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Pre-History of Street Music in Istanbul: Historicizing the Discourses of Street Music[1]

ABSTRACT

The contemporary meaning of street music in Istanbul, especially after the 1990s, was shaped by a global context that linked it to hegemonic struggles in the urban public space. Until then, the term street music was either not used at all or did not have its contemporary meaning. Consequently, the studies on street music often overlooked music practices occurring on the streets prior to the 1990s or tended to express doubt about their status as street music, arbitrarily including some while excluding the others. To address this problem, this study aims to identify and historicize the discourses of street music by delving into the practices and groups associated with street music before its explosion in the 1990s. The categorical content analysis method is used to analyze the data set obtained from historical texts, films, and secondary sources on the history of street music. Four distinct socio-historical contexts of street music were identified: music in public places such as picnic areas, meadows, and promenades; street vendors who are accompanied by music; outdoor music associated with drinking binges; and neighborhood performances. Immigrant groups, Gypsy and non-Muslim entertainment musicians, and immigrant musicians coming from rural areas who are associated with âşık (minstrel) tradition are notable actors. Three dominant themes of historical discourses to interpret and classify the street music are identified: The street musician as a wandering urban folk artist, the street musician as a member of a low-status group, and the street musician as an outsider. These themes contributed to historicizing the discourses around street music, identifying its socio-historical context prior to its explosion in the 1990s, and illuminating the contemporary meaning of street music shaped thereafter.

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[1] This article is based on material from a chapter of an ongoing PhD dissertation at Yildiz Technical University, authored by Emre Aydın under the supervision of Onur Güneş Ayas.

Introduction

After the 1960s, the intersection of street and art emerged as a focal point of hegemonic struggle in both the United States and Europe. This theme was associated with the active use of public spaces to transcend restrictions in cultural, socio-economic, and political realms (Bird, 2016: 135–139; Haedicke, 2012: 1; Kabaş, 2019: 100–102). The hegemonic struggle on the streets included, on the one hand, the takeover of public spaces used for street activities by government and private sector organizations to domesticate and subordinate streets to capitalist interests. On the other hand, a new street culture was born as a resistance to these domination strategies. Throughout the following decades, street music became more and more identified with a culture of resistance, as well as an expression of democratic urban public space.

This global context began to shape the meaning of street music in Turkey, especially after the 1990s. Until then, the term street music was either not used at all or did not have its contemporary meaning, which was associated with hegemonic struggle and resistance in urban public space. Influenced by prominent groups that symbolize this contemporary meaning of street music, such as Siya Siyabend and Kara Güneş, some of the music heard on the streets began to be named under the category of "street music". Depending on this perspective, street music was associated in academic literature with themes such as nomadism and criticism (Malkoç, 2018: 8), oppositional popular culture, activism, and protest (Günlü, 2013: vi, 59–60), nomadism, Gypsy lifestyle, hippie culture, and anti-capitalism (Evin, 2015: 79–80), ethnicity, and resistance (Özden, 2013: 19–20, 30).

The strong character of this new meaning of street music in the 1990s triggered assertions such as the absence of street music before the 1990s (Anar, 2018: 10) or to frame the narrative of street music in Turkey within the period following the 1990s (Evin, 2015: 93; Günlü, 2013: 59; Özden, 2013: 69–107), however, music had always existed in the streets. Indeed, apart from music performed in indoor spaces and at institutional music events, there were always street performances that have been associated with various discourses throughout the late Ottoman and Republican Turkey. However, the tendency to categorize the music performed on the streets by relying on some recently formed street music discourses led to uncertainties about the history of street music.

Hence, as mentioned earlier, in some studies on street music, music performed on the

streets before the 1990s is ignored (Anar, 2018; Özden, 2013). There is also hesitation about whether they should be included in the category of street music in today's sense (Akçura, 2022: 24–25). There are instances of arbitrary inclusion and exclusion, where certain street music activities in the past are included while others are not. For example, Anar, in a later study, includes music performed in festivals, picnic areas, promenades, Ramadan, and *Hıdrellez* celebrations, as well as Gypsy musicians, puppeteers, Janissary bands, *laterna* (barrel-organ) players, and street vendors performing music (Anar, 2021: 17–43). Evin focuses on Apukurya Carnival (Evin, 2015: 58–61). Günlü explores the past of street music by examining the *ozan-baksı* and *âşık* traditions[2], though emphasizing that they cannot be considered street music in the contemporary sense (Günlü, 2013: 57–59).

The problem encountered in categorizing music practices associated with street music today is a bit different. While some music practices performed on the streets are not defined as street music, others classified as street music do not actually take place on the streets. Street performances by musicians who do not identify themselves as street musicians are included in street music analyses—such as Sun Ra's 1990 *İstiklal Caddesi* Concert and Davide Martello's *Gezi Park* performance (Evin, 2015: 31–63). Music groups recognized as street musicians—such as Siya Siyabend or Light in Babylon—often perform in indoor venues or on stages set up for events like "street music festivals" (Alan, 2016; Habertürk, 2014; Özavcı, 2016).

This study aims to identify the discourses in which the music on the streets is embedded or associated with, rather than to offer a normative definition of what street music is or should be. Exploring questions such as how music performed on the streets is defined, evaluated, compared with other practices, and linked to various discourses can help us understand that street music is constantly reinterpreted within a historical chain of discourses rather than carrying an intrinsic meaning. This text seeks to historicize the discourse of street music by delving into the practices and groups associated with street music before its explosion in the 1990s, exploring where it took place, by whom it was performed, and how it was understood and represented through various discourses.

Three key questions need to be answered to achieve this: 1) What kind of music practices

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[2] *Âşık* tradition performed by wandering poet-singers (Köprülü, 2004) represents one of the oldest examples of a musical practice similar to bards and minstrels preceded by the *ozan-baksı* tradition.

exist on the streets? 2) Which groups perform these practices? 3) Through which discourses are these practices interpreted and classified? The following sub-research questions can be outlined: 1a) Where are the practices associated with street music performed? 2a) From which segments of society do the groups making this music come, and what is their position and status within society? 3a) What are the extra-musical discourses about musical practices associated with street music, and how are they related to social/historical structures?

Sources and Methodology

The above research questions can be explored through the lens of Hall's perspective on the relationship between representation and discourse. What Hall (1997: 9–10) refers to as "the practices of representation" encompasses concepts, ideas, and emotions expressed in a symbolic form that can be meaningfully interpreted. However, meaning is not fixed; it is constantly negotiated. Due to its lack of transparency and straightforwardness, the meaning undergoes alterations based on context, usage, and historical circumstances.

In connection with this, the representation of knowledge through a group of statements in a specific historical context is referred to as "discourse" in a Foucauldian sense (Hall, 1997: 45). Discourse not only serves as a language for discussing particular topics but also aims to overcome the distinction between language and practice. It regulates both the ways that ideas are put into practice and the meaningful ways of talking about them.

At times, discourse establishes a complex relationship between the object and the way it is discussed, emphasizing an idea-based direction rather than being straightforward (Hall, 1992: 185). An illustrative example is found in the distinction between Japan's geographical location and its culturally coded position. Despite being situated geographically in the East, Japan is portrayed as having a more Western societal form than Latin American countries.

A comparable circumstance arises when defining street music. While music performed on the street may not be defined as street music, music not performed on the street may be presented as such depending on the content of the contemporary discourses on street music. Each narrative reconstructs the history of street music differently, depending on

the discourses that are pursued. In examining the continuity between contemporary and earlier discourses, the concept of articulation formulated by Laclau and Mouffe (2001) will guide the research. This concept, which focuses on how and in what sense discourse groups are interconnected, will be used to identify and group the themes and categories when analyzing the discourses on street music.

Hegemony, discrimination, power, and control emerge as the prominent themes of critical discourse analysis, which focuses on the linguistic, social, and historical analysis of the texts from a critical perspective (Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Fairclough (2001: 128) distinguishes "three interconnected analytical concerns: dominance, difference, and resistance" when analyzing discourses. Especially the first two are particularly important for our study, which attempts to reveal the dominant discourse in the period analyzed, as well as the range of difference and diversity in discourses within the same period and across different periods.

Nevertheless, discourse analysis, founded on the principles of Foucault (Willig, 2008) and critical discourse analysis (Wodak & Meyer, 2001), invites analysis through the framework based solely on concepts such as power and ideology without offering a precise and explicit research design. Since our research does not foreground such a framework and aims to use a more open research design, we used the categorical content analysis method (Lieblich et al., 1998) to integrate and analyze the data set obtained from the sources on music practices associated with street music. Some of the sources are firsthand accounts based on recollection or testimony, while others are research articles that retrospectively evaluate street-related music practices from a historical perspective. Rather than collecting factual data or creating a chronological history of street music, these sources were used to identify how musicians categorized under street music-related genres are represented and how these representations relate to contemporary discourse on street music. We utilized firsthand accounts such as historical chronicles and analysis (Ali Rıza Bey, 2011; Ayvazoğlu, 2016; Cemil, 1970; Karabey, 1949g, 1949f, 1949a, 1949b, 1949c, 1949d, 1949e; Kaygılı, 1934, 2021; Koçu, 2017), news reports and serials based on eye-witness accounts (Alus, 1931, 1939, 1942, 1944b, 1944a, 1949; Çapanoğlu, 1953; Es, 1940; Oruçlu, 1949; Rasim, 1940; Yüzüncü, 1938), and fictional works such as novels (Ahmet Mithat, 2019; Kaygılı, 2020, 2022; Ulunay, 2017b, 2017a), and films (Alyanak, 1961; Başaran, 1969; Erakalın, 1965; Erksan, 1964; Özonuk, 1957;

Temizer, 1980), which, despite their fictional nature, are mostly based on the authors' personal testimony and observations. Additionally, we utilized secondary sources consisting of research articles and theses that retrospectively evaluate street music practices (Akçura, 2022; Anar, 2018, 2021; Başar, 2019; Bayazoğlu, 2022; Evin, 2015; Günlü, 2013; Malkoç, 2018; Özden, 2013). Due to the broad historical period covered in our research and the limitations of our scope and article length, we were unable to examine archival documents or legal texts that reflect official perspectives. Our main goal was to trace the discourses on street music. Therefore, we prioritized texts that contribute to the historical foundation of contemporary street music discourse.

