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# Turkish Disco: The Intersection of Anatolian Pop, Groove, and Psychedelia

#### **ABSTRACT**

This article aims to examine the genre of Turkish disco, with its local and global connotations. Using the theory of glocalization, the genre will be discussed as a means to understand current dynamics in the music industry. This research is a product of a discography survey and fieldwork consisting of extended interviews with DJs and musicians who were a part of the scene.

What is labeled as disco music in Turkey, and what is referred to as 'Turkish disco' in the global music industry are, in fact, two different music cultures. The term's local usage refers to specific Turkish recordings from the late 1970s, in which various forms of Turkish art and folk music were reinterpreted, usually with Moog synthesizers. On the other hand, more recent connotations of Turkish disco owe much to DJs, and the digging, editing, and remixing culture of the 2010s. Coming hand in hand with the term Turkish psychedelic, many of these recent edits and remixes by DJs and producers were selected from the LPs and singles of the 1970s, which drew inspiration from pop, soul, folk, jazz, psychedelic rock, funk, and Anatolian pop. Thus, Turkish disco in the past decade has become an umbrella term for contemporary edits and remixes of the Turkish popular music of the 1970s. The reinterpretation of the forms such as Oyun Havası and potpori within the subheading of disco will be analyzed to understand the cultural aesthetics of taste and the political background of musical fusion.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Turkish disco

Disco

Turkish psychedelic

Popular music

Glocalization

Anatolian pop

**Fusion** 

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Disco, as a musical genre and a dance culture that questioned the conventional boundaries of race and gender, embraced the concepts of liberation, and created its own unique anthems of fashion and style, came about in New York City's minority communities in the late 60s and early 70s, and turned into a global dance culture and a mainstream success. In each destination it visited, it found many layers of meaning and performance applications. In Turkey as well, localization of disco was subject to many cultural and musical connotations, so that questioning the concept of disco implicates key turning points in the history of Turkish popular music.

This article intends to examine the localization of disco music in Turkey, and the reinvention of the term 'Turkish disco' in the global music market. Using the theory of glocalization, the genre will be discussed with a comparative analysis of the local and global usages of the term. Glocalization denotes the notion of an interplay between globalization and localization that has different cultural outcomes in different regions of the world. What is labeled as disco music in Turkey and what is referred to as 'Turkish disco' in the global music industry are, in fact, two distinct music cultures. The local use of the term refers to specific Turkish recordings from the late 1970s, in which various forms of Turkish art and folk music were reinterpreted, usually with Moog synthesizers. Internationally, however, more recent connotations of Turkish disco are linked to DJs and the emergent digging, editing and remixing culture of the 2010s. Technological advancements made production techniques easily accessible for home studios, while the online and self-released music mediation opportunities contributed to the rise of DJ culture. With the movement of Retromania, "the obsession of the society with the cultural artifacts of its own immediate past" (Reynolds, 2011: 8), many DJs turned towards the past and local music traditions for inspiration. With Turkish psychedelia, many of these recent edits and remixes by DJs and producers were selected from LPs and singles of the 1970s, which drew inspiration from Anatolian pop/rock<sup>1</sup>, soul, folk, jazz, psychedelic rock, funk and Anatolian folk music of Turkey.

The rise of Turkish disco and Turkish psychedelic in the global music market owes much to the pioneering efforts of several DJs. Turkish DJ Barış K was one of the first to anticipate

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Hereinafter referred to as Anatolian pop. Although Anatolian pop and Anatolian rock can be used interchangeably in Western literature, in Turkish literature, Anatolian rock represents the second wave of Anatolian pop emerged in the late 1990s, including musicians such as Kıraç, Haluk Levent, and Ayna.

the vinyl revival and localization trends in the local popular music industry. The term 'vinyl revival' refers to the updated relevancy of vinyl culture. There has been an increase in sales of vinyl records in the Western world since 2007 (Richter, 2014). As the ways we acquire music in the new millennium shifted due to the prevalence of the internet, and downloading and streaming became the dominant methods, the music industry experienced a paradigm shift as well. Discovering the musical past by digging through records and presenting these materials in the form of mixes or re-releases contributed to the utilization of local music traditions as a form of differentiation in the popular music industry.

This research is a product of a discography survey and fieldwork consisting of extended interviews with DJs and musicians who are part of this scene<sup>2</sup>. To be able to discuss the term 'Turkish disco,' I will first peruse the process of glocalization that occurred in Turkish popular music of the 1970s, with a focus on Anatolian pop. Since the aim of this piece is to examine the local and global connotations of Turkish disco, pioneering disco recordings will be reviewed. The final part of the article deals with these recent representations of Turkish disco.

#### The 1970s in Turkey: An Era of Glocalization

Many genres of Turkish popular music are based on both local and global influences. The idea of synthesis inherent in the musics of Turkey has its roots in historical state music policies. Since the early days of the Republic of Turkey, music was at the foreground of the proposed reforms as an important art form to represent the emerging national 'Turkish' identity. Westernization of cultural and musical practices started in the late-Ottoman period, with the *Tanzimat* (Reorganisation) Decree of 1839 and later became significant after the declaration of the Republic, with an attempt to correlate it with the identity of the 'modern Turk'.<sup>3</sup> The founding leader of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk defined the national cultural agenda as a combination of European and Anatolian values. A patriotic Turk was to benefit from the scientific and technological advancements

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> As an ethnomusicologist teaching the history of Turkish popular music, and a DJ of 17 years, I had the chance to observe current trends in the Turkish popular music industry. I owe much gratitude to the DJs and musicians who shared their experiences and opinions with me: Emir Özer, Görkem Karabudak, Holger Lund, İpek İpekçioğlu, Kaan Düzarat, Mehmet Aslan, Orçun Baştürk, Sertaç Oğul, and Volga Çoban.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Bülent Aksoy (1985), "*Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Musiki ve Batılılaşma"* (Music and Westernization from the Tanzimat to the Republic).

of the West while internalizing the spirituality of the East (Kadıoğlu, 1996). As a means to achieve that ideal, a synthesis of Anatolian folk and Western classical music was seen as the ideal music representing this new country that was established on the remnants of the Ottoman Empire. However, the legacy of the Ottoman Empire has been a controversial issue throughout history.

Policies fostering European music facilitated the integration of Western ballroom dance styles. In the early days of the Republic, dances such as the waltz and the foxtrot became popular among the cultural elites, who regularly visited 'State Balls' — social events that broke down the barriers between men and women in Ottoman society (Alexandrov, 2013: 178). Actually, the roots of Western-style dance culture in Turkey were venues called *dansing* (dance halls), in which dances such as the Charleston, foxtrot, waltz, shimmy, one step, and tango were performed. Carol Woodall mentions *dansing* as well as the city's streets, bars, hotels, and cinemas as the 'contact zones' of Istanbul in the 1920s, in which various ethnic groups, classes and professions, as well as emigrants and Allied occupiers, came together (2008: 40).

A surprising outcome of the Westernization idea was the evolution of jazz and tango. Tango became the first Western genre to be adopted into local culture with compositions that included Turkish lyrics. By contrast, jazz was initially used as a mere generic category that encompassed all Western popular dance styles, from ragtime to foxtrot. Armenian violinist/saxophonist Leon Avigdor introduced jazz to Turkey in the mid-1920s (Mimaroğlu, 1958: 122). It took another two decades before Swing Amatör became the first genuine jazz band, and jazz gradually found its own identity from its North American origins, whereas other Western popular music styles were labelled as Turkish Light Music (Uyar & Karahasanoğlu, 2016: 137). <sup>4</sup>

The first example of Turkish Light Music (later known as Turkish pop music) was 'Bak Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş' (Look, Once Upon a Time) released in 1961 by the renowned jazz pianist and singer İlham Gencer. <sup>5</sup> The lyricist and radio host Fecri Ebcioğlu wrote Turkish lyrics to French pop singer Bob Azzam's 'C'est écrit dans le ciel', becoming the pioneer of Aranjman music, a form of popular music with Turkish lyrics. The term Aranjman

 $^{\rm 4}$  The term "Light Music" denotes Easy Listening.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all translations are the author's.

signifies arranged/cover versions of popular songs of usually French, Italian, or English origin with adapted Turkish lyrics. *Aranjman* was strongly supported by Turkish Radio and Television (TRT), which gave it regular airtime and labeled the new genre as Light Music with Turkish Lyrics (*Türkçe Sözlü Hafif Müzik*) (Tekelioğlu, 1996: 211).

The incorporation of Turkish elements into Western popular music dominated the music of the 1970s, resulting in a fusion of Turkish folk with Western popular music genres, such as pop, psychedelic and prog rock, and the resulting genre was called Anatolian pop. The label 'Anatolian pop' was coined by Taner Öngür<sup>6</sup>, the bass player of Moğollar, one of the key bands of the movement. Actually, the movement started in 1964, when the jazz singer Tülay German released her groundbreaking single, 'Burçak Tarlası' (Field of Vetch), pioneering Anatolian pop and thereby opening a new path for Turkish popular music. Produced by her partner, jazz drummer Erdem Buri, and performed by Doruk Onatkut Orchestra, it was the first traditional Turkish folk song performed with Western instruments: flute, guitar, a drumset, percussion, and string instruments. Tülay German's vocals display an operatic influence, while the raw timbre of the claves marks the rhythmic drive of the piece. This was a milestone in Turkish popular music: instead of directly imitating the genre, as had been the case with jazz, rock'n'roll and *Aranjman*, German's music exhibited a novel and unique theoretical and harmonic combination.

The synthesis zeitgeist of the 1970s was not just specific to Anatolian pop; jazz and funk were also adapted to local taste. In 1973, Mustafa Özkent released his LP *Gençlik ile Elele* (Hand in Hand for Youth) offering a unique blend of Turkish folk music and funk. Gökçen Kaynatan, with his exquisite style fusing electronics with local influences, is referred to as one of the pioneers of electronic music within the borders of Turkey. In 1978, the first Turkish jazz album, *Jazz Semai*, was released by Erol Pekcan (drums), Tuna Ötenel (saxophone and piano), and Kudret Öztoprak (bass). This was the first jazz LP recorded and released by local musicians, and the first recording incorporating tonal materials, rhythmic structures, forms, or repertoire samples from Turkish music into jazz. All these attempts reveal the complex nature of the aesthetics of taste, which I intent to explain through the concept of glocalization.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Taner Öngür. (2018). [Liner notes]. In Sayko Ana. Digital Album. Istanbul: Tantana Records.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> İlhan Mimaroğlu and Bülent Arel were pioneering Turkish composers of electronic art music, but their activities were based in USA.

Roland Robertson defined glocalization as "the simultaneous promotion of what is, in one sense, standardized product, for particular markets, in particular flavors, and so on" (1997: 225). Japanese marketing experts used the term to define the process by which products of Japanese origin were localized to suit local tastes and interests, and vice versa (Khondker, 2004). Robertson was the first to use this term in the context of social sciences and discussed globalization as "being reflexively reshaped in such a way as to increasingly make projects of glocalization into the constitutive features of contemporary globalization" (1995: 41).

Regarding the issue of globalization of cultures, Nederveen Pieterse discusses three approaches: clash of cultures, single culture, and hybridization (2004). The first is the view that people's cultural and religious identities will be the primary source of conflict in the post-Cold War world (Huntington, 1993). The 'single-culture' approach is the view that a homogenized world is dominated by a single culture that erases local differences. According to the third view — hybridization or synthesis — local needs are adjusted to globalized concepts. Glocalization and hybridization share a common ground on conceptualizing cross-cultural influences, but there is a slight difference. Glocalization explains the interaction between local and global, and the interconnection between local cultures; hybridization, on the other hand, deals with the mixture of different cultures (Nederveen Pieterse, 1993).

With a more cultural orientation, Timothy Taylor defined glocalization as "the extent to which the local and the global are no longer distinct – indeed, they never were – but are inextricably intertwined, with one infiltrating and implicating the other" (2003: 67). Anatolian pop with Turkish folk music instrumentation and repertoire can be interpreted as an example of glocalization. The main influence of Anatolian pop was the Anatolian *aşık* (lover) tradition of traveling folk musicians who improvised with folk poetry, drawing on the philosophy of Sufism and accompanying themselves on *bağlama*.<sup>8</sup> Anatolian pop musicians began to draw on folk literature attributed to famous *aşıks* (such as Karacaoğlan, Pir Sultan Abdal and Dadaloğlu). Aşık Veysel Şatıroğlu (1894-1973), a prominent blind *aşık* who was active while the movement was taking root, was the first

 $<sup>^8</sup>$  The timbre of  $bareve{g}lama$  — the Turkish folk lute also known as saz — had a special impact on the sound of Anatolian pop sound.

*aşık* to gain a wider audience through the media, and his songs were re-recorded by well-known Anatolian pop artists.

There are many ways in which the influence of Turkish music on musicians was manifested –something we can understand as the result of processes of differentiation. In the case of Turkish musical glocalization, Western music genres, such as rock'n'roll, psychedelic rock, and prog rock, have been intermingled with Anatolian folk music elements and instruments. As the notion of glocalization suggests, any set of sociocultural formations can be adapted to local taste and Anatolian pop represents the adaptation of Western forms into local contexts. Cahit Berkay explains the hybrid musical zeitgeist of the era:

Anatolian pop reflects the Turkish joke that states, "You cannot sell a snail in a Muslim neighborhood"<sup>9</sup>. If you are making music in this country, you have to know this country is not restricted to Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. Your music has to be nourished by Anatolia (Akkaya & Çelik, 2006: 167).

By excluding the cultural and economic centers of the country, Berkay draws on the importance of familiarity in musical taste. If Western popular music had been presented to an Anatolian audience without any attempt at localization of the genre, it probably would not have made an impact, because it sounds quite foreign to a taste accustomed to *makam* art and modal folk traditions in Turkey.

Bruno Nettl differentiated musical Westernization (imitating specific features and techniques from Western culture in order to introduce non-Western practitioners with Western religious, musical, cultural, or political approaches) from musical modernization (preserving and continuing the tradition rather than changing it, and extending the tradition with the adoption of Western techniques) (1978: 171). Musical Westernization manifested as the copying of Western popular music forms. *Aranjman* covers that directly imitated French, Italian, or English pop songs adding Turkish lyrics to the original piece — even sometimes purchasing the master output from the studio — stand as a musical reflection of the globalized world. Turkish pop diva Ajda Pekkan, for example, used to sing these songs in broken Turkish with an ersatz English accent to give the impression of a European singer performing it. Westernization was deeply rooted in the cultural

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> A proverb in Turkish denoting that one cannot market a product to an irrelevant audience.

practices of the era, and aggrandization of the West was reflected in the small details of everyday life. A European look and an imitation of a European accent became features of popular music of these years. As in the *Aranjman* style, transferring the sound of European pop directly to the Turkish music market is linked with homogenization and, as Holton states, "equivalent to Westernization" (2000:142). As we can see in the *Aranjman* form, Westernization was perceived as an equivalent of modernization.

The glocalization process that occurred in Anatolian pop refers to the juxtaposition of the traditional with the modern, drawing influences from the *aşık* tradition and integrating modal melodic sequences of Turkish folk into Western forms. Incorporating local and traditional music forms into Western genres has been a complicated venture ever since the early years of the Turkish Republic. Embracing or rejecting local musical influences in Turkish popular music was a manifestation of complex national identity politics. Nationalism became the main value as regards the construction of the Turkish Republic from the ruins of the Ottoman Empire, and it revisited the cultural agenda of the country in the following decades.

Regarding the deep-rooted effects of this East/West dilemma, DJ and producer Kaan Düzarat comments: "During the Westernization process, the existing culture had rejected with a denigration of being peasant or Eastern. I was born in 1980, and this case of rejection reached even our generation" (as cited in Sarıçam, 2014). Düzarat's comment reveals the particularly complex nature of Westernization in Turkish society. As a DJ performing in my early 20s, I recall hiding my Balkan and Anatolian folk music knowledge inherited from my family among my peers, because those weren't appreciated as 'hip' back in those times. Before the age of internet, performance and a taste of Anatolian folk music were attributed to working-class and rural populations in Turkey. As the dissemination of music changed with the evolving technologies, the class-related connotations of music consumption started to blur.

Artistically, the most prolific era of Turkish popular music occurred between 1960 and 1980, taking the form of glocalization with the experiments of rock'n'roll, psychedelic rock, jazz, disco, and funk. However, this trend came to an abrupt end with the 1980 military coup staged against the supposed rising communist and Islamist influence. The ensuing economic crisis, political oppression, and censorship affected cultural and

musical life, exacerbated by several imprisonments. As Stokes states: "Anatolian Rock was effectively driven underground by the generals in 1980" (1999: 13). Many left-wing musicians had to keep a low profile, some prosecuted, others leaving the country. For instance, Selda Bağcan, the most prominent international face of Anatolian pop, was taken into custody three times and put on trial nine times for her protest song lyrics (Canbazoğlu, 2009: 227). TRT also applied censorship to musicians such as Selda Bağcan and Cem Karaca.

#### **Local Connotations of Disco in Turkey**

Like many genres of Western popular music, disco also found a place in Turkish popular music. At the end of the 1970s, glocalization of disco music by Turkish musicians occurred with the utilization of long-standing Ottoman/Turkish music forms. Osman İşmen pioneered the Turkish disco with his orchestra combining a funk orchestra consisting of a rhythm and horn section, with Turkish style violins and  $mey^{10}$ . As an arranger, band leader, and keyboard player, he had a unique approach to combining makam music influences with disco grooves. In 1978, he released Diskomatik Katibim, followed by Disko Madimak in 1979. The latter consisted of arrangements of the up-tempo Turkish folk songs in Oyun Havasi form such as 'Madimak', 'Dere Geliyor Dere' (The River Flows River), 'Mevlana' (Rumi). These albums were significant examples of the trend in the Turkish popular music industry: fusion recordings of a specific instrumental Anatolian folk music form called Oyun Havasi, which functioned mainly as dance music and often performed in wedding ceremonies or any kind of celebration where traditional dances take place. Earlier in 1973, Esin Engin Orchestra released Modern Oyun Havalari, followed by the album Modern Fasil in 1978.

Another significant album of glocalization during the era is Disco *Fasıl*, released in Turkey in 1979 by the Bip!Plak record label, which launched a series of local disco adaptations targeting a popular audience. This LP gathered together the most accomplished Turkish art music performers such as Coşkun Sabah on oud and Halil Karaduman on kanun in an ensemble, *İstanbul Çalgıcıları* (Instrumentalists of Istanbul), made up of drums, guitar, bass, saxophone, Moog synthesizer, and percussion, and a Turkish vocal group of Turkish

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Mey is a double-reed aerophone, common in Turkish folk music. It is similar to the Armenian duduk.

art music singers, *İstanbul Şarkıcıları* (Singers of Istanbul).<sup>11</sup> The Disco *Fasıl* compilations, the first album from 1979, combined the songs in *Oyun Havası* form and presented them in a continuous *potpori* form. The A side contains four up-tempo traditional songs, *'Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar'* (Do the Birds Perch on the Wires of Telegraph), *'Sallasana Sallasana Mendilini'* (Wave Your Hankie), *'Karanfilim Budama'* (My Clove Is Pruning) and *'Beyoğlu'nda Gezersin'* (You Wonder Around Beyoğlu), all melded together with interludes including heavy bass drives, funky rhythms with an intense groove, melodies from the Moog reminiscent of Theremin sound, and flamboyant saxophone solos. These and other features associated with Western disco music are combined with solos on kanun and oud, which are common instruments in Turkish music.

Before exploring the cultural codes inherent in the glocalization of Disco *Fasıl*, another concept – *potpori* – needs to be explained. Taking its name from the French *pot-pourri*, *potpori* is created by assembling together selected parts of songs. For instance, a verse and a chorus from one song might be combined with selected parts from another song. The musical usage of *potpori* began with the Turkish Radio and Television choir *Yurttan Sesler Korosu* (Voices from the Homeland), led by Muzaffer Sarısözen in 1947 (Kozanoğlu, 1988: 24). As a way to institutionalize Anatolian folk music, a number of traditional songs collected through field recordings from different regions of Turkey were compiled to create a traditional music treasure trove for the choir. One of the main reasons for the selection of the song hooks in the *potpori* stems from the efficient presentation of newly collected folk material. *Potpori* thus represents the continuous performance of folk songs that have similarities in their tonal centers. Despite its folk origins, *potpori* became a popular concept both in Turkish art music and Turkish popular music.

*Potpori* is similar to DJ sets and mixtapes in the way in which different musical elements are interlinked and performed in a continuous flow. Indeed, this kind of musical flow is not specific to *potpori*, but rooted in the *Fasıl* form, which can go on for up to four hours. *Fasıl*, on the other hand, comes from the Ottoman *makam* music tradition, the artistic musical heritage of the empire that preceded modern-day Turkey and was distinct from Anatolian folk music, reflecting different regional traditions of various ethnic groups. It is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> *Çalgıcı* means instrumentalist. However, it is important to note that using çalgıcı rather than "musician" has pejorative connotations. Usually, musicians of Romani origin are referred to as *çalgıcı*. Such usage denotes many things about the inner dynamics of discrimination of minority ethnic groups in Turkey.

the longest form in Ottoman *makam* music, presenting a combined structure created from several different instrumental forms that are played back to back with a set of rules concerning pitch material, rhythm, and intermediary sections. During the 19th century, the song form was added to *Fasil*. So as not to break this continuity, sometimes the *taksim* (improvised solos) lasts as long as 20-25 minutes to give other instrumentalists and singers a rest during the *Fasıl* set (Eken, 2007: 32). Tracing its roots to the 15th century, the Fasil form witnessed many changes throughout the centuries. The declaration of the Turkish Republic and the ensuing Westernization resulted in an era of rejection of Ottoman *makam* music, trapping the *Fasil* performances in the private sphere. The form was revived in the late 20th century, this time with a dance and entertainment function. Recent somewhat misleading interpretations of *Fasil*, especially after the 1990s, refer to it as live entertainment by an ensemble performing only the song form in Turkish art music. Just as DJs have developed many techniques, from beat matching to scratching, to maintain a continuous flow of music, so too have Fasıl performers. For instance, in Turkish music, there are structured melodies called Beylik aranağme (common intersecting melodies) connecting the pieces in *Fasil*.

Another album, 'Ayva Çiçek Açmış' (Quince Tree in Bloom), by the same ensemble İstanbul Şarkıcıları & İstanbul Çalgıcıları, was released in 1980 and includes an adaptation of a composition by Fikret Kızılok, 'Köroğlu Dağları' (Mountains of Köroğlu).¹² This piece reflects direct funk influences with catchy guitar riffs, propulsive string and horn parts, and combines these with Turkish-style violin performance including makam slides and highly ornamented rhythms of the darbuka.¹³ The signature song of the album, 'Ayva Çiçek Açmış', is an anonymous Oyun Havası.¹⁴ It is in Uşşak makam, which includes the Segah pitch, which is one comma lower than the B when it is notated in the Turkish tuning system, in which D is tuned to 440 hertz. The whole tone in Turkish makam music is divided into nine equal parts; there are four types of sharps and flats in a whole tone, which gives Turkish music its microtonal character. This piece blends Turkish dance music form Oyun Havası with musical elements borrowed from Western disco sounds

<sup>12</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eTe2YErKEno

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Darbuka is a membranophone common in Turkish music, which is also called doumbek.

<sup>14</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HWVHJnPvDBg

from the period. While the vocal parts of the piece are an example of Turkish art music, the interludes connecting those combine *makam* solos with disco features.



**Figure 1**. İstanbul Şarkıcıları & İstanbul Çalgıcıları, Ayva Çiçek Açmış Album Cover (Istanbul Çalgıcıları & Istanbul Şarkıcıları, 1980).

These albums were produced prior to the authoritarian climate of the September 12, 1980 coup, as during those years, opportunities for live music or dance halls were scarce. They used disco influence to modernize the local forms and targeted a mainstream popular music audience with a commercial orientation. Turkish DJ and producer Sertaç Oğul (As Smooth As) commented on these recordings:

These songs weren't originally composed to be played in discos. During their era, there wasn't a lively disco music culture in Turkey. For the orchestration and arrangement of these songs, the disco genre was imitated, that's all (Sertaç Oğul, personal communication, October 15, 2018).

However, there was another main function those recordings serve: as soundtracks for films. Turkish comedy films of the 1960s-80s tended to use jazz, funk and disco as an accompaniment to chase or comedy scenes. For instance, Zafer Dilek released his version of another *Oyun Havası 'Yekte'* in 1976, offering a fusion of funky riffs, modal melodies, and traditional Anatolian wooden-spoon playing to create a polyrhythmic structure. This was used in the 1977 movie *Sakar Şakir* (Clumsy Şakir) starring Turkish comedy star

Kemal Sunal. Osman İşmen Orchestra's '*Nihavend Longa*' from *Diskomatik Katibim* album is used in another Kemal Sunal movie, *Korkusuz Korkak* (Fearless Coward).

While Bip!Plak released Turkish interpretations of disco music, another Turkish label, *Türküola*, released *Derdiyoklar*'s LP as part of their Disco Folk series in Germany. Turkish popular music in the diaspora, mainly in Germany, resulted in new unique adaptations of Anatolian musical elements. *Derdiyoklar* was a duo made up of two Turkish immigrants in West Germany who performed at weddings and circumcision feasts and covered traditional Anatolian folk songs with an instrumentation consisting of *electro-saz*, guitar, drums, and synthesizers. This record recently gained a cult following in the Turkish alternative music scene and drove a young generation of local musicians to use similar psychedelic themes in their own music. These recordings remained underground during their release years, then later became popular with reissues during the Turkish psychedelic revival, as videos of the duo playing at wedding ceremonies spread via YouTube. Although the title of the album includes disco, the music of *Derdiyoklar* offers a fusion of Turkish folk with psychedelic rock.

After the 1980s, the term disco began to mean anything related to dance and *Oyun Havası*. As it also became a feature of comedy movies with the popularity of Kemal Sunal movies, the albums including 'disco' in their names shared a common commercial interest combining up-tempo *Oyun Havası* music with comedy features. For instance, Hurşid Yenigün's *Disco-Gırgır: Göbekli Dümbelekli* recordings define the period's appreciation of disco. These recordings don't reflect any disco or funk music influences, other than the basic dance function of *Oyun Havası* and *potpori* forms. Likewise, many recordings labeled as disco, such as *Disco Göbek* (Disco Belly Dance), *Disco Fasıl Rumbada, Karadeniz Disco, Disco Kanto* and *Oryantal Ciftetelli Disco*, were released during the 1980s.<sup>18</sup> In 1992,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> *Türküola* was established in Cologne, Germany, in the late 1960s. The company moved its operations to Turkey in 1973. Also, Uzelli, another record company with its significant releases of Anatolian pop/rock, started in Frankfurt in 1971 and later moved its operations to Turkey.

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  Saz means instrument in Turkish but is synonymous with the bağlama, since it is the most regularly used instrument in Turkish folk music.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In music, the term psychedelic mainly denotes musical experimentation, particularly in form and timbre. Hindu classical music instruments tabla and sitar were used to evoke a psychedelic experience, as with some of the signature timbres of 1960s new age spirituality. Besides, studio techniques such as filtering, extreme reverb, phasing, extended delay hoops, and multiple repeats were utilized in the recordings to create surreal sounds (Chepkemoi, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Disco *Fasıl* Rumbada is an album title by Hurşit Yenigün offering an intertwining of rumba and disco music, but these are actually nonsense titles to draw attention to the entertainment concept, not the actual musical influences. *Karadeniz* Disco means Black Sea region disco, a performance of *Oyun Havası* with

Erkan Ocaklı released an album titled *Disco Nataşa*, which included newly arranged entertainment songs from the Black Sea.<sup>19</sup>

My interviews about the local appreciation of disco revealed yet another dominant usage. The Turkish word disko also represents the physical venue of the dance hall, an abbreviation of discotheque. This time, disko referred to the dance halls in Turkey; this was a widespread usage of the term as an actual space for dancing, instead of a music culture. The first disko in Istanbul, established by Tevfik Dölen and called 'Tefo'nun Yeri' (Tefo's Place), started its operations with an archive of 400 LPs in Sıraselviler street of Beyoğlu (Akçura, 2014). The DJ of the venue, Emre Serter, said Charles Aznavour, Adamo, Beatles, and Rolling Stones were among the most frequently played artists and bands (as cited in Akcura, 2014). Following the popularity of the first disko, other venues focusing on the performance of recorded music with DJs — instead of live music performances increased in numbers. In the late 1980s versions of diskos, for instance, synth-pop and new wave became the prominent culture, and the mainstream popular music of the era was labeled as disko müziği (disco music). This dance sub-culture represented the kind of decadent environment, in which an innocent girl could succumb to the effects of alcohol and dancing to disko müziği. Turkish movie stars of the era, such as Hülya Avşar or Yaşar Alptekin, were to be seen dancing in discos to synth pop music and new wave, cementing the links among synth pop and new wave and disco music during the late 1980s.

#### **Reinvention of Turkish Disco**

This section examines the current usage of the term Turkish disco and explains its connections with the genre of Turkish psychedelic. Starting with the impact of the political atmosphere on the subject, after the 1980 military coup, Anatolian pop experienced a dramatic decline. Recordings from the 1970s lost their value under the political and cultural oppression, while others were forgotten, abandoned in moldy basements. Thanks to the nostalgic interest in bringing local music back to the scene, and the revival of vinyl culture, Turkish popular music from the 1970s has been resurrected in the new millennium, creating new spaces for performance. Not only global, but also

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kemençe (a bowed string instrument common in traditional Black Sea reginal music), also reflecting the entertainment function. Disco *Kanto* is an album by *kanto* singer Nurhan Demircioğlu. *Oryantal Çiftetelli* Disco combines Oriental dance with the *Oyun Havası* form *Çiftetelli*.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 19}$  Natasha is a pejorative term for a Russian woman living in the Black Sea region.

Turkish listeners began to rediscover many inspiring pop albums of the 1970s.<sup>20</sup> Many of the Anatolian pop records were rediscovered by record diggers and reappeared in Turkish psychedelic and Turkish disco compilations in the past decade or so. During that process, Anatolian pop acquired a new label in the global music market: 'Turkish psychedelic'.

The term was created overseas and retroactively came to be used in Turkey. Güven Erkin Erkal was the first Turkish music writer to adopt the term in his book, *The History of Rock in Turkey 1: Psychedelic Years* (2013). Prior to this, music writers and musicologists referred to this time as the era of Anatolian pop. A recent book, *The Turkish Psychedelic Music Explosion: Anadolu Psych 1965-1980*, by Daniel Spicer, follows a more biographical approach to the genre with chapters on stars such as Selda Bağcan and Moğollar.

The first use of the term Turkish psychedelic to define a compilation was "Love, Peace & Poetry — Turkish Psychedelic Music" released in 2003, which included an eclectic group of musicians such as Selda Bağcan, Bülent Ortaçgil, Erol Büyükburç, and Özdemir Erdoğan. On the other hand, in the vinyl catalogue 1001 Record Collector Dreams, which was published in 1998 by Hans Pokora and lists rare and valuable records, Erkin Koray's *Elektronik Türküler* (1974) is labeled as progressive, his *Same* (1973) as psychedelic/folk/progressive and Ersen's album *Dünden Bugüne* (1975) is labeled as folk/progressive. Cornelia & Holger Lund claims that the revival of Turkish rock and funk music began in 2006 with hip-hop producer Egon's compilation *Stones Throw Podcast #12: Turkish Funk Mix*, which contributed to the international interest in the genre (2015: 178).

The rise of Turkish psychedelic music owes itself to the activities of several significant DJs and producers. Roskow Kretschmann of the German DJ/producer collective Jazzanova, who frequently traveled to Turkey and collected local records, released in 2005 a two-compilation series called *Bosphorus Bridges*. DJ Kaan Düzarat states that "the scene clearly changed after that" (Kaan Düzarat, personal communication, October 10, 2018). In 2006, Mustafa Özkent's *Gençlik ile Elele* album, a local funk-ish gem of the 1970s, was re-released by another eminent global digger, Andy Votel's UK record label Finders

 $<sup>^{20}</sup>$  The movie *Issiz Adam* (Man Alone) from 2008 was crucial in attracting a mainstream audience to the joys of record collecting with a main character who was fond of 1970s Turkish recordings.

