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In Memoriam: TERADA YOSHITAKA

We mourn the passing of Terada Yoshitaka, a beloved member of Musicologist Journal and an exceptional scholar who left an indelible mark on the field of ethnomusicology. As a former board member and Professor Emeritus at the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan, and the Graduate University of Advanced Studies, Terada's contributions were immeasurable.

Terada's academic journey began at the University of Washington, where he earned his MA and PhD in ethnomusicology. His pursuit of knowledge and passion for cultural exploration led him to serve as a visiting professor at renowned institutions such as the University of Pittsburgh, New York University, Universität Bonn, and the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. Terada's presence brought a wealth of expertise and enriched the academic experiences of countless students.

His research spanned diverse regions, including India, the Philippines, Japan, and Asian America. Terada's profound understanding of these cultural contexts allowed him to uncover the intricate connections between music and society, shedding light on the significance of music in cultural expression and identity formation. His notable contributions include editing "Music and Society in South Asia: Perspectives from Japan," a collection of essays on South Asian performing arts by Japanese scholars, published by the National Museum of Ethnology in 2008.

Terada's artistic vision extended beyond traditional scholarly pursuits. For over twenty years, he immersed himself in the world of filmmaking, experimenting with various techniques and producing more than thirty films on musical traditions from diverse locations, including two dedicated to India. Through his films, Terada breathed life into these musical traditions, capturing their essence and preserving them for generations to come.

Terada Yoshitaka's passion for ethnomusicology and his commitment to promoting cross-cultural understanding will be deeply missed. His scholarly contributions, mentoring, and artistic endeavors have left an indelible impact on the academic community and beyond. We express our heartfelt gratitude for his invaluable contributions to Musicologist Journal, and we honor his legacy as a visionary in the field.

In our collective memory, Terada Yoshitaka's unwavering dedication, intellectual brilliance, and cultural appreciation will continue to inspire future generations of scholars and enthusiasts.

Abdullah Akat

Editor, Musicologist Journal

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Celebrating the Past, Present, and Future: The Case of Odumu Music and Dance Among the Idoma People

ABSTRACT
Odumu music among the Idoma people in Nigeria has served historical, sociological and entertainment functions. Performed predominantly by male members of the society, female community members are allowed to participate in the dance as a mark of collective cultural identity and responsibility. Communality is a core community ethos among the Idoma which promotes individual expression within a wider communal space. This paper, therefore, examines Odumu musical performance from the angle of its socio-cultural significance as well as its reflection of anthropocentric impact in shaping the environment. In a specific sense, the paper aims to highlight the musical narrative of how the people have encountered and impacted their environment, and how such experience have shaped their cultural expressions using the instrumentality of traditional music and dance. The research adopted observations and interviews as field methods among the Idoma people as well as Odumu performers to obtain data for the research. Analysis of data obtained reveals that Odumu musical performance provides a space for socio-cultural identity, transmission of culture and re-enacting historical facts that promote communal bonding. Hence, it reinforces the larger social sense of belonging. This paper will be of benefit to environmental and cultural scholars by providing knowledge on the intersection of music, culture and the environment among less visible indigenous groups like the Idoma people.

KEYWORDS
Odumu
Idoma
Performance
Dance
Communality

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Background of the study

Like most African cultures, Idoma traditional music tells the story of the people's social culture, historical antecedents, environment and religious convictions. It codifies the philosophy of their life systems and processes of communal living (Ajewole, 2011: 118). African traditional music is largely connected with religious and social situations although not exclusively so. Thus, much of African music has a performance context which shapes the material and sonic attributes of the music. In this regard, there exist music types among the Idoma that are designed to be performed only during given religious occasions, social occasions such as burial, or for royalty alone (Locke, 2005: 75). This implies that music is indispensable in Idoma (and African in general) social situations owing to its contribution to successful observances of occasions by "focusing attention, communicating information, encouraging social solidarity, and transforming consciousness." (Locke, 2005: 75).

Beside these, some musical performances also bring to the fore the relationship between culture and nature in a given environment, which is what ecomusicology is concerned with. Regardless of the supposition that ecomusicology is a relatively young "sub-discipline in musicology" (Isabel G. Thomas, n.d.: 2), nature has occupied a prime place that commands admiration, adoration, awe and sometimes supplication in the music of many cultures since time immemorial (Jonathan Gilmurray, 2018: 3). Gilmurray provided example of the primal place of nature in the music of even non-western cultures when he revealed that the throat singing by both the Tuva and Kisedje people reflect the strong relationship that exist between nature, animals and man (Seeger, 2017: 89). Aaron S. Allen similarly stated that Wolfang Amadeus Mozart's pastoral music was a reflection of his admiration for birds, some of Gustav Mahler's music represented his personal experience with and expression of nature, and Beethoven's Sixth Symphony, the "Pastoral", captured his love for nature (Allen, 2017, 371). This research, therefore, seeks to unveil the culture-nature underpinnings in *Odumu* music and dance in Idoma society and how it serves as constant reminder of the people's common history, ancestry and ecology through the interactive performance atmosphere of its theatre. This is essential because it provides a sonic dimension to understanding the historical heritage of the Idoma people, in a way that reflects their performative cultural expression, identity and environment. *Odumu* dance, costume and paraphernalia are indicative of how the Idoma

have interacted with their environment historically, thereby connecting them with one another and their past. Further still, the undeniable role of sustaining culture through transmitting cardinal practices from one generation to the other is achieved in *Odumu* musical performances. According to Cavalli-Sforza et al (2010: 19), the concept of cultural transmission encapsulates the process of actively transferring and acquiring practices, attitudes, ideologies, technologies and values (among others) through conditioning and imitation.

Statement of the problem

Documentation on Idoma people has been undertaken primarily by historians and other scholars who have presented their research from historical perspectives. These works have been very central in addressing the cultural identity of Idoma people. To a large extent, however, the sonic aspect of Idoma culture and its engagement with the environment have not been explored, thereby overlooking a vital aspect of cultural information. This shortcoming generally leads to the perception of the generalized "Other", using western concepts of identity and aesthetics. According to Taylor (2007: 12), "Aesthetics is a kind of commodification machine: It strips everything of history, culture, and the social to render it fit for commodification, or for appropriation." The need to re-present part of Idoma history using other aspects of their culture that ensures the proper appropriation of self-identification consistent with their aesthetic valuations makes this work imperative. Hence, *Odumu* music and dance performance is not just entertainment for commodification purposes among the people, but a cultural expression that tells the story of their past, heritage, struggles and triumphs.

Aim of the study

The aim of this research is to investigate traditional dance music performed by the Idoma people to highlight the impact of human activities on the environment even in the local setting. In a broader sense, the study intends to contribute to the global discussion on using music to provide insight on the state of the environment. Further still, the study provides much-needed information for a wider readership on how the Idoma people employ music to highlight historical, environmental and cultural issues in an interrelated manner. To achieve this, the article undertook a performance analysis of the *Odumu* music and its association with ecological considerations in Idoma land.

Significance

This research is significant for providing an intersection between music and the environment in understanding Idoma cultural expressions within the context of entertainment, social responsibility and cultural history. This is a deviation from the intellectual approach previously undertaken by some scholars for appreciating and engaging Idoma culture. For the Idoma and scholars interested in Idoma music and dance, research and documentation of *Odumu* performance provides greater knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of Idoma history and culture (Falk and Ingram, 2008). The research further "provides access to cultural and aesthetic representations and responses to the environment" reminiscent of cultural and sub-group understanding and representation of human-human and human-non human relationship in the environment (Groffman and Titus, 2022: 480). Ultimately, this supports the growing global scholarship on the environment, especially as it relate to non-western cultures. Whereas significant studies have been carried out on the impact of human activities on the environment in cities, this study provides an ethnographic report which encompasses traditional musical practice, cultural expression, entertainment as well as environmental history.

The Idoma[1] People

The main thrust of Idoma land is a contiguous belt of territory which stretches from the Southern banks of the river Benue to the Northern fringes of Igboland. This territory lies within longitude 7° and 13° N and latitudes 7° and 14° E and covers a total land area of approximately 5,955 square kilometres. According to Anyebe (2012: 220), "historical facts and theories of origin like the ones based on oral traditions and totemism traced the origin of the Idoma people to [the] Kwararafa Confederacy which existed in c.1535 – 1745." Kwararafa was composed of several nation groups who resisted Islamic expansion and domination from the old Bornu Empire. Inuaeche (2001: 17) observed that there existed a famous settlement to the east of Wukari called Apa, to which the Idoma constantly allude as their homeland. Folorunso (1993: 148), Ochefu (1996: 263) and Anyebe (2012: 3) all believe that historical facts and oral traditions support the submission that the homeland being referred to is located within and around Biepi, which

[1] The Idoma people are predominantly found in Benue state, a mid-central state in Nigeria. They share boundaries with the Tiv, Igala, and Igbo ethnic groups in Nigeria. Traditionally, they worship a supreme being called *Owoicho,* but have very strong belief in the spirit of ancestors known as *Alekwu* to guide, protect and procure blessings for them.

at the time was the capital of a revived Kwararafa kingdom (Onaji, 2013: 19; Alachi & Tyokyaa, 2016: 3).

Leadership crises and power struggles triggered the exodus of most of the nation groups that made up the Kwararafa Confederacy. The Idoma group left in phases, giving rise to their dispersal to different locations. This explains the presence of some Idoma groups called Etulo in Shiga, Sondi, Riti, and Bantaje in Taraba State, as well as the Nkum, Nkim, and Iyala subgroups found in Ogoja, Cross River State (Neyt, 1985: 8). Erim (1981: 37) revealed that the Idoma groups that fled from Kwararafa had their unique totems, representing their kinship emblems.

As farmers and hunters, Idoma people believe animals play unique roles in their existence and survival, and therefore, are revered and used as totems. Some of these totems are *Owuna* – bird (Idoma-Ugboju), *Eka* – monkey (Idoma-Adoka), *Ikwu* – crocodile (Idoma-Edumoga), and *Obagwu* – baboon (Idoma-Otukpo). Beyond the initial Kwararafa crisis, the Tiv invasion created further dispersal and southward migration culminating in the creation of new habitats and farming areas from the wild. Thus, encounters with wild animals became unavoidable, and among such animals was the *Odumu* (hyena).

Other studies have enriched our understanding on the relationship between music and the physical environment. Clarke (2013:90) posits that music and the surrounding material and auditory world are inseparable owing to the fact that such music reflects and is inspired by the that environment. This suggests that the material and cultural environment from where a given music originates provides the sonic materials of such music. Both Feisst (2014:17) and Esan (2016:9) argue that human interactions with animals and other environmental elements have often been expressed through music. The growing interest and attention of scholars on human relationship and (or) interaction with his environment has resulted in the remarkable development in researches and studies in ecomusicology. This is a shift from the near-exclusive traditional human-human pre-occupation of ethnomusicology to man's relationship and interaction with animals, materials and the climate in his environment (Post, 2018:4). This shift has resulted in the enriched understanding of how music defines, refines and mediates" our knowledge concerning ourselves and our environment (Groffman and Titus, 2022:484). Beside non-human themes in the environment, man's continued

engagement with the earth in evolving built and non-built space as well as induced climatic re-configurations have been captured in music in one way or the other. Titon (2005:28) captured this view when he said, "Like all of culture, music is a peculiarly human adaptation to life on this Earth… Each music-culture is a particular adaptation to particular circumstances." This aligns with Ogundele and Lumowo (2009: 79) when they opined that human adaptation to environment and how such terrestrial space is conceptualised and used for purposes of "economy, security, peaceful co-existence, aesthetics and symbolism" in their collective experience is what human settlement connotes. They further stated that human settlement "is the end product of a set of conscious efforts by a group of people to transform a natural space to a cultural experience in order to survive and make progress rooted in the world-view and social history of its members." However not much is known about how groups such as the Idoma integrate cultural history, environmental issues and socio-cultural responsibilities into a musical performance. This study, therefore, attempts to provide insight on how the Idoma people have employed music and dance to make statements on their history and environment in an entertainment form.

Research method

The research adopted the ethnographic research approach, which involved observations and interviews to obtain data for this study. To this end, the research team visited Obotu community in Idoma land, who are recognized as some of the best *Odumu* dancers in the region. We started by discussing the purpose of the research with the group. This was necessary for them to give informed consent for data collection in form of audio and visual recordings, as well as permission for publication. This was graciously granted by the group before we commenced the interviews, discussions and observations. The researcher further interviewed members of the group as well as selected elders in the community who served as patrons and consultants to the groups. It is customary that such elders were themselves experienced *Odumu* music and dance members (performers) in their younger years.

Also, we observed the group in three main contexts: during rehearsals within the community when rules and formats were more relaxed, during burials in the community

where the group was invited to perform, and during the *Ej'Alekwu Afia*[2] annual festival of the Ugboju-Idoma when all musical groups in the Ugboju clan are expected to perform. The interviews and performances were recorded using audio and visual recorders for later analysis.

Theory of Sameness and Change

This work is based on the theory of sameness and change. Fraisse (1963) in Lalonde and Chandler (n.d.: 2) argued that there exists a paradox between the conceptualisation of sameness and change in the sense that it imposes on the individual the burden of understanding oneself to embody both permanence and change simultaneously. Thus, Lalonde and Chandler agreed that claims for personal sameness and personal change are true. In their view, persons are, "in some sense, sufficiently self-same to allow for their regular identification and re-identification as one and the same continuous person through time". Hence, an individual's failure to subscribe to the idea of personal sameness inevitably leads to "patent absurdity". On a broader application however, Shaun Gallagher (1998) submits that life is a constant whirl of change, thereby forcing self to constantly respond to such in public and private in order to live or be static and die. Negotiating a balance between sameness and change becomes very imperative in view of the fact that change is inevitable and sameness is unavoidable (Lalonde & Chandler). Re-echoing Cassirer (1923), Lalonde and Chandler (n.d.: 2) posited: "Failing to do so is simply not a live option, all for the reason that any putative self that did not somehow negotiate a way of achieving sameness within change would simply fail to qualify as a recognizable instance of what selves are standardly taken to be." Nonetheless, such sameness must not exist in isolation, seeing nothing of self can survive or sufficiently endure time, but must be founded in relation to linking past and later experiences into a coherent whole. This subscribes to the narrativist view of sameness and change as against the essentialist position. Leaning towards the narrativist's position, Lalonde and Chandler offered that the concept of selfhood must be built on "the stories we fashion in an effort to integrate our past, present, and anticipated future." Interestingly, every performance of *Odumu*

[2] *Alekwu Afia* is the Idoma ancestral masquerade believed to be a spirit manifest of the ancestors. They are revered and invoked for blessings, favours and good omens.

music and dance is intended to integrate the past, present and anticipated future into the collective expression of the Idoma people.

Odumu music and dance is a cultural attempt to express communal sameness within the context of change. The culture and environment of the Idoma people have changed remarkably owing to factors that bother on colonialism, modernism, agriculture, cultural diffusion among other things. Hence *Odumu* musical performance provides an expressive space for communal 'identification and re-identification'. Changes are evident in the context, composition, costume and other features of the music, but the concept and philosophy remains the same. It is on this basis that this theory of sameness and change, although presented from an individual perspective, forms the foundation on which this research is based.

Findings: The *Odumu* in Idoma Fauna

Odumu is an Idoma word for hyena, one of the wild animals which formerly inhabited the geographical area now known as Idoma land. Ecologically, the entirety of the geographical area occupied by the Idoma people in Benue lies within the savannah vegetation of the middle belt area of Nigeria. This area was an ideal habitat for hyenas and other animals such as gorillas, baboons and snakes, which they (the Idoma) perceived as unfriendly co-habitants. For the animals that were not classified as extremely harmful based on the level of danger they could pose to humans by way of attacks, some of them are seen as constituting economic risks because of their destructive impact on farms. The hyena in particular was said to attack both humans and domestic animals, thereby making night time, solitary walks, and breeding of domestic animals dangerous. Contending with such animals in the open savannah became a new battlefront for a people seeking to escape the wars and upheavals in the Kwararafa kingdom. Creating an atmosphere for survival and establishing a built environment required that steps be taken to mitigate all factors that could negate these ambitions. This quest for safety and survival underlay the constant campaign against animals such as the hyena and others. Unfortunately, the impact of this survival campaign and hunting games is the extinction of some of these animals in the area, which is rather regrettable. However, the continuous performance of this music and dance is indicative of the people's quest to re-

enact their history by identifying with it as well as re-state their collective socio-cultural and environmental identity.

Odumu music and dance

Odumu is a fast-paced dance music which is portrayed and perceived as a musical group dominated by men. This is not unconnected with the visible display of ferocity and agility of the hyena, as well as the exercise of masculine energy in the dance. However, membership is open to women who may wish to identify with the group. Although in the past membership was exclusively for middle-aged men and women, teenagers and young adults form the strength of *Odumu* dance groups today while some elders serve as caretakers. This generational shift in membership is largely attributable to a growing interest among the younger generation to demonstrate their physical ability in performing the energetic and demanding dance. Furthermore, it is a collective effort by both older and younger members of the community to prevent the dance from becoming extinct. Therefore, the elders support the growing interest of teenagers in the dance, serving as mentors, guardians, and spiritual leaders. Obotu in Ugboju is known for *Odumu* music and dance where it is believed that every member of that community is a natural *Odumu* dancer.

Admission of new members into the group is devoid of any special ritual. Rather, all new members undergo the process known as *Ọyekwu oche*[3]. This is a pre-condition for becoming a member of the *Odumu* group. Aside from the registration process, new members must acquire cloth wrappers that form part of the dancer's costume for performance. The general (non-targeted) and natural training process that exists in communities where *Odumu* dance music is popular is learning by imitation. When *Odumu* groups rehearse, it is common to see children watch with keen interest and dance along as well. In their play groups, such children are often observed to imitate the adults by dancing together, simulating drum rhythms with their mouths. This has been instrumental in creating passion for the dance and the necessary early induction that prepares the children for future participation. However, guided training begins when a new member formally performs *Ọyekwu oche,* qualifying the new member for mentoring

[3] *Ọyekwu oche* is the act of registering new members, which involve paying a requisite token fee of two hundred naira [NGN 200 ≈ USD $0.60, or about 15% of an average Nigerian daily income].

as a dancer or instrumentalist in the group. Guided training usually takes place during rehearsals, where a new member's dance skills are polished and prepared to become a qualified *Odumu* performer.

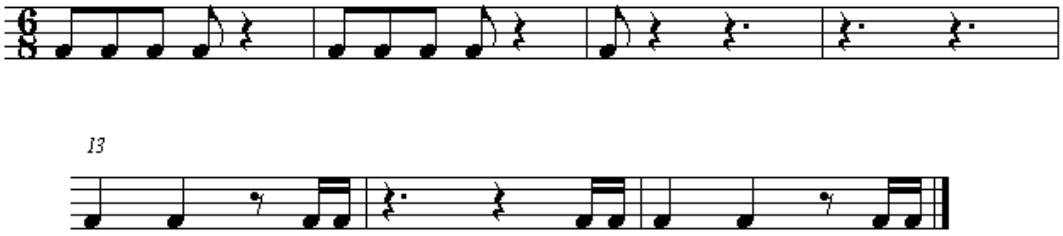
Costume, musical instruments and other performance paraphernalia are derived from cultural resources within the immediate environment. Whereas the dancers tie a piece of wrapper around their waist during the performance, the dance leader and a few others perform with a white ram's mane tied to their wrists in reference to domestic animals in the environment. Beside this, the dancer is costumed in a spotted dark brown material, with a tail representing the hyena. The instruments bear no special social-cultural significance in the performance, rather than that they are part of Idoma musical instrument resources.

Only membranophone and idiophone instruments are associated with *Odumu* music performance. These are three single-membrane drums (one *okwulaga* and two *uba*), a slit drum, and a metal gong. The *okwulaga* is an outstanding drum employed in *Odumu* dance music. It has a comparatively long wooden barrel of about 32 inches in length, but possesses a smaller membrane diameter of about 26 inches.

Figure 1. *Okwulaga* drum standing on its open end (Personal archive, 2008)

The wooden barrel of the drum is made from log of wood or tree trunk (Vidal, 2012: 48). It is a single membrane drum which serves as the master drum whenever it is played along with the *uba* drums.

Although o*kwulaga* is the most prominent instrument in an *Odumu* ensemble which produces a domineering sound above the other drums, it is low-pitched. It is played by a drummer who sits on the wooden frame and strikes the drum membrane with his two palms. As master instrument, it produces different rhythmic patterns to dialogue with and communicate instructions from the master instrumentalist to other instruments and dancers, thereby directing the performance. Therefore, the *Okwulaga* observes moments of rest at intervals usually to allow a dancer take his position on stage. Once the dancer is on stage, the master instrument begins its series of rhythmic patterns to guide the dancer. At moments of rest, the master instrument plays single notes that occur on the first beat of the bar. The following are examples of *Okwulaga* basic rhythmic themes which are varied and developed into different patterns.



Score 1: A brief *okwulaga* rhythmic excerpt played in consort of other instruments to accompany *odumu* dance.

The *uba* is structurally different from the *okwulaga,* although they both share similar playing techniques. The *uba* is a single membrane, cylindrical-framed drum played with bare hands too. Similar to the *okwulaga,* the drummer sits on the wooden frame during performance. The wooden frame of the smaller *uba* is about 9 inches long while the membrane is about 32 inches in diameter. Similarly, the wooden frame of the larger *uba* is about 12 inches long and 39 inches in diameter.

Figure 2. A set of five *uba* (single-headed membrane drums (Personal archive, 2008)

The high-pitched drums which are particularly used to direct dance steps in the absence of *okwulaga* are referred to as *ọb'uba* (male drum) while the low-pitched ones, are called *ẹn'uba* (mother drum). The mother drums are usually larger in size than the male drums. In instances where the master drummer performs on two *uba* drums simultaneously, he combines the mother drum with the male drum. The other drums play unvaried rhythmic patterns, which provide textural support and strength for the master drum.

Odumu dance also makes use of single or double, small clapper-less bells known as *oke*. The player strikes the bell either with a stick or metallic object. The bell provides a regulatory rhythm within which all other instruments find their reference and timing as to when and where to weave their parts in and out of the performance. Owing to the fast tempo of the music, the bell plays single notes on each beat of a simple compound time. The metallic sound from the bell is often sharp and clear for all the performers to hear.

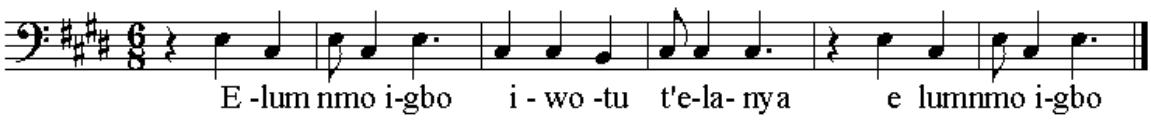
Figure 3. *Oke* (Hand-held double bell) (Personal archive, 2008)

The other major idiophone instrument is the slit drum, known as *agidigbe* in Idoma. According to Vidal (2012: 47), it is made from a dried tree trunk, with its inner content dug out and designed to have two openings known as the lips which produce two distinct tones (Figure 4). Although musical groups like *Odumu* make use of *agidigbe* in their performances, it is the most prominent instrument of the *Ibo* dance group. Apart from musical use, it is also used for sending coded messages within and between communities.

Figure 4. An *Agidigbe* (slit drum) and an *okwulaga* lying beside. (Personal archive, 2008)

Odumu dance musicians and performers prioritize instrumental music over songs in their performances. Arguably, this is because the music is intended to accompany vigorous

dances by members of the group and any member of the audience who wishes to dance. Therefore, singing is intended to keep non-dancers engaged in a form of vocal response to the dance and an impetus for the dancer. Furthermore, the songs attest to the fact their preoccupation with dancing does not make them oblivious to social happenings in society, as the songs make very clear (though brief) social commentaries. Such songs are often short and buit of two phrases, characterised by a cantor's call which may or may not be repeated by the chorus as response. In Music Example 2 below, the cantor's part is devoid of textual variation as observed in other Idoma songs like *Ichicha* and *Aja*. Rather, the call and response between the cantor and the chorus repeats the same musical material presented below throughout the singing.



Score 2. This is a short song titled "Elum nmo" sang by Odumu dancers at the interment of a late member.

Odumu songs texts dwell more on themes of nature and love than death even during funeral occasions. The song most frequently sung by *Odumu* that dwells on death is *Iyọla l'ọy' odumu nmo* where the cantor's call differs from the chorus response. The song describes the death of a member of the group (*oy' odumu* – hyena's cub) as being overwhelmed with sleep, while the response rhetorically answers that 'sleep is sweet, death; sleep is sweet, death.' As stated above, every member of the Obotu community is believed to be an *odumu* dancer, hence, culturally, every adult member of the community is deemed qualified to have the music performed at their burial. This explains the expression *oy'odumu* (hyena's cub) in the burial song. However, owing to the encroachment of modernity and the choice of other non-traditional (particularly Christianity and Islam) belief systems, some members of the community choose to be recognized and accorded a non-member status in the scheme of things in the community.

Performance Context and Structure

As non-ritual dance music, *Odumu* is performed during annual *Ej'Alekwu* festivals as well as other social occasions. However, its performance during burial ceremonies is restricted to burials of members of the musical group and the king. Owing to the unique

manner in which the group handles performances during the funerals of deceased members, the discussion on performance context will focus on funeral contexts.

Whenever a member of an *Odumu* dance group dies and the group is invited to perform at the funeral, the family of the deceased is required to send a formal message to the group, informing them of the death of their member and the need for them to perform at the funeral. The same process is followed when an elder in the community known to have associated with *Odumu* during his lifetime died. If the masked dancer is to perform with the group, the bereaved family must present a live goat to the group, as it is believed that hyenas come to human settlements primarily to snatch animals. Instances of featuring the *Odumu* masquerade in a performance is highly esteemed, therefore requires providing the symbolic bait for *Odumu* (hyena) in form of a live goat. At such instance, all the group dancers must be adorned in a uniform costume. Where the family meets this demand for *Odumu* performance, the group promptly dispatches *Ukpokwu* (Figure 5) to the deceased's compound in the evening of the wake where he gives a shout, then places a broken tree branch on the roof of the house where the body is laid. This signifies the group's readiness to perform at the wake. The firing of any type of gun is prohibited from the moment *Odumu* musical instruments begin to play in preparation for performance. If this should happen, the *Odumu* performance is automatically terminated. This is predicated on the belief that whenever a hyena comes out, men shoot to kill it, and hyenas naturally flee from gunshots. But where the family of the deceased is able to present only food and drinks to the group without the live goat, the group would still perform but without the masquerade.

