

# MUSICOLOGIST

International Journal of Music Studies

Vol: 3  
Issue: 1  
June 2019

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**Musicologist:** *International Journal of Music Studies*

Volume 3 Issue 1    **June 2019**

*Musicologist* is a biannually, peer-reviewed, open access, online periodical published in English by Trabzon University State Conservatory, in Trabzon, Turkey.

e-ISSN: 2618-5652

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# Table of Contents

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## Articles

- TRANSNATIONALITY, TRANSCULTURALITY AND ETHNICITY:  
A LOOK AT BALKAN FEST, SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA**  
*Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg* **1**
- ITINERARIES OF ENLIGHTENMENT: WHIRLING DERVISH SHOWS,  
ETHNOGRAPHIC REFLEXIVITY, AND TOURISM IN EGYPT AND TURKEY**  
*Victor A. Vicente* **37**
- HISTORICAL SOURCES OF TURKISH MUSIC IN BERLIN: THE KURT  
REINHARD COLLECTIONS IN THE BERLIN PHONOGRAMM-ARCHIV**  
*Susanne Ziegler* **58**
- MUSIC AND RITUAL IN TREBBUS MEVLEVI *TEKKE* (LODGE) IN GERMANY**  
*Osman Öksüzoğlu* **77**
- THE ROLE OF MACEDONIAN FOLK SONGS FEATURED IN MACEDONIAN  
FILMS IN AMPLIFYING THE EMOTIONS**  
*Marijana Markovikj, Eleonora Serafimovska  
Ganka Cvetanova, Velika Stojkova Serafimovska* **103**

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## Transnationality, Transculturality and Ethnicity: A Look at Balkan Fest, San Diego, California<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

This text is the result of an ethnochoreological and anthropological investigation of folk dance practices at Balkan Fest in San Diego, California (2013 et seq.), in which the Bulgarian community plays a central role. Although Balkan Fest has already been approached in one of my earlier works, and the California Bulgarian community has been addressed in a paper discussing the ‘re-discovery’ of Bulgarian folk dance, there was no focus on transnational and transcultural approaches (and experiences) in these works, which are addressed in the present text; these approaches are adopted here for setting the context and supporting my analysis. Balkan Fest reveals “ways of belonging”, in which Bulgarian music and dance play an important role. This article proposes that, to many of the festival’s attendees, the festival’s campground became a space (a ‘village,’ a ‘home’) where one is physically absent, but spiritually and emotionally present in one’s country of origin. Besides being a playground – both metaphorically and literally – the festival offers various activities for children to retain their Bulgarian ethnic identity (although raised as Bulgarian-Americans). Simultaneously, this is a California ‘Balkan Fest,’ in which people of different backgrounds meet, and where the dance floor becomes a venue for the convergence of various dance traditions.

### KEYWORDS

Music  
Dance  
Festival  
Bulgarian community  
USA

<sup>1</sup> An abridged version of this article was presented during The 3rd International Music and Dance Studies Symposium, Trabzon, Turkey, October 17-20, 2018.

## **Introduction**

This text is the result of an ethnochoreological and anthropological investigation of folk dance practices at Balkan Fest in San Diego, California (2013 et seq.), in which the Bulgarian community plays a central role. Although Balkan Fest has already been approached in one of my earlier works,<sup>2</sup> and the California Bulgarian community has been addressed in a paper discussing the ‘re-discovery’ of Bulgarian folk dance, there was no focus on transnational and transcultural approaches (and experiences) in these works, which are addressed in the present text; these approaches are adopted here for setting the context and supporting my analysis. Balkan Fest, with its mixture of music genres and dances, often informed by the Internet, its many Bulgarian guests (prevailing in numbers until 2018), the participation of Bulgarian cultural organizations (but not supported by the Bulgarian government), activities that keep Bulgarian children involved, non-Bulgarian friends (older generation Bulgaria and the Balkans music and dance lovers<sup>3</sup> and younger generation American musicians), and its large visibility on social media, strongly calls for an interdisciplinary approach.

Balkan Fest reveals “ways of belonging”,<sup>4</sup> in which Bulgarian music and dance play an important role. This article proposes that, to many of the festival’s attendees, the festival’s campground became a space (a ‘village,’ a ‘home’<sup>5</sup>) where one is physically absent, but spiritually and emotionally present in one’s country of origin. Besides being a playground – both metaphorically and literally –the festival offers various activities for children to retain their Bulgarian ethnic identity (although raised as Bulgarian-Americans). Simultaneously, this is a California ‘Balkan Fest’, in which people of different backgrounds meet, and where the dance floor becomes a venue for the convergence of various dance traditions.

## **Personal involvement**

In 2013 I was approached by the leaders of the Bulgarian community of Southern California, Petro Dushkov and Kalin Krumov. They invited me to open the festival’s dance workshop series at the designated dance floor. I have continuously (and happily)

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<sup>2</sup> See Ivanova-Nyberg, 2016. The wedding took place at the festival in 2014. The ceremony involved representative officials; it followed patterns of traditional Bulgarian village wedding. It was filmed and broadcasted by Bulgarian media. See Veselinov 2014.

<sup>3</sup> See Laušević on the topic of ‘Balkan Fascination’ (Laušević, 2007), also Ivanova-Nyberg (2011).

<sup>4</sup> See Glick Schiller on migration studies (Glick Schiller 2008, with references to her earlier publications).

<sup>5</sup> Data from my surveys – personal archive of D. I. Nyberg.

conducted Bulgarian dance classes at the festival ever since, accompanied, over the years, by master musicians such as Vassil Bebelev (gaida), Vasil Denev (kaval), Rumen Sali Shopov (tupan), Stoyan Kostov–Pileto (tambura), and others.<sup>6</sup> By mentioning this I intent to clarify that in this paper I am not talking about ‘them’ (Bulgarians residing in Southern California) but about ‘us’– a community living outside our homeland that keeps strong ties with it. This community tries to build a respectable image of our culture, and to emotionally nurture ourselves through our involvement in the process. I am part of the scene – an artistic director, educator, and researcher, and I must bring this to the foreground.<sup>7</sup> Being an ‘insider’ to my object of study, I approach Balkan Fest from the position of a dance theoretician and practitioner heavily influenced by the scholarship of the ICTM Study Group on Ethnochoreology. The methodological and theoretical framework proposed here is related to my longtime involvement with this group (2002- ).

### **Methodology**

I gathered my field research data through discrete, but also very friendly, encounters with the Balkan Fest community over a period of seven years.<sup>8</sup> In this period I ‘thickened’ my descriptions so that I could gain a solid foundation for interpreting the data.

Today my archive includes participant-observation notes, surveys, formal and informal interviews, records of Facebook announcements posted by Balkan Fest organizers, comments by Balkan Fest attendees on the Balkan fest web page, a number of emails, Facebook communications, and a large body of visual materials. The photos and videos are taken by both myself and others, and are publicly shared on Facebook and YouTube. With this data (and with my own corporeal and other experiences), I began looking for proper concepts that would be useful in developing my interpretation and analyses.

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<sup>6</sup> In 2017, in addition to my dance class, I was invited to present my new poetry book to create a music and poetry event with composer/accordion virtuoso Milen Slavov-Slavman.

<sup>7</sup> As Bentz put it, “premises, perceptions and judgments of the researcher/writer should not be falsely ‘hidden’ or objectified, but clarified”; (...) research from this perspective is neither ‘objective’, nor ‘subjective’ – “knowledge comes a result of a dialectical process between one’s experiences and one’s interactions with others in the lifeworld” (Bentz, 1989: 2).

<sup>8</sup> In this way it is similar to the way in which Buckland describes her fieldwork – “The mode of my fieldwork constitutes ‘discrete encounters with the community’” (Buckland, 1999: 198).

## **Theoretical framework**

### ***Transnationality***

This concept, used in its broader sense, highlights the importance of transnational studies, with their new perspectives on the significance of transnational social fields and “differentiations between ways of being, ways of becoming and ways of belonging” (Glick Schiller, 2008: 29). As used in my research, the concept of ‘transmigrants’ is understood to be describing migrants whose lives are “cutting across national boundaries” and are thus bringing two societies into a single social field (Glick Schiller, Blanc-Szanton, 1992: 1). Studies of the transnational migration paradigm<sup>9</sup> largely informed my research on issues related to transmigrants’ multiple identities and one’s ‘way of belonging’. Bulgarian music and dance now play an important role in building a new (and unexpected, to many of the Bulgarians who have been newly immersed into folk dancing) way of belonging (one of many). The way of belonging inspired by Bulgarian music, dance, and costumes became essential in the establishment of a new transnational social field.

### ***Transculturality***

The concept of transculturality<sup>10</sup> is brought in to address the points of intersection in the experiences of people of various ethnic, professional, and cultural backgrounds. The festival is, to use Brink’s description, by its “very heart,” a place that “*transcends* cultural boundaries,” (Brink, 1994: 344). It is transculturally conceived (Testa, 2014: 49)<sup>11</sup>. The combined perspectives of transnationality and transculturality are fundamental to the analyses when it comes to providing a larger context, within which folk dance and folk dancing during Balkan Fest can be viewed and analyzed.

### ***Ethnicity***

Research on transnational groups engages with the theory of ethnicity in a number of ways (Eriksen, 2013: 291). The concept of ethnicity, however, as informed by the studies conducted by Eriksen and others,<sup>12</sup> is used in analyses only as a framework. Attention is paid predominantly to the role of the existing cultural organization within

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<sup>9</sup> Notably those of Nina Glick Schiller, conducted alone or with others (See Schiller, 2012 with references).

<sup>10</sup> See Welsh, 1999; Epstein, 1999, Berry; Epstein, 1999; Dagnino, 2013.

<sup>11</sup> For further discussion on festival see Testa, 2014; Testa, 2019.

<sup>12</sup> See Eriksen 2000 with references.

the ethnic group, in this case, the Bulgarian community and PCHELA Bulgarian Cultural and Educational Society. Among the vast body of research on the interrelated topics of ethnicity, ethnic groups, and cultural identity,<sup>13</sup> Isajiw's work, *Definition and Dimensions of Ethnicity: A Theoretical Framework*, provides helpful insights for understanding the 'young' and 'old' ethnic groups and the role of the existing cultural organization.

### **Balkan Fest: an overview**

Balkan Fest is located on private property in San Diego and is hosted by an American-Bulgarian family over the Memorial Day weekend.<sup>14</sup> It was envisioned as a Balkan village that has an annual 'family' reunion, during which everybody could enjoy "the true essence of life: back to nature, back to the village with its music, dance, food and family-like bonding."<sup>15</sup> The 'village' has (could have by law) up to 200 'relatives'. As research data shows, the 'relatives', that are either invited (musicians, dance and crafts instructors) or pay for their festival tickets, are of various backgrounds. They barely sleep but instead have the greatest capacity to eat, drink, tell stories, laugh, sing, and dance all day long and all through the nights. The fest was meant to create a memorable outdoor Balkan weekend.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Insights are also coming from the Oxford Handbook of Dance and Ethnicity (Shay; Sellers-Young 2016) and other sources.

<sup>14</sup> This family also hosts Flamenco fiesta, designed to showcase flamenco music and dancing. The Flamenco Fest takes place annually during Labor Day weekend. From here came the inspiration to also organize a Balkan Fest.

<sup>15</sup> M.B. (resource person) 2019; also B.C. (resource person) 2019.

<sup>16</sup> For stories, pictures and videos, visit: [https://www.facebook.com/Pchela.Edinenie/?ref=br\\_rs](https://www.facebook.com/Pchela.Edinenie/?ref=br_rs); <https://www.facebook.com/groups/Balkanfest/>. I would like to express here my thankfulness to Kalin Krumov for his reflections on the festival's origin, additional data, and also for his helpful comments on this paper's earlier draft.

Here is the outline from the 2013 edition:<sup>17</sup>

BCELA & MAHALATA PRESENTS:

BALKAN FEST “EUROPA ROOTS” (Bulgarian Spring Project)

San Diego, Memorial Day Weekend

...A contemporary folk tale with a twist, imagined and created by all participants

Orkestar “Meze” (Los Angeles) · Hot Blood Orkestar (San Diego) ·

Nestinari (Bay Area) · Balkan DJs · And Many More...

Folk Choreography Workshops Crafts and Arts Classes Jammin’ Around  
the Fire Pit· Camping Over PanEurhythmy· Dance Competitions·Kukeri·

Moonshine Brewing Bulgarian and Mediterranean Cuisine.

PRIVATE EVENT. BY INVITATION ONLY. LIMITED CAPACITY.

FOR COST, LOCATION, AND ADDITIONAL INFO FOLLOW THE RUMORS

The event wouldn’t come to life without the bohemian spirit of property owner B., an American, and his Bulgarian wife, M. – all smiles and all-levels supporter. B. loved the idea<sup>18</sup> of having Balkan Fest with three full days of eating, drinking, dancing, and singing – as in ancient times<sup>19</sup> and as in ‘Once upon a time’. Simultaneously, the local leaders (Petro Dushkov, Kalin Krumov, and others) had already worked on stimulating a ‘hunger’ for this kind of gathering in the community. They had already been working to stimulate a ‘hunger’ for such kinds of gatherings in the community. They had the talent and personal charisma to raise the excitement and support of their fellow countrymen. The fest was meant to be an event full of music, dance, and good ‘ethnic’ food – Balkan

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<sup>17</sup> The festival years up to this point (2018) are: 2013, 2014, 2016, 2017 and 2018. In 2015 the community around “Balkan Fest” joined “Antika-Bulgaria” Festival in San Francisco. Antika-Bulgaria is the oldest Bulgarian Festival in the United States. It was initiated by the choreographer Tanya Kostova (former soloist of Trakia Ensemble) in 2000 for celebration of the day of Slavic Literacy and Culture, Bulgarian language and the Cyrillic alphabet.

<sup>18</sup> In 2012 Petro Dushkov and Maria Bobeva attended the Flamenco Fest, organized by B. and they came up with the idea of hosting a Balkan Fest on the same property, if this would be welcomed by B. and other close friends and supporters. – Source: Petro Dushkov (personal communication, 2019).

<sup>19</sup> B. has developed an interest in Greek dances and Greek mythology since his college years. He was fascinated by Greek mythology and he even wrote an essay on “The Reality of the Gods” (1973). – Sources: B. (personal communication, 2019); Kalin Krumov (personal communication, 2019).

and Mediterranean – to create an artistic environment, in which all attendees would be involved in one way or another. But the fest grew into a more influential event than the creators ever imagined.

Each year since May 2013, B.'s property is transformed into an imagined, fairytale-like Balkan village, with a village square 'agora';<sup>20</sup> narrow hilly paths – 'streets', workshops, including a pottery craft-shop with a potter's wheel, a corner for weaving/embroidery with a vertical loom, a table for masks and craft making – all extremely popular among the children – with traditional fabrics, pillows, artistically arranged across the village. Over the years there has also been a designated area for traditional style of *rakia* (brandy) making. Always popular are the areas for lamb roasting (fire-pit) and Turkish/Bosnian coffee (Bosnian House). Local massage specialists offer their services to those who eagerly look for such a treatment after hours of dancing and a lack of sleep. Every 'stage' and 'registration booth' are decorated. Many attendees wear stylized or traditional costumes, flowers, or wreaths.

The Balkan Fest has a dynamic life: every year there is a new theme, various classes are offered, different musicians and dance teachers are invited. However, the overall structure of having both classes and concerts remains the same. Many kinds of music are played on festival stages and various singing, instrumental, and dance workshops are presented. One of the property sites resembles a slice of an ancient amphitheater with stone seating where there is almost no space for dancing in front of the stage. It doesn't mean, however, that the attendees don't make room – quite the opposite. They are very resourceful when it comes to finding a dance floor anywhere, or imagining it.

The designated dance floor plays a central role for the collective 'fun': it is close to the outdoor kitchen and across from the sitting area with the fire pit. There is also an artistic 'corner'; (love couch) – in fact a semi-circle of stony benches dressed with fabrics and pillows, comfortably arranged for sitting or standing. This place is used for singing and instrumental workshops and also for jamming and poetry readings.

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<sup>20</sup> There actual 'agora' – the largest meeting area on the property, is covered by a parachute above an outdoor carpet (it is called "parachute area" and is used for Yoga and Paneurhythmy). The agora's dance floor is just nearby. It was initially built for Flamenco dance and is suitable for 20-30 dancers (for a workshop). During the concerts, however, the dance lines spread outside the designated floor and the dancers may number 100 people.

Up to 2018, every year new, playful [posters](#) were created by Bulgarian artists.<sup>21</sup> The characteristics of 'playful' is really important; the play-dimension is one of the features of this festival in general. The colorful drawings (similar to the posters) beautify the fest's ceramic cups:<sup>22</sup> everyone receives such a cup with one's own name on it and most people take it home as a 'tangible' memory (souvenir) along with the intangible ones.

The initial name of the festival was 'Balkan Fest Europa Roots.' In 2018, although the idea of Europa roots remained, the fest appeared with the title 'Tales and Songs.' Chief organizers for this edition were the property owner and PCHELA.<sup>23</sup>

To Kalin Krumov- PCHELA's Board member, whose nick-name is '*kmeta*' (the mayor), the involvement of children in various artistic projects, workshops, and activities was imperative, regardless of the transformations that Balkan Fest might undergo. These children and teens, according to Krumov, (some coming to Balkan Fest for five years and looking forward to it) would be immersed in this free-spirited, creative environment, in this particular music and dance milieu. They would absorb this way of celebrating life with arts and would ideally keep this going when they grow up. In 2018 the storytelling component initiated by Krumov earlier (inspired by Bulgarian puppet personage from 1970s-80s generation's childhood) included children of all ages. Young actors successfully adapted a terrace-like ground as a stage, created their own scenario (in Bulgarian), and invited the available camp musicians to join them. They sang and performed (in Bulgarian) before their parents with confidence and great success.

Many hardworking and creative people, whose names simply cannot be listed here in detail, stand behind the organizing and artistic teams. The impact of their efforts,

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<sup>21</sup> Mariana Kalacheva - Alisa (2013; 2018), Angel Vasilev (2014), Toni Marinov (2016), Vili Nikolov (2017).

<sup>22</sup> Over the years the cups had headlines such as: "П.Ч.Е.Л.А & MAHALATA PRESENT: BALKAN FEST "EUROPA ROOTS" (Bulgarian Spring Project) (2013); "...A CONTEMPORARY FOLK TALE WITH A TWIST, IMAGINED AND CREATED BY ALL PARTICIPANTS (2014); "П.Ч.Е.Л.А & HITTERPETTER PRESENT: BULGARIAN SPRING PROJECT, BALKAN FEST "EUROPA ROOTS" (2016); BASILIO, PCHELA & HITTERPETTER: BALKAN FEST "EUROPA ROOTS" (2017); BALKAN FEST 2018: PATILANDIA.

<sup>23</sup> The 2018 organizing team included:

B. C. and M. B.- hosts; Kalin Kroumov, Rumen Petrov, Ivan VeleV - PCHELA - Performing artists and performers, budgeting , marketing and IT support; Inna Taskaeva - Registration team leader, volunteers and decorations; Stanislava Nyakoulov - Kitchen team leader, volunteers and decorations; PATILNADIA - Arts'n' Crafts classes; Vessie Kazachka - Traditional Embroidery; Mariya Apostolova - Arts and crafts, textile; Biliانا Popova, - Pottery and Clay; Ralitzа Katz - Arts and Crafts; Nikolena Shopova - Puppet show and street theater decors; Milen Slavov - SLAVMAN PROJECT - Saturday night concert concept and selection of music and performers; Bogdan Darev - FILMABEE - Kino Balkan - Selection of films and visual art. - Source: Kalin Krumov (personal communication, 2018).

however, is well-expressed on Facebook and other social media outlets – there are hundreds of post-event comments shared by the festival’s participants; these are also considered to be an important source for this anthropological study.

### **The festival’s attendees**

In an interview from 2015, Petro Dushkov, who belonged to the cohort of Balkan Fest’s driving forces, shared that among the goals of the artistic team is to attract ‘modern’ people – Bulgarians and non-Bulgarians.<sup>24</sup> Who might these ‘modern’ people be? And what kind of music would speak to them?

The majority of attendees are Bulgarians residing in California, highly educated and professional people in their 30s and 40s, with a wide range of specializations. There are several people with professional backgrounds in film, drama, arts and crafts, and their involvement inevitably impacted the spirit, the feel, and the ‘look’ of the campground. Most festival participants settled in California on the threshold of this century (or earlier), having received their higher education either in Bulgaria or in the United States. Their children were born in the US (mostly in the past 15 years). The majority of these Bulgarians had never before danced Bulgarian dances, had never listened to Bulgarian folk music, or worn traditional costumes. Their appreciation of Bulgarian music and dance evolved gradually after their settlement in the States.<sup>25</sup> To Krumov, these are Bulgarians that do not ‘hate Bulgaria;’ they came to the States to seek better futures for themselves and their children. Ideally, when possible, many would spend six months a year in Bulgaria and six in the States (Krumov, Kalin. Interview, September 30, 2015).

Not all of the Bulgarian attendees share the same enthusiasm toward Bulgarian and Balkan music and dance. Quite often, however, one of the spouses does; she or he may be an enthusiastic member of one of the several newly-established Bulgarian folk dance groups in California. In any case, the air is so full of sounds, activities, and friendly social interactions that everyone can find one’s own way to enjoy and relax.

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<sup>24</sup> Dushkov, Petro. Personal interview, October 1, 2015.

<sup>25</sup> For further discussion see Ivanova-Nyberg 2015.

The majority of non-Bulgarians are local friends of the members of the Bulgarian community, among them – very few with Balkan ties. Many are musicians that are involved in the festival program.

There are always guests from outside California, Bulgarians and non-Bulgarians, who are often involved in the festival program. Some come from other parts of North America and Europe, including Bulgaria.

### **Music and musicians**

The artistic team invites a wide variety of musicians and bands. These are Bulgarians and non-Bulgarians residing in the US or coming from outside the States, with professional music educations or other backgrounds. These musicians bring to the festival both their artistry and passion toward their music, as well as friendly rapport with the hosts, attendees, and the venue.

#### ***Bulgarian musicians residing in the US***

There is a number of professional Bulgarian musicians leaving in the United States and the fest's organizers took the opportunity to approach them. These musicians came to the US in the late 1990's after studying their traditional instrument for years at professional music schools in Shiroka Luka or Kotel. The majority of them have earned their higher music / music pedagogy degrees from Plovdiv's Music and Dance Academy (now Academy of Music, Dance and Fine Arts). Most of the instrumentalists have performed for years with professional folk ensembles in the homeland and internationally. The singers have established successful careers as soloists, choir members and directors, vocal pedagogues (Tzvetanka Varimezova, Maria Bebelekova, Donka Koleva, Zhivka Papancheva). Only a few of these continue to practice their profession full time in the States.

The evening concerts with dancing, where Bulgarian musicians, who hadn't seen each other for years or decades, play together, became especially dear. These musicians are now coming from different states but they are all alumni of the same (or similar) professional training schools,<sup>26</sup> are able to create powerful performances 'on the spot.' They play familiar Bulgarian motives but they also play their solos with the support of

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<sup>26</sup> National School of Folk Arts – Shiroka Laka, Bulgaria, Filip Kutev's National School for Folk Arts – Kotel, Bulgaria, The Academy of Music, Dance and Fine Arts – Plovdiv, Bulgaria.

their colleagues. Instrumentalists take turns as soloists and backup players, just like the vocalists.

Not all Bulgarian musicians specialized in traditional instruments. Milen Kirov, for example, is a classical pianist and composer of classical pieces based on Bulgarian folklore,<sup>27</sup> who plays the keyboard with his Orkestar MÉZÉ (MÉZÉ is Milen's project as well<sup>28</sup>). Milen Slavov – Slavman, on the other hand, studied *tambura* (a long-necked picked string instrument) from his home country's music school in Kotel, but developed a prolific career as an accordionist-composer and producer.<sup>29</sup> The music that these virtuoso-musicians – Kirov and Slavman bring to the fest may be viewed as representative examples of combining 'old' traditional Bulgarian patterns and 'new' (blending of various genres<sup>30</sup>) author's compositions. Among the singers such a cross-over-musical vocalist is Zhivka Papancheva, Milen Slavov's wife; Zhivka is a renowned voice from Strandzha (Southeast Bulgaria) and is also a soloist in Milen Slavov's vocal compositions. The singer Vlada Tomova (New York), on the other hand, is not a trained folk singer, but blends folk motives with jazz and other styles.

### ***Bulgarian musicians from outside the US***

#### *- From Western Europe*

Ludmil Kroumov is a jazz guitarist who studied in the Netherlands. He is a virtuoso, who only recently discovered the power of Bulgarian folk music and currently plays *tambura*. Ludmil attended Balkan Fest in 2018 and made a memorable appearance. He was described to me as a "very talented and brilliant jazz guitarist who currently works with Teodosii Spasov, Peyo Peev, and other established names in Bulgarian folk music."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> About Milen Kirov: <http://www.milenkirov.net/>

<sup>28</sup> About MÉZÉ: <http://orkestarmeze.com/about/>

<sup>29</sup> In 2000, the US government granted Slavman permanent residency as an "Artist of Extraordinary Ability." See <https://www.slavman.com/milen/>

<sup>30</sup> Slavov describes it as "original world music fusion – incorporating Bulgarian, classical, and jazz idioms" – with a reference to 'Slavman Accordion Fusion' EBook Workshop. (Slavov, Milen. E-mail correspondence, June 6, 2019)

<sup>31</sup> Ludmil presented a master class in Bulgarian traditional folk music rhythms at LACC (Los Angeles City College) Department of Music, East Hollywood, LA, sponsored by PCHELA (Kroumov. Kalin. E-mail correspondence, 2018).

- *From Bulgaria*

An example of musical variety can be found in the 2016 program. There were two very different kinds of performers from Bulgaria who attended the festival that year<sup>32</sup>: the renowned Rhodope singer Valya Balkanska with her bagpiper Petar Yanev, and Oratnitza band. Both Balkanska and Yanev have strong reputations as performers of traditional Bulgarian music. On Oratnitza's website, on the other hand, one can read the following:

Ever since their birth Oratnitza has been driven by their curiosity to find out what lies beyond the musical status quo. This has made them take Bulgarian folklore on a wild journey. Over the years their repertoire has absorbed colors and scents from the local underground and distant continents alike. Bringing the treasures from their explorations home, they pass on the torch of tradition.<sup>33</sup>

Oratnitza's music relies on instruments such as *kaval* (shepherd flute, Bulgarian traditional instrument), synths, electronics, *didgeridoo* (wind instrument, developed by indigenous Australians), *cajon* (a box-shaped percussion instrument originally from Peru), *tupan* (Bulgarian drum), and vocals. Such blending of genres and instruments, although in different manners, is mostly brought to the fest by bands such as Oratnitza, and musicians without ethnic ties to the Balkans.