While working with different datasets, it is important to acknowledge that these sources are not neutral repositories of data but are themselves integral parts of social and cultural structures. Fictional novels of the period tend to portray street musicians through a lens of authenticity, rediscovering local values from a new perspective. For example, in Kaygılı's novel *Çingeneler*, the curiosity of a young researcher, resembling an ethnomusicologist, is a clear example of this tendency. Similarly, historical chronicles and analyses often include the meanings authors attribute to street musician groups. In Karabey's texts, for instance, he expresses his biases towards these groups, often approaching his analyses with a negative view of their intentions. Period films, on the other hand, tend to create an emotional narrative through themes of poverty and the conflict between good and evil, positioning the street musician as part of the poverty and good side. The richness and diversity in the approaches of these sources provide the exact scope that this research aims to cover. Thus, rather than offering a normative definition of what street music was like before its explosion in the 1990s, this approach allows for an expression of the diversity that street music extends to through various discourses and narratives.

Based on these sources, the research highlights three themes in the discourse section that are common across all periods (the late Ottoman period, the early Republican period, and the period from the 1950s to the 1990s) identified as pre-history of street music. Nevertheless, in the late Ottoman and early Republican periods, a street music culture intertwined with Istanbul's longstanding water culture (Avcı, 2023) and picnic gatherings stands out. On the other hand, films from the 1960s, influenced by internal migration, depict an urban street musician profile specific to the period from the 1950s

onwards. During this period, the element of wandering occurs within urban streets, and poverty is framed through the struggle to establish a foothold in the city, often depicted through slum neighborhoods. While female performers, particularly among street vendors and the Gypsy community, were commonly observed, an in-depth analysis of gender issues falls outside the scope of this paper.

We will analyze all these sources in five steps. First, these sources providing data were examined in accordance with the research question and goals. Second, relevant expressions in the texts were identified and compiled. Third, content categories were established and grouped under larger themes (Girgin-Büyükbayraktar, 2018). Fourth, identified expressions were placed under these categories. Finally, they were examined considering the research questions and goals to reveal the historical discourses framing the representations of the music on the streets. However, we should first identify the kinds of historical musical practices associated with streets and the performers of these practices before moving on to the discourse analysis.

Practices and Places

This section is guided by two key questions: Which practices are associated with street music? Where do these practices take place? By starting with these questions, one can acquire insight into the narrative construction of street music in retrospect, comprehending how and where different practices have shaped it over time.

Historical studies tend to link street music to any type of music-accompanied public space entertainments other than the ones held in entertainment venues or home-like enclosed/private spaces. The main categorization in commercial entertainment music appears as the distinction between the concert hall or *salon* music/artist/singer/performer and the street music/artist/singer/performer (Başaran, 1969; Erakalın, 1965; Erksan, 1964; Karabey, 1949a, 1949b, 1949c, 1949d, 1949e, 1949f, 1949g). If the performer is not given a stage, such as an indoor venue or a concert hall, he/she is positioned as a street musician. These practices can be categorized based on the venue in which they are performed or the event they accompany. Accordingly, we can list four main categories: 1) Entertainment music performed in picnic areas/meadows (*çayır*) and promenades; 2) The music used by street vendors, puppeteers, bear handlers, and monkey trainers; 3) The outdoor music performed on the way to or from drinking

binges; 4) The outdoor music performed in neighborhoods. While some music practices often belong to more than one of these categories at the same time - such as street vendors appearing in both picnic areas/promenades and neighborhoods - music practices in each category seem to have produced their own unique culture.

Transitions between categories should not be overlooked. This applies to the transitions between street and non-street music practices. Just as a musician can be included in more than one of the above categories, similar transitions can happen between music played on the street and in non-street locations. Some street musicians do not perform solely on the street or may shift rapidly from streets to more prestigious venues. This phenomenon is especially prevalent in *incesaz* ensembles[3], where so many interactions and transitions occur between different taste cultures and art worlds. For instance, Vasilaki, a Rum Gypsy who started his career by playing clarinet in taverns, fairs, and village weddings, learned *kemençe* from Fenerli Yorgi, a wandering street musician, then joined the ensemble of lute player Civan and the Andon brothers, finally becoming one of the most distinguished *incesaz* performers at Fevziye Coffeehouse, which was the most prestigious venue for the lovers of Ottoman classical music (Rasim, 1323; as cited in Başar, 2019). Another example is the renowned *zurna*[4] player Yakomi, an entertainment musician of Rum Gypsy origin who usually performs his music at the shabby coffeehouse opposite Fevziye, at meadows, picnic gatherings, and drinking binges, as well as in the mansions of Ottoman high-ranking officials sometimes accompanied by the esteemed musicians of the era (Ulunay, 2017b: 53–57).

Picnic Areas, Meadows, and Promenades

In the entertainment scene of the late Ottoman and early Republican Istanbul, picnic areas and promenades constitute the main open venues where musical entertainment activities are concentrated. Therefore, when the history of street music is retrospectively evaluated, these places are the first ones to be examined.

In the 18th century, the use of picnic areas and promenades for music-related socialization activities became notably visible (Poulos, 2019: 184). Some of the venues

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[3] Bands playing a popularized version of Ottoman classical music as part of the popular entertainment scene of Istanbul were called *incesaz* ensembles. The music they performed is also called *incesaz* or *fasıl* music. For a detailed sociological analysis of these ensembles see (Ayas, 2023).

[4] A woodwind instrument made of specific types of wood and metal, commonly used to play folk music.

hosting these activities include Çırpıcı Veliefendi promenade (Ulunay, 2017b: 361), Kağıthane, Göksu, Çırpıcı (Kaygılı, 2022: vii), Heybeliada (Kaygılı, 2020: 94), Boğaziçi and its surroundings, and Kalamış – Fener (Baklacı, 2019: 62). In the relevant literature, the music performed in picnic areas and promenades may sometimes originate from a drunk person or a drinking assembly, occasionally from a few wandering musicians, at times be associated with boat entertainments, or emanate from an entertainment venue. In this sense, picnic areas and promenades serve as transitional spaces where street and non-street music coexist, as mentioned earlier.

Following the introduction of ferry service in 1851, Sarıyer emerged as a popular destination for those seeking entertainment. While *alafranga* (alla franca), the name given to European-style music in late Ottoman Istanbul, is the predominant music in the Büyükdere area (Ali Rıza Bey, 2011: 131), traditional Turkish music (*alaturka*) and *alafranga* instruments coexist in the Büyük Çamlıca entertainment scene during the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Ali Rıza Bey, 2011: 120).

Similarly, on the Üsküdar side, it is quite common for people to enjoy the night listening professional *incesaz* ensembles in Kayışdağı, Alemdağı, and Taşdelen promenades (Ali Rıza Bey, 2011: 121). *İncesaz* or *fasıl* music performed by these groups to entertain tipsy (*çakırkeyif*)/drunken individuals is one of the most popular activities in picnic areas and promenades (Ulunay, 2017b: 58) as well as in the entertainments on the riverbank or meadows (Ulunay, 2017a: 7).

Vendors, Puppeteers, Bear Handlers, and Monkey Trainers

While tracing the historical discourses of street music, another notable activity we come across is the street vendors with music accompaniment. While they are also found in picnic areas, a group of vendors offering food or some special entertainment activities move beyond these spaces and roam the streets, neighborhoods, and promenades in search of revenue. They also use music to draw attention to themselves, bringing energy and color to the era's entertainment scene.

In historical texts, there are many references to *macun* (Ottoman paste candy) sellers who use music during selling their products (Kaygılı, 2021; Oruçlu, 1949; Yüzüncü, 1938). These vendors, playing instruments like clarinet, oud, and violin, performing traditional

music and singing *mani* (a kind of rhymed folk music) during sales, stand out as significant figures coloring the streets of the era (Akçura, 2022: 20–21). As an example, we can trace the other activities of a *zurna* player accompanying Ottoman paste candy sellers throughout a historical novel written by Kaygılı (2022: 132). The *zurna* player engages in a kind of traditional Ottoman theater called *ortaoyunu*, village weddings, wrestler competitions, as well as roaming the streets with an Ottoman paste candy seller to make a living. This provides a clue about the other areas where musicians accompanying vendors play. Musicians performing in the streets switch between different activities and music genres that bring in money for them throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Other historical figures highlighted in the texts are the puppeteers (Alus, 1942, 1944b) who roam the meadows with a musician - also participating in the music as a vocalist - and *laterna* players roaming the streets with puppets (Akçura, 2022: 28–29). In the Vidos and Çıfıtburgaz (Bağcılar) areas, there is a form of sales/entertainment where puppeteers play, perform music, and sing simultaneously (Kaygılı, 2022: 32–42).