Keepers. In 2007, American hip-hop producer Oh No released the album Dr. No's Oxperiment, which heavily sampled from Anadolu Pop recordings, with the first track on the album sampling Selda Bağcan's song '*İnce İnce*' (Skoog, 2012: 241). Two years later, rapper Mos Def discovered the same album and used Selda Bağcan's vocals in his 'Supermagic' track.

On the local scale, Turkish DJ and record collector Barış K was among the first to see upcoming localization trends in the popular music industry. He started editing Turkish songs as early as 2005 and released a mixtape, *Eurasia*, in 2007, bringing edits of Anatolian pop gems in a mix together. His flux of edits and compilations made the Anatolian pop visible, and this trend was followed by a niche crew of Turkish DJs and remixers such as Kaan Düzarat, *Hey Douglas, Kozmonoz Osman, Jonny Rock, and Discolog*. Many of the songs edited by those DJs were selected from the original LPs and singles recorded in the 1970s, which, until the new millennium, were referred to as Anatolian pop. Those edits and remixes gained the new global label 'Turkish disco' in the 2010s.

The impact of Turkish popular music of the 1970s was felt again in the 2010s with its rising popularity among deep house and disco DJs and producers. The term 'Turkish disco' was created as a label to market groovy recordings and the upbeat Anatolian pop in the global music industry, especially the remixes of Turkish popular music from the 1970s. At the 2017 Burning Man Festival, DJ Oliver Koletzki played Turkish pop singer Neşe Karaböcek's version of '*Çayelinden Öteye*' (Further from *Çayeli*) in his set, and the crowd danced up a storm.<sup>21</sup> This traditional song from the Black Sea region of Turkey was covered by Karaböcek during the Anatolian pop era and was recently edited by Norwegian producer Todd Terje under the title '*Yali Yali*' using disco beats.

Turkish DJs and producers, such as Barış K, Kaan Düzarat, Hey Douglas, İpek İpekçioğlu, Fattish, Kozmonot Osman, and Discolog took leading roles in editing such local repertoire as part of their artistic pursuits. Followed by a younger generation of DJs of Turkish origin including As Smooth As (Sertaç Oğul), Mehmet Aslan and Cheesebrothers, the mixtapes of Anatolian pop gained global visibility. Ricardo Villalobos remixed the track 'Kime Ne' (None of their Business) by Turkish psychedelic band *İnsanlar* (with Barış K on beats, Alican Tezer on drums and Cem Yıldız on *electro-saz*). The tracks selected by local or

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fv451fZN904

foreign DJs are stylistically diverse and range from  $Arabesk^{22}$  and jazz to pop and prog rock.<sup>23</sup> The use of electro-saz (electric  $bareve{g}lama$ ) is also quite common.

The first global usage of the term was in 2012 in an album called Turkish Disco Folk released by *Arşivplak* company, including two edits by Volga Çoban. He stated that "The vinyl didn't create much of attention after its release, but eight months after someone shared some tracks on YouTube there was a sudden increase in the sales, and now the album is in its third release" (Volga Coban, personal communication, November 19, 2019). For instance, one of the tracks included in the album is 'Volga Nehri' (Volga River), which samples the 1980 recording by *İstanbul Şarkıcıları's Ayva Çiçek Açmış.*<sup>24</sup> 'Volga Nehri' is 09:56 minutes long and completely edited from the material taken from the instrumental parts of the songs included in the *Ayva Çiçek Açmış* album. The piece starts with a catchy opening guitar riff, which is a section from the song 'Ayva Çiçek Açmış,' starting at 01:46.25 The part of 'Volga Nehri' that starts at 0:18 is the opening keyboard solo of 'Köroğlu Dağları,' followed by a G clarinet solo in *Uşşak makam*. In the same album, there is also a version of 'Ayva Çiçek Açmış,' which is 1:40 minutes long. Volga Çoban preferred to cut the vocal parts of the piece which contains direct *Oyun Havası* influence; instead, he used the interludes of funk and disco. However, the main melody of the piece starting at 00:09 is performed with electro-saz in *Ussak makam*, which gives the piece its microtonal character.

Volga Çoban utilized the musical material from one of the primary works of glocalized disco in Turkey and later used that material to create a new form. He defines himself as a vinyl collector and dealer. He bought the copyright of the piece for a re-release from the producer Baha Boduroğlu. However, in the *Turkish Disco Folk* album, *İstanbul Şarkıcıları* was not listed as a performer, nor was Volga Çoban acknowledged as the producer. The album mainly highlights the title: Turkish disco.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The genre of popular music emerged in the late 1960s in Turkey, bringing Arabic and Egyptian music influences with freer forms of Turkish art/folk music. The Turkish cultural elite tended to degrade *Arabesk* as the musical and cultural consequence of urban migration from rural towns in the 1960s, and it was forbidden on Turkish Radio and Television during the 1970s for being the 'low' culture of slums (see Stokes, 1989).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Tracks by artists such as Barış Manço, Erkin Koray, Selda Bağcan, Neşe Karaböcek, Edip Akbayram, Gülden Karaböcek, Ali Rıza Binboğa, Osman İşmen Orchestra, Derdiyoklar, Nazan Öncel, Nil Burak, Seyyal Taner, Ferdi Özbeğen, Mehmet Pekün, Füsun Önal, Ajda Pekkan, Hakkı Bulut, Özdemir Erdoğan and others.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LV9Wyw7By7A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HWVHJnPvDBg

The recent usage of Turkish disco, however, is closely linked to commercial interests. The house and disco remixes of Turkish popular music gave standardized form to the culture in the form of electronic dance music. In recent times, what has been referred to as Turkish disco is being played in electronic music clubs, festivals, on the radio, and in any kind of setting fostering dance. Producer and DJ Mehmet Aslan, who makes Turkish disco edits, regularly tours in Europe, and plays Turkish psychedelic pieces in his DJ sets, explains the attention on Turkish popular music as follows:

Turkish music's popularity in an industry which regularly looks backwards is quite normal, because the 1960s and 70s' music culture in Turkey was quite rich. We can reach music all around the World with the influence of globalization and internet. People want to find 'exotic' music, they get bored of the music of the Western world (Mehmet Aslan, personal communication, October 11, 2018).

The terms 'Turkish disco' and 'Turkish psychedelic' are closely interrelated — they are used to define the Turkish popular music of the 1970s. Through a discography analysis, it can be concluded that Turkish psychedelic became an umbrella term to describe the fusion of Western popular music (including psychedelic rock, funk, jazz, soul, pop) with Anatolian folk influences. Besides Anatolian pop, also *Arabesk* recordings can be included under the tag of the genre. Recent adaptations of Anatolian pop by the bands currently performing are observed to be classified under the same title. Some common musical features of the category may include the use of the Turkish/Anatolian traditional music repertoire, tingling guitar sounds, utilization of electric *bağlama*, *kanun*, oud, G-clarinet, and Moog synthesizers, and the employment of melodic phrases common in Anatolian folk music. The term developed to be used commercially to promote Turkish popular music, and some exaggerated conceptions of 'Turkishness' took place on album covers, with 'exotic' Oriental images becoming a feature of promotion.



Figure 2. Bosporus Bridges Volume 3, album cover (Bosphorus Bridges 3, 2009).

Another reason that the Anatolian pop movement, and the local adaptations of the funk and jazz from Turkey have been presented as Turkish psychedelic, might be the spiritual connection of the word 'psychedelia'. Psychedelia refers to drug-related connotations and the expansion of the consciousness through substances. Such a pursuit of expansion of consciousness through the consumption of LSD was not the case in 1970s music culture in Turkey. Some individual experimentation probably took place, but that was not at all at the core of the musical culture. However, the 1960s also marked an increase in attention to Eastern philosophies, mainly centering on Indian traditions. The Turkish folk tradition has strong roots in Anatolian Sufism through the *aşık* tradition, which might also contribute to the myriad meanings for the word 'psychedelia'. Drummer and multi-instrumentalist Orçun Baştürk states:

Some people even call *Oyun Havası* or Oriental dances as Turkish psychedelic. This is a marketing technique. For me psychedelic means playing with the timbre to make it feel more ethereal (Orçun Baştürk, personal communication, November 15, 2019).

The word psychedelic lost its actual meaning in that commercialization process. Of course, that movement resulted in positive outcomes benefiting local musicians. As a consequence of this growing attention to the Turkish popular music of the 1970s, Anatolian pop stars such as Selda Bağcan, Barış Manço, and Moğollar gained global

visibility and popularity, resulting in re-issues of many of their recordings. Anatolian pop protest singer Selda Bağcan became a global star who performed at the 2016 Primavera Festival in Barcelona, increasing the popularity of the genre in Europe. Also, new alternative bands and musicians began using Anatolian pop influences: among them, Babazula and Gaye Su Akyol, which regularly perform in Europe. Australian psychedelic rockers King Lizard and the Gizzard Wizard, or the Netherlands-based Altın Gün began to imitate 1970s Anatolian pop.

#### Conclusion

The first wave of Turkish disco music in the late 1970s featured timbral varieties of synthesizers, funky riffs, and four-on-the-floor dance rhythms, utilized in order to Westernize local music forms such as *Oyun Havası*. Beat matching and mixing techniques that kept the music on the dance floor were the main reasons for the later evolution of DJ culture. Such a feature, however, had already localized in Turkey in the 1970s through the use of potpori in recordings, connecting the hooks of songs via interludes of funk and disco music. With the 1980 military coup, not only the political, but the cultural and musical climate in the country changed dramatically. The common ground was the function of the music, and disco started to denote a 'decadent' form of entertainment. For a brief time in the late 1970s, creative combos of disco and potpori forms were made, until the military coup of 1980 introduced changes that affected popular music. After the 1980s, the term 'disco' started to be used for virtually any recording that promoted dance, regardless of its stylistic features. What was left was not the style, just the function of inducing a drive to dance. What makes disco Turkish is not its national or ethnic origin, but the Turkish music influence that can be observed in the glocalized recordings of the 1970s.

Recent years have witnessed the huge impact of Turkish popular music on the global music market. Whether it is the 'exotic' Oriental image of Turkey that draws such attention to Turkish popular music, or personal DJ quests to discover lesser-known musical regions, the impact of the movement resulted in a flourishing music scene through newly forming acts, reissue releases, and a revival of those groups and musicians. The Anatolian pop movement of the 1970s became popular in Europe and the United States like no other Turkish musical movement before. What had previously been called

Anatolian pop was renamed Turkish psychedelic, and its popularity rose thanks to local and foreign DJs keen to bring local music cultures back to the popular music scene.

At the end of the 1970s, disco became a tool of musical modernization in Turkey through a reevaluation of local music forms such as *Oyun Havası* and *potpori*. During the 2010s, as a consequence of the rising wave of Turkish psychedelic, Turkish disco also gained a new musical flavor. The recent representation of the term suggests any edit or remix of a Turkish popular music from the Anatolian pop era. Thus, regardless of the source, the edits and remixes of Turkish traditional songs or repertoire influenced by, for instance, psychedelic rock, funk, soul, progressive rock, or jazz from the 1970s can be defined as Turkish disco. While Turkey's first encounter with disco was an example of glocalization by representing funk/disco elements through local forms, the contemporary use of the term suggests any kind of Turkish music that has been adapted to a globalized taste with house/disco beats.

In an era of hybridized musical forms, the local and global usages of the term 'Turkish disco' reveal how local music cultures have been utilized as a form of differentiation in the popular music industry. Power dynamics between cultures and the act of benefiting from a position of privilege while appropriating diverse musical cultures, as well as the way the meaning transforms in the process of music marketing, have been the risky aspects of the concept. Both terms — 'Turkish psychedelic' and 'Turkish disco' — initially started to circulate in Europe and the USA and have been targeted to promote these genres to a Western audience; in turn, they have also started to be utilized in Turkish popular music press. Glocalization of disco music in Turkey adapted traditional forms to a modernized taste, while the reinvention of Turkish disco made the significant repertoire of 1970s Turkish popular music visible on the global music market and created fresh performance spheres for that culture.

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# Svan Funeral Dirges (Zär): Cultural Context

#### **ABSTRACT**

This article is a companion paper to Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze (2020), Mzhavanadze and Scherbaum (2020) and Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze (2021). Together they describe the results of an interdisciplinary study of the three-part funeral dirge of Svan zär ('zari' in Georgian). In the present paper, we provide all the contextual (ethnographic, ethnological, historical) data that we collected from various written and/or oral sources and then processed and organized in a comprehensible way to help the reader better understand this unique phenomenon. We believe that in order to help answer the basic question of 'how zärs work,' the results of the acoustical, musicological, and phonetic (as well as language-music interface) analyses in the other three articles must be interpreted through an understanding of the full context of this unique cultural behavior.

Thus, not only did we collect and integrate all the related data and review the literature, but we also raise and discuss some problematic issues, such as, for example, the etymology of the term  $z\ddot{a}r$ . We also offer an interpretation/description of some conflicting historical data to generate interest for its further research. In addition, we introduce the reader to some details of our field research (2015, 2016), as they may be of great importance when discussing or interpreting the results of the analyses presented in other (analytical) parts of this interdisciplinary study.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Traditional Georgian vocal music

Multipart dirge

Funerary ritual

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#### **Preface**

The scene takes place in the village of Lat'li (in Georgian Lat'ali, see Figure 1), in Upper Svaneti. It is the funeral of Pridon, the venerable and revered village doctor who had faithfully served his community over decades. Flanked by a group of villagers, Sima Chamgeliān, an elderly village woman approaches the body of Pridon, laid out in the center of the room, to pay him her last respects and weep over the deceased. Quietly at first, but gradually growing more dramatic and louder in its intensity, her voice manifests intense vocalizations, with increased weeping and sobbing. Each phrase of her agonized litany ends with a refrain exclamation 'way Pridon!' (woy Pridon!), which is followed, in turn, by the other women mourners with loud utterance-type sobbing. Now, in a recitation, Sima praises the good deeds and grace of the deceased, beseeching Pridon to take good care, in the afterlife, of her relatives and other villagers who have also passed away, and requests him to let his fellow deceased know how difficult life has become, here, on the Earth without their presence.

Directly after her tribute ends, a procession of men enters the room, led by an elder male. In similar form, the old man also weeps over the corpse, lamenting the sorrow and loss of the villagers, using powerful vocabulary and emotions. From time to time he strikes his forehead evoking a response from the attendees of varied utterances and sobbing.

Meanwhile, under a tree in the yard, a small table is laid out with plates of food, and carafes of wine and "Haraq'" (a local vodka made from fruit). Some men sit behind the table on wooden benches. From time to time, at certain intervals, they rise to their feet, remove their hats and begin to chant a three part 'song' without discernible linguistic form, called zär. The sound of the zär is challenging to describe in musical terms. The men vocalize specific vowels and utterances in a very slow tempo, moving mainly stepwise up and down from one pitch to another, articulating with very powerful, loud and dirge-like, tensed voices. Short phrases dominate, consisting of vowels only, and are interspersed with utterance interjections such as 'woy' or 'wuy'. Gradually the sound of the chant intensifies, with increased tension and volume.

There appears to be no discernible link between the performance of the  $z\ddot{a}r$  and the solo and responsorial keening emanating from inside the house. Sometimes only mourners inside the house wail, while  $z\ddot{a}r$  chanters outside rest a while, and vice versa. Every now

and then, utterances from inside can be heard over and above the sounds of the *zär* simultaneously chanted outside.

Shortly afterwards, another procession of villagers approaches the gate, with several men chanting zär. These are the men from the neighboring village of Lenjār, who have come to pay their respects, singing their own village variant. This musical offering ends as they approach the door of the house and enter en masse to pay farewell tributes to the deceased and express condolences to the family. Soon the group reemerges and joins the ranks of the assembled chanters. This pattern then repeats for a third time, when another group of men from the villages of Lower Bal (the lower region of Upper Svaneti) arrive to contribute their own variant of zär. At intervals throughout the morning the three assembled chanting groups chant zär from their own communities, until it is time for the body of the deceased to leave house in a slow procession, to begin the journey to its eternal home. Although all versions of zär are believed to be different, to our untutored ears, they sound remarkably similar. Now, in the early afternoon, as the body is slowly escorted to its final resting place in the cemetery, the assembled procession sings "Ts'mindao Ghmerto," the Trisagion hymn, in Georgian. Upon arrival at the final resting place at the grave site, zär is chanted for one last rendition before the body is finally laid to rest.

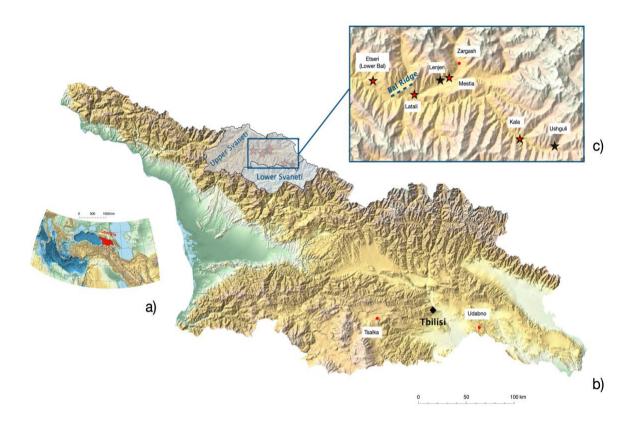
#### Introduction

The above–described funeral was attended and documented by Madge Bray and one of the authors (N. M.) in the village of Lat'li¹ (Figure 1) in the Summer of 2010. It portrays almost all types of ritualized keening witnessed and reported in different parts of Georgia. It demonstrates two distinct forms of keening: firstly, a solo and responsorial model (a solo mourner both female and male responded to by sobbing utterances from a group of fellow mourners) (Giorgadze, 1987: 45; Chelidze, 1987: 163-166, Azikuri, 1986, 2002; Sikharulidze, 1970: 59-60), which is based on human emotion and fully improvised. Secondly, another distinct form emerges, where a group of males chant in well-organized

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> To ensure that the transcription of Svan texts (including proper names) is close to the original and reflects the phonetic peculiarities of Svan language, we have combined two transcription systems: for consonants – romanization of Georgian via using Latin script (national system, 2002; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Romanization\_of\_Georgian); for vowels and some Svan-specific consonants – TITUS http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/caucasus/kaukvok.htm#SvanUBal and http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/didact/caucasus/ kartlaut.htm

and coordinated musical form, without verbal text, but rather constituting of peripheral vocabulary, such as wai, woi, wui, etc. (Lamberti, 1938: 62; Milaneli, 1964: 90; Tsuladze, 1971; Bolle-Zemp, 1997).



**Figure 1.** Geographical situation. a) The location of Georgia in its regional context. b) Study area and recording sites (marked by red solid circles) of the field expedition of 2016. c) Locations of recording sites (red solid circles) and locations of origin of *zär* (black stars) within Upper Svaneti. The Bal ridge (altitude-wise) divides the Lower Bal and Upper Bal regions of Upper Svaneti.

The ritualized keening<sup>2</sup> in its wide variety of manifestations (solo, choral, etc.) is a universal phenomenon attested all over the world, which can be heard in culturally and geographically distinct areas in different parts of the world. Examples of it include *fuatanga* in the Tikopia island (Love and Kaeppler, 2017: 853-855; Firth and McLean, 2006), *dawawa* in Central America (Graham, 1984), *iavsema* in Mordovia, Russia (Jordania, 2006: 663), and Albanian *vajtim* (Kondi, 2012). In Svaneti (as well as in other parts of Georgia), in addition to the local equivalents of the funeral forms described

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> To avoid confusion in the use of disputable terms such as: keening, lamenting, wailing, crying, etc. applied to describe ritualized mourning soundscape, in the article we will employ the term "*keening* "for all types of mourning sound manifestations based on improvisational expression of sorrow over loss (solo, responsorial, etc.) and *dirge* for organized polyphonic chant such as zär. This will create a clear delineation between two distinctive and radically different ritual mourning styles sharing the same functional locus.

above, there is a musically organized funeral hymn, aka *zär*, the musical equivalent of which does not seem to be found anywhere else.

This present study focuses on an analysis of Svan  $z\ddot{a}r$  from Upper Svaneti³ which, together with a few examples with a similar name %560 (zari, in Georgian dialects) and function from other parts of Georgia, represents a unique musical mourning behavior. The large majority of the material, which is the subject of the analysis in the present study, has been collected (often in its natural context) by us during a three-month field expedition in 2016 to Upper Svaneti and to Svan eco-villages near Tbilisi, the capital of Georgia. The study focuses on two major aspects of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , which, in our opinion, cannot be separated from each other. In this paper we will discuss the socio-cultural, historical, and ethnological context of the chant. On the other hand, in papers Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze (2020) and Mzhavanadze and Scherbaum (2020) we quantitatively analyze the musicological properties of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , using computational analysis of acoustical features (such as the tuning systems and scales) and musical vocabulary (chord progressions, melodies, rhythm, etc.). By combining these perspectives, we aim to obtain a more holistic view of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , its musical language and its sacred function within the funeral rites of the Svan people.

In order to better interpret the results of musicological and computational analysis (Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze (2020) and Mzhavanadze and Scherbaum (2020)) and to better understand the phenomenon (to answer the question "how does  $z\ddot{a}r$  work?"), we extended our approach to consider broader contextual issues. In particular, we used the so-called "tselostniy analiz" (L. Mazel, W. Zuckerman's method of holistic analysis), as well as the ethnographic practice known as "thick description" (promoted by anthropologist C. Geertz, 1973). The results of the interdisciplinary contextual study revealed the complex nature of the problem and showed how difficult it is to provide a single definition of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , given the heterogeneity of ethnographic, sociological, and musicological data (from both historical and contemporary practice) and the etymological confusion. However, we have ventured to offer a few interpretations and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> We did not work in Lower Svaneti, so the research mainly focuses on the repertoire of Upper Svaneti. Therefore, the results of the analysis and conclusions cannot be generalised to include the music of Lower Svaneti, which shows signs of a stronger influence of neighbouring musical dialects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The concept originated earlier with Gilbert Ryle but was popularised by Geertz.

point to some important questions, further exploration of which may shed light on some questions that have not yet been answered.

#### Svaneti and Svans<sup>5</sup>

Svaneti is one of the highest mountainous regions in Georgia (Figure 1). Surrounded by 3000 - 5000-meter peaks, it is located in the northern part of Western Georgia on the southern slopes of the Caucasus Range. Svans also inhabit the K'odori gorge (or Svaneti of  $D\ddot{a}l$ )<sup>6</sup> in the Gulripshi district, in Apkhazia.

Svaneti is divided into Upper (free) Svaneti (Enguri Gorge) and Lower (Tskhenists'qali Gorge) Svaneti.<sup>7</sup> The administrative center of Upper Svaneti is Mest'ia, whereas Lent'ekhi is the central town of Lower Svaneti. Upper (free) Svaneti itself is subdivided into two (Upper and Lower Bal) regions by the Bal mountain range (Figure 1).

Communities of 'free Svans' traditionally occupied the eastern part of Upper Svaneti, the so-called Upper Bal district. Unlike other parts (including the communities of Lower Bal, which were the dominion of the Prince Dadeshkeliani) of early Svaneti, Free Svaneti was not subject to princely dynasties and was devoid of typical feudalism, with no family occupying a prominent position. It consisted of self-governing communities with a tribal system of law. Thus, 'free Svaneti' was not subordinated to a centralized government until their struggle for independence was finally suppressed by Russian raids, first in the mid-19th century, and then in 1921, when they were conquered by Soviet Russia.

Sources from Antiquity refer to Svans as 'Misimyans,' which is a Greek variation of the Svans' name for themselves  $\partial_{\mathcal{O}}\hat{\mathcal{O}}$ 56 'məshwan' (Topchishvili, 2010: 129). The Svans originally settled in a larger area and inhabited a significant part of Lechkhumi and Rach'a. They also lived in one area of present-day Samegrelo and on the territory of present-day Abkhazia, as evidenced by the numerous Svan toponyms found in this part of Georgia. Svan toponyms, as well as Svan-style towers, are also confirmed in the North Caucasus, in the upper reaches of the Tergi, Bakhsan, and Kuban rivers (Lavrov, 1950).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Svaneti and the Svan in Svan and in Georgian respectively is: შუან (Shwan) and მგშუან (Məshwan); and სვანეთი (Svaneti) and სვანი (*Svani*).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In Svan mythology (in the pantheon of Gods) *Däl*, the goddess of high mountains and rocky terrain animals is one of the highly respected deities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> In Upper Bal dialect: *bālunchu* (lower Bal) and *bālunzhu* (Upper Bal). In Georgian respectively *balskvemo* and *balszemo*.

Svaneti obeyed first the kings of Colchis, then its successors Lazika (Egrisi) (until the 9th century), then the Kingdom of Abkhazia (of Western Georgia), which from the 11th to the 15th century was part of the united Georgian kingdom. Later, Georgia politically split into three states and five semi-independent provinces, including Svaneti.

Svans have always remained a cultural sub-group of the Georgian nation, and they have contributed greatly to the creation of what is now known as Georgian culture. The language of Svans is one of the four Kartvelian languages (the others being Georgian, Megrelian, and Laz). As Svan is a spoken language only, all historical documents in Svaneti are written in Georgian.<sup>8</sup>

In the past, the social organization of Svans was tribal. They lived in large families of different generations. These families were united in small villages and larger communities. They were governed by a centuries-old community legal system, orally passed down from generation to generation and represented by an elected council headed by an elected leader 355 700 (makhwshi), usually a respected elderly man. Stock raising as well as hunting remained the main agricultural activities of the Svans. Most of the day to day activities in the communities to date were carried out cooperatively. Most of these activities were closely related to the Svans' strong religious beliefs (Eristov, 1898; Dadwani, 1973; Gasviani, 1991; Nizharadze, 1962, 1964).

In a sense, Svaneti can be considered a living museum, as various customs and rituals are still actively performed here. Some rituals are considered archaic and pagan (even pre-Christian) (Bardavelidze, 1941; Javakhishvili, 1928; Rosebashvili, 1982: 45-46). Although Christianity was preached by the first disciples in this region in the first century (Kaukhchishvili, 1955: 42-43), it is unknown when Svans formally adopted the new religion. Most of the churches<sup>9</sup> preserved here (Upper Svaneti) date back to the 10-15th centuries. Together with traditional Svan medieval towers, <sup>10</sup> they create an outstanding architectural 'image' of Svaneti. During historical hardships these churches became sanctuaries of material Christian treasures (icons, scriptures, crosses, etc.), as these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Besides, more likely, Svans have incorporated and processed some traits of the neighboring regions in the northern part of the Caucasus via on and off relationships with them which continue to present day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> About 100 churches and 200 towers have been preserved in Svaneti up today.

<sup>10</sup> Svan towers (მურყუამ – murq'wam) are believed to have had a defensive function. They are attached by a lower extension which used to be a living space for Svans' big families as well as for livestock.

objects were brought to Svaneti from other monasteries and churches in Georgia for safekeeping. In addition, Svans had begun to develop their own original Christian iconography as early as the 9th-10th centuries (Kenia, 2010: 6). It should be noted that only Svaneti maintains the tradition of frescoes on the outer walls of churches, and that sometimes, these frescoes depict non-Christian themes (for example, 'Amiran-Darejaniani' by Moses Khoneli). Such non-canonical fragments, preserved in Christian churches, reveal the free nature of Svans and their unique understanding of Christianity.

The Svans adopted and revered a whole gallery of Christian saints. St. George (ჯაკონაგიშ – *Jgarāgish*), the Archangel(s) (თარინგზელ – *Tāringzel*), mother of God (ლამარია – *Lamāria*) and St. Barbara (ბარბალ/ბარბოლ – *Barbāl/Barbol*) are especially honored. Nevertheless, their perception of the Christian pantheon is somewhat pagan (Javakhishvili, 1928; Bardavelidze, 1939, 1941; Chartolani, 1977: 6-16). Svans ascribe these saints to possess higher power and rank them analogously to the great God ხომა ღერბეთ (*khosha ghērbet* – Great God), ქრისდე (*Krisde* – Christ) and even refer to them as Gods. On the one hand, Svans revered Christian attributes so dearly that anyone who stole anything from a church used to be sentenced to death (Silogava, 1988: 194). On the other hand, however, they seem to not always have had the same respect for priests and canonical Orthodox services (Uvarova, 1904: 282; Gabliani, 1927: 25; Chimakadze, 1913).<sup>11</sup>

The Svans' extremely religious worldview, cosmogony, and ethical and cultural values are reflected in all levels of their lives. V. Bardavelidze, who studied the Svans' ritual lives, states that at some point, calendar festivals in Upper Svaneti reached 160 per year (Bardavelidze, 1939). Many of these rituals are still celebrated today. Most of the calendar rituals are performed by the community members themselves. The majority of them represent folk forms of Christian festivals and are performed at churches which architecturally serve a double function. One part of the building is the church itself where the para-liturgy is performed. The other part attached to it (ლადბაშ, ladbash), features

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> According to some accounts, Svans did not allow women to go to church and if they should do they would be liable to be stoned. Men would be permitted to go to church twice a year – on Easter day and on Christmas day. Priests themselves had no control over the church and the key would be kept by someone else who was chosen by the community to guard the church (Phillips-Wolley, 1883:84-86; Kovalevskiy, 1930:115, 116).

in the preparation of the sacred meal (including the blood sacrifice). Music of predominantly folk origin plays a central role in such celebrations. Most of the repertoire consists of prayers, round-dance hymns and ballads of different content, also featuring Svans pagan beliefs (for example the cult of the goddess of hunting and protector of mountain animals). The festive repertoire contains only two church prayers in Georgian (but in Svan style) which have been adopted from the Orthodox service. 12

Even though Svan music is an integral part of what is known as Georgian traditional music, Svan singing repertoire can be distinguished from other Georgian musical dialects by its special musical qualities. The Svans' peculiar religiosity is manifested mainly in ritualized festivals and customs expressed in a specific musical language, which is believed to reflect some archaic qualities. Thus, ethnomusicologists have suggested that the Svan soundscape (alongside with that of the Khevsurs, in the eastern part of the country) has preserved the oldest layers of Georgians' traditional music making (Arakishvili, 1950; Chkhikvadze, 1948: 29; Aslanishvili, 1954: 87), a view which is shared by ethnomusicologists of the new generation as well (Jordania, 2010: 236-239; 2012, Gabisonia, 2012; Baiashvili, 2012).

Music is also an attribute of non-calendar ceremonies and rites such as weddings, funerals, and a wide range of death-related (memorial) rituals, which also represent collective, community activities, often strictly regulated and structured. Among these mourning rituals, there are only a few, in which the role of music is particularly remarkable. In this respect, the funeral rite of the Svans deserves special attention. As already noted in the introduction, it features a special polyphonic funeral chant, the analogues of which can be found only in very few parts of Georgia. Only in Svaneti, however, has this unique form of mourning ritual dirge survived until the present day.

#### **Funeral rites of Svaneti**

#### Funeral rite terminology

As in all cultures and geographical areas, the phenomenon of death and its mysteries has been one of the greatest subjects of concern for the Svans. Therefore, funeral and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup>"Oh, Holy God!" (there are two variants of this chant, one of which is a funeral chant) and "Oh, God, have mercy on us!"

memorial rites have been among the most powerful and resistant forms of Svan cultural self-expression. According to their cultural view of death, it is a transition to another world where souls continue their 'being' and have the same needs as the living. Therefore, Svans do their best to comfort the deceased souls and 'provide' them with all their needs: food, clothing, music, etc. so that they can survive well in the afterlife. <sup>13</sup> At the same time, the deceased souls are believed to gain superpowers, which enable them to influence the lives of the living. Therefore, much depends on the behavior of the living and much stock is placed on individual human generosity in offering comfort to the dead in order for their future mercy and compassion to be bestowed on those who remain on the earth.

This explains the abundance of death-related rituals in Svaneti, including both burial and memorial services. The memorial rites are especially diverse and involve a wide spectrum of ceremonies, such as aghap' (აღაპ), lagwan (ლაგუან), k'onchkhär (კონჩხარ), kwinegwesh (ქუინეგუეშ), bätskh (ბაცხ), (lipānäl (ლიფანალ), etc. Svans have preserved a special ritual called kwuini lit'khe (ქუინი ლიტხე) meaning 'bringing the soul back,' which is applied when a person dies away from home, up to the present day. <sup>14</sup> Music plays a special role in some of these rituals (e.g. bätskh, <sup>15</sup> lipānäl, <sup>16</sup> and kwuini lit'khe).