***Musicians without ethnic ties to the Balkans***

Among non-Bulgarians there are musicians of various backgrounds and ages. The younger generation usually presents musical themes that are less related to the Balkans (with the exception of 'MÉZÉ' led by Milen Kirov). The older generation (Dromia Band from San Diego, for example) would play various Balkan tunes that are 'danceable' (well-recognized line dances). A significant factor for the latter's repertoire is the fact that, among the band members, there are long-time folk dancers and also dance leaders (Mary Marshall from 'Dromia'). An example of a passionate *kaval* player and admirer of the 'old school' *kaval* masters is John Gibson, who is also a long-time member of the Californian Balkan folk dance community, an exceptional dancer, and former member of

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<sup>32</sup> The attendance in the festival became part of the artist's US tours of 2016.

<sup>33</sup> <https://oratnitza.bandcamp.com/>

Aman Ensemble.<sup>34</sup> These are just two snapshots from a broad array of other examples that invite a cross-cultural approach. This raises topics to be explored through an ongoing investigation by the researcher: 1) the impact of Balkan music and dance on the American International folk dance movement, 2) the reverse impact of the American folk dance movement and repertoire on the contemporary practices of Bulgarian communities across the States, and 3) their cultural interaction and exchange.

### ***Instrumental workshops, jamming, singing***

These activities are inseparable from the festival. Invited Bulgarian master musicians are always open to working one-on-one with students. Students are of different levels of expertise, and the material varies, accordingly. Festival musicians eagerly attend the various opportunities to play together and jamming happens all the time – on one or another corner of the campground.

Singing is also an important component of the festival. It involves both women and men. The workshops were offered by the beloved professional Bulgarian singers mentioned above. These classes are typically taught as a separate activity in the afternoons. Songs are later repeated on the *agora* floor accompanied by musicians. Sometimes they are performed as line dances along with the appropriate dance steps. The singing around the fire pit often continues until morning. Singing and dancing are two of the many bonding experiences at the fest.

### **Dance and dancing**

Dancing at the Balkan Fest and dance skills of the attendees show rapid development. This comes as a result of the weekly dance classes offered in various parts of the large LA area. The following note by Kalin Krumov reveals the first steps in organizing folk dance activities.

Organized dancing started with baby steps in 2010 and after few organizational difficulties we introduced the decentralized concept of dancing groups of friends in a proximity of the neighborhoods in the urban area of Los Angeles and Orange County. ‘Opa Hey’ was made as exemplary group of how that can be accomplished followed by opening a

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<sup>34</sup> About Aman see for example <http://www.dancehistoryproject.org/index-of-organizations/aman-folk-ensemble/>

similar location in Orange County. To keep motivation going on we set a date for *Nadigravane* [Try-to-Outdance-me] (...), with the idea of having an annual event for dancing groups. That gave the boost for all other groups and people with no professional dance background to get organized and start their own dancing gathering. (Krumov, Kalin. E-mail correspondence, February, 2019)

Bulgarian cultural institutions in California and elsewhere existed prior to 2010. Since 2011, however, the wave of establishment of new Bulgarian cultural organizations, cultural and educational programs, schools, dance groups and festivals became especially noticeable.<sup>35</sup> With the growing number of Bulgarian dance groups in California, the dance skills and knowledge improved vastly; the appetite for learning more has also increased.

### ***Festival's folk choreographers and dance teachers***

In the period between 2013 and 2018 the artistic team had invited several Bulgarian choreographers from outside the state in addition to several local dance leaders – Bulgarians and others.<sup>36</sup> All these teachers brought versatile repertoire, predominantly from Bulgaria but also from other Balkan countries. The teachers' repertoire ranges from forgotten village dance patterns, to popular dances of the Balkans<sup>37</sup> and ensemble's compositions from the 1980s<sup>38</sup>– all equally enjoyed and welcomed by the festival's attendees.

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<sup>35</sup> See Ivanova-Nyberg (2014).

<sup>36</sup> From outside California: Tanya Kostova, Yulian Yordanov, Konstantin Marinov, Tanya Dimitrov, Petar Petrov and Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg; from outside the States: Iliana Bozhanova and Gergana Panova-Tekath; Local leaders: Veselka Vasileva, Denitsa Bogomilova and Diana Ivanova. Teachers with Balkan ethnic ties: Toni Petrulias (Greek Dances) and Paul Petrescu (Romanian Dances).

<sup>37</sup> This refers to the dance repertoire introduced by dance instructors of ethnic background different than Bulgarian.

<sup>38</sup> Folk dance ensemble's compositions refer to the 'standard' folk dance ensemble repertoire in Bulgaria from the 1970s and 1980s. Typically these are parts of a dance suite from one or another ethnographic region. The period of the 70s and the 80s is often described as the "golden age of Bulgarian folk stage choreography;" the genre itself was named "Bulgarian Stage Dance Art Based on Folklore". In this period (starting from 1944 and up to 1989) folk dance ensembles were fully supported by the Bulgarian government (ideologically, financially, and in every way). With this support, the professional institutions (for professional folk dancers in Sofia and for professional folk choreographers – in Plovdiv) provided specialized training that greatly influenced the folk dance scene in Bulgaria. For folk dance ensemble history and repertoire see Ivanova-Nyberg 2011.

### ***Dance floor dynamics***

The dance floor, figuratively speaking, has its own repertoire built over the festival's years. It mainly consists of popular Bulgarian dances such as '*Pravo (horo)*,' '*Pravo Trakiisko (horo)*,' '*Paydushko*,' '*Daychovo*,' '*Eleno Mome*,' '*Krivo*,' '*Chichovoto*,'<sup>39</sup> and others. And this could be expected, due to 'the international crowd.' According to Maria Bobeva,

The dance repertoire at Balkan Fest has not changed much throughout the years. Having people who only dance the most popular dances like '*Pravo Horo*' or '*Chichovoto*', and of course the international crowd that has never experienced anything like Bulgarian line dancing, don't allow to 'hop' the complicated steps of '*Kopanitsa*' let's say. Of course, if the musicians get inspired to play something fast and elaborated, there would always be people to jump on 'stage' and dance their souls off but in general we dance more 'accessible' to the crowd dances. (Maria Bobeva, personal communication, June, 2019)

However, according to the researcher's observations, the dance skills of the regular festival attendees – members of one Bulgarian group or another – are growing and the latter comes as the result of their weekly practices. Each group's repertoire benefits from various sources: the preliminary knowledge of the group's leader(s), group's own research on the internet, and the repertoire brought by visiting choreographers from Bulgaria. All of these groups have also arranged some of their dances for stage performances and have purchased or created their stage costumes.<sup>40</sup> The annual 'Try-to-Outdance-me' competition (*Nikuldensko Nadigravane*), organized by PCHELA has served as a great stimulus for serious rehearsing and creation of stage repertoire.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> 'Chichovoto' was introduced to Bulgarian folk dance clubs in Bulgaria by Bulgarian choreographers in the past 15 years.

<sup>40</sup> A unique example comes from the group Opa Hey LA, when ladies from the group transformed Ives Saint Laurent's black robes into litak's (sleeveless robe) of traditional Shop's costumes.

<sup>41</sup> This repertoire ranges from slightly arranged for stage traditional Bulgarian dances (with an arrangement either suggested by the visiting choreographer who introduced the dances to the group) or designed by the group itself. Example for this is the repertoire of D.E.B.A. Organic Dance Club (Bulgarian Folk Aerobics) and Opa Hey LA. Their stage repertoire is similar to the folk dance club's repertoire in Bulgaria (for further discussion see Ivanova-Nyberg 2016). On the other hand group such as XoroTropzti derives its repertoire ideas from the 'classical' ensemble repertoire. The group's founder, Veselka Vasileva, back in Bulgaria, was a member of 'Nashencheta' folk ensemble. "In late 2014, Vasil Tsarev, a passionate folk dancer, former member of ensemble Aura (Sofia, Bulgaria), and alumni of the world-renowned dance group, The Tamburitzans (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) joined XoroTropzti. Together, in January of 2015, Veselka and Vasil took the group to the next level by establishing a dance ensemble focused on building a

Among the other stimuli was the attendance of the largest Bulgarian festival in the States – ‘Verea’ in Chicago (2011-).<sup>42</sup> Most Californian groups made appearance(s) at the Chicago fest, along with having performances at local international cultural gatherings/festivals. One of the groups, Xorotroptzi went strictly in a performance direction and began to host their own full-program concerts.<sup>43</sup>

This growing dance experience of the festivals’ attendees allows for a lot of improvisation to evolve on the dance floor in the cases when the band plays unfamiliar music. The choreography happens on the spot when different dancers initiate particular patterns and change roles. This brings an additional satisfaction for the creative aspect of this joyful, mutual experience.<sup>44</sup> The following quote illustrates this experience rather well:

Led by one of our visiting choreographers, we would create a brand-new dance on the fly using our existing ‘database’ of dance moves. One time I was the leader and it was difficult, but very exciting at the same time to try to combine steps from Israeli dances that I know and Bulgarian dances and switch between them as we go. It got me thinking about how the dances that we now know have been created a long time ago in the Bulgarian villages. My favorite part of the festival is the night jam sessions. The musicians will grab their instruments and start playing and we would start singing till the little hours of the night. It would feel like getting a little piece of Bulgaria and your childhood back. (Isabela Arnaudov, personal communication, June, 2019)

Although rare, there are occasions when members of one particular dance group will present a complete choreography on the festival’s dance floor, and the rest of the fest’s attendees will sit around the ‘stage’ and enjoy the performance. This was the case with the Bulgarian group coming from Toronto, Canada. Local dancers from San Diego were

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repertoire of intricate dance choreographies from all seven folk regions of Bulgaria. The members of the ensemble learn, practice, and perform challenging footsteps and complex formations while maintaining synchronicity, upbeat energy, smiles, and having a great time.” (<http://www.xorotroptzi.com/about-us/>)

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, the program from 2016:

<http://www.eurochicago.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Verea-2016-Brochure-v2.pdf>

<sup>43</sup> The third annual concert was held on March 30, 2019 in San Diego, California. For other performances see <http://www.xorotroptzi.com/about-us/>.

<sup>44</sup> Observed in 2018 to a Klezmer music performance of The Electrocarpatians band. Band’s musicians play bouzouki, bass, accordion, violin, trumpet, guitar, cajon and clarinet.

also among the performers (presenting a male-female 'try to outdance me' choreography).

There are always special dance classes for children at the festival.

### ***Other dance forms***

Among these are ZumBalkan (led by dancer, singer, and choreographer Anibal Diaz) and Balkan Dance Fit (led by Bulgarian health coach, dance and fitness instructor, Ana-Maria Georgieva). The latter is a dance form that incorporates various styles and most closely reflects the idea of crossing borders behind Balkan Fest. ZumBalkan, on the other hand, was a spontaneous idea that:

... came to us once we learned that our friend from Flamenco Fiesta 2012, Anibal Diaz, will be coming to the first Balkan Fest. My wife, Silvia, (who was not a big fan of folk dance, unlike her girlfriends) came up with the idea in the car while driving to San Diego. We introduced the idea to Anibal upon our arrival. Anibal, DJ Zhelko and Petro quickly created a list of songs with suitable beat. I just wrote on the billboard ZumBalkan... and *voila* we had a new version of Zumba. Playing with words is often what we do to make it fun. (Kalin Krumov, personal communication, October, 2018)

ZumBalkan was offered at the first editions of the festival and Balkan Dance Fit has been offered continuously. The music of the latter includes songs from 'Oratnitza' repertoire and other tunes that may fit the category of World music.<sup>45</sup>

Paneurhythmy, although also related to gymnastics, stands on a very different trajectory: it consists of gracious, peaceful and prayer-like movements. Paneurhythmy's music and strict movement patterns were taught decades ago by the Bulgarian spiritual teacher Beinsa Douno. Balkan Fest is the only fest of its type in the US that, according to the author's knowledge, welcomes Paneurhythmy in its program.<sup>46</sup> During the 2018

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<sup>45</sup> "World music" is used here in broader sense. Further clarification are offered elsewhere (Ivanova-Nyberg 2018).

<sup>46</sup> The class was offered by Boris Mitov. For an illustration of the first ten exercises (as practiced in Bulgaria) see: <http://www.panevritmia.info/?lang=en>. Exercises' explanations may be addressed here: [https://www.academia.edu/38287667/Supplement\\_to\\_the\\_paper\\_Paneurhythmy\\_in\\_Bulgaria\\_philosophical\\_aspects](https://www.academia.edu/38287667/Supplement_to_the_paper_Paneurhythmy_in_Bulgaria_philosophical_aspects).

edition of Balkan Fest, Paneurhythmy was attended by nearly 15 people and greatly appreciated.

### **Voices from the field**

After the 2019 Balkan Fest closed I approached several people with a request to write a paragraph about their experiences of Balkan Fest, folk dance, and dancing in general. Voiced below, their responses are linked with regards to their main focus 1) on children's experience and the impact of the fest on them; 2) the experience through music and dance, and 3) the overall impact of the festival. In most of the responses, however, these themes intermingle.

I first approached Ralitzka Katz, an artist with two young children who came from Northern California. This is what she wrote:

For someone who grew up dancing Bulgarian Folk dances and then didn't have any exposure to them for a whole 20 years, I can only try to explain what was it to enter the San Diego Balkan Fest! The live Bulgarian music, all the people dancing hand in hand at the *horo*, with a smile on their faces and a similar glow in their eyes... it was like a dream! I had bought only an evening ticket and thought I was going to stay only for a few hours then, but quickly decided to stay for the whole 3 days festival with my family and we haven't missed a second of it ever since. I've never met so many beautiful, like-minded people like in M. and B.'s place! A beautiful Balkan village in the heart of San Diego, where everyone is helping with what they can to make it happen/to live the dream. The main reason why I come year after year though are my two little boys. Born and raised in America, they absolutely LOVE our Balkan parallel universe. For four days they are running in the small village, playing with friends, enjoying all the kids' workshops happening during the day and concerts happening during the evening hours, being exposed to Bulgarian/Balkan music and dancing, Bulgarian language, in a cozy family environment, spending their days like in a real Bulgarian village during a Holiday, back in the days when kids didn't know what's an ipad or a video game. And this is exactly how I want my kids to grow up! (Ralitzka Katz, personal communication, June, 2019)

B.S., an architect and visual artists also came from Northern California. She was accompanied by her 15-year-old son:

I knew close to nothing about Bulgarian folk dance, in spite the fact that I grew up in Bulgaria and lived there until age 18. It was in California, at age 40, when I had the life-transforming experience to take my first Bulgarian folk dance class with Tanya Kostova. I had the visceral experience of direct connection with the energy, power and magic of my cultural roots and have been fortunate to enjoy this life-affirming force since. This affected me deeply: I developed strong sense of belonging and the healthy and art full habits of dancing, singing and contributing to the cultural activities with my Bulgarian folk dance community of Antika Bulgaria and the other groups in the US. My visual art and my personal life were also affected. I created a series of art works inspired by the poetry of Bulgarian folk songs. Also, my American-born 15 year old son who grew up in California proudly identifies as Bulgarian, dances and has had significant cultural experiences as a Balkan musician and part of Rumen Sali Shopov's band Meraklij (one of the main bands invited to the Balkan Festival in San Diego). Balkan Fest in San Diego has been an opportunity for Bulgarians and Americans touched by the Bulgarian dance and music from different parts of California and the USA to come together and celebrate the power, beauty and magic of our culture which binds us as a community and binds us as individual families. There is nothing like parents, children and grandparents being touched and uplifted by dancing, singing and playing music together. (S. B. personal communication, 2019)

Maria Bobeva, an actress and fervent dancer, member of D.E.B.A. – Orange County, mother of two, shared various observations on the Balkan Fest's uniqueness:

Another unique feature of Balkan Fest is exposing children, as young as two-three-year old to teenagers, to our culture and 'let them be' for three days. Unfortunately in our society kids tend to be raised as in 'aquarium' with overprotective parents always being there for them every step of their way. At the festival grounds is like being in your grandparents'

village in the old times - the absolute freedom and fun. Having various workshops like embroidery, kuker masks workshop, pottery, felting, xylography workshop and so on, keep the kiddos engaged most of the time so there is no time for boredom. Participating in all these workshops, being exposed to Balkan music, the constant dancing of 'horos', is what's bonding parents and children, not literally but on another level, something that will give fruits later on in their lives, because the youngsters will have a better understanding of their parents' culture. (Maria Bobeva, personal communication, June, 2019)

Izabela Arnaudov, a member of Opa Hey LA dance group also has two children:

My family has attended every single Balkan Fest since the beginning. My kids, now ages 12 and 16, keep asking about it and are so very excited when it approaches. My teenage son has stopped going places with us, except for Balkan fest. The atmosphere created there is unique and the kids have made amazing friends and have had bonding experiences that could not be found anywhere else. The Balkan fest has become a huge part of their identity as Bulgarian Americans. Although they do not participate too actively in the workshops, they still absorb the culture and learn from it. For me, during Balkan fest I have the opportunity to meet amazing choreographers and learn new and exciting dances. In the evening everyone is gathered on the dance floor. The line dance becomes a live organism and you are part of it – it's a wonderful feeling of peace, joy and belonging. We have heard many different types of music during the festival - eclectic music from different parts of the world – not just the Balkans. It has been a great experience to try to fit Bulgarian dance steps into a music that is not Bulgarian. (Isabela Arnaudov, personal communication, June, 2019)

Isabela provided a memoir of her own involvement in folk dancing, commenting also on her festival experience:

In 2011 a friend heard from a friend that there will be a lady from Chicago who will show Bulgarian dances. We decided to go. That moment was the

beginning for a whirlpool of events that changed my life. We decided to start getting together on a regular basis to dance. At that moment I know maybe 2 or 3 dances. Today I know hundreds. I believe that the introduction of Facebook also played an important role of the building of our community. It made it easier to communicate, meet people and coordinate events that got bigger and bigger. Five dance groups have been created in the Los Angeles/Orange county area ever since. Many of the participants have become good friends. We meet at many events and enjoy the beautiful music and dance. For the last 8 years I have been dancing almost every week, attended many festivals, Bulgarian and international, met many people and learned so much about the Bulgarian heritage, that I did not know from Bulgaria. One of the most meaningful and amazing experiences that happened as a result was the creation of the Balkan Fest. That is a three-day family event in San Diego, in which people participate in singing, dancing and art workshops during the day and at night there are concerts and dancing and later jam sessions lasting all night long. (Isabela Arnaudov, personal communication, June, 2019)

I approached two other women from Opa Hey LA: The first one, Inna Taskaeva sent the following comment:

Dancing Bulgarian Folklore is the absolute 'battery charger'. For sure I don't look at it as an exercise, even though I realize it is a good one. Dancing is a social thing, once a week, with my friends next to me, with stories, jokes, and drinks in between.

Dancing at the Balkan Fest brings that same social experience to a new, grand level! First of all, there are more friends on the '*horo*' – people that I don't get to see regularly. Then, we learn new dances 'live' – this communication with the teachers before, during, and after the class is magnificent. Lastly, and most important – live music. Dancing to live music is completely different than dancing to the recorded track, which one knows by heart. Also, there is this symbiosis between the '*horo*' and the musicians that is priceless. It was at the Balkan Fest that I experienced

people getting ecstatic by dancing '*pravo horo*' for 30 minutes for the first time. That '*horo*' was so alive I will never forget it. (Inna Taskaeva, personal communication, June, 2019)

To Vessie Kazachka (a camera person) who commented directly on her experience with Balkan Fest:

...the dancing remains one of the main reasons I go back every year, the others being the embroidery craft and the relaxing atmosphere with friends. Even though I dance with a folk group weekly, there is nothing like dancing with a lot of dancers to live music. And this event definitely emphasizes great live music and dancing. This is the biggest reason I go back every year. (Vessie Kazachka, personal communication, June, 2019)

Maria Bobeva sent a comment specifically on the difference between the regular dancing with her group and the dancing during the festival:

Dancing Bulgarian folklore dances is my weekly meditation. When I dance I space out. I don't think about anything else but where my feet are going next. I forget about all my day-to-day problems the moment I step into our cozy dance studio. And I breathe in all the good energy that is in the air in abundance of all the happy people I dance with! Dancing at Balkan Fest though goes to a whole another level. Having live music and 40-60 people dancing next to you is beyond comparison! It's like being in the middle of a hurricane of positive vibes and I absorb them all! And that's when I start screaming of joy. (Maria Bobeva, personal communication, June, 2019)

Milena Sergieva shared her observations specifically related to the repertoire (and the creative capability to combine steps, which is further addressed in the text):

I've been dancing Bulgarian folk dances in LA for the last 5 years and it's been astounding to me how much creativity and variety can exist in the world out of combinations between probably a dozen moves. It's also as fascinating to listen to the richness of beats and measures (from 7/8 to 15/16) as to experience the feeling of flying while dancing. Balkan fest has been consistently a celebration of life, dance and music and a gathering of

a special tribe. To me it is always a privilege to be there and Bulgarian dancing is definitely a shared experience, something that feels so much better when friends celebrate the joys of life together.

My life has been richer while discovering so many hidden dancing gems and the energy of those dancing them with all their hearts. (Milena Sergieva, personal communication, June, 2019)

Maria Bobeva pointed out her satisfaction with the fact that the visiting choreographers that conduct workshops are “the top-of-the-crop professional dancers and choreographers who reside in the US”:

... it is a huge privilege and this is what brings all the good spices and makes the festival dancing diverse. For us, as immigrants, dancing Bulgarian folklore dances is part of preserving our native identity. This is what makes us unique in the ‘melting pot’. Also the language of dance is ‘the shortest-cut’ to people’s hearts, isn’t it? (Maria Bobeva, personal communication, June, 2019)

The comments below express attachments to the festival that have a lot in common: live music, line/circle dances, holding hands, smiling faces, friendship and more.

Slavina Koleva-Carulli:

Being a first generation immigrant in Southern CA for over 20 years, I was really thrilled to discover Balkan Fest about 5 years ago. It is a unique, magical experience that brings a community of Bulgarian/Balkan people who care deeply about music, culture, art, folklore and most of all about maintaining the Bulgarian/Balkan tradition for immigrants and their children. The family friendly event offers full immersion, if one chooses to go the full 4-day duration. Every day has a well-crafted program, which includes classes in Bulgarian folk dance/*horos*, singing classes, poetry readings, kids pottery and craft activities, theater, concerts and improvised performances from masterful artists who come from all parts of the US and Bulgaria. During the fest I have met a lot of fellow Bulgarian immigrants and each one of them greeted me with warmth and shared

love for music and art. I have formed some deep friendships at the grounds of Balkan Fest and I always leave with a full heart, eagerly awaiting next year's celebration of the Balkan spirit. (Slavina Koleva-Carulli, personal communication, June, 2019)

Neli Iotzova:

Dancing the Bulgarian traditional dance '*horo*' is a very spiritual experience for me! Holding hands, moving in a circle, and exchanging positive energy connects me in a special way with the dancers, my homeland, and the universe. It's hard to describe the uplifting that happens on so many levels. It elevates my spirit, opens my horizons, and connects my past with my future. It unites me with others and makes me feel one with the universe. The time at the Balkan Fest is also a very special family time and a valuable bonding time. It offers the unique opportunity to introduce my children, born in the USA, to the vast variety of Bulgarian traditions, rituals, crafts, music, songs, dances, cinematography, and cuisine. It's the most natural and pleasant way to pass our rich cultural heritage from the past generations to the next. It's a special, warm feeling to be a part of an ancient culture and to be able to keep it alive and flourishing for the world population and for the years to come. I am very thankful to the organizers and the participants of Balkan Fest for the opportunity to practice, enrich, preserve, and share the Bulgarian cultural treasures! (Neli Iotzova, personal communication, June, 2019)

Evelina Pentcheva, a photographer, shares:

For 20 years in America I have never been able to feel at Home and at the same time I have never been closer to home. A giant has awakened within, an ancient rhythm, the rhythm of the Bulgarian heart. Holding hands week after week, weaving, healing, the Bulgarian dance is transforming us. It's allowing us to remember something not thought in school. Or even in family. It's something old and it feels like our old Bulgarian spirit. The festival is like an imagined world- full of colors, dancing, music, children's

workshops and happy laughters, performances... hugs... tears of joy, connection. It's an experience that somehow wipes away all worries and all connections with the fast paced noisy world and allows us to feel the true spirit of being part of a big beautiful family. It's fascinating. And it's enriching, empowering us as human beings... what a Blessing... a Gift to be able to experience this over and over again... and it's the true Home away from home. May it be! (Evelina Pentcheva, Personal communication, June, 2019)

The last 'voice' is of a young man, Fabi Srandev, whose mother, Denitsa Bogomilova, is a dancer and a leader of San Diego's folk dance group 'Mesechina' and whose grandmother was also a dancer. Fabi was born in 2004 in San Diego, California:

Well, dancing means the world for me! It lets you explore different styles/techniques of dances and my favorite... make new friends among the different festivals and concerts in the California area like the Antika Festival in San Francisco and Balkan Fest in San Diego. My experience at Balkan Fest was amazing because it brings a lot of different people together for the one thing we all have in common, our love for Bulgarian folklore. The 'thing' that would attract young people to the folklore dance floor would be two things. Number One would be introduce your children to Bulgarian folklore at a very young children and put them in a little folklore group where they can learn one or two simple hora. My number two would be to push your kids a little harder because I for one thing didn't like folklore up until the age of 12. When my mom would literally drag me to dance a *horo* and to this I credit my mom for my love of dance. All because she pushed me to do my best. (Fabi Srandev, personal communication, June, 2019)

With these (and many other, including those of American Balkan Fest regulars) 'voices' in mind, I am entering the analysis.

### **Analytical commentary**

In a post-positivist climate, states Buckland, the researcher recognizes that there is no single, stable and overriding interpretation. Voices from the field compete; “there is almost inevitably no consensus of interpretation that the ethnographer can publish nor one truth to be established” (Buckland, 1999:197). With this ‘safety-jacket,’ I will offer some of my interpretations.

### ***Balkan Fest in the prism of transnationality and ethnicity***

The reason for considering my data as related to (and informed by) the paradigm of transnationality (not transnationalism because all ‘-isms’ invite troubles), and for perceiving Bulgarian immigrants as ‘transmigrants’, is my observation that the majority of the members of the Bulgarian community residing in California indeed live in two worlds and benefit from (at least) two cultures. Most Bulgarians will live six months in Bulgaria and six months in the United States, as cited earlier (Krumov, 2015). Since this lifestyle is rather expensive, Bulgaria was brought to the States throughout various cultural practices. The involvement and participation in Balkan Fest is only one of them.<sup>47</sup>

PCHELA puts great effort in engaging children (mostly bilingual Bulgarians) in the festival program with its storytelling and acting. As is the case with many children of Bulgarian parents born in the States, the pattern (with a few exceptions) is: parents speak to their children in Bulgarian, children respond in English. Involvement in storytelling invites imagination, as well as encourages practice of Bulgarian language (and it is often said that language is “the second most prevalent indicator of ethnicity” – Peterson; Novak; Gleason, 1982: 8). Within the Bulgarian ethnic group,<sup>48</sup> such kind of care about fellow compatriots and their (our) children is usually expressed and offered by the group’s organization or organizations. In this case, PCHELA insists on engaging children in creative ways by practicing their mother tongue. Isajiw calls this kind of attitude “the moral dimension of identity” (Isajiw, 1992: 9).