Figure 5. *Ukpoku* masked dancer (Personal archive, 2008)

Odumu performances are structured in three sections: *Inspection* or *pre-performance*, *performance*, and *closing stage.* The *inspection* or *pre-performance stage* begins when the instrumentalists start the music for the dance. This ushers in the *Ukpokwu* who runs into the open stage with a shout and a whip in his hand to enforce crowd control. He charges from one end of the stage to the other, forcing spectators to create enough space for the performance. This done, the *Ukpokwu* exits the stage while the lead dancer runs into the stage and performs a solo dance, to enable him inspect the performance arena/stage and the preparedness of the instrumentalists. He dances alone for some seconds, usually facing the instrumentalists, and then runs off the stage. This marks the end of the *inspection* or *pre-performance stage.* While the instrumentalists continue their music, a short interval is allowed before the second section begins.

The second stage of *Odumu* dance performance, the *performance stage,* begins with the *Ukpokwu* running into the dancing arena again, shouting and threatening spectators with his whip in order to enforce the boundaries earlier marked out for the dance. The dancers then enter the arena in a single file, led by the dance leader, followed by the masked dancer and finally the remaining dancers. Thereafter, they proceed to form a semi-circle

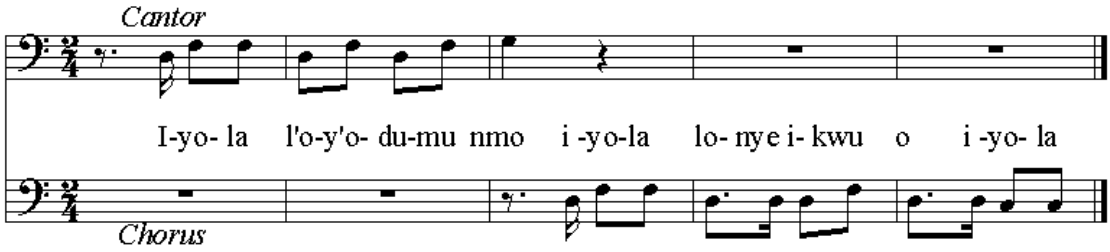
opposite the instrumentalists and begin dancing simultaneously, following which they change into a single line formation beside the instrumentalists, allowing individual dancers to enter the stage to perform one after

Figure 6. An *Odumu* dancer engaged in a solo dance while others watch (Personal archive, 2008)

the other. However, the masked dancer is the star attraction because he is always the best dancer. Apart from solo dance by the dancers, two dancers could also perform simultaneously, usually facing one another. The *Odumu* masked dancer represents the hyena while the lead dancer and a few other members tie a ram's mane on their wrists to symbolize domestic animals.

The last part of the performance is the *closing stage.* This involves all the dancers re-entering the stage and performing together in a semi-circular formation. The dance leader then leads the group off the stage while the instrumentalists continue their music until the *Ukpokwu* exits the stage also.

The high points of *Odumu* performance at burials are always during the all-night wake, and the morning following the wake when the group performs its final funeral rite for its late member. This final funeral rite usually begins as the group accompanies the body to its final resting place singing the following song:



Score 3. This song titled "Iyola" is one of the short songs commonly sang by *Odumu* dancers during interment of a late group member.

After the body is finally interred and the grave covered, a member of the group pours *oblukutu*[4] on the grave, upon which the leader stands with a single-headed drum which he tucks under his arm and beats with the other hand while group members dance round the grave. Pouring *oblukutu* on the grave indicates the last drink shared with the dead while standing on the grave and dancing round it represents *Odumu* burying its dead. This last rite is not accompanied by the energetic and fast-paced dance normally associated with the group.

Discussion of findings: Dance of culture-nature story

At the level of socio-cultural representation and significance, *Odumu* music and dance could be analysed from wider perspectives. The music with its associated dance tells the story of a people as well as representing a musical culture that embraces the whole spectrum of their expressive life. It captures the way in which the people have related to their environment in the past and how that is translated into their constant cultural expression. Hence, celebrating the conquest of hyenas does not just tell the story of subduing an animal species, but is a narrative about other animals that had co-inhabited the environment with them in the past. Every performance of the music reminds the Idoma that he/she descends from a lineage of ancestors who had interacted with diverse wild animals that may not be commonly seen in their environment at the moment. The philosophy underlying the music and dance is reflected in different forms in the performance. Prohibition of gun shots during *Odumu* performance points to the fact that hyenas were not spared in the environment. Consequently, the most potent weapon believed to deter the hyena is the gun. Therefore, every shooting of gun at such instance

[4] *Oblukutu* is a local alcoholic drink, brewed from sorghum. It is a standard requirement at most Idoma traditional occasions. It is a common drink among other ethnic groups in Nigeria such as the Tiv, Gbagi, Birom, and Ngas, among others.

is an indicative of spotting a hyena which must be killed or deterred from attacking any human or domestic animal in the community. But, since the hyena is represented therein by a masked dancer, such gun shots are interpreted as symbolic threats to him and expression of rejection of the performance. This explains why gunshots are prohibited when *Odumu* performs be it at burials or any other occasion. In practice, underlying the dance is the cultural philosophy of non-accommodation of any factor that threatens the survival of the people. This could be the survival of their agricultural, social or spiritual practices, an individual, or the whole group. Hence, defence of the culture and community becomes a moral responsibility resting on every adult in the community.

The conquest of the hyena demonstrates the safety and security of the Idoma man, his family, and his domestic animals. A man's security determines his success and wealth in the society. Therefore, the security and safety of a man, his family and possessions have direct bearing on his social standing in the society. In the face of recent wave of attacks on some Idoma settlements by killer herdsmen and "unknown gunmen", the dance rally the people to rise in defence of the land and their family, reminding them that no foe is unconquerable.

The dance is vigorous and energetic, requiring strength and stamina. Although portrayed as a men's musical group, women are not prohibited from being members, neither are women who are non-members barred from joining in the dance if they wish. The vigorous and energetic display of stamina is a demonstration of the Idoma man's pride in his physical strength. Similarly, the subjugation and conquest of the wild is a demonstration of psychological, social, and physical strength. Idoma culture abhors laziness and sloth because of the resultant vices and unwholesome dependence such life breeds. As an agrarian people, their survival and social security depend on every member's hard work and productivity through physical strength. Further still, besides funeral occasions for adults adjudged worthy to be honoured with *Odumu* burial rite, the performance of *Odumu* at different social occasions epitomizes Idoma philosophy that conquest leads to celebration, which naturally gives birth to entertainment. Therefore, every performance is an occasion for entertainment.

The continual performance of *Odumu* music and dance is a re-enactment of culture and collective identity. The performance projects music and dance as entertainment with the

goal of educating and refreshing the memories of the audience on historical heritage and ecological realities. This is socially significant, considering the fact that it strengthens communal bond and common heritage among members of the community. Connecting human society and nature is obligatory for better environmental realities. However, contemporary arts must seek to situate itself within the broader benefits of society beyond just entertainment. This should warn on the consequences of human actions on both society and surrounding nature. While *odumu* (hyena) may be a familiar animal term among the Idoma people, most of the people have never seen one, because hyenas no longer exist within their physical environment. Also, society's need to constantly induct the younger generation into their cultures makes performances of this kind imperative.

Implications of *Odumu* performance on environmental sustainability in Idoma

Presently, climate change and diverse human activities have adversely affected the natural habitat that originally provided a home to animals such as the hyena around the environment inhabited by the Idoma people. According to Djomo et al (2021:1851), studies have shown that the average temperature in Nigeria has climbed to 31.83 Celsius in 2010 from 26.74 Celsius in the 18th century. Generally, this is attributed to global warming, whose impact is noticeable all around the globe. Rising temperatures naturally affect the biodiversity of a given environment. In Nigeria, the Guinea and Sahel savannah zones are experiencing environmental changes that include desert encroachment, deforestation, irregular rainfall patterns among others (Nwalem, 2015:7). Interestingly, Idoma land lies between the tropical rain forest zone of southern Nigeria and the savannah zone of northern Nigeria. This zone, therefore, provided a home for several animals such as hyena, monkey, baboon, gorilla, fox etc in the past. In fact, in Adoka district (an Idoma district that shares a common boundary with the Ugboju people), some villages are named after the natural habitat of some wild animals that once dwelt there in the past. Examples are *Og'odumu* (a literal translation is hyena's hole) and *Okp'aflo* (gorilla stream). These support the claim that there was a balanced existence of wild animals in this area in not too distant past. However, these animals are no longer found within this geographical area. Factors that are primarily responsible for this development are direct consequences of human activities, which include excessive killing of wild animals by local hunters as source of income, and destruction of the animals' natural

habitat owing to agricultural activities, expansion of human built spaces as well as commercial logging.

The destruction of the natural ecology of this geographical area is a disaster, having a negative impact on the entire life cycle of the environment. Therefore, deliberate efforts must be put into helping the environment recover. This requires providing the locals with some level of environmental advocacy or education aimed at enlisting them into working to save and conserve all that inhabit their environment. Such advocacy should enlighten them on alternative sources of income as well as protein sources which the animals formerly provided for them. Creating a safe haven for the animals is capable of helping the animals build back their population reasonably within a given period. Finally, effective legislations and government support for protecting the environment from indiscriminate human encroachment is urgently needed.

Conclusion

Idoma historians have frequently investigated and told Idoma history without exploring other aspects of the culture that mirror their existence. Idoma music and dance do not tell of a people's performative art only, but also their environment and its interface with their existence and identity. This include the bio-features of the environment, such as animals that are believed to have had an effect on their survival, animals and aquatic lives that have become extinct on account of human activities, plants that define their agricultural and medicinal life among others. Therefore, Idoma music and dance transport the people on a historical journey to their past as well as appreciate their environment. These are captured in musical texts, instruments, performances, and costumes, which provide strong evidences of their history. Beyond the undisputable cultural benefits of these performances to the Idoma people, their representation and identification must be pictured correctly especially as encapsulated in their music and dance. *Odumu* music and dance provide a sonic statement within the broader historical narrative of the Idoma people and their environment which, hitherto, have not been explored. This suggests, therefore, that understanding the ecological space of the mid-central area of Nigeria through the music of the indigenous inhabitants of the area would be essential to a better reconstruction of their history as well as ameliorating their ecological challenges.

Musical performance has remained a primary medium for expression among the Idoma in Nigeria. Beyond the surface, there lie deeper meanings and implications of music and dance performances among the Idoma and Africans in general. Every performance either tells a story of a distant or recent past, re-enacts an event, supplicates a deity, communicates with ancestor, or passes information. Although modernity has eroded many musical types among the people especially such music as have ritual and traditional religious bias, there are still other types that are of immense cultural significance. Their performances are critical to cultural preservation and sustenance, requiring that necessary interventions be made where required in order to strengthen them.

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Aesthetically Warranted Emotions in the Theme of the Final Movement of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op.10 No.3

ABSTRACT
In a video commentary, pianist and conductor Daniel Barenboim (2016) discussed the dangers of verbal descriptions of music by presenting two seemingly contradictory explanations about the 'meaning' of the theme of the final movement of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op.10/3 given by pianists Edwin Fischer and Claudio Arrau. We examined the tempo and dynamic fluctuations obtained from the studio recordings of this theme by Fischer in 1948 and 1954, and by Arrau in 1964 and 1985 by using the Sonic Visualiser software (Cannam et al., 2010), and interpreted these results by using Steve Larson's (2012) theory of musical forces, and Robert Hatten's (2018) theory of virtual agency in western music. According to our analyses, the differences in the performances of Fischer and Arrau can be metaphorically correlated with the different meanings these pianists attributed to Beethoven's theme. We concluded that the seemingly contradictory verbal descriptions of these pianists indicate different aesthetically warranted emotions they aimed to communicate through their performances of Beethoven's theme.

KEYWORDS
Music semiotics
Musical meaning
Performance analysis
Virtual agency
Musical forces

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The issue of musical meaning has been controversial among many practitioners and philosophers of music. This should not come as a surprise considering that music can be experienced as meaningful even when this 'meaning' cannot be put into words. Words may become inadequate in describing the direct impression of a moving musical experience. Conductor and pianist Daniel Barenboim (2016) expressed his skepticism about the validity of verbal descriptions of music in a video commentary, in which he discusses two contrasting emotional observations given by pianists Edwin Fischer and Claudio Arrau on the last movement of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op.10 No.3. The following is a transcription of Barenboim's words from that video:

> "When I was a child I went to the master class of Edwin Fischer, great Swiss pianist, one of the greatest musicians I think I ever met. And he taught, gave a lesson, on the last movement of this sonata, which goes something like this... [Barenboim plays the movement until measure 9]... and he spent the whole lesson talking about the humor in this music. And the humor showed itself by these three notes at the beginning [Barenboim plays these notes] being interrupted by the silence, and being repeated again [Barenboim plays the three notes again]. And he thought this was a perfect example of humor in music. [Barenboim plays the opening measures again, saying "hah-ha!" during the rests]... and it was very convincing. And I remember the person who was playing the piano had great difficulty to express what the great master was telling him, but he tried and he did somewhat.
>
> Quite a few years later I went to a recital of another great pianist that I greatly admired – Claudio Arrau. Claudio Arrau was one of the most serious musicians that ever came on this earth. He was able to see the dark side and the tragic side in the most innocent music. And I went to have dinner with him after his concert. And he gave me a long lecture about the tragic nature of the last movement of Beethoven's sonata Op.10 No.3. "Just imagine", he said to me, "just imagine: three notes, immediately interrupted, as if they are dying. Then comes again, and again they are interrupted. It's the inability of these three notes to become something continuous and create a melody. This is the very essence of tragic expression in music." [Barenboim plays the first eight measures of the movement with a serious expression on his face]... and then the music gets going. For me this has remained a perfect example of the danger of choosing adjectives to explain the music. Music can really only be explained through sound." (Barenboim, 2016)

In the above remarks, Barenboim reiterated the common motto of musical formalism, which had already been expressed in the 19th century by the influential music critic

Eduard Hanslick. Hanslick viewed instrumental music as a formal abstract construction, and likened music to architecture or dancing – other arts that brought forward "beautiful relationships without content" (Hanslick, 1994: 82-83). He argued that while everybody could evaluate and describe the emotional impact of a piece subjectively, "its content is nothing but the audible tonal forms; since music speaks not merely by means of tones, it speaks only tones" (Hanslick, 1994: 83). Likewise, Stravinsky questioned the whole enterprise of musical signification by asking "do we not, in truth, ask the impossible of music when we expect it to express feelings, to translate dramatic situations, even to imitate nature?" (Stravinsky, 1947: 77). In the early 21st century, the philosopher Peter Kivy stated that the concept of "meaning" had no relevance for purely instrumental music which is devoid of direct semantic associations (Kivy, 2007: 152). He argued that discussion about musical meaning was not possible without watering down the concept of 'meaning' – it is not only that music is meaningless according to Kivy, but using the concept of meaning is a mistake to describe music. Kivy further argued that using the word 'meaning' did not give musicologists the "license to talk the talk of the interpreters of the literary and representational arts", and "they get the word, but nothing more" (Kivy, 2007: 149).

Yet, in spite of all the above objections, one frequently encounters metaphorical allusions or poetic associations about the meaning of music, and such verbal discussions are especially valuable for performers. As Leech-Wilkinson (2009) observes, "there is no more efficient way of communicating to a student performer how to shape a piece in a particular way than to tell her how to feel or what to imagine the music is evoking" (Leech-Wilkinson, 2009: chapter 6, paragraph 49). A considerable amount of information about the desired phrasing, articulation, or rhythmic characteristics of a certain piece of music can be communicated effectively by commenting on its mood, character, or meaning; and in some cases, such a metaphorical route may be much more efficient and practical than explicitly specifying note durations or intensities (Leech-Wilkinson, 2009: chapter 6, paragraph 49). Likewise, any meaning that can be communicated by a piece of music depends upon an actualized or imagined musical performance. While "the score is an attempt to define the boundaries for future performances" (Bowen, 2001: 425), it is the performance that brings out a specific realization, "creating meaning within the structural affordances of compositions, meaning that cannot itself be encompassed

within a purely structural description" (Cook, 2013: 68). Consequently, the meaning of pieces cannot be conceived without explicit or implicit reference to actual or imagined performances. It is impossible to imagine scores without imagining them sounding as in a performance. Furthermore, "manners of performance have become absorbed into the scholarly imagination of scores" (Leech-Wilkinson, 2012: paragraph 1.7), which means that when music scholars analyse scores, they imagine them sounding in the current performance style. Cook (2001a) observes that a performance does not expose or express the meaning retained in the score, and that the act of performance "should be seen as a source of signification in its own right", and "a source of musical meaning" (Cook, 2001a: 247). Because musical meaning is constructed through performance, "meaning is emergent: it is not reproduced in but created through the act of performance" (Cook, 2001b: 179). Therefore, Cook concludes that it is false to assume that a certain meaning is communicated by a piece, but instead a piece of music provides "the potential for specific meanings to emerge under specific circumstances" (Cook, 2001b: 180).

Since musical meaning depends on interpretation, the conflicting descriptions by Fischer and Arrau that Barenboim (2016) reported about the theme of the final rondo movement of Beethoven's sonata Op.10 No.3, reflect the meanings that these pianists attributed to this piece. Accordingly, Arrau portrayed the theme as 'tragic', whereas Fischer described it as being 'humorous'; Fischer also wrote about the same movement that "the Finale is full of humor reminding us of Beethoven's liking for jokes and puns" (Fischer, 1959: 40). Arguably, these pianists must have strived to communicate these diverse meanings in their performances, even though it is possible that various listeners do not perceive or experience specifically these meanings articulated by these pianists. As Cross (2005) observes, a performance of music creates a sense of 'aboutness' while possibly conveying somewhat disparate meanings for performer and listener, or for two different listeners, or even several different meanings for a single listener at different times, resulting in a condition which Cross termed as *floating intentionality* (Cross, 2005: 30). Certainly, due to the floating intentionality of music, what the listeners perceive in performances of Fischer and Arrau may not exactly be the meanings intended by these pianists. On the other hand, as Leech-Wilkinson (2012) argues the performance style and the manner of execution makes a great difference to the emergent musical meaning: "different manners of performance of the same musical material can trigger very different (and accurate)

assessments by listeners of the intended emotional expression" (Leech-Wilkinson, 2012: paragraph 3.2).

Given the opposing affective meanings Fischer and Arrau verbally attributed to Beethoven's theme under consideration (tragic vs. humorous), it is reasonable to expect that these meanings are somehow conveyed through the different interpretative choices made by these pianists. This situation brings forward several questions: How can different performers interpret the same musical passage in order to bring out two seemingly conflicting feelings (tragic vs. humorous)? What are the differences in their performances? And how are these differences correlated metaphorically with the adjectives these pianists used while explaining the meaning of this theme?

This article will strive to answer the above questions by analysing Fischer's and Arrau's performances of the theme of the final movement of Beethoven's Sonata Op.10 No.3. Tempo and dynamic fluctuations from four different studio recordings of the theme performed by these pianists are obtained by using the *Sonic Visualiser* software developed by Cannam et al. (2010), and the results are interpreted by referring to the theoretical frameworks provided by Steve Larson's (2012) theory of *musical forces* and Robert Hatten's (2018) theory of *virtual agency* in music. In order to find out how different predispositions about this theme's 'meaning' may affect musical performances, we studied the differences in the performances of Fischer and Arrau, and explored whether these differences could correlate with the conflicting verbal interpretations given by these musicians. Our purpose is certainly not to provide a verbal translation for the musical meaning, since we agree with Cook's (2001b) statement that "the aim [for the analysis of musical meaning] should not be to translate meaning into words, but rather to attend to the conditions of its emergence" (Cook, 2001b: 190).

Before we discuss the interpretations of Fischer and Arrau in detail, we present in the following section a brief introduction to Larson's (2012) and Hatten's (2018) theories, which we utilized as our theoretical framework.

Theory of Musical Forces and the Theory of Virtual Agency

The focus of Steve Larson's (2012) theory of *musical forces* is musical meaning generated by expectations arising from musical movement. Larson (2012) theorizes that melodic

movement is governed by three musical forces which he identifies as *gravity, magnetism,* and *inertia.* In Larson's theory, gravity is the tendency of a melody to move downwards (Larson, 2012: 83); magnetism "is the tendency of an unstable note to move to the closest stable pitch", which can be determined by Schenkerian prolongation reductions (Larson, 2012: 92); and finally, inertia is "the tendency of a pattern of motion to continue in the same fashion". Larson (2012) claims that the above forces determine our melodic expectations in tonal music in such a way that we expect the music to progress smoothly under the influence of melodic forces in stepwise manner, forming simple closed shapes:

> "Experienced listeners of tonal music expect melodic completions in which the musical forces of gravity, magnetism, and inertia control operations on alphabets in hierarchies of elaboration whose stepwise displacements of auralized traces create simple closed shapes." (Larson, 2012: 110)

Larson metaphorically extends his observations on pitch relations to the temporal organization of music. He claims that musical inertia, which is a pattern's tendency to carry on in like manner, is crucial for metrical or rhythmical organization of music, since the listeners expect the continuation of the same pattern (Larson, 2012: 143). Larson posits that the hierarchical organization of musical time is a direct consequence of our hierarchical experience of physical motion, leading to the hierarchical perception of durational patterns (Larson, 2012: 145). Building on Hatten's observation that "gestures may also be hierarchically organized, in that larger gestures can be comprised of smaller gestures" (Hatten, 2004: 94), Larson states that hierarchical organization of musical gestures results in the metrical hierarchy of music (Larson, 2012: 145). Just as a physical motion is a "move from stability through instability then back again to stability", musical motion, in tonal music, tends to initiate from metrically stable temporal positions and terminate also on stable metrical positions (Larson, 2012: 145). Hence, metrically stable beats can be viewed as acting as temporal magnets, allowing Larson to posit the concept of *rhythmic magnetism*, which is analogous to melodic magnetism (Larson, 2012: 147). Just as an unstable pitch resolves to the closest stable pitch, the beginnings and endings of musical gestures tend to gravitate towards the closest metrically stable locations. Like tonal stability, metric stability is also relative and depends on the context. Larson's idea of rhythmic magnetism can account for the "metrical dissonance" concept of Krebs (1999): when a musical gesture fits within the boundaries of stable metrical locations, it is said to be metrically consonant; conversely, when a gesture does not coincide within

stable metrical locations (as in a syncopation or two-against-three rhythmic pattern) it produces a metrical dissonance (Larson, 2012: 165).

Building on Larson's (2012) theory of musical forces, theories of embodied cognition (Johnson, 2007; Cox, 2016), and observations on gestural communication of music (Hatten 2004; Pierce 2007), Hatten (2018) advances a theory of *virtual agency* for Western art music. Hatten's (2018) theory, first of all implies that when we hear a musical movement, we infer, or engage with, a virtual agent moving in a virtual environment. Secondly, any quality we may infer from the musical movement of such a virtual agent will metaphorically constitute our perceived sense of the embodied movements and gestural characteristics of the virtual agent. Thirdly, Hatten (2018) posits that, for tonal music, the virtual environment in which such a virtual agent moves is determined by Larson's (2012) musical forces of gravity, magnetism, and inertia. A virtual agent may yield to these musical forces, and in this scenario the forces will drag the agent to the nearest most stable pitch; or a virtual agent may willfully engage in an energetic movement in the same direction of these forces, which will be reflected in the energetic shaping of musical movement by an increase in speed or an increase in volume; or the virtual agent may counteract the musical forces and move by a step or leap in the opposite direction. Note that in the case of opposing the virtual environmental forces, such a movement "would require additional energy, and the requisite energy cannot be provided by the three musical forces if it contradicts each of them", and therefore "we are compelled to infer some kind of agency capable of generating what might be called initiatory energy" (Hatten 2018: 49). Eventually our ability to infer embodied motion metaphorically from musical motion rests on "hearing a succession of pitches as motivated by an energetic agency that can counteract as well as give in to the virtual environmental forces of gravity, magnetism, and inertia" (Hatten 2018: 49).

In Hatten's (2018) theory, melodic movement is synonymous with the movement of the musical virtual agent under the influence of these forces, and through the energetic shaping of this movement we can make inferences metaphorically about the energy investment by the agent and the qualities of the agent's gestures and embodied motion. Within this analytical framework, the theory of musical forces provides the laws of motion operating in the virtual musical world, just as laws of physics determine our expectations about motion in the physical world we live in. Hence our perception of

musical gestures metaphorically correlates with the movements of an inferred virtual musical agent; based on the qualities of these movements, we may make inferences about the energetic disposition, the intentionality, or the psychological state of that virtual agent – just as we may make similar inferences from the physical movements of a person that we observe from a distance.

Analyses of Fischer's and Arrau's Performances of Theme of the Fourth Movement of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op.10 No.3

Both Fischer's and Arrau's descriptions of the theme of the final movement of Beethoven's Sonata Op.10 No.3 specifically mention the three-note motif that opens the movement. In Barenboim's (2016) video commentary, Arrau's description is presented as follows: "just imagine: three notes, immediately interrupted, as if they are dying. Then comes again, and again they are interrupted. It's the inability of these three notes to become something continuous and create a melody". On the other hand, Fischer (1959) provides a very different description for the same three-note motif in his book on Beethoven's piano sonatas, which goes as "the player must have a vivid sense of the questioning and answering, the continual running hither and thither, the hide-and-seek game that Beethoven carries on with the three notes of the subject" (Fischer, 1959: 41). Beethoven's theme is given below in Figure 1, and each occurrence of the three-note motif is also indicated on the score.