Bear handlers and monkey trainers are also observed in the Vidos and Çıfıtburgaz areas during the early 20th century, benefiting from music as well (Kaygılı, 2022: 32–42). As bear handlers and monkey trainers play the tambourine to make these animals dance, musicians accompany the show with a clarinet and *çifte nara,* a traditional percussion instrument. The tambourine used by the bear handler is named after its accompaniment in these events, characterized by a thick-rimmed tambourine with small chains instead of bells on the edges (Kaygılı, 2022: 26).

The outdoor Music on the Way to or from Drinking Binges

The music practices in the third category include the music performances on the way to or from entertainment places in which people usually drink alcohol.

One of the accompaniments to summer night recreational events is the entertainment conducted on the water. Connected to Istanbul's longstanding water culture (Avcı, 2023) boat excursions have become an integral part of the entertainment culture. Numerous musical practices performed on boats can be found in the literature (Akçura, 2019; Ali Rıza Bey, 2011; Kaygılı, 2020, 2022; Sevengil, 2014; Ulunay, 2017a). In some cases,

although the goal may seem to be enjoying the boat itself, in many instances, it is part of a sea or river journey to or from the entertainment place.

Entertaining trips to Kağıthane are made by sea and with music (Sertoğlu, 1992). In one example, an entertainment is organized with a small *zurna* called "*kurabiyeci zurnası*" at the front of the boat, accompanied by a large drum (Kaygılı, 1934). Akçura starts his article by examining Istanbul's street musicians retrospectively with examples from the boat excursions, implying the significance of these musical practices within the outdoor music culture of the time (Akçura, 2022: 17).

Various examples can be found in Osman Cemal Kaygılı's novel *Akşamcılar*. One of them focuses on the journey to a moonlight revelry with alcoholic beverages to be held at Çam Limanı in Heybeliada. The travel plan involves boarding a boat from Sandıkburnu and going to the *raki* (traditional alcoholic beverage) table with music and dance (Kaygılı, 2020: 94). In another passage, a drunk character undertakes a journey towards the nightclub on a donkey, accompanied by child musicians (Kaygılı, 2020: 162). An example of a return journey from entertainment place occurs when those who stayed at the wedding house wake up and return to the wharf with an *incesaz* ensemble consisting of eight musicians (Kaygılı, 2020: 129).

Reşad Ekrem Koçu is another figure who mentions boat trips (Koçu, 2017: 43–48). On boats heading towards Hasköy, including ladies and black servants, musicians play instruments such as violin, kanun, and oud, and Hanende Nedim sings improvisational pieces of *alaturka* music called *gazel*s. As the journey progresses, Gypsy and Jewish women dance with *zurna* and *çifte nara*, and clarinet melodies become prominent. *Laterna*, cries, cheers, vendor shouts, and various drums are the sources of other sounds emanating from boat journeys.

Music Performed in Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods in big cities, especially as evidenced in the texts about the Republican period (Alyanak, 1961; Erakalın, 1965; Erksan, 1964; Özonuk, 1957), appear to host music practices predominantly combined with storytelling and epic (*destan*) selling. Pedlar epic-sellers are minstrels (*âşık*) who "print and copy the epic verse they wrote and sell them by singing simple melodies with maqam (Akbulut, 2012). Music culture in the

neighborhoods, which Ulunay (2017b: 58) called as "the true conservatory of singing old songs" for the people from the different walks of life, was quite widespread and constituted a music scene beyond the music culture of street vendors.

At the entrance of Çiçekçi Street, known for its brothel, it is possible to encounter a *laterna* accompanying racy women in the windows (Ulunay, 2017b: 65). This situation also shows how street music was added to the entertainment life in the early Republican period. In addition, in Gypsy neighborhoods, when female fights break out, musical instruments also accompany the incident. Women pouring into the street with drums, tambourines, bells, violins, and empty yogurt containers turn the fighting field into a fairground (Kaygılı, 2022: 143–144).

Religious begging, known as *goygoyculuk*, also takes place in neighborhoods. During the activities that last for ten days in the month of Muharram, a group of beggars collecting materials for Ashura expresses their requests with maqam music (Karabey, 1949g). Despite the misconception that *goygoycular* are Anatolian villagers because they pronounce the phrase '*koy koy* (put into)' as '*goy goy*,' they are actually Istanbulites (Ayvazoğlu, 2016: 307). However, their begging was prohibited in 1909 with the declaration of the Second Constitutional Period (Akçura, 2022: 46).

Groups

This section is guided by two fundamental questions: What kind of groups perform music on the street? What are their status, profession, position in society, and living conditions? This inquiry also includes questions about their position in the hierarchies of taste as musicians, in other words, the artistic value attributed to their music by the intellectual establishment. By pursuing these questions, it becomes possible to observe the continuity and differences in the groups participating in street music from the past to the present. Additionally, it offers a chance to learn more about the symbolic value of street music and the status of street musicians.

The Gypsy community is a prominent figure in the literature on street musicians from late Ottoman to early Republican Istanbul. Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey (2011: 89–193) draws attention to the Gypsy street musicians accompanying dancing women whom he called as *Kıpti* (Coptic). Osman Cemal Kaygılı portrays Gypsy groups playing songs and

dancing in promenades, neighborhoods, and on the roads in his novel *Çingeneler* (Gypsies) (Kaygılı, 2022: vii–viii). Musicians in a large boat during Kağıthane nights (Kaygılı, 2022: 150), the drummers, clarinet, *zurna*, and *tulum* (a kind of bagpipe) performers during the Hıdırellez festival (Kaygılı, 2022: 25, 195), those making music in Okmeydanı during the day, and on the waters of the Golden Horn on boats at night are also Gypsy groups (Pekin, 2010). Ahmet Mithat Efendi (2019) mentions that music in picnic areas and promenades is mostly performed by Gypsy people. They are depicted wandering in promenades, singing songs under every tree. Additionally, they make music by going to the front of the houses they are invited to (Akçura, 2022: 15–16).

Groups coming from the Balkans are occasionally visible in the text of the Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey. During the annual period when animals are taken to the pasture, there are dancing boys called *koçeks* (Avcı, 2017) and Bulgarians playing *gayda* (another kind of bagpipe) and dancing *horon*, a traditional folk dance usually performed by the people from Black Sea (Ali Rıza Bey, 2011: 104, 114–115). Additionally, in Emin Karabey's writings, there are Romanian street musicians playing drum and accordion, Balkan instrumental groups emerging during the carnival season, and Aegean Islands, Albanian, and Bulgarian instrumental groups, contributing to the diversity of the groups performing music on the streets (Karabey, 1949g, 1949f, 1949a).

Sermet Muhtar Alus (1939, 1944a) mentions Greek musicians playing mandolin, guitar, and accordion, wandering door to door (Akçura, 2022: 35). In Emin Karabey's texts, one can also come across Greek accordionists and young Greek boys wandering through neighborhoods, serenading (Karabey, 1949g, 1949f, 1949a).

Individuals identified as Arab, including those of African origin and those who truly come from Arab regions, also engage in street music practices. Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey mentions *kabakçı Arap* musicians known to be of African origin and playing a musical instrument made of gourd (Ali Rıza Bey, 2011: 114–115). Ahmet Rasim notes that *kabakçı Arap*s roam around the villages of the Bosphorus, Haydarpaşa, and Kadıköy, playing music (Rasim, 1940). Introduced by Sermet Muhtar Alus (1949) and Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu (1953), *kabakçı* Araps are welcomed by those who want them to perform music but are feared by others (perhaps due to their African origin) (Akçura, 2022: 51–53). Furthermore, Akkâms, who originate from Arab countries (Morocco, Maghreb, Syria,

Hejaz, and Yemen), are mentioned by Sermet Muhtar Alus (1931) as singing hymns and gathering money (Akçura, 2022: 45–47).

To understand the place of these groups in the status hierarchy, it is necessary to look at the commonly encountered distinction between commercial music and high-cultural music in Ottoman music (Ayas, 2024: 388-393) in which highly respected musicians usually earn their living from non-musical pursuits. Using music for commercial purposes and making a living from music was often seen as contrary to the norms of the traditional Ottoman music culture (Behar, 2017: 163–170). Involvement in music for money or personal gain leads to a loss of reputation for the respected members of society (Cemil, 1970: 6). In short, entertainment music performed for commercial purposes was often linked with a low-status position in music. For example, music historian Başer (2018: 250–251) notes that making music for commercial purposes was frowned upon by Ottoman Turks and that respected musicians who had to work in the music market in order to make a living are mentioned with sadness and pity in the historical sources. Although the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed the commercialization of Ottoman high musical culture through public concerts, private educational institutions, and the recording industry, the entertainment music of the streets and taverns did not share the prestige of these activities performed by elite performers. Prejudices against commercial music persisted among elite groups and directed to the musical activities of non-elite entertainment musicians in such places. Therefore, in the history of street music, the aforementioned musicians appear as low-status groups.