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<sup>47</sup> The festival became a milieu where one’s affiliation to Bulgarian culture and folk traditions is proudly displayed (that is an adoption of certain forms of cultural representation). People who adopt such forms, according to Glick Schiller may “find themselves new participants in transnational social fields and from the belonging enter into a transnational way of being.” (Glick Schiller, 2008: 32).

<sup>48</sup> Bulgarians are a “young” (ethnic) group, in Isajiw’s terms (i.e., “those made up predominantly of the first - the immigrant - generation, and whose second generation is either small in size or young in age”).

The educational aspect goes beyond this. In fact, the design of a program with these music and dance classes serves as a vehicle for 1) dissemination of various dance traditions; 2) cultural transmission, and 3) sustaining Bulgarian cultural identity (via various cultural practices including Bulgarian arts and crafts).

Balkan Fest is a private but not a 'closed' event; pictures and videos are openly shared on social media with friends and family. The majority of the festival attendees' parents live in Bulgaria. They use social media (or their relatives do) and they are able to see their children and grandchildren dressed in folk costumes and involved in practices related to Bulgarian folk tradition and Bulgaria in general. These pictures bring great satisfaction to people who pose for or take them. However, family members in Bulgaria, where many parents of Bulgarian immigrants spend their days in solitude, especially appreciate them.

### ***Balkan Fest in the prism of transculturality***

Music and dance experience at Balkan Fest can be described as 'being in the flow' - in the flow of music, in the flow of dance, and beyond.<sup>49</sup> This is a human, let's say, transcultural experience. Similar experiences of "being in the flow" are observed and documented in other camps in Bulgaria and the United States, where the attendees are predominantly American Balkan music and dance lovers.<sup>50</sup> The same Bulgarian professionals that play at Balkan Fest are often among the musicians of the long-established American Balkan camps. Vassil Bebelev, for example, was a beloved bagpiper invited frequently to Mendocino Balkan camp; Rumen Sali Shopov (*tupan* and *tambura*) is another example, as are many of the names mentioned earlier.

Balkan Fest, to a certain extent, creates a ground 'outside' of any particular culture,<sup>51</sup> on which all attendees feel comfort and enjoyment. It is not only an event of 'ethnic' Bulgarians although Bulgarians prevail in numbers. It is not about particular music and dance traditions. The music includes various music genres and the dance repertoire consists of several dance traditions: Bulgarian village tradition, Bulgarian folk dance

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<sup>49</sup> See Csikszentmihalyi (2001).

<sup>50</sup> I have addressed this aspect in a paper about Seattle's Koleda Ensemble (1966-1974). See Ivanova-Nyberg (2016b).

<sup>51</sup> Although transculture depends on the efforts of separate individuals to overcome their identification with specific cultures, on another level it is a process of interaction between cultures themselves in which more and more individuals find themselves "outside" of any particular culture, outside of its national, racial, sexual, ideological, and other limitations. (Epstein, 1999: 25).

ensemble tradition, (broadly) Balkan folk dance traditions, American Balkan folk dance tradition, and repertoire of Bulgarian folk dance clubs,<sup>52</sup> disseminated via the Internet. An example of the former would be a simple ‘*Pravo*’ (*horo*), or ‘*Selsko Shopsko*’ and for the latter– dances, such as ‘*Chichovoto*’ or ‘*Grutskoto*’ (these are arranged by Bulgarian professional choreographers). ‘*Lesnoto*’ in 7/8 (SQQ) is popular all around the Balkans and also in the States, among the American Balkan folk dance community. Examples of the folk dance clubs’ repertoire may be observed when dancers (that are from one and the same group) present versions of popular dances learned from Internet.

The Internet plays a significant role in building the dance repertoire of Californian groups, along with the influence of the Bulgarian choreographers visiting California. YouTube and Facebook videos provide huge amounts of material about the Bulgarian folk choreography, past and present, village repertoires (mostly from folk festivals like Koprivshitsa), folk dance tutorials, and repertoires of Bulgarian folk dance clubs.<sup>53</sup>

### ***Balkan Fest as a “time-out-of-time” experience***

Let’s not forget that this entire time, we have been talking about a festival. By its very nature (etymology and history) the festival is about abundance of food, festivity and celebration. It is a “time-out-of-time” experience.<sup>54</sup> It is an escape from the routines and a portal into another world. It is, as posters for Balkan Fest say, ‘A contemporary folk tale with a twist, imagined and created by all participants.’ At the same time, this ‘tale’ goes beyond the mere duration of the festival; when the festival is over there comes a time of reminiscence and anticipation of the next ‘adventure’; “I can’t wait until next year!”<sup>55</sup>

### ***The Humor at Balkan Fest as a bonding experience***

The humorous aspect of the festival is essential. Along with the playful imagery of the posters and the artistically expressed laughter upon some of the existing stereotypes of

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<sup>52</sup> On Bulgarian folk dance club’s genre see Ivanova-Nyberg (2016c).

<sup>53</sup> For a further discussion on the topic of the clubs see for example Grancharova (2013).

<sup>54</sup> For definition and morphology of the festival see Falassi (1987: 1-10) For recent research approaches and theoretical framework especially stimulating are works of Alessandro Testa (see Testa, 2014; Testa, 2019).

<sup>55</sup> On the festival’s temporality see Feinberg (2018: 138).

the Balkans, it often includes self-deprecating humor.<sup>56</sup> The latter naturally contributes to the family bonding experience.<sup>57</sup>

### ***Balkan Fest as a bridge building and family bonding event***

This festival plays a special role in the cultural life of Bulgarians and American Balkan music and dance lovers in California and across the US, because it provides an opportunity for professional musicians to present both ‘classical’ Bulgarian folk music as well as contemporary compositions. It serves as a bridge on many levels. It connects ‘modern’ Bulgarians with the sound of *gaida*, but also connects different genres, people of various ethnic backgrounds and age groups. Such meetings inspire mutual projects between cultural organizations (between PCHELA and Bulgarian Cultural and Heritage Center of Seattle – BCHCS, or Hitter Peter and BCHCS, for example), which go on to have further influence on the life of the Bulgarian communities in the US.

The topic of Bulgarian musicians and their lives in the US is a topic of its own.<sup>58</sup> It is important to stress, though, that these musicians play a significant role in family bonding throughout the festivals’ editions. The tragic loss of the beloved bagpiper Vassil Bebelev after his last appearance at the festival in 2016 led to an edition devoted to his memory. The 2017 fest turned out to be a very emotional event of everyone with musicians and audience/dancers alike expressing their love and support to his widow, Maria Bebeleva. Powerful music was playing on, songs were sung by hundreds, and the *horo*-line was graciously moving as if it had a soul of its own. One may call this intangible and unforgettable.

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<sup>56</sup> Various sketches created by the “mayor” of the LA Bulgarian community may be offered; for example: his “official role” during an actual wedding in 2014. See Ivanova-Nyberg, 2016a.

<sup>57</sup> It is to be understood as a bonding experience among the Balkan Fest community members but also between parents and children.

<sup>58</sup> Timothy Rice addressed this topic in a documentary movie about Tzvetanka and Ivan Varimezovi that he presented at various scholarly gatherings. As a music professor at UCLA, Rice secured positions for Varimezovi in the UCLA music department, having, prior to that Vassil Bebelev as a guest instructor.

## Summary

This research relates to a whole series of parallel studies of the American Balkan music and dance scene (with its history<sup>59</sup>), Bulgarian music and dance practices of Bulgarian migrants, and the points of crossover between them.<sup>60</sup>

Balkan Fest is small enough for people to see one another and large enough to host world-class musicians. It is a 'safe' environment for the elderly and the children. Most attendees are Bulgarians who have successfully gone through the processes of cultural adaptation. Involvement in folk dancing is a new love for the majority of them (most are part of the Rock-and-Roll generation). It is a village with figures that play designated roles (as in every village). It had its 'real' wedding. It is a camp similar to Balkanalia<sup>61</sup> and Mendocino,<sup>62</sup> but with the prevalence of Bulgarians, making it quite a different cultural phenomenon. The music ranges from Bulgarian traditional tunes to newly created compositions inspired by geographic areas and genres beyond the Balkans. There is a drive to educate children, to set an example. It is a format that is built across borders and genres. It informs the study of the culture of 21<sup>st</sup> century Bulgarian (trans) migrants, which is influenced by global economic processes, and is shaped by complex factors. Over the years it created tangible and intangible memories for both children and adults. It also became a fascinating topic for research. For my study (2013-2018) I am deeply indebted to California's Bulgarian community.<sup>63</sup>

It is the author's hope that this research may inspire other cultural gatherings like San Diego's Balkan Fest that incorporate various art forms inspired by Bulgarian folk traditions and involve children of Bulgarian immigrants.<sup>64</sup> This alone was a great stimulus for writing this paper. Simultaneously, there was an urge that could be described as 'the responsibility of the scholar abroad' to 'keep track' of the dynamics and processes within Bulgarian communities. It was even more so because of the changes

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<sup>59</sup> See Laušević (2007).

<sup>60</sup> Related to this is the cross-cultural approach, as applied by Nahachewsky (2012).

<sup>61</sup> See <<http://balkanalia.org/>>

<sup>62</sup> See Miller's research on Mendocino Balkan Camp (1994).

<sup>63</sup> This study is a part of an ongoing field research on the Bulgarian music and dance as practiced by Bulgarian communities in the States.

<sup>64</sup> The significance of the Balkan Fest was also recognized by scholars from Bulgaria. A research team from the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, working on a project on migration, attended Balkan Fest in 2017, See (Penchev 2017: 186).

which were already taking place, in terms of problematic usage of Bulgarian language by the Bulgarian children born in the United States.

As a common ground for Bulgarians and non-Bulgarians, parents and children, this festival provides 'a milieu' for ongoing investigations on transnationality, transculturality (but also crossculturality<sup>65</sup>), and ethnicity.

### **Conclusion**

In order to discover the roots of arts, one must look at sources from antiquity. If one excavates deeply enough, one reaches the stratum where recitations, music, songs, and movements (dance, as Europeans call it) are inseparable parts of an organic cultural entity (ritual). Balkan Fest probably didn't dig this deeply, and yet, its sensitivity to cultural roots brought to life a cultural event rich in its complexity. By 'being in the flow,' one may be absent from one's homeland, yet present in one's culture and satisfied with its fruits.

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<sup>65</sup> Related to this is the cross-cultural approach, as applied by Nahachewsky (2012).

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## Itineraries of Enlightenment: Whirling Dervish Shows, Ethnographic Reflexivity, and Tourism in Egypt and Turkey

### ABSTRACT

By the year 2010, both Turkey and Egypt had achieved tremendous success in growing their tourism markets, in part by turning to Sufi spiritual and musical practices, which had by then been internally rehabilitated after being historically met with suspicion or outright suppression even as they gained a global following in the New Spiritualities and World Music arenas. Taking the case of the so-called 'whirling dervish show,' this article traces how its characteristic 'dance' was strategically used to promote tourism and how rituals featuring it were adapted for presentation to ever-bigger audiences coming from abroad. Based on ethnographic research conducted in Cairo and throughout Turkey, the article demonstrates how binary distinctions between tourist and pilgrim, sacred and profane, and local and foreign, become quickly blurred or contested at these shows and in other sacred settings involving travel. Further embedding the musical ethnographer within these vagaries, the article seeks two main ends: to call for an ethnomusicological method that better accounts for tourists and their subjective experiences and, thereby, to also encourage more open reflexive framework in which the fieldworker working in tourist and tourist-like settings can better take stock of their own positionality while in situ and when engaging in the writing of ethnography.

### KEYWORDS

Ethnography  
Reflexivity  
Sufi music  
Tourism  
Turkey  
Egypt

**Received:** April 24, 2019; **Accepted:** June 02, 2019

## **Bearings, Directions, and a Roadmap**

The principal impetus of this article is to explore how ethnomusicological fieldwork methodology might better account for and gain insights from tourist subjectivities. Although the study of music in touristic settings has increased steadily in the past couple of decades (especially after Gibson, Connell, 2005), few have heeded Martin Stokes' call for "taking into account at least some of the motivations of actors and agents in tourist encounters and exchanges" (1999: 141). Still particularly noteworthy is that the average tourist is rarely, if ever, enumerated in the cast of characters of ethnographies dealing with music and tourism experiences; Cooley (2005) for instance fleetingly mentions some,<sup>1</sup> but, like in similar writings, they are mostly anonymous and do not speak for themselves. The fault for such a glaring lacuna, I would submit, lies in our research methodology – not only in the ethnomusicologist's proclivity for interviewing master musicians and experts at the expense of the audience who might only very occasionally be sampled, systematically by way of a questionnaire or usually more informally, but also because of the ethnographer's own positionality.

"We are not tourists," Józef Pacholczyk once declared (Pacholczyk, 2002) in one of the two compulsory field methods seminars I took with him during my graduate training, which I further supplemented with an additional three courses in field research, including one in dance ethnology. Tourists and ethnomusicologists indeed appear to be on rather different, if sometimes parallel, paths. If the budding ethnomusicologist learns anything in her or his field methods courses, it is that ethnographic research is serious, rigorous business. Codified in the canon of field manuals and reflective writings is that the ethnomusicologist is an essentially lone figure who spends about a year embedded as deeply as possible in a culture, learning to live (musically) as a local. Even during shorter research trips, significant amounts of time must be spent, per professional obligation, systematically collecting and cataloguing data, transcribing interviews and sound recordings, and taking written stock of personal impressions, all while endeavoring to responsibly fulfill the incurred debts, or, somehow, give back to the community. Although tourism research following Urry (1990), especially in the fields of sociology and anthropology, has done much to elucidate the multivalent subjectivities of

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<sup>1</sup> A majority of the tourists Cooley discusses were historical figures who were also in some sense ethnographers. In this article, I wish to focus on the vast numbers of modern-day tourists who slip through the methodological cracks of contemporary ethnomusicological research.

the tourist, the amount of time *in situ*, officially defined by the United Nations as between 24 hours and six months, nevertheless renders the tourist quantitatively and therefore qualitatively quite unlike the ethnomusicologist, at least ostensibly, even if there might be some cursory similarities.

This does not mean, however, that tourists should be wholly excised from our research, or that those similarities should be so quickly glossed over. Especially in musical settings in which tourists, travelers, and other related transient figures like festivalgoers and pilgrims make up an important constituency, the ethnomusicologist's methodology should reasonably and sympathetically account for their motivations, behaviors, and insights. Any assumption that they might lack individuality simply because they arrive on a tour bus, are frivolous because they are not around for very long, or are culturally or musically ill-informed because they live elsewhere, – or, in a similar vein, that the performer constitutes some kind of insider because he or she might rule the stage – strikes me as antithetical to the ethnographer's normal impulse to document thoroughly and acquire the full array of perspectives: emic, etic, and those that are somewhere in between. Meanwhile, it is worth asking: What advantages do ethnomusicologists gain from distancing themselves so far from tourists? What do they miss out on by not placing themselves in the well-worn shoes of travelers?

To arrive at a more nuanced understanding of the musical experiences of tourists and other related types of travelers, and to move more closely towards developing a theory and method of ethnomusicology in which awareness and reflexivity can be informed by them as well as by the ethnographer's own touristic and semi-touristic engagements, this article focuses on the fairly complicated case of Sufi ritual and music in the form of the whirling dervish show as adapted for the tourist market in Egypt and Turkey: a case that, as I will explain in more depth later, has frequently challenged or called to the fore my own positionality. Indeed, when I first applied for a research visa to Turkey to conduct this study, I was told by the embassy in Washington that because my work was ethnographic and did not involve library or archival research that I should just get a tourist visa. Although I was initially quite put off by this development, eventually I came to find value in it and allowed it to frame my thinking about the project. Since I was officially regarded as a tourist anyways, I sometimes, contrary to Pacholczyk's teachings, approached field sites where there were many visitors 'as such', openly exchanging with

them about travel itineraries, interests, and impressions while also explaining my research aims. Tourist experiences and the inner workings of the tourism industry, thus, became important to my research not only as central subjects, but also in informing my epistemology and methodology.

Embracing, rather than denying, tourism as a critical context for Sufi music as well as a means by which I and many others engaged with it, this article begins in the following section by describing the tourism industries of both Turkey and Egypt at their heights in the first decade of this century, and then elaborates on the place that Sufi ritual and music had within them, particularly their strategic use in tourism advertisements. Subsequently, the article delves more deeply into the nature of the whirling dervish show, and how it has been adapted as a tourist spectacle. By way of ethnographic description, I then explore the complex way in which concertgoers, as tourists and pilgrims, deftly negotiate the fine line between cultural insider and cultural outsider. The vagaries of the emic-etic continuum plague ethnomusicologists as well, but through reflective awareness I learned to handle being simultaneously an ethnographer, tourist, and sometimes pilgrim during my research. Thus, I conclude the article with a discussion of the advantages of such reflexive thinking for the discipline of ethnomusicology.

### **Tourism Booms and Spiritual Highs**

In the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, both Turkey and Egypt experienced unprecedented tourism booms despite considerable instability in the region brought on by such events as the Second Intifada in Israel and Palestine (2000-2005), the Iraq War (since 2003), and intermittent terrorist bombings of important local tourist centers like Istanbul (1999, 2003, 2008, 2010), Kuşadası (2005), Taba and the Sinai Peninsula (2004), Cairo (2005), and Sharm al-Sheikh (2005).<sup>2</sup> According to reports from the United Nations World Tourism Organization, Turkey during this time was among the world's most productive tourism markets, its revenues having grown from 5.2 billion US dollars in 1999 to over \$22 billion by 2010 (World Tourism Organization, 2000: 27; 2018: 15). Overall, Turkey peaked in that decade as the seventh most popular tourist destination in the world in 2010 (World Tourism Organization, 2011: 5), with the

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<sup>2</sup> Both markets spiraled downward in the following decade owing to a variety of factors, but especially on account of the Arab Spring in Egypt and a series of political, diplomatic, and financial crises in Turkey. The latter has since rebounded considerably, peaking as the world's sixth largest tourism market in 2014, but Egypt has continued to struggle.

number of international visitors rising over 450% from 6.9 million in 1999 to about 31.3 million by the end of the decade (World Tourism Organization, 2000: 27; 2018: 15), shattering all projected targets. Such growth came in no small part due to Turkey's aggressive marketing campaign, which has had many imitators among its Mediterranean competitors. Although a considerably smaller, if far more ancient market, Egyptian tourism likewise rose from 4.5 million visitors in 1999 to 14 million in the peak year of 2010 (World Tourism Organization, 2000: 21; 2018: 19). Generating 12.5 billion dollars in revenue that year (World Tourism Organization, 2018: 15), the tourist industry was among the most lucrative sectors of Egypt's economy, accounting for 11% of the GDP (Smith, 2014) and employing 12% of the total workforce (Dziadozs, 2009).

While beaches and seaside resorts naturally remained huge draws, cultural tourism, including religious-based tourism, which also comprises pilgrimage, continued to be a top priority for both countries. Like Israel with its tours of the Holy Land, Turkey and Egypt courted visitors with religious festivals and newly preserved or reconstructed holy buildings. While promotional campaigns traditionally targeted Christians from wealthier nations in Europe and North America, many other kinds of cultural/religious tourists were also evident across the Middle East at the turn of the Millennium owing to the rise of new spiritual attitudes, changing demographics, and several other factors related to modernization and globalization. Thus, in addition to excursions to the Biblical sites of Turkey and Coptic centers of Egypt, travel agencies also offered package tours of the holy places of Islam to pilgrims and tourists alike. Increasingly popular were guided tours of so-called 'Islamic Cairo' and discount group travel to Sufi festivals in Turkey, especially those honoring the saints Jelaleddin Rumi and Haji Bektash Veli. Sufism, often identified as the 'mystical' branch of Islam, had in recent decades attained a global appeal unprecedented in its history (see Vicente, 2013).

Tourism commercials sponsored by the tourism ministries of each country and disseminated globally online, including on their official governmental websites, and on cable television, tapped into the burgeoning sacred tourism market, including notably into Sufi ritual and musical practices, as early as 2003. In that year, Dream Design Factory (stylized as dDf), a communications design company based in London and Turkey, produced a series of fantastical tourism spots titled *I Dream of Turkey*. One of the more captivating versions of the ad opens with the camera panning clockwise

around a small child seated on Mt. Nemrut by the bust of Zeus-Oromasdes. The boy is lost in thought, staring at the figurine of a Mevlevi dervish whirling in his hand. Abruptly, the scene changes to a surreal landscape in which what appears to be computer generated dervishes whirl on the peaks of the 'fairy chimneys' of Kapadokya. Dervish-like CGI characters appear yet again on the minaret of the *İsak Paşa Saray* in Doğubeyazit, on the Byzantine mosaic of Jesus in the *Ayasofya* in Istanbul, and beating large drums with mallets on the peaks of a craggy island resting in the azure waters of the Mediterranean. Other versions of the ad show dervishes spinning, and sometimes breathing fire and playing musical instruments, on the minarets of the Blue Mosque in Istanbul, in Turkish baths, and over the lakes of Pamukkale. More motivic than overtly melodic, the brisk music for the ad is wholly Turkish in style with the punctuated, oscillating main figure and descending sequences played on the *ney*, the reed flute emblematic of the Mevlevi Sufi Order, accompanied by pounding drums and occasionally embellished by arabesque-like flourishes played on oud, kanun, tef, and strings.

*I Dream of Turkey* won Best Advertising Film and Advertising Spot in Poznan, Poland at the 2003 Tour Salon Fair's 6<sup>th</sup> Annual International Festival of Tourist Films. Interestingly, the Embassy of Egypt in Warsaw secured the second place position with its entry entitled *Egypt*. Though I have not been able to locate the latter video for further comment, I find it telling that Egypt would continue to follow Turkey's lead as its own marketing campaigns evolved. Egypt's 2003 *Red Sea Riviera* ad, produced by Lowe and Partners Worldwide, which I first saw on TV while in Turkey in 2004, featured prominently on cable news channels and stood out for its stately theme, sumptuously scored for orchestral strings. By 2006, however, the ad had been superseded by *Egypt, The Gift of the Sun*, produced by DDB Travel and Tourism and directed by celebrated French filmmaker Michel Meyer. Unlike the first commercial, with its heavy focus on pristine beaches and slow-moving, high-heeled bikini-clad Caucasian models, the latter was not only decidedly less distant from the lived realities of most Egyptians, but it was also much better balanced by the inclusion of more traditional cultural attractions and with its emphasis on the sun as 'sacred', along with glimpses of ancient temples, lingering shots of mosque-dominated skylines, and a traditional soundtrack featuring a maqam-inflected *firqa* ensemble underpinned by Arabic percussion. Yet it was only in 2010 with a commercial created by ECU Productions and scored by Amr Mustafa,

appropriately titled *Spirit of Egypt* in English,<sup>3</sup> that Egypt would better capitalize on the Sufi tourism wave that had swept Turkey. The most thematically consistent of the various 45-second versions cut from the two-minute original, which features a mainly traditional Arabic soundtrack, focuses extensively on traditional dance styles, with *tannoura*, the Egyptian variant of dervish whirling, factoring in most prominently and most frequently, including inexplicably on one occasion with fire breathing like in *I Dream of Turkey*.

While there is an intrinsic element of exoticism in all tourist advertisements, the inclusion and increasing prominence of whirling dervishes in commercials, such as *I Dream of Turkey* and *Spirit of Egypt*, constitutes not only a case of auto-orientalism, but also reflects important new attitudes toward Sufism in the region since the turn of the century. Orthodox Muslims have often regarded Sufi practices with suspicion if not outright hostility (see, for instance, Sirriyeh, 1999). Though the massacre at a Sufi Mosque in the Sinai in November 2017 represents a disturbing setback, Sufism in Egypt had strong governmental backing throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century and had been growing, notably among young people, so much since the 1970s that Brown (2011: 11) could declare it to be the religious “default setting” of the country in the first decade of this century. Meanwhile in Turkey, starting in 1925, Sufi orders were banned from promoting themselves as living religious traditions by the secularist government, and had languished as cultural relics until very recently, when their rehabilitation since the 1990s has made them actually iconic of the country, as evidenced in the *I Dream of Turkey* ad and in the 2013 *Lonely Planet* travel guide for Turkey, which featured female dervish whirlers on the front cover (see also Vicente, 2013). Such advertisements have proven enormously successful in drawing large numbers of tourists to both Turkey and Egypt. The Islamic sites and whirling dervishes depicted in these commercials have attracted religious tourists in particular, and local Sufi traditions have been adapted to accommodate such visitors. The next section focuses on one essential segment of this growing industry, that of Sufi mystical concerts known as ‘whirling shows,’ concentrating specifically on their audiences.

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<sup>3</sup> *Misr, Bidayat al-Hikaya* in Arabic, which may be translated as *Egypt, The Beginning of the Story*.

## **The Whirling Dervish Show as Touristic and Spiritual Attraction**

The most immediate experience tourists and even some pilgrims have with Sufism in either Turkey or Egypt is at what are sometimes advertised as ‘whirling shows’ or ‘dervish shows,’ which are a must-see for any visitor to Istanbul, Konya, or Cairo. The central highlight of these performances is the ‘dance’ of white-robed Islamic mystics, who, with outstretched arms, elegantly spin counterclockwise in their flowing gowns. In Turkey, this whirling is called *sema* and is taken from the traditional Sufi ritual known as *zikr* (Arabic, *dhikr*), a ritual that is rarely viewed in public for a variety of religious and legal reasons. The purpose of both *sema* and *zikr* is to create an ecstatic trance state in which the worshiper achieves spiritual union with *Allah* and the whole of His creation. Music is an essential element in inducing this ecstasy and therefore is also a central feature of whirling shows. In fact, such performances typically take the form of concerts of traditional classical or folk music, with the whirling dance comprising the second half of the program.<sup>4</sup>

Although the whirling show and *zikr* differ considerably and detractors tend to view the tourist performances as devoid of spiritual essence (*tasawwuf, tasavvuf*), most aspects of the whirling shows either have their bases in traditional *zikr* or have historical precedence. For instance, the presence of non-participating foreign spectators at what seems to be a deeply private experience between a worshiper and his or her god goes back at least to the early fifteenth century when the first accounts of the *zikr* were recorded by foreign travelers to the region (De la Broquière, 1989). In fact, one well-known whirler explained to me in Konya that *sema* requires a minimum of three witnesses for it to be considered as having taken place (Vicente, 2004). Thus, *sema* and *zikr* are not individualistic, but communal experiences, as the designs of many Sufi lodges corroborate. The Mevlevi lodges in Galata, Istanbul and Girne, Northern Cyprus, for example, both have stages for whirlers, better known as *semazen-s*, and balconies for musicians as well as ample space reserved for a seated audience.