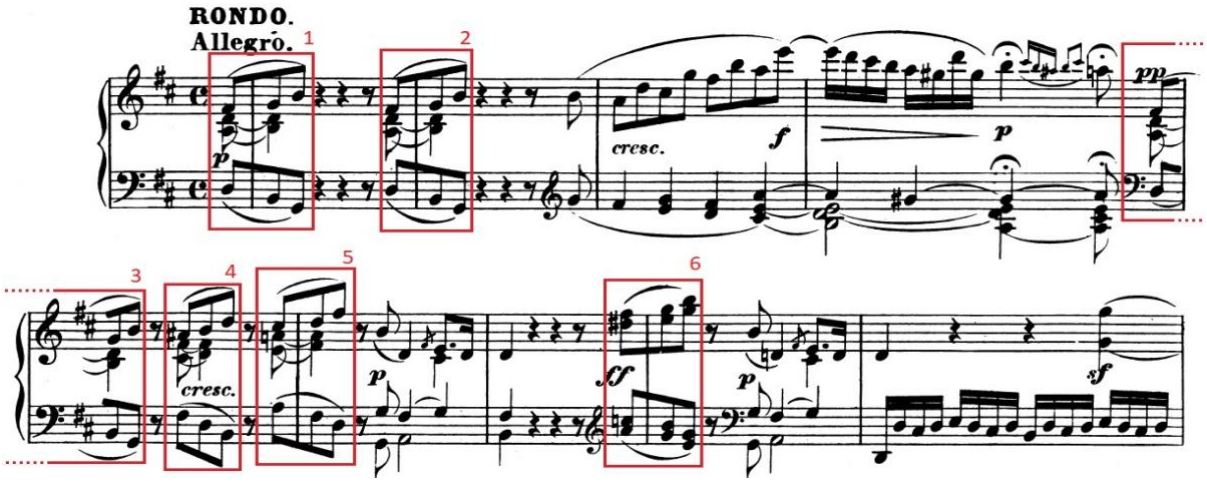

Figure 1. Beginning of the fourth movement of Beethoven's Sonata Op.10 No.3.

As shown in Figure 1, the first three-note motif moves from a root-position D Major chord to a root-position G Major chord, resulting in a I-IV progression, while the two hands

move in contrary motion, expanding the register manually by moving the melodic line up against the gravity. The harmonic movement in question is realized with the onset of the second event of the gesture (melody note G4 harmonized by a IV^6 chord), and as a result that event is more likely to be heard as a metrical downbeat. Consequently, the beginning of the motif implies an anacrusis; its ending – being metrically inferior to the second event due to the harmonic movement – would likely be perceived as a syncopation.

Larson's (2012) theory of *musical forces* aims to predict the expectations of listeners, and it can also account for the metrical incongruity or the sense of unresolvedness of the opening motif of Beethoven's theme. The rising melodic movement goes against *gravity*, and when the movement gets going, its *inertia* or momentum creates expectancy for the continuation of the upward motion. A listener might have two expectations for the continuation of the gesture as we reach the note B4, depending on which melodic force prevails: these expectations are shown in Figure 2 in panels (b) and (c). The force of inertia favors the movement to continue in a similar fashion, as a rising arpeggio as shown in panel (b) in Figure 2. On the other hand, the force of gravity always pulls the music downwards. If gravity could overcome inertia after the jump from G4 to B4, the melody would be pulled downwards to the stable pitch of A4 with a stepwise motion as shown in panel (c) in Figure 2.

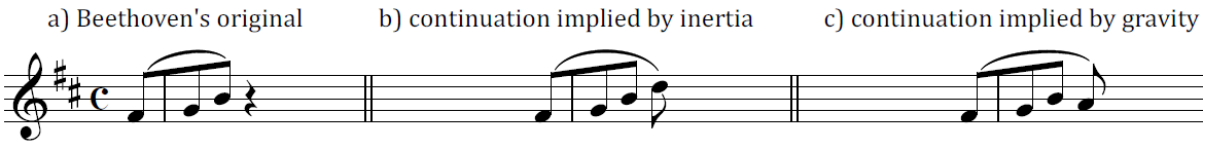

Figure 2. The original motif at the beginning Beethoven's theme, and two hypothetical continuations implied by different melodic forces.

Nevertheless, Beethoven's original motif does not exhibit the hypothetical continuations given in Figure 2; it instead terminates on the note B4 with a syncopation caused by the harmonic movement. This termination violates our melodic expectations arising from the *rhythmic magnetism*, which prefers to coincide the ends of musical gestures with metrically stable locations. Hence the gestural movement does not produce a simple closed shape rhythmically (due to ending on the upbeat) and harmonically (due to ending on the relatively unstable sixth degree of the scale).

We analysed two studio recordings of the theme of the final movement of Beethoven's Op.10 No.3 recorded by Edwin Fischer in 1948 and 1954 (Beethoven, 1995/1948;

Beethoven 1987a/1954), and two recordings by Claudio Arrau made in 1964 and 1985 (Beethoven, 2012/1964; Beethoven 1987b/1985). These analyses were carried out by using the *Sonic Visualiser* software, which is an open-source application developed for music analysis (Cannam et al., 2010). Figure 3 shows the results of the analyses from Fischer's 1948 and 1954 recordings; the results obtained from Arrau's 1964 and 1985 recordings are plotted in Figure 4. The horizontal axis of the plots in Figures 3 and 4 indicate the metric position of the tempo and dynamics readings with respect to measures in the score – hence values at 1 show the readings at the beginning of measure 1, values at 3.75 show the readings at the third beat of measure 3, and so on. The lower graphs in both Figures 3 and 4 indicate the instantaneous tempo at any metric position that is calculated by using the duration between the previous and the current item. Therefore, an upward slope before any point indicates that those events are occurring earlier than the previously established tempo would imply; likewise, a downward slope before any location indicates that those events are delayed with respect to the earlier tempo. The dynamic readings are obtained by following the procedure described in Cook and Leech-Wilkinson (2009), by using the *Smoothed Power* plugin in Sonic Visualiser, and these readings are plotted above the tempo graphs in Figures 3 and 4. Before plotting, the dynamics readings were multiplied by 4 for the ease of visualization above the tempo graphs. Moreover, also for the ease of reading, the lines on the graphs that connect the dynamics readings indicate the events that are gesturally connected without any rests in between them.

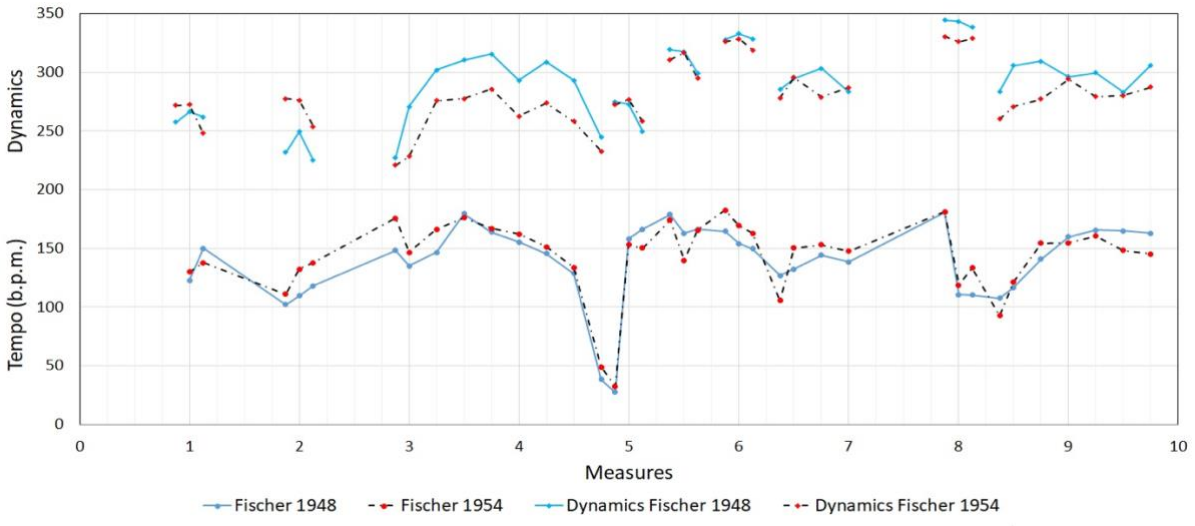

Figure 3. Performance analyses of the theme from Edwin Fischer's 1948 and 1954 recordings of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op.10 No.3.

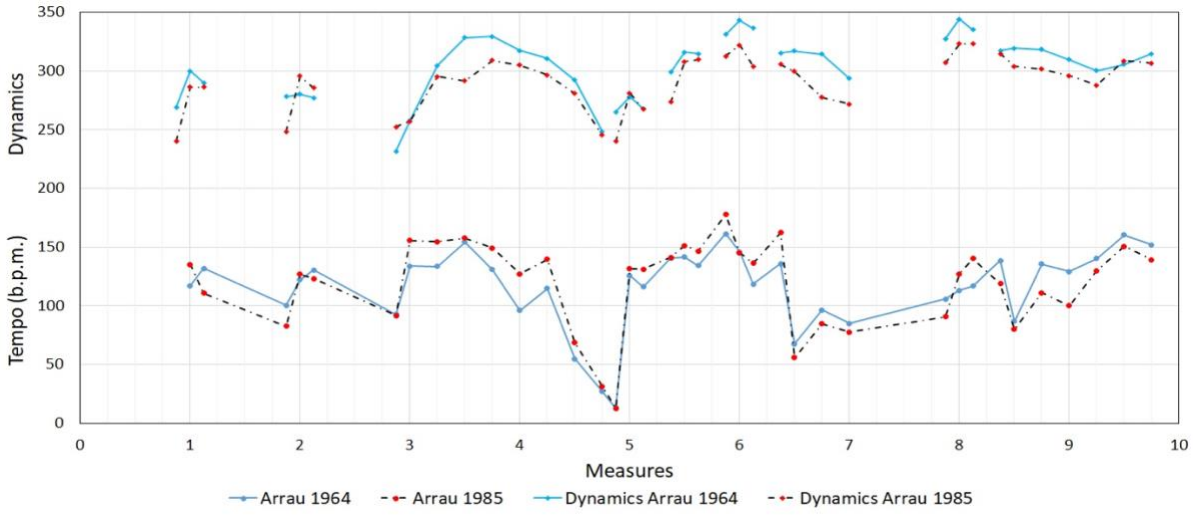

Figure 4. Performance analyses of the theme from Claudio Arrau's 1964 and 1985 recordings of Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op.10 No.3.

The dynamics corresponding to the three-note motifs in Fischer's and Arrau's performances are indicated in Figures 3 and 4 as isolated islands of three values connected with lines at positions 1, 2, 5, 5.5, 6, and 8 – and these positions correspond to three-note motifs numbered as 1, 2, 3, 4 ,5, and 6 in Figure 1. As can be seen in Figures 3 and 4, Fischer and Arrau generally employ distinctive energetic shapes and gestures for these motifs. Fischer's gestures have either a loud-loud-soft pattern or an arch-like shape, and in most of these gestures the last events have significantly lower dynamic values compared to the first two. On the other hand, none of Arrau's gestures have a loud-loud-

soft pattern: his preferred shapes are either soft-loud-loud or arch-like. Moreover, the first event in his gestures is almost always significantly softer.

These gestural shapes presented by Fischer and Arrau correlate with the respective verbal descriptions these pianists gave about the meanings they observed in these gestures.

Recall that Arrau interpreted the three-note motifs as abruptly interrupted musical statements, and the prominence of soft-loud-loud pattern in the three-note motifs in his 1985 recording (5 out of 6 gestures) especially bring out this sense of sudden interruptions. The last event in the three-note motif is a syncopation due to the harmonic change in the second event, and accenting the syncopated ending significantly exaggerates the feeling of interruption. Arrau's 1964 recording does not exhibit soft-loud-loud gestures as prominently, although the first and fourth motifs from that recording clearly exhibit that pattern (2 out of 6). Nevertheless, the arch-like patterned gestures in Arrau's 1964 performance have louder endings in comparison to their beginnings – the only exception in the 1964 recording is the second motif, but even here the dynamic difference is rather negligible. None of the three-note motifs in Arrau's recordings present a loud-loud-soft pattern, which is abundant in Fischer's performances. Consequently, the general pattern for Arrau's gestures is a relatively soft start and abrupt interruption. Overall, the shapes of Arrau's gestures, which have significantly different dynamic profiles compared to Fischer's gestures, correlate with Arrau's statement: "it's the inability of these three notes to become something continuous and create a melody" (Barenboim, 2016).

On the other hand, Fischer's three-note motifs generally end with events that have significantly softer dynamic levels than the first and the middle event. Such a dynamic patterning correlates with the "hide-and-seek game" metaphor that Fischer mentioned in his description of the theme (Fischer, 1959: 41), since the sudden drops in dynamic level may correlate with intentional vanishing 'out of sight', so to speak. While the loud-loud-soft pattern is absent in the first two gestures of Fischer's 1948 recording, here he plays the second motif like a significantly softer echo of the first motif. This echo creates an illusion of distance, as if the sound source for the second motif is different or located somewhere else. This echo effect may also be interpreted as a 'hide-and-seek game' or it

may otherwise be seen as replacing that with another game – in any case the echo effect projects a feeling of playfulness.

Hatten's (2018) theory of virtual agency in music can provide insights about how Fischer and Arrau aspired to communicate the contrasting meanings they assigned to Beethoven's theme, since the different dynamic shapes they create for the three-note motifs carry hints about the distinctive intentionalities and psychological dispositions of virtual musical agencies implied by their performances.

Compared to Arrau's gestures, Fischer's three-note motifs are much closer to the intentional energetic movements of a humorous musical agent. On the other hand, compared to Fischer's gestures, Arrau's three-note motifs somewhat exaggerate the feeling of interruption, and hence portray a virtual agent whose melodic goal (whose implied movement) is inhibited by some obstacle beyond the agent's control – which can be interpreted as an external power that is not visible to us, or an inner psychological hindrance which prevents the realization of the agent's fulfilment (i.e., uttering a complete melody). Arrau's use of the concept 'tragedy' in his description is very apt in this connection, since the archetypical tragic mythos deals with heroes who are in conflict with supreme powers beyond their understanding, and who are eventually overtaken by those powers because of their ignorance or shortcomings. Hence, in keeping with this interpretation, the melodic interruptions might be seen metaphorically synonymous with not being able to realize one's desires, or not having control over one's destiny or fortune. Also note that Arrau bestows the music with anthropomorphic characters ("three notes… they are dying", etc.), and therefore a kind of virtual agency is implicitly assumed in his explanation.

As can be seen by comparing the tempo graphs given in Figures 3 and 4, Fischer's recordings of Beethoven's theme are relatively faster than Arrau's recordings. The speed of a performance makes a significant difference in the musical meaning communicated to the audience (Leech-Wilkinson, 2012: paragraph 3.5). Due to higher tempi, Fischer's recordings imply musical agents with higher energy levels than those implied by Arrau's recordings, and as a result Fischer's interpretations are less correlated with a tragic expression.

Apart from the dynamic shapes of the three-note motifs and speeds of performances, there are several other significant differences in the recordings of Fischer and Arrau that correlate with the conflicting meanings these pianists aspired to Beethoven's theme under consideration. The sections of the theme where Fischer's and Arrau's interpretations consistently differ are given below in Figure 5.

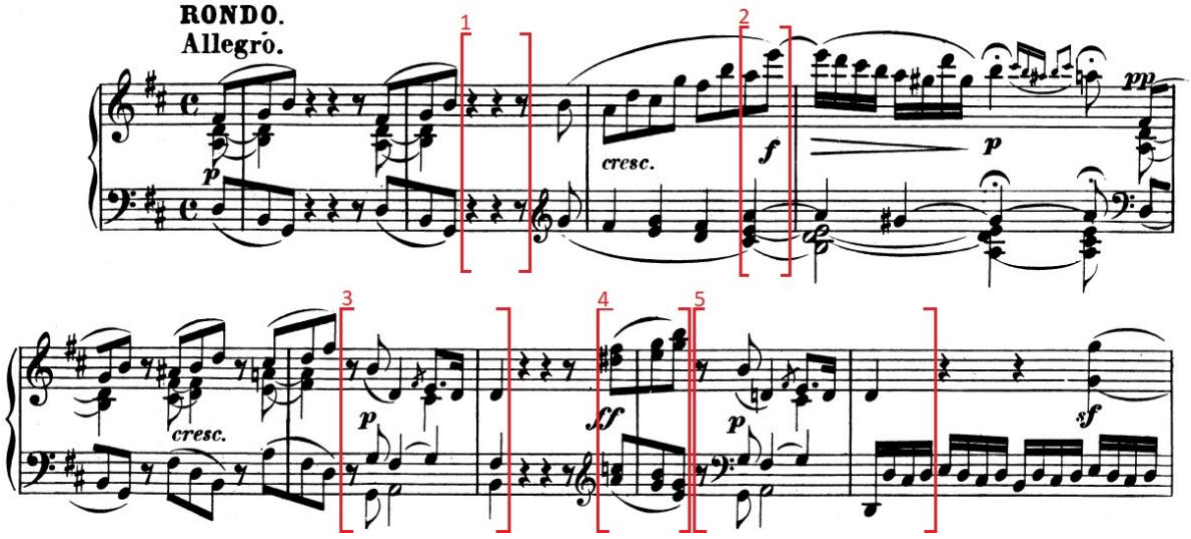

Figure 5. The sections in the theme where the recordings of Fischer and Arrau have significant differences.

The first section in Figure 5 corresponds to the rests in measure 2. Fischer and Arrau treat these rests differently. As you can see from the tempo graph given in Figure 3, the tempo graphs from both of Fischer's recordings have an upward slope just before the value corresponding to the last eighth-note in measure 2 (corresponding to position 2.875 on the horizontal axis), while Arrau's tempo graphs have a downward slope at the same location. The upward slope in Fischer's tempo graphs indicate that Fischer rushes through the rests in measure 2, whereas Arrau's tempo graphs show that he waits slightly longer than indicated by his previous tempi. Moreover, tempo graphs of both Fischer and Arrau indicate that both pianists wait slightly longer during the rests in measure 1. The difference in Fischer's treatments of the rests in measures 1 and 2 indicates the willful interventions of a virtual musical agent who is intentionally in control of the musical flow, while we do not get a similar clue from Arrau's performances.

The second section in Figure 5 corresponds to the climax of the registral and dynamic growth in measure 3, which is dissipated during measure 4. As can be seen in Figures 3

and 4, both pianists perform measures 3 and 4 with an arch-like phrasing of both tempo and dynamics. Nonetheless, the tempo graphs of Arrau display a downward wedge shape at the beginning of measure 4 indicating that he waits slightly longer during the final beat of measure 3. By doing so, Arrau creates a suspense at the climax, as shown in the second section in Figure 5, just before the reversal of the melodic movement in the direction of musical gravity and the dissipation of the forward momentum. Such a suspense at the climax implies a virtual agent that desires to hold on to the registral peak but who is, nevertheless, unable to resist the pull of gravity. Moreover, the subsequent acceleration during the first beat of measure 4 creates an illusion of tumbling. On the other hand, Fischer's recordings do not exhibit such a suspense, instead they portray an agent that swiftly changes its direction – which is metaphorically in line with his description of the music as "the continual running hither and tither" (Fischer, 1959: 41).

The third section in Figure 5 corresponds to the part of the continuation phrase that follows the sequential presentation of the third, fourth and fifth three-note motifs – starting with the eight-note rest in measure 6 and continuing with the *piano* phrase that leads to the deceptive cadence. According to the tempo graphs in Figure 3, Fischer, in both of his recordings, elongates the rest between the sequential three-note motifs and the cadential phrase in measure 6, and the dynamics graphs indicate that he starts the cadential phrase *subito-piano*. On the other hand, the tempo graphs in Figure 4 indicate that Arrau does not elongate the rest in measure 6, instead he lingers significantly longer on the following note, B4. Moreover, Arrau's dynamics graphs in measure 6 do not exhibit a *subito-piano* as in Fischer's recordings. The dynamic graphs indicate that Arrau also articulated the B4 in terms of dynamics before performing the gradual decrescendi that lead to the deceptive cadence that resides at the beginning of measure 7.

As shown in Figure 5, the cadential phrase in measure 6 starts on B4 in the melody, and then immediately moves down to D4. The drop from B4 to D4 is the largest consecutive melodic interval in the theme, which Arrau highlights as a dramatic event in his recordings by waiting slightly longer on B4. Also, the tempo graphs in Figure 4 show that Arrau slows down considerably during the cadential phrase in measure 6, and performs this section substantially slower than Fischer (the overall difference of tempi by Arrau and Fischer is almost 50 bpm). Hence, Arrau's recordings attribute a dramatic character to the fall from B4 to D4 and also to the phrase that leads to the deceptive cadence by (1)

trying to hang on to B4 before descending to D4, (2) the substantially slower overall tempi, and (3) gradual diminuendi that lead to the deceptive cadence. Due to these characterizations, Arrau's performances imply virtual agents that attempt to resist the force of the gravity (by trying to hold on to B4), but eventually fall down (to D4), and move around with relatively less amount of energy (implied by the decrease in the tempi and the gradual diminuendi).

On the other hand, in his recordings of the third section in Figure 5, Fischer waits slightly longer on the rest before B4, and performs the descent from B4 to D4 and the remainder of the phrase up until the deceptive cadence quite sprightly and in an agile manner. By elongating the silence at the beginning of the third section of Figure 5, Fischer somewhat isolates the previous sequential build-up (with the three-note motifs) from the following phrase that leads to the deceptive cadence. This separation is further highlighted by the *subito-piano* beginning of the cadential phrase in measure 6. As seen in the dynamic graphs in Figure 3, in his 1948 recording, Fischer performs the phrase leading to the deceptive cadence with a smooth arch-like dynamic shape that has a gentle beginning and ending. While an arc-like dynamic shape for the same phrase is absent in Fischer's 1954 recording, this performance still produces the *subito-piano* and the elongation of the silence.

The sudden shifts in dynamics and register before and after the eight-note rest in measure 6 can be accounted as another game of "hide-and-seek" sustaining the humorous virtual agency implied by Fischer in the earlier sections of the theme, where the eight-note rest in measure 6 (at the beginning of the third section in Figure 5) acts like a boundary separating the previous sequential build-ups and the following (deceptive) cadential phrase. Conversely, as can be seen in the tempo graphs in Figure 4, Arrau rushes through the eight-note rest in measure 6 in his recordings. Moreover, the dynamic graphs in Figure 4 indicate that he performs a longer arch-like shape in measures 5 and 6, rising with the sequential three-note motifs and falling back with the cadential phrase. By treating all these events under a longer arching phrase, Arrau brings out a highlighted dramatic sense of falling that includes not only the local fall from B4 to D4, but also the fall from the rising three-note motifs, suggesting the implied virtual agent's inability to realize his/her melodic goal.

The fourth section of the theme shown in Figure 5 corresponds to the final *fortissimo* three-note motif in the theme. Fischer plays this gesture substantially slower in his recordings (see Figure 3), to the point of absurdly exaggerating the sense of surprise to a comical effect. Arrau also performs this gesture slower than the previous three-note motifs in his recordings, yet his tempi do not create the same exaggerated effect since he takes markedly slower tempi while also performing the previous and following cadential phrases (in the third and fifth sections).

The fifth section shown in Figure 5 includes the final cadential phrase that concludes the theme. Just as it was for the third section that leads to the deceptive cadence, Fischer slightly elongates the eight-note rest in measure 8 in his recordings, while Arrau broadens the following B4 that starts the cadential phrase (see Figures 3 and 4). Likewise, Fischer starts the cadential phrase of measure 8 with a *subito-piano*, whereas Arrau performs the final cadential phrase with a gradual diminuendo. Just as before, Arrau's dynamic phrasing indicates that he envisions a wider phrase connecting the final three-note motif and the cadential phrase under a single dynamic arch. Moreover, while Arrau waits slightly longer on the dominant harmony at the final cadence (causing small wedge-like shapes in the tempo graphs in Figure 4 at the horizontal value of 9), Fischer's recordings do not accentuate the final cadential resolution with tempo fluctuations.

Aesthetically Warranted Emotions, Musical Meaning, and Interpretation

Johnson (2017) argues that we make meaningful observations about music through metaphorical correlations and analogies between embodied physical movements and qualities of the musical gestures (Johnson, 2017: 23). Moreover, such meaning is produced by our interaction with our environment (Johnson, 2017: 14). According to this approach,

> "The meaning of any object, person, or event is what it affords us and points to by way of some experience we have or might have— either past, present, or future (possible) experience. For example, the meaning of the cup I see before me is actually a complex of actualized and possible experiences, including the visual perspectives I can have about it, the ways I can grasp it and use it to drink, the social contexts in which it plays a role, all the past experiences I've had with this and other cups, and a host of future interactions I might have with it as projected possible meanings." (Johnson, 2017: 14)

Within this framework, the meaning communicated by a musical gesture is determined by its experienced or imaginable affordances, such as previous musical experiences where similar gestures are used, topical associations of this gesture to different types of musical styles, further associations of these styles to various social experiences (Ratner, 1980; Agawu 1991; Monelle, 2006), mimetic associations of this gesture to different types of expressions across other modalities (Cox, 2016), and embodied meanings communicated by the gesture metaphorically through analogous physical movements.

In that regard, Hatten (2018) proposes the term *aesthetically warranted emotions*, which he defines as those "emotions that are directly motivated by stylistically competent interactions" with the "expressive trajectories" of a piece of music (Hatten, 2018: 179). Such emotions may arise from very low-level physiological reactions to the audiological stimuli in the music (i.e., being shocked by a sudden loud outburst), or they may be triggered by culturally determined symbolic associations attributed to various styles within a musical culture (i.e., court music, peasant music, military music, religious music, etc.). While aesthetically warranted emotions are culturally conditioned, they may still vary among individuals belonging to the same society with different personal histories (Hatten, 2018: 197).

Hatten states that a single performance can never be the ultimate realization of a composition, since a composition is "a placeholder for the ongoing network of interpretations by theorists and historians, listeners, performers, sound engineers, and critics—all of which lead to constantly shifting conceptions of that work for various individuals and communities" (2018: 219). While scores potentially imply multiple possible virtual agencies, the performer's decisions influence the listener's inference about musical agency or their selection of a central agency among various alternatives. Consequently, "performers are creative interpreters who bring to bear their stylistic competency and their selection from the vast constellation of sounds and meanings attributable to a work" (Hatten, 2018: 219).

As we have observed in the previous section, the differences in Fischer's and Arrau's performances of Beethoven's theme were correlated with the conflicting musical meanings these pianists aspired to communicate through their musical interpretations. The performances of these two pianists portrayed virtual musical agents that have

different intentionalities: Fischer's recordings implied an energetic and humorous virtual agency, whereas Arrau's performances were set to illustrate a tragic situation where a virtual agent is unable to fulfil its aspirations. The ideas of these pianists about the 'meaning' of this theme affected their different gestural realizations of the three-note motifs shown in Figure 1. While Fischer's recordings consistently established an agile and energetic agency that is actively realizing the musical surface, Arrau's interpretations displayed an agency that seemed to be resisting the reversal of the musical direction or downward descents (the second, third and fifth sections in Figure 5) by lowering the tempi (as if trying unsuccessfully to resist the musical gravity, implying lower energy levels of the agent) or retarding the resolution of the cadential dominants (as if implying a reluctant acceptance of the final resolutions). Fischer's recordings are devoid of such clues that might imply tragic narratives.