On the other hand, the ethnic and religious division of the Ottoman-Turkish society along the lines of Muslim/non-Muslim and Turk/non-Turk people seems to enforce the devaluation of street musicians in the eyes of the dominant groups since a significant portion of street musicians comes from non-Turkish or non-Muslim groups. For example, Mesut Cemil (1970: 6) attributes the fact that non-Muslim and non-Turkish groups dominate the commercial entertainment music on the streets to the fact that upper and middle-class Turkish-Muslim groups do not consider commercial music activities appropriate for themselves. This situation indicates that sometimes aesthetic and social distinctions between different groups might combine with ethnic and communal distinctions. This is especially true for Gypsy street musicians, who, despite having long

been at the center of Ottoman entertainment culture, are often viewed as belonging to the lowest layers of the aesthetic and social hierarchy (Pekin, 2010; Tamar Seeman, 2019). In conclusion, the fact that historical texts often refer to Armenian, Greek, Gypsy, Jewish, Circassian, Slavic, Arab, and Abyssinian groups in the context of street music seems to associate street music symbolically with the so-called minority groups. However, in historical texts (Kaygılı, 2022; Ulunay, 2017b) and some movies (Başaran, 1969; Özonuk, 1957), there are also many references to individuals and groups performing some musical and cultural forms (like *mani* and *destan*) mostly related to Turkish folk culture as well as minstrels (*âşıklar*) migrated from rural areas, which implies that some historical connections are established between the history of street music and minstrel (*âşık*) tradition.

Discourses

There are two main questions that this section addresses: What discourses are used to label the musical practices on the streets? What other discourses are associated with street music, and how do they connect to socio-historical structures? By taking these inquiries into consideration, it may become clear how different discourses are articulated to provide a socio-historical definition and origin of street music.

After the first two steps of the content analysis mentioned in the methodology section – reviewing the dataset according to the research questions and identifying the expressions about the music on the streets – were completed, categories of street musicians appearing on the historical texts were grouped within three major themes: Street musician as the wandering urban folk artist, street musician as a member of low-status group, and street musician as outsider.

The first theme, "street musician as the wandering urban folk artist", encompasses the connection of street music with the *âşık/ozan* tradition, which is usually associated with troubadours and wandering musicians in a global context, as well as immigrants from rural to urban areas. The second theme, "street musician as a member of low-status group", combines the themes of low economic, social, and professional status with low aesthetic status. Because street musicians are frequently characterized as members of such groups and their music is considered to have low aesthetic value. The third theme, "street musician as outsider," groups together categories that link street musicians to

characteristics that are considered outside the mainstream culture in the society in which they live. These characteristics include being insane (outside of the community of sane people) or vagrant, engaging in rituals and practices associated with sorcery and healing, belonging to marginalized street culture, and typically being an immigrant or member of a non-Turk/non-Muslim community. These themes and categories can occasionally intertwine. For example, outsiders also tend to have lower socio-economic status.

Street Musician as the Wandering Urban Folk Artist

The practices and discourses associated with street music progress historically through the line of the *âşık/ozan* tradition, story selling in epic style (*destan selling*), and street singer/performer. When retrospectively examining street music, the dominant theme emerges as what we refer to as "street musician as the wandering urban folk artist." This theme encompasses the content categories of *âşık/ozan*, troubadour, traveling musician, and the folk artists migrated from rural to urban areas.

Âşık/ozan (minstrel) culture serves as the first and fundamental component of the theme "street musician as the traveling urban folk artist." This culture, with deep roots extending to the Ottoman period and beyond, tends to converge with the discourse of street music (Günlü, 2013: 57–59; Malkoç, 2018: 8). Malkoç (2018) prefers a narrative that considers the *âşık/ozan* tradition in Ottoman society, which dates back to ancient times through traveling musicians, as the history of street music. These musicians, who seek shelter, food, and money while traveling, also stand out for their functions related to oral culture, education, and critical thinking. On the other hand, another researcher, Günlü (2013), examining the origins of street music in Turkey, delves into the *ozan-baksı* and *âşık* traditions through the concepts of travelling, entertainment, and healing. However, he emphasizes that the *ozan-baksı* and *âşık* traditions cannot be considered street music in today's sense, which seems to imply a discontinuity in the historical development of street music in some way.

In Ulunay's novel, we encounter an etymological speculation that associates *âşık* tradition with Troubadours in a global context: "In the West, poets who wandered from village to village and town to town, singing heroic and love poems, were called 'Troubadours'. In our culture, they were once referred to as '*derbede*r' (vagrant), possibly due to a mispronunciation leading to 'Troubadour'." (…) "Anatolia still calls a poet (…) When they

come to a town, the people fill the coffeehouse, where they will play and sing. These individuals not only play music but also tell a tale of adventure." (Ulunay, 2017b: 426) Here Ulunay seeks the equivalent of Troubadour, seen as the historical representatives of street music in Europe, in the Ottoman Empire, and Turkey by establishing a speculative etymological connection. However, it should be made clear that (contrary to Ulunay's speculation) the word troubadour is completely unrelated to *derbeder*. Both words have clear etymologies (from French and Persian, respectively) and have no historical relation to one another. On the one hand, Ulunay's speculative attempt to establish an etymological connection through the word *derbeder* (vagrant) portrays street musicians as outsiders and part of marginalized street culture, a theme which will be explored below. On the other hand, since a troubadour in medieval Europe was not a wandering vagrant or outsider but someone who was highly valued, literate, educated, and skilled in courtly poetry and music, often coming from a noble background, this speculative etymological connection also seems to include some elements of gentrification.

One of the significant elements that characterize the *âşık* tradition is being a traveling musician. They are depicted as figures who travel from one land to another, narrating their stories to those who listen to them (Özonuk, 1957). However, traveling is not exclusive to *âşık* tradition; therefore, it can be examined as another content category. For example, puppeteers appeared in the texts on the history of street music as figures roaming in the meadows (Alus, 1942; as cited in Akçura, 2022: 28) or wandering the streets with *laterna* players accompanying them (Alus, 1944b; as cited in Akçura, 2022: 29).

By the mid-1900s, the *âşık/ozan* culture undergoes a historical transformation due to increasing urbanization and migration from rural areas. Individuals recognized as *âşık/ozan* start wandering in cities, making music, and telling/selling stories in epic style (Akçura, 2022: 54; Çobanoğlu, 2007). In the film "Üç Garipler," which tells the migration story from rural (Urfa) to urban (İstanbul) areas, musicians affiliated with the *âşık* tradition are portrayed as figures playing and selling stories on the streets of Istanbul (Özonuk, 1957). While portraying this period, the term "street singer/street musician" frequently emerges to describe story sellers (Akçura, 2022; Başaran, 1969; Çobanoğlu, 2007; Erakalın, 1965; Özonuk, 1957). This socio-historical transformation associated

with urbanization lays the ground for the continuity in the discourses on *âşık/ozan* tradition, story sellers, and street singers/musicians in today's sense, as well as linking them to the global history of street music represented by troubadours and wandering musicians.

Street Musician as a Low-Status Group

The practices and discourses associated with street music also tend to articulate the theme of being a part of a low-status group. It is still a common characteristic that distinguishes street musicians today from the position of recording artist or concert artist. Three categories are involved in exploring the theme of having low status: low economic and professional status, low social status, and low aesthetic status.

Being a part of low economic and professional status is highlighted, especially in the texts of Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey and Emin Karabey. Balıkhane Nazırı Ali Rıza Bey groups street musicians with street vendors, cart drivers, and beggars (Ali Rıza Bey, 2011: 111, 133). This provides significant information about the other professional groups associated with the street musicians during the late 1800s and early 1900s.

Karabey also mentions similar low-status occupational groups related to those making music on the streets. He indicates that Gypsy women singing on the streets also engage in peddling, fortune-telling, and theft. He also describes blind street criers engaging in begging and claims that the blind eye is fake (Karabey, 1949g: 19–22). On the other hand, texts on *Goygoyculuk*, a religious form of begging during the month of Muharram, associate the practice of begging with a kind of wandering musician. Karabey suggests that *Goygoycular*, driven by a commercial mindset, never turn down anything given to them (Karabey, 1949g: 20). The prohibition that came with the declaration of the Second Constitutional Era in 1909 highlights the low status of *Goygoyculuk* once again.

Low social status of street musicians also become evident in cinema films after the 1960s, which represent street musicians in terms of the street music/concert hall music dichotomy. The movies "Şepkemin Altındayım" (Erakalın, 1965), "Senin Olmaya Geldim" (Temizer, 1980), and "Acı ile Karışık" (Başaran, 1969) depict characters playing music and singing on the streets while simultaneously selling stories. These characters identify themselves as street singers and therefore feel themselves worthless. This position,

viewed almost mockingly, is compared to concert hall singing. Those singing on the streets aspire to develop themselves and their careers to the point of singing in the concert hall. The comparison between the high status of the concert hall singer and the street artist often emerges as a dichotomy that devalues street music. In the movie "Üç Garipler" (Özonuk, 1957) musicians coming from the *âşık* (minstrel) tradition regard playing on the street as a humiliating occupation, like begging. Mustafa Kalyoncu, whom we will talk about in another context a few paragraphs later, refers to his move as a musician from weddings and fishermen's taverns to the streets as "falling into the streets" and asks being ashamed of this situation: "Is there anywhere lower than here? (Bayazoğlu, 2022; as cited in Akçura, 2022: 60–61)"

The low aesthetic status of street music often becomes apparent in the language used to describe the music played on the streets. In *Akşamcılar* (Kaygılı, 2020: 49), during a conversation about the divine nature of music, one asks in a derogatory manner if even the music played by the Gypsies on *zurna* and *çifte nara* is supposed to be divine. In another passage of the same text, the music played by street musicians on clarinet and oud is described as gubbins played here and there for anyone. (Kaygılı, 2020: 234). Sermet Muhtar Alus (1948: 14) draws attention to the fact that master musicians like Udi Ekrem Bey get angry when they hear street musicians playing pieces incorrectly, confusing maqams and singing or playing out of tune (Akçura, 2022: 23–24). As previously said, Mesut Cemil, another accomplished musician, recognizes a clear distinction between this kind of entertainment music made for commercial purposes and music made for artistic purposes, placing the former into a lower position in the aesthetic hierarchy.