Whirling shows in Turkey today normally take place outside of the traditional context of such dervish lodges, not only because of issues of legality or an interest in preserving religious secrecy, though these are important factors, but also for accessibility and the comfort of the large number of non-whirling viewers. Although many foreign visitors do

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<sup>4</sup> For more on the performance proceedings, see Vicente, 2013: 104-110

find their way into underground lodges, shrines, and residences to attend *zikr*-s, most go to the equally evocative venues of the whirling shows. Furnished with appropriate seating and adequate stage space for turning, these settings include castles, caravanserais, museums, carpet shops, basketball courts, and even train stations. In some instances, whirling shows can be seen in locations specifically designed for them, such as at the Galata Mevlevihane in Istanbul or the newer Sufi cultural centers in Hacibektaş and Konya. In keeping with tradition, these performances are typically done in the evening, but increasingly popular are whirling shows that are given in a restaurant in conjunction with dinner. While this may appear to be a sacrilegious gimmick designed to lure unsuspecting tourists to questionable cuisine, there is a precedence of communal eating known as *sofra* after ritual gatherings like the *zikr* (see Soileu, 2012; Vicente, 2013: 151-152, 165).

The Egyptian counterpart to the globally famous *sema* of Turkey is the *tannoura* show. Since virtually nothing has been published on *tannoura* in the scholarly literature, most probably because its very close association with tourism renders it academically inconsequential if not wholly trivial, I will provide a brief sketch here based on the few shows I attended in Cairo, though I was not in a position at the time to conduct interviews with practitioners or study the tradition in any real depth.<sup>5</sup> While traced directly to the Mevlevi *sema* of Turkey, *tannoura* is not supported by and does not follow any specific *tariqa* (Sufi order), and so is not, strictly speaking, a religiously recognized or consecrated ritual, although it is often advertised as such and usually involves some sacred or spiritual elements, such as recitations from the Qur'an, chanting of Sufi poetry, and sometimes outward trance-like display, or at least *tarab* (musical ecstasy). Meaning 'skirt' in Arabic, *tannoura* is famed for its costuming: multiple skirts, usually black, but decorated with large geometrical patterns in a kaleidoscopic array of colors ranging from magenta and orange to teal and purple. Worn over a long white *gallabiya* robe, these skirts can be separated and removed at the belt so that they can be spun above the head and around the body and manipulated to form a variety of showy displays, all while the dancer whirls clockwise or counterclockwise. Like in Turkey, the actual whirling constitutes only part of the show. Typically, the whirling is preceded by a short concert

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<sup>5</sup> Several videos with brief explanations posted by tourists as well as the occasional ethnomusicologist can be easily found on YouTube and on personal blogs. See, for example, AP Archive (2011), Grippo (2009), and Kakemura Yusuke (2013).

of folk or folkloristic music, performed on instruments that can be played standing up, namely any combination from *mizmar*, *nai*, *kawala*, and *rabab*, accompanied by *tabla/darabuka*, *riq*, *duff/deff*, and/or *sagat/toura*. Four (occasionally six) brightly painted frame drums will often be used as dance props by whirlers, who use them, two in each hand, in a virtuosic prelude to the skirt twirling. Traditionally performed at *moulid-s* (festivals commemorating Sufi spiritual figures), *tannoura* is now most commonly staged, often to prerecorded music, at historical sites, in restaurants, and on dinner cruises on the Nile (see, for example, Zi Dan, 2017).

Perhaps, for traditional sensibilities of *tasawwuf*, the most jarring aspect of the dervish shows has to do with the ‘showiness’ of the *sema* and *tannoura* shows. On several occasions I witnessed untamed displays of showmanship on the part of whirlers and musicians alike. *Tannoura* performances can be especially ostentatious not only because of the dazzling skirt manipulations at velocities that make those accustomed to the tranquility of the white-clad *semazen-s* of Turkey balk, – some *tannoura* performers even sew LED lights into the linings of the skirts for performance in the dark –, but also because of the high degree of choreography involved, including sometimes synchronized swaying on the part of whirlers and musicians and the antiphonal virtuosic display that occasionally takes place among percussionists (see, for example, Sky Blue, 2012). Such theatricality is not unique to *tannoura*, though. At a Sufi music concert I attended in Konya in 2004, an Azerbaijani clarinetist, a renowned purveyor of Sufi mystical music, pranced onstage in wide circles and performed daring feats of virtuosity that included playing sustained high notes on just the mouthpiece of his instrument while he prompted the audience with his free hand for applause. The traditionally reserved Turkish audience was aghast with such liberties taken in the name of spirituality, but ethnographers of trance experiences have long recognized the performative capabilities of the spiritually possessed (see Goodman, 1972: xv-xvi; Rouget, 1985). In my experience, even at private *zikh-r-s*, the religiously devout more frequently than not lapse into bouts of hysterics as a result of their spiritual ecstasy, and sometimes are prone to weeping, hyperventilation, and uncontrolled fits of abnormal behavior in what seems to be, in some cases, a plea for attention.

Lest the reader, misled by such theatrics and the occasional laser light display, conclude that whirling shows are devoid of *tasawwuf* or the potential for it, it is worth noting that,

at least sometimes, whirling shows are performed within the context of Islamic ritual worship called *salat* (Turkish, *namaz*). This notwithstanding, Jonathan Shannon (2006: 269) in his writing on similar performances in Syria explains that, generally speaking, the framing of musical performance as distinctly secular or sacred is not so clear in the Middle East. With respect to whirling shows, he contends that it is through Western conventions of performance that such concerts and stagings are ‘made to be sacred’, even if they are not inherently so (Shannon, 2003: 267, 269). At a whirling show I attended at the Saladin Citadel in Cairo in February 2005, I found the situation very similar to that described by Shannon. The performance in the long, cavernous performance hall was packed with tourists from all over the world, but unlike the characteristic frenzy of the city of Cairo or even of a Sufi *zikr*, the attendees sat quietly, as the ushers had instructed them. The organizers had done their best to create the dignified, contemplative atmosphere of a mosque or church, or of a classical music concert, forbidding photography and video recording, and prohibiting the audience from sitting on the floor. During the performance, I overheard a latecomer behind me arguing with one of the ushers who had told her that she had to wait in the back, as there were no seats in front. The woman, who appeared to be a New Ager, exclaimed in North American English, “But this is about God, man!” and spent the rest of the evening slowly working her way up toward the stage.

### **Turning Inward: Tourist-Pilgrim Subjectivities and Ethnographic Reflexivities**

As I experienced time and again, often it is difficult to discern precisely at such performances if someone like the woman in the Citadel is a tourist or a pilgrim, or even a foreigner or local. Islam is not an ethnically, culturally, or nationally monolithic faith. Meanwhile, many Sufi *tariqa*-s eschew such divisions in their teachings, frequently calling for tolerance, coexistence, and humanistic universalism. Even when visiting mosques, the distinction between tourist and worshiper is not always evident. Once, on a semi-touristic visit to the Mevlevi Mosque in the city of Afyon in Central Turkey, I found myself in the rare situation of being completely alone in the large mosque and took the opportunity to freely explore the structure until two young women came in to pray. The mosque was built on the grounds of an important thirteenth century Sufi settlement and had an unusual construction. I slipped into a second room by the exit in the back and saw through the unique interior windows looking into the prayer hall that the women had abruptly ended their prayers and were scurrying about, posing and

taking pictures, thinking that I had left; they resumed their composure and self-consciously adjusted their headscarves when they saw that I was still lingering about. I observed such touristic behavior frequently at Sufi ritual and musical events, particularly among pilgrims taking part in the commemoration of the life and teachings of Jelaleddin Rumi at the annual Mevlana Festival in Konya. In 2004, for example, Iranian pilgrims at the shrine of Rumi were so eager to film each other going into fits of religious ecstasy during recitations of Rumi's poetry that they continually disrupted the reciters. Meanwhile, on another day during the festival, the sheikh of a local *tariqa* who normally prohibits photography and video recording in his lodge immediately struck a pose with pilgrims from Latvia as soon as their cameras were unleashed after a *zikr*.

This blend of piety and tourism is indeed all too common in the Middle East. Despite signs posted at mosque entrances forbidding flash photography and requiring mobile phones be turned off, Muslim visitors are among the first to speed through their ritual prayers (*salat*), produce camera phones from their pockets, and linger until they have taken the perfect photograph. Conversely, non-Muslims, as I likewise frequently observed, tend to take quick pictures first, perhaps overwhelmed by the beauty of mosque interiors, and then sit quietly in a corner in contemplation. To what extent is the European budget backpacker on a quest for spiritual fulfillment? To what extent is *salat* a pretext for getting that prized souvenir snapshot? Since travel is consecrated as a matter of religious obligation in the *arkan* (pillar) of hajj to Mecca and as a popular practice of spiritual devotion in pilgrimage (*ziyarat, ziyaret*) to Medina and the shrines of Sufi saints and other holy figures, it should not be too surprising that many of the habits and trappings of modern tourism, such as taking photos and buying souvenirs, would be naturally adopted by even the most devout of Muslims. Thus, figurines of *semazen*-s like that held by the boy in *I Dream of Turkey* (see, for example, Figure 1), along with the Rumi-inspired coffee mugs in the shops on the way back from the whirling shows in Konya should not be simplistically regarded as tacky trinkets denoting the commodification of Sufi Islam (see Hutnyk, 2000: 94). Indeed, for the most part it is pilgrims, not tourists who buy such souvenirs to display in their living rooms as markers of their fulfillment of religious duty.



**Figure 1:** Mevlevi Dervish Figurines and the Author's Reflection, Store Window Display, Ankara, June 6, 2005

Equally as nuanced are the drives and experiences of tourists that I have spoken to over the years at whirling shows in Turkey and, to a lesser extent, in Egypt. Widely dismissed as uninformed and even derided for lacking spiritual depth in their daily lives on account of what John Hutnyk calls their “middle-class affliction” (2000: 92-93), tourists are pessimistically blamed by such critics, including some of my informants in Cairo, Konya, and Istanbul, for the rapid commercialization of Sufism and, by extension, its purported decline. The embracing of Sufism by New Age believers, its growth in Europe and North America (Westerland, 2004), and the global popularity of its various ritual and musical expressive forms have all contributed to the view held by some that Sufism has become too secularized (see Shannon, 2003), inauthentic (see Manuel, 2008: 397), and ‘cheapened’ by cultural and political exploitation (Usmani, 2010). On the ground at whirling show centers, tourists bear some of this backlash. Yet, tourists are not all so ignorant or naïve about Sufi traditions and practices as detractors imagine. Fairly good introductions to Sufi teachings, philosophies, history, and customs are widely available in many languages online and in the tourism literature (see, for example, Yale, Campbell, and Plunkett, 2003), which at least in some places like Konya, can be bought on the spot along with more substantive materials. In fact, rarely did I meet tourists at whirling

shows and *zikh*-s who truly knew nothing about or held unsympathetic views toward Sufism. To the contrary, most had a fair command of the basics and were seeking to learn more about Sufism and experience it firsthand; moreover, many, or at least far more than I initially anticipated, were actually repeat visitors, like one woman from England I met at a show in Cairo who traveled to Egypt frequently and had been to over half a dozen *tannoura* performances because she made it a point to attend every time she was in town (Vicente, 2005). Meanwhile, the founding of many Sufi branches in Europe has made the tourist-worshiper distinction quite blurred in Turkey, where Sufi novices from abroad can easily be mistaken for tourists; on one occasion in Konya one particularly cynical local shopkeeper and I made this very error about the sheikh (!) of a lodge in Italy.

The distinctions between insiders and outsiders were complicated for me even further on a personal level during my fieldwork expeditions. Particularly in Turkey, it was assumed that I was a Muslim because, as I am often told, I 'look Turkish'. Convincing the people I was working with otherwise became a moot point when they learned that I was not only doing research, but also teaching at a university. I automatically became an 'expert' in a host of matters I was only just beginning to discover. Like many ethnomusicologists, I became skilled at using this to my advantage when necessary, but the most valuable lesson I learned came from the people I observed in mosques and shrines, who moved fluidly between being pilgrims and tourists. I too had a backpack full of guidebooks and cameras, and I found that in several contexts, being a tourist, which I sometimes in fact was, allowed me access and liberties I did not have as a scholar. This proved especially advantageous in conducting interviews. The line between tourist and scholar, however, is much finer than that between tourist and worshiper, and I found that this is a card that can be played only sparingly and then, in some contexts, never more than once (for a discussion of the harmful consequences of what is known as 'covert fieldwork', see Cassell, 1980: 35). Yet in having discovered it, I realized that ethnographers have many such cards, but may not necessarily feel comfortable with them. In allowing myself to be a tourist, for instance, something I was taught a good ethnographer should never do, I gained insights not only into important touristic aspects of Sufism that were not really validated by the scholarship at the time, but also arrived at an insider's perspective of tourist culture that is likewise neglected in more polemic studies of tourism.

Such reflexivity and self-awareness about my research methods while still in the field proved to be especially fruitful in December 2004 as I attempted to document the many events of the Mevlana Festival in Konya. Over the course of the week, I had met and begun to work with an anthropologist from France and several journalists, who had similar goals and problems as myself, in documenting the festival. We shared insights, recordings, and methodologies, and, in particular, the anthropologist and I grew to admire the more direct, aggressive tactics that the journalists had for questioning informants. Journalists have a long history in the Middle East and command a great deal of respect as oral transmitters of information. I found that, like the scholar-tourist approach, being a journalist-ethnographer had its own advantages. My interaction with my makeshift research team further brought to light the slipperiness of emic-etic distinctions when, after a lunch meeting on our way to a ceremony, we spontaneously began to interview one another. We discovered that the Iranian journalist, under his veneer of professionalism, was a kind of pilgrim in his own right, as he passionately sang one of Rumi's *ghazal*-s on the sidewalk with a tripod resting on his shoulder. I had this realization of myself when the anthropologist played back the video of an interview he had conducted with me and pointed out how much I sounded like one of the pilgrims. Not having yet grasped the full implications of what all this meant, we arrived at the shrine of Rumi, when the American journalist spontaneously had me pose in front of the tomb, as if I were just another tourist. Fuller clarity and reckoning with my own positionality came to me only much later when I developed the picture used in Figure 1, which I took in Ankara several months later; I was surprised when reviewing the prints that my reflection could still be made out in the store window despite having tried so hard to avoid it, and I regretted that I did not take an outright self-portrait with the figurines, be they kitschy and commercialized, or reverent and authentic, depending on vantage point within the tourist-pilgrim and emic-etic continua.

### **Coming Round Again: Review/Conclusion/Moving Forward**

Reflexivity, what Margaret Mead (1928) had in another, earlier sense called "reflexiveness" and what Erik Erikson (1958) later termed "disciplined subjectivity," became a primary ethnographic concern starting in the 1970s following anthropologist Bob Scholte's critical assessment of research at the time:

Anthropological activity is never only scientific. In addition, it is expressive or symptomatic of a presupposed cultural world of which it is itself an integral part. As anthropologists, we cannot simply take this *Lebenswelt* and its attendant scientific traditions for granted. We must subject them to further reflexive understanding, hermeneutic mediation, and philosophical critique (1972: 431).

An ensuing reflexive turn swept through anthropology almost immediately, and, as Philip Carl Salzman (2002: 805) has observed (and critiqued), came to be accepted as an unequivocal paradigm shift that would dominate not only the field, but also all related disciplines till the present. Fieldworkers since the mid-1980s have been particularly consumed with issues of implicit, especially colonialist/imperialist and gender, bias in the writing of ethnography (Clifford, Marcus, 1986; Geertz, 1988). Notably, some of the most seminal writings on ethnographic reflexivity (i.e., Rabinow, 1978; Abu Lughod, 1999) have emerged from research into the Muslim world. Ethnographers of music have been equally eager to adopt self-critical frameworks and likewise produced powerful models for interrogating the scholar's own positionality: Carol Robertson's questioning of our ability to truly understand the ontology of another musical culture (1979), Steven Feld's innovative approach at reading his writings to his informants (1990), and Michelle Kisiuk's self-location not just within the body of ethnographic literature that came before her, but vis-à-vis the sensibilities and interpersonal dynamics of the those who contributed to it (1998).

Hence, in virtually every master's thesis, doctoral dissertation, and monograph involving any substantive amount of ethnographic field research includes, *de rigueur*, usually in or somewhere near the methodology section in the introductory chapter, some disclosure of the author's motivations, personal involvements, biases, and other potential liabilities that might have influenced the collection, interpretation, and presentation of data. Within the burgeoning subfield of tourism ethnography, reflexivity has received the standard amount of attention (see Andrews, Jimura, Dixon: 2018), but it has been far less robust in the ethnomusicology of tourism. In Barz and Cooley's *Shadows in the Field*, still the most widely read and highly regarded collected volume dealing predominantly with issues of reflexivity in ethnomusicological work, tourism and tourists are mentioned only in passing in a litany of various field subjectivities that also includes

missionaries and journalists; little is elucidated about how ethnomusicologists working within tourist contexts might methodologically go about their work or theoretically conceptualize their own subjectivities besides understanding the fact that, as cultural outsiders, they might be implicated in (even as they may try to distance themselves from) colonialist legacies and power dynamics that could be adverse to locals (2008: 4-5). In his own ethnographic study of music and tourism in the Polish Tatras, however, Cooley explains at length how the first music ethnographers in the region were also tourists, and he deliberates on his own fluidity as ethnographer, tourist, and performer, revealing how on some occasions he allowed mistaken tourists, and even himself, to believe that he was a local musician (2005: 212). While the fruits of Cooley's identity shifting are in evidence in the many subtle cultural and musical analyses he provides, regrettably he does not dwell much on how his sometimes tourist self provided unique vantage points into the musical culture (2005: 211), which has been among my primary interests in this article.

Fieldwork is a challenging and perplexing endeavor, perhaps not only because of the music, people, and situations we encounter and study, but also because of the way we choose to interact with them. Ethnomusicologists who aim to ascertain emic understandings of a musical culture should not just place themselves within a strictly binary insider-outsider paradigm. They should allow themselves, at least from time to time, to behave and think within the possibilities of the continuum, just as their informants might. I found that perceiving and acting like a tourist or a journalist, or even a sort of pilgrim, gave me insights I would have missed otherwise. When I first saw the trinkets in the bus station in Konya, I dismissed them as nothing more than typical tourist junk, but from the pilgrim's perspective I came to understand their deeper religious significance. Through the eyes and ears of the tourists and pilgrims at the whirling dervish shows, I observed not inauthentic commercial reproductions of a once great, but now fading musical and religious tradition, but a thriving movement revitalized by peoples of different faiths and backgrounds having honest and profound musico-religious experiences. Dervish shows have helped to spread interest in Sufism and, at least with the case of Turkey, have enabled the government to soften its stance on the tradition; in a sense they also help to protect and preserve more private traditional expressive forms like *zikr*, especially from an unmanageable flood of interested outside visitors. In this article, I have tried to advocate neither for a more

simplistic reckoning of Sufi practice, nor for a slackening of fieldwork rigor, as the term 'tourist' might generically imply, but rather quite the opposite: for a more nuanced, sharpened framework; not so much a shift in paradigm, but a shift in perspective. It is all of course a matter of perspective, but a scholar's path to 'enlightenment' may yet hinge on his or her willingness to think more empathically and reflexively within the ethnographic moment.

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## Historical Sources of Turkish Music in Berlin: The Kurt Reinhard Collections in the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv

### ABSTRACT

In the focus of this paper are historical sources of Turkish music kept in institutions and archives in Berlin. They are, first and foremost, due to the work of Kurt Reinhard (1914–1979), professor at the Free University in Berlin (1948–1977) and director of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv (1952–1968). From 1955 onwards, he intensively did fieldwork in Turkey, often together with his wife Ursula, and published and lectured on Turkish music.

Today Reinhard's sound recordings are preserved in the Phonogramm-Archiv in the Ethnological Museum in Berlin, together with ample documentation, photos, writings, correspondence, and personal documents. Additional materials, including recordings and publications of his students and colleagues, preserved in the Institute for Comparative Musicology of the Free University, have also been given to the Phonogramm-Archiv.

These historical documents form a unique collection of cultural heritage of Turkish music, which includes examples of music and dance from the late 1950's through the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In my article I shall briefly introduce the different Berlin institutions and provide information on the sound collections of Turkish music recorded in Turkey by Reinhard, his wife, his students, and colleagues from 1955 onwards.

### KEYWORDS

Historical sound recordings

Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv

Kurt Reinhard

Cultural heritage

## **Introduction**

In Berlin, the study of Turkish music has a long history, thanks to Kurt Reinhard, professor at the Institute for Comparative Musicology at the Free University in Berlin from 1948–1976, and from 1952–1968, Director of the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* in the *Ethnologisches Museum* [until 1998: *Museum für Völkerkunde*]. The many publications and expeditions from these years document Reinhard's interest and research in Turkish music. Whereas his publications are widely known, the great number of his sound recordings, often made during his expeditions in Turkey together with his wife Ursula, as well as with students, are less known for technical reasons. Only a few sound recordings have been published so far.<sup>1</sup> For all ethnomusicologists interested in Turkish music, the historical sound documents recorded by Reinhard, his wife Ursula, and his students between 1955 and 1995 form a most valuable collection.

The following study presents an overview of historical collections of Turkish music, which have been collected by Kurt and Ursula Reinhard, as well as by other scholars; they were formerly preserved in different ethnomusicological institutions in Berlin, but today they can all be found in the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* of the *Ethnologisches Museum* in Berlin. The aim of this article is to give an overview of the sound collections of Turkish music with a special focus on Kurt Reinhard. It starts with a short biography of Kurt Reinhard and a short history of the different ethnomusicological institutions in Berlin in Reinhard's time.

## **Biography of Kurt Reinhard<sup>2</sup>**

Kurt Reinhard was born in 1914 in Gießen, Germany. He studied music history, art history, ethnology, and composition, first at the university of Cologne, later in Leipzig and, finally, in Munich. In Munich he completed his study in 1938 with a dissertation on 'The music of Birma' (today Myanmar), in which he transcribed and analysed the wax cylinder collection of Lucian Scherman, an ethnologist who made recordings of Burmese music in 1911 on wax cylinders (Reinhard, 1939). Afterwards, Reinhard went to Berlin and took a position in the Institute for Music Research in the musical instruments' collections. In September 1939 he was conscripted to the army, and at the end of World War II taken as prisoner of war in Russia. Upon returning to Berlin in 1946 he worked at

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<sup>1</sup> A list of Reinhard's publications is to be found in Ahrens (1984: 219ff.). A discography is to be found in the end of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> For more detailed information see Kuckertz, 1984. Cf. also Baumann, 1979; Christensen, 1980; Eggebrecht, 2001; Schumacher, 2005.

the newly founded Free University in West Berlin and in the *Museum für Völkerkunde* [today *Ethnologisches Museum*], where he ultimately became the director of the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* in 1952. Since most of the Archive's pre-war collections were allegedly lost, he started new collections, one with musical instruments and another with tape recordings, based on fieldwork. He successfully organized the study of ethnomusicology in Berlin, combining the possibilities, which offered museum work together with educating students at the university. Until 1970, when a separate institute of comparative musicology was established, all lectures, seminars, etc. were held by Reinhard in the museum. From 1955 onward, he organized several recording expeditions to Turkey, often together with his wife Ursula and his students.

Ursula Reinhard had been working as a music teacher, but later studied the Turkish language in order to accompany her husband on fieldtrips and to be able to speak with local musicians and translate the texts. In 1968 Reinhard resigned from his position in the museum in order to devote all of his time to the University, and his former student, Dieter Christensen, took over the position in the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*. Reinhard retired from the university in 1977; he died shortly thereafter (1979) in Wetzlar, Germany. After her husband's death Ursula Reinhard moved to Berlin. On the basis of her husband's and her own former studies she successfully continued to conduct research on Turkish music, made several expeditions and publications. She died in 2005.

### **Ethnomusicological institutions in Berlin**

Reinhard was involved in three ethnomusicological institutions in Berlin: the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* at the *Ethnologisches Museum* (until 1998 *Museum für Völkerkunde*), the Institute for Comparative Musicology at the Free University, and the International Institute for Traditional Music (formerly the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation). Therefore, all Reinhard collections were spread in these institutions.

The *Phonogramm-Archiv* is the oldest institution and successor of the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*, founded in 1900 at the Institute of Psychology at Berlin University. In 1934 the *Phonogramm-Archiv* was incorporated into the *Museum für Völkerkunde*, but after World War II almost all of the holdings of wax cylinder recordings and shellac discs were taken by the Soviet army to Russia. Kurt Reinhard became the director of the *Phonogramm-Archiv* in 1952 and successfully started an initiative to rebuild the

Phonogramm-Archiv and to collect new material, musical instruments, and tape recordings. Recordings on tape were first made in Berlin, and later in the field, from 1955 onwards, especially in Turkey. In 1963 the name of the institution '*Phonogramm-Archiv*' was changed to 'Department of Ethnomusicology', since the phonographic technique was not in use any more, and the holdings of the former *Phonogramm-Archiv* were not accessible at that time. However, the collections of the former Archive were given to the authorities in East Berlin in 1960/1961, and after the unification in 1991, were returned to the museum.<sup>3</sup>

Today, the ethnomusicological department in the *Ethnologisches Museum* comprises four huge collections:

- the pre-war collections of wax cylinders and shellac discs,
- the so-called 'original collections' (non-commercial) recorded since 1952, first on tape, later on analog and digital cassettes, on CDs, and currently on hard discs,
- the collections of commercial LPs, cassettes, and CDs,
- the collection of musical instruments, which started in the early 1950s, and continues until today.<sup>4</sup>

The Institute for Comparative Musicology at the Free University [*Institut für Vergleichende Musikwissenschaft der Freien Universität Berlin*] was founded after World War II at the American-supported 'Free University'; the former 'Berlin University' was in the eastern part of Berlin. In 1948 Kurt Reinhard started to hold lectures in ethnomusicology, first in the Institute of Musicology [*Institut für Musikwissenschaft*]. A separate institute of comparative musicology was made possible thanks to Kurt Reinhard, in 1970. The institute offered lectures on different music cultures in the world, seminars, and courses on organology, acoustics, analysis, and transcription, following the old Berlin school of comparative musicology. Reinhard's main area of research was Turkey, and therefore several of his students became interested in this region, for example, Dieter Christensen, Christian Ahrens, Jens Peter Reiche, Dorit Klebe and others. Reinhard undertook several expeditions together with his wife and his students, and

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<sup>3</sup> Reinhard published several times on the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*, see f. e. Reinhard 1961, 1972. A detailed history of the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* can be found in Simon (2000) and Ziegler (2006).

<sup>4</sup> The institution changed its name several times, the current designation is: '*Abt. Medien – Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv / Musikethnologie / Visuelle Anthropologie*' in the *Ethnologisches Museum* Berlin. A survey of the department is given in Koch/Wiedmann/Ziegler 2004.

different kinds of music in Turkey were recorded and documented: Art music [*Kunstmusik*], as well as traditional folk music, but also music of the Kurds, Christian communities, refugees, etc. Most of the recordings were archived in the sound archive of the museum, others – especially those collected with and by the students – in the sound archive of the university institute. When Reinhard retired and left Berlin, the tradition of studying Turkish music continued with Max Peter Baumann and Rudolf Brandl, the latter a specialist in Balkan folk music, especially in Greek music. With the growing amount of Turkish guest workers in Germany, Turkish music in Berlin came into the focus of the institute (see Baumann, 1985). In 1980 Josef Kuckertz became a professor at the institute, but his priority was Asian music, especially Indian classical music. When I took the position as an assistant in the institute in 1983, I followed the Turkish tradition. Together with Ursula Reinhard and six students we made an expedition to Southern Turkey in 1985. However, in the 1990s and later, the interest of the Institute's members shifted from Turkey to other regions of the world.