Conclusion

Certainly, the meanings that can be attributed to Beethoven's theme are not confined to the ones that were expressed by Fischer and Arrau; other interpretations of the same piece would undoubtedly bring out different meanings that are attributable to this composition. Furthermore, performers never have complete control over listeners' interpretation (Hatten, 2018: 222). As Cross (2014) observes, while listeners experience the intentionality or "aboutness" of a musical performance in similar ways, each listener may experience its emotional content or meaning differently – a quality that Cross identifies as the "floating intentionality" of music (Cross, 2014: 813). Nevertheless, our analyses of Fischer's and Arrau's performances show how the same musical score may enable the expression of two disparate meanings through the portrayal of different musical virtual agencies with different intentionalities and predispositions. Fischer's and Arrau's different realizations of the same piece highlight different meanings and musical narratives, producing contrasting subjective interpretations that emphasize two different aesthetically warranted emotions attributable to Beethoven's composition.

Barenboim's (2016) caution against the "danger of choosing adjectives to explain the music", which he illustrates by reference to Fischer's and Arrau's comments about Beethoven's theme, is advisable since these pianists' remarks reflect their personal interpretations of this piece – and there are arguably many more meanings that could be

attributed to this composition. Likewise, Cook (2001b) distinguishes between "potential" and "actualized" meaning, and cautions against writers that attribute a fixed expressive characteristic to a piece, because while these writers give the impression that they are "simply describing how the music is, when in reality they are in the business of proposing interpretations and so constructing actualized meaning" (Cook, 2001b: 186).

Our analyses show that the different meanings attributed by Fischer and Arrau shaped their interpretations by minute differences in gestures or slight tempo deviations – properties that are somewhat impossible to indicate precisely on the musical score and therefore which may elude the analysis of scores. Moreover, their meaningful interpretations also shaped the way they performed the cadential resolutions and their choices about the phrase structure. While the meanings these pianists attributed to the examined passage determined details of their respective interpretations, their interpretations were also envisioned, in turn, to communicate the meanings they attributed. This circular process is akin to what Gadamer (2004) described as the *hermeneutic circle*, where "the anticipation of meaning in which the whole is envisaged becomes actual understanding when the parts that are determined by the whole themselves also determine this whole" (Gadamer, 2004: 291). Furthermore, the different meanings adopted by Fischer and Arrau enabled them to consolidate their performances by projecting emotional consistencies and facilitating the characterization of strong intentionalities through music.

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The *Yeni Müzik*[1] Scene in Türkiye: How did the 'New Music' Discourse Change Local Contemporary Music Practice?

ABSTRACT
Although the field of contemporary music composition in Türkiye is mainly considered an institutionalization grounded on the nation-state ideology and the cultural policies of the early republic period, the political, economic, and cultural changes experienced in the last 30 years have led to the formation of alternative discourses and new institutionalizations in the field. Among these new formations, the 'yeni müzik' discourse - which can be considered as the local manifestation of the 'new music' discourse that originates in the 20th-century art music canon and the new composition scene shaped around it have marked significant differences in the local contemporary music practice. By providing a critical overview of the local history of the field, examining the early emergence of 'yeni müzik', and documenting the post-2000s development of this new compositional institutionalization, the present paper proposes 'yeni müzik scene' as an alternative formation and discusses how it differs from its predecessor 'Turkish Contemporary Music' in terms of institutional, social and musical practices. Our account of the topic – which has hardly been studied in the literature – benefits from both historiographical and fieldwork practices, hoping to provide a continuous socio-cultural narrative that situates the 'yeni müzik scene' within the local history of contemporary music.

KEYWORDS
Turkish composers
New music in Türkiye
Turkish contemporary music
Music institutions in Türkiye

[1] *Yeni müzik* is the Turkish term for 'new music'. Throughout the study we have used *yeni müzik* when referring to events and production in Türkiye and new music when referring to the global/international history and practices.

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Introduction

While the history of Eurogenetic Art Music[2] (from now on EAM) in Türkiye goes back to the 19th century, its institutionalization is often discussed in the context of the music reforms, cultural policies of the nation state and the establishment of the state music institutions implemented during the early republic period. In parallel, compositional activity in Türkiye tends to be considered in continuity with the music and discourse of the Turkish Five and other early composers, and following generations of composers who are enculturated within this institutional sphere, in a way constituting the national school of composition, often referred as 'Turkish Contemporary Music' (from now on TCM). While it is true that this early institutionalization constitutes the basis, during nearly a hundred years of history, the contemporary music scene in Türkiye has faced political, social, and musical changes, which led to new discourses, practices, actors and institutions. Therefore, current conceptualization of contemporary music in Türkiye incorporates multiple formations that differ in discourse and diverge in musical and social practices.

Despite recent developments, current scholarly writing on the topic rarely engages with the documentation of the local contemporary music activity in the late 20th and the 21st centuries, addressing tendencies such as *yeni müzik* discourse, jazz and free improvisatory performances, cross-overs with traditional and popular musics, as well as the newly founded education and performance institutions in which these practices were adopted. This gap in the literature leads to a reduced understanding of the development of the field and indirectly contributes to the reproduction of the singular narrative of contemporary music as a national school of composition despite the later diversification.

As far as this study is concerned, *yeni müzik* is a later discourse and formation that emerged around the 1990s, having relationships of both negation and continuity with the former school of TCM. The term *was* first used in a festival title, *1. Uluslararası Ankara*

[2] The term Eurogenetic was coined by artist and ethnomusicologist Dr Robert Reigle as an alternative to conception and discourse of 'Western'. As it developed out of his effort to title his course on Balkan Art Music and to find "a term for musics that had an identifiable quality of sound that can be traced to a European genesis, as it is widely practiced in higher education throughout the world" (Reigle, 2021). Term makes an emphasis on the place (the geography) of origin, not people, nor philosophy/logos. By doing so it helps to avoid the possessory indications of 'European' or 'Western' for musics that are now practiced across the world, as well as to avoid the discourses of 'West-East' or 'the West and the Rest'. Throughout the study we have used Eurogenetic Art Music (EAM) to refer to what is commonly called 'Western Art Music'.

Yeni Müzik Festivali (The 1st of International Ankara New Music Festival, 1989), which was organized under the direction of composer and musicologist Ahmet Yürür in Ankara. Later the discourse was shaped around certain music departments and art institutions established in Istanbul in the late 90s. Since the mid-2000s, *yeni müzik* has been established as an umbrella term to refer to a diverse range of musical outputs performed and studied in those institutions. Similar to its English use[3], *yeni müzik* functions as a discourse about contemporary composition, rather than defined as a particular musical genre, style, or category, and it has a practical use to refer to the events such as *Bilkent Yeni Müzik Günleri* (Bilkent New Music Days), *Bilgi Yeni Müzik Festivali* (Bilgi New Music Festival) or *Yeni ve En Yeni Müzik Festivali* (The New and the Newest Music Festival). Hence, in this study, '*yeni müzik* scene'[4] refers to the discourse and the practices that have been shaped around such events; as a 21st century urban musical sphere of contemporary music in Türkiye.

Regarding the underrepresentation of the topic in the current musicological literature, the present paper aims to identify *yeni müzik* scene as an alternative formation through the documentation of its emergence and the recent history, and the discussion of institutional, social and aesthetic patterns that mark differences in the history of compositional practice in Türkiye. The methodological approach in this study follows what is often described as the ethnomusicology of Western art music (Cook, 2008;

[3] Despite its widespread use in music associations, festivals, ensembles, and publishing ventures, the term 'new music' has not yet been defined as a category denoting a musical genre with particular qualities. Rather musically and contextually, its meaning and scope are multivalent, and the term is often used interchangeably with other terms such as contemporary, modern, avant-garde, or experimental. As documented by Heile (2009), in terms of its historical development, it is related to the *Neue Musik* discourse, which was based on the German critical tradition in music, first theorized by Paul Bekker (1923) and later by Adorno (2006). *Neue Musik*, which referred to a specific field of composition associated with 2nd Viennese School and Darmstadt circles, later transformed into the English term 'new music', which indicates a more neutral 'contemporary music' discourse, consolidating with other experimental practices developed in the post-war period (Pace, 2022).

[4] The term 'scene' here refers to a multilayered conceptualization of a local field that combines observations on discourse, practices, institutions, people and musics, as well as meanings and representations. Rather than the 'scene' concept applied in popular music studies (Bennet & Peterson, 2004) with an emphasis on the equal role of audience as an active agency, our notion of 'scene' is more in line with 'scene thinking' (Woo, et al., 2015) as a perspective to examine multiple domains of the local production and dissemination since our field often situates out side of culture industry. Hence conceptualization of scene grounded on several other previous studies in similar spheres. It has been influenced by Becker's theory of the 'art worlds' (1982/2008), in the inclusion of the study of institutions, the mechanisms of education and production, and socioeconomic factors. Born's semiotics approach, which argues for "multitextuality of music as culture" (1995:17), and her notion of "aesthetic discourse as a long term cultural system" (1995:31) also formed our basis. Similarly, Usner's concept of "*Musikwesen*" which refers to a cumulative musical "being" or "entity" that brings together "customs, people, institutions, discourse and representations" (2010: 6) has been provided a theoretical background for our conceptualization of scene.

Nooshin 2011; Nooshin 2014; Bayley et al., 2016), combining historiography with fieldwork (conducted between 2020 and 2022), aiming to provide a socio-cultural perspective. Hence, the present account of the scene is a product of the close readings of *yeni müzik* events, participant-observation in the current scene, and in-depth interviews with composers on the history and current state of the compositional field. To provide a continuous account that situates the *yeni müzik* scene within the larger local history, we first issue a critical overview of the institutionalization of TCM, and then discuss the diverging marks of *yeni müzik* discourse.

The 'Holy Synthesis': Institutionalization of Turkish Contemporary Music

Although there were 19th century cultural and musical encounters with EAM (Turan & Komşuoğlu, 2007), the discourse of 'Turkish Contemporary Music' was institutionalized through modernization reforms of the early republic period. During the period between 1923 and 1950, the state implemented several music policies as part of a broader cultural policy of the new nation-state, such as the establishment of formal music education based on European notation and repertoire in the form of state conservatories, allocation of state grants for early student's education in Europe, collaborations with foreign music experts in establishing music institutions, the foundation of symphony orchestras, development of radio stations, or compilation studies on the Anatolian folk musics (And, 1984; Tekelioğlu, 2001).

The central concept grounded in these musical policies was the *sentez* (synthesis) discourse. It was based on a hybridity formula, in which Anatolian folk musics were intended to be combined with 'Western' techniques (Gökalp, 1923), which was also the vision of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk – to compile national folk idioms and process them with the latest rules of music (Nurcan & Canbey, 2016: 78-79). In this respect, the synthesis discourse had claims of both internationality and locality, in favour of a kind of trans-traditionality, positioning 'contemporary music' as a national school of composition that aimed to become integrated into international contemporary music. This was highly compatible with the notion of 'internationality' in Europe during the first half of the 20th century. For instance, similar to what Collins observed for the political orientation of the *International Society for Contemporary Music* between 1920 and 1940, the synthesis discourse was also projecting an internationality that instead "registers more at the level

of cosmopolitanism" (Collins, 2019: 74), as it was based on competing for national representations, more than cultural encounters.

As Tekelioğlu points out, Gökalp's synthesis idea was motivated by "the eventual success of the new nation-state and … a new 'Turkish Civilization'" (2001: 94). Yet, because of this ideological aim, the institutionalization of the synthesis took place within cultural hierarchies, in which both of the traditions were subordinated to nation-state politics and the discussion of aesthetics and cultural histories of both traditions became secondary. EAM was reductively idealized as a 'universal' set of techniques and materials such as notation, polyphonic technique, European instruments, and the 'canon' of the Common Practice Period, rather than as a tradition in the ethnomusicological sense. Local traditions, on the other hand, were either excluded for their ethnic/religious/political identities, filtered by the ideology of the new nation-state (Ayas, 2014; Öztürk, 2016), or were "reinvented" (Erol, 2012: 43) as cultural resources for the formation of a national school of composition, as in the case of folk traditions in Anatolia. The larger part of the literature concerns the effects of the synthesis discourse in shaping musics in Türkiye; on the exclusion of traditional Ottoman art music from music institutions (O'Connell, 2000; Ayas, 2014; Greve, 2017), the abstraction of local music as national signs (Markoff, 1991; Değirmenci, 2006; Balkılıç, 2009), as well as its consequences on popular music spheres (Stokes, 1992; Tekelioğlu, 1996; Karahasanoğlu & Skoog, 2009).

The music policies of the early republic shaped the field of music in Türkiye in a contentious way. Paralleling a Weberian definition, it created a notion of legal authority in music, in which the administrative organization, and thus music institutions are both the source of legitimacy and also the executive power (Weber, 1978: 217-220). Additionally, since musicians are subject to the governance of official committees such as general directorates of fine arts, it created a bureaucratic model of an artist and strictly regulated mode of music creation, production, and dissemination, in which art is produced as a national duty, and secondarily as an existential, individual and aesthetic necessity. Performance practices were also shaped in this governmental sphere, idealizing symphony orchestras and opera houses that perform Common Practice Period repertoire and celebrated works of Turkish composers for an audience whose cultural capital aroused with the modern republic and the government. These patterns formed the basis of the sociology that facilitates TCM, marking it as a governmental type of

musicking, symbolizing the foundational values of the republic. In the public debates, it frequently became the subject of a simulated modernization/Westernization, which led to an antagonistic reception from the broader public[5]. As the state patronage regressed after the 1950s and as this critical connotation became more evident in later political spheres, a self-closed institutional practice with a protectionist discourse on the initial music policies became common in state music institutions, maintaining its institutional representation in association with secularism, universalism, and contemporaneousness (Parkinson & Muslu Gardner, 2021: 373).

The repertoire produced in this institutional sphere parallels the synthesis formulation, often displaying canonical forms of the Common Practice Period, such as opera, symphony, or concerto, combined with national idioms. In their orchestral music,[6] composers used folk idioms as a resource, combining them with adopted techniques and styles from the pre-modernist EAM canon, such as non-functional harmony or extended tonality, a 19th century style of abstraction of folk idioms, or the orchestration and chromaticism of the late Romantic Russian composers. In terms of the attachment between the repertoire and nation-state politics, those works can be understood in parallel to the receptions of composers such as Smetana, Grieg, Kodály, Janáček or Sibelius. The two most identity-retaining genres in the repertoire remained (1) orchestral suites and tone poems, often using dance-driven folk idioms and/or programming local stories[7], and (2) polyphonic *türkü* (folk song) arrangements and compositions resourcing folk songs[8]. The use of these folk idioms differs for each

[5] Especially apparent in socio-political cases such as the radio ban of 'Alaturca' music in 1934 (Özdemir, 2018), the parliament debates in 1947 on the act that provided state grants for young talents (İnce Erdoğan& Çetin, 2020, pp.631-32), the *arabesk* debate of 80s (Stokes, 1992), and lately in the public critics of AKP representatives on the cultural policies of the early republic, music reforms have been subject to harsh criticism and politicized.

[6] Among the early examples, Rey's *Symphony No.1* (1941), Erkin's *Symphony No.1* (1944-46) and *No.2* (1948-51), and Saygun's *Symphony No.1* (1953) can be listed.

[7] Among the examples of suites Rey's *Türk Manzaraları* (1928), Alnar's *Türk Suiti* (1928), Saygun's *Suit Op.14* (1937), *Halay Op.24* (1942-44), Ferit Tüzün's *Anadolu (1953-54),* Kodallı's *Suit Op.5 (1946)* and *Telli Turna (1967)* can be listed. The tendency to use folk dance-driven materials can also be observed in programmatic orchestral works such as rhapsody or symphonic poems as in the cases of Erkin's *Köçekçeler* (1943) and *Bayram* (1943), Rey's *Bebek Efsanesi* (1928), *Karagöz* (1931), *Enstantaneler* (1931), *Fatih* (1953) and *Türkiye* (1971), Akses's *Bir Yaz Hatırası* (1932-33), *Çiftetelli Op.6* (1934), *Ankara Kalesi Senfonik Tarih* (1942) and *Barış için Savaş* (symphonic poem for commemoration of Atatürk, 1981), Ekrem Zeki Ün's *Yurdum* (1956), Kemal İlerici's *Köyümde (1945)* and Ferit Tüzün's *Capriccio a la Turque (*1956).

[8] Various songs from collections such as Saygun's *Op.18 Dağlardan Ovalardan* (1939), Erkin's *Yedi Türkü* (1943) and *On Türkü (*1963), Akses's *Çokseslendirilmş Türküler* (1936), Kodallı's *Op.21 Beş Halk Türküsü* (1962) and Alnar's *On Halk Şarkısı* (1964) can be considerable among such examples. Compositional use of *türkü* is not only limited to choral works, but can also be accompanied by orchestra or solo instruments

composer and should be considered on a continuum that spans from the direct use of the primary material in the forms of transcription, arrangement, and harmonization, through stylization and abstraction, and to newly composed material in the style of the folk idioms. Among others, polyphonic folk songs gained a popularity that met the populist aims of the music reforms most, in reaching the broader masses, perhaps on account of its familiar content, participatory accessibility and a significant amount of time devoted to this genre on the radio.

Although state patronage gradually decreased starting from 1950 as cultural policies were estranged from early republican ideology (Güray, 2016) and the global political sphere changed significantly after WWII, the idea of establishing a national compositional school have been remained attached to the notion of contemporary music later in the 20th century. The following generations of composers continued to produce within the frameworks of synthesis discourse, expanding the repertoire of TCM that is nowadays referred to as the 'post-Saygun school', reflecting on Saygun's representational power as an artistic identity that combines many of the grounding codes of the synthesis discourse (Yöre & Gökbudak, 2012), in mediating the politics of the nation-state (Woodard, 2007), and as well as his organicist discourse on employment of local idioms (Saygun, 1945/2009). After the 60s, a much sharper nationalist school of composition that aimed to reach a wider public with a particular focus on choral music emerged, as is best observable in the works and discourse of Muammer Sun, as well as Yalçın Tura and the late-period works of İlhan Baran (Nurcan & Canbey, 2016: 81; Öztürk, 2016: 44).

While the post-Saygun school has remained a dominant tendency, the pioneering examples of *yeni müzik* that differ from the national school of composition have been put forward by the composers associated with the *Elliler Modernizmi* (50s Modernism) (Köksal, 2015), namely Usmanbaş, Arel, Mimaroğlu and Fırat, known as *Helikon* circle[9].

as in the cases of Saygun's *Kızılırmak Türkü (1933-35)* for soprano and orchestra, Rey's *12 Anadolu Türküsü (1926)* or Saygun's *10 Halk Türküsü* Op.41 (1968) which were first composed for soprano and piano and later adopted for orchestral accompaniment.

[9] Köksal describes '50s modernism' as a local interdisciplinary abstractionist tendency experienced during the 1950s. The common basis was 'the deliberate breaking' from the existing tendencies through abstraction, such as from the formalism based on the nature models in fine arts or from the structure of natural language and folk poetry in literature. Alongside of composers, Köksal associates the tendency with sculptures Hadi Bara, Zühtü Müritoğlu, Şadi Çalık, and Ali Teoman, *Tavanarası* painters led by Nuri İyem, modernist designers Sadi Öziş and İlhan Koman, caricaturist Turhan Selçuk, and the poets of *İkinci Yeni (The Second New*). Founded in Ankara in 1952, the *Helikon Association*, of which Usmanbaş and Arel were

Rather than focusing on the synthesis of the local idioms with conventional techniques of composition, these composers were particularly interested in international cutting-edge compositional trends inclining musical abstraction; first in line with the mid-century continental modernist techniques, primarily serialism and the utilization of electroacoustic means, and later in American avant-garde practices influenced by the idea of indeterminacy. As Manav says in relation to Usmanbaş's career, they "had stepped into all the lands that the first generation of Turkish composers stayed away from" (Manav, 2015: 54). As Köksal points out, the modernism of the 1950s was in favour of formal and grammatical abstraction that enables an open-ended, associative, and polysemic interpretation, which was in stark contrast to the identity-retaining function of the TCM repertoire, liberating the composition from culturally coded signification. It was also a modernist break from Romantic aesthetics, towards a notion of composition as an 'organized sound' allowing composers to explore any material, procedure, and technology as a compositional element. Although those composers produced pioneering pieces[10], it did not lead to the institutionalization of a new music discourse that would be followed by other local composers and institutions. Instead, they remained as the exceptions within the continuity of TCM, signifying an aesthetic break solely.

Today, the ingrained notion of the TCM as a national school is best observable in national composition competitions. Often organized by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism or local municipalities, the specification for the call for pieces often includes the expectation of a national mark, which is commonly expressed as '*Türk müziğinden esintiler taşımak'*, meaning 'to have a feel of Turkish music' (Süreyya Opera House National Composition Contest, 2018:1). Paralleling the synthesis discourse, competitions also aim to cultivate contemporary music that feeds on 'local musical sensitivities' and uses 'the universal

among the founders, was the most important civic initiative of the '50s modernism' for artists and intellectuals in Ankara (Ali, 2002: 32-33; Demirakın & Demirakın, 2019: 329).

[10] Usmanbaş's *Üç Müzikli Şiir* (1952) setting Fırat's poems, *Three Movements for Two Pianos* (1957) and Arel's *5 Sonnets* (1958), are among the early 12-tone and integral serialist pieces. Arel's *Music for String Quartet and Tape* (premiered in 1958), *Stereo Electronic Music No.1* (1960) and *No.2* (1964), *Mimiana* series (1968-1973) composed for modern dance ensemble, *Fantasy and Dance for viols and Tape* (1974) constitutes important works in electroacoustic composition. As issued in recent studies, Usmanbaş's *Two Pieces for Violin and Violoncello* (1960), *Ölümsüz Deniz Taşlarıydı* (1965), *Raslamsallar I-II-II-II* (1967), and *Bakışsız Bir Kedi Kara* (1970) are among pioneering pieces that display various early applications of indeterminacy, and proportional and graphical notation. (Öğüt, 2012; Pöğün, 2015; Yayalar & Yüceer, 2015).

musical language'[11]. Another area in which the synthesis discourse has remained effective is compositional education in state conservatories. As reflected by many composers enculturated in state conservatories, the expectation of a musical Turkishness operates as an implied convention rather than a direct imposition, although the aesthetic means of the identity-retaining have, relatively speaking, diversified in recent years. Such expectations can also be observable in the programmes of state performance institutions. Although local composers have a limited representation in the programmes (Taşdemir & Şen, 2021:162), most of the performed works are in line with the synthesis discourse (Ayday, 2008; 11). Ayday's study also documents that the audience's better engagement with pieces signifying local idioms is among the reasons why the conductors also prefer to programme well-known examples of the TCM repertoire.

In the multiplicity of such different layers, one can observe the centrality of the synthesis discourse in setting the scene for the local contemporary music activity and how it prevails today. Beyond the field of composition, the synthesis discourse constitutes a broader nationalist outlook that profoundly shaped the conventions in art and culture of Türkiye. As reflected by many composers - whether critically or sympathetically - the institutionalization of TCM is discussed as a case of cultural domain that is expected to serve an identity-retaining function rooted in the synthesis discourse. This is how it became a "holy synthesis" as composer Altınel puts it; a habitus that arts have never entirely escaped the cultural identity question but had to respond one way or another;

> "In Türkiye, there is a collective national identity that is imposed on you when you make art, not just music. It existed in the 30s, 50s, and 2000s, and it exists now too. It's not just something that happens around state conservatories. This is not only even the state's view of culture but also what the audience expects from the artist. This is what they expect even from an avant-garde composer. They say, "I heard the Anatolian steppes in your music." I don't know how they heard it, but that expectation is always there. I think this is due to the general cultural environment. The synthesis is a holy one. It is something that is expected from the artist forever" (Ahmet Altınel, Personal Communication, 4 April 2021).

[11] As part of our fieldwork, we have attended the 2018-2022 editions of *Süreyya Operası Ulusal Beste Yarışması* (Süreyya Opera House National Composition Contest) organized by Kadıköy Municipality. We have observed the patterns of TCM institutionalization effectively shaping the events in terms of the specifications in the call for pieces, the institutional background of the jury members and participants, the formal social atmosphere of the event as well as the aesthetics of the awarded pieces.

The synthesis discourse and its marks on the TCM's institutionalization are critical to understanding what *yeni müzik* signifies in contemporary music in Türkiye. As the present paper argues, *yeni müzik* discourse has been emerged as an alternative to this former institutionalization. Gaining an institutional continuity since the 2000s, it created a separate scene of contemporary composition in which the institutional, social and musical practices carefully negate the described patterns associated with its predecessor.

The *Yeni Müzik* Scene

Unlike the governmental sphere of TCM, the *yeni müzik* discourse has emerged and developed within an environment subsidized by the newly established universities, private local art institutions, and cultural centres and embassies. This new environment created a different sociology of musicians, and new standards in music education, diversified the dissemination practices, and led to a reformulation of some of the discursive marks of the former synthesis discourse. By mobilizing the first *yeni müzik* activities and shaping the development of the scene with their graduates over the years, three educational institutions established in Istanbul in the late 1990s constitute the pillars of these changes; Yıldız Technical University, Faculty of Art and Design (1999), Istanbul Technical University, MIAM (Center for Advanced Studies in Music, 1999) and Istanbul Bilgi University Music Department (1997/2005).

The programme at the Yıldız Technical University was established under the lead of composer Ahmet Yürür who first coined the term *yeni müzik* publicly in the *1. Ankara Yeni Müzik Festivali* (The 1st Ankara International New Music Festival) in 1989 (Ali, 1989). As a composer who was ienculturated in state conservatories, yet who later pursued his graduate studies in the USA during the 1980s (Albertson & Ron Hannah, 2017), Yürür had a critical attitude towards the existing compositional practice, investing in a local discourse of global new music as an alternative (Yürür, n.d.). After his return to Türkiye, he organized the first three *yeni müzik* festivals in Ankara (İlyasoğlu, 1993a) and Istanbul in 1993, entitled *1. Uluslararası Modern Müzik Festivali* (The 1st International Modern Music Festival) (Ilyasoğlu, 1993b). Between 1999 and 2002, in collaboration with the newly founded *Borusan Sanat* (Borusan Art), he organized monthly seminars on the music of young composers titled *Istanbul'dan Yeni Müzik* (New Music from Istanbul) (Erdoğan, 1999). In 1999 he initiated the Faculty of Art and Design at Yıldız Technical

University. Unlike the conservatories, the faculty was structured with three divisions concentrating on music ensembles, dance, and audio design, to create an intersectional space between performance and creation inspired by interdisciplinarity in other contemporary arts. In 2003 he started the annually organized international festival *Akdeniz Çağdaş Müzik Günleri* (Mediterranean Contemporary Music Days) in collaboration with *Borusan Sanat* and Italian, Spanish and Greek Culture Centres, which lasted until 2008. In an interview he gave as part of the 2nd edition of the festival, he criticized the former institutionalization as follows;

> "The Turkish Five… prevented the entry of conceptions related to new music into Türkiye. We could meet with the values of the 20th century only in the last decade… For us, the concerts of the state symphony orchestras are harmful concerts that numb people with the same works… At our festival, there will be world premieres. It is necessary to take some risks and introduce new works" (Koçoğlu, 2004: 14).