Understanding low aesthetic status is also possible through the instruments mostly used in street music and their positions in the hierarchy of taste. Considering the division between *incesaz* – catering to sophisticated tastes – and *kabasaz* – appealing to crude tastes – instruments most commonly used in the past on the streets, such as *zurna* and *çifte nara,* fall into the category of *kabasaz*. Occasional inclusion of *incesaz* instruments (such as violin, oud, and kanun) is also visible, but they are part of the commercialized version of the elite *incesaz* culture, which had already lost ground in the taste hierarchy compared to Western and Turkish art music cultures (Ayas, 2023: 647–652).

Street Musician as Outsider

The final theme in the representation of street musicians bring together the characteristics that place them outside the established norms, routines, identity, and structures of the larger society in which they live. The fact that the street is outside can also be semantically connected to this theme. As mentioned above, many writers tend to define street music retrospectively as any musical practice performed outside of the music halls or venues. Then a street musician becomes an outsider when compared to these music practices. Besides, in some writings, street culture itself is associated with marginalized people and activities, which makes it an outsider culture. For example, famous *ney* player and poet Neyzen Tevfik, who occasionally performed his music and even lived on the streets like homeless people, describes his lifestyle as follows: "My friends were thieves, pickpockets, and hashish users (…) They were the ones providing my raki, my food, and my hashish. They played, struggled, and looked at me. What was I doing to them, really... Just a few improvisations, that's all" (Kabacalı, 2003: 28). Neyzen Tevfik always carries his *ney* with him and can't say no to people who want to listen to him playing his *ney* on the ferry or somewhere else. (Kabacalı, 2003: 52). Living occasionally on the streets, playing indiscriminately in any place, and fearlessly expressing himself, Neyzen Tevfik is one of the dominant figures of street culture, connecting the past of street music to contemporary discourses.

We should also note that Neyzen Tevfik used to stay occasionally in the mental hospital. This brings us to another category under this theme, which brings together the representations that associate street musicians with madness (being outside the community and norms of sane people). Akçura's study shows that minstrels *(âşıklar)* such as Âşık Cemal wandering in districts like Fatih, Malta Caddesi, Karagümrük, Silivrikapı (Aksel, 1977: 301) are mostly perceived as mad (Ataman, 1997; both cited in Akçura, 2022: 41). This exemplifies the articulation of two themes in street music discourses: Street musician as a wandering folk artist and street musician as outsider.

Kaygılı also describes someone named Selman as a "half-crazy old fellow" and writes that he roams the streets singing *gazel*, hymns, and songs with a tambourine in one hand. Selman also goes about begging and buys cheap alcohol with the money he gets (Kaygılı, 2020: 288). Here again, different themes in discourses on street music, such as madness,

mendicity, having low socio-economic status, converge in one example. It is interesting to see that another key figure in an article on street musicians (Bayazoğlu, 2022) is Mehmet Kalyoncu who worked as a document registration officer at the customs office, ended his civil service due to what he describes as "mental distress." Subsequently, he starts wandering with a large tape recorder on his back, singing his songs. He records his own tapes, selling and playing them on the streets. Here street appears as a place for people like Mehmet Kalyoncu who has lost his psychological health and his position in society and has fallen.

When seeking the historical origins of street music, writers like Günlü (2013: 57–59) associate some people making music on the streets in the past with practices like offering sacrifices to the deities in the sky, sending the soul of the deceased to the depths of the earth, preventing evils, diseases, and deaths caused by demons, treating illnesses, and sending the spirits of certain deceased individuals to the sky. Since some of these practices are historically and symbolically magic-related, which is sometimes considered weird practices by the larger society, street musicians as magicians or healers can be classified under the category of outsiders. However, in a positive manner, references to these ritualistic healing practices retrospectively can be an attempt to find a historical origin to the assumptions frequently encountered today about the healing aspects of art and music (İKSV Kültür Politikaları Çalışmaları, 2011, 2017, 2018, 2020).

Finally, it may be argued that the predominance of immigrants (Özonuk, 1957), non-Turks, and non-Muslims (Cemil, 1970: 6) among street musicians in the past also placed them in an outsider position vis-à-vis the larger society, especially in Republican Turkey where they were usually defined as minorities. This theme also appears in some of the contemporary representations of street music, not only as an expression of being an outsider but also as a positive manifestation of multiculturalism.

Conclusion

As previously noted, the studies on street music in Istanbul often overlook music practices occurring on the streets prior to the 1990s or tend to express doubt about their status as street music. Additionally, there are instances of arbitrary inclusion and exclusion, where specific street music activities from the past are included while others are not. However, historically oriented scholarship on street music constitutes a

significant part of the global literature on the subject (Bennett & McKay, 2019; Boutin, 2015; Cohen & Greenwood, 1981; Johnson, 2018; Simpson, 2017; Tanenbaum, 2014; Watt, 2018a, 2018b). To address this problem, this text aims to historicize the discourses surrounding street music in Istanbul by examining the practices and groups engaged in street music before its explosion in the 1990s. The investigation explores where these musical practices take place, by whom they are performed, how they are understood and represented through various discourses, and how these discourses intersect with other narratives. This approach allows us to comprehend that street music is constantly reinterpreted within a historical chain of discourses rather than carrying an intrinsic meaning.

Following the research questions, four distinct socio-historical contexts of street music were identified: music in public places such as picnic areas, meadows, and promenades; street vendors offering food or special entertainment activities accompanied by music practices; outdoor music associated with drinking binges; and music performed in neighborhoods. In the historical texts and secondary sources, immigrant groups, Gypsy and non-Muslim entertainment musicians, as well as immigrant musicians coming from rural areas who are associated with *âşık* (minstrel) tradition stand out as the most prominent examples of street musicians. In this study, three main lines of historical discourses serving as dominant themes to interpret and classify the street music before the 1990s were identified: The street musician as a wandering urban folk artist, the street musician as a member of a low-status group, and the street musician as an outsider. The first theme connects street music to the *âşık/ozan* tradition which is usually associated with troubadours and wandering musicians in a global context, portraying street musicians as traveling artists. The second theme highlights the low economic, social, and aesthetic status of street musicians, often depicted in literature and films as marginalized figures. The third theme presents street musicians as outsiders, linking them to mental instability, marginalized street culture, and non-Turkish, non-Muslim identities. These themes helped to historicize the contemporary meaning of street music formed after the 1990s by tracing the historical chain of discourses and the socio-historical context of street music.

It is possible to establish connections between these historical discourses and the contemporary representations of street music. Street music, as portrayed in historical

texts through the lens of the migration theme, is being reexamined in a new dimension today, particularly in the context of the Syrian immigrant musicians (Habash, 2021; Hajj, 2016; Öğüt, 2016, 2021a, 2021b). Street musicians like Siya Siyabend claim to be or represented as the extension of the *âşık/ozan* (minstrel) tradition (Akın, 2005). The current widespread notions regarding the healing qualities of art and music (İKSV Kültür Politikaları Çalışmaları, 2011, 2017, 2018, 2020) seem to be rooted in the historical tradition of musical practices associated with sorcery and healing. Furthermore, there are also emerging themes that are not associated with historical narratives, such as technology and street music (Bennett & Rogers, 2014; Tutalar, 2019). Despite the new dominant agendas, such as attempts to domesticate and subordinate streets into capitalist interests and the resistance of musicians to this domination, earlier discourses on street music still exist in various contexts. Sometimes historical discourses are integrated into these new agendas. The theme outsider, including associations with insanity, low-status groups, and marginalized street culture, remains dominant as observed in the preliminary fieldwork or representations of contemporary street musicians in the texts (Bennett & Rogers, 2014; Habash, 2021; Malkoç, 2018; May, 2017; Öğüt, 2021a, 2021b; Öngen, 2020). This theme not only points out the low-status of street musicians or their positions as outsiders usually in a negative way but also links historical examples to the discourses associating contemporary street musicians with protest culture or resistance in a positive way (Bird, 2016; Evin, 2015; Günlü, 2013; Haedicke, 2012; McKay, 2007; Öngen, 2020; Özden, 2013). The representation of street musicians as modern urban troubadours/minstrels who are the spokesmen of a free urban public space or protest culture usually works as a strategy of gentrification (Gökırmaklı, 2022; Kabaş, 2019; Mason, 1992; Sari & Uslu, 2018). The employment of street musicians by municipalities or the institutionalization of street music practices by public or private organizations serves to domesticate street culture on the one hand and to elevate the historically low social, economic, and professional status endured by street musicians on the other. A closer look at contemporary street music discourses may help us understand the historical continuities and discontinuities in the interpretation of street music today in more detail, but this is beyond the scope of this study.