Due to changes in the scientific landscape in Berlin, the Institute lost its independence and was finally dissolved in 2014. Fortunately, all sound collections and musical instruments were given to *Ethnologisches Museum* in 2015, and the library, especially rich in Turkish music, was incorporated into the library of the Free University.

The third institution in Berlin at Reinhard's times, the International Institute for Comparative Music Studies and Documentation [*Internationales Institut für Vergleichende Musikstudien und Dokumentation*], since 1991 the International Institute for Traditional Music [*Internationales Institut für Traditionelle Musik*], was founded in 1963 by means of the Ford Foundation and financially supported by the City of Berlin. The Institute's aims were "to research and promote music from other cultures and to disseminate knowledge concerning those cultures, as well as to work towards the exchange of musicians, ensembles and scholars" (Baumann, 1993: 44). During the first 20 years its main obligations were the organization of festivals (since 1977) of traditional music, and the publication of LPs (the famous UNESCO record collection), and books. Kurt Reinhard was a member of the scientific board, and from 1964 until 1969, director of the Turkish department in this institution. Reinhard's first book on Turkish music (Reinhard 1969, in French), as well as other publications by Reinhard and his wife (Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula 1984, Reinhard Ursula 1993) were published by this

institute. However, the institute was dissolved by Berlin cultural politicians in 1996, and all its holdings were handed over to the Ethnomusicological Department in the *Ethnologisches Museum* in 2008.<sup>5</sup>

Today, the 'Abt. Medien – Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv / Musikethnologie / Visuelle Anthropologie' in the *Ethnologisches Museum* Berlin, with the collections of sound recordings and musical instruments, is the only institution that has survived and continues to conduct research and publish. Luckily, all collections of Kurt and Ursula Reinhard in Turkey are to be found in this institution, though the material is not yet accessible in its entirety.

### **Historical collections of Turkish music**

Numerous non-commercial collections of Turkish music are preserved in the *Ethnologisches Museum* in Berlin; hardly any other place outside of Turkey possesses such a great number of historical sound recordings of Turkish music. Four different corpuses can be distinguished:

- a) Early collections on wax cylinders of the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* (1900–1945)
- b) Tape collections recorded by Kurt Reinhard (1955–1975)
- c) Recordings made by Ursula Reinhard after Kurt Reinhard's death (1981–1995)
- d) Collections made by other persons (colleagues, students etc.)

a) The early collections of wax cylinders of the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* (1900–1945) include only a few where Turkish music is represented (cf. Ziegler 2006). Of course, the first collection of Turkish music, made by Felix von Luschan during the excavations in Zincirli in 1902, on wax cylinders, is a most important historical source. Recordings of Turkish music were also made by Robert Lachmann in 1923,<sup>6</sup> and during WW I in German prison camps by Georg Schünemann.<sup>7</sup>

b) The tape collections recorded by Kurt Reinhard between 1955 and 1975 nowadays have to be regarded as 'historical' collections as well; compared with the early collections made in the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Reinhard collections are

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<sup>5</sup>For more information see Baumann 1993.

<sup>6</sup>This collection includes eight wax cylinders with Turkish art music performed by Mesut Djemil on *tanbur* and *kemandzeh*, recorded by Robert Lachmann in Berlin 1923 (cf. Ziegler, 2006: 193f. and on CD-ROM: 456).

<sup>7</sup> See Akat, 2015.

equally important, but in addition, they are more comprehensive and more diverse, when it comes to the genres of Turkish Music and regional distribution of collected material. Except for the first expedition in 1955, Reinhard undertook all later expeditions together with his wife, Ursula, and several with his students as well. Reinhard tried to record all kinds of Turkish music: art music (instrumental and vocal), military music (*mehter*), the whirling dervishes in Konya, folk music in many regions in Turkey, songs, musical instruments, and dances. The collections are provided with detailed documentation, expedition diaries, photographs, correspondence, partial musical transcriptions, and texts. Ursula Reinhard was able to speak Turkish and translated all Turkish song texts into German with the help of the Turkish attendant who always accompanied the German researchers.

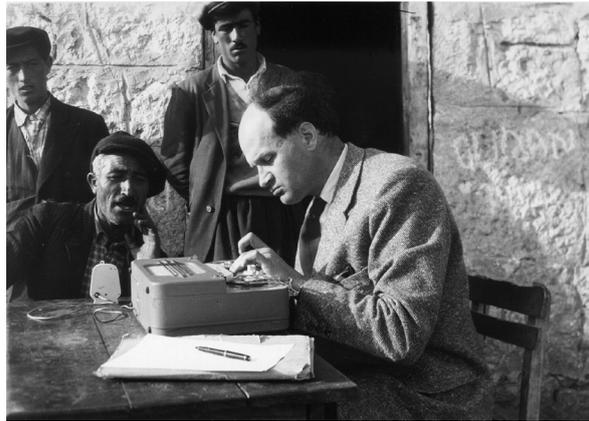
Year	Collector(s)	Name, area, ethnic groups, topic	Amount of tapes	Museum	FU	Remarks
1955	Reinhard, Kurt and Dieter Christensen	Türkei I Prov. Adana	25	O	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0004
1956	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula	Türkei II Prov. Adana, Gaziantep, Hatay	12	O	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0011
1963	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula	Türkei III South provinces, Central Anatolia, Eastern Black Sea region	119	O	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0026
1964	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula	Türkei IV Istanbul, Konya, Ankara	10	O	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0045
1966	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula	Türkei V Istanbul, Bursa	2	O	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0174
1967	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula	Türkei VI Konya (Mevlevi)	31	O	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0076
1968/69	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula	Türkei VII Prov. Sivas, Artvin, Muğla	58	O	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0235
1970	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula, with students	Türkei VIII Prov. Malatya, Gaziantep, Kütahya, Balıkesir	40	K	O	Ident.Nr. OA 0237
1971	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula, with students	Konya, Kars	21		O	[B VV 352-370]
1972	Reinhard, Kurt, Ursula and Volker	Türkei IX Prov. Adana, Gaziantep, Thrace, Western Black Sea region	59	O	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0236
1973	Reinhard, Kurt and Ursula, with students	Ankara, Konya, Silifke	35		O	[B VV 423-457]
1975	Reinhard, Kurt		2		O	[B VV 468-469]

**Table 1.** Collections of Turkish music in Berlin (Reinhard)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The list is based on several sources: Simon 2000: 238 ff., the museum database MuseumPlus, the inventory list of the former Institute for Comparative Musicology of Free University (FU, kindly provided by Albrecht Wiedmann), and the Internet ([www.smb-digital.de](http://www.smb-digital.de)). The list is probably not complete but gives an impression of the amount and origin of the recordings.

O = original recordings, K = copies. All recordings, including the ones formerly held in the Institute for Comparative musicology of the Free University (FU) are today in the Ethnomusicological department of

Within the scope of this article I will remark shortly on Reinhard's first, and most important and most comprehensive expeditions of 1955, 1956, and 1963. The first expedition in 1955, together with his student Dieter Christensen, lasted two months; recordings were made first in Adana province, and later in Istanbul. The collection consists of 359 recordings on 25 tapes, with a detailed catalogue by Christensen (1970: 20–79). During this expedition, as well as the following ones, a Turkish companion helped make contacts with the locals and translate the interviews and song texts.



**Photo. 1.** Kurt Reinhard recording with Butoba tape recorder in Turkey 1955.  
Photo by Dieter Christensen. © Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.

The second expedition of Reinhard, together with his wife, was in March and April 1956; again, the focus was on the southern part of Turkey, namely the provinces Adana, Gaziantep and Hatay. Twelve tapes with 244 recordings were archived in the Museum. The details given in Christensen (1970: 233–279) confirm a great variety of recorded pieces. On this expedition as well as on the first one, Kir İsmail, one of the last singers of epic songs, was recorded. He had also been recorded by Béla Bartók in 1936, and Wolfram Eberhard in 1951.

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the *Ethnologisches Museum*. The last column indicates the present identity number of the collection, the number in brackets [B VV ...] refers to the former identity number of the tapes in the university institute. Unfortunately, not all collections have been inventoried yet.

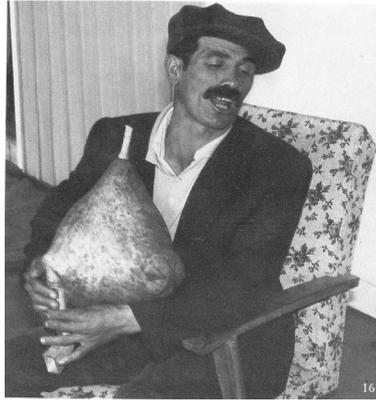


**Photo 2.** İsmail Güngör 'Kır İsmail', singer of epic songs with *cura saz*, 1956.  
Photographer not known. © Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.

The expedition of 1963, which included Reinhard, his wife, and a student, is especially remarkable, because the music of the eastern Black Sea coast was recorded in all of its complexity. “The focus of the expedition was the music of the eastern Black Sea coast, and especially the music of the Laz, which has a particular style and is characterized by the use of the bagpipe and narrow Caucasian violin” [... *das Hauptaugenmerk der Expedition galt der östlichen Schwarzmeerküste und dort vor allem der Musik der Lasen, die einen ganz eigenen Stil hat und instrumental durch den Dudelsack und die schmale kaukasische Geige getragen wird*] (Reinhard, 1963: 416). A total of 119 tapes with 792 recordings, hundreds of photos, and a film are the result of this five-month expedition. In 1966 Reinhard published the first results of this expedition in an extensive article, *Musik am Schwarzen Meer* [Music in the Black Sea area], with detailed analyses, transcriptions, texts in Laz, Turkish, and German, and five sound examples on a single record (Reinhard, 1966). The documentation is available in the museum database ([www.smb-digital.de](http://www.smb-digital.de)) and also in the database of the Black Sea music archive (KARMA).<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> KARMA (Karadeniz Music Archive) is one of the first traditional music archives of Turkey, was founded in 2011, in Karadeniz Technical University - Trabzon by Abdullah Akat. It includes important audio-visual materials from the all countries of Black Sea basin, and it is one of the major international reference sources in the related field.



**Photo 3.** *Tulum*-player Mustafa Tezcan in Pazar (Rize, Eastern Black Sea). 15.05.1963.  
Photographer not known. © Ethnologisches Museum Berlin.

Looking at the list of recordings, it is interesting to note that most of the recordings were archived in the museum, since a technician was at disposal only there. The expeditions undertaken together with students (1971 and 1973) were inventoried at the Institute for Comparative Musicology in order to be easily accessible to the students, but meanwhile they are also in the museum.

More detailed information on the collected material can be found in publications and catalogues: 'Reinhard 1962' is a catalogue of recordings available at that time which includes not only Reinhard's recordings of 1955 and 1956, but also recordings of Turkish music recorded by other persons/institutions (Reinhard 1962); a more comprehensive catalogue of all collections housed in the Ethnomusicology department was compiled by Dieter Christensen in 1970. It includes information on Reinhard's expeditions to Turkey in 1955 and 1956, as well as on Christensen's recordings in Turkey in 1958 (Christensen 1970). Two other publications (Reinhard U., 1965; Reinhard, K. and U., 1968) provide the texts of many of the recordings. The many articles and books on Turkish music, written by Kurt Reinhard are listed in Ahrens (1984: 220ff.).

In contrast to extensive transcriptions and texts published in books and articles, the recorded sounds were never published completely, but selected recordings only. In 1969 a LP entitled *Klassische türkische Musik* [Classical Turkish Music] came out, followed by the LP *The Music of the Whirling Dervishes* in 1971. Other recordings were only published after Kurt Reinhard's death.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> See discography.

c) Recordings made by Ursula Reinhard, mostly together with her son Volker, or other ethnomusicologists after Kurt Reinhard's death (1981–1995) are documented in the following list:

Year	Collector(s)	Name, area, ethnic groups, topic	References
1981	U. Reinhard with Volker Reinhard	Kayseri ( <i>Âşık</i> )	
1981	U. Reinhard with Eberhard Dietrich	Istanbul	
1981–1985	U. Reinhard	Berlin, <i>Âşık</i> (Şah Turna, and other musicians)	Ident.Nr. VII OA 0885
1983	U. Reinhard with Volker Reinhard	Van, Kars, Istanbul ( <i>Âşık</i> )	Ident.Nr. VII OA 0458
1986	U. Reinhard with Hans Kroier	Istanbul, Muğla, südwestliches Gebiet	Ident.Nr. VII OA 0884
1988	U. Reinhard with Volker	Türkei ( <i>Âşık</i> )	Ident.Nr. VII OA 0344
1990	U. Reinhard with Volker	Kars, Istanbul ( <i>Âşık</i> )	Ident.Nr. VII OA 0886
1992	U. Reinhard	<i>Âşık</i> in Berlin	Ident.Nr. VII OA 0887
1993	U. Reinhard with Volker	Antalya, Korkuteli, Elmalı	Ident.Nr. VII OA 0893
1995	U. Reinhard with Ralf Jäger	Istanbul	Ident.Nr. VII OA 0892

**Table 2:** Collections of Turkish music in Berlin (Ursula Reinhard)<sup>11</sup>

After her husband's death in 1979 Ursula Reinhard continued studies on Turkish music, often together with her son Volker, and with colleagues or students. In addition to studies on Turkish carpets, her focus was the music of the *âşık*, not only in Turkey, but in Berlin as well. Later she published a book (U. Reinhard 1989) and a CD (U. Reinhard 1993) on this topic. Except two collections (1983, 1988), which were given to the museum before she died, all other collections were sold to the museum after her death, together with the bulk of official and private papers, folders, handwritten notes, texts, and photographs. The Reinhard bequest in the *Ethnologisches Museum [Nachlass Reinhard]* refers to both Reinhards and has only been roughly inventoried and documented.

<sup>11</sup> The list is based on a preliminary registration of the material given to the museum in 2007. The information is sometimes confusing and has to be revised after careful checking.

d) Kurt Reinhard was interested in obtaining recordings of Turkish music that have been made by other persons as well, in order to provide an overall survey. Especially worth mentioning are the tape copies of the collections recorded in Turkey before 1955, namely the collections of Béla Bartók recorded in 1936, and of the German ethnologist Wolfram Eberhard, who recorded mainly epic songs in 1951.<sup>12</sup> Both collections were available at the university institute, as well as at the museum. Upon request, Reinhard also received copies of recordings from Turkish radio stations. Some of Reinhard's students also specialized in Turkish music: Dieter Christensen became an expert in the music of the Kurds; Christian Ahrens wrote his dissertation on instrumental music in the eastern Black Sea coast (Ahrens, 1970) and later specialized in the music of Pontic Greeks; Jens Peter Reiche wrote his dissertation on *davul-zurna* music in Southern Turkey (Reiche, 1968). At the end of 1979, when more Turkish '*Gastarbeiter*' came to Germany, their music became a topic in the Institute for Comparative musicology, too (see collections of Max Peter Baumann, Wulf Köpke, Ulrich Wegner, and others). Nonetheless, the stock of Reinhard's recordings formed the basis for lectures and seminars on Turkish music.

A 1985 expedition to southern Turkey by the Institute of Comparative Musicology together with Ursula Reinhard, myself, and six students proved that it was still possible to make recordings of Turkish songs and musical instruments, and sometimes to find unique and rare examples, which had already been documented by Reinhard 20 years before.

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. Reinhard 1962: 8ff.

Year	Collector(s)	Name, area, ethnic groups, topic	Museum	FU	Remarks
1936	Bartók, Béla	South Turkey	K	K	Originals in Budapest (cf. Bartók 1976) [B VV 251–253]
1951	Eberhard, Wolfram	Southeast Turkey (Epic songs)	O (?)	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0642 [B VV 254–259] Cf. Eberhard 1955
1958	Christensen, Dieter	Kurds, Siirt, Hakkari	O		Ident.Nr. OA 0014 Christensen 1970
1963	Radyo Adana			K	[B VV 330–333]
1964	Radyo Istanbul			K	[B VV 334–338]
1965	Christensen, Dieter	Kurds	O		Ident.nr. OA 0046
1967	Radyo Istanbul	Janitscharen - <i>Yeniçeri</i> (Janizary)	K	K	Ident.Nr. OA 0074 [B VV 339]
1968	Dietrich, Wolf	Southern Turkey		K	[B VV 240–249]
1970	Christensen, Dieter	Kurds	O		Ident.Nr. OA 0265
1970	Tewari, Laxmi G. <sup>13</sup>	Sivas vilayet	O (?)		Ident.Nr. OA 0385
1970	Wesleyan University <sup>14</sup>		O (?)		Ident.Nr. OA 0656
1972	Klebe, Dorit			O	[B VV 382–411]
1975	Köpke, Wulf			O	[B VV 458–466]
1976	Wegner, Ulrich	[Fieldwork in Berlin]		O	[B VV 4744–78]
1981/2	Baumann, Max Peter with students	[Fieldwork in Berlin]		O	
1985	Ziegler, Susanne with Ursula Reinhard and students	Fethiye, Antalya		O	

**Table 3.** Collections of Turkish music in Berlin (except Reinhard)<sup>15</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Acc. to Tewari (1972: 10) several students of Wesleyan University took part in a summer field school in Turkey under the directorship of Dieter Christensen. At that time Christensen was director of the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv*, therefore all recordings were given to this institution.

<sup>14</sup> Other tape recordings by members of the summer field school mentioned in footnote 12.

<sup>15</sup> The list is based on several sources: Simon 2000: 238 ff., the museum database MuseumPlus, the inventory list of the former Institute for Comparative Musicology of Free University (FU, kindly provided by Albrecht Wiedmann), and the Internet ([www.smb-digital.de](http://www.smb-digital.de)). However, information is sometimes confusing, therefore the list is not complete and mentions the most important and most comprehensive collections only.

## Conclusion

All collections of Turkish music collected by Kurt Reinhard himself, his wife, colleagues and students, and other persons are preserved today in the *Ethnologisches Museum* in Berlin. The present state of the collections is difficult to judge. Only a small part of the Reinhard collections has been digitized, since priority in digitizing has been given to the wax cylinder collections.<sup>16</sup>

At present, the Museum faces great changes. The Department of Ethnomusicology will be moved to the Humboldt-Forum in the centre of Berlin at the end of 2019, and this requires devoting all efforts to this enormous task. Until all Reinhard material (recordings, photographs, written documents) have been digitized, information on the Reinhard collections is available in his and his wife's many publications, books, articles, and records, though unfortunately the majority is only available in German.<sup>17</sup> Basic information can also be found on the Internet ([www.smb-digital.de](http://www.smb-digital.de)), but so far, without a detailed description and sound.

The recordings collected by Kurt and Ursula Reinhard and others and preserved in the *Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv* are most valuable for researchers of Turkish music and musicians today, if they want to learn how a specific song or a musical instrument sounded. Historical sources are not just examples of the music of the past; they can also serve as good examples for those persons interested in restoration, innovation, and revitalization. This has already been proven many times, when researchers from Turkey and elsewhere came to the Museum in Berlin in order to study the material, as, for example Abdullah Akat from Trabzon, who started to research the Reinhard material extensively in 2013, has done.<sup>18</sup> It is good to know that in Turkey there is great interest in Kurt Reinhard and his studies, especially in Trabzon, in the music of the Black Sea coast. There is hope that a new generation of Turkish scholars will follow the tradition, for which Kurt Reinhard laid the foundation 55 years ago.

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O = original recordings, K = copies. All recordings, including the ones formerly held in the Institute for Comparative musicology of the Free University (FU) are today in the Ethnomusicological department of the *Ethnologisches Museum*. The last column indicates the present identity number of the collection, the number in brackets [B VV ...] refers to the former identity number of the tapes in the university institute. Unfortunately, not all collections have been inventoried yet.

<sup>16</sup> At present there is only one technician. According to Albrecht Wiedmann only ca. 20 % of the Reinhard sound recordings are meanwhile available in digital format.

<sup>17</sup> A survey is given in Ahrens (1984: 219ff.).

<sup>18</sup> See Akat, 2013.

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## Music and Ritual in Trebbus Mevlevi *Tekke* (Lodge) in Germany<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

Germany is one of the countries in Europe with a very large Muslim population. Therefore, it is possible to see many different Sufi groups there. One of these Sufi groups is the Mevlevi. The first Mevlevi *tekke* (lodge) was founded in the 1990s in Germany under the name of Mevlevi Association (*Verein*). Today there are two different Mevlevi groups, which are located in Nurnberg and Trebbus. The Trebbus *Tekke* is the place where the Mevlevi order is represented along with the Kubrevi order. The purpose of this article is to analyze music in rituals in the Trebbus Mevlevi *Tekke* in Germany, document the contemporary development of the German rituals, and investigate the effect of different cultural contexts and cultural influences on the nature of the resulting communities.

### KEYWORDS

Trebbus Mevlevi  
*Tekke*

Mevlevi ritual

Mevlevi music

German Mevlevi  
Orders

Sheikh Abdullah  
Halis

<sup>1</sup> This study supported by the Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey, TÜBİTAK (grand no: 1059B191601502).

## **Introduction**

The Mevlevi Order, which emerged in Konya towards the end of the 13th century, is a sect that arises the curiosity of and is followed quite closely by many people from Turkey and all around the world, both for its philosophy and the way its rituals are performed. After the death of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi (d.672/1273), the dervish lodges representing the sect, which was founded by his son Sultan Veled and shaped in the understanding that Rumi put forth in his teachings and life (Gölpınarlı, 1983: 329), stayed active until the late Ottoman period. The decision, made on November 30, 1925, to ban all dervish lodges, caused the closure of all dervish lodges of the sect.

Although dervish lodges were closed by the State, Rumi's Tomb was reopened as a museum after a new law was passed in 1926. Despite the interdict, the Mevlevi culture and tradition were kept alive by private enterprises. A ceremony for the anniversary of Rumi's death, called *Şeb-i Arus*, was held in 1946 in Konya. *Sema* ceremonies also started to be performed in these commemorative ceremonies in the following years. The Konya Turkish Sufi Music Ensemble of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was founded with the decision of the Council of Ministers on September 11, 1989. Unlike the other sects, this allowed the Mevlevi order to gain the support of the State again after losing the Islamic authority, and allowed its culture, philosophy, and the ritual called *Mukabele-i Şerif* or *Mevlevi Ayini* continue uninterrupted up to the present moment. As a result of love and affection for Rumi, interest in *Şeb-i Arus* ceremonies continues to grow every year and many Rumi lovers come to Konya to follow the ceremonies from different countries of the world.

The Mevlevi Order has become more recognized in the world after UNESCO declared the 'Sema ceremony and Sufi music' as a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2005, and 2007, which marked the 800th anniversary of the birth of Rumi, as the Year of Rumi. *Mevlevi Ayini* and conferences, panels, and workshops about the Mevlevi order held in European countries and the United States resulted in the establishments of new Mevlevi lodges. Today, the Mevlevi order maintains its existence in other continents besides its homeland and keeps its rules and conventions alive there.

## **The Mevlevi Order and Mevlevi Tekkes in Germany**

The Mevlevi Order could only be followed through books in Germany until the 1990s. Shortly thereafter, it was organized for the first time under the name of a foundation,

and Mevlevi rules and practices were brought into action in the dervish lodges that were opened in two different regions. Today in Germany, there are two different Mevlevi groups in Trebbus and Nurnberg. The Nurnberg Branch serves under the International Mevlana Foundation headquartered in Istanbul and is represented by Sheikh Suleyman Wolf Bahn.<sup>2</sup> The Trebbus Mevlevis are represented by Sheikh Abdullah Halis who also claims to be a part of *Kubrevi* sect along with the Mevlevi Order. The Mevlevis living in different regions of Germany such as Munich, Frankfurt, Berlin, and Köln comprise the followers of these two sheikhs. These two different Mevlevi *tekkes* in Trebbus and Nurnberg today are represented by two German sheikhs, who grew up in a different life and culture outside the Mevlevi Order's homeland – Turkey. An important question today is what kind of changes and transformations are caused by this difference in Mevlevi Order, and what kind of changes in the Mevlevi ritual and music practices happen when it maintains its existence in a different country.

In this article, I will try to provide information about the Trebbus Mevlevi *Tekke* in Germany, and how they perform the ritual and music practices, through previous studies, as well as the information and impressions I had from the field research I have done.

### **The Mevlevi *Tekke* in Trebbus**

The Trebbus *Tekke* is the place where the Mevlevi order is represented along with the Kubrevi order. Kubrevi-Mevlevi *tekke* education and social services center was founded as a non-profit foundation under the name of *Bildungs- und Sozialwerk des Kubrevi-Mevlevi-Ordens (BuS) e.V.* The president of the foundation and the sheikh of the *tekke*, Abdullah Halis is a German Muslim. In his published book *Das Buch der Glückseligkeit (Saadetnâme)*, he describes this place as an inter-religious and cultural center, as well as a place to give advice. He states that the focus of the work they do here is on further education, consultancy between religions and between cultures, and integrative dialogue. It also includes spiritual teachings and therapies, especially for women and

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<sup>2</sup> The purpose of this foundation founded on March 14, 1996 in Istanbul, is to investigate the works and ideas of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, to pass on his ideas to the future generations and to help the domestic and international studies in this regard ([http://mevlanafoundation.com/about\\_tr.html](http://mevlanafoundation.com/about_tr.html)). Especially *The International Mevlana Foundation*, as a social organization, has serious efforts to protect and maintain the traditions of the Mevlevi Order with the representatives of the Celebi family today. The foundation keeps the rules and conventions of the Mevlevi Order alive and makes effort to keep its progress on the traditional line. It strives for gathering all the Mevlevi lodges around the world in one center, keeping the communication between the people in charge of the lodges alive and disallowing non-loyal people to be Mevlevi Sheikh in the rites.

families (Husrau & Dornbrach, 2010: 59). According to him, this place is dedicated to the tradition and path of the Mevlevi-Kubrevi order, which Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi represented on behalf of Islam. With this understanding, it is claimed here that efforts to maintain and keep alive the tradition of the order are continuously made. Conversations on Sufism are held, and Arabic, Persian and Ottoman languages are taught by Abdullah Halis in the *tekke*. Besides, 1001 day suffering training, which is a traditional training method in the Mevlevi order, is given here (Trebbuser Mevlevihane, n.d.).

German is usually the daily language of the *tekke*. Abdullah Halis, who aims to establish a dialogue between religions, cultures, and Muslims, also carries out his conversations in German. However, in order to appeal to different societies and cultures, he is proficient in Turkish and Arabic besides German. Abdullah Halis states that they have formed a good relationship with the church, in terms of dialogue between religions. He also says that the special treatment for Turkish women in Berlin and Trebbus is not only for the Muslims, but also to practitioners of all other religions (Husrau & Dornbrach, 2010: 59).