The terminology for mourning vocal expressions in Svaneti marks different forms and involves: 30\circ \pio30\circ (k'\tall/lik'\tall-shrieking by women), \pio0\tag{35\circ} (lilch'\tall-poetic

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> This faith was so strong that some Svans prepared a memorial meal for themselves long before their death, believing that after death, they would have everything ready in heaven (Dadwani, 1973:12-14).

<sup>14 &</sup>quot;According to Svanetian belief, if a person was to die outside his/her house, a soul departed from the body would not find a way back home and would be lost forever. That is why, when the mourning family was returning the body of the deceased, it would also take care of bringing the soul back home. Grievers participating in the ritual (*kwuini lit'khe*) would bring a rooster and the *chāng* (a lyre) and visit the place a person was found dead. There they would play on the *chang*, mourn and beg the soul to return. If a rooster crowed on the way back to the house and the strings of *chāng* (β55δ) also played smoothly, it was proof that the soul had been found and was following the relatives back home." (Chamgeliani and Khizanishvili, 2019).

15 This memorial ceremony was not mandatory for everyone and mostly was executed by well off families. They invited the neighbourhood and hosted them in order to ease the deceased's souls. Unlike *ligwän* when *music* is not allowed, *bātskh* is rich in singing and dancing (Eristov, 1898:45). The musical repertoire of such services is not particularly related to the ritual but is optional and can involve the songs and dances performed at other occasions as well.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> lipānäl – the New Year cycle celebration dedicated to the souls of the dead. The festival starts one day before Epiphany (adgom), on January 5th (old style) each year and lasts for 3-4 days or a week. On this day, the ancestral souls are invited to visit their living relatives and stay for a couple of days. Each family carefully prepares for this ritual. A special table is laid out for the souls, family members tell fairy tales, sing and play on the ch'uniri (a traditional bowed string instrument) for the dead visitors, normally the family members and relatives. Lipānäl lasts until the following Monday. On Monday morning, the souls of the dead are sent off with blessing (Chamgeliani and Khizanishvili, 2019).

wailing with downward/falling melody by women), ლიტენტალ (*lit'ēntāl*-men's groaning);<sup>17</sup> ლიყვთვნე (liq'atane-sobbing), ლიგუან (*ligwān*-men's lament), or ლიგვრალ-ლიგუან (*liqarāl-ligwān*-farewell lament by men), ზარ (*zār*-mourning chant/dirge by a group of men).

While most of the above-mentioned mourning forms have been acknowledged to exist in various corners of the world, the  $z\ddot{a}r$  — a male polyphonic funeral hymn — stands out as a special attribute of the Svans' mourning ritual (also present in some other parts of Georgia) for its remarkable role within the funeral context and for its peculiar musical qualities. Therefore, below we scrutinize this phenomenon in depth. This seems to be especially important because the unique tradition of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , which has survived up today only in Svaneti, is in danger of extinction given that old masters of the chant are passing away one by one, and the new generation does not seem to be eager to continue the tradition. This is, obviously, one of the reasons that over time, only few  $z\ddot{a}r$  out of many have survived in Svaneti.

# The role of zär in the Georgian funeral tradition

#### **Etymology**

The term  $z\ddot{a}r$  is not unique to the Svan funeral repertoire. The Georgian equivalent of it is zari (%5%α) denoting several mourning forms. However, in the context of the funeral rite, the description of zari is very diverse and heterogeneous, which makes it complicated to trace it back to its origins and reconstruct its development. The investigation of earlier references to the term zari reveals a spectrum of its connotations, such as, for example: a bell, horrific fear (Orbeliani, 1949; Kotetishvili, 1961: 234, 251, 273); loud noise, or an instrument (Rustaveli, 2017: 313, 334). In later references, it gains a mourning connotation, signifying a form of lamentation over a deceased (Kekelidze, 1956: 224, 228; Kazbegi, 1974: 158-159; Sikharulidze 1970: 399-400; Javakhishvili, 1938: 280).

In Western Georgian ethnographical writings *zari* is also mentioned in the funeral context, however, the accounts are somewhat confusing. A. Lamberti, an Italian missioner

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> S. Bolle-Zemp who travelled throughout upper Svaneti and witnessed a funeral rite, describes lit'entäl/li'tenturäl and accounts that "several men come up close to the body and make their lamentations (lit'enturäl) where they ritually cry for the dead one, moving their hands from the forehead to their knees, a number of times." (Bolle-Zemp, 1994). This type of keening by men seems to be rare now.

who travelled in Georgia in the XVII c. describes *zari* as something like singing and crying at the same time, based on utterances instead of words (Lamberti, 1938: 62). <sup>18</sup> A. Tsuladze recounts the *zari* tradition in Guria as a "mourning march-wailing and music of mourning ... a wordless chanting," which needs only three people (Tsuladze, 1971: 156-157). D. Arakishvili refers to *zär* as a 'mourning song' (Arakishvili, 1954: 5).

*Zari,* in association with group behavior is defined only in a dictionary of old Georgian language and means "people, (smooth, harmonious) team" (Abuladze, 1972: 162). It is also described as a group form of mourning by D. Machabeli (in Giorgadze, 1987: 45). <sup>19</sup>

The generalization of the accounts of *zari* all over Georgia allows to outline two major forms of the lament: a) it involves a leading mourner wailing over the deceased and accompanied by a group of მეზარეები — *mezareebi* (those who support with *zari*) and b) a group dirge.<sup>20</sup>

The varied references to the origins of the context and performance form of  $z\ddot{a}r$  in Svaneti are not clear or consistent either. Today,  $z\ddot{a}r$  is strictly labeled as a mourning ceremonial dirge, which is sung without a verbal text, and which is based on utterances and exclamation syllables and vowels. Moreover, it is heard through the whole funeral ceremony until the moment when the body is buried, and people leave the graveyard. However, earlier accounts about its function and role in the mourning ritual, as well as its verbal content, vary. According to Z. Paliashvili,  $z\ddot{a}r$  is a 'mourning ritual song' performed by group of men as the coffin of the dead body is carried to the cemetery. He also notes that via  $z\ddot{a}r$  chanters praise the deeds of the deceased and give some characteristics of his/her personality (Paliashvili, 1909).<sup>21</sup> Very similar is the description of the funeral procession made by C. Phillips-Wolley, a British ethnographer who had

<sup>19</sup> It is noteworthy to point out here that in Iranian Persian زار (zâr) means a groan, lament. It has the same significance in the Urdu language as well.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> cf. "song-like keening" by A. Seeger (1981:172).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> N. Chokhonelidze notes that the mourning connotation of *zari* emerges in writings from the medieval and modern literature, and quotes an excerpt from the Georgian translation of the famous "Shahnameh" by Ferdowsi (Chokhonelidze, 2016:80). It could well be that as the popularity of "Shahnameh" grew in Georgia, the mourning implication of *zari* was adopted and integrated into the Georgian language. This could explain why it is missed in The Georgian Dictionary by Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani (18th century) (N.M.).

 $<sup>^{21}</sup>$  Z. Paliashvili's reports on the form and context of the performance of  $z\ddot{a}r$  as follows: "The singers line up in rows, put their clubs (spearlike, and carried by every Svan) over their shoulders, form a funeral procession and sing this hymn, which – in musical content – is both majestic and terrifying and the procession is fine to view" (Paliashvili, 1909:8-9). This seems to have been copied by other authors later (I. Javakhishvili, D. Arakishvili, A. Dirr).

attended a funeral in Svaneti himself. He writes: "Forming a procession of from twenty to thirty, his companions follow their dead fellow, carrying their alpenstocks over their left shoulders, and keeping up a chorus of "wai! wai!"<sup>22</sup> as they march" (Phillips-Wolley, 1883: 95, 96).

However, some authors claim  $z\ddot{a}r$  to have been performed at the funeral only in special cases when a very old person died (Akhobadze, 1957: 21; Arakishvili, 1950: 23; Phillips-Willey, 1883: 95, 96). Today  $z\ddot{a}r$  is sung for any deceased. Moreover, some early authors, portraying funeral ceremonies including the last procession to the cemetery, never mention  $z\ddot{a}r$ , but describe the lamentation of women and men instead (including group wailing) (Goltsev, 1933:92,93; Dadwani, 1973:12-14). As S. Bolle-Zemp states (and as we witnessed ourselves during our own field work) "the  $z\ddot{a}r$  are performed throughout the funerary ceremony until the setting of the sun, when the deceased will be buried in the cemetery" (Bolle-Zemp, 1994:49).

Such meagre and variable data about *zär*, in combination with its peculiar musical structure and vague 'text,' makes it difficult to fully comprehend it.

Thus, based on such diverse pieces of evidence, the current state of discussion on this multifaceted and sophisticated phenomenon can be summarized as follows: a) it is not considered an emotion-driven spontaneous mourning behavior such as the *planctus* and is more something like the *discourse* which is a more framed, rationalized, and stylized expression of grief or a "lyrical resolution of suffering" (Lloyd, 1980: 407). Instead,  $z\ddot{a}r$  is a clearly structured polyphonic dirge 'sung' by "professionals." b) The emotional outreach and impact of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , based on ethnographical sources and our experience in the field, is considered controversial. For some,  $z\ddot{a}r$  sounds like a festive hymn (Paliashvili, 1909),<sup>24</sup> for others its musical content can be extremely mournful and/or full of mysticism and, therefore, people avoid "singing" it at any other time except at a funeral;<sup>25</sup> D. Kovalevskiy compares hymn–type repertoire (including  $z\ddot{a}r$ ) to a "wolf's howl" and considers it a remnant of the ancient stage of a human evolution (Kovalevskiy, 1930: 131). c) The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> 'Way!' can also be written as 'wai!', depending on how it is articulated during 'singing.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> It is believed that the deceased was 'happy,' which means that his entire family survived his death and thus he never suffered the loss of younger family members.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> M. Bray describes zär as an "ancient song ... supporting the soul's transition after death" (Bray, 2011)

 $<sup>^{25}</sup>$  During field work in 2016, our informants refused to perform  $z\ddot{a}r$  inside one's house and we had to go away from the village and find a deserted place to record them.

original purpose of zär, being a part of the Svan singing repertoire, according to Georgian scholars (Arakishvili, 1950: 21; Chijavadze, 1991: 18,19, Mzhavanadze, 2018), has an ancient origin, and thus remains vague. That the word zär does not seem to have the mourning connotation until the 17-18th century complicates the matter even more. Furthermore, the fact that today zär is organically integrated into the funeral rite contradicts some ethnographical accounts, according to which zär would be performed only for the 'happy' deceased (Arakishvili, 1950: 23l; Akhobadze, 1957: 21).<sup>26</sup> d) The name zär is also common for the mourning ritual repertoire in other parts of Georgia (zari in Georgian,<sup>27</sup> azar in Abkhazian)<sup>28</sup>, however, a complex comparative study is needed to reveal if they are related.<sup>29</sup> In this respect, especially interesting are the hymn-type *zaris* from Guria, Samegrelo, and Rach'a.<sup>30</sup> e). It is a three-part chant, the musical language of which raises interest about its relationship to other hymn-type repertoire in Syaneti. f) It a chant without text, and its vocabulary is built with vowels and utterances/exclamations. This makes it difficult to explain some earlier references claiming that zär was sung with text, which served as a farewell 'speech' about the deceased's deeds and personality. However, considering the musical peculiarities of zär, conventional verbal text seems impossible to fit in.

Hence, the genesis of  $z\ddot{a}r$  and its true nature remains somewhat mysterious and inexplicable. Despite  $z\ddot{a}r$  being a subject of scholarly interest, there is no monographic study made on it, and only few investigations have been conducted, which will be reviewed in the following chapter.

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 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  Today the same function (of chanting for a 'happy' deceased) is only attributed to another hymn-type 'song,' k'viria.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> In Rach'a, apart from *zari*, another form of lament is *zruni*, which is a lament with text about the deceased. The song draws a special interest because it is sung in only two Upper Rach'an villages: Ghebi and Glola, which were historically inhabited by Svans.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Accounts on *azar* are not consistent. Sh. Inal-ipa, an Abkhazian ethnographer and historian, points to the significance of a mourning song *azar* in Abkhazian people's ethnography (Inal-ipa, 1965: 610, 611). However, a song with the same name is sung before horse races (Songs of Abkhazia and Adzharia, 1993). Also, "a special kind of keening, called *azar*, is performed when a young boy dies. Male laments of this kind can be performed with *apkhiartsa* accompaniment" (ibid). In the records, however, the men's group-keening "before the funeral starts" is named as *lament* instead of *azar* although the same song is part of a bigger composition called *azar* (ibid). The same song with the name of *azar* is described by V. Akhobadze (1956) as a mourning song.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> It should be noted though that the text of most keening repertoire of all types including *zari* (or *Svan zär*) employ the utterance 'wui' or 'wai' which has a mourning connotation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Male group mourning tradition in Tusheti and Khevi are known as respectively *dala* and *dadai*, *adai*. They represent a responsorial form between a soloist (lamenting with a text) and a choir (responding with utterances in unison).

#### Literature review

Zär already drew the attention of professional and amateur musicians as early as the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. For a long time, however, only general reflections of zär have been made. Until a few decades ago, this form of traditional musical expression has never been the subject of a scrutinized study.

The mainstream scholarly thought on  $z\ddot{a}r$  is that its roots go back to ancient times. The arguments for this assumption are mainly derived from its musical syntaxes, which include: a narrow span of voice movements, utterance-based musical phrases, syllable and vowel-based 'text,' a combination of simple two and three-part harmonic segments, step-wise movement of voices, sharp alteration of mode or neutral mode, performing style (antiphonal, glissandi, etc.), as well as the sacred context and poly-functionality (cult of the dead) and exclamations, and two-part segments, which are believed to be remnants of the stadial development of polyphony, etc. (Karbelashvili,  $^{31}$ 1898; Arakishvili, 1950: 9; Chkhikvadze, 1948: 29; Aslanishvili, 1954: 87; Chokhonelidze, 1973; Chijavadze, 1991: 19; Rosebashvili, 1982: 45, 46; Baiashvili, 2012).

Some authors have explored semantic and functional aspects of the chant. N. Kalandadze-Makharadze (2005) hypothesizes that  $z\ddot{a}r$  would originally be related to men's group outcries, which gradually developed into refined chant, gaining a magical form of semantics or a means of (signal-giving) communication.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, she assumes that being an exclusively men's group repertoire,  $z\ddot{a}r$  could be considered to belong to the group of work songs, particularly to the type of work which demands joint power, such as lifting and carrying (dragging) heavy items. So, she suggests  $z\ddot{a}r$  originally to have been a work song (Kalandadze-Makharadze, 2005: 170 -171).

The "non-semantic" vocabulary of  $z\ddot{a}r$  is a primary argument for D. Kovalevskiy (1930) to assume that it is an ancient form of music making. According to the author, a working process demands repetitive movements. Repetition naturally requires a rhythm which is provided by men via utterances which themselves can be considered as singing.

 $^{31}$  Karbelashvili, though, points to the zari in general without specifying the region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> N. Kalandadze-Makharadze, discussing possible semantic meaning of the utterances of *zär* suggests that they can be magic instruments to communicate with the deceased, scare away death, and "wake him up" (Kalandadze-Makharadze, 2005: 159).

In contrast to the theory of ancient origins of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , T. Gabisonia (2012) suggests it to be closely related to and influenced by Georgian church music. He believes that  $z\ddot{a}r$  is a paganized (simplified) version of Georgian church music, which he assumes to have been sung during a liturgy in Svaneti in the Middle Ages. He claims that due to historical hardships, the liturgical practices gradually stopped in Svaneti, but people kept the chants in memory trying to employ them in non-liturgical sacred ceremonies. He furthermore assumes that during this long process only bits of words would survive in the form of vowels and syllables. These would be coupled with fragments of the music representing a compilation of the phrases, which are difficult to perceive as accomplished musical image(s). The author sees compositional similarities between  $z\ddot{a}r$  and church chants (e.g. "melodic continuum" held on with one syllable) as one of the arguments for this connection (Gabisonia, 2012). Long before this, Z. Paliashvili (1909) believed that the hymn simply deformed over time, and that the remaining syllables are the remnants of the text, which were forgotten, and therefore it would be difficult to grasp the text. However, he does not make a notice of church music here.<sup>33</sup>

S. Bolle-Zemp was the first to investigate the musical structure of  $z\ddot{a}r$  in relation to the 'text' (Bolle-Zemp, 1994; 1997; 2001). She was also the first to apply quantitative methods to the analysis of  $z\ddot{a}r$  in order to improve the interpretation of 'non-semantic' text and explain some musical peculiarities of  $z\ddot{a}r$ . Her interdisciplinary approach involves the attempt to understand the ethnographical context of the chant and the investigation of its linguistic and musicological aspects. Employing the tools accessible at that time, she processed the chant through sonographic images and analyzed the musical content of the verbal 'text'; explored all the possible references of the utterances employed in  $z\ddot{a}r$ , and visualized the results in the form of sonograms. Based on the results of her multi methodological analysis, S. Bolle-Zemp suggests a strong correlation between words and music. She hypothesizes that the verbal text takes a leading role in shaping the musical structure of  $z\ddot{a}r$ . She assigns semantic importance to the core utterance woi, arguing that as an utterance of mourning connotation, it lies at the root of several vocal formulas of the chant. In her view, 'singers' emphasize human emotions such as pain, dignity, etc. by modifying the sound characteristics of spoken language, e.g., through the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Please note that A. Dirr's (1914) article on Svan music is a condensed version of Paliashvili's collection of Georgian (including Svan) songs published in 1909. Therefore, the review of the songs as well as the notated transcriptions belong to Z. Paliashvili (1909).

formation of vowels and consonants in different ways, by manipulating the interjections, and by stylizing the expressions of the spoken language through certain vocal processes (valorization, descending glissandi, nasalization). In her view, the structure of the movement of voices, the duration of a sound, the sequence of concomitants, and the interrelationship of consonant and dissonant chords is greatly conditioned by the 'text,' which coordinates the musical process (Bolle-Zemp, 1997; 2001).

In her prior work Mzhavanadze (2018) investigated the ethnological context of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , and explored etymological, linguistic, and musicological aspects via manual analysis of both archive recordings as well as the variants documented together with F. Scherbaum during the field work in Svaneti in 2016 (Scherbaum & Mzhavanadze, 2018). This included a comparative review of the musicological characteristics of the chant and the attempt to understand the relationship between the musical forms and the language of Svan  $z\ddot{a}r$  and of dirges from Racha (zruni), Apkhazeti (azari) and from Guria and Samegrelo (zari) (Mzhavanadze, 2018: 175-233).

This study has developed a wide range of hypotheses, some of which include the following: a) It was suggested that the powerful cult of the dead, preserved in Svaneti until the present, was to be honored through a religious hymn addressed to the deity of the land of souls.<sup>34</sup> b) It was also suggested that the utterances such as "wo," "ieha," as well as "dide," "dai," etc. belong to the evocation, supplication, and glorification vocabulary (Mzhavanadze and Chamgeliani, 2016), but are also used in other hymn-type Svan songs. This would support the theory of a religious origin and function of zär.<sup>35</sup> c) Svan zär was interpreted to be of local origin, since its musical characteristics are not similar to zaris from other parts of Georgia. d) It was observed that the musical structure of zär is built and governed by vertical (harmonic) movements, rather than the melodic (horizontal) line. e) Both theories of the stadial (evolutionary) development of Svan polyphony have also been challenged, in favor of the hypothesis of polyphonic vertical structure, which should be ontogenic. g) The observed dominant position of fifths and

 $<sup>^{34}</sup>$  R. Gujejiani, Chamgeliani, Tsintsadze, and Cheishvili in the study of a Svan hymn k'wiria say that " $z\ddot{a}r$  in Svaneti meant not only mourning/weeping but a hymn" (Gujejiani et al., 2011:65), however, they do not refer to the primary sources of this information.

 $<sup>^{35}</sup>$  This hypothesis also is supported by the results of the manual analysis of a variant of  $z\ddot{a}r$  recorded in Lakhamula village in 1928. Despite the poor quality of the chant, one can detect the usage of the glorification vocabulary such as ' $did\ddot{a}b$ ' (meaning "glory to"), which is a clear evidence that the chant had a religious hymn connotation (Mzhavanadze, 2018:192).

fourths, as well as unison, provokes a hypothesis that  $z\ddot{a}r$ 's polyphonic tissue realizes/manifests overtone intervals and triggers a theory of 'overtone polyphony.'36

It is worth mentioning that most of the prior studies on  $z\ddot{a}r$  represent logical interpretations and reflections derived from general observations of the chant. With the exception of S. Bolle-Zemp's study, which is exceptional with regard to the transparency and reproducibility of her research methodology, most of the older studies are not based on the analysis of contextual material and/or in-depth scrutiny. However, the analysis of only one example of  $z\ddot{a}r$  in S. Bolle-Zemp's work limits the generalizability of her results to other variants of the chant. Besides, although the general quality of S. Bolle-Zemp'b recordings is good, the recordings of that time do not allow an analysis of the acoustical properties of individual voices because of the unresolved problem of separation of individual voices within polyphonic field recordings.<sup>37</sup>

### A new corpus of zär recordings

In the present study, we aim to contribute to the discourse on zär from a new (computational) perspective and with a greatly enlarged dataset, which we collected during a three-month field expedition to Upper Svaneti and Svan eco-villages in 2016 (Scherbaum & Mzhavanadze, 2018; Scherbaum et al., 2018; Scherbaum et al., 2019). The newly collected data consist of 11 recordings of 6 different variants of zär. The recording locations and the locations of origin of the different variants are shown in Figure 1 with red solid circles and black stars, respectively. The technical quality of the data is good to excellent. All recordings were done as multi-media recordings, in which a high resolution (4K) video stream is combined with a stream of 3-channel headset microphone recordings (one for each voice group), a stream of 3-channel larynx microphone recordings (one for each voice group as well), and a conventional stereo recording. The systematic use of larynx microphones, which to our knowledge has never been done before in ethnomusicological field expeditions, was motivated by the results of a pilot study in Upper Svaneti in 2015, which showed that larynx microphones allow the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Comparative study of different *zär* reveals a tendency of attempts to widen the melodic boundaries in more advanced variants of the chant in which contours of tunes can be grasped. This results in production of sixths, seventh, etc.

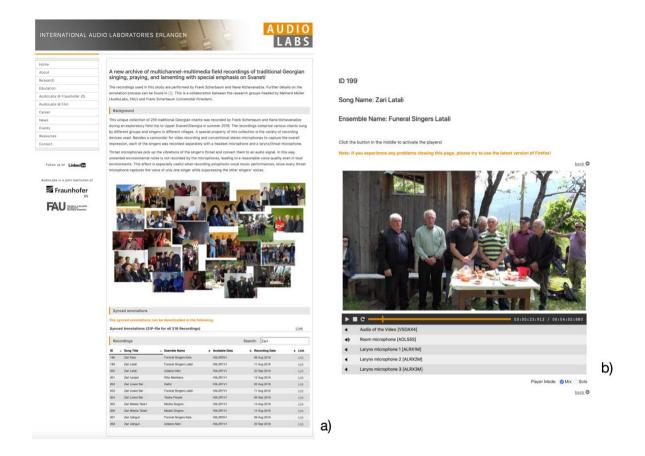
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> This problem becomes also acute when focusing on retrospective study of the chant to reconstruct the stages of its development and changes. The quality of older archive recordings is often critically poor and sometimes does not allow even a minimal manual processing.

undistorted documentation of the contribution of each singer, while all of them are singing together in their natural context (Scherbaum et al., 2015). In addition, larynx microphone recordings were also shown to contain essential information in relation to a singer's voice regarding pitch, intonation, timbre, and voice intensity, which allows the application of computer based methods to document and analyze vocal music of the oral tradition in new ways, e. g. to perform computerized pitch-analysis techniques to document the pitch tracks (including the microtonal structure), to study the pitch inventory and scales used together with the interaction between singers (Scherbaum et al., 2015; Scherbaum 2016).

All the recordings of the 2016 field expedition have been made publicly available and can be accessed either through the open access long-term archive at the University of Jena, which also hosts the field report and the meta data (<a href="https://lazardb.gbv.de/search">https://lazardb.gbv.de/search</a>; see Scherbaum et al., 2018 for details), or through the research repository at the University of Erlangen (<a href="https://www.audiolabs-erlangen.de/resources/MIR/2017-GeorgianMusic-Scherbaum">https://www.audiolabs-erlangen.de/resources/MIR/2017-GeorgianMusic-Scherbaum</a> see Figure 2)<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> User name and password can be obtained through the second author (<u>fs@geo.uni-potsdam.de</u>).



**Figure 2**. Web interface of the research repository hosted at the University of Erlangen, which allows access to the new corpus of *zär* recordings (audio-, video-, and larynx microphones). a) top level menu showing the meta data of all *zär* recordings in the repository. b) For an individual selected performance, here for ID 199, one can play back individual tracks or combinations thereof together with the video of the performance.

The 11 recordings of funeral chants were made in different contexts (cf. Figure 1 and 2). Four of them were documented during actual funerals: two (the Lower Bal and Lat'li variants) at the funeral in the village of Lat'li, and the other two (K'āl and Ushgul variants) in the village of K'āl. The rest were recorded during conventional recording sessions.

Apart from the Upper Svaneti area, we also visited and worked with the eco-migrant Svan communities of Ts'alk'a and Udabno, outside Svaneti, near the capital of Tbilisi (Figure 1). These recordings may become especially precious because the villages are populated by eco-migrant Svans who migrated from different communities of Upper Svaneti a few decades ago. The analysis of these recordings, we believe, can help to retrieve significant information about the changes (if any) in the repertoire (including  $z\ddot{a}r$ ) and their 'lives' after they have 'dislocated' from their homes to a new geographical and social context.

Our goal in the project was broad, and apart from aiming to document the musical life of modern Svans, we put effort into understanding the wider context of the musical repertoire. Therefore, all the recording sessions were accompanied by extensive interviews with the tradition-bearers. They (e.g., Murad Pirtskhelān) informed us that in Upper Svaneti they have eleven variants of *zär*. However, when asked to name them, they could only remember/list ten variants of *zär*, out of which two belong to the Lower Bal area (the Lower Bal and Lakhamula variants), whilst the other eight variants are from Upper Bal villages: Lat'li, Lenjār, Mest'ia, Mulākh, Ipār, Ts'virmi, Ieli, and Ushgul.<sup>39</sup>

From the interviews with the tradition-bearers during the fieldwork we made some interesting observations:

First, the fact that  $z\ddot{a}r$  has been conducted at every funeral over the last few decades contradicts some older accounts, which mention  $z\ddot{a}r$  as the chant performed exclusively for the 'happy' deceased. The locals appeared not to be aware of this historical change. This allows us to assume that over time, human understanding of  $z\ddot{a}r$  and its application has been re-thought and revised. Or, alternatively, one could postulate that the term  $z\ddot{a}r$  could also denote another type of funeral music that has lost its importance and, therefore, could not survive until the present. Conversely, it could mark another form of keening, similar to the Eastern Georgian tradition, allowing the recitation of verbal texts improvised by a mourner.

At the very first recording session of the chant, we faced the problem of labelling zär. It turned out to be difficult to find the appropriate/relevant vocabulary and expressions to make notes about it. This raised the question of how Svans understand the concept of music and what zär means to them in this respect. In the Svan language, there are two music-related expressions/words related to singing and chanting: ლიღრალ<sup>40</sup> (lighrāl – a song) and გალობ (galob – a chant). Thus, when Svans initiate a song or a chant they say: ლალღირალად (Lalghirālad – let's sing) and ლალგალობად (lalgalobad – let's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Out of these variants we have recorded *zärs* from Lower Bal, also Lat'li, Lenjār, Mest'ia, and Ushgul (K'āl and Ushgul *zär* are considered to be the same variant) communities (see Figure 2). It was reported to us that there is nobody left to do *zär* from Lakhamula village. As to Məlākh community, due to objective reasons, we missed a funeral there and, therefore, could not document the *zärs* from Məlākh and Ipār communities which, according to our information, had been chanted there.

<sup>40</sup> It should be noted here that the word for supplication in Svan is very similar to that of a song: ლიღგრალ (Lighērāl – a supplication) and ლალღგრალად (Lalghērālad – let us plead).

chant). Neither of the terms are used in relation with hymn-type songs including  $z\ddot{a}r$  and they never say: let's sing/chant  $z\ddot{a}r$  (or other sacred hymn-type 'songs'). Instead, for such repertoire they use another word modyfoly (līkwisg – to say/tell) and modofyfoly (say/tell and modofyfoly big (lərākqwed  $z\ddot{a}r$  – let's say/tell  $z\ddot{a}r$ ). Svans, therefore (although they attribute the mourning connotation to the  $z\ddot{a}r$ ), never use the keening terminology in relation to it. Based on these observations, in order to emphasize its funeral function, on the one hand and, on the other, to demonstrate its hymnic nature, we have made a choice in favor of the conditional use of the term 'dirge': a 'dirge' being 'chanted' (or sometimes 'done') to describe  $z\ddot{a}r$ .

As mentioned above, zär is seen to have a very sacred connotation and the locals refuse to sing it anywhere else except a funeral. Therefore, while it was easier to make recordings of zär in its natural context during the funerals in Lat'li and K'āl, in other places we had to compromise and find solutions to record it out of context. For example, to record the zär from Mest'ia (IDs 205 and 206 in research repository, see Figure 2) we managed to gather three men (Khvicha Chartolān, Valeri Khergiān, and Nuri Khergiān) from the Mest'ia community and headed off to the village of Zargāsh to find Baju Rat'iān, without whom it would be impossible to record it. He refused to do the zär, for it is believed to be a bad sign to 'perform' it in someone's house unless someone had died there. Thus, despite the rain, we had to go out of the village with all the recording equipment and record them in a tiny hut without walls, temporarily built for the road workers by the forest. It seems that although the zär musically and verbally (only vowels and utterances) sounds similar to some other Svans hymn-type repertoire, the musical features themselves do not carry the distinguishing meaning for the locals. This shows the importance of a comparative analysis, which can help with disclosing both differences and similarities between the zär and these songs and finding the aspects, to which the locals attribute a special mourning connotation.

Another phenomenon that drew our attention is related to the perceptional aspect of  $z\ddot{a}r$ . For a neutral listener it feels difficult to grasp a structure and tune. The deficiency of verbal language, blurred/free rhythm, the absence of explicit meter, and the elusive/uncatchable tune make it difficult to describe what helps the performers to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> It is important to note here that the same expression is also used regarding sacred prayers.

memories and synchronize it in three parts. Furthermore, it raises the question about how, without clear mnemonic tools, would it normally be learnt and taught.

Our experience during field work made us assume that being a  $z\ddot{a}r$  singer is a kind of an unofficial profession, because only a few people can sing it, and it becomes more and more difficult to find those who can still do it. Gradually, old singers die, and those who still pay tribute to the dead from their villages and communities painfully admit that after their death, there will be no one left to do  $z\ddot{a}r$  for them. Baju Rat'iān from Zargāsh told us, that their group is often invited by families of the deceased to do  $z\ddot{a}r$ , and therefore, sometimes they travel hundreds of kilometers to remote (eco-migrant Svan villages) to chant there at funerals. As we understand, the more variants of  $z\ddot{a}r$  are performed at the funeral, the more honor it is for the family. It is especially important to offer the  $z\ddot{a}r$  from the community from where the deceased comes. This is why Baju and his fellow singers, for example, cover dozens of kilometers to pay tribute to the deceased who had migrated from Mest'ia to another part of the country where no one can do the  $z\ddot{a}r$ .

The issue of the difficulty of training/teaching  $z\ddot{a}r$ , as mentioned above, was triggered by the problems we encountered during fieldwork. When we asked the famous song master and leader of the renown 'Riho' choir Islam Pilpān to perform  $z\ddot{a}r$  from the Lenjār community where he comes from, he said that it was impossible because Robinzon Shuk'wān (76), the only person who could do the upper voice, was absent.

