial heritage whose ostentation eclipsed the regional and ethnic cultures was taken as a reference point for achieving historical continuity.

Conclusion

In this article, I have investigated the Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement of recent decades. The novel search in Greece for the (re)definition and borders of Greek culture has required reconciliation with its Ottoman past. I have called this process the Greek-Turkish Musical Rapprochement because this movement has emphasized the similarities between the two musical cultures and forged contacts and relations between the members of these two peoples. However, my overall attention being more on Greece than Turkey was driven by the observation that the first step came from the former. Throughout the article, I have tried to provide examples of cultural nationalism from both sides while trying to elucidate the strategies of referring to a shared past.

Many questions remain unexplored. I have not commented on the relationship between the rise of political Islam and the perceptions of Ottoman musical heritage in Turkey. Likewise, I have left unexplored the new orthodoxy movement in Greece in the 1980s and 1990s and its possible implications for the enthusiasm towards Byzantine church music. Also, a larger group of interviewees could have included young Greek musicians who have come to study music privately or at the Music Conservatory of Istanbul. How do Greek students of music feel concerning the traditional teacher-student relationship in Turkey?

Greek students' strong zeal for learning and mastering traditional instruments such as the *oud* or the *kanun* surprised Turkish instrument players. Some Greek musicians made hours-long trips by car from Greece to Turkey once every two weeks in order to learn the technique for playing an instrument. One of the reasons why I wanted to write this article and why it came out as it did (partly based on my personal observations, and my choice of interviewees based on my previous contacts) is that my first contacts with the Greeks and Greece began through music within this musical rapprochement.

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