Since 1989, Yürür has programmed pieces by composers' of '50s modernism' and closely collaborated with Usmanbaş in his organizations, and the festivals included the Turkish premieres of continental modernist composers such as Schoenberg, Boulez, Nono and Berio. Starting with the first festivals in Ankara and later in Istanbul, many of the current *yeni müzik* composers' early pieces were performed in those events, such as Alper Maral, Kamran İnce, Tolga Yayalar, and Zeynep Gedizlioğlu.

MIAM, the music centre at the Istanbul Technical University, was also structured following the lead of a composer, Kamran İnce, who is based in the USA after his early music education in the state conservatories in Ankara and İzmir during the 1970s (Dedrick, 2004). In 1999 MIAM started education as the first graduate programme entirely in English (MIAM history, n.d.). As Ince explains, their vision was to fill the gap in music education in Türkiye by adopting the "American higher music education system which applies 20th century methods and offers a creative approach instead of a rote" (Andante, 2014:9). While Ince has remained the foundational figure, Pieter Snapper, Mark Lindley, and Mark Wingate were also active in composition education in the early years of MIAM. Robert Reigle and Michael Ellison joined the academic staff, who were later influential in shaping the orientation of MIAM with new performance practices, conference organizations and formations of various ensembles. In 2000 the *Dr. Erol Üçer Music Library* was founded as the most extensive music library in Türkiye, and the

recording studio was opened. With its international staff and organizations, the accessibility to contemporary scores, recordings, and the sound technologies not commonly found in Türkiye at the time, as well as performance opportunities, MIAM became the flag institution of progressiveness and a gateway to international music scenes. As reflected by many composers, compared to Yürür's discourse, the central figures of MIAM did not adopt a critical discourse on the local history of contemporary music; instead, MIAM came to be an apolitical institution, embracing an orientation of affirmative postmodernity.

The other institution was the privately funded Istanbul Bilgi University Music Department, established in 1997 as a jazz music school (Bilgi Music Home, n.d.). Including many well-known jazz and experimental musicians in its academic staff and performance, recording, and composition practices within the same roof, the department was the first music school integrated with the urban alternative music scenes that have been gradually developing since the late 1980s. The programme was inspired by the courses at Berklee College of Music. While it was mainly a jazz department, on account of figures such as Selen Gülün and Seda Ergül, who are also practitioners of contemporary composition, improvisation and experimental music, there has been a permeability between jazz and new music through the pivotal notion of the avant-garde. In 2005 the department was restructured as a general music programme, and the performance department was closed. The department's orientation changed towards composition and sound technology without defining a particular music tradition. During this change, Gülün, Ergül, Kozlu, and Tolga Tüzün – who became the head of the department in 2010 – were influential in shaping the new structure of the programme.

The early editions of the *BYMF,* standing for *Bilgi Yeni Müzik Festivali* (Bilgi New Music Festival), jointly organized by the Bilgi Music Department and MIAM in 2004 (entitled *Bilgi New Music Days*), 2005 and 2006, were significant in the formation of a *yeni müzik* discourse. As composer Türkmen announced in the 2005 edition, these panels aimed for a building of "a discussion about the content of new music" that "will gradually develop with the participation of everyone who makes new music in Istanbul" (Türkmen et al., 2005). Michael Ellison's talk on minimalism and early spectralism as means of musical abstraction through temporal prolongations, a separate panel on music of Scelsi and Cage where Zeynep Bulut and Reigle talked about the differentiation of musical modernism

from avant-garde or Pieter Snapper's seminars on electroacoustic composition, gave an American vernacular avant-garde orientation to this newly emerging discourse. The BYMF series also provided early examples of the festival convention that includes separate concerts for acoustic compositions, electroacoustic performances, and improvisatory music within the frame of *yeni müzik*. It was also with the early editions of BYMF, in particular, thanks to the active role of MIAM-based percussionist Amy Salsgiver, that pieces by post-minimalist and 'simplicity' composers such as David Lang, Arvo Part, or Wolfgang Rihm have been included within the discourse. In terms of local production, the early editions programmed pieces such as Erdem Helvacıoğlu's *Personal Crisis*, Esin Gündüz's *Universal Bicycle*, Mehmet Can Özer's *Öznel Gerçeklik*, Murat Yakın's *Planet X*, Selen Gülün's *Uzaklar*, Turgut Pöğün's *Yüksel In Berlin*, Türkmen's *Question*, and electroacoustic performances by Ahmet Altınel, Barkın Engin, Burak Tamer, Mehmet Can Özer, Meliha Doğuduyal, Pieter Snapper, Selçuk Artut, and Tuna Pase.

These new departments were influenced by American education in adopting values such as the student-centred approach, interdisciplinarity, aesthetic pluralism and individualization, internationality, and technical compatibility. Contrary to the conservatories' basis in early childhood education, the programmes are designed for undergraduate and graduate students without any requirement of prior formal music education in EAM, enabling a different sociology of musicians with diverse backgrounds in music. Musicians who were not eligible to study at the conservatories but who produced in areas where contemporary music intersects with experimental, electroacoustic, jazz, and improvisatory practices, gained access to formal education. From the perspective of *yeni müzik* composers of the current scene, this new institutional accessibility is considered a democratization of the composition field.

The overall programmes are structured in a less compartmentalized way to support intersectionality and collaboration among creation, performance, and research, in contrast to the strict specialization of conservatories. Influenced by the student-oriented approach, university-based dissemination practices began to emerge, student works gained visibility, and small ensemble practices became the common concert situation of *yeni müzik.*

In contrast to the centrality of the Common Period Practice music in the conservatories, the 20th Century repertoire was studied as a primary reference in compositional teaching. The diversity of techniques in new music, starting from the early 20th century, becomes the foreground as the basic equipment of a composer. In contrast, earlier music is considered fundamental knowledge, often learned through a few intense survey courses on the history and materials. In these departments, twelve-tone and serialism, electroacoustic composition, notion of indeterminacy and other frames of openness in music, extended techniques, computer-aided composition, Spectralism, New Complexity, Musique Concrète Instrumentale, and many different approaches originating in the 20th century gradually became common knowledge. Aiming to compensate for the gap inherited from the former school of TCM, both the continental modernisms and the American avant-garde formations constituted the contemporary and value given to the integration with the all-current international scenes, repertoires, and literature.

Emerging and developing within a sphere of globalization and digital connectivity, *yeni müzik* formations parallel the 'crystallization' of styles and practices in contemporary music in the last quarter of the century (Clarke, 2018:415). In that sense, this new compositional education promoted individualism, aesthetic plurality, and fluidity rather than schools of composition. This also became the central poetic position of *yeni müzik* composers. In contrast to the Romantic image of composition, the notion of artwork and the doings of a composer in *yeni müzik* came to be closer to what Piekut describes as a 'database model'; "musicians build up an ever-expanding individual database of instrumental and vocal techniques, technical setups, stylistic and aesthetic tendencies, stand-alone compositions, and highly personal approaches to improvisation, some or all of which might be drawn upon and recombined in a given performance. Concerts are less often occasions to present experimental 'works' than they are reports from an ongoing investigation" (2018: 441).

Musicians' profiles often combining practices from multiple traditions also contributed to the coexistence and the fluidity among different traditions of music. Most significantly, free improvisation became the intersectional practice that combined previously exclusive traditions of jazz, contemporary composition, and sonic arts in these new departments. The coming together of different traditions can also be observed through the *International Spectral Music Conference* held in 2003 at MIAM. Inspired by Reigle's

radically inclusive approach to the definition of 'spectral music' that "foregrounds timbre as an important element of structure" (Reigle, 2008: 1), the conference included ethnomusicologists drawing on the role of timbre in non-Eurogenetic traditional cases alongside top-notch composers of spectral music such as Murail, Dumitrescu, Dayer, Avram, and Fineberg. However, the issue of trans-traditionality became foregrounded most concerning the encounter of the Turkish *makam* tradition and contemporary composition, particularly at MIAM. The inclusion of traditional *makam* music in ITU's ethnomusicology, performance, and composition programmes signified an explicit difference regarding the conflicting histories. Such an affirmative notion of trans-traditionality enabled a trend in composition that employs traditional instruments and *makam* as pitch relations and is sometimes referred to as 'new locality' as distinct from the use of local idioms in TCM (Demirel, 2015). Türkmen's and Baysal's early studies on just intonation and modality (2009), and workshops and commissions of *Hezarfen Ensemble,* which aims to develop "projects that facilitate intercultural exchange… that explode the very notion of separate cultures or traditions" (Hezarfen Ensemble Mission, n.d.) were effective in terms of incorporation of the *makam* tradition into the discourse. Türkmen's dissertation (2009) on applied extended techniques for *makam* instruments and his development of *hat* (line)[12] as a compositional technique constitutes the most comprehensive study on this topic. Collaborations between composers and performers of *makam* instruments led to further productions such as the albums *Lahza* (NK Ensemble, 2019) and *New Music for Kanun & Piano* (Berkman & Tonella, 2021).

Many composers who were at the beginning of their careers during the early *yeni müzik* activities in the 2000s later came to administrative and academic positions after the 2010s when *yeni müzik* discourse was adopted in other institutions and gained continuity. In the lead of Tüzün, Bilgi Music Department continued to organize BYMF as the longest *yeni müzik* festival that calls for new pieces to be performed by international

[12] Inspired by the relations of lines in Islamic calligraphy, Türkmen developed a compositional approach that brings together the linearity and heterophony of makam music with the timbre-orientation of new music, resulting in a highly fused single stream auditory experience that blurs the binaries between monophony and polyphony. The tendency can be best observable in his early pieces: *Hat: a line for two musicians* (2009), *Hat for 3 percussion players* (2011) and *Hat for Kemençe and Strings* (2011).

ensembles, and pieces by many of the younger generation composers of the current scene have been performed in BYMF[13].

Similarly, in the late 2000s, new formations developed at the Faculty of Art and Design at Yıldız Technical University under the leadership of Alper Maral, who has been a lifelong pupil of Ahmet Yürür working with him during *Istanbul'dan Yeni Müzik* seminars *and Akdeniz Çağdaş Müzik Günleri* in the early 2000s. In 2007 Maral founded the *Karınca Kabilesi* (the Ant Tribe), a new music ensemble consisting of musicology and composition students. They performed at the *mzkynlr - müzik yeniler* festival in Garage Istanbul with a comprehensive programme, including Charles Ives's *Like a Sick Eagle* and Tōru Takemitsu's *Litany for Piano*, alongside performances of jazz pieces such as Tony Williams's *Pee Wee* and Charles Mingus's *Re-incarnation of a Lovebird*, as well as works by Turkish *yeni müzik* pioneers such as Usmanbaş and Mimaroğlu. Later in 2015, the faculty held the *Elektronik Müzik Festivali* (Electronic Music Festival), including performances by 30 artists, and in 2017 *Yeni Müzik Festivali I* (The New Music Festival I), both having a vernacular avant-garde orientation. Shaped by Maral's active role, the new music festival in 2017 featured four separate concerts, the first dedicated to Japanese avant-garde music, the second to solo new music pieces, including Berio's *Sequenza III* performed by Gülce Özen Gürkan, a tribute concert to Cage and a concept-driven concert *About humans and animals. Who do we think we are?* which included avant-garde pieces related to animals.

After 2006, the composition department at Bilkent University was restructured by composers Pöğün, Türkmen, Altay, Yayalar, and Aydın, and the composition education that was previously under the influence of the Hacettepe University Ankara State Conservatory has changed similarly to the programme at MIAM. The department organized concert series at the Contemporary Arts Centre (2006-2009), the annual *Bilkent Yeni Müzik Günleri* (Bilkent New Music Days, 2011-2016), and has been organizing *BCA* (Bilkent Composition Academy) since 2017. A similar restructuring took place at the composition department of the Yaşar University under the lead of composers Mehmet Can Özer and Fusün Köksal after 2014, which led to the early *yeni müzik* festivals

[13] Such as Aslıhan Keçebaşoğlu, Engin Dağlık, Enis Gümüş and Uğur Çerkezoğlu in the 2014 edition by *Ensemble Garage*, Aida Shirazi and Didem Coşkunseven in the 2015 edition by *Argon Ensemble*, Deniz Güngören, Deniz Nurhat and Mithatcan Öcal in 2017 edition by *Plug Ensemble*.

in İzmir; the *digitIZMir Uluslararası Dijital Müzik Festivali* (International Digital Art Festival, 2015-present) dedicated for audiovisual electroacoustic performances and *İzmir Yeni Müzik Günleri* (İzmir New Music Days, 2019-present) that programmed pieces by Gedizlioğlu, Enno Poppe, Rebeca Saunders, Schnittke, Ligeti, Ferneyhough and Marco Stroppa, alongside pieces by students.

Performance practices shaped around the *yeni müzik* discourse have also gained continuity after 2010. Although few, institutionally independent civil ensembles collaborating with university departments, art institutions, and cultural embassies have been formed. In 2010, co-founded by Michael Ellison and Ulrich Mertin, the *Hezarfen* Ensemble started performing, bringing together competent performers from different music institutions in Türkiye. Since then, the ensemble has commissioned and recorded a significant part of the repertoire through regular participation in local festivals, international appearances and specific projects such as the *Light and Shadows* album (Hezarfen Ensemble, 2015). The other regular ensemble of the current scene is the *Diskant* Ensemble, which consists of performers from MSGSÜ (Mimar Sinan Fine Art University State Conservatory) led by composer and conductor Ahmet Altınel. Since 2005, *Diskant* has commissioned and premiered pieces by many local composers, alongside the Turkish premieres of works by Carter and Takemitsu. Performance collectives such as *the Anadolu Nefesli Beşlisi, MIAM Percussion Ensemble, MIAM Improvisation Ensemble, Nodus Ensemble*, and *NK Ensemble* performed in several projects. Founded under the lead of violinist Ellen Jewett in 2008, the *Klasik Keyifler* association created another platform for *yeni müzik* with recording projects such as *Sei Solo* (2020) and the annual summer composition programme *Besteciler Kazanı* (Composer's Cauldron). Newer formations, such as *Klank.ist, Istanbul Composers Collective, Istanbul Coding Ensemble, SAVT, IBULOrk,* and *Soundinit* have adopted new performance practices in which the concepts of composer-performer, composition-improvisation, or electronic-acoustic are intertwined.

Since the early events, *yeni müzik* performances have been partially subsidized by privately funded art ventures such as *Borusan Sanat, IKSV* (Istanbul Foundation for Culture and Arts), *Akbank Sanat, Salt, Gedik Sanat, Arter* or *KargART*, often in collaboration with university departments and the culture institutes of European countries. This new group of facilitators displays an alternative environment for

contemporary music that is more socially integrated with the current urban city culture than state music performance institutions. Particularly in Istanbul, often organized in small-to-medium capacity venues at the city centres such as Beyoğlu, Kadıköy and Karaköy, *yeni müzik* events have been gradually become partially integrated with other contemporary arts and the audiences for different alternative music genres. However, it is often the case that the majority of the audience of these events consisted of professional musicians and insiders of the artistic and academic scenes. Alongside acoustic ensemble performances, visually displayable ways and interactive modes of listening became central through sound art exhibitions, happenings, conceptual works, and soundwalks. Among the current examples of such private subsidization of *yeni müzik*, the annual *Yeni ve En Yeni Müzik Festivali* (The New and the Newest Music Festival) by Arter brings together academic circles of the current scene with the contemporary artist and audiences, incorporating ensemble music, electroacoustic performances, and sound installations together. Independent collectives, such as *A.I.D* (Art is Dead), represent the non-institutional cases of a vernacular avant-garde orientation within the *yeni müzik* scene.

As reflected during the interviews with composers, this new sphere of contemporary music also has discursive differences from the former school of TCM. Today, *yeni müzik* composers often do not consider themselves part of the former TCM institutionalization ideologically and aesthetically, and many reject the cultural identity-retaining function rooted in the synthesis discourse. In contrast to the musical construction of national identity through employing local idioms, they advocate the careful study and internalization of local music traditions, often critical of eclectic engagements with the locality and mostly hesitant of such application in their own works without a refined understanding.

This negation of the synthesis discourse is grounded on reformulations of both concepts of *culture* and *music* functioning in *yeni müzik* discourse. Musicians in the scene often have extremely fluid and individualized understanding(s) of culture and tradition, which can be significantly distant from the larger sociocultural patterns collectively attributed to geography and history. For many musicians, their culture is defined by what they are enculturated in individually and what they consciously choose to be familiar with. Pointing towards the coexistence of multiple practices on the scene and their own

musical backgrounds, they consider a given collective understanding of 'Turkish culture' and musical tradition paradoxical and reductive. Most composers prefer to identify themselves as 'a composer based in Türkiye' rather than as 'a Turkish composer', denoting a category of belonging. This creates a typical tension for many of them when they participate in international organizations and interact with the local audience. Many composers reflected that they find themselves in situations where their music and professional identity is expected to be confirmed with this collective notion of 'Turkish composers'.

The other ground of this cultural negation parallels ideas from musical modernism, particularly the discourse of *Neue Musik*, in changing the notions of what constitutes the value in musical composition. In parallel to the Adornoian emphasis on the critical stand of composition that "repudiates any meaning of organized society", through the critical examination of the means of expression and the structure of the music itself (Adorno, 1949/2006: p.19), *yeni müzik* discourse similarly negates socially constructed meanings (mythos) of music in favour of analytical (logos) approaches to composition. In this analytical approach, not only is the musical construction of national/cultural identity negated, but this negation is often solidified in coherent systems of organizing sound in the forms of algorithmic models, spectral calculations, information theory, stochastic processes, and other procedures that are analysable[14]. Such an analytical approach to composition significantly contrasts and inevitably cancels the narrative, representative, and descriptive functions of former TCM that entangle with cultural familiarities. The revised notion of composition, particularly its material and technical means of organizing sound, is considered part of an autonomous field of expert knowledge beyond cultural origins.

Conclusions & Further Discussion

The present study argues that the *yeni müzik* scene appears to be a new sphere in the local contemporary compositional practice, providing an alternative to the former

[14] The analytical tendency attached to *yeni müzik* discourse can also be observed in different forms, taking its cue from other continental modernisms. For instance, the composers of the *Istanbul Composer Collective* refer to the IRCAM-based term *musique savante* which has many parallels with *Neue Musik.* As part of a seminar in Arter's New and the Newest Music Festival in 2021, composer Emre Dündar explained that "in order to consider any music in the category of *musique savante*, that music must have been produced with knowledge, theory and sound expertise. Therefore, *a musique savante* appears as a piece of music that is worth analysing, a piece that will provide information when analysed".

synthesis discourse and the school of TCM since the early 2000s. It has been documented that in contrast to the governmental, institutional sphere of TCM that marked a bureaucratic model of musician, artistic production and dissemination, the *yeni müzik* scene has been subsidized by universities, private art institutions, and international culture organizations, pointing towards a relative civilianization of contemporary music in Türkiye.

Diverging from the legacy of TCM with a cultural identity mark inherited from the nation-state ideology, this new sphere has been oriented towards integration with the global/ international scenes of new music. The discourse is negated from such identity retaining function in favour of individualized and multifaceted approaches to composition and dissemination of contemporary music that is more compatible with the crystallization in the global compositional field during the last quarter of the 20th century. We have argued that the reconceptualization of music informed by modernity, and individualized notions of culture in a much more globalized sphere, provided the ground the bases for *yeni müzik* composers to negate the musical construction of cultural identity through the eclectic processing of local idioms, which marked the repertoire of the former TCM. On the other side of the aesthetical differentiation, we have also argued that while the TCM school has been based on an understanding of 'Western Music' referring to the materials, techniques and canon of Common Period Practice, in *yeni müzik* discourse, those references to the 'Western' were replaced with an amalgam of 20th-century EAM repertoire and practices, which enabled a far more diverse production and blurred what constitutes a musical composition.

As the paper argues, the combined effects of these institutional, aesthetic and discursive patterns in *yeni müzik* have been increasingly sharpening its difference from the former school of TCM and led to the formation of a separate sphere in the local compositional practice. However, the fieldwork study also shows that the relationality of the *yeni müzik* scene to the former compositional practice is not purely negational but also continuous in some discursive and social ways that we would like to raise as further points complementary to our argument. Sharing similar situatedness in EAM, we also observed that the pivotal centrality of EAM tradition forms a base for both scenes' composers to build and consolidate a professional identity of being a composer. Many of the composers we collaborated with stated that *yeni müzik* for them is primarily an act of composition

as an expert field of knowledge, which is inevitably informed by the EAM tradition, despite the aesthetic fluidity that later marked new music. This common base for professional identity, which connects composers to the tradition in one way or another, also creates consolidated spaces. The most important platform we observe such consolidation of *yeni müzik* and TCM is the *Sesin Yolculuğu: Genç Besteciler* Festivali (Journey of Sound: Young Composers Festival), which has been held since 2004 with the participation of students from institutions of both scenes[15].

We also observed that, despite the striking differences in the notions of cultural identity in the two scenes, the pivotal centrality of EAM tradition positions both as culturally peripheral practices due to their situatedness in processes of Westernization. In both scenes, the institutionalization of the EAM tradition was indeed developed as a short, intense and rough integration process. Just as with the simultaneous incorporation of Bach, Mozart, and Wagner in the institutionalization of TCM, the music of Schoenberg, Boulez, Berio, Cage, Fluxus, Lachenmann or Murail was simultaneously institutionalized in Türkiye with the *yeni müzik* formation. Thus, nuanced understandings of these practices' aesthetic, cultural and contextual differences do not yet appear fully registered in local practice. Hence, in terms of their local reception, both scenes face similar limitations in appreciation and cultural relevance in interacting with the audience, and both remain as socially isolated fields of musicking depending on institutional legitimacy. In comparison, the issue of social isolation regarding the limited number of normative audiences and promoters is more frequently raised about *yeni müzik* production, questioning the legitimacy of the 'scene without a receiver'. While we consider the socio-cultural isolation surrounding *yeni müzik* production as a central issue with multiple layers of factors that are beyond the scope of this paper, we frequently observed that the situation increases the dependencies for both scenes to be integrated with the international agencies for commissions and production, as well as reception and recognition, which in turn deepens the cultural gap in the local contexts and reproduces

[15] The festival officially started in 2006, under the lead of MSGSÜ-based composer Özkan Manav, inspired by the joint concert in 2004 where composers from several departments came together. As Manav described in our interview, the aim was to bring together the new institutions with the existing conservatories and to eliminate the lack of communication between these institutions. The festival reflects on the exceptional case of the MSGSÜ composition department as a bridging institution between two scenes. Contrary to the isolated position of state conservatories, MSGSU composers Altınel, Manav and Nemutlu have been involved in *yeni müzik* activities since the early 2000s.

those notions of cultural 'centre' and 'periphery'. In that context, the cultural identity issue inherited from the synthesis discourse and its socio-economic effects in shaping the production-reception relations remains unsolved in the *yeni müzik* scene, which we hope to explore more through further studies.

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Black Sound, Sonic Emotion, and Racist Violence in Lovecraft Country

ABSTRACT

This article addresses race and inequality through the horror sci-fi genre and the musical landscape of two episodes of Misha Green's TV series Lovecraft Country (2020). Moral responsibilities are mediated throughout the series via sonic culture; through analysis of the series' aurality, focus is on the sonic reimagining and resignifying of two episodes: Episode One (E1) "Sundown" and Episode Five (E5) "Strange Case." The unique blend of sci-fi and Cthulhu Mythos adds an additional layer of horror when situated against the backdrop of the racial realities of African Americans in the 1950s and guides the viewer to experience the familiar horror trope by disrupting the ways we experience sound in TV viewing. The soundtrack produces and thematises different sonic emotions and the result is a 21st-century representation of the 1950s: one that reframes racial inequalities of the time for contemporary sensibilities, while actively using the past as raw material for a new present. In this analysis of historical injustices of Black culture through sonic emotion, this article provides a demonstration on how Lovecraft Country engages with race, gender, and sonic culture while embracing the rich tapestry of Black sound by disrupting narratives, challenging racial temporalities, and inviting change.

KEYWORDS

Sonic culture

Historical injustice

Aural idioms

Lovecraft Country

Racial temporality

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Misha Green's TV series *Lovecraft Country* (2020), adapted from Matt Ruff's eponymous novel, addresses race, feminism, and inequality through the horror sci-fi genre and the musical landscape of each episode. Moral responsibilities are mediated throughout the series via sonic culture; the music sets the tone and guides the viewer through the most climactic moments of racial inequity. Through analysis of the series' aurality, I will interpret the sonic reimagining and resignifying of two episodes: Episode One (E1) "Sundown" and Episode Five (E5) "Strange Case." The soundtrack produces and thematises different sonic emotions and it does so by combining period-correct sound and music with modern musical and aural idioms, a kind of deliberate sonic anachronism. The result is a particularly 21st century representation of the 1950s: one that reframes racial inequalities of the time for contemporary sensibilities, while actively using the past as raw material for a new present. I will focus on song choices in the analysis of E1 to establish the musical world of the series, while concentrating on the exploitative modes of power through race and gender in E5 to demonstrate how it mediates concepts of racial inequality across two time periods. Finally, I contribute to the interdisciplinary dialogue between race, gender, and music by examining the disruptive and multilayered politics of auditory experience in *Lovecraft Country*.