We had no other choice but to go to the village of Lemsia (Lenjār community) to find and bring the singer (see ID 201 in the research repository). This made us curious to ask the singers to do individual parts of the dirge. They could not do it, and said it was difficult. Although Islam Pilpān was a long-time teacher and the most prominent living master of the Svan traditional repertoire, it was difficult for him to sing a single voice without his fellow singers. The answer to our question to both Baju Rat'iān and Islam Pilpān about how Svans would normally learn  $z\ddot{a}r$  was very similar. They said one should hear/listen to it from early childhood throughout one's life.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>-</sup>

 $<sup>^{42}</sup>$  This does not apply to the methods which we can employ today. Via recordings or transcriptions one can learn  $z\ddot{a}r$  despite its peculiar complexity. Here we emphasize the traditional ways of learning/teaching  $z\ddot{a}r$  in the past, when there were no recordings or notated transcriptions.

Apart from the above-mentioned observations, we noticed that the tendency of gradual and consistent pitch shifting throughout the *zär* reveals differing intensities, and the degree of the shift varies from group to group. This is detailed in two other related articles (Scherbaum & Mzhavanadze, 2020; Mzhavanadze & Scherbaum, 2020).

As mentioned earlier, the question of the interrelations/interconnections of the Svan *zär* to the *zari* from other parts of Georgia (Samegrelo, Rach'a, Guria) is also of vital importance for understanding crossing points (if any) and differences, discerning the aspects they share, and estimating the degree of inter influences (if any). This may help shed light on the genesis and historical development of the chant. It is possible to conduct a comparative analysis of certain aspects, such as melodic formulae, cadences, harmonic inventory, etc. with the help of notated examples of the *zaris*. Despite the fact that certain explicit acoustical analyses of the recordings were made long ago, these can still reveal general tendencies, and help sketch the contours of the basic general framework of the chant.

#### **Conclusions**

Our aim has been to offer a holistic study of the phenomenon of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , as found in the region of Svaneti. Our in-depth contextual description of  $z\ddot{a}r$ , including our opening "thick description" of the context in which  $z\ddot{a}r$  is performed, has helped better interpret the results of our interdisciplinary computational and musicological analysis. Consideration of the geography of Upper Svaneti has also helped for example, to reveal how the complexity of the musical form of different variants of dirge varies systematically along the course of the Enguri valley (Scherbaum & Mzhavanadze, 2020).

The study of the cultural life and history of Svaneti and the Svan people shows that the powerful religious beliefs of the Svans have a strong influence on the everyday life of the local population and condition the features of their culture. Moreover, the heterogeneous ethnographic evidence on Svan rituals, and especially, on  $z\ddot{a}r$  and its musical and phonetic features make the origin and ontogenetic function of  $z\ddot{a}r$  controversial and give rise to discussions on this topic.

Critical processing of the broader data in the present study suggests that originally, the dirge may have been a sacred ritual hymn, which was later incorporated into funerary

rites. This is confirmed by the analysis of the term 'zär,' common in other parts of Georgia. Etymological research suggests that this term acquired a mournful connotation at a later stage of history, and its musical 'language' reveals a close connection with hymn-like songs considered to be of pre-Christian origin. Its peripheral vocabulary is also shared with other hymn-like songs.

In addition to the review of historical contextual data, the large corpus of the multimedia field collection (2016), which includes 11 recordings of 5 variants of the  $z\ddot{a}r$ , allowed for a state-of-the-art analysis. Interviews with tradition-bearers revealed contradictions between the metadata collected in the field and the historical and ethnographic accounts. Thus, it can be assumed that at least the ritual function, the practical purpose, and both the emic and etic understanding of the  $z\ddot{a}r$  have undergone some changes over a not-solong historical period.

Finally, the observation of the music-making process during the recording sessions of the different groups allowed us to put forward several important hypotheses regarding musicological features. For example, it was almost impossible for the singers to 'sing' individual parts of the dirge without the participation of other voices, which served as one of the arguments in favor of the hypothesis that  $z\ddot{a}r$  is not the result of the evolutionary (stadial) development of three-part polyphony, but represents an example of an ontogenetically three-part musical phenomenon. In addition, the well-known feature of Georgian music of successive pitch shifts throughout the song does not appear to be systematic and consistent, at least in the case of  $z\ddot{a}r$  recordings. Analysis of recordings of the same  $z\ddot{a}r$  variant by different groups revealed large differences in recordings in this respect.

Although we have, as mentioned above, attempted to exhaust the topic of *zär* through a multi-layered and comprehensive study, we believe that a further comparative study of the dirge would be very useful in identifying its links with other zaris, especially from neighboring areas of Georgia.

But before we proceed to broader research goals that include the comparative analysis of  $z\ddot{a}r$  with other repertoire, we believe this phenomenological research is of paramount value. To understand the musical grammar of this special musical form, which is supposedly attributed to a fundamental form of social behavior, such as funeral ritual, is

of critical importance. To this end, we have therefore conducted acoustic, musicological, and phonetic analysis into this unique musical legacy, the results of which are presented in: Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze (2020), Mzhavanadze and Scherbaum (2020) and Scherbaum and Mzhavanadze (2021).

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# A Reassessment of Wolfgang Sichardt's 1936 Field Recordings of Swiss Yodel

#### **ABSTRACT**

Historical field recordings offer insight both into past performance routines and into the processes and contexts of musical practices in their time. In the wake of renewed interest in musical traditions of the alpine region, I reassessed the magnetic tape recordings created by the Jena University doctoral student Wolfgang Sichardt (1911-2002) from multiple perspectives. The premises and context of the field research in 1936 are reconstructed, in part based on original correspondence; the reception and impact of the research in Germany and Switzerland are assessed; and the exact origin of the recordings is determined wherever possible. Descriptive transcriptions of the entire corpus of yodel and alphorn music visualize the content. The 1936 field recordings, made by Sichardt during a six-week field trip to different areas of Switzerland, document yodels, folk songs, and alphorn melodies on 12 magnetic tape reels, recorded with the latest technology at the time, the AEG Magnetophon K-2. Although the results were published afterward (Sichardt, 1939), the magnetic tape recordings remained private until they were donated to the Vienna Phonogram Archive in 2008, and only in the past decade have they been discovered by researchers.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Yodel

Switzerland

Sound recording

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Archive

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#### Introduction

It is widely accepted that the advent of recording technology led to a new era in music research, because it allowed for the comparison of geographically or chronologically distant musical performances (Lechleitner, 2005; Fargion, 2009; Ziegler and Lechleitner, 2017). The study of recordings and their paraphernalia, such as recording devices, allows for a partial reconstruction of the historical performance, while the surrounding material, such as field notes and letters, helps form a comprehensive picture (Stock, 2001, 2016). As Hebert and McCollum have pointed out, "Historical research often requires careful examination of manuscripts, audio/visual data, and musical instruments or other artifacts, some of which maybe unique and difficult to access" (Hebert and McCollum 2014: 45). In the present case of the field recordings made by the German doctoral student Wolfgang Sichardt (1911–2002), the source material spans a variety of media: the original publications by Sichardt, their published and internal reviews, correspondence letters in preparation for the fieldwork, notations of the recorded melodies by other authors of the same time, and various unpublished reports and notes surrounding Sichardt's 1936 fieldwork. The compilation of these sources would not have been possible without the contribution of the persons listed in the acknowledgments section below.

This article serves as a companion to a corpus of field recordings that can be considered some of the most important for historical ethnomusicology in the European Alps. It offers more context for recent studies that are partly based on Wolfgang Sichardt's research (Wey, 2019, 2020).

Fargion (2009), referring to John Baily, uses the terms "test recording" and "context recording" to distinguish between those made explicitly for the researcher and those made at real live music events. The Sichardt corpus consists entirely of "test recordings" and has to be interpreted accordingly. The musicians represented are those who agreed to have their yodeling recorded, and according to the yodeler and composer Willi Valotti (personal communication, September 03, 2018), many declined to do so.<sup>1</sup>

 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  Valotti specifically mentions cases in the Toggenburg region, where some yodelers were unwilling to perform for the purpose of recording.

## Wolfgang Sichardt (1911-2002)

Sichardt was born 18.05.1911 in Weimar. In 1931 he moved to Leipzig to study literature, art history, and piano. From 1934, he studied art history and musicology and in 1937 completed his dissertation at the University of Jena with the title *Der Alpenländische Yodel und den Ursprung des Jodelns* (Sichardt, 1939).

At the time when I began research on Sichardt's recordings, little was known about Sichardt beyond his dissertation (Sichardt, 1939) and related research (Danckert, 1937a; Sichardt, 1936a, 1937a, 1937/1938, 1949). His publications include the monograph *Der* alpenländische Jodler from 1939 and a series of short articles in the years 1936 to 1939, some of which he co-authored with his doctoral supervisor Werner Danckert (1900-1970). From 1934 to 1937 he worked on and completed his dissertation. Due to the high cost of printing the dissertation, Sichardt was unable to publish it until 1939, two years after its completion. For a publisher to print his dissertation, Sichardt had to rely on an expert opinion from Josef Müller-Blattau, a professor of musicology (Müller-Blattau, n.d., ca. 1938).2 In 1940 Sichardt was working for the Saarbrücken radio station, the Reichssender Saarbrücken. While his colleagues received the designation 'UK,' which stood for 'unabkömmlich' ('indispensable'), Sichardt was drafted into the army. During his military service, Sichardt fell seriously ill and spent time in a military hospital, but this may have saved his life. In 1945, Sichardt was taken prisoner of war by American troops in Sondershausen (near the city of Weimar) and transferred to Rennes in France. Two years later, after having spent much time in infirmaries due to illnesses, he was released, and returned to Germany. In 1953 he took up a position as a music librarian in Wiesbaden, where he worked until his retirement.

#### The 1936 fieldwork and the twelve magnetic tapes

As part of his dissertation project, Sichardt carried out six weeks of field research in Switzerland in September and October 1936. He recorded yodels, folk songs, alphorn tunes, and cattle calls in various German- and French-speaking regions, as well as Rhaetian Switzerland. Among these recordings from various sources and practices are some of the oldest field recordings of alpine yodeling, which differ fundamentally from

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Müller-Blattau, who was a member of the NSDAP and the SA ('Sturmabteilung', 'Storm Detachment'), wrote a generally favorable evaluation, but he criticized the last chapter, titled 'anthropological outlook' [anthropologischer Ausblick], as being superfluous.

the style cultivated for radio and record studio productions at the time. The magnetic tape recordings are highly relevant to the history and reception of yodeling research and transcription — aspects which will be discussed in the following sections.

Sichardt's field research represented a departure from the guidelines for song collections as written during the same period by the musicologist Walter Wiora (1938: 53). Sichardt did not wish to adapt the songs to music-aesthetic conventions or to select only songs that were considered 'valuable'. Instead, his research focused on phenomena that contradicted aesthetic conventions. The intention behind this focus was to prove the existence of "older layers" of music (Sichardt, 1936b: 178) that had been preserved over centuries, and to provide evidence thereof in the form of transcriptions. Consequently, in his transcriptions, Sichardt attempted not to resolve or align deviations from tonal and metrical norms, but rather to further emphasize them.



**Figure 1.** Transcription by Sichardt detailing microtonal and rhythmical deviations. Below the transcription, Sichardt shows a "structure formula", a scale with tetrachordal groups (Sichardt, 1937b: 777).

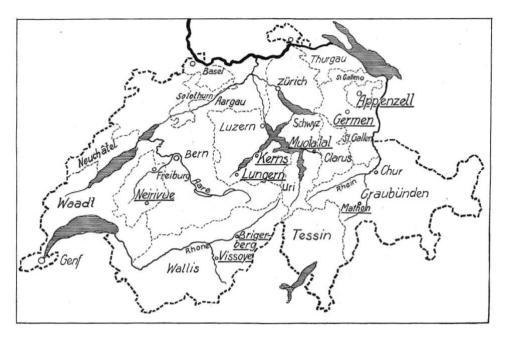
To carry out this research, the *Allgemeine Elektrizitätsgesellschaft* or AEG [General Electricity Company] provided Sichardt with the state-of-the-art recording device, the 'Magnetophon K2'.<sup>5</sup> The goal and the methodological background of the research, as

<sup>4</sup> Sichardt published detailed transcriptions of his recordings, but not the recordings themselves.

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm 3}$  All citations from German sources have been translated by the present author.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> From a letter (see the list of Sichardt's correspondence below) sent August 28, 1936, we learn that the lending of the recording device was helped by the student association 'Fachgruppe Musik der Reichsführung Deutsche Studentenschaft'.

described in Sichardt's publications, was to classify recordings into different strata and to find nothing less than the origin of yodeling. Obvious flaws in this reasoning were already apparent at the time. Sichardt's reasoning took place within the methodological paradigm of 'Kulturkreislehre,' at that time popular in German anthropology (Graebner, 1911; Hornbostel 1925). The methodology of Kulturkreislehre has been largely abandoned since then, which means that the conclusions of the dissertation printed in 1939 are overall no longer considered valid (Wey, 2020). They relied on the transfer of stratigraphic methods from archaeology and geology, which was critically reflected in the American anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn's 1936 essay, "Some Reflections on the Method and Theory of the Kulturkreislehre." Kluckhohn writes: "The Schichten [strata] concept is clearly geological, and the idea of 'cultural fossils' is clearly an analogy from paleontology" (Kluckhohn, 1936: 166). The Kulturkreislehre remained respected as a theory of cultural evolution in Germany up to the 1960s (Schneider, 1976). To conclude, it offered Sichardt a methodological tool to find answers to his research question: What is the origin of yodeling? Sichardt did not consider the criticism and the apparent flaws of this method. We may assume that his supervisor, Werner Danckert, played an important role in this. Danckert was at the time a proponent of the Kulturkreislehre and argued for its application in musicological research (Danckert, 1937b). Despite these methodological issues, the latest achievements of the time in sound recording technology made it possible to make recordings in remote mountainous areas, even though this was associated with new difficulties. Sichardt was traveling alone, and he was asked not to hand over the device to anyone for possible repair—the AEG apparently wanted to avoid letting competitors study the device. Sichardt emphasized the importance of recording technology innovation for field research. According to his account, the participants were delighted that the recordings could be listened to immediately afterward. However, the fact that the rural communities in Switzerland at the time did not have a comprehensive power supply network made things even more difficult, as Sichardt had to look for recording locations where the necessary voltage was available. On a hand-drawn map, he underlined the villages where recordings took place (Sichardt, 1939: 169):



**Figure 2.** A map drawn by Sichardt (1939: 169) indicates the locations (underlined villages) of the recordings.

The most comprehensive sound documents are those from the recording locations of Appenzell and Muotathal, where Sichardt found particularly 'old' melodies that would be useful for the discussion of the question of the 'origin of yodeling'. In summary, the following recordings are available, distributed over eleven of the twelve magnetic tape reels (the designations for the musical pieces correspond literally to those of the original):

Tape reel	Location	Recordings according to Sichardt's (1939:171) terminology
1, 2	Appenzell	9 solo yodels, 1 yodel with cattle calls, 1 Kuhreihen <sup>6</sup> , 2 yodel duets, 5 alphorn tunes, 1 alphorn scale, 2 yodel songs
3	Nesslau	4 solo yodels, 2 yodel duets
3, 4	Kerns	5 solo yodels, 1 Alpine blessing, <sup>7</sup> 1 three-part yodel, 3 alphorn tunes, 1 alphorn scale
4, 5	Lungern	7 solo yodels, 3 two-part yodels, calls and whoops, 2 yodel songs
6, 7	Muotatal	11 solo yodels, 8 yodel duets, 6 alphorn melodies, 2 alphorn tunes, 1 alphorn scale, 2 cattle calls, 1 Alpine blessing (spoken)
7,8	Mathon	17 songs, 2 yodel songs, 1 yodel duet
9	Brigerberg	5 solo yodels
10	Vissoie	1 yodel, 5 songs
10, 11	Neirivue	1 two-part yodel, 4 yodel songs, 1 song with a yodeled refrain, 1 Ranz des Vaches,8 1 alphorn tune

**Table 1.** Content of eleven of the magnetic tape reels with field recordings.

Each piece is labeled with a letter. On the reels, the individual pieces are thus numbered alphabetically in sequence (1a, 1b, etc.). The list is not quite complete because on reel 7 the letters E and F are repeated (a, b, c, d, e, f, e, f, g, ...), and these repetitions are not included in the written list.

At the beginning of each recording session, Sichardt blew a pitch pipe tuned to an A at ca. 440 Hertz. This served to document any shifts in pitch due to the speed of the magnetic tape during recording. However, such deviations cannot be detected on any of the eleven tapes. The original pitch pipe, together with the original recordings, is kept in the Vienna Phonogram Archive. The twelfth magnetic tape reel does not contain field recordings, but rather piano music —some of it fragmentary — as well as small bits of conversation. These may have been used as test recordings for handling the magnetophone. At the end,

 $<sup>^6</sup>$  The recording of a 'Kuhreihen', i.e., a kind of traditional herding song documented in  $18^{th}$ - and  $19^{th}$ -century travelogues, is in fact a rendition of Heinrich Tobler's (1777–1838) composition 'Appenzeller Sennenlied.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The alpine blessing [Alpsegen] is a shepherd's prayer with which, during the alpine summer, the herdsmen invoke God, Mary, and the saints for protection from danger. All living creatures of an alp, belongings, and property are thus entrusted to a higher care (Senti, 2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> 'Ranz des Vaches' is the French name for the above mentioned 'Kuhreihen'. The village where these recordings were made, Neirivue, is located in a French-speaking community in the Canton of Fribourg.

we hear a voice, possibly Sichardt's, reading aloud a letter of recommendation by Wilhelm Altwegg. This and various other letters allow us to reconstruct parts of the 1936 field trip.

# Reconstruction of the field trip based on preparatory correspondence and a 1986 interview

Further details about the plans and preparations for the field trip come from letters between Sichardt and his contacts in Switzerland. All of the letters are from or to Wilhelm Altwegg (1883–1971), who, at that time, was a professor of philology at the University of Basel and the commissioner for the Swiss Folk Song Archive. The letters are listed with summaries of their content in Table 3 in the appendix. Unfortunately, while the digitized versions are available, I was unable to recover the original letters, despite an extensive search among relevant individuals and archives, including Altwegg's estate in the Basel University Library. A further request to the Folk Song Archive showed that the correspondence of the years 1934–1936 includes yellow note slips with the remarks "Sichardt, 12.8.36, removed" or "To Sichardt, 30.8.1936, removed" (Miriam Kull, personal communication, July 13, 2021). Thus, the original letters have been transferred without documenting their new location.

The two most important contacts in Switzerland who facilitated Sichardt's research were Altwegg and Karl Meuli (1891–1968), the president of the Swiss Folk Music Society at the time. Both were relatively sympathetic to the project, and both referred Sichardt to Hanns in der Gand,<sup>9</sup> a well-known folk song collector in Switzerland. On August 12, 1936, Sichardt wrote to Altwegg at the Volksliedarchiv in Basel, asking for assistance in finding contacts in the villages he would be visiting:

In the context of a doctoral thesis at the University of Jena, which deals with Swiss folk music and especially with the yodel, I intend to make recordings of yodels, alphorn melodies, etc., throughout Switzerland in the near future. This undertaking will naturally involve several difficulties. Not least of all, since I am not so well versed in the dialect, it will often be difficult for me to communicate with people. It would therefore be very valuable to me if I could ask teachers, innkeepers, or other persons for a little help in the service of my

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Hanns in der Gand (1882-1947) was a Swiss folk song collector and researcher. His real name was Ladislaus Krupski but he adopted the name 'Hanns in der Gand' as a pseudonym to simplify contact with the local population.

recording work by means of a letter of recommendation from the Basel Folk Song Archive.

At the time, Hanns In der Gand was entrusted with the task of collecting folk songs. Altwegg emphasized, however, that there was no obligation for In der Gand to offer assistance to the fieldworker. On the same date, Altwegg wrote to In der Gand:

[...] The young German, whom I have never seen in person, had contacted the Volksliedarchiv, and I prompted Ms. Dr. Stöcklin to reply diplomatically that our material was available to him for study only in such a way that no publication rights would be violated to which we were entitled. [...] At the request [...] I [...] first asked for a certificate from his professor, which has now arrived, very good and with the indication that the young man [...] the most splendid recording equipment is at his disposal [...]. And the recordings, I have asked for them for our society's archive. Because we have to grab at such an opportunity - precisely because we do not have such means as Germany can give to its people. But once again, we have no obligations to Mr. S. [...].

This letter also notes that Sichardt had already contacted Karl Meuli, the president of the Swiss Folk Society. In the meantime, according to a letter dated 30 August 1936, a meeting between Sichardt and In der Gand had been planned, although further details of the meeting are not known.

In his letter to Sichardt of August 30, Altwegg expressed interest in the sound recordings and tried to obtain them for the Folk Song Archive. He also mentioned his concern that the copyright of the materials in the Swiss archives be respected. However, Altwegg's intentions to archive the sound recordings in Basel were never realized; the magnetic tapes remained in Sichardt's private possession and were not made available to the public during his lifetime.

We learn more about the circumstances of the 1936 field trip from an interview with the sound engineering expert Friedrich Engel on 11.09.1986 (Engel, 1986). During his fieldwork, Sichardt was traveling in a car, and most of the interior space was taken up by the recording equipment. This included a high-quality microphone. In the interview with Engel, Sichardt spoke about how he found yodelers, the process of recording itself, and the analyses that followed. According to Engel, Sichardt traveled to remote villages, and upon arrival, sought to talk to a teacher or a priest there, who might then point him towards yodelers. He received good leads this way. Then, he visited the yodelers and

recorded their songs right away (the recordings had to be made immediately, as there were no recurring visits to the same places). The recordings always took place indoors, for example, in a school building. Major technical problems did not occur. There were, however, difficulties with the power supply, which was not always reliable in rural areas.

Engel noted that, after listening to the recordings several times, Sichardt selected a number of melodies that seemed particularly interesting. These were transferred to a record for subsequent musical analysis. The twelve tapes make up the complete collection; if Sichardt had more tapes with him that were not needed, he returned them to AEG. Thus, the field recordings are completely documented.

# Contemporaneous reactions in Germany and Switzerland to Sichardt's research publications

The research was published (Sichardt, 1939) on the eve of the Second World War, and its reception was inevitably colored by the conflict. In the following year, reviews in German and Swiss journals reveal some of the perceptions of this research and the influence of the extraordinary situation. The rejection in Switzerland of a German musicologist's research on Swiss music must be read in the context of the time. In 1940, Germany laid out a plan to invade Switzerland, the so-called 'Unternehmen Tannenbaum' ['operation fir tree'] (Stüssi-Lauterburg, 2003). The plan was dismissed later, but the impression of menace lasted. In this atmosphere, the below-mentioned commentator, Prof. Krupski, described the danger of the Germans using research to develop 'cultural outposts' in Switzerland. In contrast, an early favorable review came out in the German journal *Die Musik*. Musicologist Wolfgang Boetticher (1939/1940: 20) wrote:

In the present boom of folk-musical considerations, this Jena dissertation will be of particular interest, because here for the first time the attempt is made to summarize the yodel problem, which has already been treated in many small contributions and essays, and to provide scientific clarification.

Wolfgang Boetticher (1914–2002), who received his doctorate in 1939 with a dissertation on Robert Schumann, became that same year the head of the music policy liaison office within the Third Reich's 'Amt Rosenberg,' the office for cultural and surveillance policy, headed by Alfred Rosenberg. While Sichardt's book was well received by Boetticher, it was criticized in Switzerland. Reference has already been made to a

critical review in the Swiss Archives of Folklore, which highlighted deficiencies in content. Its author (signed only with the initials 'R.-I.') sums up:

Thus, the whole treatise is to be used with some caution, but we are grateful to the author for having once unrolled the whole problem and for having done useful preliminary work in some respects. The last word about yodeling, however, should not be spoken with this writing. (R.-I. 1944: 111)

While this review makes a factual criticism based on ambiguities in content, politically motivated rejections due to the times can be traced in other reviews, based on unpublished sources; such a sharp criticism can be found in a letter dated July 20, 1943, from the estate of the composer and yodel enthusiast Heinrich Leuthold (1910–2001) (Staatsarchiv Nidwalden P 137/5), signed by "Prof. Dr. A. Krupski" and addressed to a pharmacist named "E. Wydler." Krupski was apparently returning a borrowed copy of Sichardt's 'Der alpenländische Jodler,' and wrote:

Dear Mr. Wydler!

In the enclosure, you will receive Vol. II [of the series Schriften zur Volksliedkunde und völkerkundlichen Musikwissenschaft] Wolfgang Sichardt 'Der alpenländische Jodler' back. My brother and I don't think much of the book, just like your uncle, who is a music professor. It is a German phenomenon, as such just come out now and are supported by the German government. Bridgeheads in foreign countries, at first seeming harmless and yet dangerous and intended for very specific purposes. In the meantime, history will ruthlessly judge this so-called science [...]

With best regards,

Prof. Dr. A. Krupski. (Krupski, 1943, StANW P 137/5)

# Tracing the recordings: The cases of the Brigerberg and the Lungern tapes

For each sound recording, Sichardt listed the place, in many cases the name of the performer, and in some cases, also the profession, in the appendix to his 1939 book. Information about the melodies, however, is missing. To find out whether these are well-known melodies and whether they still belong to the repertoire of local yodeling clubs today, the recordings were played and submitted to connoisseurs from the respective regions. The results from all regions would go beyond the scope of this paper and were partly published elsewhere (for Muotatal see Wey, 2020; for Appenzell see Wey, 2019).

The examples presented here refer to two regions: the canton of Valais and Central Switzerland.

Brigerberg is located in the southwest of Switzerland, situated in a mountain valley (see figure 2). At least two of the recordings from the Brigerberg tape (magnetic tape 9) are transcribed in a booklet (see example notations below), most likely written by Theodul Erpen, a teacher in Ried-Brig. His son Karl Erpen (\*1935) co-founded the yodel club "Zer Tafernu" in Ried-Brig and passed the music booklet on to the yodel composer Ewald Muther, to whom we owe this information (Ewald Muther, personal communication January 19, 2018). The two transcribed yodels are labeled in Sichardt's recordings as *Der* Brigerbärger, designated "Solo Yodel 9I," and Der Gampischer, "Solo Yodel 9K". The name of the solo yodeler, Johann Eyer, is not identified by Erpen in the booklet, but appears as "Hans Eyer, of Wendelin" in the minute book of the Yodel Club 'Immergrün' [Evergreen]. In the music booklet, below the transcription of *Der Brigerbärger*, Erpen wrote: "6. Febr[uary] 1939 notated." Thus, it dates from only a few years after the recording. There are no other remarks in the booklet that would offer more insights into the origin of the transcription. In the left upper corner Erpen writes "langsam" [slow], but in the recording the yodeler, Johann Eyer, takes a quick tempo of 84 bpm for the half note or 168 for the quarter. The dotted rhythms notated in the second part, after the repetition, offer a hint that Erpen indeed notated the piece based on a slower tempo: these rhythms are hardly singable at the fast tempo, and Eyer replaces the dotted rhythms with continuous eighth notes in his recording for Sichardt.



**Figure 3.** Manuscript of *Der Brigerbärger* in the notebook of Theodul Erpen (n.d., ca. 1939). The song title is written below the notation.

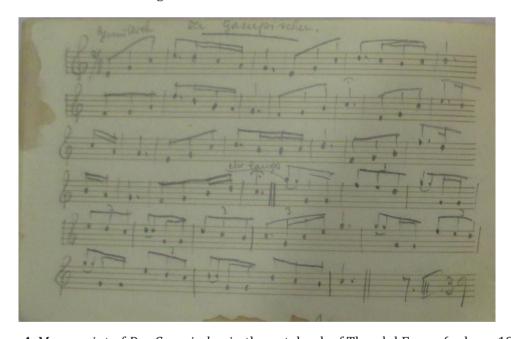


Figure 4. Manuscript of *Der Gampischer* in the notebook of Theodul Erpen (n.d., ca. 1939).

For the discussion of another set of Sichardt's recordings, the Lungern tapes recorded on the magnetic reels 4 and 5, we change the location from the south-west of the map of the field recordings Central Switzerland (see figure 2).

Thanks to close listening and comparison with locally known melodies from Lungern, Edi Gasser, an expert on and collector of the regional yodel repertoire, was able to identify several of the melodies on Sichardt's tapes (Gasser, 2014a), and to match these recorded

melodies to existing notations in Gasser's database (Gasser, 2014b). The latter, a short unpublished manuscript, is an inspiring source for the comparison of past and present interpretations with approximately two generations of oral tradition in between. Table 2 sums up Gasser's attribution of names to the (unnamed) recordings:

Track	Location	Name
4a	Kerns	Obdesseler
4b	Kerns	Landenberger-
		Gratjodel
4c, 4k, 5h	Kerns, Lungern	Leewägriabler
4d	Kerns	D'r alt Schorieder
4f	Kerns	Stockalper-Jödeli
4h	Lungern	Schönbiel-Juiz
5a	Lungern	S'Mälche
5c, 5f	Lungern	Klewenjuiz
5i	Lungern	Iwi-Juiz

**Table 2.** Attribution of names to yodel recordings in Kerns (tape 4) and Lungern (tapes 4 and 5) according to Gasser (2014a).

This connection of Sichardt's untitled recordings to the locally known names was only possible with the local expert knowledge of Gasser. Sichardt did not note any titles or names of yodels, which is legitimate: Yodels, without song texts, are often either not given a name at all, or names are assigned in the small circle of a yodeling club or in a village and differ between locations and groups. In comparison, today, in many cases one name has been established to identify a certain melody. This happened mainly because of CD (and other media) recordings, the printing of a name on a booklet, and the following identification of the melodic structure with the name (Ammann et al. 2021). With these links between contemporary names and historical recordings, we can prove that that a melody has been handed down over the generations since 1936 with changes small enough to still be identified as the same piece of music. Furthermore, a comparison between musical styles of the different period became possible (Gasser, 2014b): Yodel interpretations in the past and today, melody changes over time, interpretive freedoms, and comparisons of yodeling technique.

# Relevance of the recordings and future prospects

Sichardt's research, although grounded in obsolete methods of interpretation, paved the way for ethnomusicological work in the Alpine region that went beyond the collection and cataloging of folk songs. Research published in the following decades in most cases cited Sichardt's historical recordings (Wiora, 1958) and his cross-comparisons of different musical genres in the Alpine region (Frauchiger, 1941). His publications also served as a springboard for later research, which remained scarce throughout the 20th century—Alpine Europe received little attention from international ethnomusicologists. Important additions, however, include the books by Max Peter Baumann (1976) and Sylvie Bolle-Zemp (1991, 1992). In her "Reflections on the History of Yodeling," Haid (2005, 2006) bases her theory partly on Sichardt's hypothesis of different historical layers.

Sichardt intended to find the 'origin of yodel' and classify recordings into different historical layers. In contrast, the present look at this archival material is defined by current research questions, and therefore reassesses the recordings through different approaches. Using computational analysis, we aim to explain the existence of regional tonal systems proposed in the literature, and to understand ways of interpretation as well as regional differences. A comparison of three samples of yodeling from the Muotatal region from three generations, the first of being Sichardt's recordings, has shown a gradual approximation of the tonal scale to the equal tempered tuning (Wey, 2020). Such analysis of historical field recordings will help to correct or complement existing narratives, and the provenance of the preserved music will allow us to trace the transmission and transformation of known yodel and alphorn melodies over the past three generations. In the words of Edi Gasser (2014a), who reconstructed the repertoire recorded in the villages of Kerns and Lungern: "I am especially interested in these recordings to show the difference to today's performance practice, to the interpretation of natural yodels. At that time there were neither notes nor canned sounds. The yodeler sang by ear, he sang the melody as he remembered it approximately and partly 'trimmed' it according to his own ability and feeling."