The Mevlevi *tekke* was founded in Trebbus, south of Brandenburg. The Kubrevi-Mevlevi *tekke* of Abdullah Halis on Dorfstraße Nr. 63', was purchased in 1992 with the support of the followers. The building, previously used as a farm and barn, was restored and arranged in accordance with the *tekke* concept in Abdullah Halis's mind. In 2008, Kubrevi-Mevlevi foundation *Bildungs- und Sozialwerk des Kubrevi-Mevlevi-Ordens e.V.* was founded, and since then, the studies have continued under this name. The parts of the Trebbus *Tekke* built on the three acres and its display on the sketch are as follows:

1. Main House
2. Mosque
3. The wing on the right
4. Guesthouse
5. The wing on the left
6. Seminar room
7. Tower
8. Cistern
9. Small Park
10. Pond
11. Entrance to Guesthouse
12. Playground
13. Garden



**Figure 1.** Sketch (Trebbuser Mevlevihane, n.d.)

One of the former followers of Abdullah Halis, Sami<sup>3</sup>, states that the actively used parts of the building consist of three parts in a U shape. The main building and the first part, where the prayer room is located, are the most actively used parts of the building. Here is the harem where the sheikh and his family live, kitchen (*matbah*), dining hall, library, archive, a room for conversations, guest rooms, a market where traditional products are marketed, an office, and a *Mescid* (prayer room)/*Semahane*.



**Figure 2.** Main House (Trebbuser Mevlevihane, n.d.)

The main building, constructed in 1869, is the oldest building in this area. The building on the Berlin-Dresden road was used as a temporary post office in the 1880s. The kitchen in the building is very modern and exhibited with high-quality products. Since

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<sup>3</sup> This name was used to anonymize the person because the follower does not want to use his real name in this article.

the importance of kitchen in the Mevlevi tradition is known, they place a particular importance both in the exhibition and the services here. The conversation room is built on a 30 square meter area. On the walls of this large room, there are authorization documents of Halis Efendi, photos of his sheikhs, various plates and different instruments such as *kanun*, *ud*, *ney*, *bandir*, *kemençe*, guitar and piano in the room. There are about 5 thousand books written about Sufism and other fields in the room where the library and archive are located. Also, there are audio records.

The prayer room, which is also called *Semahane*, is based on an area of approximately 200 m<sup>2</sup> with a ceiling height of 7.5 meters. The part where today's prayer room takes place was previously built as a barn. In 1912, it was converted into a dance hall. In the 1970s, it was used as a sports hall by the local school for a while. After the restoration, this place has been used as prayer room (*mescid*), *semahane* and *çilehane/halvethane* (for the suffering training). Also, Halis Efendi carries out his dhikr and conversation sessions in his monthly and annual meetings here (Trebbuser Mevlevihane, n.d.).

What is quite interesting in the prayer room is that there are two coffin boxes. Halis Efendi had them made and placed here. In the past, the sheikhs who died in the Mevlevi *tekkes* were buried in a corner of the *semahane*. Today, there are coffin boxes where deceased sheikhs are buried in Konya, Galata, Yenikapı and many other Mevlevi *tekkes*. I believe that it is intended to improve the *tekke's* spiritual atmosphere by representing this tradition with empty boxes symbolically placed in the prayer room of the Trebbus *tekke*. Halis Efendi has told his followers that he wants to be buried in the place of one of the boxes when he dies, by his followers. In addition to this, there is a *halvet* cell in the prayer room where dervishes cloister.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> In the study of Klinkhammer, it is mentioned that there are two *halvet* rooms here. However, the former follower of Abdullah Halis, Sami states that there is only one.



**Figure 3. & 4.** Prayer Room (Trebbuser Mevlevihane, n.d.)

The second part of the building is arranged as guest accommodation. There are seven rooms on the upper floor of this building, which is called the guesthouse. Downstairs, there is a kitchen, a dining hall, a resting room, a 60 m<sup>2</sup> meeting room, and a playground for children.



**Figure 5.** Guest House (Trebbuser Mevlevihane, n.d.)

The third part of the building is arranged for the accommodation of the dervishes (the 5<sup>th</sup> part on the Sketch, see Figure 1). Besides their Sufi training, the dervishes staying here also engage in daily tasks, such as cleaning the *tekke*, cooking, and tidying up the rooms. In 2011, four dervishes lived here all year.

This empty area on the right side of the building displayed on the 3<sup>rd</sup> part of the Sketch (see Figure 1), which is not used today, is conceived by Abdullah Halis to be a large seminar/meeting room and also a dormitory for guests. He plans to complete the construction of this place in the future, when he can afford it. There is a large garden

with a water cistern, and a decorative pond in the open area in the middle of all these sections (Klinkhammer, 2009: 222-223).

### **Sheikh Abdullah Halis Dombrach**



**Figure 6.** Abdullah Halis Dombrach (Trebbuser Mevlevihane, n.d.)

Abdullah Halis Dombrach was born in Berlin in 1945 as a son of a Christian family. With the guidance of his family, he went to the Evangelist church located where he lived in his youth, and took part in various activities here. At an early age, religions from outside Europe attracted his attention. Firstly, he became interested in Buddhism and Hinduism. Then he wanted to learn Arabic and got lessons from a university student. He became interested in Islam. He decided to become a Muslim at a very young age, when he was 19 years old, and was named Abdullah Halis (Wunn, 2007: 138). He got married to a Turkish woman, originally from Balıkesir, but living in Germany, when he was 20. This was his first marriage. He traveled to Syria and Turkey many times, due to this marriage, and had the opportunity to meet with different Sufi sects (Klinkhammer, 2009: 218). In fact, this marriage enabled Abdullah Halis, now authorized by major religious orders such as Mevlevi, Jerrahi, Naqshbandi, Rifai, Qadiriyya, to acquire important knowledge and experience in his Sufi journey, to learn about various sects and take part in them.

After accepting Islam, he decided to live in Turkey and Syria for a few years and went to Aleppo to study Islamic Law. His first contact with the Mevlevi order was also during this period. This was also the time when he met Iraqi Rufai followers in Aleppo (Wunn, 2007: 138). While he was with the followers of the Mevlevi and Rufai orders in Aleppo, he was with the followers of the Naqshbandi and Qadiriyya during his time in Istanbul.

When he was 21, he became allegiant to Turkish Naqshbandi sheikh, Zekeriya Dörter (Yılmaz, 2015: 11). He followed the traditions of the Qadiriyya sect with Sheikh Vehbi. Especially between 1968 and 1972, he was with these two groups (Klinkhammer, 2009: 219). Then he went back to Germany, made contact with a few Turkish people in Mehmet Akif Mosque in Berlin and started his first Sufi works with them. However, he was unable to succeed in his ideas, and then left Germany. He was in Turkey and Syria between 1975-1979. In 1975, he was authorized by the sheikh of the Aleppo Mevlevi *tekke*, Mustafa Kemal. In 1976, he went to Mecca for the Hajj (Wunn, 2007: 138). Halis got the Rufai authorization in 1979.

Towards the end of 1979, he returned to Berlin and founded a *tekke* with the help of young people living on the streets, and alcoholics. He served on a social responsibility project so that young people living on the streets could survive and tried to help them in this *tekke*, where he practiced Qadiri and Rufai traditions.<sup>5</sup> Then, he established the 'Sufi-Tariqat association' with the Egyptian Salah Eid, who taught Rufai and the Egyptian Burhani tradition, and the German Abdul Fatah, who taught the Naqshbandi tradition. In the meantime, they organized conferences about Sufism and dhikr meetings. They organized *dhikr* and *khulwat* (Sufi desolation ritual) courses on self-awareness (Klinkhammer, 2009: 219).

Halis set up the 'Sufi Research Institute' (*Institut für Sufi-Forschung*) in Wedding-Berlin together with his friends Hüseyin Abdullah Fettah and the Egyptian Doctor Salah Eid. They published works with their own publishing house 'Sufi Press Berlin'. For the first time, they defined their groups as *Tariqat-i Aliyye-i Halissiyye-i Mevleviyye-i Rifa'iyye* in the books published by this publishing house. Ina Wunn stated in his published book *Muslimische Gruppierungen in Deutschland* that we can understand from this that Halis adopted both Mevlevi and Rifai orders and their education methods. It was also said that his identification of the sect as *Halisiyye* means the manifestation of creating his own sect (Wunn, 2007: 139).

In 1980, Eid and Fattah bought a house to build a Sufi healing school in the north of West Germany. Halis gave education on Sufism and dhikr here. However, in 1989, the death of Salah Eid due to a car accident led to several problems in the school. Halis was the leader of this foundation for a while. However, as a result of a series of disagreements,

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<sup>5</sup>This volunteer work is additional to the government's social services that is practiced in Germany.

associations and institutes were closed in 1983, and the activities of the publishing house were also stopped. Ina Wunn stated that, after this incident, Halis became interested in the Jarrahi sect with a group of his students in 1985, and then left this group and went to Turkey to open a Sufism center with his second wife, Nuriye Hanım (Wunn, 2007: 139). Klinkhammer said that the reason for his departure to Turkey was to get rid of the stress and chaos in Berlin. Halis and his wife returned to Germany in 1990. He established the Jünkerath Islamic Institute Foundation (*Islamisches Institut Jünkerath eV*) and Sufi Archive (Sufi Archiv Deutschland) in Jünkerath in der Eifel. In 1991, he changed the name to *Institut für Islamstudien - Sufi Archiv Deutschland e.V.*. Then, in Trebbus, he bought a farm in the area and located the *tekke* there, which is the location of today's Mevlevi *tekke*, and established a new center to educate dervishes. The reason for the establishment of this *tekke* was that the Syrian Sheikh Ferhad Dede, who died in 1977, gave him a sacred duty to open a *tekke* in Germany. This dream/event happened in 1988 when Halis was in Turkey (Klinkhammer, 2009: 219).

### **The followers of Sheikh Abdullah Halis**

Abdullah Halis has been followed by a group of approximately 50 people, consisting of teachers, physiotherapists, workers, and students. The majority of this group of Turks and Germans consists of German people between the ages of 50-60. These people live in different cities of Germany such as Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, and Cologne. Most of these native German followers, who have a Christian background, are women. Some of the women try to wear headscarves in public places. Although Abdullah Halis knows Turkish and is quite familiar with Turkish culture, there are few Turkish people following him as a sheikh (Klinkhammer, 2009: 225-226).

The followers of Halis Efendi are grouped as three grades. The first grade is the occupants of the *tekke*, including the sheikh and his family, the second grade is the group attending monthly meetings, and the last grade is the group attending the meetings held two times a year.

No followers but the wife of Abdullah Halis, Nuriye lived in the *tekke* before 2009 (Klinkhammer, 2009: 225). Sami says that there were four people living there in 2011 but after a while, some of them left the *tekke*. After 2013, no followers stayed there.

### **Ritual and Music in the Regular Meetings of the Trebbus Mevlevi Tekke**

In the Trebbus *tekke*, there are three different meetings for three different groups under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah Halis. These are meetings with dervishes twice a week, monthly meetings for all the intimate followers, and public meetings twice a year. Between 2011 and 2013, the occupants of the *tekke* gathered every Monday and Thursday. The meetings in the name of *Meshk* on Mondays are music-oriented. In these meetings, Nuriye Hanım, the wife of Abdullah Halis, plays *bandir*, and the other three dervishes sing hymns. Abdullah Halis sometimes plays *bandir* or oud. Usually, the hymns are Turkish in these meetings. Besides, some famous Turkish hymns such as *Sordum Sarı Çiçeğe* are translated to German *Fragte ich die gelbe Blume* and sung in the same melody. They gather only for reading *Awrad-i Sharif*,<sup>6</sup> a collection of dhikr and prayers, on Thursday meetings in the name of '*istida*'. Sami says that Halis Efendi believes this *evrad* to be a prayer text written during the Mongol invasion and belonging to the Kubrevi sect. Sami conveys the information that during the time he lived in the *tekke*, they learned Islamic calligraphy from Halis Efendi and had conversations on some parts of his books in addition to the *meshk* meetings.

The information on the musical activities performed here is obtained from one of the followers of Halis Efendi, who lived in the *tekke* in 2011. The only continuous musical activity during his time in the *tekke* was the *meshk* meetings on Mondays. Mostly hymns were performed in these *meshk* meetings, which included the occupants of the *tekke*. During that time, there were three followers living in the *tekke*, besides the wife of Abdullah Halis. All three of them were not playing any instruments but trying to sing the hymns that they knew or learned before. The only people who were able to play an instrument were Abdullah Halis and his wife. Both are interested in music as a hobby. Abdullah Halis can play oud and *bandir* and his wife Nuriye can only play *bandir*. Even though there aren't any performers, there are many Turkish and western musical instruments, such as *kanun*, oud, *ney*, *bandir*, *kemençe*, *kudüm*, guitar, and piano in the *tekke*. Also, there are many scores and documents about Mevlevi music in the library of the *tekke*. Nevertheless, there is not any musical activity about Mevlevi music in the *meshk* meeting. The hymns or *ilahis* (hymns in the praise of god) in their repertoire are

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<sup>6</sup> *Awrad-i Sharif* (Turkish: '*Evrad-ı Şerif*'), this is an Arabic word (singular: 'wird', or 'vird' in Turkish) that means 'continual (daily) practice' of parts of the Quran. It includes selected verses and chapters from the Holy Quran plus selected *Aḥadith* prayers, or traditional prayers said by the Prophet Muḥammad (peace be upon him).

by no means Mevlevi pieces, let alone classical dhikr hymns. In addition, the texts in the majority show God related, 'religious' topics and verses, and usually are in Turkish, with occasional exceptions in German.

The monthly meetings are open to the intimate followers. Although these meetings are for the followers from all cities of Germany, the attendants are mostly from Berlin. In these meetings held on second Saturday of every month, they perform a loud dhikr (Yılmaz, 2015: 12). During the dhikr, men and women are in the same room but in different rows. The dhikr is performed in two ways, in sitting and standing positions. Firstly, the women and men perform dhikr by sitting the opposite rows. Then, it continues in standing position. While standing, they form a circle, and the women take place on one side, and the men on the other side. In the meeting point of the men and women, the couples come side by side. In the middle of the circle, there are dervishes singing the hymns and playing *bandir*. Usually the dhikr consists of the wordings *Estagfirullah*, *Word Tawhid*, *Allah* and *Hu*. These wordings may vary. Halis Efendi decides on the repetition and the wordings in the dhikr.

The dates of the meetings held twice a year are decided by Halis Efendi. In these meetings, they have conversations and perform dhikr. Sometimes, the name of God, Allah is mentioned during the dhikr in these meetings. This dhikr takes place in the old Mevlevi tradition. During the dhikr, the big beads of the *tekke* are put in the middle, and the dervishes form a circle around it. Each dervish transfers one bead to another dervish while mentioning the wording.

In addition to the *meshk*, another musical activity is the music performed with the musicians visiting here during the monthly or semi-annual meetings. However, these are not continuous activities. Ali<sup>7</sup> visited here regularly between 2013 and 2015 and provided some information. The music was performed several times during his visits. According to him, the repertoire consisted of only Turkish hymns, like *Severim Ben Seni*, *Şol Cennetin İrmakları*, *Sordum Sarı Çiçeğe* (with a German verse), *Şeyhimin İlleri*, *Bu Aklü Fikr ile Mevla Bulunmaz*. He said that these meetings did not include Mevlevi rituals, such as *sema* and music.

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<sup>7</sup> This name was used to anonymize the person because the visitor does not want to use his real name in this article.

In 2010, an album was recorded with the musicians visiting the *tekke*. The CD with the name of *Meshk*, which is sold in the shopping center of the *tekke*, gives important information about the music performed here. Halis Efendi sings with his followers on the record with the performances of *ney*, *rebab* and *bandir*.



**Figure 7.** The *Meshk* CD, Münster, 28.04.2018

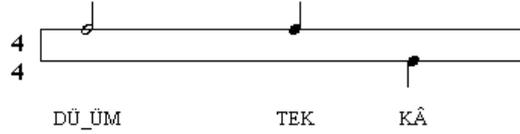
The works in the album are given in details in the table below:

Track	Name of the Hymn	Makam	Musical Form	Composer	Verse	<i>Usûl</i> (rhythm)
1	<i>Abdülkâdiri'l-Geylânî zü't-tasrîfi fi'l-ekvânî</i>	<i>Uşşak</i>	<i>Şuğl</i>	Anonymous	?	<i>Sofyan</i>
2	<i>Can-u dilde hane kıldın akıbet</i>	<i>Hüseyni</i>	<i>İlahi</i>	Anonymous	İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi	<i>Sofyan</i>
3	<i>Severim ben seni candan içerü</i>	<i>Hüseyni</i>	<i>İlahi</i>	Anonymous	Yunus Emre	<i>Sofyan</i>
4	<i>Hakkın Habibinin sevgili dostu (Veysel Karani)</i>	<i>Uşşak</i>	<i>İlahi</i>	Anonymous	Yunus Emre	<i>Sofyan</i>
5	<i>Ya Hu Ya Hu İlla Hu</i>	<i>Nihavend</i>	<i>İlahi</i>	?	?	<i>Sofyan</i>
6	<i>Şeyhimin İlleri uzaktır yolları</i>	<i>Nihavend</i>	<i>İlahi</i>	Doğan Ergin	Yunus Emre	<i>Sofyan</i>
7	<i>Bu aklü fikr ile Mevlâ bulunmaz</i>	<i>Uşşak</i>	<i>İlahi</i>	Anonymous	Yunus Emre	<i>Sofyan</i>

**Table 1.** Tract list

As seen in the table, the works in the table are in three different maqams such as *Hüseyni*, *Uşşak* and *Nihavend* (see Appendix). All the works are religious hymns, but only one of them is in Arabic. Lyrics of four of these popular hymns are written by Yunus

Emre, and one is by İbrahim Hakkı Erzurumi. One of them is in German and another one is in Arabic. Music of all the works was anonymously composed, with one exception. Additionally, the repertoire in this album is composed of tracks in the style of classical Turkish music in key, mode, and melody. When they are analyzed in terms of *usul* (rhythmic patterns), all of them are chosen from the *Sofyan usul*. In this record, there is not a single work related to the Mevlevi music.



**Figure 8.** *Sofyan usul*

Although Trebbus is a Mevlevi *tekke* and follows the traditions of the Mevlevi order reportedly, *Sema* and Mevlevi music are not performed here. The *Mevlevi Ayin* has never been performed in the weekly, monthly, or semi-annual meetings held in the *tekke*, as told by an old follower of Abdullah Halis, Sami, Ali, and some other visitors from Berlin. Abdullah Halis, his wife and the followers living in the *tekke* performed works in the form of the hymn in the musical meetings called *meshk*.

A German friend of mine, who is a Turkish music performer, visited the *tekke* several times in the past and during these visits, he felt a lack of Mevlevi music. Then, he shared his idea of establishing a musician group (*mutrib heyeti*) here and contributing to the *tekke* in terms of music. In his dream, he wanted to perform a *Mevlevi Ayini* in this Mevlevi *tekke*. For this, Abdullah Halis should train whirling dervishes and establish a *Sema* committee, and he should establish a music group with the musicians who can perform a *Mevlevi Ayini*. However, Abdullah Halis did not support this idea for to several reasons. According to Sami, Abdullah Halis does not think that a Mevlevi music group here is necessary.

*Bu canım var oldukça ben Kur'ana tutsağım (As long as I am alive, I am devoted to the Quran)*

*Muhammed Mustafa'nın yolundaki toprağım (I am the ground on the path of Muhammed Mustafa)*

*Benden başkaca bir söz nakledenler olursa (If someone conveys an idea other than this)*

*Hem onu söyleyenden hem o sözden uzağım (I am away from both the owner of the idea and the idea itself)*

He mentions this poem by Rumi and says that there are more important things to do than the music in this philosophy. According to him, people coming here with their interest in the Mevlevi order are generally attracted to the visual and popular sides of the Mevlevi order such as *Sema* and music, and ignore the main elements of the sect, such as the pillars of Islam which precede *Sema* and music. There is no order without sharia in his perception. The person interested in the Mevlevi order must first fulfill the necessity of the sharia and then concentrate on these elements in the sect and try to lead them (Yılmaz, 2015: 11). Ömer Yılmaz wrote in his article named *Tariqats (Religious Denominations): As Part of Everyday Religious Life in Germany* that Abdullah Halis does not give education on this issue because *Sema* is regarded as a source of financial income.

### **The Mevlevi Rituals in Turkey**

The music is not only a major part of ritual but also a kind of worship for the Mevlevi dervishes (Tanrıkorur, 2005: 27). The music accompanying a Mevlevi ritual is specifically called *Mevlevi Ayini*, and is one of the biggest and most sophisticated forms in Turkish / Ottoman *makam* music. The ritual has strict rules with regard to both the music and the symbolic actions made throughout the *Sema* ceremony (Uyar & Beşiroğlu, 2012: 141). The musical sections of *Mevlevi Ayini* have four parts, which are called *Selam* in the *Sema* ceremony. Each *Selam* has different meanings and symbolic attributions. They are all vocal pieces with their lyrics mostly selected from the poetry of Mevlana: rarely are they based on the poetry of other Sufi writers as Sultan Veled, Ulu Arif Çelebi, Eflaki Dede, Şeyh Galip, Molla Cami, Şeyhi, Semti, Gavsı Dede (Ak, 2009: 172).

The formalization of the *Mevlevi Ayin* structure based on musical compositions happened around the 15th century under the direction of Pir Adil Çelebi (1421- 1460) (Uyar & Beşiroğlu, 2012: 141). It reached its final shape in the 17th century (Gölpınarlı, 1963: 75-77).

*Mevlevi Ayini* is performed in the following order:

1. *Naat-ı Şerif*
2. *Ney taksim*
3. *Devr-i Veled*
4. First *Selam* (Salutation)
5. Second *Selam*
6. Third *Selam*
7. Fourth *Selam*
8. *Son Peşrev* and *Yürük Semai*
9. *Son taksim*
11. Quran recitation
12. *Gülbang*

Although the dervish *tekkes* are closed and the sects are banned in Turkey today, Mevlevi culture and tradition has continued with the *Mevlevi Ayins* performed in the old Mevlevi *tekkes* and public concert halls with a religious belief, but as a cultural activity. The most important places where these *Ayins* are performed traditionally today are the Galata and Yenikapı Mevlevi *tekkes*, and Konya. *Sema* ceremonies are held under the control of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in Konya, the center of the Mevlevi order. Konya Turkish Sufi Music Ensemble established by the decision of the Council of Ministers dated September 11, 1989, and number 89/14537 is the only state institution opened to protect and revive the tradition of the Mevlevi Ritual. The purpose of establishing this group is the idea of spreading Mevlana's thoughts, love, and tolerance, and a more proper organization of ceremonies of commemorating Mevlana and *Şeb-i Arus*, which are held every December in Konya (Konya Korosu, 1990).

The Galata Mevlevi *Tekke* is the first Mevlevi *tekke* founded in Istanbul. The *tekke* was built in 1491 and served actively until the prohibition decision in 1925. The *tekke*, used for different purposes for a long time, is active as a museum today. Another important *tekke* in Istanbul is the Yenikapı Mevlevi *Tekke*, which was built in 1597. This is the second *tekke* of the Mevlevi order after Galata Mevlevi *Tekke* in Istanbul. After the restoration in 2010, *Yenikapı Mevlevihanesi* was handed over to the University of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, and today it is located on the campus of the Alliance of Civilizations Institute of Ibni Haldun University. Today the *Mevlevi Ayini* arranged in these oldest

*tekkes* of Istanbul, are organized by different groups, such as the Istanbul Historical Turkish Music Ensemble of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, International Mevlana Foundation, MEKUSAV (Mevlana Culture and Art Foundation), IFADE ensemble under the administration of Professor Ruhi Ayangil, and Hezarfen Art Ensemble under the direction of Neyzen Salih Bilgin.

The rituals organized by the foundations mentioned above both in Konya and the Mevlevi *tekkes* of Galata and Yenikapı are performed according to the traditional style, which reached its final shape in the 17th century (Gölpınarlı, 1963: 75-77). So the ritual consists of *naat*, *ney* transition, *Devr-i Veled*, the *Sema*, including four *selams*, Quran recitation, prayer, and *Gülbang*. Sometimes to extend the schedule, *Niyaz İlahisi* might be added to the ritual. Although the rituals today are organized as cultural ceremonies, the members of the organization know that the *Sema* and the music have religious meanings, and behave more carefully. During the ritual, the whirling dervishes say *Allah* in every step they take. And the musicians know that the music is a verbal prayer, and perform it as if they are praying. The whirling dervishes in these organizations consist of only men.

In addition to the groups mentioned above, which adopted the traditional way of the Mevlevi Order and practice the rituals in this understanding, there are new groups, whose practices are outside of this line in both music and other elements of the ritual. *Sema* and music are performed with a new understanding by these recent groups. The ritual performed in the traditional *Mevlevi Ayini* consisting *naat*, *ney*, transition, *Devr-i Veled*, the *Sema*, including four *selams*, Quran recitation, prayer, and *Gülbang*, respectively is also performed by these groups. In this new Mevlevi movement, a kind of Mevlevi Music called *Mevlevi Ayini* is not performed. Here, generally, the music in the form of religious hymns is played and male and female whirling dervishes whirl randomly and without following any rules with this music. During the *sema*, religious hymns are sung and sometimes dhikr with different wordings is performed as well. As an example of this new movement (a post-modern of dervish ritual), we can show the *sema* performances carried out under the leadership of Dr. Rahmi Oruç Güvenç (Langer, 2011: 3). Güvenç, who is also the founder of TÛMATA music group, bases the *sema* performances, which do not follow any rules with this new understanding, on the work called *Ariflerin Menkıbeleri* by Ahmet Eflaki. In Eflaki's work, it is stated that Rumi

performed *Sema* three days and three nights, seven days and seven nights, sixteen days and sixteen nights and forty days and forty nights without any break, and so from this point of view, they perform *sema* without following any rules. Güvenç stated that the *sema* in Rumi's time was based on a wide participation and attracting attention, but nowadays, the *sema* ceremony, officially called *Ayin* or *Mukabele*, has become an activity limited to thirty or thirty-five minutes. The reason behind this is based on the fact that a Mevlevi sheikh called Adil Çelebi, who lived three hundred and fifty years after Rumi, turned *sema* into its current form with the image he saw during his *muraqabah* (a Sufi meditation). He stated that they went out of this traditional practice and first performed a *sema* performance under the name of three days and three nights and in the following years they continued their performances under the names of 99 days and 99 nights and 114 days and 114 nights (TÜMATA, n.d.).

### **Conclusion**

The most important factor in a Mevlevi ritual is the Mevlevi music. *Sema* means music and music means *Sema* in the Mevlevi order, therefore it is impossible to imagine *Sema* and music without one another. When it comes to the Mevlevi *tekkes*, the most important feature is the Mevlevi music (*Mevlevi Ayini*). The *Mevlevi Ayini* is the name of a type of *tekke* music and examples of this type include the majority, and the most artistic, works of the Turkish Music. The music, which is an indispensable part of *Sema*, has been the main element of the Mevlevi order since Rumi (Gölpınarlı, 1983: 455) and it is the complement of the entire prayer performance. Until 1925, when the religious *tekkes* were banned, *Sema* training had been given along with the musical training in the Mevlevi *tekkes*. Therefore, it is impossible to consider a Mevlevi *tekke* without music.