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Composition and Stylistic Features of Bagatelles for Piano Op. 1-5 by Valentyn Silvestrov

ABSTRACT

During the last decades, V. Silvestrov's creative interests have mostly focused on the creation of bagatelle. The artist turned to this genre in the early 2000s, shortly after publishing the collection-cycle Bagatelles for piano op. 1-5, which has not yet been fully explored from a musicological point of view. We reveal certain features of the compositional construction of the Bagatelle cycle: the unification of all the pieces from the microcycles into a single whole with the help of the note attacca, the predominant use of strophic forms based on the development of one musical image. Certain stylistic constants of Bagatelles include the quasi-improvisational presentation of musical material, the predominant use of timbral expressiveness of the piano's upper register and quiet dynamic nuances, which collectively help to embody the fragile, lyrical and contemplative images of the pieces. The given characteristics make it possible to attribute the bagatelles to the lounge style. It was observed that bagatelles in V. Silvestrov's creativity can be considered as a stylistic metagenre, which implies the belonging of bagatelle (as a metagenre) to the composer's style.

Introduction

The creativity of modern Ukrainian composer Valentyn Silvestrov is known not only in Ukraine but also abroad. The artist's original style works attract the attention of performers and are heard at many international festivals. V. Silvestrov's compositional style underwent a certain evolution: at the beginning of his creative career, he preferred avant-garde writing techniques, and in the 1960s he was a member of the 'Kyiv Avant-Garde' group. However, the artist gradually moved away from the avant-garde and became interested in the postmodern trend in art. Subsequently, the creatively rethought foundations of postmodern aesthetics became the basis for the formation of his late style. I. Melnichenko points to such changes in the creative paradigm. The researcher notes that: "Silvestrov's work is a truly unique phenomenon of modern art. Being in the very center of the cultural era, being one of the key figures of postmodernism, and being, to a certain extent, a legislator of style <...>, on the way to knowledge through creativity, Silvestrov, formally fitting into the manner of expression inherent in modernity, involuntarily contrasts his creative path with the ways of development of modern art" (Melnychenko, 2017: 299).

Characterizing three periods of the composer's creativity, the scientist points out that the departure from avant-gardeism, which began in the 70s and 80s, was marked by the appearance of elegiac, emotional, and humaneness in his works. (Melnychenko, 2017: 299). Also, according to I. Melnychenko, in the second period of his creativity, the composer "began to form a religious worldview (with which, by the way, his music revealed the depth of philosophical thought, became a synthesis of thought and feeling, a synthesis of rational and emotional principles in a unifying method of cognition through creativity), it was this that led the composer's creativity to the concept of the presiding principle of silence when creating music, when listening to it and playing it." (Melnychenko, 2017: 299). It should be noted that such a concept of silence is clearly manifested in the bagatelle genre to which the artist turned in the early 2000s.

The philosophical orientation of the composer's style is also noted by N. Riabukha. Exploring the specifics of the embodiment of the piano sound image in the composer's chamber-instrumental works, the musicologist notes that "The piano sound image in V. Silvestrov's works, starting from the mid-60s and ending with the last third of the

twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, reflects two diverse ontological forms of human existence – 'human being playing' ('homo ludens') and 'human being contemplating' ('homo meditans'). At the same time, the composer's attitude to the sound and its expressive properties works to reveal 'eternal' themes ('human existence in the macrocosm', 'the relationship between human and nature', 'human and the handmade world of art'), which reveal to us, the listeners and interpreters, the meaning-image of contemporary music" (Riabukha, 2012: 132).

Quite comprehensive information about the composer's artistic and aesthetic views is provided by the book *Symposion (ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ). Meetings with Valentyn Silvestrov* (Silvestrov, 2013), which is a collection of opinions about the art and creative activity of the artist, expressed by well-known contemporary figures of culture and art, and *Wait for Music,* which includes transcripts of V. Silvestrov's public performances in Kyiv in 2007, during which the artist reflects on the essence of modern music and reveals the specifics of the composer's work on opuses written in different years (Silvestrov, 2010). This book also contains the composer's remarks about the Bagatelle cycle, op. 1-5, which is the subject of our study.

It should be noted that at the moment, studies devoted to the examination of various aspects of V. Silvestrov's compositional style are mostly presented in the works of Ukrainian musicologists, while foreign researchers are mainly interested in the second period of creativity, a comprehensive study of which is presented in the works of Peter Schmelz (Schmelz, 2014; 2021). Also, there is a study devoted to V. Silvestrov's creative activity in the 2014–2022 years, during which the composer's works reflected the events of the Revolution of Dignity and the War in Ukraine (Gillies, 2023). However, the mentioned works of Western musicologists, although they contain valuable observations necessary for a deeper understanding of V. Silvestrov's compositional style, still leave out of the attention the principles of the bagatelle's genre embodiment in the artist's oeuvre.

It is noteworthy that V. Silvestrov's composition work is very diverse and includes symphonic, chamber-instrumental, choral, chamber-vocal works, opuses for solo piano, as well as music for films. However, now the main attention of the artist is focused mainly on piano opuses, among which works written in the bagatelle genre occupy a significant place.

At the moment, there are several sources containing information about the specifics of the bagatelle genre in the composer's creativity. An important scientific source in the context of the topic is Motsarenko's dissertation (Motsarenko, 2021). It should be emphasised that at the moment this study and the article by this scientist (Motsarenko, 2019) are the only ones that comprehensively examine the genre of bagatelle in V. Silvestrov's creativity. In her dissertation, K. Motsarenko notes that bagatelles "acquires a special significance for V. Silvestrov, bringing to life the phenomenon of bagatelle style as a unique author's concept of the Ukrainian composer's musical work and acquiring a universal meaning in the scope of his creative thinking in general" (Motsarenko, 2021: 210). Also, K. Motsarenko sees signs of a metagenre in V. Silvestrov's piano bagatelles and reveals certain stylistic constants, among which is the placement of an idea in a small form, which is a component of the macrocycle of an open fractal structure ("a bagatelle as a kind of 'module' mounted with other similar ones, 'invites' with harmonious incompleteness, establishes a connection, Meeting in a high sense"); bagatelle, as a synonym of real ("a pure idea of a genre that can manifest itself in other genres"); the saving function of the bagatelle ("the bagatelle is a kind of 'talisman' of musical culture, its precious 'gene pool'; a nucleus-cell from which, even with the total destruction of all living things, valuable, original things can sprout"). (Motsarenko, 2021: 140). In this study, the scientist addresses the consideration of the cycle Bagatelles op. 1–5 but limits herself to a detailed performance analysis and issues of its interpretation without paying attention to the compositional and stylistic features of the cycle.

Another important source for understanding the specifics of V. Silvestrov's bagatelle is the composer's comments on his own opuses, given into brochures to CD-albums with author's recordings of bagatelles. It is worth noting that the composer's notes are quite metaphorical, and some of them, which, in our opinion, most aptly describe the specifics of the bagatelle genre, will be presented at the beginning of the next section of this article. Also, some of the composer's reflections that reveal the inner essence of the genre under consideration can be found in the book *Waiting for Music*. For example, V. Silvestrov notes: "I realized that bagatelles are musical moments. They are similar to poems that appeared as if by chance" (Silvestrov, 2010: 263). It is remarkable that K. Motsarenko also emphasises "metaphoricality as an integral part of the genre idea of the bagatelle, which is fully revealed only in the context of the composer's entire musical and

philosophical universe" in her article (Motsarenko, 2019: 149). Such an approach to the understanding of this genre, in our opinion, determines the entire compositional specificity of these piano miniatures, which is connected with the conditional *quasi*-improvisational nature of the development of the material and certain simplicity and immediacy of the musical expression, which is embodied both in the textural and the melodic-thematic levels.

Therefore, the review of the scientific discourse related to the study of the composer's style provides the necessary methodological basis, which helps to understand the essence of the composer's interpretation of the bagatelle genre and the features of his bagatelle style.

Analytical review of the cycle bagatelles for piano op. 1-5

Collection Bagatelles for piano op. 1-5 (2005-2006), to which "Silvestrov selected and compiled five cycles from among his numerous 'Bagatelles' and assigned to them the opus number 1-5" (see preface to the score (Silvestrov, 2009)), can be considered the first example of a bagatelle cycle that gradually expanded, becoming part of the larger Bagatelles – I cycle, which in turn is part of a single macrocycle. Evidence of the author's desire to create a certain compositional unity of bagatelles cycles can be served by several albums dedicated to bagatelles. The first CD-album *Valentin Silvestrov Bagatelles Performed by the author* (released in 2015) contains a recording of 22 cycles (Silvestrov, 2015). On the next album, which was released in 2017, V. Silvestrov represented the cycles Bagatelles – XXIV, Bagatelles – XXV, Bagatelles – XXVI, which "most accurately reproduce the integrity and metaphoricity of these super-cycles." (Silvestrov, 2017: 7). It is interesting that the composer calls them "'symphonies for piano' (in the literal sense of the word 'symphony' – consonance). He also metaphoricaly says about these works as are "'symphony of moments', 'melodies of silence' made up of not only sounds, but also pauses –which are music as well. Perhaps, in this works on of the functions of music shall manifest itself – to be a consolation…" (Silvestrov, 2017: 7). As for the cycle Bagatelles – XXIII, at the moment it is available only as a digital album on the 'bandcamp.com website', where its release date is April 6, 2022. (Silvestrov, 2022).