# Acknowledgments

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# Appendix: Letters from and to Wilhelm Altwegg

No.	sender	recipient	date	Content summary
1	Wolfgang Sichardt	Wilhelm Altwegg	12.08.1936	Sichardt explains his plans and asks for a letter of recommendation by the Swiss Folk Song Archive to facilitate his exchange with locals. He emphasizes the proximity of his travel and hence asks for a swift reply.
2	Werner Danckert	Wolfgang Sichardt	15.08.1936	Attestation of Sichardt's work as a doctoral candidate and description of the planned field work, to record "stylistic particularities"  [Stilbesonderheiten] with the help of high-quality technology
3	Wolfgang Sichardt	Wilhelm Altwegg	28.08.1936	Sichardt writes again to Altwegg and includes the attestation letter from his supervisor Danckert.
4	Wilhelm Altwegg	Wolfgang Sichardt	30.08.1936	Altwegg sends a letter of recommendation. He suggests that Sichardt contact "Prof. Meuli" in Basel [the philologist Karl Meuli (1891–1968)], as well as Hanns In der Gand. Altwegg expresses the interest of his institution in buying copies of the recordings.
5	Wilhelm Altwegg	Wolfgang Sichardt	30.08.1936	A letter of recommendation mentioning the quality of the recording device and a call to those who might be able to help Sichardt with his research.
6	Wilhelm Altwegg	Hanns In der Gand	30.08.1936	Altwegg states that Meuli forwarded a letter from Sichardt to him, and that he assigned Dr. Stoecklin [the ethnographer Adèle Stoecklin, (1876–1960)] to respond to Sichardt. He goes on to say that he first requested an attestation by Sichardt's professor [Danckert] and that in the course of a possible collaboration copyrights should not be infringed.

**Table 3.** Correspondence between Sichardt and representatives of Swiss folk music institutions and private persons in preparation for the 1936 field trip.

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# Historico-musicological Aspects of K. A. Psachos's Archive<sup>1</sup>

#### **ABSTRACT**

The purpose of this paper is to present some historico-musicological aspects of the archive of K. A. Psachos. It brings to light some of the obscure or lesser-known aspects of his biography, his oeuvre and his general activities following his three major life events: his upbringing, education and vocational training in Istanbul, his relocation and professional establishment in Athens and the realization of a lifetime goal, the construction of a Byzantine Music pipe organ in Munich. The article is illustrated with digitized archive material and supplemented by transcriptions of K. A. Psachos's handwritten Byzantine Notation, epistles and notes in Greek.

#### **KEYWORDS**

**Konstantinos Psachos** 

Greek Ecclesiastical Music

Psachos's archive

Byzantine notation manuscripts

Panharmonium organ

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#### Introduction

Konstantinos Alexandrou Psachos was born in 1869 in Mega Revma [Arnavutköy], Constantinople [Istanbul] and died in 1949 in New Smyrna, Athens (Chaldæaki, 2018b: 35-36). He was a multi-faceted scholar of international status and recognition; he was a musician, musicologist, composer, music teacher, researcher, writer, as well as an inventor of an Organ. He played a leading role in the restoration of Byzantine Music, and he is undoubtedly recognized today as the academic founder of the disciplines of Byzantine Musicology and Music Folklore. He left behind a huge oeuvre, consisting of books and articles, pertaining to the fields of Byzantine Musicology, Ethnomusicology, Folklore, History, etc.; it is an 'academic treasure' which K. A. Psachos always supported by his numerous lectures and the parallel organization of relevant concerts.

K. A. Psachos collected and organized all his scholarly and artistic activities, both published and unpublished elements of his life's work, in his personal archive, which remains at his residence (Loupas, 2013). The archive as a whole was closed and inaccessible for research for about 50 years after his death. It includes excerpts and drafts of his publications (books, articles, lectures, musical scores), his correspondence, personal notes, and other specialized archival material, mainly of Byzantine-musicological interest or related to Folklore and Historical issues. K. A. Psachos had carefully and methodically arranged and stored his archive in large hard paper folders following his fields of work and interest. The folders were labeled by K. A. Psachos himself to identify their content, e.g., *Student Notebooks, Asian Music, Delphic Festivals, Folk Songs, Correspondence, Lectures, Notes, Athens Conservatoire, Ancient Script Notes, Organ, Drafts, Press.* The archive was catalogued according to K. A. Psachos's original classification. The digitization and indexing of the archive has produced more than 50.000 digital files.

# Istanbul (Achilleas Chaldæakes)

The activities of K. A. Psachos in Istanbul are not entirely unknown to us; sufficient elements are pointed out and discussed in the extant relevant bibliography, both in the older (Dragoumis, 1974: 313-314; 1990: 78-79; Hadzitheodorou, 1978:  $\iota\delta'[14]$ - $\kappa\gamma'[23]$ ; Romanou, 1996: 14-15, note 26; Mamoni, 2000: 90-93), as well as in the recent one (Chaldæaki, 2018b: 35-45).

However, in searching the K. A. Psachos's archive for further unknown elements about his activities in Istanbul, the researcher is indeed provided with a multitude of new and largely unknown documents concerning his multifaceted tasks there;<sup>2</sup> indicative aspects of those documents are presented below:

#### Student notebooks

Of exceptional interest are several student notebooks found in K. A. Psachos's archive; they are student notebooks of K. A. Psachos himself, but there also are some notebooks of his brother, as well, the latter described as *George Alexandrou [Γεώργιος Άλεξάνδρου]* or *George A. Psachidis [Γεώργιος Ά. Ψαχίδης]* (Chaldæaki, 2018b: 35 [note 57, where it is mentioned that he was born in 1866] & 37 [note 60]). These notebooks contain informal student notes or attentive copies of several school texts, as well as other relevant student essays of both brothers.

Some student notebooks of K. A. Psachos himself are particularly noteworthy; they are notebooks where one can see K. A. Psachos's name written down by his hand on their cover page. The name been similarly recorded as  $Konstantinos Alexandrou [K\omega v \sigma \tau \alpha v \tau \tilde{\iota} v o \varsigma \Delta \lambda \epsilon \xi \dot{\alpha} v \delta \rho o v]$  or  $K. A. Psachidis [K. A. \Psi \alpha \chi i \delta \eta \varsigma]$ ; additionally, paintings and school drawings from his childhood, obviously made during his leisure, may be seen in the same notebooks; occasionally, the mentioned notebooks are stamped with K. A. Psachos's characteristic special oval seal [facs. 1], bearing at the top a cross, in the middle his initials

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cf. Chaldæakes, 2014b: 377-378; there, a very important and (until then) unknown fact concerning his musical studies was pointed out; it refers to a note he had written on the back of the cover page of one of the musical books in his library, where K. A. Psachos clarified the following: The first musical text from which I started my musical studies in the Patriarchal Central Clergy School, where I was an inmate [Tò  $\pi\rho\tilde{\omega}\tau$ ov μουσικὸν κείμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁποίου ἤρχισα τὴν μουσικὴν έν τῇ Πατριαρχικῇ Κεντρικῇ Ἱερατικῇ Σχολῇ, τῆς  $\dot{\delta}$ ποίας  $\dot{\upsilon}$ πῆρξα τρόφιμος. Κ. α. Ψάχος]; this musical book is the *Anastasimatarion*, 1878; I had then set the year 1878 as a safe terminus post quem, not only concerning - specifically - the determination of the date of the attendance of K. A. Psachos at the mentioned Clergy School, but also – generally – for the time period in which he systematically started studying Byzantine Music. Now, we know (due to recent research published by Chaldæaki, 2018b: 37-39) that the attendance of K. A. Psachos in the Patriarchal Central Clergy School began in the year 1881, a year during which this school was still located on the island of Halki [Heybeliada]. In the following year (1882), the school "was transferred to the community of Eksiliporta (Lotza), near to the Holy Fountain (Hagiasma) of the Church of St. Mary of Blachernae"; the last fact is confirmed by a student notebook of K. A. Psachos (mentioned later) with the following title: The Notes of Botanica of the second grade student of the Central Clergy School located in Balat area of Istanbul, Konstantinos Alexandrou, on October the  $3^{rd}$ , 1882 [Σημειώσεις Βοτανικῆς τοῦ μαθητοῦ τῆς Β΄ τάξεως τῆς έν Παλατᾶ κεντρικῆς ἱερατικῆς σχολῆς Κωνσταντίνου Άλεξάνδρου τῆ 3ŋ Όκτωβρίου 1882].

[K. A.], written between laurels, and at the bottom an inscription of the year 1879 (Hadzitheodorou, 1978:  $\iota\delta'$ [14]; Chaldæaki, 2018b: 178).

Through the aforementioned notebooks, one can undoubtedly observe the various subjects of K. A. Psachos's apprenticeship in his schools; for example, while he was a student at the Central Clergy School located on the island of Halki [Heybeliada], he studied philosophical and philological subjects (like Moral Virtues [Hθικαὶ Άρεταί], Biographies of Plutarch [Βιογραφίαι Πλουτάρχου], From Isokratous to Philip [Ίσοκράτους πρὸς Φίλιππον], etc.), and also took some courses in mathematics. It should also be noted that K. A. Psachos's student notes on the abovementioned subjects include, some drafts of formal letters,<sup>3</sup> and even his first drafts of several student works,<sup>4</sup> as well as some of his early translation efforts.

Furthermore, additional musicological information is unexpectedly found in this exclusively informal material which is contained in these student notebooks; for instance, a triple Lord have mercy [Kύριε, έλέησον], a hymn composed by K. A. Psachos in the  $2^{\rm nd}$  Mode of Byzantine Music and spontaneously written on the cover page of one of his student notebooks, specifically a notebook with the following title: The Notes of Botanica of the second grade student of the Central Clergy School located in Balat area of Istanbul,

<sup>3</sup> For example (the text is written in Greek):

Ή έν Χάλκη κεντρική ἱερατική σχολή τῆ 23 Νοεμβρίου 1881

Σεβαστή μου Μῆτερ

Είς Μ. Ρεῦμα

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ελαβον τὴν έπιστολήν σας καὶ έχάρην πολὺ πληροφωρηθεὶς περὶ τῆς ποθητῆς ὑμῶν ὑγείας σας [<del>ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὸ πανταλόνιον καὶ τὰ δύο ὑποκάμυσα καὶ εύχαριστήθην</del>].

Another example (the text is also written in Greek):

Φίλε.

Έλαβον τὴν ἐπιστολήν σου καὶ ἑξεπλάγην, πληροφορηθείς, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν ἄφθονος ἐπίσης ἐπέπεσε χιών. Ἐν τούτοις ὅμως ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν ἀφθονίας τῆς χιόνος ὁ ἄνθρωπος δὲν ἐκπλήττεται τόσον, ὅσον ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει. Ὑπάρχουσιν ἄνθρωποι ὑπερεκατοντούτιδες, οἴτινες διηγοῦνται ἡμῖν, ὅτι οὐ μόνον οὶ ἴδιοι δὲν εἶδόν ποτε τοιαύτην χιόνα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν ἤκουσαν περὶ ἀφθονίας χιόνος διηγήσεις. ὑπωσδήποτε ὅμως εἴτε πολλὴ εἴτε ὀλίγη εἶνε ἡ καταπεσοῦσα χιὼν θέλει παρέλθη μόνον δὲ αὶ συνέπειαι αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πολλὺν θέλουσι διαμένει χρόνον ἀνεξίτηλαι.

Λαβὼν τὴν έπιστολήν σου, φίλε, ηὐχαριστήθην τὰ μέγιστα πληροφορηθεὶς περὶ τῶν ὄσων μοὶ γράφεις. Πρὸς τούτοις δὲ σοὶ λέγω, ὅτι ἡ ὑπερβολικὴ ἐκείνη χιὼν παρῆλθεν καὶ οἱ πάγοι ἐτύχθησαν δὲν φαίνεται δὲ οὐδὲ ἴχνος αὐτῶν.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For example (the text is once again written in Greek):

Ύπὸ Κ. Ά. Ψαχίδου μαθ. τῆς α΄ τάξεως τῆς κεντρ. ἱερατ. Σχολῆς/ Τῆ 15 Ἰανουαρίου/

Χασμωδία έστὶν άδιάρθρωτος τρόπον τινὰ άπαγγελία προερχομένη έκ τῆς συγκρούσεως δύο φωνηέντων, π.χ. κατὰ αὐτοῦ. θεραπεύεται δὲ αὕτη κατὰ ἔξ τρόπους 1) διὰ τῆς συναιρέσεως, διὰ τῆς κράσεως, διὰ τῆς έκθλίξεως, διὰ τῆς άφαιρέσεως, διὰ τῆς συνιζήσεως καὶ διὰ τῆς παρεισαγωγῆς εύφωνικοῦ γράμματος, π.χ. ἀνάξιος, εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος, οὕτως ἔχει, ούκ ἔστιν, οὐκέτι.-

Konstantinos Alexandrou, on October the  $3^{rd}$ , 1882 [Σημειώσεις Βοτανικῆς τοῦ μαθητοῦ τῆς B' τάξεως τῆς έν Παλατῷ κεντρικῆς ἱερατικῆς σχολῆς Κωνσταντίνου Άλεξάνδρου τῆ  $3\eta$  Όκτωβρίου 1882] [facs. 2 & 2a; ex. 1].

Finally, the following draft (definitely written later) of his epistle is of crucial importance, as it deals with a notorious Byzantine Music book entitled *The Key of the Ancient Notation* of the Byzantine Music, written by Panagiotes Kiltzanides:<sup>5</sup>

#### Honorable Director

It was with great pleasure to be informed that the very honored expatriate in Russia Gregory Marasles took over the expenses of the publication, in the 'Marasleios Library', of the manuscript of the late Hadzi Panagiotes Kiltzanides from Bursa, a book titled: 'The Key of the Ancient Notation of the Byzantine Music'. The title itself is sufficient in order for someone to understand the difficulties that imply the printed publication, particularly for the very first time, of a music book written according to the ancient notation of Byzantine Music. That is because nearly none of the Greek musicians really know the complexity of the ancient notation of Byzantine Music and nearly none of the Greek publishers know the way to typographically use this notation. For this purpose, as I anticipate the most immediate publication of this welcoming book, which will be of great help for those who deal with the ancient notation of Byzantine Music, it is my duty to present to those in charge the following opinion. The printed publication of the main music part of the book will be quite expensive, due to the difficult and entirely original nature of the work. Would it not be preferable for the pure music part of the book to be published using the 'facsimile technical method', according to which the publisher would have to typographically

Άξιότιμε κ. Διευθυντά

Μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς εύχαριστήσεως ἔμαθον ὅτι ὁ έν Ρωσσία μεγάτιμος ὁμογενὴς Γρηγόριος ὁ Μαρασλῆς ἀνέλαβεν ἵνα έν τῆ δαπάναις αύτοῦ έκδιδομένη Μαρασλείω Βιβλιοθήκη έκδῷ καὶ τὸ χειρόγραφον σύγγραμμα τοῦ μακαρίτου Χ(ατζῆ) Παναγιώτου Κηλτζανίδου τοῦ Προυσσαέως ὅπερ «Κλεὶς» τῆς ἀρχαίας γραφῆς ἐπιγράφεται. Μόνον ὁ τίτλος αὐτοῦ ἀρκεῖ ἵνα ἐννοήσῃ τις τὰς δυσχερείας οἴας συνεπάγεται ἡ ἔκδοσις διὰ τύπου βιβλίου μουσικοῦ είς ἀρχαίαν γραφὴν πρώτην ήδη φορὰν ἐκδοθησομένου. Διότι οὐδεὶς σχεδὸν τῶν ἡμετέρων μουσικῶν γινώσκει τὸ πολυσχιδὲς τῆς ἀρχαίας γραφῆς πολλῷ δὲ περισσότερον στοιχειοθέτης ὅστις νὰ γνωρίζῃ τὸν τρόπον τῆς στοιχειοθεσίας. Διὰ τοῦτο είς τὴν ὅσον ἔνεστι ταχυτέραν ἔκδοσιν τοῦ [εύπροσδέκτου;] τούτου ἔργου ὑποβλέπων, ὅπερ πολλὰς τὰς εὐκολίας παρέξῃ τοῖς περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν μουσικὴν ἀσχολουμένοις, καθῆκον νομίζω νὰ ὑποβάλω τοῖς ἀρμοδίοις τὴν ἑξῆς γνώμην. Πρὸς ἔκδοσιν διὰ τοῦ τύπου τοῦ κυρίως μουσικοῦ μέρους θὰ δαπανηθῶσι οὐκ όλίγα χρήματα διὰ τὸ δυσχερὲς καὶ ὅλως πρωτότυπον τῆς ἐργασίας. Δὲν θὰ ἦτο ἆρά γε προτιμότερον τὸ καθαρῶς μουσικὸν μέρος νὰ ἐκδίδετο έργολαβικῶς είς ἔνα [λιθογράφον] ξυλογράφον ὅστις [κατὰ] νὰ [έργασθῆ αὐτὸ ἐξ].

About the above-mentioned book cf. Kiltzanides, 1886:  $\alpha'[1]$ - $\gamma'[3]$ ; Psachos, 1905; Psachos, 1978: 247-248, note 81; Stathis, 1978: 16-18, 40-41, note 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The Greek text of the epistle is as follows:

imitate the way the ancient notation was written in the existing manuscripts of Byzantine Music?

# Documentation of Byzantine Music Compositions

Of even greater interest is another notebook - preserved in K. A. Psachos's archive - under the following title: Miscellany (from my childhood), Konstantinos Alexandrou [( $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\iota\kappa\acute{\alpha}$   $\mu o v$ )  $\Delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\phi o \rho \alpha$ ,  $\textit{K}\omega v \sigma \tau \alpha v \tau \acute{\iota} v o v$   $\textit{A}\lambda\epsilon \xi \acute{\alpha}v \delta \rho o v$ ]. On the cover page of this notebook is written the motto 'sing wisely' [ $\psi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\sigma v v \epsilon \tau \~{\omega}\varsigma$ ] (Psalm. 46,8b). Moreover, on the back of the cover page, one can also find a later note of K. A. Psachos, through which he specifies what the notebook contains: My first attempts (at the age of 18) to document those heard by my uncle, Dimitrios Papadopoulos, who inspired in me the love for music [ $\textit{A}\iota$   $\pi \rho \~{\omega} \tau \alpha \iota$   $\delta o \kappa \iota \mu \alpha \iota$   $\mu o v$   $\mu$ 

Additionally, in the aforementioned note found in his archive,<sup>7</sup> K. A. Psachos characteristically clarifies the following information: In my father's house, there was a great 'musical treasure'. He was my notorious uncle, the brother of my mother's mother, Dimitrios Papadopoulos [...] Being a child, I was attracted by the sweetness of his voice and I admired him without knowing why. But, when I took music lessons, while I was a student at the clergy school, I became able to somehow understand what it was that was pleasing me. Then I opened my eyes and, during the day and night, I was hearing what he was softly chanting; thus I was initiated in the performative style according to how he

<sup>7</sup> See the full text of the above-mentioned note published by Hadzitheodorou, 2013: 217-218, note 1 & Chaldæaki, 2018b: 39-40. Cf. Hadzitheodorou, 1978: ιε'[15].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See on pp. 1-2 [Κατευθυνθήτω (facs. 3-4)], 3-4 [Δύναμις-"Όσοι είς Χριστόν (facs. 4-5)], 24-27 [Καὶ εύλογημένος (facs. 6-8; unfinished, pp. 28-29 are missing)], 35-38 ["Άξιόν έστιν in 1st Plagal 5-phonos Mode (facs. 8-10)].

was chanting. I began to roughly write what he was chanting, in which, to some degree, was evident the imagination and the performing manner of the vocal approach of an entire series of compositions, which he had always recalled from memory, without fail. While he was performing, he usually said to me: 'This is how Costakis, the protopsaltes/or Stephan/or Onoufrios, etc., used to perform this composition'…<sup>8</sup>

So, today one has the unique opportunity to possess and evaluate the mentioned original musical manuscripts of K. A. Psachos. By way of these musical scores (even through those which K. A. Psachos himself avoided or did not consider it necessary to correct, with his usual later interventions, written in pencil), one actually has the ability to 'listen' to some famous Byzantine Music chanters; for example, Konstantinos from Istanbul [Byzantios] the protopsaltes, John from Nichori [Yeniköy] the protopsaltes, Stefan Koutras, Peter from Prinkipos [Büyükada], Onoufrios from Istanbul [Byzantios], etc.; their live performative style is 'delivered' to the contemporary audience by 'the voice' of Dimitrios Papadopoulos (i.e. K. A. Psachos's uncle), as that 'voice' is written down in the form of the musical dictations in these notebooks.

At this point, a characteristic example, documented in the mentioned notebook (pp. 8-10 & 41-44), should be paradigmatically pointed out; it is a specific composition of Dimitrios Papadopoulos [the Doxastikon Εξέδυσάν με τὰ ἰμάτιά μου (facs. 11-12; at the ex. 2 one can see the same composition transcribed under a notational revision)] sung during the Matins of the Holy Friday service; its beginning is marked with the aforementioned seal of K. A. Psachos; it is a seal that includes the date 1879, which is the only chronological indication found in this notebook. However, this date must not be closely related to the above-mentioned information, i.e. the one found on the back of the cover page of the same notebook, according to which K. A. Psachos documented what is written there 'at the age

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Greek text of the note is as follows: Είς τὸν πατρικόν μου οἶκον ὑπῆρχεν εἶς μέγας μουσικὸς θησαυρός. Εἶς μέγας θεῖός μου, ἀδελφὸς δηλ. τῆς πρὸς μητρὸς μάμμης μου Δημήτριος Παπαδόπουλος [...] Παῖς ὡν ἡλκύσθην ὑπὸ τῆς γλυκύτητος τῆς φωνῆς του καὶ έθαύμαζον αὐτὸν χωρὶς ἐπίγνωσιν τοῦ διατί. Άλλ' ὅταν ἐν τῆ Ἱερατικῆ Σχολῆ ἤκουσα μαθήματα τῆς μουσικῆς, ἔφθασα είς σημεῖον κάπως νὰ ἐννοήσω τί ἦτο ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὁποῖο μὲ ἔτερπε. Τότε ἤνοιξα τοὺς όφθαλμούς μου καὶ νυχθημερὸν ἀκούων τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μελισταγῶς ψαλλόμενα, ἐμυήθην είς τὸ ὕφος, δι' οὖ τὰ έξετέλη. Ἦρχισα δὲ κουτσά-στραβά, νὰ γράφω τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκτελούμενα, είς τὰ ὁποῖα διαφαίνεται ἔν τινι μέτρῳ ἡ φαντασία καὶ ὁ τρόπος ἐκτελέσεως ὅλης τῆς σειρᾶς τῶν μελῶν, τὰ ὁποῖα ἀνεξαιρέτως πάντα ἐγνώριζεν ἀπὸ μνήμης ἀλανθάστως. Καὶ ἐκτελῶν αὐτὰ ἕλεγέ μοι: "Αὐτὸ ἔτσι τὸ ἔλεγεν ὁ Κωστάκης ὁ Πρωτοψάλτης ἡ ὁ Στέφανος, ὁ 'Ονούφριος'' κλπ ...

of 18'; born in 1869, K. A. Psachos was 10 years old in 1879 (Chaldæaki, 2018b: 39-40, note 72).

Finally, there must be a special mention of the fact that the musical material of the present notebook concludes (pp. 47-49) with a musical score of a Sarki composed by the  $H\hat{a}nende$   $Niko\check{g}os$  in Makam  $H\ddot{u}zz\hat{a}m$  and  $Us\hat{u}l$   $D\ddot{u}yek$  [ $\Sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\dot{\eta}$   $\tauo\~v$   $\chi\alpha\nu\epsilon\nu\tau\dot{\epsilon}$   $Niko\gamma\acuteo\varsigma$ ,  $M\alpha\kappa\dot{\alpha}\mu$   $Xov\~\zeta\acute{\alpha}\mu$ ,  $o\acute{v}\sigmao\grave{v}\lambda$   $\Delta ov\gamma\iota\dot{\epsilon}\kappa$ ] [facs. 13-14]; this is another musical dictation – made by K. A. Psachos – of a well-known sample of Ottoman Music.

# Teaching and artistic activities

It is impossible not to focus one's attention on a small collection which has also been identified in K. A. Psachos's archive; this collection consists of School chants taught in several schools of Constantinople (specifically, in the Girls' School of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Phanar, Istanbul, the Schools located in Mouchlion and Vlanga [Yenikapi] areas of Istanbul etc.)<sup>10</sup>.

The specific samples are written down in the Byzantine Music Notation by K. A. Psachos himself (while it should also be noted that many of them are accompanied by the inscription: From K. A. Psachos's collection [Έκ τῆς συλλογῆς Κ. Ά. Ψάχου]); they have been edited to be performed by two voices. This effort reveals another —perhaps less well-known and prominent— aspect of K. A. Psachos's artistic activities: one, which embraces and heals both Eastern and Western Music, while observing the ideological trends and the musical behaviors of the given time frame, without barriers, prejudice, and discrimination.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The above-mentioned composition is the *Hüzzâm Şarkı Niçün nâlendesin böyle* composed by *Nikoğos Ağa* in *Usûl Düyek*; for the said composer see at the following site: <a href="https://www.notaarsivleri.com/NotaMuzik/nicin nalendesin boyle gonul derdin nedir soyle.pdf">https://www.notaarsivleri.com/NotaMuzik/nicin nalendesin boyle gonul derdin nedir soyle.pdf</a> [accessed 31 July 2021]; also, musical scores of the composition under discussion see at the following sites: <a href="https://www.neyzen.com/nota\_arsivi/02\_klasik\_eserler/046\_huzzam/nicin\_nalendesin.pdf">https://www.neyzen.com/nota\_arsivi/02\_klasik\_eserler/046\_huzzam/nicin\_nalendesin.pdf</a> [accessed 31 July 2021] &

https://www.notaarsivleri.com/NotaMuzik/nicin nalendesin boyle gonul derdin nedir soyle.pdf [accessed 31 July 2021]; the present author would like to thank Gerasimos Papadopoulos for providing useful information, as well as for transcribing the aforementioned musical score into the Staff Notation [ex. 3]

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  The initial inscription of the above collection, written in Greek, is formed as follows: ἄσματα σχολικὰ έξ ὅσων έδίδασκον είς σχολὰς τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (είς ἀγιοταφιτικὸν Παρθεναγωγεῖον, Σχολὴν Μουχλίου, Βλάγκας κλπ) Κ.α. Ψάχος.

Memorable is also a special folder of carefully selected pieces of newspapers and magazines edited in Istanbul which K. A. Psachos methodically kept, and which is found today in his personal archive; there, among other testimonies, one can find several printed Programs of the written and the oral school examinations [Προγράμματα τῶν ένιαυσίων γραπτῶν καὶ προφορικῶν έξετάσεων]; obviously, they are Programs of the examinations that took place in the aforementioned schools, where K. A. Psachos worked as a teacher, especially in the 'Girls' School of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Phanar, Istanbul'<sup>11</sup>. In those Programs, K. A. Psachos is indicated as a teacher of a variety of school subjects, such as: Theology, History, Geography, Anthropology, History of the Eastern Nations & Greek.<sup>12</sup>

Moreover, in a chronographic note published in the newspaper *Constantinople* [ $K\omega\nu\sigma\tau\alpha\nu\tau\iota\nuo\acute{\nu}\pio\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ] on June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1897, there is a reference to some examinations that took place (during that year) in the above-mentioned Girls' School of the Metochion of the Holy Sepulchre in Istanbul; in the mentioned note one can read that 'the superior class was distinguished in the Greek language (Plato's Kriton), examined by the professor of Phanar Greek Orthodox College/Great School of the Nation [ $\ddot{O}zel\ Fener\ Rum\ Lisesi$ ], Evangelos Alexopoulos, who, in public, declared worthy of congratulation the one who taught Greek Literature in this class, i.e. the well-educated Konstantinos Psachos'<sup>13</sup>. This is a fragment, kept in K. A. Psachos's archive, which he additionally has copied - writing it by his hand - on the back of the relevant piece of paper.

# Athens (Evangelia Chaldæaki)

K. A. Psachos's biography in Athens is widely known within the academic community. The existing bibliography goes on about matters relevant to his life and work, examined in studies of respective papers, both in general (Anastasiou, 2008; Chaldæaki, 2018b; Chaldæakes, 2014a; Dragoumis, 1974; 1990; Hatzitheodorou 1978; Kritikou, 2013; Loupas, 2014; Mamoni, 2000), and with more specific focus (Balageorgos, 2013; Chaldæaki, 2018a; Chaldæakes, 2014a; 2014b; Polimerou-Kamilaki, 2013; Siamakis,

 $<sup>^{11}</sup>$  In Greek: Έν Φαναρί $\omega$  Άγιοταφιτικοῦ Παρθεναγ $\omega$ γείου.

<sup>12</sup> In Greek: Θρησκευτικά, Ιστορία, Γεωγραφία, Άνθρωπολογία, Ιστορία Άνατ. Έθνῶν, Έλληνικά.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The Greek text is as follows: Ἰδία δὲ ἡ ἀνωτάτη τάξις διεκρίθη ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς (Κρίτων Πλάτωνος) ἐξετασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ καθηγητοῦ τῆς Μ. τοῦ Γ. Σχολῆς κ. Εὐαγγέλου ἄλεξοπούλου, ὄστις καὶ ἐκήρυξε δημοσία ἄξιον συγχαρητηρίων τὸν διδάξαντα τοὺς Ἑλληνας συγγραφεῖς ἐν τῆ τάξει ταύτῃ εὑπαίδευτον Κωνσταντῖνον Ψάχον.

2013; Stathis, 2001; 2013). However, further inquiry to his recently digitized personal archive at his resindence, brought to life facts that enlighten additional historico-musicological aspects of his life.

Specifically, a very important and massive part of his archive is his correspondence. The digitization of this file offered 1,665 digital files, which account for 851 epistles. Of course, these do not represent K. A. Psachos's correspondence in its entirety. There must have been more epistles which might have been destroyed or lost over the course of time. He had also listed some letters in other folders of his archive, where they are more relevant in context, such as files entitled *Asian music*, <sup>14</sup> *Folk music*, etc. The particular epistles include musical records or analyzed subjects, pertaining to the folder where they were categorized. The documents in the folder entitled Correspondence come mostly from places all around Greece, but also Istanbul and Turkey in general, Egypt, where he had family (his brother and some cousins), Europe and the USA. They can be long, numbering in many pages, or short. Also, there are quite a few correspondence texts written on the senders' business cards, and also some telegrams. Epistles of K. A. Psachos to others were also found, which are actually copies of the exact letters he sent, which he wanted to keep in his archive. Many of the documents have some memos of K. A. Psachos written on them, concerning mostly information about when he wrote back to the senders, sometimes giving evidence about their personalities, or referring to when he received the mail, e.g., "I answered on September 28, 1920, They were sent on September 3, This was received on the  $18^{th}$  of the same year."15

The letters were addressed to K. A. Psachos from friends, colleagues, students and admirers, or from various agencies, such as publishing houses, ministries, associations, etc. The relationship of K. A. Psachos with the senders is indicated by the way they refer to him, e.g. 'Dear sir', 'Sir Musicologist', 'Respected teacher', 'Respected Mr. Psachos', 'My dear friend', 'Brother Konstantinos,' etc.<sup>16</sup> The correlation can also be deduced by looking into their context, which can be cordial or typical, or by checking the significant number

<sup>14</sup> K. A. Psachos's correlation with Ottoman Turkish (Asian, as he called it) Music is something that will concern the writer in the near future, as much new evidence was brought to light from the inquiry in his archive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> The Greek texts of these notes are as follows: Απήντησα τῆ 28 7βρίου 1920, Ἐστάλησαν τῆ 3 7βρίου Ψς, Έλήφθη τῆ 18 ίδίου. Κ. α. Ψς.

 $<sup>^{16}</sup>$  The prototype texts are, respectively, as follows: Άξιότιμε κύριε, Μουσικολογιώτατε, Σεβαστὲ διδάσκαλε κ. Ψάχε, Σεβαστέ μοι κ. Ψάχε, Άγαπητέ μοι φίλε, Άδελφὲ Κωνσταντῖνε.

of epistles sent by one person. In general, they cover all the aspects of K. A. Psachos's life in Athens. The correspondents write to him when they are informed of a new achievement or get news about his activities, when they want to get a copy of his work, or engage in frequent communication with him about a specific matter. Hence, we have a window into the most significant aspects of K. A. Psachos's life in Athens, as presented by the testimonies of his correspondence.