As a result of this study, it was understood that although the Trebbus *tekke* is considered a Mevlevi *tekke*, the traditional Mevlevi ceremony, which is an important part historically, has been performed in every Mevlevi *tekke*, is not performed here. The same applies for Mevlevi *Sema* and Mevlevi music, considered as the most important element of the ritual. There are musical performances in Trebbus but the majority of them are Turkish hymns and not Mevlevi music.

Apart from *Sema*, there is another type of dhikr in the Mevlevi tradition, which consists of repeating the name of God (*Allah*) (Gölpınarlı, 1963: 122). It was historically generally mentioned after morning prayers. Although there is no other type of dhikr except the

two mentioned above, the Trebbus *Tekke* also uses the words of *Tawhid* (*La ilahe illallah*) and other names of God (*Hay, Hu, Hayyul Kayyum Allah*) for dhikr. You can usually find this kind of dhikr in other tariqas, like for example, in Qadiri, or Rifai and Jarrahi, but not in traditional Mawlavism.

In the end, I understood that there is no training on Mevlevi music because Sheikh Abdullah Halis shows no interest in the establishment of an ensemble (*mutrib heyeti*) or teaching. In addition, it became clear from the analysis of ritual and music that the Trebbus Mevlevi *tekke* does not follow the traditional Mevlevi way. They follow the other tariqa's rituals under the name of Mawlavism. And after the transferring of Mawlavism in a new culture and country, we can see that the most important elements of the traditional Mevlevi rituals, such as *Sema* and music, have disappeared.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1. Music scores from the Meshk CD in Trebbus Mevlevi Tekke.

EMİR SULTAN CÂ. 111 SON  
MÜZZİNLERİNDEN  
Hz. HÜSAMEDDİN EF. DEN AUN-  
MİŞTİR.

USÛL : SÖFYÂN UŞŞÂK ŞUĞL

AB DÛL KÂ Dİ RİL GEY LÂ Nİ ZÛT TAS RÎ Fİ FİL EK VÂ Nİ  
YÂ MEV LÂ YE FER DÂ AN HÛ RID VÂ NEN A LÂ RID VÂ Nİ  
RID VÂ NEN A LÂ RID VÂ Nİ  
YÂ RAB BÎ Bİ MUHYED DÎ Nİ VEC' ÂL Lİ MEC DET TEM KÎ Nİ  
AT FEN Lİ BA HÂ ED DÎ Nİ VEL AB Dİ ZA İ FİL HÂ Lİ  
VEL AB Dİ ZA İ FİL HÂ Lİ  
EL KUT BÛL VE LİY YÛL EŞ HEB VEL GAV SÛT TUR RÂL MÛ ZEH HEB  
FED HÛL Lİ HA MÂ HÛ VEŞ REB MİN HAM RİS SA FÂ VEL Â Lİ  
MİN HAM RİS SA FÂ VEL Â Lİ

7. 12. 1992

Arapça gäfte;  
Not: Sayın  
ÂRİF HİKMET GÖKOĞLU  
tarafından tashih edilmiştir.

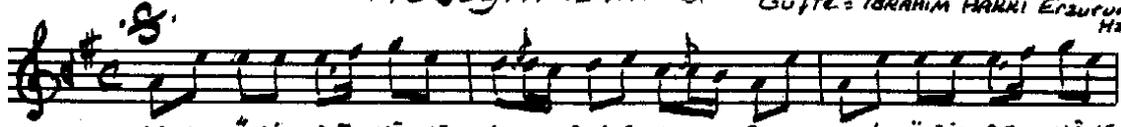
App.1.1. Music Score from the Meshk CD in Trebbus Mevlevi Tekke, Uşşak Şuğl. (Sanat Müziği Notaları, n.d.)

2/sülû = Sofyan

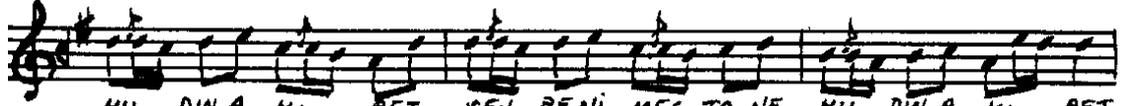
# HÜSEYİNİ İLÂHİ-21

Beste = ?

Güfte = İBRAHİM HAKKI ERZURUMİ Hz.



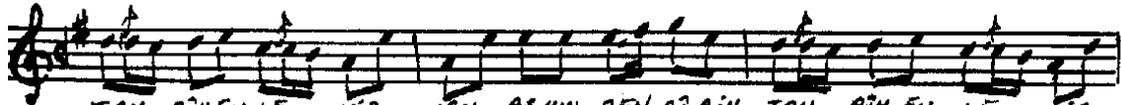
CAN Ü DİL DE HÂ NE KIL DİN A KI BET CAN Ü DİL DE HÂ NE  
DÂ NE İ KEN BA ĞI BOS TAN EY LE DİN DÂ NE İ KEN BA ĞI



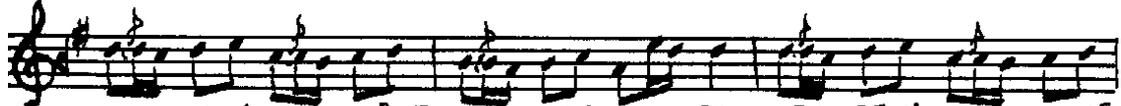
KIL DİN A KI BET SEN BENİ MES TA NE KIL DİN A KI BET  
BOS TAN EY LE DİN DÂ NE Yİ YÜ Z DÂ NE KIL DİN A KI BET



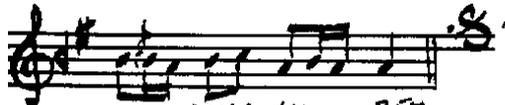
SEN BENİ MES TA NE KIL DİN A KI BET SOL AŞ KIN ZEN Cİ RİN  
DÂ NE Yİ YÜ Z DÂ NE KIL DİN A KI BET EY FA KI RUL LAH BU



TAN Rİ KEY LE YİP SOL AŞ KIN ZEN Cİ RİN TAN Rİ KEY LE YİP  
HAK KI BEN DE Nİ EY FA KI RUL LAH BU HAK KI BEN DE Nİ



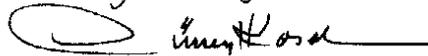
SEN BENİ Dİ VÂ NE KIL DİN A KI BET SEN BENİ Dİ VA NE  
VÂ Sİ Lİ CÂ NÂ NE KIL DİN A KI BET VÂ Sİ Lİ CÂ NÂ NE



KIL DİN A KI BET  
KIL DİN A KI BET

19.3.1986

Yeniden yazdım.

 İsmail Hakkı

Usül: Sofyan

HÜSEYİNİ İLÂHÎ - 12

Beste: ?

Güfte: Yunus Emre



~~Sevdim ben seni~~  
~~Seni ben severim~~ candan içerü  
Yolum vardır bu erkândan içerü

Şeriât, tarikat yoldur varana  
Hakikat, marifet andan içerü

Dinin terk idenin küfürdür işi  
Ol ne küfürdür İmandan içerü

Beni benden sorman, ben ben değilim  
Bir ben vardır bende benden içerü

Süleyman kuş dili bilir dediler  
Süleyman var Süleymandan içerü

Kesildi takatim dizde dermân yok  
Bu ne mezhep imiş dinden içerü

Yunus'un sözleri hundur âteştir  
Kapında kul var sultandan içerü

4. 11. 1984 New York  
Yunus Emre

App.1.3. Music Score from the Meshk CD in Trebbus Mevlevi Tekke, Hüseyini İlahi. (Sanat Müziği Notaları, n.d.)

# Uşşak İlahî

Hakkın habîbinin sevgili dostu

Gülfe : Yunus Emre

Beste : ?

Sofyan

Hak kın ha bî bi nin sev gi li dos tu Hak kın ha bî bi nin sev gi li dos tu  
Söy le mez ya la ni Ye mez ha ra mı Söy le mez ya la ni ye mez ha ra mı

Ye men il le rin de Vey sel Ka râ ni Ye men il le rin de Vey sel Ka râ ni  
Ye men il le rin de Vey sel Ka râ ni Ye men il le rin de Vey sel Ka râ ni

( Aranağme )

Se her de kal ku ben yo la gi der di Se her de kal ku ben yo la gi der di  
Al lah Al lah de yû de ve gû der di Al lah Al lah de yû de ve gû der di

Hak kın bin bir is min zi kir e der di Hak kın bin bir is min zi kir e der di  
Ye men il le rin de Vey sel Ka râ ni Ye men il le rin de Vey sel Ka râ ni

( Aranağme )

Â şık Yu nus ey dur ben de va ray dim Â şık Yu nus ey dur ben de va ray dim  
A ya ğın to zu na yüz ler sü rey dim A ya ğın to zu na yüz ler sü rey dim

Ol mü bâ rek hûb ce mâ lin gö rey dim Ol mü bâ rek hûb ce mâ lin gö rey dim  
Ye men il le rin de Vey sel Ka râ ni Ye men il le rin de Vey sel Ka râ ni  
(SON)

App.1.4. Music Score from the Meshk CD in Trebbus Mevlevi Tekke, Uşşak İlahi. (Sanat Müziği Notaları, n.d.)

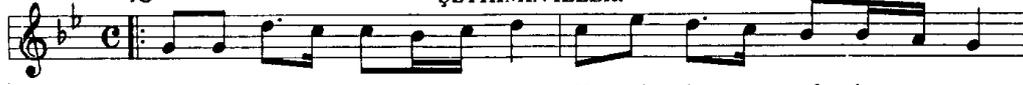


Usûl : Sofyan %

# NIHÂVEND İLÂHİ

Güfte : Yunus Emre  
Beste : Doğan Ergin

## ŞEYHİMİN İLLERİ



Şey - hi - min il - le - ri U - zak - dır yol - la - rı  
Şey - hi - min şem' - i - ne Bu ca - nım per - vâ - ne



A - cıl - mış gül - le - ri Der - me - ğe kim ge - lir  
Sa - lâ - dır â - şık - lar Yan - ma - ğa kim ge - lir



İl - lâl - lah il - lâl - lah Lâ i - lâ - he il - lâl - lah  
İl - lâl - lah il - lâl - lah Lâ i - lâ - he il - lâl - lah



İl - lâl - lah il - lâl - lah Mu - ham - med Re - su - lûl - lah  
İl - lâl - lah il - lâl - lah Mu - ham - med Re - su - lûl - lah



Şey - hi - min ö - zü - nü Se - ve - rim sö - zü - nü  
Ah i - le göz ya - şı Yu - ru - sun hal - da - şı



Mü - bâ - rek yü - zü - nü Gör - me - ğe kim ge - lir  
Zeh - ri - le şol a - şı Ye - me - ğe kim ge - lir

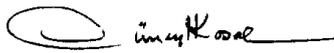


İl - lâl - lah il - lâl - lah Lâ i - lâ - he il - lâl - lah  
İl - lâl - lah il - lâl - lah Lâ i - lâ - he il - lâl - lah



İl - lâl - lah il - lâl - lah Mu - ham - med Re - su - lûl - lah  
İl - lâl - lah il - lâl - lah Mu - ham - med Re - su - lûl - lah

TÜRK TASAVVUF MÜSİKİSİ VAKFI

 İsmail Koral

App.1.5. Music Score from the Meshk CD in Trebbus Mevlevi Tekke, Nihavend İlahi. (Sanat Müziği Notaları, n.d.)

USÛLÜ = Sofyan

UŞŞAK İLÂHÎ-9

Beste = ?  
Söz = YUNUS

BU AKLÜ FIKRİ LE MEVLAM BU LUN MAZ İBU NE YÂ  
DER YÂ LAR İ FİN DE SU SÜZ GE ZE RİM BE Nİ KAN  
AŞ KIN PA ZA RIN DA CANLAR SA TI LİR SA TA RİM

RE İ MİŞ MERHEM BU LUN MAZ YÂ AL LAH YÂ AL LAH  
DI RA ÇAK UM MAN BU LUN MAZ  
CA Nİ Mİ A LAN BU LUN MAZ

AL LAH AL LAH AL LAH YÂ AL LAH YÂ AL LAH ALLAH AL

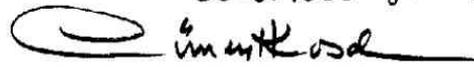
LAHAL LAH KAMU NUN DER Dİ NE DERMAN BU LU NUR  
YU SU FUM KAY BET DİM KEN'AN İ LİN DE  
YU NUS ÖL DÜ DE YÜ SA LÂ VE RİR LER

ŞU BE NİM DER Dİ ME DERMAN BU LUN MAZ YÂ AL LAH YA AL  
YU SU FUM BU LU NUR KEN'AN BU LUN MAZ  
Ö LÉN HAY VAN İ MİŞ Â ŞIK LAR ÖL MEZ

LAH ALLAH AL LAHAL LAH YÂ AL LAH YA AL LAH ALLAH AL

LAHAL LAH

22.3.1986 Yeniden yazdım

 Umur Koca

App.1.6. Music Score from the Meshk CD in Trebbus Mevlevi Tekke, Uşşak İlâhî. (Sanat Müziği Notaları, n.d.)

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## The Role of Macedonian Folk Songs Featured in Macedonian Films in Amplifying the Emotions

### ABSTRACT

Macedonian folk songs, as a part of Macedonian traditions and culture, represent an integral part of Macedonian history marked by resistance, military feats, and tendencies for maintaining the Macedonian national identity. This paper is focused on the issue of whether two Macedonian folk songs *With Torments I was Born* and *Listen Patriots* created in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – a period marked with active struggle for liberation and independence of the Macedonian nation – additionally intensify the emotions provoked by the storyline and action of the films, in which they have been incorporated.

During the research process, the authors of the paper used the mechanism of cognitive appraisal as a model for content analysis, as well as psychological and ethnomusicological analysis of the resulting data. The units of content analysis were the sequences of scenes of the film, in which the two Macedonian folk songs were used. The selected songs and films, as well as the interaction between the sound and visual senses, clearly present the deep relationship between music and emotions in a specific, identity-related context.

The findings of the study are in favor of the thesis that Macedonian folk songs, created as a result of the centuries-old struggle of the Macedonian people, when used in Macedonian films, intensify the patriotic emotions of the viewers and strengthen the concept of uniqueness in the Macedonian identity, due to the processes of repetition and revitalization of collective memories.

### KEYWORDS

Macedonian folk music

Macedonian films

Content analysis

Emotions

## **Introduction**

Creating, singing, and listening to Macedonian folk songs have all been deeply embedded in the cultural identity of the Macedonian people. Macedonian folk songs are an inevitable part of the rituals and the everyday life of the Macedonians, but they also have special significance in keeping the memory of relevant historical events of the Macedonian people described in the so-called 'patriotic' songs. Singing and listening to Macedonian folk songs is often a function of maintaining and preserving the uniqueness of the Macedonian identity during the centuries. Macedonian identity is very often a major topic in Macedonian movies, where in one can listen Macedonian songs presented in their original or arranged form on the movie soundtracks. Analyzing the presence and function of Macedonian folk songs in Macedonian films, one can notice that most of the Macedonian folk songs that are integrated in Macedonian films functionally strengthen and intensify the emotional response of the audience and enforce the patriotic feelings, which is the main thesis of this paper.

## **Case study**

The main goal of this paper is to present scholarly research on the usage and role of the Macedonian folk songs in Macedonian films, and the relation between these two powerful media, which complicate the function of folk songs in enhancing the power of a particular scene or sequence of the film. The research was inspired by an experimental survey conducted in 2014 with 30 students (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017). The respondents were postgraduate students (age 24 to 30) at the Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research in Skopje, who participated in the study on a voluntary basis. The experiment was conducted in two parts: introductory, and main. The introductory part was aimed at introducing the respondents to the world of music and at sensitizing them to the introspection of emotions, thoughts, and images that are evoked while listening to music. The respondents used colors (in conformity with the previously created glossary of emotions) to present their emotions evoked by listening to respective music. The main part was comprised of two segments:

- A. Listening to the song *Poslushajte Patrioti* and identifying the emotions, thoughts, images, and behavior caused by the listening to this Macedonian epic song.
- B. Listening to the song *So Maki Sum se Rodil* and identifying the emotions, thoughts, images, and behavior caused by the listening to this Macedonian epic song (Serafimovska & Markovikj, 2017).

This experimental study from 2014 was focused on the emotional reaction caused by listening to two Macedonian folk songs of patriotic character. These two songs were: *With Torments I was Born* (*Со маку сум се родил*)<sup>1</sup> and *Listen Patriots* (*Послушajме nampuomu*)<sup>2</sup>. Inspired by the results obtained from this study, in 2017, the researchers made another study focused on the analysis of the use of the same two songs, as part of the soundtracks to three Macedonian films. The directors of the movies and the composers of the movie soundtrack used these two songs in specific scenes and/or sequences in the films, which described different historical and social periods from the Macedonian history. The song *With Torments I was Born* was included in the soundtracks (from the beginnings of the Macedonian cinematography in 1952 to the present time) to two Macedonian films: *The Macedonian Part of Hell*, from 1971, and *Before the Rain*, from 1994. The song *Listen Patriots* was used as film music only in the film *Suicide Guide*, from 1996. Motivated by the results obtained in this case study, the scope of research interest was extended to the study of the use of these two Macedonian folk songs in Macedonian films.

*The Macedonian Part of Hell* (1971) is describing the persecution of Macedonian population of a Macedonian village by the Bulgarian fascist occupier during the Second World War. *Before the Rain* (1994) is a film about the political turmoil in the Republic of Macedonia, caused by the dissolution of Former Yugoslavia. This 'anti-war' film, which emphasizes the love between members of two different religious communities in Macedonia, offers insight into the reasons for the long history of ethnic conflicts within the Balkan states. It was filmed in the mountainous western part of Macedonia. The film is divided into three very different and related stories concerning the problems of war, ethnic intolerance, and violence. The film won the Golden Lion best-film award at the Venice Film Festival in 1994 and was nominated for Oscar.

The song *Listen Patriots* was used only in the film *Suicide Guide* (1996), which deals with a social topic, presenting the story about the everyday life of a dysfunctional family during the period of economic, political, and social transition of the Republic of Macedonia, that took place after the dissolution of the former Yugoslavia in 1991.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://pesna.org/song.php?id=293>

<sup>2</sup> <https://pesna.org/song.php?id=491>

## Music and Emotions

Emotions are complex multi-dimensional inner processes, relatively brief, intense, and rapidly changing reactions to potentially important events, external or internal. They have three components: affective, cognitive, and conative. These three components are cultural and corporeal/embodied, and they arise in social relationships. The affective component includes the subjective experience of situations connected to feelings of arousal, pleasure, or dissatisfaction; the cognitive component refers to how situations relevant to emotions are perceived and evaluated; the conative component is related to expressive behavior (Wirth and Schramm, 2005).

The affective component appears on the physiological level: emotions can increase our heart rate, activate certain brain regions, make us cry, or laugh.

The cognitive component refers to evoking certain memories rather than others, and it can also change the perception of the world, however momentarily. To be able to explain individual differences among people, it becomes necessary to describe what happens between objects and emotions. The most commonly discussed mechanism is cognitive appraisal (Scherers, 1998). The model of cognitive appraisal was introduced by Lazarus and Folkman (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Cognitive appraisal was explained as a mental process which has influence on how each individual perceives and responds to internal and external stimuli. When a person interprets an event as relevant and important or significant in his/her life, then that event may cause certain emotion. This process of creating emotions is explained by the mechanism of cognitive appraisal (Deliege and Davidson, 2011: 121). According to Cognitive appraisal theories, emotions are more a result of physiology, since they also depend on cognitive judgments or personal interpretation of situations.<sup>3</sup>

Juslin & Västfjäll (2008: 563) identify six mechanisms that are critical to music's ability to generate emotions which rely particularly on memory processes: "(1) brain stem reflexes, (2) evaluative conditioning, (3) emotional contagion, (4) visual imagery, (5) episodic memory, and (6) musical expectancy". These authors believe that these psychological mechanisms, supported by the cognitive appraisal mechanism, can

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<sup>3</sup> Some of these theories, beside the Lazarus' "Appraisal theory" are: Arnold's theory of emotions (Reisenzein 2006), Scherer's "Component Process model" (Scherer, 2005), Ortony, Clore, & Collins *Cognitive Structure of Emotions* (Colby, 1989). This groups of theories moved direction from feeling theories (James-Lange theory) and behavior theorist (Canon-Bard theory) toward cognition and it become dominate approach.

provide an explanation about how music provokes emotions in everyday life.

Some musicologists and ethnomusicologists place music and emotion in a specific relationship, since music can express and relate to emotions that cannot be expressed with words. Susanne Langer comments: "music is 'significant form', and its significance is that of a symbol, a highly articulated, sensuous object, which by virtue of its dynamic structure can express the forms of vital experience which language is peculiarly unfit to convey. Feeling, life, motion and emotion constitute its import" (Langer, 1953: 32). Langer argues that music is both symbolic, and that it is not, but the distinction she makes is more one of degree, than of kind. On one level she argues that the function of music is not "stimulation of feeling, but expression of it; and furthermore, not the symptomatic expression of feelings that beset the composer, but a symbolic expression of the forms of sentience as he understands them" (Langer, 1953: 28). On the other hand, she argues that music cannot truly and completely be symbolic because it does not have what she calls "assigned meaning" (Langer, 1942: 195). Sloboda argues that musical stimuli acquire emotional meaning through association with words that often accompany them. In order for two people to have a similar affective response to a musical stimulus, then, they must both have learned to associate the stimulus with words with the same semantic meaning. (Sloboda, 1985) These statements confirm that music is also a symbolic sound that can trigger different emotions that refer to the performer's/listener's personal and/or collective memory, very often connected with some historical or social event that belongs to a specific community or national cultural memory.

Music as a form of art spreads out in time, but it is also deeply rooted in both, - the individual and collective memory. The properties of music may be permanent and stable but can also be heralds of change. Music, with its own peculiarities, serves as an excellent instrument that conducts personal, local, regional, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural identities. Albeit stable, music offers remarkable metaphors and unvarying information that may assist in understanding societies in all transitional processes (Stojkova, 2014:12). As Timothy Rice (2007) notes, scholars have increasingly linked music to various conceptions of identity since the 1980s (see also Frith, 2004; Nettle, 2015: 263, 268-71). For the purpose of this paper, we refer to Rice, who generally observes four positions from which music relates to identity in ethnomusicological

literature: (1) music gives shape to a pre-existing identity; (2) musical performance provides opportunities for communities to see their shared identities “in action”; (3) music contributes an affective quality or “feel” to an identity; and (4) music gives an identity a positive valence (Rice, 2007: 34–35). This paper also refers to Allan P. Merriam’s conclusion that “the music is a product with its own structure that cannot exist separately from human behavior. To understand why the music is what it is, we must discern and comprehend why the environment where it was created is as it is and why and how the concept created by that environment is arranged in such a manner as to create that specific sound” (Merriam, 1964: 29).

As the function of melody is to fulfill its aim, it also gains a form, which is the most acceptable for the fulfillment of the given aim. At this moment, the form is completely subjected to the aesthetic elements that are close to a certain mentality, region, or culture. In such formation, among the main bearers of the song’s function are the lyrics and tonality, syllabicity, and phoneticity, and the melody, which is subjected to the greatest transformations. The symbiotic relationship between lyrics and melody does not separate these two categories from one another. On the one hand, lyrics appear as the bearer of the activity, that is, the message, whereas on the other hand, melody creates the indispensable magic of the moment, in which this message is transferred in the ether, and in its dimension fulfills the aim of the performance of the ritual. The melody also creates the foundation for its performance, of its spatial and temporal realization. The Russian musicologist B. V. Asafyev states that: “if we want to express a certain thought with sounds, it has to be turned into intonation, that is, it has to be intoned” (Asafyev, 1987: 98). In this way, the emotional content of the song shall be fully compliant with the nuances of the emotions being expressed through the human voice.

### **Characteristics of the Selected Macedonian Folk Songs Created in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century**

Macedonian culture is deeply rooted and connected to the homeland and the territory of residence. Culture is one of the fundamental segments of social life and an immanent factor of the identity and development of every single nation. It is an extremely specific and heterogeneous sphere that comprises all the tangible and intangible values. Culture is contained and articulated at different levels. On the basic level, it is contained in the language, including its syntax, grammar, and vocabulary). Culture is also contained in the art, rituals, moral values, but also social relations, in terms of how and with whom

we spend time, how we rejoice, how we experience sadness, and mourn death (Cvetanova, 2017).

Over the course of past centuries, Macedonian folk song embraced all significant moments from the lives of the Macedonian people. In addition to the mythological and love traits, these songs also pay tribute to the years of servitude, resistance, military feats, whether individual or group, spontaneous, or organized. Macedonian folklore particularly abounds in songs from the period when the territory of Macedonia, including the Macedonian people, were part of the Ottoman Empire.

Ethnomusicological research shows that preservation of Macedonian traditions is frequently influenced by myths that refer to an idealized past, particularly in instances when the past was forcibly lost or ignored – for example, as a result of forced migration or moving of the political boundaries (Czekanowska, 1996: 95). For these reasons two songs from Macedonian history were chosen as excellent examples of how emotions translate into an intonational-melodical organized form with specific functions and aesthetics. Both songs are lyrical in character and have patriotic content. The lyrics, as in all lyrical songs with patriotic character, are the main bearer of the song's function, and they convey the message directly. The lyrics of the first song *Listen Patriots*<sup>4</sup> have a direct patriotic function, which in the very first verse, determines the song's purpose, thus having the intention to provoke patriotic feelings in the listener, related to the history of the Macedonian people and their fight for freedom. The lyrics openly describe the sacrifice of the revolutionary Aleksandar Karagjule Ohridski, as one of the most prominent Macedonian national activists towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, who acted primarily in Sophia, and who advocated for Macedonian national independence, thus continuing the resistance of the Macedonians against the Bulgarian exarchy and the quiet Bulgarian assimilation, which was particularly reinforced following the establishment of Bulgarian church in Macedonia, when all Macedonians who wished to satisfy their religious needs were issued documents certifying that they were Bulgarians and suffered perfidious spiritual and cultural pressure (through education, etc.) in order to make them accept Bulgarianism (<http://www.mn.mk/istorija/4037-Aleksandar-Karagjule-Ohridski>). Without a doubt, this new propaganda was met by resistance on the part of the Macedonians, Aleksandar Karagjule, among them. Despite the fact that this

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<sup>4</sup> <https://pesna.org/song.php?id=491> (last accessed on August 19, 2018)

song was written near the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the current situation involving the negation of Macedonian cultural and identity symbols, such as language, name, and church, on the part of its neighboring countries, makes this songs still popular and evokes a feeling of identification with the collective struggle of the Macedonian people for freedom and recognition of their national and cultural identity and integrity.