The soundtrack of *Lovecraft Country* is curated by acclaimed American music supervisor Liza Richardson. Her illustrious career has spanned decades, during which she set up Mad Doll Music and music supervised many highly praised TV shows such as *Parenthood* (2010-2015), *Leftovers* (2014-2017), *Hawaii Five-0* (2010-2020), *Friday Night Lights* (2006-2011), *Narcos* (2015-2017), *Barry* (2018-2023), *Equalizer* (2021-), and *The Morning Show* (2019-). She was nominated for a Grammy for her work on Mexican classic *Y Tu Mama Tambien* (2001) as well as her work on *Watchmen* (2019) and *Lovecraft Country* (2021). When Richardson was approached to put together an audition playlist for *Lovecraft Country*, she was perplexed. She later told Patrick Doyle at *Rolling Stone Magazine*, "I could tell how unique it was. . . it's sci-fi and it's horror, and it's like *Raiders of the Lost Ark*. I mean, to be honest, it was hard for me to imagine how it was all going to come together." (Doyle, 2020) Interestingly, Richardson chose not to stay within the music of the 1950s; instead, she drew from the era and incorporated other more modern musical genres such as spoken word, pop, and R&B as well as genre-specific TV theme songs. However, the musical intensity and dynamism of the show leans heavily on the

expertise of Grammy-winning producer Raphael Saadiq and Emmy-winning composer Laura Karpman. In 2012, Saadiq was called the 'preeminent R&B artist of the 90s' by prominent music critic Robert Christgau, and Karpman has a proven record of accomplishment with five Emmy Awards to her name. This formidable duo created a soaring and somewhat ritualistic soundtrack, giving space for the emotionally tangible storytelling to breathe. In 2020, Raphael Saadiq and Laura Karpman sat down with *Genius'* VP of Content Strategy Rob Markman to discuss how they brought the show to life with their 'gothic R&B' inspired score.[1] During the interview, Karpman talks about how Richardson requested Saadiq's 'signature style' of music for the underscore, so they developed an orchestral approach to R&B using analogue keyboards and strings taking reference from Little Walter's harmonic melodies and J Dilla's beats to give it a unique horror vibe. Little Walter, aka Marion Walter Jacobs, was an American Blues musician who revolutionised musical patterns on the harmonica and had a substantial impact on future generations of musicians, while J Dilla, aka James Dewitt Yancey, was an American record producer and rapper who had a huge effect on the hip-hop genre. He emerged in the early 90s in Detroit and his style was crafted with 'lengthy melodic loops with backbeats and vocal samples' bringing hip-hop into a more musically complex arena (MacInnes, 2011). What makes this soundtrack even more unusual is that it was composed remotely in lockdown by twenty musicians during the Covid 19 pandemic.[2] Saadiq and Karpman used the isolation to their advantage, and this, along with Richardson's expert song choices, added to the overall 'otherness' of the soundtrack.

By probing the noxious history of the American Jim Crow era, I will use feminism and critical race theory to study the character of Ruby Baptiste, a Black Blues singer who gains the ability to change race played by Nigerian-born British actress Wunmi Mosaku. Ruby uses this power to live out a revenge fantasy and have an affair with a white man; however, it quickly becomes apparent that this person is not actually a white male, but a white female, who has shifted her gender through the same potion that Ruby uses to shift her race. What intrigues me about the series, and Ruby's journey to racial acceptance, is

[1] Gothic R&B is not an official genre of music but became a term coined by Richardson, Karpman and Saadiq during *Lovecraft Country* to help guide them during the creation of the soundtrack. Technically, it would come under the umbrella term Alternative R&B or Gothic Rap and R&B.

[2] This unusual recording process gave the composers license to play with format; the remoteness of the recording allowed the composers to double instruments that are not usually doubled and shift musical dynamics in ways that are not generally available.

that it takes on sensitive topics and uses the infamously racist H.P. Lovecraft's concept of Cthulhu Mythos–put simply, a universe of monsters – as its lens. Lovecraft, 'a loner' who dabbled in journalism as well as ethnocentric and racist poetry, was one of the early pioneers of the sci-fi horror genre; a genre which until recently was notoriously white dominated. His writings had "(a) profound discomfort with sex; others display a deep-dyed racism, with nonwhite characters used as examples of barbarism" (Soloski, 2020); this discomfort and gratuitous sexuality are highlighted in the journeys of the Black characters. It is initially unclear that this series lives in the sci-fi/horror genre; however, midway through E1, we understand that the world of monsters (human and non-human) is alive and well. To that point, this volatile atmosphere of Cthulhu Mythos, combined with the systemic racism of the 1950s in America, is illuminated by the highly provocative and complex soundtrack. It is dominated by Blues music, with songs by Nina Simone, Etta James, and Big Maybelle; yet there is also music, spoken word, and sound bites taken from James Baldwin's 1962 debate on race. Controversial artist Marilyn Manson, an accused sex offender infamous for his extreme metal music and violence is also featured on the playlist.[3] While the raciality explored in the series addresses a part of history that is rife with inequity, it is important to note how the music shapes the viewer's perception of 1950's America with the aim of upending stereotypes from Jim Crow and educating through music and entertainment.

In E1, aptly named 'Sundown' in reference to the notorious Sundown Towns of early-1900s America, the music is extensive and diverse.[4] While I do not touch on every song, I have chosen a few that I think are particularly relevant. Crucially, the series' theme song is *Sinnerman* (1956) sung by Alice Smith. *Sinnerman* was written by composers Les Baxter and Will Holt and was originally 3.07mins long; however, most would agree that Nina Simone's cover (1965) is the most famous version of the song. Simone recorded two versions of the song, with her extended version being 10.20mins long (Simone & Cleary,

[3] It would be interesting to know if Manson's songs were chosen before or after he was accused of sexual assault by multiple women, though I was unable to find anything on the topic.

[4] Sundown Towns were municipalities and neighbourhoods in America (mostly the South) that practiced racial segregation by excluding non-whites through discriminatory laws, intimidation, or violence. The term came from signs posted telling coloured people to leave town by sundown. Many atrocities were inflicted on African Americans by the KKK during this time and was where the phrase 'Beware of the Boogieman' came from (Loewen, 2005).

2003). There is a vigour and enthusiasm in Simone's version that is infectious.[5] The highlight of her lengthy track appears about four minutes in and has an intense musical release with a vibrating repetitive drum, twangy electric guitar, tinkling piano, and frenetic yet rhythmic clapping. Simone often spoke about her mother's deep connection to religion (Simone & Cleary, 2003) and by adding scatting and improvisational techniques, she invokes the field hollers from the American slave plantations. In the song lyrics, the sinner, who is running from the judgement of God, is told to "go to the devil" (who is waiting for him) and is ordered to change his ways before it is too late; but by the end of the song, we realise the sinner has not been saved because he calls out "don't you know that I need you, Lord? Oh Lord, wait, Oh Lord, Lord."[6] In Peter Rodis's documentary *Nina: A Historical Perspective* (1972), Simone says that she likes to end her sets with *Sinnerman* because "I want to shake people up so bad that when they leave a nightclub where I've performed, I want them to be in pieces" (Simone, 1972). In contrast, Smith's version of *Sinnerman* has an electric pace and disjointedness, which departs from Simone's recording in several ways: tempo, pitch, structure, form, and duration. While her melody is similar, her dynamics and overtones are more modern, embracing a funkier sound and texture. By adding the riff on electric bass rather than piano, it seems more relevant to today's music, updated somehow, since it leans into a more jazz-funk vibe; this also makes it more hypnotic, which is perfect for the Cthulhu Mythos in the show.[7] The mystic excitement in Smith's version heightens the overall tension of the moment, bookends each episode, and tells us to heed the warnings and prepare for what comes next.

In the opening scene of E1, we see Atticus "Tic" Freeman, played by Jonathan Majors, sitting at the back of the bus reading; a sign over his head in capital letters says, "THIS PART OF THE BUS FOR COLORED RACE." The song playing over the sequence is *Sh-boom (Life Could Be a Dream)* (1954), an early doo-wop song first recorded by the African American group The Chords. It is an affecting choice to play doo-wop under such a racially weighted sign, especially since the alternate white recording of the song, by Canadian

[5] As a modern standard, *Sinnerman* has always been open to interpretation, though most jazz purists would say only Simone does the song justice.
[6] Field hollers and work songs stem from the oral tradition of African music. These songs were performed by slaves as they worked on plantations, hollering to each other across the fields, worshipped together or at other gatherings for entertainment.
[7] This could be a keyboard patch but, from what I can tell, it is an actual bass.

band The Crew Cuts, was made famous when it was used in the white-centric TV series Happy Days (1974–84). In her book *The Race of Sound* (2019), Nina Sun Eidsheim tackles the topics of listening, timbre, and vocality in African American music, and discusses how race is inherent in listening:

> "I would like to preface the following discussion by returning to the overarching thesis of *The Race of Sound*: not only is the timbral identification of race not a direct result of racist views, but, if we work under such an assumption, we will ultimately fail to address and deconstruct racialized vocal timbre. The perpetuation of racialized timbre goes much deeper and is based on fundamental beliefs about sound. As long as we believe in knowable, stable sound, we are compelled to identify sound and to believe that identification to constitute essence. And whatever we believe to be a person's essence—from despairing or ecstatic to white or black—is employed in the interpretation and assessment of the voice." (170)

Interestingly, both versions of *Sh-boom (Life Could Be a Dream)* were released in 1954 with The Chords version charting on the American pop charts at Number 9 in March while The Crew Cuts version went Number 1 in August of that same year (Starr &Waterman 2007) demonstrating the racial inequality in music at the time. Next up is *I Just Wanna Make Love to You* (1954), written by Willie Dixon and first recorded by Muddy Waters, sung by celebrated vocalist Etta James. The lyrics are sentimental and period-relevant saying "I don't want you to be no slave, I don't want you to work all day, but I want you to be true, and I just wanna make love to you." The inclusion of this lyric is poignant because it addresses the institutional racism of the time by referencing slavery. Then, Tierra Whack's song *Clones* (2019) starts playing; this musically jolts us out of the 1950s period and is juxtaposed with the image of young Black children playing in front of an open fire hydrant before a white officer turns it off. By musically linking the civil unrest in America from 2020-2021 to the 1950s, Robinson deliberately chooses to show how little has changed. Later, we hear Ruby singing Sister Rosetta Tharpe's song *I Want a Tall Skinny Papa* (1942). Sister Rosetta Tharpe was the first gospel star who appealed to both R&B and rock & roll audiences, and she later became known as the 'Godmother of Rock & Roll' (Wald, 2007). Next up is the 1955 hit *Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On*, originally performed by R&B singer Big Maybelle but made most famous by Jerry Lee Lewis in 1957. Finally, we hear *September Song* (1938), written by German composer Kurt Weill for the Broadway musical *Knickerbocker Holiday;* notably, *September Song* is one of Sarah

Vaughan's most famous covers. Richardson's sonic knowledge deeply contributes to the series' overarching themes of forgiveness, hope, vengeance, and mercy–it is mindful to note these are also recurring themes in Matt Ruff's novel version of *Lovecraft Country* (2016).

Table 1. Narrative Elements of Episode 1 '*Sundown*'

Title	Genre & Features	Song Elements
1. *Sinnerman* (1956)	Gospel–vocally dominant, Christian dominant, clapping	frenetic, vibrant, pulsing
2. *Sh-boom (Life Could Be a Dream)* (1954)	Doo-Wop (Blues)–entire focus is on ensemble singing, vocally dominant	simple, harmonic, nonsensical syllabic vocalisation
3. *I Just Wanna Make Love to You* (1954)	Blues–main harmonic feature is the 12-bar progression, 3-line verse with 3 4 bar phrases	microtonal, waling bass, call & response, dissonant harmonies and flattened "blues" notes
4. *Clones* (2019)	Hip-Hop/Rap–Rhythmic beatboxing, rapping, repetition, samples, heavy bass lines	Edgy, heavy beat, ominous, creative menacing rhymes
5. *I Want a Tall Skinny Papa* (1942)	Gospel–vocally dominant, Christian dominant, clapping, call and response, tenor sax	moderate jump tempo, swing spiritual
6. *Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On* (1955)	Rock & Roll–combines jazz, country, and R&B with electric instruments	fast tempo, energetic performances, catchy lyrics
7. *September song* (1938)	Jazz–improvisation, bent notes and modes, swing, syncopation, distinctive voices	melancholic, harmonic shifts, unique expressive vocals

In the end, the most compelling aural addition to E1 is James Baldwin's *Debate Speech* (1965) delivered opposite William F. Buckley at Cambridge University. This celebrated speech indelibly shapes the moment, cleverly laid over a visual montage echoing the trials of Black people during that era. When this debate occurred, Buckley (conservative and white) and Baldwin (liberal and Black), came face to face to discuss America's racial divide, and fifty-five years later, Baldwin's advocacy for civil rights has lost none of its relevance. In Daphne Brooks' book *Liner Notes for the Revolution: The Intellectual Life of Black Feminist Sound* (2021), she calls Baldwin "a pivotal voice on Black Music's

sociocultural and spiritual value and urgency" (86). Conversely, Buckley was a widely known, and socially accepted, wealthy pro-segregationist whose overtly racist ideologies were somehow palatable to many due to his entitled upbringing; yet Baldwin won. In *Lovecraft Country*, the debate is underscored in several racialised tableaus: in one evocative scene, Baldwin is heard speaking about racial inequality as a Black family is ignored while white customers are served first at a segregated hotdog stand, heightening the reality of racial separation being part of the fabric of lives, a system of one's reality; in another, Baldwin discusses how white people have access to better schools and opportunities, while Tic is refused service at a restaurant. Using Baldwin's words, as underscore, to explain how Black people were not allowed to live the "American Dream" because they were denied basic rights, is extremely successful.

In 2020, the Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) gained further momentum from its initial introduction into social consciousness in 2013. #BlackLivesMatter began to trend on social media, and worldwide protestors took to the streets to speak out against racial inequality and, most significantly, address Trump's America and his racial bias and lies (Diverlus, Hudson & Ware 2020). Many prominent intellectuals, academics, and writers began to lean heavily on Baldwin's work, in particular journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates and novelist Jesmyn Ward. Baldwin was unapologetic in his willingness to accept the risks of being Black; he called out America's hypocrisy and challenged its racist style of democracy (Standley et al, 1989). He wrote about America's depravity and beautifully confronted its myth of freedom with direct honesty (Baldwin et al, 2014). In 1962, Baldwin authoured an article for *The New Yorker* stating:

> "There appears to be a vast amount of confusion on this point, but I do not know many Negroes who are eager to be "accepted" by white people, still less to be loved by them; they, the blacks, simply don't wish to be beaten over the head by the whites every instant of our brief passage on this planet. White people in this country will have quite enough to do in learning how to accept and love themselves and each other, and when they have achieved this—which will not be tomorrow and may very well be never—the Negro problem will no longer exist, for it will no longer be needed." (Baldwin, 1962)

Baldwin's words not only prove his relevance to today's #BlackLivesMatter movement, but also foreshadow the racial challenges Ruby faces in E5 of *Lovecraft Country*.

This building of racial tension brings us to E5, by far the most graphic and disturbing episode thus far in the series. One assumes this was done purposely to show the systemic violence toward Black people because, from the beginning, this episode is different. There is a distinct sonic shift; there is tonal apprehension, a disquietude to Saadiq and Karpman's music here as we hear electric guitars wailing and screeching while Ruby violently sheds her Black skin and transforms into a white woman named Hilary Davenport, played by Jamie Neumann. The musical dissonance against the backdrop of such unpalatable imagery is hypnotic. Suddenly, we hear abrasive city noises–cars, people speaking, and sirens–which are jarringly loud and incredibly effective. As Hilary runs out into the streets, the music abruptly stops while the camera zooms out to convey the complexity of her situation; the perspective changes and we see a near-naked hysterical white woman in an all-Black neighbourhood just as Hilary glimpses herself in the reflection of a barbershop door and starts screaming. A Black man tentatively comes outside to inquire if she is okay and Hilary steps back unsure of what is happening, accidentally bumping into a young Black boy causing him to spill his box of popcorn. As she starts to apologise, two white police officers rush over and violently push the boy over the hood of their car accusing him of molesting Hilary. This small moment lays bare the specific nature of the racial violence of that era and highlights the blind spots, and silences, of the cultural manifestations of racial inequalities. It is important to note that the use of silence in this moment is key. As this scene unfolds without music, the viewer feels the inequality of the situation which is further heightened by only hearing angry white voices and people breathing. This is reminiscent of Jennifer Lynn Stoever's description of ideologies in her 2016 book *The Sonic Color Line: Race and the Cultural Politics of Listening.* In Chapter 2, "Performing the Sonic Color Line in the Antebellum North", Stoever compares the vocal stylings of Swedish Opera singer Jenny Lind with that of Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield, a former African American slave. Stoever states:

> "Unlike the overwhelming raves about the unifying melodies emanating from Lind's white body, white elite critics' reviews of Greenfield perceived her singing as noise, primed to intensify white America's festering divisions of race, class, gender, and region. However, scholars have underscored the importance of Greenfield's performances, particularly as sonic challenges to America's racial regime and as evidence of what Nina Eidsheim calls "sonic blackness," the attribution of "black" qualities to classical voices based on visual impression." (78)

Thankfully, Hilary has the cognitive resources to explain the boy did not hurt her, which the officers begrudgingly accept as truth. We hear a voice on the police radio saying her 'husband' William, played by Scottish Actor Jordan Patrick Smith, is concerned about Whereabouts. In an instant, Hilary's reality shifts from that of a powerful white woman in a Black neighbourhood to one of a helpless white woman in a white man's world as she is locked in the back of the police car. This moment beautifully illustrates the ways gender and race intersect with the binary world of power. During this car sequence, we hear *Tonight You Belong to Me* (1926) written by Lee David and Billy Rose sung by Patience & Prudence. The violent collocation of Hilary's reality against the sentimental harmonies of the song brings both history and futurity to the moment, lending itself perfectly to the horror genre, which might explain why this song has also been used in other TV series like *American Horror Story* (Murphy and Falchuk, 2015-). Hilary's transformation back into Ruby is then underscored by spoken word, and while she shapeshifts, we see a swarm of African locusts on the television in the background as William takes a knife and stabs Hilary in the heart. Just as we see Ruby's eye peering out of Hilary's mouth, the announcer says:

Breaking News: a swarm of 16 billion Kenyan locusts are moving across North Africa to Great Britain. . . after seven days they will reach full maturity as adult locusts, destined to devour everything in their path.

To say it is spine-chillingly macabre might be an understatement, especially with the comparison to the moulting and metamorphosis process of the locusts. This could be seen as a reference to Franz Kafka's allegorical novella *Metamorphosis* (1915) which chronicles a man waking up just as he transforms into a giant cockroach. Whether it is a purposeful comparison or not, the moulting process presented in the episode shows us that Ruby's racial metamorphosis is painful and terrifying. When interviewed in the magazine *Town & Country*, Mosaku says:

> "I was quite shocked when I was told about the character's journey… I just thought it was an incredible thing to explore the idea of passing, but just on another level… If I was to go around as a white woman, a white man, an Asian woman, an Asian man... the world would just respond to you so differently because of your outward form, right?" (Foussianes, 2020)

Mosaku addresses the concept of racial passing in the article but refrains from discussing consent. The fact that author Mischa Green is a Black female being vocal about race, choice, and equality is cleverly portrayed in this narrative as Ruby does not initially consent to the racial transformation; therefore, it is understandable that Mosaku did not comment on the topic.

After Ruby's initial post-transformational shock, she then chooses to become Hilary to experience the level of freedom living as a white woman allows. As we observe Hilary walking in town, being given free ice cream, and enjoying her freedom sitting on a bench reading the newspaper, we hear Ntozake Shange's 'choreopoem *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide / When the Rainbow Is Enuf* (1975).[8] Of the piece, William Anderson says:

> "The theme of *Colored Girls* is mainly Shange's view of other women of her own race. She writes of dreams that all black women had during her time. Dreams of love and of the good life were the only things that kept many women going according to Shange. Despite all of the dreams and the steps that black women took to reach them they always seemed to be shattered by some heartless lover or destroyed at the hand of the white folk." (Anderson, 2019)

The addition of this choreopoem as underscore makes the scene feel tragic because it emphasises the racial divide by showing Hilary's white privilege. Ruby then starts to use the transformational potion to her advantage. First, she returns as Hilary to a department store where she was denied a customer service job due to her race and is hired as a manager. She despises her boss, who is a racist sexual predator, and starts to concoct a revenge plan. However, the racial freeness of Hilary becomes intoxicating to Ruby, and she uses her whiteness to shame the one Black employee, Tamara, played by Sibongile Mlambo. Luckily, Ruby comes to her senses after witnessing her boss try to sexually assault Tamara and decides to shed her skin one last time so she can vengefully seduce her boss.

This next sequence is one of the most prolific and bloody in the entire series and is underscored with Cardi B's song *Money* (2018). The use of this song is deliberate as it has

[8] A choreopoem is a piece of work that is written as a poem but is intended to be acted out on stage. *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide / When the Rainbow Is Enuf* is a Tony Award-Winning piece of theatre conceived and narrated by Ntozake Shange. (Seibert, 2019)

lyrics like “Cold ass bitch, I give broads chills,” “Touch me, I'll shoot,” “Bring brass knuckles to the scuffle,” and “Bitch, I will black on your ass” and tellingly, is from her sophomore album *Invasion of Privacy* (2018). Erin Lowers says in *Exclaim* magazine that Cardi B “uses *Invasion of Privacy* to remind us that instead of being a statistic, she empowers herself (and others) by reclaiming any negativity thrown her way” (Lowers, 2018). After one last drink of the potion, Ruby becomes Hilary for the final time. She goes to work and starts seducing her boss, who is thrilled by her overt sexuality. Hilary adopts a dominatrix persona: strips him down, ties his belt around his neck, hogties him on his front and then rapes him with a stiletto while *Money* plays in the background. It is distressingly violent and exceedingly difficult to watch, and while she attacks him, she starts to moult back into Ruby. Once she is done, she grabs his head, looks him in the eye and says, “I wanted you to know that a n****r bitch did this to you” and walks out the room while he screams in pain. It is important to note the use of the stiletto here as they rose to popularity in the 1950s and signified power and sexuality (Brennan 2019).

In conclusion, by framing H.P. Lovecraft’s racist and segregationist beliefs within the horror sci-fi genre of television, *Lovecraft Country* addresses racial inequality through sonic emotion and aurality. The unique blend of sci-fi and Cthulhu Mythos adds an additional layer of horror when situated against the backdrop of the racial realities of African Americans in the 1950s and guides the viewer to experience a familiar horror trope–one where the demons are everyday people just like us–by disrupting the ways we experience sound in TV viewing. Using multilayered political aurality as the sonic landscape helps to situate race and gender at the forefront of the conversation in an unusual and unique way. Sadly, *Lovecraft Country* has not been renewed for a second season and it’s possible that this style of provocative media was too much for mainstream audiences; interestingly, *Lovecraft Country* appears to have had an effect on the genre as Danny Glover’s new series *Swarm* (2023) similarly provokes audiences through sonic culture and brings a fresh perspective to an established idea. The use of period-correct sound and 21st century musical and aural idioms as an educational tool to expose racial and gender inequities reframes racial and political inequalities. Lastly, in this analysis of historical injustices of Black culture through sonic emotion, I have demonstrated how *Lovecraft Country* engages with race, gender, and sonic culture while embracing the rich

tapestry of Black sound by disrupting narratives, challenging racial temporalities, and inviting change.

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On the Marginal Requisites: Overview of Popular Urban Dances in Türkiye

ABSTRACT

In the sources of dance history in Türkiye, there is no classification that evaluates urban dances, which are mostly mentioned in entertainment contexts, in terms of function, contents and social acceptance and made with this focus. Dance in the history of the Republic has been mostly examined within the framework of identity, representation and ideological patterns, and historical analyses have been considered with this relationship focus. In addition, these subjects are embodied in the national repertory, which is generally accepted as official and thus reflects a dominant traditionalism. In this study, my aim is both to present a historical literature summary of popular urban dances and to embody similar subjects through alternative repertories in the context of the "other" determined by the relationship with the official one. Urban folk music was not included in the national repertoire, at least until the 1950s, and urban dances were not included in the category of Turkish Folk Dances in the compilations of the early Republican period. In this way, popular urban dances were left out of the national repertoire and were positioned as "the other" of dance cultures in Türkiye. This study, on the other hand, focuses on the general history of the repertoire, the definition of which is proposed as "dances that are excluded from the official discourse but exist in the cultural practices of the city, whose social acceptance has been realized and have become widespread by any agents (migration, mass media, etc.)". The draft of the urban dance repertoire, which has this quality, was determined through metadata from newspapers, magazines and new media content, and the data obtained is re-interpreted together with the previous literature sources. The case for research was determined as Istanbul, both because it changed a great deal during the 20th century, and because it converted little. Istanbul allows us to trace the sustainable clues of cultural practices, because dance practices are in a central position in the product and market relationship in this historical process.

KEYWORDS

Urban dance

Alaturca

Urban culture

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Introduction: Social, Popular, and Urban

The phrase “popular urban dances” is mostly used as a descriptive tool for the field of dance in publications. However, this use does not meet a specific classification. The conceptualization of urban dance in the literature is mostly used for a repertory that includes contemporary street dances. On the other hand, in studies devoted to popularized urban dances for a certain period, the general nomenclature was “social dance”. In addition, studies on genres such as Tango and Flamenco, which were included in the national dance repertory while being a common street culture, occupy a large place in the literature. In these works, for example, Tango or Flamenco are not often referred to as urban dances, but on account of its narrative, these dances are associated with urban life, especially during the 20th century. Although 18th century Europe produced the waltz, among other urban ballroom dances, studies on the waltz in the history of dance use the urban context only as a geographical indicator, not as one of the main subjects of the content. On the other hand, Joonas Jussi Sakarı Korhonen's article titled “Urban Social space and the development of public dance hall culture in Vienna, 1780-1814” published in 2013, underlines its relationship to the dance music market, which became popular before the waltz, and he situated this marketing phenomenon on the basis of the waltz’s prevalence beyond Europe. Urban dance environments described by Johann and Johannes Wax in their study *On Current Urban Dance Life in and around Regensburg*, (1999), in which they discuss the preference for Argentine Tango, which spread to the city streets in Germany after 1980, rather than the folkdance repertoire, are also an important source of literature. In the article written by Azardokht Ameri, *Iranian Urban Popular Social Dance and So-called Classical Dance* (2006), it is explained how *motrebi* dances, which are described as popular urban dances, were included in the classical dance repertory after the 1950s.