# Editorial activity

K. A. Psachos's editorial activity took place mostly in Athens, where he published much of his work, relevant to Byzantine, Greek folk and Asian music. He also wrote editorials for many newspapers and journals about musicological subjects as well as topics related to Folklore Studies, History, Theology, Ethics, and others. These publications concerned archival or field research, his innovative ideas and compositions, and contemporary issues such as opinions published about matters pertinent to his research, historical and cultural events, etc. In the correspondence found in his archive, several sources of information concerning his publications were found. Most of them were letters from people sending him money in order to receive some of his books, or seeking information about them. E.g.:

I am honored to inform you that I have sent you a postal check of 50 drachmas for the value of one book (Liturgical Hymns), not knowing the exact price of it and qualifying that you will receive the rest of the fee<sup>17</sup>.

There were also some epistles of persons writing him that they read several of his newspaper and journal publications and commenting on them, or congratulating him about his newspaper *New Formigx* ( $N\acute{e}\alpha \Phi\acute{o}\rho\mu\nu\gamma\xi$ ). E.g.:

[...] I received the 10<sup>th</sup> issue (of December) of New Forminx [...] With much pleasure, I read the latest issues and I applaud your endeavors for the country, with which I agree. But as I have written to you before, you must continue to pursue your efforts with patience, until they finally yield results<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> The Greek text is as follows: Λαμβάνω τὴν τιμὴν νὰ γνωρίσω ὑμῖν ὅτι διὰ ἐσωτερικῆς ταχυδρομικῆς ἐπιταγῆς ἔμβασα ὑμᾶς πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς δι΄ ἀξίαν ἐνός βιβλίου (λειτουργικοὶ ὕμνοι), μὴ γνωρίζων ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἀξίαν μὲ τὴν ἐπιφύλαξιν τῆς ἀποστολῆς ἐμβάζων τὸ ἀντίτιμον τοῦ ὑπολοίπου [in a letter, dated 5/8/1927, from D. Zormis].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> The prototype excerpt in Greek is as follows: [...] ἔλαβον καὶ τὸ ὑπ΄ ἀριθ. 10 (τοῦ Δβρίου) φύλλον τῆς Ν. Φόρμιγγος [...]. Ἀνέγνωσα λίαν εύχαρίστως τὰ μέχρι τοῦδε φύλλα καὶ έπαινῶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίων ἀγῶνάς σου, ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁμοφρονοῦμεν, ὡς γνωστόν. Ὠς ὅμως καὶ ἄλλοτε σοὶ ἔγραψα, χρειάζεται νὰ τοὺς συνεχίσεις

Interestingly, a series of relevant letters sheds light on the existence of a work by K. A. Psachos that seems not to have been published and is still unknown to us, by the title *The Liturgy (Ἡ Λειτουργία).* Of course, K. A. Psachos released a book with the same title in 1909 (Psachos, 1909), for which he had won a monetary prize from the Athens Conservatoire (Chaldæaki, 2018b: 114, note 287). The above-referenced work was a different one, intended to be used at the Metropolitan Church of Athens, in order for this church to further represent original Byzantine chanting, while preserving the respective performative style of the Patriarchate of Istanbul [facs. 15]. The Church Committee assigned this work to K. A. Psachos in 1931, seeking to gradually decrease the use of the tetraphonic psalmody (Greek Orthodox Church singing) in that particular church, and to reduce the two liturgies to one. The newspaper Kathimerini (H  $K\alpha\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\rho\nu\eta\dot{\eta}$ ) actually issued an article declaring this (Ἡ Βυζαντινή Μουσική καθιεροῦται είς τὸν Μητροπολιτικὸν Ναόν Byzantine Music is being established in the Metropolitan Church, 1932). K. A. Psachos received the payment of 10,000 drachmas for this work, and after it was not published, he requested his manuscript back, particularly in the year 1939, claiming intellectual property. Yet, we don't know if his request was ever honored. Sometime later, specifically in 1940, K. A. Psachos received a letter from his friend and classmate Nikolaos Vasiliadis<sup>19</sup>. The actual letter was not found in the archive, but only supporting evidence to it, such as the following memo of K. A. Psachos, written on the relevant envelope [facs. 16]:

The epistle to my childhood friend and classmate doctor Nik. Vasiliadis was written in the cause of a defamation against me to him, caused by Chrysanthos Filippides, who is now, unfortunately, the Archbishop of Athens. The latter was probably outargued and dumbfounded, since later on he was not able to justify himself<sup>20</sup>.

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μεθ΄ ὑπομονῆς μέχρι τοῦ ἀποτελέσματος, τὸ ὁποῖον ἀσφαλῶς θὰ ἐπιτευχθῆ ὅταν ἐπιστῆ ὁ καιρός [in a letter, dated 28/1/1922, from Christos Vlachos].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Nikolaos Vasiliadis was one of the frequent pen friends of K. A. Psachos; In Psachos's archive, 35 letters of Vasiliadis were found, dated between years 1885-1886, 1889-1892, 1898, 1906, 1909, 1912, 1920-1921, 1923, 1926, 1928-1931 and addressed from Athens, Mega Revma [*Arnavutköy*], Istanbul, Smyrna and Aydin.

<sup>20</sup> The Greek text of the above-mentioned memo is as follows: Ή πρὸς τὸν παιδικὸν φίλον καὶ συμμαθητήν μου Νικ. Βασιλειάδην ἱατρὸν ἐπιστολή μου ἐγράφη ἑξ ἀφορμῆς συκοφαντίας κατ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑπὸ τοῦ Χρυσάνθου Φιλιππίδου, δυστυχῶς νῦν 治ρχιεπισκόπου 治θηνῶν, ὄστις ἀποστομωθείς καὶ ἀποσβολωθείς οὐδὲ νὰ δικαιολογηθῆ ήδυνήθη. Ψς.

Nikolaos Vasiliadis claimed he was informed that K. A. Psachos received a payment for writing a work entitled *The Liturgy (Ἡ Λειτουργία)* and organizing a choir for the Metropolitan Church of Athens, but he completed neither of the jobs; Psachos wrote back to Vasiliadis, in 20/1/1940, clarifying that he was not asked to organize the church's choir; he was only asked to write a work that he in fact had already delivered successfully. He also requested written confirmation from the members of that Church's Committee which he included in this letter (present in the archive).

# Teaching activities: Athens Conservatoire and National Music Conservatoire

In the aforementioned epistle that K. A. Psachos wrote to Nikolaos Vasiliadis, along with the fact that he informed him about the actual incidents and refuted the false accusations, K. A. Psachos also gives information about his life in Athens. He describes how he relocated there, sent from Istanbul with the intervention of the Patriarchate, in order to establish the first Athenian School of Byzantine and Ecclesiastical Music at the Athens Conservatoire. Also, he wrote that upon his arrival he was determined to pursue the career of a teacher, setting aside his profession of a chanter (Greek Christian Orthodox Church cantor).

[...] as you already know, I didn't want to proceed with the profession of a chanter, for sufficient reasons, as I explicitly declared to the Patriarch Joaquim the 3<sup>rd</sup>, who relocated me to Athens. Furthermore, the official Proceedings of the Holy Synods of the Church of Greece and of the Ecumenical Patriarchate confirm that I was sent, upon the request of the Church of Greece, to the headquarters of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music that was established in 1904 at the Athens Conservatoire, to teach according to the tradition and the 'yphos' (performative style) of the Great Church of Istanbul<sup>21</sup>.

For some reason, he also adds that he would be willing to resume his position at the Athens Conservatoire or to compose a relevant work, if he were invited to do so by the Church or the State.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The prototype excerpt from K. A. Psachos's epistle to Nikolaos Vasiliadis, dated 20/1/1940, is as follows: [...] ὅπως καὶ σὺ ἀσφαλῶς θὰ γνωρίζης, δὲν ἡθέλησα νὰ έξακολουθήσω ἐν Ἀθήναις τὸ ψαλτικὸν ἐπάγγελμα διὰ λόγους ἀποχρῶντας, ὅπως καὶ ρητῶς εἶχα δηλώσει είς τὸν ἀποστείλαντά με είς Ἀθήνας ἀοίδιμον Πατριάρχην Ἰωακεὶμ τὸν Γ! Ἄλλως καὶ τὰ ἐπίσημα Πρακτικὰ τῶν Ἱερῶν Συνόδων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ελλάδος καὶ τοῦ Οίκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ἀναγράφουν, ὅτι κατόπιν αἰτήσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀποστέλλομαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Οίκουμενικοῦ Πατριαρχείου ὡς Καθηγητὴς διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ Ὠδείῳ Ἀθηνῶν τὸ 1904 ἱδρυθεῖσαν ἔδραν τῆς Βυζαντινῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς μουσικῆς, διὰ νὰ διδάξω αὐτὴν συμφώνως πρὸς τὴν παράδοσιν καὶ τὸ ὕφος τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

I am amenable to undertake the same position at any moment, either by officially being invited to the School of the Athens Conservatoire, which is recognized by the State and which I created, or by being assigned any auxiliary writing or teaching. This way I could be helpful again, if the State and the Church thought it would be appropriate to use me.<sup>22</sup>

K. A. Psachos taught at the School of Byzantine and Ecclesiastical Music in the Athens Conservatoire during the years 1904-1919. The curriculum included the instruction of ecclesiastical music as well as history of music, elements of Christian Orthodox Worship, as well as European Music, Greek Folk Music, and Asian Music. He frequently organized concerts and other events with the participation of the students and intended for the annual exams to be conducted publicly. In 1919 he was discharged from his position there, due to arguments that he had with the management of the foundation, regarding general modifications that K. A. Psachos wanted to impose on the School<sup>23</sup>.

Shortly after, in the same year, he established his own Conservatoire, which he called the *National Music Conservatoire*, where he taught Byzantine, Greek Folk and Asian Music. The National Music Conservatoire operated until 1922, until various incidents in his life –particularly, an accident that left him bedridden, the beginning of the manufacturing of the Panharmonium instrument in Germany<sup>24</sup>, and the death of his wife Evanthia– forced him to close its doors. At first, this Conservatoire aimed to be in a shared tenancy with the *Greek Conservatoire* of Manolis Kalomiris, also a member of the Athens Conservatoire staff, where he taught European Music and resigned around the same time that K. A. Psachos did, for similar reasons. This achievement was not completed, as a result of dissonance between the two personalities. These facts are known to us from a letter of Manolis Kalomiris to K. A. Psachos, found in the archive of the musicologist and collector Josef Papadopoulos-Grekas (Dragoumis, 1974: 65). A similar epistle from Manolis Kalomiris was later found in K. A. Psachos's archive, dated 20/9/1919; Kalomiris writes

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The Greek text is as follows: Πρᾶγμα τὸ ὁποῖον καὶ πάλιν εἶμαι πρόθυμος είς πᾶσαν στιγμὴν νὰ πράξω, εἴτε έπισήμως προσκαλούμενος είς τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κράτους άναγνωρισθεῖσαν Σχολὴν τοῦ Ὠδείου Άθηνῶν, τῆς ὁποίας έγὼ εἶμαι ὁ δημιουργός, εἴτε άνατιθεμένης μοι οἰασδήποτε βοηθητικῆς συγγραφῆς, πολὺ δὲ περισσότερον διὰ διδασκαλίας άναλόγου νὰ φανῶ καὶ πάλιν χρήσιμος, έὰν ἡ Πολιτεία καὶ ἡ Ἐκκλησία θὰ ένόμιζον πρόσφορον νὰ μὲ χρησιμοποιήσουν [excerpt from the aforementioned epistle from K. A. Psachos to Nikolaos Vasiliadis].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> See an analytical description in Chaldæaki, 2018b: 55-63.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Panharmonium was an instrument that Psachos designed, along with the mathematician Stavros Vrachamis. This instrument can replicate the micro-intervals of the Greek musical tradition. Further details about that are mentioned in the third part of the present article (the one dealing with K. A. Psachos's activity in Germany).

there that the Greek Conservatoire's Administrative Council agreed to concede two rooms to Psachos for teaching purposes and one more for office utility, under the conditions that he would not instruct lessons that were also provided by the Greek Conservatoire nor teach Greek dances, and that he would not name his school the 'National Music Conservatoire'.

# Judicial conflict for the scores of Greek folk songs from Peloponnese and Crete

Retiring from the Athens Conservatoire in 1919, K. A. Psachos left a matter unresolved, which was later determined in court. This concerned the musical dictations of Greek folk songs and dances, which were collected in two expeditions for fieldwork research. organized by the Athens Conservatoire in Peloponnese in 1910, specifically in the village Mourla [ $Mou\rho\lambda\dot{\alpha}$ ] (that is today called Rododafni [ $Po\deltao\delta\dot{\alpha}\varphi\nu\eta$ ]) in the Achaea district which was the home of Psachos's dear friend Spyros Peristeris— and in Crete in 1911, in the village Lakki [ $\Lambda \acute{\alpha} \kappa \kappa o \iota$ ] in the Chania district.<sup>25</sup> In particular, three months after his dismissal from the Athens Conservatoire, K. A. Psachos reclaimed the musical scores of these folk songs, alleging that he had intellectual rights to them. This started a judicial conflict which lasted from 1919 to 1921, ending in favor of Psachos. His intellectual rights to the musical dictations were eventually recognized, and their retrieval was granted, with a compensation, although, new trials for this matter, along with the subject of K. A. Psachos's illegal dismissal from the Athens Conservatoire, started in 1922<sup>26</sup>. These proceedings ended in 1925 with the intervention of the Friends of Greek Music Association, and it was then decided that the musical scores would be published (Athens Conservatoire Collection, 1930). Actually, K. A. Psachos seems to have had frequent contact with Konstantinos Kalamaras at that time, who was a member and representative of this Association and helped him with this matter<sup>27</sup>. Additionally, relevant evidence is present in the folder *Athens Conservatoire* of the K. A. Psachos's archive.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> For the selection of the specific locations and for a detailed description of these expeditions and the controversy that followed between K. A. Psachos and the Athens Conservatoire, see Chaldæaki 2018b: 75-88; note that Psachos already had and afterwards continued to gain much experience documenting Greek folk songs in Byzantine and Staff Notation (records which he published in journals, such as *Formigx*), as also on relevant fieldwork (Psachos, 1910; 1923); new evidence regarding his musical dictations of Greek folk music see in Chaldæakes; Loupas; Chaldæaki, 2021.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See an analytical documentation in Chaldæaki, 2018b: 82-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Konstantinos Kalamaras's name is mentioned in one of the Athens Conservatoire's Board Meeting Proceedings (see Chaldæaki, 2018b: 120); 78 letters of Kalamaras are found in K. A. Psachos's archive, dated between the years 1921-1926 and 1929-1932 (although in some of them the year is not specified),

In addition, relevant to these matters are some epistles of K. A. Psachos's pen friend Christos Vlachos;<sup>28</sup> here follow some examples:

I received today your epistle from the 22<sup>nd</sup> of December, along with three short documents about the curriculum of your Conservatoire. I assure you that this information brought me much happiness for the achievement of your work, especially after your various struggles on it. Of course, difficulties will also exist in the future, but you have built a strong foundation. The beginning is half of everything, as you know, and I had better encourage you<sup>29</sup>.

I was delighted to know about the judicial decision for the matter between you and the Athens Conservatoire; everything that you will gain and profit will be in favor of our National music, for which you indefatigably labor<sup>30</sup>.

# Invigilator of music in the Churches of the Holy Church of Greece

K. A. Psachos sought to be appointed as an invigilator at the Athenian churches as a means of enforcing the proper 'yphos' (performative style) of Byzantine Music and Psalmody according to the practice of the Patriarchate of Istanbul. This was a profession assigned to him in 1932 by the Minister of Education and Religion, Georgios Papandreou. The establishment of this post might have been something that K. A. Psachos himself suggested, as evidenced below. In this role, K. A. Psachos was responsible for checking the skills of various church chanters and keeping a register with general and economic data about them. He then submitted relevant essays to the Ministry of Education and

and addressed from Athens and Patra; note that two of Kalamaras's letters refer to a dispute between Psachos and Melpo Logotheti-Merlier (that is briefly mentioned *idid*.: 34, note 55); this concerned a collection of Greek Folk Songs that Merlier wanted to create, with which she had asked Psachos to assist bor

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Christos Vlachos, who was a musician from Peloponnese and an enthusiast of the Greek musical tradition, as we can see from his regular publications in the newspaper Formigx [Φόρμιγξ], wrote frequently to K. A. Psachos about various matters; 17 of his letters are included in the archive, dated between the years 1918-1920, 1922, 1928-1929, 1935, 1938, 1942 and addressed from Zatouna, Zourtsa, Trikala, Karitæna and Rododafni of Peloponnese, Megara and Kythnos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> The Greek text is as follows: Έλαβον σήμερον τὴν ἀπὸ 22 Δβρίου π.ἔ. ἐπιστολήν σας μετὰ τριῶν μικρῶν ἐντύπων τοῦ Ὠδείου σας περὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ διδασκαλίας, καὶ σᾶς βεβαιῶ ὅτι αὶ πληροφορίαι σας μοὶ προύξένησαν μεγίστην εὐχαρίστησιν διὰ τὴν κατευόδωσιν τοῦ ἔργου σας, κατόπιν τόσων ἀγώνων σας πρὸς τοῦτο. Βεβαίως οἱ ἀγῶνες δὲν θὰ σταματήσουν καὶ είς τὸ μέλλον, ἀλλ' ὁπωσδήποτε ἐκάμετε ἔνα καλὸν σταθμόν. Ἡ ἀρχὴ εἶνε τὸ ἤμισυ τοῦ παντός, ὡς γνωρίζετε καὶ όφείλω νὰ σᾶς διαβιβάσω λόγους ένθαρρυντικούς [in an epistle, dated 10/1/1920].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Here follows the prototype excerpt in Greek: Eξίσου δὲ εύχαριστήθην καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δικαστικὴν ἀπόφασιν έπὶ τῆς μεταξύ σου καὶ τοῦ Ὠδείου διαφορᾶς· διότι πᾶν ὅτι κερδήσητε καὶ ώφεληθῆτε θὰ εἶνε ὑπὲρ τῆς έθνικῆς ἡμῶν μουσικῆς, ὑπὲρ ῆς ἀόκνως κοπιάζετε [in a letter, dated 9/10/1922].

Religion. We don't know exactly how long K. A. Psachos was occupied in this specific position, since, reputedly, it gradually dissipated.

K. A. Psachos seems to have corresponded regarding this matter with Konstantinos Kalamaras, who helped him to be assigned to this position, as indicated by the following:

I rush to casually inform you that today the Board of the Insurance Treasury of Greece's Cleric, as Mr. Lontos told me, authorized your designation [...] All that remains is for the official order to be published, which the Minister will shortly do. I congratulate you and I wish you full gratification<sup>31</sup>.

I was informed by Mr. Lontos that your designation was signed and it is expected to be published<sup>32</sup>.

Mr. Lontos informed me that in order for your designation to be published, the Decree of your responsibilities should also be issued at the same time. This way, you and the Ministry will know exactly what you will be assigned to do. Although, because no one here is acquainted with your duties, I must ask you to give your plan and share your thoughts without delay, in coordination with Mr. Filippides and the Metropolitan, so that the new Decree can be prepared immediately and both of them will then be published<sup>33</sup>.

Pertinent to this subject are also some writings of Dimitrios Peristeris, another of K. A. Psachos's frequent pen friends;<sup>34</sup> for instance:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> The Greek text is as follows: Σπεύδω νὰ σοῦ ἀναγγείλω προχείρως ὅτι τὸ Συμβούλιον τοῦ Τ.Α.Κ.Ε. σήμερον, ὡς μοῦ εἶπεν ὁ κ. Λόντος, ἐνέκρινε τὸν διορισμόν σου [...] "Ηδη μένει νὰ δημοσιευθῃ τὸ Διάταγμα τὸ ὁποῖον ὁ Ὑπουργὸς θὰ κάμῃ συντόμως. Σὲ συγχαίρω καὶ εὕχομαι πλήρη ἰκανοποίησιν (the letter is dated <math>17/12/[1931]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> The Greek text is as follows: [...] Άπὸ τοῦ κ. Λόντου ἔμαθα ὅτι ὑπεγράφη ὁ διορισμός σου καὶ πρόκειται νὰ δημοσιευθῆ [in a letter, dated 3/1/1931].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> The Greek text is as follows: Ὁ κ. Λόντος μοῦ εἶπε σήμερον ὅτι διὰ νὰ δημοσιευθῇ ὁ διορισμός σου πρέπει νὰ δημοσιευθῇ συγχρόνως καὶ τὸ Διάταγμα τῶν καθηκόντων σου διὰ νὰ γνωρίζεις καὶ σὺ καὶ τὸ Ὑπουργεῖον τί θὰ κάμεις. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κανεὶς δὲν γνωρίζει έδῶ ποῖα πρέπει νὰ εἶνε τὰ καθήκοντά σου, ἔλα τὸ ταχύτερον διὰ νὰ δώσεις ἐν συνεννοήσει μὲ τὸν κ. Φιλιππίδην καὶ τὸν Μητροπολίτην τὸ σχέδιόν σου καὶ εἴπης τὰς σκέψεις σου καὶ γίνῃ ἀμέσως καὶ τὸ νέον Διάταγμα, δημοσιευθοῦν δὲ καὶ τὰ δύο μαζύ (the letter is dated 19/1/[1932]).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> For the record, 14 letters from Dimitrios Peristeris are found in the correspondence folder, dated from the years 1926, 1928-1930, 1933, 1935 and sent from his residence in Mourla; two more epistles of Peristeris, dated 1913 and 1942, were found in folders related to folk music, as these concluded musical records; also, in the same envelope, some letters from extended members of Dimitrios Peristeris's family were tracked down; specifically, 14 from Peristeris's daughter Sofia Peristeri, 1 from his son Spyros Peristeris and 4 from his wife Theoni Stamatopoulou. K. A. Psachos seemed to have a special appreciation for Dimitrios Peristeris's family; according to a letter from Sofia Peristeri dated 21/8/1928 and one from Dimitrios Peristeris with the same date, after the death of his wife Evanthia, Psachos sent Sofia some of her jewelry.

I would like to know what duties you took over after your designation: What happened with your memorandum? Did you get an answer about it? Are you receiving your salary? I am specifically interested in this, to assure that you are not distressed<sup>35</sup>.

# Munich (Socrates Loupas)

K. A. Psachos's presence and activity in Munich (1922-1924, 1926) is connected with the construction of the Panharmonium  $[\Pi \alpha \nu \alpha \rho \mu \delta \nu i \sigma \nu]$ , an aerophone musical instrument with two keyboards, a pedal and pipes, in the form of West European pipe organs; K. A. Psachos designed it to accurately perform the musical scales of Byzantine and Greek folk music (Chaldæaki, 2018b: 48-50; Romanou, 2016; Apostolopoulos, 2016; 2015; Makris, 2013; Paraschos, 2013; Mamoni, 2000: 97). The idea of making a musical instrument which would be useful for studying and teaching Byzantine Music was not new. In 1881 and in 1898, similar attempts were made in Istanbul by committees appointed by the Ecumenical Patriarchs Joachim III (1834-1912) and Constantine V (1833-1914) (Romanou, 2016). Those keyboard instruments proved to be too difficult to use and strenuous, mainly because of their large number of keys and finally they were abandoned (Romanou, 2016). In 1903, Georgios Nazos (1862-1934), the director of the Athens Conservatoire, visited the Patriarchate of Istanbul looking for information, ideas and the right person to direct and teach at the new School of Byzantine and Ecclesiastical Music which was about to open at the Conservatoire (Chaldæaki, 2018b: 55-57; Hadzitheodorou, 1978: κε'[25]-κστ'[26]); G. Nazos met with the members of the Ecclesiastical Music Association of Constantinople and he talked about three things: a) the need for teaching Byzantine Music on a fixed tonal system, b) the need for using a musical instrument for the proper and uniform performance of the intervals, and c) the need for precise and correct reading of Byzantine Notation (Romanou, 1996: 97-104).

When K. A. Psachos arrived in Athens (1904), he dedicated all his powers to organizing the School of Byzantine Music. With his lectures, publications and concerts he vigorously reacted against an already established and growing situation: the Westernization of Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music and Greek folk songs and the introduction of the piano and the tetraphonic music in the Greek Orthodox Churches, especially those in the center of

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> The prototype excerpt in Greek is formed as follows: Επεθύμουν νὰ μάθω μετὰ τὸν διορισμόν σας τίνα καθήκοντα άνελάβετε; Τί γίνεται τὸ ὑπόμνημά σας; Άπήντησαν είς αὐτό; Τὸν μισθόν σας λαμβάνετε; Περὶ οὖ πρωτίστως ένδιαφερόμεθα, ἴνα μὴ ἀναξιοπαθῆτε [dated <math>21/6/1933].

Athens (Hadzitheodorou, 1978:  $\kappa\delta'[24]$ - $\kappa\epsilon'[25]$ ; Romanou, 1996: 31-95). We don't know when exactly he started planning the construction of an instrument, but it must have been in his mind since he came to Athens. It proved to have been an ambitious project which required a collaboration of experts, years of research, a pipe organ building factory and above all funds to finance the construction.

The project of constructing the instrument was officially announced in 1921 when K. A. Psachos together with Stavros Vrahamis (1880-1950), a physicomathematician and musicologist, began their regular meetings<sup>36</sup>. Eva Palmer-Sikelianos (1874-1952), an American choreographer and scholar of ancient Greek culture, wife of the prominent Greek poet Angelos Sikelianos (1884-1951), provided financial and administrative support to the expensive and time-consuming project<sup>37</sup>. In 1922, K. A. Psachos made his first trip to Oettingen, a town in Bavaria, 150 km away from Munich, where the pipe organ building factory G. F. Steinmeyer & Co. (founded in 1847) was based (Hadzitheodorou, 1978:  $\lambda\delta'[34]-\lambda\sigma\tau'[36]$ ; Chaldæaki, 2018b: 49-50), to supervise the construction progress. In 1923 he probably travelled again and in early 1924 he made his third trip and stayed until the construction's completion in June of the same year.

#### The Archive

In his personal archive, which K. A. Psachos kept at his residence carefully arranged in folders according to his many fields of work<sup>38</sup>, we find the folder *Instrument* (or *Organ*) [" $O\rho\gamma\alpha\nu o\nu$ ] and the folder *Panharmonium and Concert in Munich* [ $\Pi\alpha\nu\alpha\rho\mu\delta\nu\iota o\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\Sigma\nu\nu\alpha\nu\lambda\iota\alpha$   $\sigma\tau o$   $M\delta\nu\alpha\chi o$ ]. The digitization of the folders produced 913 digital files containing various types of material: Greek, German, French and Italian newspaper clippings and magazines, letters from the Steinmeyer Company and from people who

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 $<sup>^{36}</sup>$  The news was published serially in K. A. Psachos's musicological newspaper New Formigx (Νέα Φόρμιγξ); see Chaldæaki, 2018b: 49-50. Professor of Philology at the University of Athens Emmanuel Pezopoulos (1880-1947) accompanied K. A. Psachos in his first trip to Oettingen and S. Vrahamis in his second.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Eva Palmer-Sikelianos was a Byzantine Music student of K. A. Psachos. Since their meeting in 1908 they developed a relationship of student and teacher. E. Palmer-Sikelianos helped K. A. Psachos in his research and effort to record Greek folk songs by contacting - through her brother - Thomas Edison and receiving wax cylinders for K. A. Psachos's phonograph. She had arrived in Greece only a year earlier (1907). Passionate about ancient Greek and Byzantine culture, she had already thrown away her western clothes and replaced them with ancient Greek-style clothes which she designed and weaved herself. E. Palmer-Sikelianos also shared K. A. Psachos's vision to defend the integrity of Byzantine chants against Westernization. For her life and work, see Leontis, 2019.

 $<sup>^{38}</sup>$  E.g. Lectures [Διαλέξεις], Asian Music [Άσιατική μουσική], Delphic Festivals [Δελφικές Έορτές], Folk songs [Δημώδη ἄσματα], Ecclesiastical Compositions [Έκκλησιαστικαὶ Συνθέσεις], Correspondence [Άλληλογραφία]. For a full list of K. A. Psachos's personal archive folders, see Loupas, 2013.

contributed to the project, telegrams, photographs, contracts and K. A. Psachos's handwritten notes. This material constitutes the story of a unique instrument in the musical history of modern Greece.

What we could tell in short about the folders' contents is: all the documents are dated between the years 1922-1924; only some documents are dated in 1926, which is the year when K. A. Psachos visited Munich to give a concert of ancient, Byzantine and Greek folk music; there are no documents dated before 1922, e.g. about the meetings between K. A. Psachos, St. Vrahamis, E. Palmer-Sikelianos and others; also, there are no important documents after 1924 that could help us understand better why the Panharmonium remained in Germany and was never brought to Greece, as it will be mentioned below. E. Palmer-Sikelianos did not only fund the construction which cost more than 3,000 dollars<sup>39</sup>; she also mobilized her network of people in Germany and Greece and she planned the transportation of the instruments to Greece<sup>40</sup>. Greek painter Umvertos Argyros (1884-1963) was a friend of K. A. Psachos who studied and lived in Munich and facilitated the communication between the latter and Steinmeyer Company; U. Argyros would translate most of the correspondence between them (K. A. Psachos was not fluent in German). He became their interpreter in the meetings and also hosted K. A. Psachos at his house in Munich.

It seems that the correspondence between the inventor and the Company was challenging. Given the delay of postal communication it must have been difficult for both sides to synchronize their work. The factory was working for the first time on a unique keyboard and pipe instrument and had to ask K. A. Psachos about everything<sup>41</sup>. In 1923 K. A. Psachos was probably planning to add a 5<sup>th</sup> octave to the Panharmonium and/or a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> The amount was paid in installments. In a letter dated on 27<sup>th</sup> of November 1923, the Steinmeyer Company informed K. A. Psachos that the cost up to that point was 2,840 dollars. The Company was kindly asking for the payments to be in dollars at the earliest opportunity because, since the beginning of the construction, the cost of salaries and raw materials had dramatically changed due to the high inflation in Germany at that time. The money usually was transferred from E. Palmer-Sikelianos's City Bank account in New York to the Company's account at Deutsche Bank in Munich.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> In a letter dated on 20<sup>th</sup> of September 1924, E. Palmer-Sikelianos informed K. A. Psachos that "the Harmonium has been finally sent" (she means the small one) and that she already contacted a friend, Takis Papatsonis (probably the Greek poet Takis Papatsonis, 1895-1976), who was then an employee at the Greek customs office and he was willing to help with the paperwork; cf. Chaldæaki, 2019: 131, note 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> A number of letters contain information or questions addressed to K. A. Psachos: e.g. the purchase of 100 kg of tin for the construction of the pipes (letter on 29-6-1923) and questions like whether the wooden parts should be made of spruce or oak (letter on 8-11-1923).

clarinet<sup>42</sup>. In the draft contracts we read that K. A. Psachos was the exclusive orderer and owner of the Panharmonium; he is recognized as the inventor and possessor of the patent but he is obliged to an exclusive cooperation with Steinmeyer Company for future orders for more Organs and Harmoniums; the company cannot make a copy of the Panharmonium without the inventor's approval; Psachos is jointly responsible for the final result and in case of a failure all the expenses must be covered. We find no prediction of what would happen in case of a repair or correction of the musical instruments.

# The inauguration of the Panharmonium

Finally, three instruments were made: one big organ, 3,40m high with 660 pipes, 4 octaves and 165 keys (42 to an octave), which was called the Panharmonium and two smaller Harmoniums, one with 4 octaves and one with 2. The Panharmonium and the 4-octave Harmonium had two keyboards, the first one with the keys of a European piano and a second with the keys for playing Byzantine music. An automatic pianola (self-playing piano with scrolls), which worked with electric power, was also presented. It was made at the Concordia Notenrollen Fabrik Grieshaber & Co. in Leipzig and could be connected to the Panharmonium. The Panharmonium was named Evion Panharmonium in honour of Eva Palmer-Sikelianos and the inauguration took place at the factory in Oettingen on the 29th of June 1924 [figs. 1-4].

K. A. Psachos collected in his archive newspaper clippings and magazines with the news about the invention and the inauguration day. The list is large<sup>43</sup>. The selected day was a Sunday and a large crowd gathered with members of the Greek community in Munich and many Germans attending the event. Eminent guests appeared as well: the historian and philologist Ludwig Bürchner (1858-1927), the professor of Byzantinology at the University of Munich August Heisenberg (1869-1930), the Consul General of the Greek

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 $<sup>^{42}</sup>$  Both requests were rejected by the Company and K. A. Psachos was strongly advised to avoid a possibly unpredictable outcome (letters on 23-11 and 10-12-1923).