In the second example, *With Torments I was Born*<sup>5</sup>, the author does not mention the name of any revolutionary or character from Macedonian history, but tells of a part of life of the Macedonian people, who have, throughout history, constantly experienced difficult times in bondage, under oppression, in hardship, and sorrow. Adding to today's perception of this song that provokes direct associations with the Macedonian history from the aspect of the difficult everyday life of the Macedonian people, is the featuring of this song in several contemporary motion pictures in the past 30 years, as well as in other media, while presenting the hardships in the life of Macedonians throughout history. Performed and rearranged by renowned Macedonian folk singers and popular musicians, this song bears the code of recognition of the 'difficult' fate of our predecessors. Thus, the text is intended to incite deep emotional patriotic feelings, which in this case, are meant to provoke respect towards our predecessors and their perseverance, determination and pride.

Regarding the melody, both examples have melodies with fundamental motif developments and musical characteristics specific for the Macedonian musical idiom. They are composed in the same tone scale, specifically in the Aeolian mode, which even ancient philosophers described as lyrical and emotional. These songs are exceptionally melodious and emotional, with the form supporting their function. The first example, that is, the song *Listen Patriots* has a strophic-refrain form, with a logically developed melody in the Aeolian tonal scale of 7 tones starting from the subtonium to the VI degree above the finalis. What is interesting for this example is the occurrence of a refrain with sequential melodic motifs, in which the presence of the pure fourth interval is expressed. This is considered a hymnic and patriotic interval, and is usually present and emphasized in hymns, marches and other types of songs of battling character. The song is written in 7/8 rhythm, which is considered to be a characteristically Macedonian rhythm, with a three-part beat in the beginning of the tact. The second example, the song

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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FL7M9uZCk9Q> <https://pesna.org/song.php?id=293> (last accessed on August 19, 2018)

*With Torments I was Born*, is also composed in natural Aeolian mode, with a wider range and, unlike the first example, is in a slow tempo with a 4/4 meter, which in certain performances turns into rubato, that is, a free tempo. Specific for these songs are the underlined emotions and elegiac feelings that contribute to the recognition of the patriotic function of the song on the part of the listener.

### **Methodology of the Research**

The main research question is: How and with what purpose are Macedonian folk songs used in Macedonian films?

This question was elaborated through 4 sub-questions: Does the particular folk song correspond (is appropriately used) to the specific scene/sequence in the film?; Does the song deepen the emotional experiences caused by the action in the scene/sequence?; Are the associations (thoughts, messages) provoked by listening to the songs (obtained from the experimental research in 2014) similar or same to the thoughts and messages meant to be evoked in the scene/sequence?; Is there consistency in the tendency of the behaviors induced by the song, and that, prompted by the scene/sequence of the film?

<i>Name of the film</i>	<b>Before the Rain</b>	<b>Macedonian Part of Hell</b>	<b>Suicide Guide</b>
<i>Genre</i>	Drama/War	Drama war	Drama
<i>Duration</i>	1h 53min	1h 44min	1h 37min
<i>Theme</i>	A review of the Macedonian - Albanian relations in the period of the breakup of the SFRY	The persecution of the Macedonian population in the Second World War in the Bitola region by the Bulgarian occupier	A review of the everyday life of a dysfunctional family in the capital of Macedonia (Skopje) in the period of transition of the Macedonian society
<i>Director</i>	Milcho Mancevski	Vatroslav Mimica	Ervin Altanaj
<i>Year of production</i>	1994	1971	1996
<i>The film processing period</i>	1993/92	year 1942 and the start of 1943	Current time
<i>Scenario</i>	Milcho Manchevski	Slavko Janevski	Sasko Nasev
<i>Music in the film</i>	Anastasija	Archive music	Vlatko Stefanovski

**Table 1.** General information about the films in which the two Macedonian songs are used

The two selected songs are excellent examples of how emotions translate into an intonational-melodic organized form with specific functions and aesthetics. Both songs are lyrical in character and have patriotic content; both speak of the plight and suffering of the Macedonians during the Ottoman Empire. Both songs are very much heard in the Macedonian media space in different circumstances in the everyday Macedonian life, although almost three centuries have passed since their creation.<sup>6</sup>

The data analysis of the usage of these songs in the three movies showed that:

1. The song *Listen Patriots* appears only in the film *Suicide Guide* (1996) at 59 minutes, in a scene where music is diegetic. Namely, while the dysfunctional family goes

<sup>6</sup> As an additional argument for the analysis of these two songs are the data that both them are performed by the doyens of the Macedonian folk song, Vanya Lazarova, who sang the song *With Torments I was Born* and Nikola Badev who sang *Listen Patriots*.

through a normal day at home, the song *Listen Patriots* is heard on the radio (performed by the Ensemble 'Chalgia').

2. The song *With Torments I was Born* appears in two films: *The Macedonian Part of Hell* (1971) and *Before the Rain* (1994). In the film *The Macedonian Part of Hell* the song appears at the very beginning of the film, i.e. during the exposition and in the final, or final scene. The same song appears in the final sequence of the film *Before the Rain*. In both cases, the singer is the famous Vanja Lazarova, but the interpretation is different. In the first film, the interpretation is more traditional, while in *Before the Rain* the interpretation is more ambient, and is arranged in an ethno-world-music-style by the band Anastasija.

The content analysis is based on the qualitative processing of the data received from the sequences of the films where the songs are used. The unit of analysis is the part of the film (scene or sequence), which lasts from the beginning to the end of the song. The units of content are: the text spoken by the actors; the context, in which the action takes place; and the behaviors and reactions of the actors. The template for content analysis of the scene is constructed in accordance with the concept of cognitive appraisal, wherein the stimulus (the scene of the film) is up to cause certain emotions only in the case when it has a subjective meaning for the recipient.

The form for content analysis has three parts:

1. Description of the stimulus: a factographic and full description of the scene/sequence, wherein the focus of the analysis is on the action shown in the scene / sequence; (full description of each scene is presented in Table 2).

DESCRIPTION OF SCENES/EXPOSITIONS IN WHICH SONG <i>WITH TORMENTS I WAS BORN</i> CAN BE LISTENED		DESCRIPTION OF SCENE IN WHICH HE THE SONG <i>LISTEN PATRIOTS</i> CAN BE LISTENED	
<i>DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE: starting scene / exposition from the film 'The Macedonian Part of Hell' in which song 'With Torments I was Born' can be listened</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE: ending scene / exposition from the film 'The Macedonian Part of Hell' in which the song 'With Torments I was Born' can be listened</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE: final sequence from the movie 'Before the Rain' with the song 'With Torments I was Born'</i>	<i>DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENE: a scene from the film 'Suicide Guide' in which he the song 'Listen Patriots' can be listened</i>
<p>Soldiers on horses, dressed in white uniforms (Bulgarian soldiers). The heads of the soldiers are shown in a first plan. Soldiers ride on horses, as through the cordon they lead the civilian population. Moving civil population: men, women, elderly people, children; people go slowly, carry suitcases, rustic woven bags, some bundles.</p> <p>The bodies of the civilian population are tilted, with a glance towards the earth, moving through a settlement. A woman peeps through the window, but after the Bulgarian soldier shouts: "What are you looking at? Do not look!" - she closes the windows.</p> <p>A young girl goes beside an elderly man who defies. She addresses him:</p> <p>"Come on, grandpa they will kill you" ...</p> <p>The grandfather answers: "Lord, they will not give us even to die in our country. Nowhere is the place left! Even in the Hell we do not have own place."</p> <p>On the wall of a house is seen a glued sheet of paper with a photo of a character. The warrants say: "A warrant. Todor Angelov-Teacher is wanted."</p>	<p>Civilian population (men, women, children, old people) on the move, armed army on horses and infantry. The military is in the same height as the people.</p> <p>An army on horses walks in a white uniform, and soldiers carrying rifles in an olive green uniforms with helmets move along the crowd. The bodies of the people are upright, the heads are raised.</p> <p>The military and the civilian population are shown as leaving the village and moving along the meadow. The weather is sunny and light.</p> <p>Shots in the distance are heard.</p> <p>A female character from the crowd looks at the distance and says, "That's the teacher, our teacher, he stayed alive, he was saved ..."</p> <p>The crowd of soldiers and civilian population disappears into the horizon. There is a display of a mountain landscape, greenery, nature, sky ... nature in green.</p>	<p>Crickets and sheep are heard. The cousin shoots at Aco. After the shots the girl runs away. Aco falls wounded face to earth and gazes into the soil. His cousins run to check if he is alive. Turn it over. Aco is twisted to the sky; two wounds can be seen on the chest that has made two bloody circles on the thorax. Aco says, "Shoot, cousin, shoot." The cousin who was shooting said: "Aco, do not worry, Aco it will go away." Aco replies: Pst ... Looks, it will rain ..."</p> <p>Thunder sounds, the sky is dark, there are dark clouds. It rains. The fly moves along the dead body of Aco. Aco's dead body is surrounded by armed men-his relatives who killed him. Armed people are moving towards the horizon after the girl.</p> <p>A girl dressed in a men's blue sports jacket and men's red sport tracksuit runs from behind the rocks, then runs again, runs away ... A landscape of rocky landscape, mountains, yellowing grass dried out of the sun, cracked by land drought. Drops begin to absorb into the ground. The sky is in dark colors (gray and violet shades). The girl stops on a hill where the Orthodox church is seen, turns face to the rain drops are falling on her face, especially the eyes.</p> <p>Monk cultivates a garden where tomatoes are planted. A herd of sheep is on the dry grass. The priest from the church approaches him, calling him to come to the church because the storm is coming and says, "The fly are biting, it's enough, it will rain, come on, it's time, and the time does not wait (smiles), and the circle is not round ". Last frame: the whole screen shows the head and chest of the already deceased Aco, the camera focuses only on the chest, that is, the two wounds from the bullets and bleeding in the form of two concentric circles.</p> <p>In the distance, the girl runs towards the church .. she keeps her stomach as if no longer has a soul.</p>	<p>The mother (M) is in the bedroom, and the son (S) enters the kitchen. The son comes to the bedroom and begins the conversation.</p> <p>(S): Do not come last night! (Thoughts of his father) ..</p> <p>(M): No ..</p> <p>(S): Do you want me to call him?</p> <p>(M) No</p> <p>(S): Can I do something for you?</p> <p>(M): Tell me what you are taught at faculty.</p> <p>(C): How do you think?</p> <p>(M): I'm interested, I've never studied.</p> <p>(S): They thought us that everything is more beautiful now than before.</p> <p>(M): Pih ... What kind of college is that if they teach you that!</p> <p>(S): Before it was totalitarianism.</p> <p>(M): What?</p> <p>(S): There was no freedom in the past, life depended on ideology.</p> <p>(M): How about not? In the past there was order and peace, now I have not taken a salary for 4 months!</p> <p>(S): The fact that you took the salary was not good. In totalitarianism all take wages in order not to rebel. In democracy only the one who will earn.</p> <p>(M): Who said that? Now I work double more!</p> <p>(C): Now you have the right to vote and civic obligations, what about before? In the past, you were only a registered ID in the Mministry of interior!</p> <p>(M): Let me tell you! They do not teach you well on that faculty!</p> <p>(S): So you are asking me and I am answering to you ...</p> <p>(C): Can I have a cigarette?</p> <p>(M): Do you want a cup of coffee?</p> <p>The father (F) enters, he did not not come home last night. He takes off and sits in the kitchen.</p> <p>The son is sitting in the living room.</p> <p>(F) Put coffee for me too.</p> <p>(S): Oh, oh, oh, the comeback of the Jedi ... where are you father ? You're gone all night.</p> <p>(F): Do not eat shit kid!</p> <p>(C): Do you want to beat me?</p> <p>(F): I should when I could.</p> <p>(F): Fuck the rain!</p> <p>(F): I forget to buy burek!</p> <p>(M) Are you hungry?</p> <p>(F): Like an idiot!</p> <p>(M): I'll make you a popara. I'm on my way to work.</p> <p>(F): I'll drive you ...</p> <p>(S): What is this scandal Kumplung? You will carry your wife to work with a car?</p> <p>(M): Do not talk like that to your father!</p> <p>(S): If he sleep at home one night, you will start to love him!</p> <p>(M): Let me spit on your democratic head. Get out!</p> <p>(S): He's beating you and you defend him!</p> <p>(M): Get out!</p> <p>The mother is chasing the son from the room.</p> <p>The mother begins to prepare a meal for the father while he is still sitting on the table</p> <p>(F): You do not have to beat him, he is still a kid, he will misunderstand! (Ironic)</p> <p>(M): Stand by!</p> <p>(F): Do not bullshit cow!</p> <p>(F): Give me to eat.</p>

**Table 2.** Description of the scenes (stimulus)

2. Description of the process of interpretation of the scene/sequence through three components of the emotions: the affective, cognitive, and conative. The affective component is understood as a likely subjective experience of the situation in terms of emotions/experiences/states of actors. The cognitive component serves as a framework for understanding what is happening in the scene/sequence. This cognitive component assumes that certain personal information and knowledge of the viewers, collective memory of the Macedonian people, as well as the additional cognitive elements (if any) that are included, are explicitly or implicitly shown in the scene/sequence. The final component, conative, refers to the assumed ways of interpreting the behavior of the actors in the film.

3. Presumed audience reactions (emotions, associations/thoughts, ideas and messages/and tendency to behave that can occur during exposure to the scene where the music can be heard). (See Table 3, 4, 5.)

Emotions that can occur to the audience (AFFECTIVE COMPONENT)			Emotions that can occur to the audience (AFFECTIVE COMPONENT)
<i>Emotions that can occur to the audience while watching a scene / exposition from the film <u>The Macedonian Part of Hell</u> in which song 'With Torments I was Born' can be heard.</i>	<i>Emotions that can occur to the audience while watching the ending scene / exposition from the film <u>The Macedonian Part of Hell</u> in which the song 'With Torments I was Born' can be heard</i>	<i>Emotions that can occur to the audience while watching the final sequence from the movie <u>Before the Rain</u> with the song 'With Torments I was Born'</i>	<i>Emotions that can occur to the audience while watching a scene from the film <u>Suicide Guide</u>' in which he the song 'Listen Patriots' can be listened</i>
Sadness, frustration, rage, hatred, helplessness	Revolt, frustration, Hope, Patriotic feelings, Faith	Nausea, Revolt, Fury, Despair, Hopelessness, Sadness, Fatality, Hate, Fear, Accusation, Acceptance with death	Fear, Aggression, Frustration, Fury, Anger

**Table 3.** Presumed emotions

Thoughts, ideas and messages that can occur to the audience (COGNITIVE COMPONENT)			Thoughts, ideas and messages that can occur to the audience (COGNITIVE COMPONENT)
<i>Thoughts, ideas and messages that can occur to the audience while watching a scene / exposition from the film <u>The Macedonian Part of Hell</u>, in which song 'With Torments I was Born' can be .</i>	<i>Thoughts, ideas and messages that can occur to the audience while watching an ending scene / exposition from the film <u>The Macedonian Part of Hell</u>, in which the song 'With Torments I was Born' can be heard.</i>	<i>Thoughts, ideas and messages that can occur to the audience while watching a final sequence from the movie <u>Before the Rain</u> with the song 'With Torments I was Born'</i>	<i>Thoughts, ideas and messages that can occur to the audience while watching a scene from the film <u>Suicide Guide</u>, in which he the song 'Listen Patriots' can be heard.</i>
Persecution, terrible fate, anxious and helpless people	Heroes are immortal, Revolution lives, Better tomorrow comes, Justice wins	Blood revenge, undesirable murder, Someone stopped in the path of madness, Bond between Macedonians and Albanians.	His son opposes his father's abuser; The son tries to protect the mother; The father is a tyrant, dishonest. The transition has ruined

**Table 4.** Presumed thoughts

A behavioral tendency that can be encouraged by the audience. (CONATIVE COMPONENT)			A behavioral tendency that can be encouraged by the audience. (CONATIVE COMPONENT)
<i>A behavioral tendency that can be encouraged by the audience while watching a scene / exposition from the film 'The Macedonian Part of Hell' in which song 'With Torments I was Born' can be heard</i>	<i>A behavioral tendency that can be encouraged by the audience while watching an ending scene / exposition from the film 'The Macedonian Part of Hell' in which the song 'With Torments I was Born' can be heard.</i>	<i>A behavioral tendency that can be encouraged by the audience while watching a final sequence from the movie 'Before the Rai' with the song 'With Torments I was Born'</i>	<i>A behavioral tendency that can be encouraged by the audience while watching a scene from the film <u>Suicide Guide</u>, in which he the song 'Listen Patriots' can be heard</i>
Toward self	To self, but also exalted feelings	Toward self	Toward others

**Table 5.** Presumed behavior

## Discussion

The main research interest of this paper was focused on how Macedonian folk songs are used in Macedonian films. In order to provide the answer to the main question, four research questions were considered, which in fact, are four aspects of the phenomenon, on which the analysis was based.

1. The first question or aspect of analysis refers to the appropriateness of the use of the Macedonian folksong at hand at a certain point in the arc of the film. The scene/sequence, in which the concrete Macedonian folk song is present, was analyzed as a unit of analysis. The beginning of the song was considered as the beginning of this unit (the stage/the sequence) and, the end of the same unit is the moment when the song ends.

In this part of the analysis, the focus is on the action of the film (see Table 2), and whether the song (and the lyric) correspond to that scene, in which it is used. The qualitative analysis showed that in two of them it is a matter of persecution of the Macedonian population by the Bulgarian occupier during the Second World War. In one sequence it is about the events that followed the breakup of Yugoslavia and inter-ethnic tensions and conflicts between the Macedonians and the Albanians. Only in one of the scenes /sequences it is not about an event that is related to war or history, but about the social event from a dysfunctional family's everyday life, settled in the transitional period of the society they inhabit.

When it comes to the song lyrics, it can be concluded that the directors of the films appropriately and very skillfully use Macedonian songs. Even for the fourth analyzed scene, in which the song *Listen Patriots* is heard on the radio, where the song is used in the action when the members of one transitional, decaying family are in conversation, even then, it can not be said that the use of the song is inadequate. There is no war in this scene, there are no innocent victims and revolutionaries explicitly, but there is an abuser/tyrant (the father), there are (innocent) victims of violence, such as his wife and his son, as well as a rebel who, although young, will try to resist violence and to protect the innocent victims.

Hence, the conclusion of this question would be that Macedonian folk songs used in scenes/sequences, the action of which corresponds to the lyrics, or more precisely to

what is being conveyed, although that content does not have to be explicitly related to the lyric of the song.

2. The second question was about the potential of Macedonian songs to deepen the emotional experience provoked by the film. Here, the focus of the analysis is on the affective component in the process of personal interpretation of events (stimulus): emotions that can occur in the audience members who watch the scene (see Table 3).

From the analysis of the affective components (assumed subjective experiences) of the four scenes/sequences it can be said that emotions, which are supposed to occur during the scene are the same as those that occurred when listening to the song itself (from experimental survey). The experimental survey in 2014 showed that when listening the song *With Torments I was Born*, the most frequent emotions are grief, anger, fear, and hatred (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017). The same emotions are presumed to occur to the viewers of the three scenes, in which the song appears. The same conclusion can be made about the emotions caused by listening to the folk song *Listen Patriots* and the emotions that are supposed to be challenged by the viewers of the scene in the film *Suicide Guide*, although, as already mentioned before, the topic and the action are different from what the song lyrics (political and social issues during the period of transition). Listening to the song *Listen Patriots* provokes anger, fear, and hatred (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017), and these are the same emotions that are expected to occur as a result of watching and interpreting the respective scene. At this point in the analysis, only one more important insight could be added.

When watching the films, negative emotions are supposed to dominate, while when listening to the songs (as findings from the experimental survey suggest) can sometimes cause positive, or at least neutral, feelings. For example, only listening to the folk song *Listen Patriots* causes love, calmness, excitement, and nostalgia (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017), while watching scene from the film might not have that same potential for positive and / or neutral emotions. This will happen because of the 'framing,' which dictates how to view and understand the displayed information (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Listening to the song *With Torments I was Born* causes both calmness and nostalgia (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017), while exposure to the scene, in which the song is used, most likely, will not have the capacity to evoke the same

emotion. Therefore, watching the scene has the capacity to cause other negative and/or neutral feelings and conditions, such as nausea, revolt, hopelessness, fatalism, reconciliation with death, accountability, hope, and patriotic feelings. The simple question is whether the Macedonian folk song is used to deepen the emotional experiences caused by the action of the film. The answer is yes.

3. The third question refers to the cognitive component, in particular the similarity/sameness of the associations (thoughts, ideas and messages) caused by the song itself and the association presumably provoked by the film scenario. This cognitive component assumes that personal information, personal retrieval, collective memory records, as well as explicit and implicit verbal or pictorial parts in the scene/sequence will participate (Table 4).

In this part of the analysis it can be seen that in the two scenes/sequences of the film *The Macedonian Part of Hell* that speak precisely about events of the Second World War, the assumed thoughts, ideas, messages, and images are almost identical with the associations provoked when only listening the same song: the terrible destiny of these people; anxiety of the people, but also the awakening of patriotism; revolution (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017). In scenes/sequences where events are not directly related to war, but with events and developments that speak about inter-ethnic conflicts (like in the film *Before the Rain*) and family problems (like in the film *Suicide Guide*), the assumption is that the associations, thoughts, ideas, and messages will be slightly different. Namely, when listening to the song *With Torments I was Born* there are thoughts and images like 'Death of patriots'; 'Making a pledge to future generations so that they know what previous generations have gone through'; 'Anguish misery' (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017), and while watching the sequence from *Before the Rain*, the following ideas and thoughts can be provoked: blood vengeance, undeserved murder, someone standing on the path to madness, bondage between the Macedonians and Albanians, etc.. Listening to the song *Listen Patriots* induces thoughts and ideas, such as: feelings of pride for the Macedonian struggle; anger and rage towards traitors; grim and dreary destiny; awakening of ethnocentric nationalist feelings (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017), etc. Watching the scene from the film *Suicide Guide* can provoke the following observations/sentiments: the son tries to protect the mother; the father is a tyrant, dishonest; the transition has ruined the lives of many.

This data speaks in favor of the use of 'frames' to achieve the effect that the sender of the message through the film (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) wants to achieve. Only listening to the song has the potential to cause certain thoughts and images inherent only to the recipient (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017). In the case when we have a simultaneous display of an action through a film where we have images, actions, text, and a recognizable song, there is a no space for the additional individual experience of the viewer. The scene unambiguously implies the message of the movie director. This framed response is usually associated with the collective memory, passed through generations (Assman, 1995).

If we simply want to answer the question of whether the associations caused by the song correspond with the supposed associations caused by the scenario/script of the film, the answer would be yes, but only when the script deals with the same or a similar theme that the lyricist narrates. In cases when the script talks about another similar or different topic, different thoughts, ideas and messages are likely to emerge.

The fourth question discussed here, is whether there was a coincidence in the behavioral tendencies induced by the song and those supposedly induced by the scene/sequence of the film, in which the song was used. In this part of the analysis, the research interest was on the connotative composition of the song and the tendencies of behavior that are supposed to occur. The three assumed tendencies of behavior were: behaviors directed towards self; behaviors directed to others; and behaviors aimed at something that is exalted and outside of us (see Table 5).

This part of analysis showed a complete concordance of the behavioral tendency induced by the song (findings from experimental survey) and that induced by the scene/sequence of the film in which the song was used. The behavioral tendency motivated by listening to the song *Listen Patriots* is primarily toward others (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017), and such a tendency is most likely even when watching the scene from the film *Suicide Guide*.

The behavioral tendencies prompted by listening to the song *With Torments I was Born* are toward oneself and toward 'up'- exalted and outside of us (Serafimovska and Markovikj, 2017), and such a tendency is also expected to be present when watching the scenes/sequences from the films *The Macedonian Part of Hell* and *Before the Rain*. Hence, the conclusion would be that there is a complete match in the behavioral tendencies

induced by the songs, and those induced by the scenes of the film in which the song is used.

### **Conclusion**

Apart from the question of *how* Macedonian folk songs are used, it is important to know why they are used in the way they are used, and why Macedonian people will respond the way they do.

The collective memory of the Macedonian people is based on eternal struggle for proving and maintaining the Macedonian identity as distinct from that of Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbian. Macedonia's current relationships with all its neighbors is also an obvious example of the process of strengthening, deepening, and 'embodying' the same content of the collective unconscious of the Macedonian people. In its collective memory, the Macedonian people carry the memory of the collective trauma. Events, which can cause collective trauma and are transmitted through generation are: wars, genocide, terrorism; and they are framed in the history and culture of a nation (Healing Collective Trauma, n.d.). In its function and essence the Macedonian patriotic and revolutionary folk songs are deeply rooted in the collective unconscious of one nation, representing a vehicle for remembering and transmitting the memory of Macedonian history of struggle, as well as the memory of the victims of this struggle, closely related to the elements of national pride (Ilic, 2012).

So, the answer to the question why the Macedonian folk song as a bearer of the memories of the Macedonian people is used in this manner, would be the following: to strengthen the memory of the centuries-long struggle of these people to preserve their identity, embedding the plight and suffering in that struggle in the collective memory, and enforcing the perception of injustice that is inflicted through the misdeeds against this people.

Furthermore, it is interesting to know how this 'embodying' is done. Embodiments of associations and memories can occur via an explicit, or an implicit path. The explicit is clear and obvious and visible in both scenes/sequences from the film *The Macedonian Part of Hell*, where the collective trauma of the Macedonian people is explicitly associated with the historical events such as the mass murders and persecution of the Macedonian people by the Bulgarian army during the Second World War.

The implicit content embedded in the script to the film *Before the Rain*, where several soundscape metaphors turn the whole atmosphere into a heavy, tedious, and tense. The repeated lambing of the sheep is actually associated with the concept of a 'scapegoat', that is, with someone's death. The quote: 'And the circle is not round,' after which the bloody circles on the chest of the slain appear in the center of the screen, a metaphor of the cyclical repetition of the difficult and painful history of the Macedonian people. It is a metaphor that history repeats itself, but also that embedding it in collective memory must also be repeated.

Furthermore, the same question appears but in a different form: Why would some content be embedded over and over again? Is it the intention to induce certain specific behaviors or reactions? What is the ultimate goal? If judged by the possible recurrent behavioral tendencies that would be caused by the scenes/sequences, in which Macedonian folk songs are used, then we can say that the intention is to induce patriotic feelings.

The songs and the scenes/sequences have the potential to provoke these behaviors aimed at the outside, but also those aimed toward oneself. Metaphors in *Before the Rain*, which function to simultaneously strengthen the collective identity, are also re-examining it in order to overcome the conflict between communities. The ambivalence is amplified due to the vague contour of the enemy at whom the aggression is directed, except when it comes to retroreflection, where the energy of reaction and the direction of energy towards the outside, that is towards the goal, turns to the inside.

If we consider the results of the experimental study from 2014 and the following analysis in 2017, one can conclude and confirm that music is one of the most powerful kinds of media, as well as the phenomenon that (1) music gives shape to a pre-existing identity; (2) musical performance provides opportunities for communities to see their shared identities "in action"; (3) music contributes an affective quality or "feel" to an identity; and (4) music gives identity a positive valence (Rice, 2007: 34-35).

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