In the dance history of Türkiye, the first examples of urban dances are a few types known as palace dances during the Ottoman Empire. Studies on these dances are mostly associated with palaces and entertainment environments; the dances are called Ottoman dances or palace dances. Metin And's *Dances of Anatolian Türkiye* (1959), one of the oldest publications in the literature, argues that the development of Turkish dances proceeded along two branches: old Istanbul and urbanized dances, and peasant dances. Arzu Öztürkmen refers to palace dances as urban dances in her article titled “Modern dance

Alla Turca: Transforming Ottoman Dance in Early Republican Türkiye" (2003). Popular dances such as waltz, tango and foxtrot, which became widespread as the bodily performance of European lifestyle with the spread of magazines, newspapers and the radio in the early Republican period began to be known in Türkiye, and the repertory also includes ballroom dances from American and European practice. The dances of this period are mostly discussed with the focus of westernization; studies on Istanbul's entertainment life also include the urban nature of dances, but do not include a specific classification (Woodall, 2008; Van Doben, 2008; Toprak, 2017). Urban dances, which are called modern dances in the second period between 1950-1980, expand the repertory by underlining the relationship with the west (Sevengil, 1985). On the other hand, the tourism boom of this period begins to include dance genres from the repertories where all discussions are made, such as European, Turkish, official or market (commercial), which require "national cultural representations". In the period from 1980 to 2000, European-oriented dances diversified in the centre of belly dance, while Turkish dances had content accompanied by disco and electronic music. Studies on popular urban dances of this period mostly describe street scenes and breakdance performances, electronic club dances through discotheque culture with the combination of youth culture and spatiality, belly dance through the relationship between traditional culture and gazino, and the fields of these studies are mostly Istanbul (Shay and Sellers-Young, 2003; Arıcan, 2012; Girgin, 2015). After the last period of 2000, all the differences between dances that were reconstructed with a hybrid aesthetic perception become blurred.

Until 1950s: Dancing Disease, Jazz Appreciation

The 19th century in Ottoman Empire was considered as the institutionalization of cultural relationship with western world, as has been long known. At the end of the century, urban dances are seen in the balls held for bureaucrats and diplomats around the upper class. In the dances of the balls, there are couple dances such as *vals* (waltz)[1] and polka, which were very popular among the European bourgeois at that time. However, the visibility of waltz practices coincides with the early Republican period, as statesmen who could not go to the balls with their wives at the receptions could only watch European diplomats instead of dancing (Yılmaz, 1994). In accordance with the vision of a secular society

[1] In fact, the waltz rhythm has existed in Ottoman court music since the 18th century. It is said that Dede Efendi, the well-known composer of the court music, composed a song, *Yine Bir Gülnihal*, in the first waltz rhythm of the Ottoman period, in one night.

positioned in the centre of the Republic, care was taken to design the receptions with togetherness of men and women.[2] By this emphasis, the new modern women who embrace Republican secular values are well-educated mothers, and society was reconstructed to provide male and female socialization mediums with visibility in the public sphere. Although the masculine elites of the state attach importance to this new formation, the framing of women's spheres with modesty and service to the household also refers to their "liberated but not liberalized" (Kandiyoti, 1987) existence.

The official balls, which were held in Istanbul in the early period as a showcase for the modern nation, became the favourite entertainment of the new 'high society' class.[3] Ballroom dance presents "hyperfeminized women" and "overdetermined men" (Picart, 2006, 250) and depicts the ideal new woman as *alafranga* (European-westernized) as opposed to *alaturka* (allaturca, like the Turk). In fact, the repertory of popular dance echoes two opposite sides, *alafranga* and *alaturka*, in the form of genres as well as gender relations. Balls became widespread during the 1920s and 30s in different mediums such as balls organized between families, solidarity balls, masked balls, etc. As the indispensable dances of these balls, waltz and Tango reflect the cultural capital of western society life. Like the waltz, Tango reflects interest in European lifestyle and became popular during the 'tangomania' period that spread to many countries. Besides, Tango was included in the training programme of the *HalkEvleri* (People's Houses)—a symbol of 'civilization' in Türkiye during these years. However, the practice of Tango in Türkiye was not like the Argentine and European examples; "it is a dance that does not go beyond a dancing face to face holding hands to be considered innocent, accompanied by songs of love poems" (Akgün, 1993: 56).

[2] The Republic's vision of a secular society was established through a series of legal, political and cultural regulations known as the 'Atatürk (Mustafa Kemal) Revolutions'. During the 1920s, the abolition of the caliphate (Islamic state) the limitation of the function of religion in state life, the announcement of sovereignty as now unconditionally in the nation, the banning of the *fes* (symbol of the Ottomon Empire) and supporting of the (European) hat, the adoption of the Turkish language in Latin letters, the transition to secular education by closing religious education schools, denunciation of polygamous religious marriage, and recognition of singular official marriage are some of them.

[3] In this process, the *Alafranga* narrative, whose representation over the female body was highly valued, was undoubtedly supported not only in the field of dance, but also widely in the other artistic performances, for example, with mixed theatre groups formed in *Halkevleri* (People's Houses).

Figure 1. Couple dances between woman and woman, Cengiz Kahraman Archive (Öztürkmen, 1999)[4]

Figure 2. The First Dancing Resistance Competition, Istanbul, 1924 (Toprak, 2017)[5]

[4] Although the couple and body-in-touch dances such as waltz and tango of the early period brought the togetherness of men and women to the public sphere, it was often seen that female or male couples performed these in urban entertainments. This case emphasizes the alienation from the 'western' and the bodily contact among male and females which had not yet been internalized, and the elimination of issues related to both physical distance and the 'opposite sex' from the very beginning. (see figure 1).

[5] The 1920s brought dance marathons to Türkiye (see figure 2, Istanbul, 1924). Marathons became a patented method of gambling in the United States and Türkiye after the war. (Toprak, 2017).

In the book entitled *Modern Adab'ı Muaşeret* (Modern Manners) published in 1940, the section concerning rules to be followed in ballroom dance performances shows that dance is accepted as one of the behavioural forms of modern life: "Dance with gloves in hot weather…While inviting the woman to dance, the man should button up his jacket…Married women cannot talk meaningfully with men while dancing… The pregnant woman is not allowed to dance…Do not try a dance that you do not know… Women do not start the dance first… While dancing, women should not close their eyes or leave their partners and move alone…do not dance with the same couple…Do not dance with a swimsuit… Dancers should be clean… No chewing gum, no smoking while dancing" (Muzaffer, 1940).

In addition, youth culture in these years came into contact with the Jazz culture that was popular in the world at that time. *Fokstrot* (Foxtrot) and *Çarliston* (Charleston) dances were the most common for urban entertainment venues until the 1950s. Popular dances outside the ballroom dances at balls, where Western civilized culture is represented, remain outside the ideologically supported western repertoire, are identified with youth culture and liberty, and are defined as the bodily forms of degenerate youth culture against the acceptable modern. Therefore, as a popular sub-repertoire with the position of 'the others of *alafranga*', discussions that are often described as debates are frequently encountered in this period. As 'the others of alafranga', foxtrot and Charleston dances were the dominant genres within *dansings* (dance halls), which were opened specially for dance, made the western sound popular accompanied by the *cazbant* (jazz orchestras). "Akil Cem writes that the (Charleston) dance was introduced sometime between January and March of 1926, in one of Beyoğlu's bars: The Charleston, this strange dance that was inspired by Black Americans, has, for the past one and a half years, stirred up capriciousness in the dancing pleasure of the civilized world [...] an Abyssinian together with one of the bar's dancing girls swung to a number, face to face, clapping their hands just like a black dance" (Woodall, 2008: 243, quoted from Cem, 1926).[6] However, despite the classic, distant and civilized appearance of waltz and tango, foxtrot and Charleston are unbuttoned, fast, crazy, drug-related, and the most dangerous forms of the western lifestyle, especially for women. So much so that many popular culture journals published

[6] The name Charleston was also referring to a style of trousers (*çarliston paça pantolon*), which widened from the knees to the bottom of the feet.

in the 1920s see the crazy and big addiction of the 20th century as dance and describe the epidemic of this period as *Dar'ür Raks* (Dancing Disease): “Dar'ür Raks ... just like an epidemic fever, the crisis emerges at certain hours of the evening, it wraps the patient's head, vibrancy circulate all over his body. Undoubtedly, the East also had its own dance. It was called raks… Raks was different from dance. As in the West, it was against to such traditions like couple dances of men and women together" (Toprak, 2017, 69)

Popular western dances of this period were paired with alcohol, drugs, and tobacco use, especially for youth. In order to get rid of this trouble that plagued people, articles describing the damage caused by foxtrot and charleston (nausea, ovarian inflammation, intestinal knotting, etc.) were written by medical doctors. In *Çarliston olayı* (Charleston debate) of that time, while writing persuasive articles to prevent the dangerous future into which the youth was dragged, guides teaching how to do this dance were published: “Americans say that anyone who cannot play the Charleston is considered not to have danced in his life. Charleston is different from foxtrot, even from the dances played so far. Actually, training is needed. Here the steps are explained… By looking at these steps, you can have your experience at home. However, when the Charleston begins, he should not be in a hurry. It is easy to keep up with the melody of the music. Now learn about this new dance which played by everyone in all dance halls, balls and entertainment venues " (Toprak, 2017, as cited in Sevimli Ay, 1926: 21-22) (See figure 3). The modernization project, which is defined ideologically and implemented through secularism and westernization, created resistance on the social ground. This case demonstrates how the path of Türkiye’s modernity and secularization contrasts with the historical path of European social developments, and underlines a tense cultural space created by top-down reforms.

Figure 3. "This is how the steps of the Charleston should be" Büyük Gazete, 1926 (Woodall, 2008)

When we look at the urban dances with the *alaturka* (alla Turca-Turkish) orientation, we see the *Çiftetelli* dance and the *Çengi-Köçek* tradition transferred from the imperial period as a common practice, until the 1950s[7]. Since the 17th century *Çengi* and *köçek* soloists were known for entertaining dignitaries at the court with dancing, singing and instrumental playing. While *köçek* performers are generally male, *çengi*s are females and young boys. Documentations of entertainment life during Ottoman rule and in the capital city of Istanbul in the early Republican period describe *çengi* and *köçek* dances as exotic "belly dancing, toe hits, shaking and backward-bending body, swaying of breasts, walking

[7] The 'official' repertoire of the early period, other than western dances, is not called *alaturka*; this repertoire refers to the period of the first folk dance compilations, framed as the 'national' dances of the Republic. The formalization of folk dance in Türkiye began under the *Halkevleri* (People's Houses). In the 1930s the *Halkevleri* identified local dances for sponsorship by the *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* (Republican People's Party). In the early Republican period, dances were collected and classified by geographical regions, not by ethnic origins. These dances in villages and towns were performed by local people at domestic celebrations, such as national holidays (29 October Republic Day, 19 May Youth and Sports Day, etc.) and local festivals including those hosted by the *Halkevleri*. The regional and local characteristics of these dances were faithfully maintained by using their original musics and instrumentation, ensuring a diversity of representation even as the dances were elevated to national prominence. Local dances were performed not only by local practitioners, but also by non-local students who learned them at their educational institutions. As a result, the 1930s and 1940s were the years when the tradition of performing folk dances took on the additional role of promoting national identity. In other words, during this period, the national dance repertoire supported by the government functions as the local repertoire staged in some organizations with dance in the cities. For example, in 1940, a group of students who were educated at Gazi Educational Institution in Ankara performed different local dances on the same stage at the national 19 May Youth and Sports Day. Collector Muzaffer Sarısözen's description of the performance reflects the understanding and enthusiasm of the period: "all these dances are performed with national and local costumes and their own music. Karadeniz dances are accompanied by Kemençe; Bars aand Halays by davul-zurna; Zeybek, Misket, and "Dances with spoon" are accompanied by saz and songs. These dances, which decorate the stage of the Halkevleri like a delightful bunch of national representations were chosen from various parts of the country… This work that has been accomplished is not only a ceremony, but also a move of the national art in the state of being leaning towards its source." (Öztürkmen, 2016, 132).

on the balls of the feet, swinging heads and waist" (Koçu, 2002; Baykurt, 1995; And, 1976). In these solo dance traditions "the various forms of the dance developed into both cabaret "belly dancing" and types of social dancing such as the Turkish Çiftetelli (in 4/4; cf. Greek tsifteteli) and Karşılama (in 9/8), and related Balkan forms whose names derive from the word köçek" (Sugarman, 2003: 92).

However, the status of women in Islam certainly influenced *köçek*'s development in male settings. "Whereas ancient Turkic communities had a very rich entertainment culture and both sexes coexisted in entertainment settings as in other spheres of life, after the adoption of Islam and the new culture that came with it, sexes were spatially segregated, and coexistence was lost. Especially in all-male entertainment settings, this loss was first compensated through the mimicry of female dancers by the köçek; later the performances acquired functions that evoked sexuality" (Beşiroğlu & Girgin, 2018: 47).

The fact that the Çengi performances became more visible after the 19th century, compared to other solo dance traditions, is related to the banning of köçek in 1857 and thus the spread of female dancers. The liquidation of the Janissaries and the collapse of the guild (*lonca*) system, to which the entertainment branches were attached, played an important role in this prohibition period. The social model of the Ottoman Empire in the pioneering phase of capitalism (first accumulation period) with the increasing relations with Europe, which grew with capitalist production relations in the 19th century, was built around the concepts of "European, modern, Western". Therefore, as in the *köçek* tradition, which was marginalized by Europe, practices specific to the Eastern commons in the language of the West were banned by state pressure and decisions. At this point, the popularity of *Çengi* is related to the fact that class distinctions based on economy became more evident after the Tanzimat period and female dancers met the intense entertainment demand of the urban ruling class. Because the entertainment services of this period were under the administration of the state through the guilds of tradesmen and craftsmen. In this context, the ignorance of the *Çiftetelli* dance by the Republic, which was founded in the first half of the 20th century, reflects continuity within the scope of the modernization project of empire. Moreover, on account of *Çiftetelli*'s relationship with *Çengi* and their relationship with the empire, it is prone to being marginalized again and

again for the new secular Republic, both for its reminder of the past and for the content of women's performance that continues in the conservative social frame.[8]

According to Şerif Baykurt, the *Çiftetelli* dance, which represents the urban Ottoman-Balkan tradition, spread to Anatolia from Sulukule's *çengi* and *köçek* performances and is derived from the belly dances in the palace. Moreover, he defines *Çiftetelli* as a dance consisting of Gypsy, Persian and Arabic dances, spreading from Istanbul to towns and an extension of the multicultural palace environment (Baykurt, 1995). Similarly, Demirsipahi states that *çengi* dances have become a rich source of entertainment and prepared the environment for the creation and processing of a special set of folk songs and dances in Istanbul, and in this context, the tradition of dancing has not disappeared today, but has changed form in big cities, and says that one of the names of the changing form is *Çiftetelli*. (1975: 219). In fact, when *Çiftetelli* dance is considered as a cultural form, improvised plays in the *çengi, köçek, tavşan*, and *rakkas* movements of the Ottoman period, improvised dances in the streets of the Republic, improvised performances in women's meetings in Anatolia, and men dancing in private meetings in Anatolia, that is, "in most cases . . . only the gesture showing the arms by bending the elbows upwards can be counted as Çiftetelli" (Kurtişoğlu, 2014).

On the other hand, apart from the solo dances associated with belly dance, especially for the city of Istanbul, the *Karşılama* (lit. face-to-face) dance performed in couples is one of the cultural practices of this period. As one of the urban Ottoman-Balkan traditions, *Karşılama*, which is not categorized as a folk dance genre, is more common as a name for mutual playing. The *Karşılama*, which is identified with Turkish Thrace, is the last movement repertory in the official compilation studies of dances in the Turkish Folk Dance category, has a very similar content to the face-to-face dancing of *Çiftetelli* in this

[8] Early sources mentioning the Istanbul practices of the *Çiftetelli* and *Çengi* tradition particularly underline the fame of the Lonca neighbourhood in the early 1900s: "The days I mentioned are reserved for polite society in the Lonca. You should have seen those in the Lonca twenty years ago… Every Friday and Sunday, well-known musician women were set up in their magnificent Clarence and flowed towards the tall trees behind the Çağlayan mansion. Those who saw these veiled white women in marvellous cars would have thought that they were courtiers from afar. Only when they opened and scattered a little, when their *beşibiryerde* (ornamental coin worth five Turkish gold pounds) and the rings on their fingers were revealed, their nature would be understood. Of course, like other Kağıthane epicureans, they would retreat to a corner, eat their meals, and then have fun by confronting the female dancers who do belly dancing for money. There was a *Çengi* Ceylan at that time, and many families would come to watch her performance for hours on the road. There was nothing like the *Çiftetelli* she danced with by throwing back the bangs that fell on both sides of her cut hair with her hand." (Resimli Dünya, 1925: 7)

sense. However, the reason why *Karşılama* was included in the national repertoire until the 1950s is the debate over its similarity with *Çiftetelli*. The words of Şerif Baykurt, one of the interlocutors of this debate and known for his Thracian compilations, in the first folk dance seminar held in 1961, proves the 'otherness' of both *Çiftetelli* and *Karşılama* through a prohibition:

> "Until 1939, there were no folk dances in Thrace… What happened consisted of some Çiftetelli that could be called obscene… Karşılama dances were more common in Thrace. Those who use the term "Karşılama" in the sense of "Çiftetelli" and "belly dance" could be guessed that some intellectuals thought so. However, the strangest thing about this matter is that the idea that "Karşılama" is Çiftetelli, or that it resembles a belly dance like Çiftetellis – it should also be noted that every Ciftetelli is obscene – is included in secondary school curricula. From the secondary school curriculum, physical education department, page 258: 4- Folk dances, Karşılama and Çiftetelli, with or without music, which have a rhythmic character, according to the environmental possibilities, will not be performed" (Baykurt, 1996: 46).

In the field work around Istanbul in 1951, in the dances collected from the settled people, "hora, zeybek, Ali Paşa, Kasap oyunu, Berat, Kabadayı, Eşkiya oyunu, İkitelli, Arap oyunları, Ağırlama, Laz dansı, etc." many different names are found (see Şenel, 2010). This diversity also highlights the intercultural historical texture of the urban cultures of Ottoman-Balkan geography. In addition, dances performed together with dance tunes such as *Zeybekikos*, *Kasapiko* and *Çiftetelli* recorded in *Laterna*, which are frequently mentioned in *meyhane*, *boloz* and on the streets in Pera entertainments in Istanbul of the early Republican period, are also a part of the early urban culture. Dancing to the *Laterna*, which was brought to Istanbul in 1850 by a Levantine named Guiseppe Turconi and which had recordings such as waltz, polka, and tango at first, was added to the dances of Ottoman-Greek culture such as *sirto*, *zeybekiko*, and *hasapiko*, and was a popular form of entertainment in the early period.

1950s-1970s: Western/Latin Steps, Oriental Bellies

The Republic switched to a multi-party system in the 1950s. While the governance of statist-elitist bourgeoisie during the early Republican time invoked 'civilized western' perspectives imported from Europe, this view was replaced with that of a traditionalist-liberal ruling-class through the notion of American liberality as the multi-party system arose shortly after World War II. However, the content of tradition mentioned here was

not created with the content of the Republic, but with a repertoire that went back to the traditions of the Ottoman empire, and the reform period, which will be called the 'new Ottoman', began; People's Houses were closed in 1951 and secondary schools for the training of Islamic religious personnel were opened; after this period, the structure of the secular republic began to change rapidly. The cultural content of the period was planned on the basis of multi-ownership capital, a liberal economy, and the adaptation to global capitalism. Rural migration to rapidly industrializing cities accelerated the movement of both the labour force and cultural accumulation. In the 1950s, intense rural-to-urban migration started to create a *gecekondu* (literally, 'built in one night') culture in city centres and the migrations continued up to the 2000s. As city suburbs in Western Europe were usually considered as marginal ghettos or slums, in Türkiye these led to a specific reality that took the name of *gecekondu*… Particular attention should be paid to the fact that, while in the 1950s and '80s it was the migration from the country's rural areas towards the big cities that continued growing significantly, "but after the '80s and over the years (up to 2000), what actually grew was the migration flow rate from cities to cities" (Aktaş, 2013).

Along with the increasing urban population, private dance courses including popular dances also proliferated in city centres such as Istanbul, İzmir and Ankara in addition to student groups, folk dance associations and culture houses that opened since the 1950s. The classes included students who came to urban centres for university education as well as adults who came to learn to dance at their grandchildren's wedding (Bengi, 2020). The book titled *Tangodan Mamboya Bütün Danslar* (All Dances from Tango to Mambo) published in 1955 (by Selma Dikmen) shows the popular dance repertoire up to that time. In the book, foxtrot, waltz, rumba, swing, mambo, samba, tango movements were described with drawings. During this period, all these social dances were called 'modern dance' and emphasized the on-going relationship with the west.

Rock and Roll dance, which was popular in Europe and America in the same period, was added to this repertoire from the end of the 1950s, and in a short time it became the most popular urban youth dance and created a resistance that turned into the previous Charleston debate: "When Charleston was just released, there was a lot of confusion, when the tango was just released, the Pope condemned it in the Vatican. Whereas Rock'n Roll cannot be compared with the Charleston, the Tango, or any of the later more modern

dances. Because, in none of the old times was the man's hand on the hips of the woman or below." (Bengi, 2020, 250; as cited in Göktürk, 1957). Rock'n Roll films from America had a considerable impact on this spread and discussion about it. Films such as *Blackboard Jungle*, which was released in 1957, and later *Shake, Rattle and Rock*, *Rock, Pretty Baby* were important in terms of the transformation of western youth lifestyle beyond dance. The content of the application of the *Milli Türk Talebe Birliği* (National Turkish Student Union), which was known for its nationalist and conservative lines, to ban Rock's Roll and Striptease in 1957, reflected the discussion on the morality and corruption of the period over dance: "A nation whose youth is degenerate is doomed to collapse. As youth, we appealed to the relevant authorities to ban the dances that made youth degenerate, such as striptease and rock 'n roll dances" (Bengi, 2020: 249).

The twist, which was added to the repertoire of Rock'n Roll in the 1960s, had the same luck as its predecessors. Popular culture magazines and newspaper headlines of the period describe the dance movements on the one hand and its drawbacks on the other. Unlike its predecessors, the twist was perceived as 'the hip curling of western modern dances'. In the music market and film industry of the period, products with youth criticism and/or appreciation content exploded through the twist. A Turkish melodrama film, *Abidik Gubidik* (meaning foolish) was made in 1964, using popular twist music and dance of the time.

The 1960s began with the first military intervention in the history of the Republic and the parliament was closed because of violating the democratic principles of government. By the law reorganized in 1961, trades union organizations, working class struggle and job-labour rights were being revived, debates on woman rights increased, and simultaneously culture for urban consumption and especially the entertainment market expanded rapidly. The cultural practices of the urbanized rural become both a cultural activity for local people and a means of touristic representation for foreign markets. This period continued to the end of 1970s, when the domestic markets enlarged, growth of orientation to foreign markets, there was a rapid articulation of the tertiary sector with capitalist global industry, and a concentration on domestic and foreign tourism. The contents of cultural representations now emphasized entertainment and grandeur, with

the grip of nationalism a little broken. Wealth went beyond a single nationality, focusing more on diversity and thus more products and profits.[9]

In this period, when domestic and foreign markets expanded, both the expansion of the content of the entertainment industry and the new traditionalist approaches of the executive elites paved the way for the support of the *alaturka* repertory, which was limited before 1950. *Çiftetelli-Çengi* tradition and Oriental belly dance, which are the favorites of this *alaturka* repertory, which is both outside the repertory of the official discourse (i.e. Turkish folk dances[10]) and outside the European (western) style, continues with the institutionalization of the '*dansözlük*' (danseuse). In urban entertainment, it is popular in places such as *bar* (pub), *dansing* and ballroom, which are the practical places of western forms, as well as places with *alaturka* style forms such as *gazino* (music hall), *meyhane* (taverns), and *müzikli kahvehane* (musical cafes). *Gazino*s in particular contain most of the content of Turkish style entertainment; drinking entertainment programmes consist of a long night menu, which is lined up consecutively, including star singers, Turkish classical (court-based) music playing and belly dance shows. The 'other entertainment' of the city, which includes both European and Turkish styles, could become a hybrid content in these *gazinos* since the tourist market was growing and a new rural-urban culture need arose for those who migrated to urban areas. "In a venue (gazino), the same orchestra starts with slow rhythms such as waltz or tango, accelerates with rumba, samba, swing or rock 'n roll or çaça, depending on the fashion of the day, the event usually ends with Çiftetelli adapted to one of these rhythms" (Belge, 1983: 863). During this period, the boom of the tourism industry could include dance genres from repertoires in which all oppositional discussions were held, such as al *alafranga*, *alaturka*,

[9] On the other hand, *Aydınlar Ocağı* (Intellectuals' Hearth), founded in 1970 and known for its anti-westernization stance, is a crucial institutionalization of this period. The Turkish-Islamic synthesis, which was defended instead of the East-West synthesis of the early Republican period, underlines the Ottoman accumulation of conservative-nationalist ideology which is especially embodied after 1980. (see further Akşin, 2007; Kongar 2008).

[10] After the 1950s different local dances from around the country were centralized and designated as "Turkish folk dances". In this period, watching folk dance performance became popular entertainment, and overall folk dance activity was referred to as *folklor oynamak*- to dance folklore (Öztürkmen, 2001). During the 1950s and '60s, folklor oynamak spurred a growth in tourism and the grand folkdance market was developed by increasing stage performances, competitions, folk dance clubs, and educational programmes in cities, reaching a peak by the 1970s. From 1977 onwards, through government-sponsored competitions, new dances were added to the traditional repertory and the 'folklore' market became bigger than ever.

resmi (official) or *piyasa* (commercial) in most environments requiring national cultural representations.