 $<sup>^{43}</sup>$  Some of the publications that K. A. Psachos saved in the folder are the following: Filotechnos, 1924; Heisenberg, 1924; "H ἐλληνικὴ μουσική. Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ νέου Όργάνου τῆς ἑλληνικῆς μουσικῆς έν Γερμανίᾳ" (The Greek Music; the inauguration of the new Organum of Greek Music in Germany), 1924 [a translation in Greek of Heisenberg's article]; Bürchner, 1924; Ein Besucher, 1924; "Τὰ ἐγκαίνια μιᾶς έφευρέσεως. Τὸ Παναρμόνιον τοῦ κ. Ψάχου" (The inauguration of an invention; Mr. Psachos's Panharmonium), 1924 [a translation in Greek of the article published in German under the pen name Ein Besucher]; Psachos, 1924a; Hoesslin, 1925.

Consulate in Munich Ernst von Basserman-Jordan (1876-1932), and a classical soprano from India, Khurshedben Naoroji (1894-1966)<sup>44</sup>.

In the collected newspapers and magazines, we also read about the program of the day; K. A. Psachos made a speech in Greek about the history of Byzantine Music. He disclosed that he had been working on the making of the Panharmonium for thirty years and he explained his theory that European musical instruments could not play Byzantine Music. He also thanked E. Palmer-Sikelianos, U. Argyros and physicomathematician Spyridon Malakates (1885-1950) for their help<sup>45</sup>. Then Professor Heisenberg read Psachos's speech in a German translation. The musical program began with the automatic pianola playing Greek folk songs and Byzantine Music. Then, E. Palmer-Sikelianos sat before the Panharmonium and played Byzantine Music. K. Naoroji was invited to play and everyone was surprised to see that she could easily play Indian and Byzantine Music as well. E. Palmer-Sikelianos played again Byzantine Music pieces and Greek folk songs. The crowd was enthusiastic and the program ended in applause. K. A. Psachos was crowned with a laurel wreath and E. Palmer-Sikelianos was offered flowers. The eminent guests along with all the contributors were invited to Steinmeyer's house for lunch. There is a striking detail in all the articles and Press reports on the inauguration: K. A. Psachos is not mentioned to have played the Panharmonium. The group went back to the factory in the afternoon and they played again but there is no mention of who performed.

# The fate of the Panharmonium

The two Harmoniums arrived in Greece a few weeks after the inauguration<sup>46</sup>, but the Panharmonium remained at the Steinmeyer factory. The factory sent a letter to K. A. Psachos on 19<sup>th</sup> of August 1924, informing him that professors from the University of Hamburg were interested to see it. There are no records in Psachos's archive about any activities of bringing the Panharmonium to Greece. We know that Psachos wanted to find a space with the ideal acoustics to place it and that his vision was to introduce the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> E. Palmer-Sikelianos invited Khurshedben Naoroji to Oettingen after they met in Paris and became friends; see Leontis, 2019: 126-136; Naoroji later met with Mahatma Gandhi and joined his movement of nonviolence; for the remarkable life of Naoroji (see Patel, 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> When K. A. Psachos returned to Greece he published his speech; see Psachos, 1924b.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Particularly, the two smaller instruments were sent to Greece in August 1924 (Letter of U. Argyros to K. A. Psachos on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1924). One was transferred to the house of E. Palmer-Sikelianos and the other to K. A. Psachos's house. For further information about these two organs and their current place, see Chaldæaki, 2019: 130-133.

Panharmonium in Byzantine musical education<sup>47</sup>. In 1926 he went to Munich again and gave a concert [facs. 17-19]. We don't know if he visited the Panharmonium (he must have) and if he tried to send it to Greece. After 1924 the Sikelianos couple started focusing on the organizing of the Delphic Festivals (1927, 1930). K. A. Psachos was invited to compose the music for the ancient dramas, but after the Delphic Festivals the relationship between K. A. Psachos and E. Palmer-Sikelianos fell apart. Also, her marriage with Angelos Sikelianos didn't go well, and after she had spent all her money on the Delphic Festivals she returned to the USA in 1933. She came to Greece again in 1952, only a few weeks before she died.

In 1938 K. A. Psachos translated into Greek the contract he signed with the Steinmeyer Company and he had the translation validated by a Greek lawyer. The contract is rather brief; it summarizes what we already know from the draft contracts [facs. 20-22]. It is signed by G. F. Steinmeyer, K. A. Psachos and E. Palmer-Sikelianos, but only K. A. Psachos is mentioned in the terms. K. A. Psachos died in 1949 and the case of the Panharmonium was forgotten. In the later years it was considered lost. In 2012 the present author contacted the Steinmeyer Company and confirmed that the Panharmonium was still there, disassembled and stored. In October 2016 the Department of Music Studies of the School of Philosophy of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens organized a Byzantine Musicological Conference and a Concert dedicated to the Panharmonium<sup>48</sup>.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> In an undated draft note, under the title Conciliation plan with the Athens Conservatoire [Σχέδιον συνεννοήσεως μετὰ τοῦ Ὠδείου Άθηνῶν], found in K. A. Psachos's archive within a mail envelope bearing the inscription: Το Κ. Ι. Kalamaras, former Prefect [πρὸς Κύριον κ. Κ. Ι. Καλαμάραν, πρώην Νομάρχην], some thoughts regarding K. A. Psachos's concern of the Panharmonium are found. Konstantinos Kalamaras drafted a plan (probably in consultation with K. A. Psachos) to resolve the aforementioned conflict between K. A. Psachos and the Athens Conservatoire. The plan was included a term referring to the Panharmonium: ...The Conservatoire is required to house the Evion Panharmonium at its premises, providing its regular custody, as it is custom for its own musical instruments. For that, the Conservatoire will receive the right to use the Panharmonium whenever there is need [...] The Conservatoire takes no other responsibility regarding the Evion while the Association [sc. the Friends of Greek Music Association (represented by the mentioned Konstantinos Kalamaras)] is required to ensure the Panharmonium on the Association's behalf... [Tò Ώδεῖον ὑποχρεοῦται νὰ στεγάση τὸ Εὔειον Παναρμόνιον έν τῷ Καταστήματί του παρέχον τὴν συνήθη έπιμέλειαν φυλάξεως, ως διὰ τὰ ἴδια αύτοῦ ὄργανα. Άντ΄ αύτοῦ θὰ χορηγηθεῖ είς τὸ Ὠδεῖον τὸ δικαίωμα νὰ κάμη χρῆσιν αύτοῦ ὀσάκις παρίσταται άνάγκη [...] Ούδεμίαν ὅμως ἄλλην εύθύνην άναλαμβάνει τὸ Ὠδεῖον, ώς πρὸς τὸ Εὔειον, ὑποχρεουμένου ἀπεναντίας τοῦ 'Ομίλου ν' ἀσφαλίση τοῦτο δι΄ ἴδιον λογαριασμόν]. Nevertheless, it isn't known if this plan was ever officially proposed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See, indicatively, "Βυζαντινομουσικολογική Ημερίδα και Συναυλία αφιερωμένη στο Παναρμόνιο του Κωνσταντίνου Ψάχου" (Byzantine-Musicological Conference and Concert dedicated to Konstantinos Psachos's Panharmonium), 2016.

Professor Achilleas Chaldæakes informed the Conference that the Panharmonium passed to a private collection and announced his attempt to bring it to Greece.

#### Conclusion

During his life and work in Athens K. A. Psachos established a network of collaborators, students and friends. He succeded in strengthening the continuity of Byzantine musical tradition in Greece and left a signifant amount of work in the field of Greek folk music and Asian music studies in Greece. His educational and intellectual background, established in the first years of his life that he spent in Istanbul and documented in his Student Notes, proved to be most suitable for the demanding position that he first occupied in Athens, —the organization and direction of the School of Byzantine Music at the Athens Conservatoire—, as well as for his other occupations and achievements. K. A. Psachos had a vigorous and active character and never hesitated to defend his ideas and combat misjudgment. He also managed to realize an ambitious vision: he designed and constructed an organ to accurately perform Byzantine and Greek folk Music.

Although K. A. Psachos's musicological work is well studied, especially in connection with the field of Byzantine Musicology, his archive remains mostly unknown, unrecorded, and underutilized by the international academic community. The wide range of his interests and professional activities cannot be presented in one paper. By presenting some historico-musicological aspects of this archive, we hope that future researchers will clearly realize its crucial importance and critical significance; we also hope, finally, that the planned publication of K. A. Psachos's oeuvre, a grandiose project of international academic caliber, will be decisively promoted.

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"Η Βυζαντινή Μουσική καθιεροῦται είς τὸν Μητροπολιτικὸν Ναόν" (Byzantine Music is being established in the Metropolitan Church). (1932, February 7) Ή Καθημερινή (Kathimerini), p. 4.

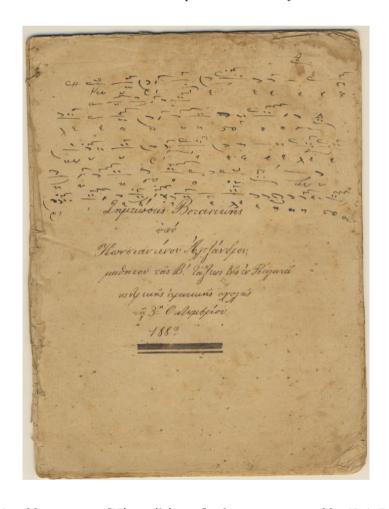
"Η ἐλληνικὴ μουσική. Τὰ έγκαίνια τοῦ νέου Όργάνου τῆς ἑλληνικῆς μουσικῆς έν Γερμανία" (The Greek Music; the inauguration of the new Organum of Greek Music in Germany). (1924, July 7)  $\Sigma$ κρίπ (Skrip), p. 2.

"Τὰ έγκαίνια μιᾶς έφευρέσεως. Τὸ Παναρμόνιον τοῦ κ. Ψάχου" (The inauguration of an invention; Mr. Psachos's Panharmonium). (1924, November 30) Απογευματινή (Apogevmatini), p. 3.

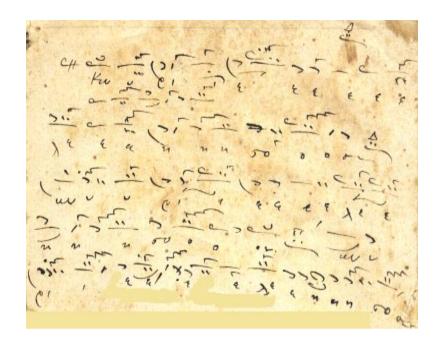
### Facsimiles [facs.]



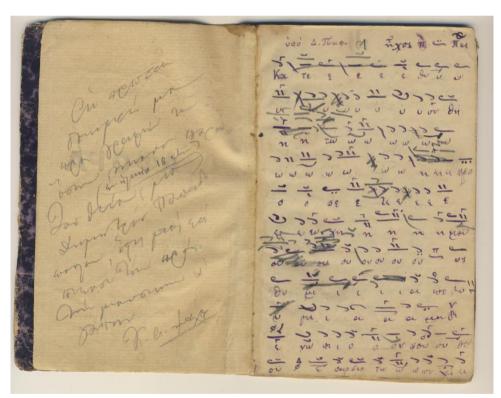
Facs. 1 K. A. Psachos's characteristic special oval seal. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



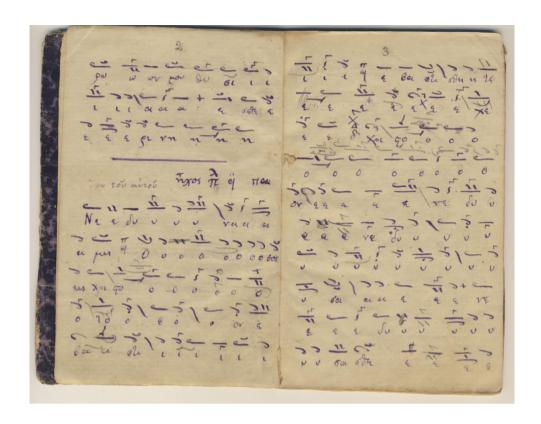
**Facs. 2** A triple *Lord have mercy [Κύριε, έλέησον]*, a hymn composed by K. A. Psachos in the  $2^{nd}$  Mode of Byzantine Music, written on the cover page of one of his student notebooks. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



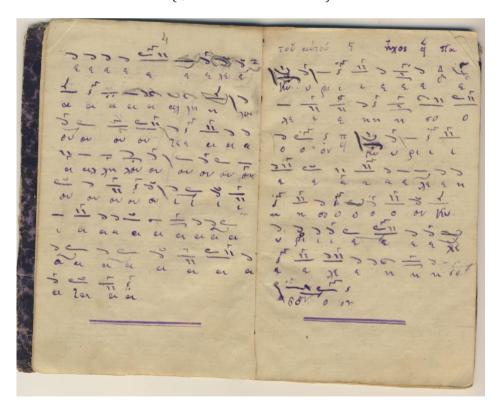
**Facs. 2a** A triple *Lord have mercy [Κύριε, έλέησον]*, a hymn composed by K. A. Psachos in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Mode of Byzantine Music, written on the cover page of one of his student notebooks (detail). (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



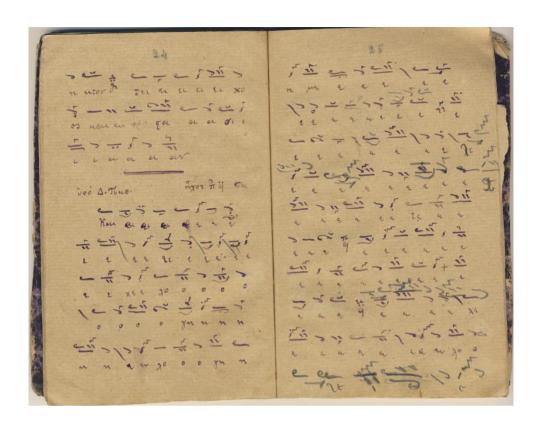
**Facs. 3** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: *Κατευθυνθήτω*. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



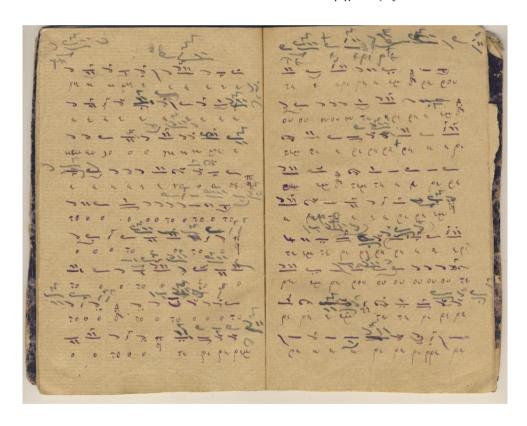
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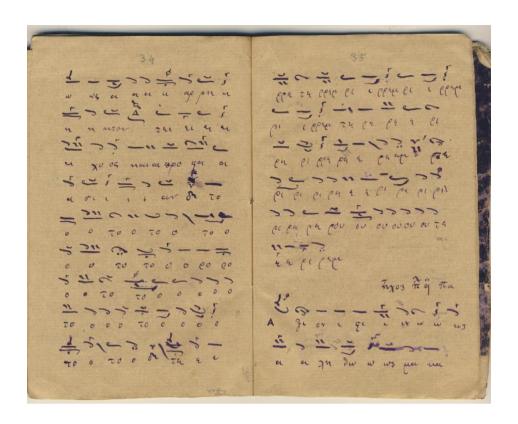
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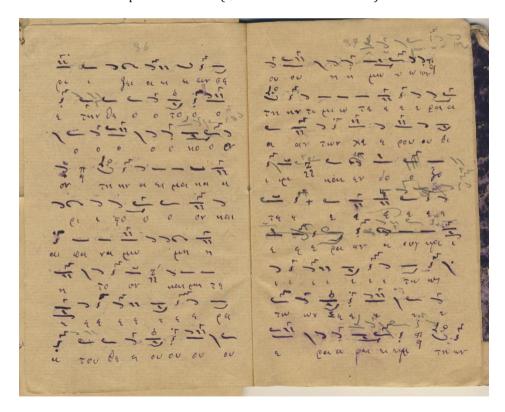
**Facs. 6** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: Καὶ εύλογημένος. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



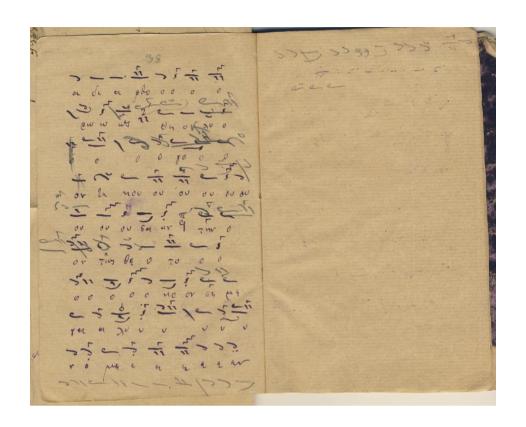
**Facs. 7** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: Καὶ εύλογημένος. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



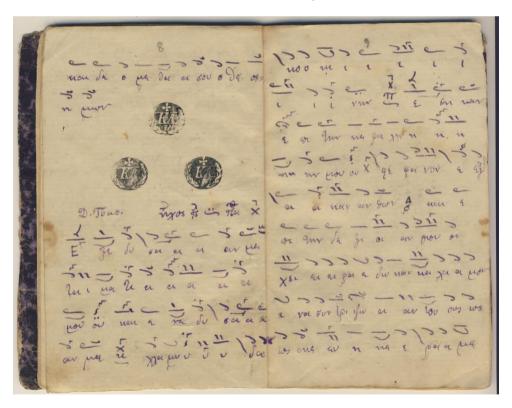
**Facs. 8** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: Καὶ εύλογημένος & Ἅξιόν έστιν in 1st Plagal 5-phonos Mode. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



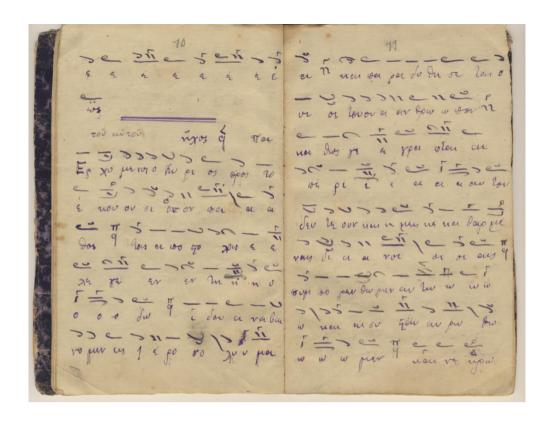
**Facs. 9** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: Ἄξιόν έστιν in 1<sup>st</sup> Plagal 5-phonos Mode. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



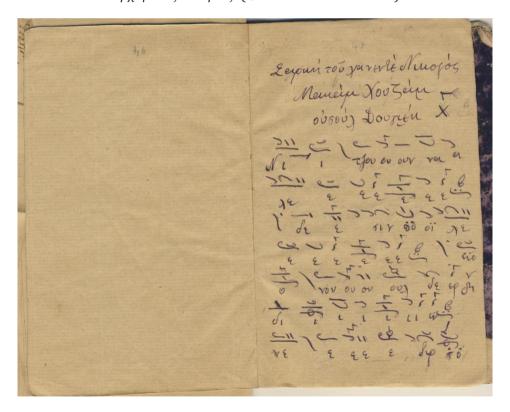
**Facs. 10** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: Ἄξιόν έστιν in 1st Plagal 5-phonos Mode. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



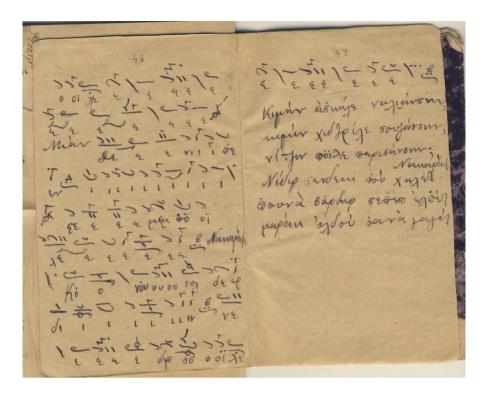
**Facs. 11** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: The Doxastikon Έξέδυσάν με τὰ ἰμάτιά μου. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



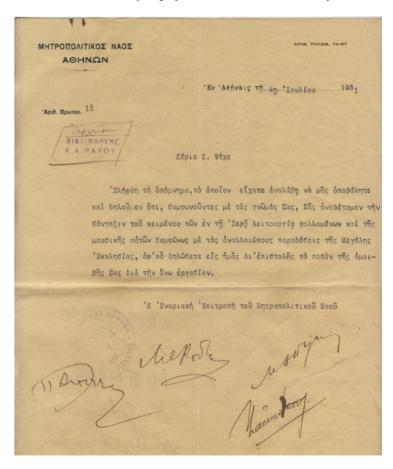
**Facs. 12** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: The Doxastika Έξέδυσάν με τὰ ἰμάτιά μου & Έρχόμενος ὁ Κύριος. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



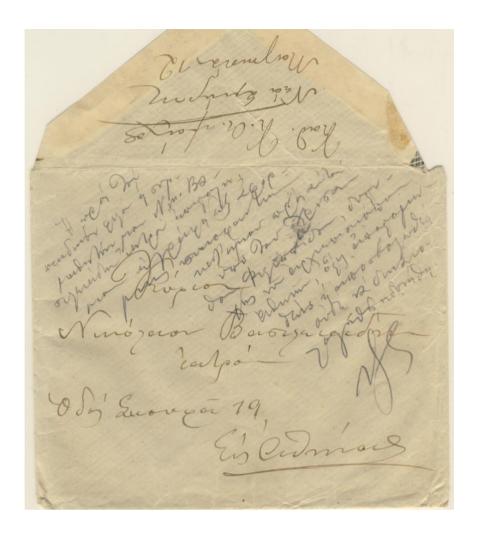
**Facs. 13** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations; a musical score of a *Şarkı* composed by the Hânende Nikoğos in Makam Hüzzâm and Usûl Düyek [Σαρκὴ τοῦ χανεντὲ Νικογός, Μακὰμ Χουζάμ, ούσοὺλ Δουγιέκ]. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



**Facs. 14** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations; a musical score of a *Şarkı* composed by the Hânende Nikoğos in Makam Hüzzâm and Usûl Düyek [Σαρκή τοῦ χανεντὲ Νικογός, Μακὰμ Χουζάμ, ούσοὺλ Δουγιέκ]. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



**Facs. 15** An epistle to K. A. Psachos from the Council of the Metropolitan Church of Athens. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



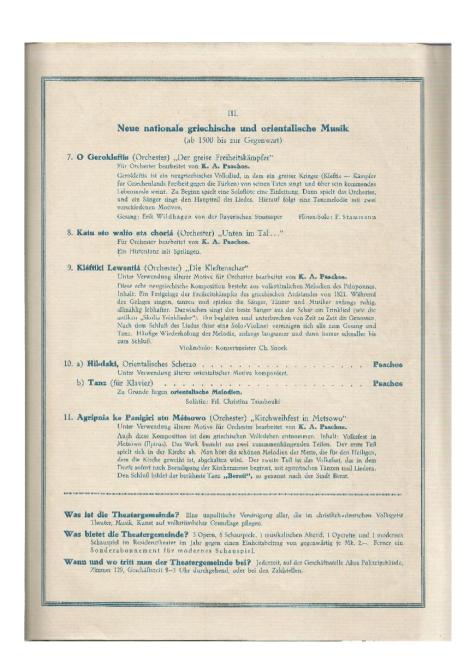
Facs. 16 A memo of K. A. Psachos, written on an envelope. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



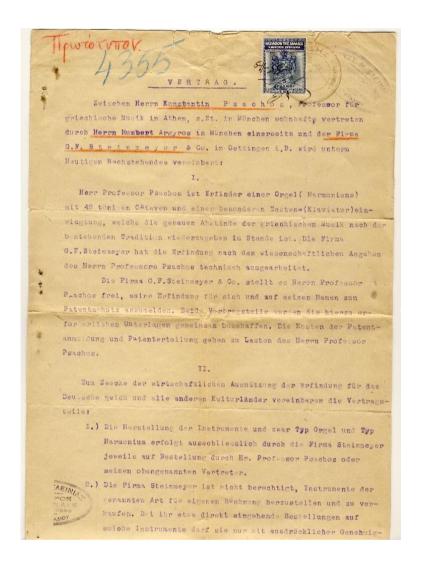
**Facs. 17** The Program of a concert given by K. A. Psachos in Munich in 1926. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)

	PROGRAMM
zusammengeste	ellt und bearbeitet von Konstantin A. Psachos, Professor der griechischen Musik, Ather
	I,
	Alte byzantinische Kirchenmusik
	(800-1800 n. Chr.)
1. Mi apostre	epsis (Orchester) "Und verbirg Dein Angesicht nicht" Komponist unbekannt Vers aus dem 69. Faalm Davids. Alte Melodie eines unbekannten Komponisten. Lied der großen Eastenzeit. Gebet an den Höchsten.
2. Ti ipermae	cho (Orchester) "Der großen Kämpferin…"  Komponist unbekann  Aus dem Akathistos-Hymnus, der in der Madonna-Kirche in Vlacheme bei Konstantinopel gesungen wurde als Dankespän an die Mutter Gottes, durch deren Gnade unter der Regierung
	des Kaisers Heraklius (626 n. Chr.) die Byzantiner vor dem Ansturm der Avaren gereitet wurden.
), Trisságion	Epitafiou (Orchester) Karfreitags-Gesang Die Melodie ist ein Meisterwerk des 15. Jahrhunderts. Der Komponist ist Johann Kladas, Chorsänger in der Ajs Soffa. Das Lied wird gesungen beim Umbertragen des Gekrenzigen
	am Karfreitag.
4. Epi ton po	otamón Babylonos (Orgel) "An den Wassern Babylons"
	Churmusios, Archivar der Orthodoxen Kirche (1800 n. Chr.). Solist: Prof. Dr. Emanuel Gatscher
	II.
	Antike griechische Musik
5 Impos An	ollonos (Orchester) Apollo-Hymnus (ca. 280 Jahre vor Chr.)
o. zamos zrp	Der erste Teil der Apollo-Hymne "Den im Kitharaspiel ruhmreichen Jüngling…", die im Jahre 1894 in <b>Dulphi</b> entdeckt wurde, für Orchester bearbeitet vom K. A. Paachos.
	Gesang: Erik Wildhagen von der Bayerischen Staatsoper Flöte: P. Stammann
6 Charles B	The state of the s
o. Onorina P	romitheoe Desmotu (Orchester) Sechs Strophen der Chorlieder aus dem "Gefesselten Prometheus" des Aschylos. Von
	K. A. Psachos vertont für eine Aufführung der "Gefesselten Prometheus" von Aschylos im Antiken Theater zu Delphi im Mai 1927. In das Neugriechische übersetzt. Die
	Musik dieser Chorlieder wurde komponiert auf Grund des Tonklanges und des Sinnes der Wörter, zum Zweck der vollkommenn Wiedergabt des Lextes, Jedem musikalischen Satz entspricht eine besondere Bewegung der im altgriechtschen Gewande tanzenden Mädchen.
	—— PAUSE ——

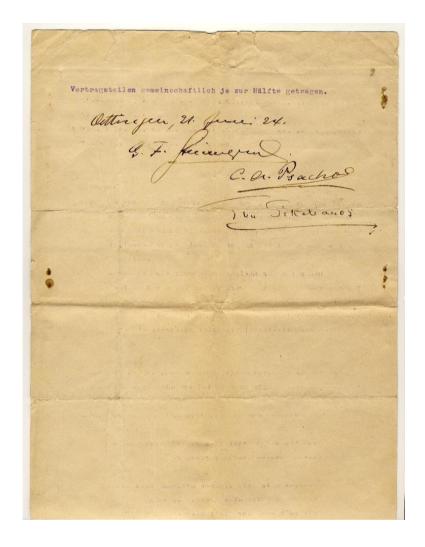
**Facs. 18** The Program of a concert given by K. A. Psachos in Munich in 1926. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



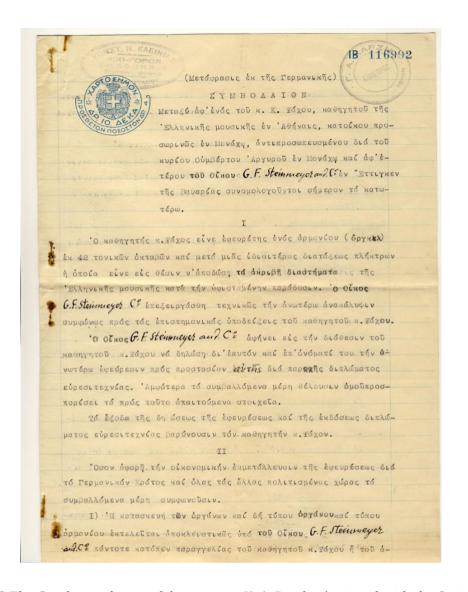
**Facs. 19** The Program of a concert given by K. A. Psachos in Munich in 1926. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



**Facs. 20** The contract K. A. Psachos's signed with the Steinmeyer Company in 1938 about the Panharmonium. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



**Facs. 21** The contract K. A. Psachos's signed with the Steinmeyer Company in 1938 about the Panharmonium. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



**Facs. 22** The Greek translation of the contract K. A. Psachos's signed with the Steinmeyer Company in 1938 about the Panharmonium. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)

## Figures [figs.]



**Fig. 1** The Panharmonium at the Steinmeyer factory in Oettingen, Bavaria (1924). (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



**Fig. 2** The 4-octave Harmonium, Collection of the Cultural and Social Club of New Smyrna, Athens (© K. A. Psachos Archive)

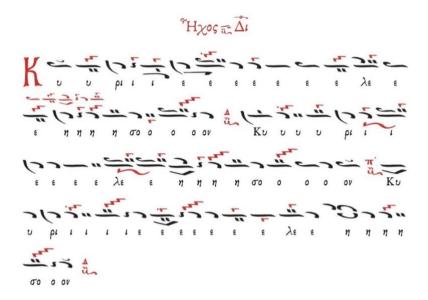


**Fig. 3** The 2-octave Harmonium, Collection of the Hellenic Folklore Research Centre of the Academy of Athens. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)



**Fig. 4** The inauguration of the Panharmonium at the Steinmeyer factory (29 June 1924). Eva Palmer-Sikelianos is wearing a white tunic and holding the hand of a woman wearing a hat. K. A. Psachos is standing behind E. Palmer-Sikelianos wearing a suit, white shirt and a bow tie (© K. A. Psachos Archive)

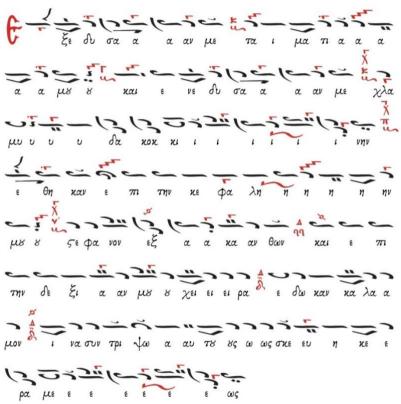
#### Musical examples [ex.]