Thus, to date, the composer has 26 cycles of bagatelles, which are combined into a large macrocycle, and called by V. Silvestrov as the 'Cycle of Cycles'. However, despite the

presence of such a large number of opuses of bagatelles created by the composer, a rather extraordinary situation arises regarding the absence of scores for these works, since at the moment only the first published Bagatelles op. 1–5 is available for purchase. Other opuses have not yet been officially published by the author and are not made available to the general public.

The collection Bagatelles for piano op. 1–5, or as we think it is more appropriate to call it – the first sample or a kind of predecessor-prototype of the future Bagatelle – I cycle, contains pieces of the bagatelle plan, which, however, are quite different in terms of their genre definitions, indicated in their titles. Such genre synthesis and penetration of genre features of bagatelle into other genres, such as Waltz, Lullaby, Pastoral, Postludium, which allows to consider bagatelle in the work of V. Silvestrov as a metagenre. This feature of the composer's understanding of bagatelle style is indicated in the work of K. Motsarenko. She interprets the concept of metagenres in a broad context since, in her opinion, "'genetic traits' that bring a 'trifle'-bagatelle into the sphere of metagenre mostly lie in the zone of non-musical, interdisciplinary, general cultural context" (Motsarenko, 2021: 141).

Bagatelles for piano op. 1-5 opens with '3 Bagatelles' op. 1 (2005), which creates a kind of microcycle of three miniatures that, according to the composer's intention, should be performed continuously, one after the other, as indicated by the *attacca* remark at the end of the first and second miniatures.

Bagatelle I has a light, lyrical-contemplative, even in a certain sense carefree character, like a spring morning, when the radiant glow of the sun envelops everything around. Such a fragile musical image is formed primarily thanks to interesting harmonic findings. In this miniature, the composer uses an extended tonality, which provides an opportunity to emphasize and diversify the major scale that is felt quite well in this piece[1].

According to its compositional structure, Bagatelle I is a rounded binary form with a coda, based on the material of the first section of the miniature. The first section is written in a parallel period. Its feature is that in the interval plan, each of the two sentences is marked by following a single rhythmic-intonational pattern, which changes somewhat at the end

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[1] In this case, the emphasis is on the scale of C major.

of the second sentence. This way of working out the musical material corresponds to the specifics of the folk song tradition, which is also usually based on the variable development of the melodic line with multiple repetitions of the same musical structure. This (variable) way of working with thematic material, combined with small changes in harmony at the end of each sentence, gives the composer the opportunity to find various facets of the theme sounding and thereby enrich the figurative and substantive side of the miniature.

The beginning of the second section does not bring a significant contrast to the overall development, but it is somewhat different in terms of intonation. If in the theme of the first section the alternation of ascending and descending intonations prevailed in the melodic line, then descending intonations prevail here. In Bagatelle I, V. Silvestrov exclusively uses the dynamic nuance *p* in its various gradations, and the most vivid nuance found in the sheet music is *mp*. It should be noted that the use of quiet dynamic nuances in combination with the ability to perform a piece on the *una corda*[2] can be considered not only as one of the features of V. Silvestrov's bagatelle style. In our opinion, such intimacy of musical expression can be a hint that the composer in these works seeks to express certain rather secret thoughts and impressions, to emphasize the presence of a certain subjective, personal aspect in their dramaturgy.

The next Bagatelle II is in contrast to the previous miniature, as it is close to a lyrical-heroic folk song in terms of its figurative and melodic-intonation structure. Such an impression is facilitated by the sing-song nature of the thematic material and the use of certain melodic and harmonic turns inherent in the style of Ukrainian song. Also quite eloquently in this sense is the fact that for this miniature the composer chooses a verse-chorus form, which is quite common in folk music. For a better understanding of Bagatelle's form, let's give its diagram: $a+a_1+b+b_1+a+c+a_1$ coda.

The first section is a period of two sentences, the second of which contains certain slight changes of the melodic line. The use of such a variable development of the melody can also serve as indirect evidence of the composer's intention to rely on the specifics of the folk song tradition. In the interval ratio, both sentences of this first theme of the piece are

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[2] The remark *una corda* is placed by V. Silvestrov in parentheses at the beginning of all the pieces of this cycle.

marked by the predominance of ascending quarto-fifth intonations, which give the thematism a sublime-declamatory, decisive, even heroic character. A rather interesting compositional and dramaturgical solution in this microcycle is the presence of a certain intonation affinity between the themes of Bagatelle I and Bagatelle II. This similarity is manifested in the construction of phrases that begin with upward movement and end with a downward movement.

As for the themes in 'b$_1$' and 'c', they do not constitute a significant contrast to the thematic material of the first section and can be perceived as its logical extension. In the theme 'b$_1$', the lyrical-song basis is more revealing. Its feature is the use of hidden polyphony in the part of the right hand: the upper voice is marked by a downward movement at second intervals, and the second voice complements these lamenting intonations with a double repetition of the sounds e, b, c. At the same time, the left-hand part always performs only a harmonic function and does not contain any polyphonic development techniques.

Figure 1. Bagatelle II op. 1. A hidden polyphony in the right-hand part (Silvestrov, 2009: 7).

The theme 'c' (mm. 39-44) is in a certain sense the opposite of the theme 'b$_1$' in its intonation structure: second intonations are used there in an upward movement and create the effect of a gradual, decisive rise. At the end of this theme, certain openness and incompleteness of the musical thought is felt, and its last, questioning intonation seems to hang on in the air with the help of *tre corde* pedal, on which, according to the composer's intention, it should gradually fade out during the pauses in the right-hand

part. After that, the composer returns to the theme 'a', which from a compositional and dramaturgical point of view can be perceived as an answer to the question posed earlier. The coda of the piece is based on the intonations of the theme 'c', from which only two motives remain in the process of development, which should gradually disappear in the pedal overtone haze.

Regarding the tonal solution of this miniature, it is worth noting that here, as in the previous Bagatelle, V. Silvestrov uses the expressive possibilities of extended tonality (or, as V. Silvestrov himself points out, "tonal atonality" (Silvestrov, 2010: 278). Without setting out any key signs at the beginning of the work, the artist, however, preserves the feeling of a certain tonal basis, marking signs of alteration directly in the musical text itself. Thus, in Bagatelle there is a perceptible reliance on the tonality scale of E minor in the theme of the first section ($a+a_1$) and its appearance during the piece, deviations from A minor in theme '$b+b_1$' and C-sharp minor in theme 'c', as well as E major in the coda.

The last piece of the microcycle op. 1—Bagatelle III, has a lyrical, light dance character and resembles a sophisticated waltz, which is facilitated by the advantage of the triple meters (3/8) over the other meters used in this miniature. One of the features of Bagatelle III is the use of various agogic deviations, small delays and accelerations of tempo, which appear throughout the development of this miniature. It should be noted that such an agogically saturated, *quasi*-improvisational way of presenting the thematic material is characteristic not only of Bagatelle III but also of all previous and subsequent miniatures from op. 1–5 and helps to create the impression of changeability and immediacy of musical images, each of which as if whip out from life under the influence of a momentary creative inspiration[3]. Bagatelle III is also quite interesting in terms of its compositional structure, since here the artist again uses the verse-chorus structure, which transferred to a purely instrumental environment. Schematically, it can be represented as follows: $a+a_1+b+a_2+a_1+b+a$.

Since the specifics of this form deserve some comment, let's turn to a more detailed consideration of each of its sections. The theme of the first section ($a+a_1$) is graceful, lyrical and dancely. It is written in a parallel period form. Here the composer uses the principle of variable development of musical material. In this sense, it is very interesting

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[3] This corresponds to the composer's idea of the bagatelle as a cult of the moment.

to compare the first and second sentences, in the first measures of which the composer uses both minor and major sounds (see m. 3 – G minor, m. 11 – G major). This is easily embodied in the extended tonality in which this work is written. It should also be noted that the thematic material of the second sentence, which in a certain sense is similar to the first one in its intonational structure, is presented in major. Thus, due to the modal change of these two sentences within the same period, there is a certain modification in the figurative-emotional coloring of this theme.

The theme of the next section of Bagatelle III ('c' according to the scheme), like a_1, sounds in the key of G major. There is also a certain tempo change in this section of the form because the author's note provides for a more mobile tempo (*Allegretto* instead of the initial *Moderato*). Fast, bright and light, this new theme is an organic continuation of the previous development. From the intonation point of view, this section is marked by the predominance of the sequential downward movement of the melodic line, which is broken only at the end of this theme by the introduction of an ascending three-tone motive (mm. 32-35). Also, in the second part of the theme, there is a gradual return to the minor sound, which is obviously due to the further appearance of the theme of the first section in the minor version. Despite the fact that in some sense there is a return to the initial theme of the bagatelle's first section, the composer avoids literal repetition and again makes slight corrections to the first sentence ('a_2' according to the scheme). The thematic material in 'a_2' is represented with small harmonic transformations that occur due to the introduction of the e-flat sound into the melodic line, which changes the harmony of the major major seventh chord used in the first sentence of the first section to the sound of the minor major seventh chord. (Compare mm. 3-4 and 39-40 in Bagatelle III (see Silvestrov, 2009:10, 12)).