Since the traditional *Çengi, Köçek* and *Çiftetelli* have been associated with belly dance practice in urban areas since the 1950s, these urban practices are referred to with belly dance; Anatolia's traditional *Çiftetelli* dance practices also continue in their own environment. In the 1950s, the neighbourhood of the *çengi* was Sulukule, and their dance was known as the solo *Çiftetelli* dance (And, 1959: 25). The destruction of the Lonca district, known for its *Çengi* and *Köçek* dances, on account of squatting in the 1960s, is one of the reasons why this tradition intensified in Sulukule. *Dansöz* performances of this period created a different spatial formation in terms of professional organization through "Sulukule and its Gypsies". The new professional venues of the *Çengi*, who have been hired as dancers in celebrations in palaces and mansions since the late imperial period and working under guilds, in Sulukule are the 'Sulukule Entertainment Houses', which were licensed from 1952 to 1993. In the new venues, entertainers are hired for the customers who come to their homes and they are careful not to entertain outside Sulukule before. Sulukule dansözs, who later became popular, began performing in many nightclubs and hotels in Istanbul at entertainment nights (And, 1976; McDowell, 1970). The seemingly non-commercial entertainment houses are located in the neighbourhood and the entertainment venue license can only be understood from the '… your sister's house' sign hanging on their windows. *Dansöz*s who grew up in these houses perform the belly dance in groups of three *dansöz*, under the name 'Sulukule team', in the places they work outside. In the late Ottoman period, the guilds, which constituted the industrial monopoly supporting social control, were replaced by the entertainment houses in Sulukule from the 1950s on. In the process of reconstructing the 'west-facing' Muslim Turkish woman of the nationalist paradigm of the period, the framing of marginal requirements, namely female belly dancers, with licensed venues directly affiliated with municipalities also indicates on-going control. Being Dansöz thus entered a process of industrial growth through small-town bosses under the control of the local economy. The entertainment content in these houses, which was associated with the headlines of 'Türkiye's most expensive entertainment place' throughout the 1960s and 70s, reflects both the stretched and marginalized nature of the *gazino* contents: The entertainment usually began with the male guests arriving at the house at sunset, the drinks are accompanied by cold

appetizers, and the fires burned right in front of the house. Grilled food prepared on barbecues was consumed throughout the night, the owners of the house sat at the tables and asked how their guests were, and the music and dance continued. If desired, a repertory of popular songs of 'Turkish (*fasıl*) art music' was also prepared, but the night definitely ends with belly dances of dansözs. During the performances of the dancers, the guests also stand up according to the dose of their enthusiasm, dance *Çiftetelli* and imitate the movements of the dancers.

During this period, the belly dance and the cover of the dance tunes recordings were associated with nudity, especially with the effect of popularity in striptease and revue In these shows. On the other hand, enjoying Sulukule *dansöz* in Sulukule was so popular during this period that the music industry bosses of the period focused on "taking this entertainment to the feet of the people" who could not go to the Sulukule with the records released with repertory contents such as recordings of *taverna müzikleri* (taverns) and dance tunes: "brings fun to our people who cannot have fun in Sulukule" (Sulukule Ekibi Evinizde "The Sulukule Team is at Your Home", back cover of the record 1979).

During this period, belly dance became the dominant form of Turkish entertainment in city centres and became an indispensable element of tourist programs. While the student protests against the American 6th Fleet, which visited Istanbul in February 1969, were the only agenda, news of the soldiers belly dancing with dansözs in the evening entertainment is perhaps the most striking of the touristic representations. (See eskigaste web, for headlines)

Çiftetelli, which exists in the public entertainment practices and in cultural performance environments such as weddings and henna, continued in a commercially professionalism where received on the one hand as belly dance. Thus, it continued to be the other of the official and ideal 'folk dance' repertory.[11] One of the reasons for this positioning of otherness was undoubtedly the "fatal" image of the female body in the market of belly dance. For example, the presence of women's bodies presented nude and/or in belly

[11] So much so that the attempt to represent Istanbul for the first time in the competition organized by the Türk Halk Oyunları Yayma ve Yaşatma Tesisi (Spreading and Survival Institution of Turkish Folk Dances) in 1954, with "Çengi, Çiftetelli, Köçek dancers" caused controversy. After the performance of the female dancers named Topkapı Gülleri and Sulukule Çiçekleri (Topkapı roses and Sulukule Flowers), who took part in the competition representing Istanbul, the competition was cancelled because of the growing controversy. (For details, see Girgin, 2015).

dance costumes on the cover images of the dance tunes records, the content of which is composed of melodies taken from traditional dance music in Anatolia, explains the dominance of the market. Thus, this perception changed somewhat, but the dangerous *femme fatal* image of the female body persisted. During this period, *dansöz oynatmak* (to make a belly dancer dance) or *oryantal yapmak* (to dance in oriental style), a settled form of entertainment, continued to be "the other" of the official discourse until 1981. In touristic representations, it has been one of the frequently mentioned topics, as much as Turkish Delight, from the very beginning.

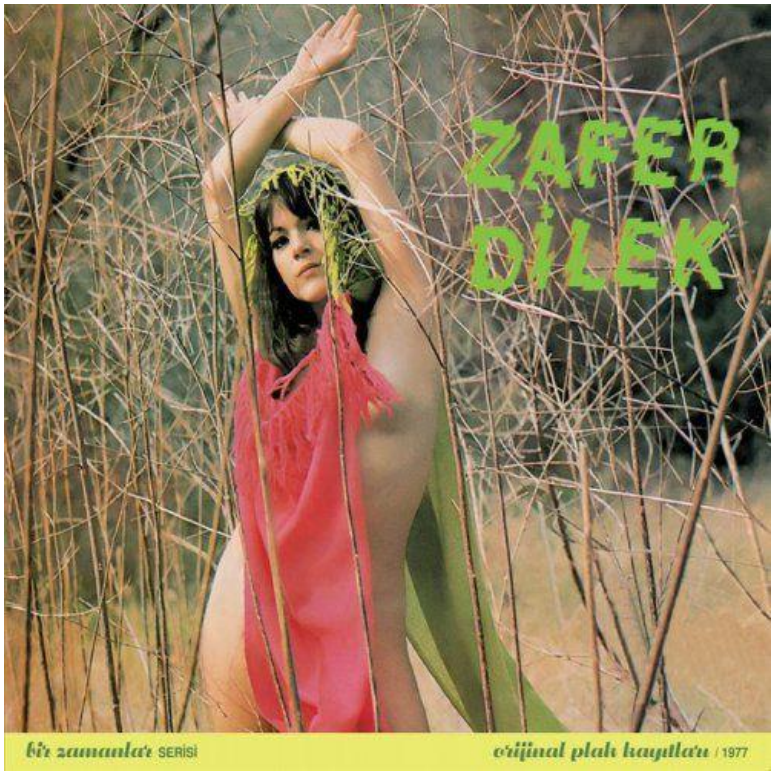

Figure 4. Zafer Dilek Oyun Havaları, LP Cover, 1977.

On the other hand, while the culturally western of this period was rapidly shifting from Europe to American lifestyles, imported forms were also settling in the content of Turkish culture - *Alaturka* Turkish culture); Indian movies that were shown in cinemas in the 1950s and the *Sirtaki* dance, which became popular at international markets with the movie *Zorba the Greek* in the 1960s, re-updated the content of the *Alaturka* with the Balkans. The sirtaki dance was also popularized in the Greek taverns of Istanbul; since this dance was performed together with the Greek style of entertainment, it was part of what were called "Sirtaki nights" in Greek music and dance venues. Simultaneously, this

dance, which became popular as Sirtaki with e choreography in the movie Zorba the Greek, was one of the numerous cases of ownership in the "Turkish-Greek cultural debates"[12].

> "Now it's a period! They can't help but come up with a new dance every summer. However, the favourite dance of the summer of 1965 is neither from Tahiti, nor from South America, nor from the mysterious beats of Harlem. It was born from the warm atmosphere of the Mediterranean; its name is Sirtaki! Now, on all European beaches, everyone dances a Sirtaki. Of course, it is talked about as a Greek dance everywhere, and thus a lot of Greek propaganda is being made. Honestly, that shouldn't be surprising. Our neighbours, with their unique shrewdness, by acting before us as always, managed to introduce sirtaki as a Greek dance, making it the new favourite dance of the year. Sirtaki, which is performed as a solo or collectively, is no different from our *Halay*. Not a day goes by that a newspaper or a weekly magazine does not have moving pictures of the middle-eastern French singer Dalida teaching the steps of the Sirtaki! The interest in this dance from the members of top drawer as well as moviegoers is enough to make it famous. Everyone is pursuing the sirtaki" (Bengi, 2017: 288-89; as cited in Hayat, 1965, July 8).

Nationalist discourse was becoming stronger, especially with the emphasis on Turkish origin, which was associated with the derivation of Sirtaki from the word *Sirto*. Sirtaki was probably derived from the word *Sirto*, but the dance tunes and the dances, historically known as *sirto*, are the common cultural product of the Balkans and Aegean geography.

Since 1980: Towards a Cultural Jungle

The 1980 coup greatly changed social and cultural life[13]. This is also a new liberal process which is synthesized with a neo-conservative approach. "It features not only liberal values such as individual freedom, laissez faire economy, freedom of enterprise, and restricted

[12] Considering geographical borders, cultural relations, historical political conflicts, these debates, which span a very long past, reflect a literature of cases in which meanings are constructed with the discourses of opposition and togetherness for both countries. The rhetoric between "eternal enmity" and "brotherhood and friendship" has often been the subject of the press of the countries (Further Karataş 2012; Özsüer 2015; Çağ and Ural 2014). The 1950s, on the other hand, was a period when cultural similarities met with an tense discourse of friendship.

[13] At the very beginning of 1980, the economic formation (lit. named as January 24 decisions) came to be crucial issue as a shape of Turkish neoliberal policies that was applied in USA – led by Reagan – and Great Britain – by Thatcher – after the global crisis of the 1970s. It should be noted that although the 1980 military coup and the 1960 intervention were formally the same, they are different in content. While only the parliament was closed in 1960, all political parties and unions were closed with the 1980 coup, and non-governmental organizations were prevented from working. Especially, 'democratic excess' that developed after all democratic rights acquired by the 1961 law was prevented and thus it was intended to solve the crisis of capitalism in Türkiye.

state, but also clarifies the unchangeable values of conservativism such as family, religion, authority, obedience and traditional canon" (Vahap, 2014: 112). Social life, which completely stopped after the 1980 military coup, continued as if it had never halted with the entertainment programmes conveyed by the media. The explosion of entertainment and the spread of consumption in the 1980s are not only related to the transition to the neoliberal economy and global opportunities, but also to the entertainment industry as one of the most facilitating tools of the post-coup depoliticization process. The cultural climate of this depolitization process, which started in the first half of the 1980s, was re-established in the second half of the 80s. This climate was associated with the spread of the Turkish-Islamic synthesis and developed on the basis of the fragmentation of the early modernity project of the Republic, and its reforms to fragmentation of the early Republican secularization project. The new social order became to be fundamental principal among government agencies, especially through the organization of compulsory courses of Sunni' religious culture and morals in the educational field.[14] Consumption of melodramatic films and a booming cassette industry fuelled the neoliberal transition, largely through the spread of *oyun havası* (dance tunes) albums released throughout the '80s. The pop and *arabesk* sounds in these albums cover all popular genres and local dance musics accumulated up to that time and form a collective archive of musical styles.

During this period, *dansings* of the past surrendered their places to the *diskotek* (discotheque), the first examples of which were seen in the 1970s. By the 1980s, the global pop music repertory also attracted intensive attention in Türkiye. *Diskoteks* are places in which the hit pop songs of the period move by 'swinging, spinning, jumping movements', verbal communication is minimized and pop-techno-electronic sounds are heard. Disco dance music of the period is globally popular pop songs (i.e "Comanchero" by Raggio di Luna) as well as local dance music and disco covers of folk songs.

[14] Although we describe the post-1980 cultural climate as 'new', it should be seen as a continuation of the transformation that started in the 1950s. So much so that the central principle that distinguishes the pre-1950 from the post-1950 period, 'controlled pluralism' was the preparatory phase of the post-1980 period: "While this pluralism embodied in the axes of statist-private entrepreneurship, ethics-morality, city-country, what is interesting is that one can contain the other as a disguise. It is a social formation that has adopted the hypocrisy of community morality while advocating an individual ethic while being a statist when being a private entrepreneur, a countryman when being an urbanite" (Kahraman, 1999).

Figure 5. Diskotürkü, LP cover (Osman İşmen ve Okrestrası Kısa Dalga Vokal Grubu – Disco Türkü, 1980).

The random movement of dance practices in disco dance changed with the moonwalk figure introduced in the 1990s through Michael Jackson's concert in Istanbul. Through tours and music videos, Jackson and other pop music artists were a profound influence on popular music and dance in Türkiye throughout the 1990s. In addition, thanks to the broadcast of video music channels (MTV-1981, Kral TV-1994) that existed throughout the 90s, visuality and dance became indispensable for sound and music, and the number of pop dance groups with singers increased. In particular, the video music of dance-trained or professional dancer-singers such as Hakan Peker and Yonca Evcimik was influential in the popularization of 'disco-pop dance' throughout the 90s. Yonca Evcimik's song, named *Abone* (Subscriber) was released in 1991 and the special hand gesture during the dance show was very popular among the youth of the 90s.

The Latin dance disease of the 1990s started with the reflection of the international popularization of a Brazilian dance, known as the Lambada, from the popular culture market to the Turkish market. "It was a case of a controversial and illegal dance, the

Maxixe, which later turned into the Lambada. Originally banned by the government of Brazil, later it was permitted because of its popular nature, and once it got out from under the authorities' control, all would be wiggling and swinging their hips sensually, males and females. Lambada was and has been recognized by its notable historians and connoisseurs as "The Forbidden Dance" (as portrayed in the 1989 movie, *Lambada*)" (Otero, 2021: 65). The popularity of Lambada dance in Türkiye, which grew with the story of prohibition mentioned above, is parallel to the same debate. The Turkish version of the musical film, *Lambada* was shot in the same year with the same name. *Lambada*, sung by the Kaoma band and a tropical dance in their music video was the pioneer of Latin-pop genre in discos of the 1990s. Especially in the summer of 1990, Lambada music and dance settled in TV broadcasts, educational programmes, streets, discos, weddings and opening ceremonies. Images of women in swimsuits and close-up dance in the original video music created new debates; It was found to be inconvenient to add the Lambada choreography to the dance shows of young people on official holidays (Bengi, 2017). The black stockings of Kaoma's dancing women, who were guests of TRT in 1991, also demonstrated the 'so-called conciliatory' attitude of the official discourse.

The bodily manifestation of hip-hop culture, whose visibility began to increase in the 1990s, Breakdance spread from disco to the streets since the late 80s and became popular with the electric boogie. "Breakdance shows of this period opened with a ritual-like intro and closed with a meaningful final scene. Throughout the show, the dancers used to take turns one by one and show their skills. Hard breaks, back leaps, and turning over the head, hand and shoulders seemed compulsory for dancers who displayed syncopated and fluid body movements" (Bengi, 2019; as cited in Erdir Zat, 2000).

Large-scale dance clubs, which were added to disco culture in the early 1990s, were also the precursors of a new club culture. The differences of disco and club participators can be seen both in class divisions and in terms of the repertory of dance musics. Participants in the discos consisted mostly of lower- and middle-class youth and they adopted the pop, electronic, Latin-pop repertoire associated with their street culture. Clubbers, on the other hand, preferred mostly techno, electronic and sometimes rock-acid- metal repertoires in relation to the middle and middle-upper class. In addition, the *müzikli barlar* (pubs with music) of this period reflect content closer to club culture. Spatial and class divisions have thus spread the identification of the youth of the 1990s through the

music they listen to or the dance they perform. Subcultures were formed with adjectives such as *rakçı* (rocker) *metalci* (metalhead), *asitçi* (acider), *popçu* (pophead) (Arıcan, 2012).

The *alaturca* side of the 1980s' popular dances began with the special demonstration of belly dance (previously banned), on TRT (Turkish Radio and Television) screens at the New Year's celebration in 1981. Thus, belly dance was officially recognized in the dance category; the on-going presence of belly dance in social practices was reconstructed on the basis of the relationship described by official discourse. TRT's belly dance performances in 1983 poured oil on troubled waters; heritage tourism continues and the body of the dancer was framed with costumes that did not threaten the conservative image of Turkish women. Additionally, the cultural policies of the new liberal neo-conservatisim approach can be seen in the choreography of the Turkish State Folk Dance Ensemble. In 1983, the ensemble performed one of the most debated genres of dance history in Türkiye, *Çiftetelli* (belly dance) which was criticized for vulgarity, reference to Ottoman tradition, and links with the Gypsy/Romani culture. (See further Girgin, 2015). Despite the belly movements and shoulder shimmying, *Çiftetelli* is quite gentrified in comparison with the original belly dance, and the dancer's costume is completely concealing, creating an "amenable and professional version of Çiftetelli" (Shay, 2002: 195). In that context, it is not a coincidence that *Çiftetelli* choreographies were added to the State Ensemble repertoire. *Çiftetelli* carries the meanings of Turkish-Islamic woman's palace tradition to the stage from both conservative and global perspectives.

Political Islam, neo-liberal economy, new nationalistic approaches and the conservative structure were embodied in the cultural texture during 1990s. Thus, disintegration between modern-secular and traditionalist-Islamist poles was centralized in the socio-political life of Türkiye. In other respects, with debates on the Kemalist Republic and its ideology Kurdish ethnicity policies are also added to the government's agenda in terms of citizenship and autonomy. As a matter of fact, because hegemony in Islamism is established by religion and Islam is seen as unifying umbrella over all ethnicities, Kurds are not merely a danger; on the contrary, the Muslim Kurds are potential supporters of the regime. Undoubtedly, criticism of the Kemalist Republic over Islamism and Kurdish affiliation was closely related to the hope of joining the European Union, the pressing issue of the 1990s. By the new discourses, it was promised that the conflict between

religions and beliefs would be left to tolerant relations between communities and ethnicities[15].

During the 1980s and '90s belly dancing generally became the icon of the Middle East in the west's global market, in which Türkiye's practice is positioned as one the local ones of the Middle East. In the 1990s, with the opening of private TV channels in Türkiye, the tension of the 1980s came to seem quietly ironic. Despite TRT's 'restricted' performances, private channels increase the exotic, erotic and oriental content of belly dance as much as possible, made it a part of musical entertainment programmes in particular. During this period, the belly dance which increased its competition mediums and squeezed in the ideology of the state, could never fully supported by government, but it was embedded as a genre of the national cultural heritage in the brochures of the ministry of tourism, or in 'Turkish Night' programme and in the films promoting Türkiye of the 2000s. This contradictory relationship continued after the 2010s with the bans imposed by RTÜK (state media regulator) even on private television channels, despite existing normalization of belly dance in staged folkdance and general social practices.

On the other hand, especially after the second half of the 1990s, centralized identity politics in expansion added the Romani dance to Türkiye's dance culture as an autonomous genre. Romani Dance echoes *çengi*s, *köçek*s and *Çiftetelli*s of the Ottoman period, the belly dance practices of the Republic time, accompanied Rom Dance Tunes existing in the music industry since the 1970s, *cocek* tradition of Balkans and spread to the rest of the country from Thrace. The dance soon became an icon of Rom/Gypsy identity: While it was previously an improvisational moment in the Trakya *Karşılama* dances or *Çiftetelli* choreographies in the traditional folk-dance repertoire, it was repositioned as a distinguished and separate genre in the 1990s.

On the other hand, breaking the state television monopoly and opening private radio/television channels in the 1990s was a critical point in terms of increasing the visibility of different identity representations[16]. Private channels, which increased in

[15] The lifting of the ban on Kurdish music production in 1991 indicates the aim of improving EU relations. Mezopotamya Kültür Derneği (Mesopotamia Cultural Association, founded in Istanbul in 1992, is one of the early institutionalization examples of Kurdish language.

[16] The first private television channel began broadcasting from Germany via satellite in 1990, because it was prohibited in Türkiye by law. Then, in 1993, the establishment of Radio and TV permit was taken from the state monopoly and it was legitimized.

number in the 90s, created a new and large capital area for the global market through the surplus value they obtained from the advertising sector. Privatized and commercialized television broadcasting started to be inspected by Radio and Television Supreme Council, which was established independently in 1994. In this period, after the representation of belly dance on New Year's Eve of 1981 was covered by TRT, the solo belly dancer career became legitimate and this dance became an elite style for urban entertainment. Star belly dancers, created with the increase of private TV channels, were an important indicator of wealth among middle-upper level urban people - to spare ten minutes of entertainment at their son's circumcision celebrations, for example, for 'Oriental Tanyeli'. On the other hand, the urban practices of the Mezdeke group, consisting of three female veiled belly dancers, with pop-Arabic oriental music genre and accompaniment, which emerged in 1994, perhaps surpassing the reputation of a solo oriental dancer, and the naming of 'Mezdeke dance', which evolved over time, played a leading role in the Turkish style dance preferences especially of young women. Bodily expressions in urban practices also reflected the internalized attitudes of dance choreographies seen on TV and long dress rehearsals. The popularization of the mezdeke group was not only associated with the social acceptance of belly dance, but also with the mystery of the veiled and completely unrecognizable faces of female dancers. The influence of the group of professional modern dancers is a very visible case for those who were young in the 1990s, like myself, in terms of the association of *mezdeke* with the word oriental.

The 2000s began with the decision of European Union to accept the nomination of Türkiye – on 10 December 1999 – that resulted in the Helsinki Summit. Debated identities of the 1990s were added to fields of intensive representation by the 2000s. Representational agendas were increased by digital technology and alternative new media, and conflicts and/or fetishization of the ethnic/religious identities were legitimated. For example, Gypsiness/being Romani, which was on the agenda more than ever before, is presented as an ultimate and gentrified genre, contrary to all the meanings of negation and derogation from the past. As well as the Oriental Belly Dance, one of the most popular forms of entertainment is Romani Dance competitions on TV channels, choreographies of Romani Dance in shows, and the title Romani Dance added to dance courses constituting a wide market during the 2000s. Belly dancing in the 2000s was a casual genre that has escaped feverish debates. However, it still remains one of the most critical examples of an

ambivalent political approach: It is featured in promotional videos of Istanbul published by the Ministry of Culture, but belly dancers invited to entertainment programmes on private TV channels at the same time are warned not to wear oriental costumes. (Gence, 2021 web). The fact that the Kurdish ethnicity gained a place in the official media of the state through the TRT Kurdi channel, which started broadcasting in 2008, exemplifies both the recognition of Kurdish identity and making this recognition over the establishment of a relationship with the state[17]. The *halay* dance, which is seen as a common practice in urban weddings, with a variety that changes according to the '*memleket* (hometown)', started to be performed with popular Kurdish songs in the 2000s. The song *Şemmame* (2009) of İbrahim Tatlıses, who is known for his Kurdish identity, a popular *arabesk* singer whose identity started to be mentioned at this time, and the *halay* dance featured in the video clip are important indicators of this change in the cosmopolitan Istanbul centres.

Throughout the 2000s regional repertory and/or private dance titles from a certain area had been added to the repertory of dance culture in Türkiye by global markets beyond ethnicity and religious identity. The pop sound of *Horon*, one of the traditional folk dances that joined to the market in the early 2000s, brings the Black Sea to the stage. In this formation, by using the basic figures of *Horon* dance, the local instrument of the region, *Kemençe* and the region-specific dialect in the lyrics are added to a substructure with pop-disco sound. Examples in this context refer to a popularity created in the axis of regionalism unlike Romani dance, which works with the exoticism of the global world music market.

Kolbastı/Hoptek, one of the most popular dances of the 2000s, is an improvised dance known since 1920, identified with the eastern Black Sea region and performed by at least two people. *Kolbastı*, which means "law enforcement raided us (in back translation)" according to local sources, is a narrative dance. Imitations of fishing and rowing, youthful fights and drunken behaviour, etc. are included in these demonstrations. The music of

[17] The fact that TRT Kurdi started the test broadcast with a folk song for those who died in the Türkiye's War of Independence, sung in Kurdish by the female singer Rojin after the Turkish National Anthem, highlights this redefined relationship. The cultural and artistic aesthetic understanding of this period we are currently in also reflects the hybrid structure of all historical aesthetic views that have been articulated to the new multiculturalist nationalist understanding. Starting with the 2000s, receiving renewed interest in dengbejs and framing it as an integral part of Kurdish cultural heritage (Kuruoğlu, 2017) have created the most controversial examples of this new nationalistic frame.

Kolbastı, which is practiced especially among young people in regional practices, was covered by Erkan Ocaklı, who wrote new lyrics in the 1980s, and its dance was staged as a group choreography in the 2000s. Between 2007 and 2010, it reached a prevalence beyond regions and cultures, from Youtube videos to how to play *kolbastı*, choreographies announced under the name of *kolbastı* show in different celebration programmes, birthday celebrations of daily life, wedding entertainment. (Şahin, 2020).

On the other hand, glocal forms such as *Zeybreak* (a combination of break dance and *Zeybek*) enlarges the repertory of Türkiye's popular dance in the 2000s. *Zeybreak* (analogous with *Anadolu* Break (Anatolian Break) or postmodern *zeybek*), formed by the initiative of a Turk who is a break dancer living in Germany, a new hybrid aesthetic sample containing a mixture of *zeybek* dance figures identified with Türkiye's Aegean region and world-wide breakdance. After the *zeybreak* was transferred to Türkiye by means of the title 'A Turk live in Germany', the dance became popular among *zeybek* dancers who were interested in global examples and breakdancers who were associated with local peculiarities.

In conclusion

As mentioned before, popular urban dances are described as 'excluded from the official discourse but they exist in the cultural practices of the city, whose social acceptance has been realized, and have become widespread by various agents'. Thus, the basic emphasis of urban dances is being out of bounds; dances that are either included outside Türkiye or that are outside the accepted one, which is determined by various adjectives such as traditional, national, official. On the other hand, this whole narrative of exclusivity diverges on two basic levels; *alaturka* and *alafranga*. While the *alaturka* repertory mostly depicts what is considered traditional but except for national folk culture, *alafranga* genres refer to cultural outsiders, including those from Europe and America. Therefore, those who fall outside the officially framed bodily expressions are marginalized, regardless of the emphasis on tradition.

Until the 1950s, European and Turkish content existed in separate environments as distinct repertoires, and began to coexist with each other after this period. While we see the popularity of imported dances in the early period, we see the predominant popularity of belly dance from the 1950s to the 1980s. One of the reasons for this change is

undoubtedly the rural population added to the city. However, it is not limited to this. With the cultural articulation of the rural population, the urban culture that 'increased' turns into a fertile area for the tourism market, which has been included since the 1950s. With the changing power ideology and the rule of traditionalist elites in this period, cultural styles refer to 'ancientness' as much as possible. In other words, while the culture of the empire was a past that should not be remembered in the early Republican period, it turns into a reference that should not be forgotten in the 1950s and beyond. The neo-conservative nationalist understanding after 1980, on the other hand, adopts the style that articulates the local alongside the global. The content of the local is the richest part of the repertory. During the 1980s and 90s, the stretched renewal of the Turkish folk dance repertory with urban practices (such as the *Çiftetelli* that was other until 1980s) continued with the urbanization of styles that were part of the national repertory before (such as techno Horon, *zeybreak* examples) in the 2000s. Those marginalized in the ideological whole are included when necessary, but by continuing to be the 'other'...

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