**Ex. 1** A triple *Lord have mercy [Κύριε, έλέησον]*, a hymn composed by K. A. Psachos in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Mode of Byzantine Music, written on the cover page of one of his student notebooks; a contemporary transcription into the Byzantine Notation. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)

#### Δ[ημητρίου] Παπ[αδοπούλου]

## "Ηχος λω Πα χ



**Ex. 2** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations: The Doxastikon Έξέδυσάν με τὰ ἰμάτιά μου; a contemporary transcriprion into the Byzantine Notation, after a notational revision. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)

#### Hüzzâm Şarkı Hânende Nikoğos



Niçün nâlendesin böyle Gönül derdin nedir şöyle Seni ben istemem böyle

Kimin aşkiyle nâlansın Kimin hicriyle sûzansın Neden böyle perişansın

Nedir sendeki bu halet Buna vardır sebep elbet Merak oldu bana vazet

**Ex. 3** From K. A. Psachos's musical dictations; a musical score of a *Şarkı* composed by the *Hânende Nikoğos* in *Makam Hüzzâm* and *Usûl Düyek* [Σαρκὴ τοῦ χανεντὲ Νικογός, Μακὰμ Χουζάμ, ούσοὺλ Δουγιέκ]; a transcription into the Staff Notation. (© K. A. Psachos Archive)

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# Sound Ethnobiology of Musical Instruments: A Sound View of Nature in Manufacturing Kemençe

#### **ABSTRACT**

*Kemence* (small three-stringed fiddle) is mostly performed in the Eastern Black Sea region of Turkey. In this study, we examine the manufacturing process of *kemence* considering its relationship with natural sources. Data about the production and performance of kemençe are collected by fieldwork since 2018. In this context, the first author took *kemence* courses from Ilyas Parlak, a well-known kemence player, to understand the performance of the instrument in the region. He also held interviews with the luthiers to understand the usage of the biological and non-biological materials in the making process of this instrument. In this study, we propose the term sound ethnobiology to reveal how instruments are associated with nature in relation to their manufacture and performance. We have considered the term sound ethnobiology of musical instruments into five categories which are interrelated to each other. These categories are 'bioecological sources of sound production', 'ecological knowledge of sound production', 'timbre arrangement of producing proper sound', 'traditional ecological knowledge of the sound of musical instruments', and 'ecological meanings of musical instruments'. We have put forward the manufacturing process and performances of the kemençe and its relationship to the nature in and around Trabzon by considering these five categories. Thus, we revealed that the kemençe making process is strongly tied to the interpretation of the natural sources in the region. This interpretation of the usage of the natural sources creates the traditional ecological knowledge of kemençe which is also strongly connected to its ecological meaning and the nature of the Eastern Black Sea region.

#### **KEYWORDS**

Sound ethnobiology

Traditional ecological knowledge

Sound ecology

Kemençe

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#### Introduction

'When the tree dies, it comes to life again as a musical instrument.'1

This statement, shared by the luthier Ceyhun Demir, is one of the discourses that reveal the relationship between instrument manufacturing and nature. First, it indicates the close relationship between the instruments with nature. Second, 'the death and revival of trees' takes place through the instruments to imply that the musical instruments are 'living creatures'. Indeed, nature is a crucial part of "the social life of musical instruments" (Bates, 2012) in many cases. This research takes this complex relationship between nature and instrument making in the context of *kemençe*. Indeed, the most attractive subject for me was the relation of this instrument with nature in the ethnographic work, I (Uğur Aslan) have been conducting since 2018. The relationship between *kemençe* and nature is at the forefront both in terms of manufacturing and performance. The pieces performed with the *kemençe* show us the close relationship between the local people and nature. This relationship is also important for choosing the proper tree in the manufacturing process of the instrument. The most significant indicator of this phenomenon are the discourses showing the relationship of *kemençe* with nature and the traditional song lyrics.

"Kemençe is a short-necked lute without a finger board. The instrument bears a marked resemblance to the mediaeval lira. The strings are stopped with the flesh of the fingers, not by lateral contact with the nails or with the back of the fingers. There is no *vibrato*" (Picken, 1953-1954: 76-77). Kemençe is mostly performed in the east part of the Black Sea region of Turkey, as well as Georgia and Greece due to the exchange between Greece and Turkey in 1923. It is conceivable to see *kemençe* in the areas where the Black Sea people migrated throughout history, mainly Chepnis and Pontic Greeks. This instrument is essential to the Black Sea culture, especially in Görele district of Giresun province and Trabzon (Akat, 2012: 1-2).

In this study, we examine the *kemençe* making processes and its relation to the timbre and sound that affects the performance in relation to nature. In this context, we provide an ecological perspective for the manufacturing process of *kemençe*. Thus, we offer a new approach, sound ethnobiology of musical instruments, which is a theoretical framework

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 $<sup>^{1}</sup>$  "Ağaç öldüğünde enstrüman olarak tekrar canlanır." (Demir, 2018). All translations by the authors.

that considers the "social life of musical instruments" in relation to nature through an ecological perspective. In this study, while explaining the sound ethnobiology of the *kemençe*, we have evaluated the processes from the manufacturing process to the creation of sound communities through the instrument's relationship with nature. Indeed, in this sense, studies of sound ethnobiology share many fundamental approaches with the studies of ecomusicology in a broad sense.

Most contributions come from the disciplines of ecology and ethno/musicology to the field of ecomusicology and therefore, there are different methodologies and research techniques between these two disciplines such as applying quantitative and qualitative research (Boyle and Waterman, 2016). To distinct these two approaches, Margaret Guyette and Jennifer C. Post (2016: 42) use the definition of "ethno-ecomusicologist" that "note patterns of human behavior especially in relation to landforms and biological entities to reveal the significance of both sound and materiality (to local communities) and to demonstrate their in-depth knowledge of the land around them (expressed in time and space)".

First of all, practicing ecomusicology is a political action due to its relation to ecocriticism, environmental crisis, applied ethnomusicology (Schippers and Bendrups, 2015), and political ecology (Allen, Titon and Von Glahn, 2014), in addition to being "study of music, culture, and nature in all the complexities of those terms" (Allen, 2013). Although interest in the relationship between music and nature has a root in Ancient Greece, the relationship between humanity and the natural environment gained currency in the academy due to environmental concern since the 1970s (Allen, 2011: 391). Thus, the field of ecomusicology emerged in the early 2000s (as cited in Bock, 2017: 2) although this field has roots in ethnomusicological research in the 1970s such as Steven Feld (2003; 2012; 2015) and Anthony Seeger's (1987) transformative studies in both anthropology and ethnomusicology.

In the first part of the study, firstly, we mention the lack of sound and music-oriented studies in the literature of ethnobiology. Afterwards, we define the key elements of sound ethnobiology in parallel with organology, sound studies, sound ecology, and ethnoecology. From this point of view, we focus on the sound ethnobiology of musical instruments which consist of two main processes: instrument making and producing

sound (performance). Thus, in the first part of the article, we cover the instrument making process which we divide into three issues. These issues are 'bioecological sources of sound production', 'ecological knowledge of sound production', and 'timbre arrangement of producing proper sound'.

In the second part of the article, we mostly focus on the performance side of the sound ethnobiology of musical instruments. We determined two issues which are related to knowledge and meaning of the sound of the musical instruments to evaluate this section. These are 'traditional ecological knowledge of the sound of musical instruments', and 'ecological meanings of musical instruments'. We also applied to sound ecology (Titon, 2020) to reveal the traditional ecological knowledge and ecological meaning in the context of sound ethnobiology.

In the last part of the study, we discussed the five issues we developed under the title of sound ethnobiology of musical instruments in the context of the *kemençe*. In this context, we have examined how luthiers use and engrave the natural resources in the *kemençe* making process. Thus, we evaluated how biological and non-biological materials affect the sound production from an ecological perspective. Of course, at the same time, in this part of the study, we have revealed how people attribute ecological meanings to the sounds produced by musical instruments and how the sounds of musical instruments might be related to the traditional ecological knowledge.

#### **Sound Ethnobiology of Musical Instruments**

Ethnobiology is a field that defined as "the study of the biological knowledge of particular ethnic groups- cultural knowledge about plants and animals and their interrelationships" (Anderson, 2011: 1). Clearly it also implies "the study of the interactions of people and the environment that is associated with human ecology and ethnoecology" (Albuquerque and Alves, 2016: 3). Although ethnobiology is methodologically and theoretically related to ethnoecology, ethnobotany and ethnozoology (Albuquerque et. al, 2019), it is possible to find commonalities between ethnobiology and ethnomusicology, sound studies, and soundscape ecology when the focus is on the sound (Wright, 2017: 59).

With this study, we propose the term sound ethnobiology for sound-oriented ethnobiological studies and evaluate this term in terms of musical instruments. While

Claire Wright (2017: 59) mentions that sound-oriented ethnobiology studies have great potential to open new perspectives into the interdisciplinary studies of sound and music, she also states that ethnobiologists do not pay enough attention to this issue. Nevertheless, The *Journal of Ethnobiology* published a special issue in 2019 specific to ethnobiology studies focusing on song and music. Although we can see that music and sound studies to take place in ethnobiological studies as an important step, there are still many facts to discover about the world of sound and music practices (Llamazares and Lepofsky, 2019: 337). Especially ethnobiological studies of musical instruments are at the forefront of areas waiting to be discovered. For instance, although organology studies include the natural resources used in instrument making and their classification (Grame, 1962; Tresch and Dolan, 2013: 281), interpreting this in terms of traditional ecological knowledge<sup>2</sup> will provide new perspectives to interpret the human activities in a certain environment.

Sound ethnobiology shares many main understandings with soundscape ecology, sound ecology, and ethnoecology. In this context, the term ethnoecology, which is frequently used in parallel with ethnobiology, can contribute to sound ethnobiology. According to Barrera- Bassols and Toledo, "ethno-ecological approach consists of interdisciplinary studies of how nature is perceived by humans through a screen of beliefs and knowledge, and how humans, through their symbolic meanings and representations, use and/or manage landscapes and natural sources" (as cited in Garrido-Perez, 2015:174). In this context, sound ethnobiology focuses on how people perceive and symbolize their environment through sound, as well as how they reflect the natural resources and landscape they live in, into their musical practices. In short, sound ethnobiology focuses on how people create traditional ecological knowledge through sound.

Sound ethnobiology of musical instruments, on the other hand, focuses on musical instruments and the sound they produce, examining traditional ecological knowledge. Indeed, musical instruments have an important potential in the production of traditional ecological knowledge. According to Kevin Dawe (2012: 195), musical instruments can be studied from many different aspects such as acoustic, ecology, and sound both

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Traditional ecological knowledge is a cumulative body of knowledge, practice, and belief, evolving by adaptive processes and handed down through generations by cultural transmission, about the relationship of living beings (including humans) with one another and with their environment" (Berkes 2012: 7).

quantitively and qualitatively. He also indicates the term ethnobiology of musical instruments by explaining "how their (musical instruments) primary materials of flora and fauna are connected to their environment and the landscape" (Dawe, 2016: 112). Thus, we will explain and analyze the process of instrument making in terms of traditional ecological knowledge. Considering that studying musical instruments from this perspective will reveal new phenomena, and we think that using the term sound ethnobiology of musical instruments will open new directions for future studies.

In this study, we have re-evaluated Kevin Dawe's idea of "ethnobiology of musical instruments" (2016: 112) as 'sound ethnobiology of musical instruments' to establish a specific theoretical framework. Sound ethnobiology of musical instruments focuses on the sound production and its connection to the application of traditional ecological knowledge. There are three issues in analyzing a musical instrument in terms of sound ethnobiology. These issues are 'bioecological sources of sound production', 'ecological knowledge of sound production', and 'timbre arrangement of producing proper sound'. These three subjects are closely related to the instrument making process. Nevertheless, two more titles can be added in addition to this process: 'traditional ecological knowledge of the sound of musical instruments' and 'ecological meanings of musical instruments'.

The first issue of the sound ethnobiology of musical instruments is the bioecological sources of sound production. Bioecological theory is known by psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner which focuses on human development through emphasizing the environment in which a developing individual spends time and the relations with others (Bronfenbrenner, 2005; Rosa and Tudge, 2013: 244). The fundamental part of the bioecological model is the conception of the process-person-context-time (PPCT) (Prati et. al, 2019: 31-35). In this context, bioecological sources of sound production include knowing the effect of the type of wood the instrument maker will use through spending time in nature, having a relationship with other luthiers and developing a new understanding about the usage of materials for creating a new tone color, and having a relationship with non-human actors as well as biological and non-biological materials. Of course, all these processes differ depending on the context. The act of making an instrument is a learned lifetime behavior. In this context, this process consists of the learning to make a musical instrument, the observation of other luthiers, their knowledge of relations with nature and how to use resources to produce a proper sound.

The second issue is the ecological knowledge of sound production. Contrary to bioecological thinking, this process deals with the luthiers and musicians' relationship with the biological entities that they are surrounded and interact with. From this interaction luthiers and musicians give meaning to musical instruments and these meanings are often related to the natural sources of the musical instruments. For instance, according to Dawe (2016: 111), "the *lyra* is often described as a product of the mountains. It is ideally made from mountain wood. It has a body, a neck, eyes, a heart, a soul, and a voice that cries out like the spirits and animals of the mountains". As another example, the sound of *qyl-qopyz* has a meaning related to the sounds heard in the environment. According to Megan Rancier (2014: 389), "The *qyl-qobyz* possesses the ability to imitate sounds from nature, such as the sound of wind, the call of swans, or the howling of wolves".

Ecological knowledge of sound production also means that instrument makers can recognize the kind of material that produces a certain sound and timbre. The best example of this situation is John Baily's (1976) work on the *dutār* in Afghanistan. Although Baily does not refer to ecological thinking in this work, he provides us with ecological information of sound production as he describes in detail how the biological and non-biological materials used in instrument making are important in collective and individual invention as well as how the sound of musical instruments is affected through the materials and systems that are applied in instrument making process.

The third is the timbre arrangement of producing a proper sound. This implies producing a specific timbre, considering the material in terms of certain proportions and forms of instrument making. Timbre arrangement is directly related to the organological studies. Timbre arrangement of producing a proper sound is also related to "methodologies and techniques of acoustics, wood studies, material conservation, museum studies, and biological systematics" (Dawe, 2001: 219). Of course, for the instrument maker to achieve a certain timbre, they must know well the material they will use, know what kind of sounds can be made from natural sources, know the cultural codes and the kind of preferred timbre of the people who will listen to the instrument. This situation requires both ecological knowledge and suitable knowledge of bioecological resources.

## Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Ecological Meaning of Musical Instruments

Uncovering the nature-related meanings of instruments requires examining people's traditional ecological knowledge. In this context, ecological knowledge and meaning includes how people perform musical instruments in addition to the three items we mentioned in the previous section. The traditional ecological knowledge and ecological meaning associated with instruments has many common points with Jeff Todd Titon's (2020) idea of "sound ecology". For this reason, understanding the basic ideas of sound ecology makes it possible to analyze instruments in an ecological sense.

According to Jeff Todd Titon, sound ecology "is, first of all, a way of being in the world of sound, a sound ontology and there are four different but related aspects: 1-) sound experience announcing presence, or co-presence, 2-) sound community, 3-) sound economy, and 4-) a sound view of nature" (as cited in Bock, 2017: 5). Thus, it is possible to interpret the four components of sound ecology in the context of instruments. Indeed, this interpretation provides us with traditional ecological knowledge and ecological meaning of instruments, which is an important element of sound ethnobiology of musical instruments.

According to Titon (2013), ethnomusicology contributes to the field of ecomusicology through relational epistemologies that resulted from its methodology in "sound ecology" besides sound ontology. "A sound ecology embodies an ecological rationality aimed at who we think we are, how we know, what we know, and what we can do to bring about ecojustice in a sustainable world" (Titon, 2019: 103). Thus, interconnectedness is at the heart of ecological rationality (Titon, 2019: 104). In this context, the four aspects of sound ecology are *telescopic* and have a fluid structure in a certain place, landscape, and culture.

Sound announcing presence is a form of self-expression for individuals, communities, or even musical instruments. "Sound says "here I am". It says it to the sounder and to any creature who may feel sounder's vibrating resonance in its body, whether through an ear or other means of reception. Sounding locates a being in space and time" (Titon, 2015: 4). As a result of this, sound announcing presence means being by sound, co-presence, and connection (As cited in Bock, 2017: 5). There are mostly semiotic and linguistic approaches applied in terms of musical performances concerning the sound announcing presence in the context of the study of musical instruments and ethnomusicological

studies. For instance, George Herzog's (1945) study on drum signaling in Eartern Liberia, Carol Robertson's (1976) study on Tayil, and Bahr and Haefer's (1978) work on what "blowing" means in the Piman community can be considered as examples of sound announcing presence.

According to Titon (2015: 1), cultural groups can emerge because of the commitment of communication through sound that he calls sound communities. According to Titon, music-making communities have a peak experience of sound communication among sound communities (As cited in Bock, 2017: 5). No doubt, a sound community can be created through a musical instrument and its sound. In this context, the sound announcing presence of a musical instrument has the potential to be a sound signal of a sound community. In terms of musical instruments, the timbre of certain instruments strengthens the sense of belonging to a sound community as part of musical performance such as Gourd Rattles performances in the rituals of the Suya community (Seeger, 1987), didgeridoo performance among Aborigines (Miller and Shahriari, 2017: 59), and *Anzad* performances of women among Tuareg people (Wendt, 2008: 261-262).

Economy and ecology are phrases with the same word origin in Greek, *Oikos* (household) (as cited in Bock, 2017: 5). Jeff Todd Titon (2015: 2-3) defines the term sound economy concerning the sound community and comparing it to the unsound economy. According to Titon, unsound economy is organized hierarchically but sound economy is participatory and egalitarian.

Besides, the way to handle the sound economy entirely is to apply to Marxist and Neo-Marxist approaches that have economy-based thinking. In this context, the sound economy of musical instruments is best understood through the cost of materials, their turning process into commodities, value, and meta fetishism (Churton, 2000: 3-13). Martin Stokes' (2002) study about *kemençe* and *bağlama* (long-neck lute) is one of the best examples of the sound economy of musical performance, although he does not use the term sound economy. In this study, Stokes shows the attitudes of musicians about selection of musical instruments, musical materials, money, performance, and exchange.

Titon's fourth term is a sound view of nature. Sound view of nature consists of what a sound ecology might look like (As cited in Bock, 2017: 5). He also emphasizes that sound ecology is about relations and responsibility. In this context, sound ecology has a fluid-

structure, and sustainability is one of the key terms of this. Interestingly, in this context, relations in the sound ecology can be interpreted in classic actor-network theory (ANT) which is mostly applied for the musical instruments and their relations with non-human actors and facts (De Mori, 2018: 184; Bates, 2012). From this point of view, sound ecology contains the relationship between human and non-human in terms of an ecosystem.

The traditional ecological knowledge and ecological meanings of the musical instruments provide us with a sound view of nature offered by sound ecology. In this context, people attribute ecological meanings to the sounds of musical instruments and create sound communities through traditional ecological knowledge of musical instruments. In addition, it creates a certain sound economy with the meanings attributed to the instruments and their sounds.

## Sound Ethnobiology of Kemençe

The *kemençe* has a dynamic relationship between the environment and biota in the Eastern Black Sea region. This interaction is also prominent in the sound ethnobiology of the *kemençe*. In this context, topics such as the materials of *kemençe*, the name of the instrument parts, the interaction of the instrument's sound with the natural environment, the ecological meanings of the sound of the instrument, and the ecological knowledge in the production of the instrument constitute the sound ethnobiology of the *kemençe*.

It is possible to see the relationship of people with their environment in the naming of the parts of the *kemençe*. Thus, this relationship is also formed by the traditional ecological knowledge. The parts of the *kemençe* are the head (scroll), boat (soundbox), handle (neck), ear (auger), cover (soundboard), tie (keyboard), eyebrows (sound holes), frog (tailpiece), bridge, and sound post (*can direği*) (Balcı, 2001: 32-33). People have named these parts making an analogy with the objects they see around them and the human body parts.



**Figure 1.** A *kemençe* with its materials used (Ceyhun Demir's archive, 2019).

Bioecological sources of the sound production in *kemençe* making process begin with choosing the trees. Choosing the proper tree affects the sound and timbre of the *kemençe* as well as help local people to create a discourse in relation to 'richness' of the timbre of *kemençe*. "The body of the *kemençe* can be made from almost any type of tree. However, the ones made of trees such as juniper, walnut, mulberry, plum, cherry, elm, ash, which can be easily shaped, do not split, and are not undeterred, are more preferred" (Demir, 2005: 85). For instance, Ali Kemal Bulut made *kemençes* from 54 different kinds of trees to show that this instrument has a rich timbre (Ali Kemal Bulut, personal communication, February 6, 2020). In this sense, the materials used for the instrument are symbols to raise the status of the instrument with its timbre.

The *kemençe* making process requires knowledge of certain techniques as well as ecological knowledge and the ability to adjust the timbre with small touches to be able to produce the right sound. *Kemençe* makers give a rough shape with an ax to the trunk of the tree while making the instrument. Then, they draw a template on the log in which they pre-determine the length of the instrument and cut the log according to this template. After cutting according to the template, they carve the soundbox according to the ratios. After this process, they engrave the neck (handle) and rub the instrument with emery sandpaper. Then, they attach the cover (soundboard) to the instrument.



**Figure 2.** The process from templating the *kemence* to carving the body (Ceyhun Demir's archive, 2019).

The correct preparation and affixion of the soundboard are fundamental in terms of producing a proper sound. After properly gluing the cover, they open two eyebrows (soundholes) with equal proportions on the soundboard. Then they prepare the tailpiece and affix the small parts such as augers and bridges. Finally, they string the *kemençe* and it is ready to play. In the next section, we will explain this situation by discussing the crucial points in terms of the timbre and sound arrangement of the *kemençe*.

Trees are one of the most important biological sources of *kemençe*. Of course, the type of wood the *kemençe* is made of and the environment in which the tree grows are also important. According to Hasan Sancak, a well-known *kemençe* maker in Trabzon, the best *kemençe* is made from mulberry wood. But at the same time, the place where mulberry tree grow is also very important. For example, the sound of a tree that grows on barren land is better than a tree growing on a wetted area (DiyanetTV, 2015). Consequently, luthiers prefer dry trees that grow in dry places for *kemençe* making.

Ecological knowledge in making *kemençe* does not mean knowing only the bioecological resources. Knowing the climate and the natural conditions of the region should also be considered as an ecological knowledge of sound production. In this sense, all *kemençe* makers know which tree types produce a better sound from a particular climate. For instance, luthiers prefer to use juniper and wild plum for kemençes performed in the open areas such as plateau festivals and outdoors weddings, since the texture of these trees is not easily affected by moisture. Although the mulberry tree gives a very nice tone, it is easily affected by moisture. Wood pores of the mulberry tree get easily wet in a humid air and these *kemençes* begin to give 'hoarse voice' and 'croaky' sound. For this reason, a mulberry *kemençe* may vary in tone depending on the environment in which it will be performed.

The anatomy of the tree is also important in terms of the sound produced. This situation is crucial especially in terms of making the soundboard. Thus, this aspect shows us how ecological knowledge takes part in the process of the timbre arrangement for producing proper sound of *kemençe*. When the texture of the wood is close-grained and the annual rings (cambiums) are close to each other, the sound becomes sharper. In addition to this, the grains must come in a straight line and the parts of the tree with smooth grain must be selected. It is essential to use unbranched parts of a tree for *kemençe* (Mustafa Aydın, personal communication, September 20, 2019).



**Figure 3.** Spruce tree with annual rings close to each other and prepared for the cover of the high-pitched *kemençe* (Ceyhun Demir's archive, 2019).

Kemençe makers act responsibly in deciding which of the bioecological sources are suitable for making the soundboard of the *kemençe*. Then, the process of the timbre arrangement of producing a proper sound begins by engraving these resources. The grain texture of the cover (soundboard) determines the timbre of the instrument. *Kemençe* producers especially prefer spruce wood for the cover. This tree, which grows in the higher parts of the region, is "sliced to a thickness of about one centimeter and taken from the knot-free part near the top" (Demir, 2005: 86). This smooth piece is first wetted slightly and kept for a few days. Then they tie it to a round object to be slightly curved. After it takes the proper shape, both sides are smoothed with a grater and thinned.

The spruce tree has certain criteria to be chosen for producing a proper sound. The luthier İsmail Kırcı explains this situation as follows (personal communication January 28, 2020):

The common feature of the instruments, the cover that gives the sound must be made of spruce and fir. In other words, spruce should be used to get the most ideal sound. But it also has a trick. Can every spruce be a cover for an instrument? It is not possible. Because the place where a tree lives, the place where it grows, and the growth direction of the tree are important. The south direction and the north direction of the tree are not the same. In short, spruce, which can be used for making a soundboard, can be changed according to its hardness-softness. Soft spruce is more suitable for a low and sonorous voice, while hard spruce is more suitable for high and metallic sound. The north side of the spruce tree has the most beautiful part. Luthiers take a part of a tree from the north direction at a distance of 10-15 cm from the core. When we look at this part, some streaks come upright, some of them are slanted. The flat one is soft, the steep one is harder. Perpendicular streaks are used for high-pitched sounds. Tilted ones are used for soft sounds. If it is too inclined, those streaks expand a little, and there is no problem for sound.

Although there are certain standards about the cover of the *kemençe* and the type of tree to be used, the variety is at the top level in terms of timbre, just like the nature. For example, many luthiers mention that there should be no knots on the cover of the instrument. However, according to İsmail Kırcı, sometimes a ramulose cover can give a good result by chance. For instance, the knot might come across the thick string side and produce rich sound. When İsmail Kırcı says, "just as the eggs of each chicken are different from each other, every *kemençe* is different", he associates the timbre of different *kemençes* with their associated bioecological sources (personal communication, January 28, 2020).

Luthiers also use bioecological sources in terms of strings and bows in *kemençe* making process. While in the past the strings of *kemençe* were made from the intestine, today they use factory-made steel strings. Although this change, which came with technology, has an impact on the instrument in terms of timbre, the bow of the *kemençe* is still made by horsetail hair, used for the bow for centuries. "The strings of the bow are obtained from the tail of the male horse. Because the tail of the male horse is not damaged by urine" (Demir, 2005: 87).

We can also see the use of bioecological resources to obtain a specific timbre of *kemençe* with ecological knowledge in the soundpost (*can direği*) example. The soundpost is placed between the cover and the base of a *kemençe*. If a sound post is not attached to a *kemençe*, it gives a 'hoarse' sound. The sound post transmits the resonance from the string

to the resonance box and it gives life to the instrument. It also determines the character of the instrument. In this context, small details such as which tree the sound post is made of, where it stands between the cover and the base, which side of the bridge is on, and which direction it faces, all affect the timbre of the instrument. According to İsmail Kırcı, "the point where we put the soundpost in the *kemençe* is usually at the bottom of the bridge, where the thin string is. The soundpost is in the form of a rectangular prism. However, the direction of the soundpost also influences the sound color we are looking for. Whether it is upright, sideways, or oblique is related to the sound color. The soundpost must also be dry. It can be made from any tree the trunk is made of" (İsmail Kırcı, personal communication, January 28, 2020).



**Figure 4.** The soundpost of a *kemence* (Ceyhun Demir's archive, 2018)

In the preparation of the cover and soundpost, such details show us the relationship of the instrument with nature. In which region the tree grows, what species it is, how it transmits sound, its texture, and its relationship with weather conditions directly affect the timbre. Thus, it is possible to encounter different types of *kemençes* because of this. For example, a soundboard with close rings of age is suitable for making high-pitched *kemençe*, while a soundboard with age rings far from each other will produce a low-pitched *kemençe*. High-pitched *kemençe* is generally performed in the west of Trabzon

and around Görele (Akat, 2017: 4-5). The low-pitched *kemençe* is performed mostly indoors in the eastern part of Trabzon. As a result, it is possible to encounter various sound communities in and around Trabzon through different types of *kemençes* and their sounds. When we consider all this network of relations, it is seen how luthiers form and define the sounds of sound communities through engraving the bioecological sources with ecological knowledge.

# Traditional Ecological Knowledge and Ecological Meaning of Kemençe

Kemençe makers are in a very close relationship with nature as well as the biological sources of the region. This situation is effective on the traditional ecological knowledge of luthiers as well as their orientation to this profession because of their relationship with nature. For example, Ceyhun Demir (Online communication, March 13, 2020), mentioned that he learned to make *kemençe* because his grandfather was making and playing *kemençe*, and he considered himself lucky to be able to live in nature. He states that he always had a piece of wood and a pocketknife. Thus, Hasan Sancak also states that he always carries a piece of wood with him and makes small *kemençes* from them (DiyanetTV, 2015).

The close relationship of *kemençe* makers with nature sometimes causes them to see the *kemençe* as a part of nature. In fact, some instrument makers approach the *kemençe* as if it were a living creature. Thus, one of the most basic reasons for the emergence of this situation is the relationship of luthiers with bioecological sources. *Kemençe* also has a character originating from the relationship with nature in terms of manufacturing. Oktay Üst, a luthier and performer, indicates "I approach every *kemençe* as if they are human. Repairing the *kemençe* is like raising someone from the dead. Fixing a *kemençe* is like reviving endangered music that my musicianship gave me" (Osman Deniz, 2012). According to Üst, covers also have a personality like a human. While he was burning the cover to prevent cracking while drilling the sound holes, he said "we are hurting the *kemençe* right now, but then it will play with pain" (Osman Deniz, 2012). He also mentions that there is a strong connection between *kemençe*, Black Sea music culture, and nature.

It is possible to read the traditional ecological knowledge and ecological meaning from the pieces performed with the *kemençe*. In this sense, the lyrics as well as the sound of the *kemençe* show us the ecological meanings of the instrument. For instance, "atma

türküler (improvised folk songs) are sung in verses" in the Black Sea region (Pelikoğlu, 2009: 39), and the relationship between nature and the *kemençe* is explained in the first two lines of the quatrains, while the last two lines are mostly about love and suffering. The lyrics also refer to each part of the *kemençe* such as bridge, strings, and head. Thus, expressions related to nature stand out in many songs traditionally performed with *kemençe*. For example, in the piece titled *Gitti Yarum Ormana* by Koryanalı Hüseyin Köse, lyrics are "she went to the forest. She got wet. I ask the trees. To which one she was leaning on?" (Özkurt, 2015). In this example, it is seen that the trees are personalized similar to the instrument. Also, in the lyrics of the piece *Ağasar Horonu* performed by Apolas Lermi (2011), the words "his *kemençe* got wet. Its sound doesn't reach to the mountain" are tied to the nature as well as the traditional ecological knowledge of the sound of *kemençe*.

## Conclusion

The music culture of the Eastern Black Sea region offers ethnomusicologists a diverse and rich field of research due to having a strong connection with the nature and the environment of the region. Thus, it is possible to examine this relationship through the musical instruments and lyrics performed in the region. In this study, we discussed the nature-culture relationship in a holistic way with the focus of *kemençe*. In this context, we have revealed the sound ethnobiology of the instrument by evaluating the instrument making and performance process. In this study, by suggesting the term sound ethnobiology, we examine how the making process and performance of the *kemençe* is related to the nature of the Eastern Black Sea region. As a matter of fact, in this case, we have presented the features of the term sound ethnobiology and how the instrument making process is related to these foundations.

When examining the sound ethnobiology of musical instruments, it should be emphasized how bioecological sources are handled with ecological knowledge. In this context, instrument makers know the type of bioecological resources according to creation of a unique sound color and how these sources should be shaped in the preferred way. This shows us that the ecological knowledge of the instrument makers also includes knowing the biological resources. At the same time, how luthiers make the timbre arrangement of producing proper sound is also a part of the sound ethnobiology of

musical instruments. Clearly, timbre arrangement of a musical instrument is strongly connected to the organological way of seeing of an instrument making process. In this process, instrument makers aim to achieve a certain timbre by making minor adjustments to the instrument. Of course, the realization of this situation also depends on the ecological knowledge of the instrument maker and how well they know the bioecological resources. In addition, how the sounds of musical instruments are part of traditional ecological knowledge and how ecological meanings are attributed to these sounds are included in the content of sound ethnobiology of musical instruments.

Kemençe makers, on the other hand, evaluate the bioecological resources used in instrument making in terms of sound production and process them in line with ecological knowledge. In the process of making kemence, luthiers can obtain different types of kemences and various tones, especially with small changes in terms of soundboard and soundpost. Of course, this includes the issue of timbre arrangement of producing proper sound as well. Thus, with the completion of the instrument and the beginning of its performance, ecological meanings begin to be attributed to the sound of kemençe. One of the main reasons for the formation of these meanings is the traditional ecological knowledge of the people of the region. As a result, the sound ethnobiology of *kemençe* includes the relationship of the instrument with the nature of the Eastern Black Sea region from the production stage to the performance process. Kemençe is made using bioecological resources and then its sound is reinterpreted as a part of the nature of the Eastern Black Sea through the performance. As Demir (2018) mentioned, when the tree dies, it comes to life as an instrument and the instruments are a part of the cycle in nature. Sound ethnobiology of musical instruments, on the other hand, focuses on this cycle and aims to deal with the relationship between instruments and nature in a different dimension.

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