So, the first microcycle from the cycle Bagatelles op.1-5 is completely complete from a compositional and dramaturgical point of view and is organized quite monolithically, since all miniatures according to the author's intention should be performed *attacca*. The common unifying factor here is the use of extended tonality, mixed meter, and small agogic deviations (*rit., accel.*), which collectively create the impression of *quasi*-improvisational development of the musical material. Also, all these miniatures are characterized by the use of quiet dynamics, a tendency towards a certain simplicity, transparency of textured presentation, which collectively creates the effect of

chamberness, intimacy of musical expression and allows to observe in these pieces the features of the lounge style.

It should be noted that the lounge style is characterised by chamberness, improvisation and jazz influence, which in this case is realised through the use of the expressive possibilities of extended tonality, in particular a somewhat unexpected juxtaposition of the sounds of major and minor, and harmonic saturation. Besides, in this context, it is worth pointing out the variable development of the thematic material, which in our opinion is harmoniously complemented by the already mentioned *quasi*-improvisation and creates the effect of a spontaneous musical performance, as if it were born under the influence of immediate inspiration. It should be emphasised that similar composer's decisions regarding the textural, dynamic, tonality, metre and rhythmic organisation of the musical material can be observed in the following four microcycles (op. 2, op. 3, op. 4 and Postludium op. 5), which also allows us to consider them through the prism of the lounge style.

The next microcycle, '4 Pieces' op. 2 (2006), is somewhat different from the previous one. Most of the works from op. 2 do not have a genre definition of 'bagatelle', however, if we rely on the idea of K. Motsarenko about the metagenre interpretation of bagatelle in V. Silvestrov's creativity and the opinion of the researcher that "into its life-giving 'orbit' can enter even less universal genres that are close in terms of the structural principle of creating an image of the world and/or the philosophical and aesthetic basis" (Motsarenko, 2021: 141), this way of interpretation and genre content of this cycle Bagatelles op.1-5 turns out to be quite natural.

However, let's return to the analytical consideration of the compositional and stylistic features of the miniatures from the microcycle '4 Pieces' op. 2. For the compositional embodiment of the first miniature – Lullaby – the composer chooses a verse-chorus form, which is determined by its song genre basis, indicated in the title. The Lullaby opens with a short introduction based on descending third's intonation in the right-hand part, which, when repeated, creates a swaying, lulling effect and introduces to the musical image of the piece. The theme of the first section of the form ($a+a_1$) is lyrical and fragile in nature. Here, as in the previous pieces from op. 1, V. Silvestrov develops the theme of the melodic line (right-hand part), using mainly the sounds of the upper registers of the piano (one-

line – three-line octaves), which are light in their timbral nature. This composer's intention helps to create rather unique sound images endowed with lightness, weightlessness, a certain detachment, fantastic, and at the same time sublime.

In terms of rhythm and intonation, the theme of the first section of Lullaby is marked by a certain repetition. For example, quite often the artist uses a rhythmic pattern of four sixteenths – dotted eighth – sixteenth in 4/8 meter.

Figure 2. The beginning of Lullaby op. 2 (Silvestrov, 2009: 15).

This rhythmic pattern permeates all sections of the form, relating them to each other and creating the impression of monolithicity, the unity of musical development. It is worth noting that in Lullaby V. Silvestrov again uses a variable development of musical material, as well as small agogic deviations and mixed meter, which in the aggregate is characteristic of the specifics of the compositional organization of folk songs and in this case helps to emphasize the genre basis of the work. However, the work with thematic material in this miniature is somewhat different from what we have seen before. In Lullaby, the composer is not limited to making certain slight corrections to the melodic line but also more actively uses various modes and harmonic modifications, in particular certain unexpected transitions from minor to major sound. These juxtapositions are especially evident in the introduction and coda, where immediately after the minor sounding of similar motives, their major version is given.

The second miniature from the op. 2 – Pastorale, which should immediately follow the Lullaby (remark *attacca*), turns out to be quite contrasting in its figurative structure to all previously considered miniatures. Its introduction immediately attracts attention with its solemn, exalted-majestic character. In it, the composer abandons the quiet sound and chooses a wider dynamic palette from *f* at the beginning of the introduction to *p* at its end. From a melodic and intonational point of view, the introduction of Pastorale is based on the sequential development of the descending motive in the right-hand part, which, in combination with the sustained organ point on the A-flat note in the contra-octave, actually gives the theme a solemn prelude character. Such a feature of thematic material, completed in the subsequent use in the main section of the work of a whimsical melodic line enriched with melismatics, allows us to make an assumption that V. Silvestrov relied on the stylistics of the clavier-organ samples of this genre.

In this piece, V. Silvestrov also uses the harmonic expressive possibilities of extended tonality without indicating the key signs at the beginning of the piece, but at the same time preserves a vivid sense of a certain tonal basis. In the first sentence of the first section[4], one feels the reliance on G minor, and in the second on G major. The theme of the second section does not introduce a significant contrast to the overall development of the piece and, by nature, is close to the theme of the first section. In our opinion, the use of a similar scale-like ascending movement in the melodic line in the right-hand part at the beginning of these themes is quite revealing in this sense. However, the composer avoids the literal identity and slightly changes their rhythmic patterns. The first theme uses a smooth sixteenth-note movement, while the second theme uses a dotted eighth and three sixteenth notes (mm. 11 and 47).

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[4] This miniature is written in the rounded binary form.

Figure 3. Pastorale op.2. The beginning of the first theme (see from m. 11) (Silvestrov, 2009: 18).
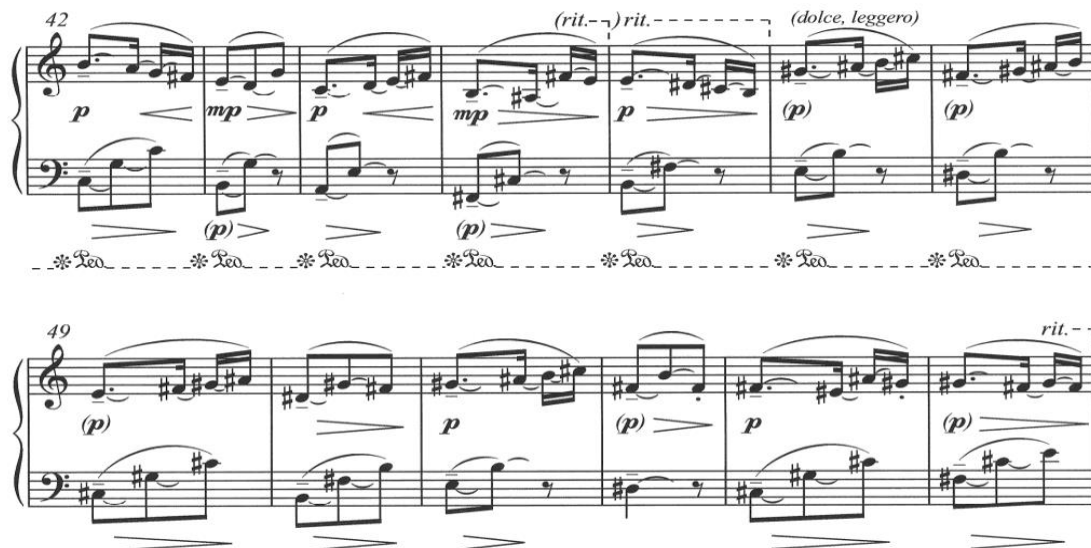
Figure 4. Pastorale op.2. The beginning of the second theme (see from m. 47) (Silvestrov, 2009: 19).

The coda is built on the theme of the introduction, from which only individual intonations gradually remain at the end of the work, as if echoes of the previous development.

In the next piece from op. 2 – Bagatelle, lyrical light and pastoral imagery also prevail. This miniature begins with a small introduction (1–5 mm.), whose texture is based on the arpeggiated chords of F major, D minor, B-flat major, and G major in an ascending melodic movement in the upper light register of the piano. Such a peculiar game with the alternation of major-minor modes gives the character of the introductory theme brightness, which thus shines like a gemstone and sparkles in the sun with different

colors. When moving from the introduction to the presentation of the main theme of Bagatelle, the composer changes the meter signature from 4/4 to 2/4. Quite interesting is the fact that, unlike all the previous pieces, in this Bagatelle the composer uses a change of meter quite rarely, only twice during the entire work, going to the meter 1/8. Perhaps such a stricter style of writing is dictated by the nature of thematic material, in which one feels the manner of writing of French harpsichordists. This is evidenced by the capricious melodic line, the use of melismatics, the transparency of the texture and the gracefully pastoral, carefree character of the musical theme.

To create such a light character of the sound, V. Silvestrov completely abandons the bass register, placing the part of the right and left hands in the upper registers of the piano, namely from one-to three-line octaves. With this technique, the artist also, in a certain way, brings the timbral sound of the piano closer to the specificity of the light, bright timbre of the harpsichord. At the same time, from the point of view of the harmonic language, expressive means characteristic of both the romantic tradition prevails in Bagatelle, in particular, the presence of a significant number of deviations in various keys, and the use of extended tonality, which is already traditional for V. Silvestrov's bagatelle style. Also, in this piece, the composer uses a structure of two repeated periods, which can be denoted by the 'Introduction AA Coda' scheme, and thus interpreted as a strophic form. All the specified compositional and stylistic features of this miniature make it possible to see signs of stylization in it. In this case, there is a synthesis of stylistic features of different eras (the era of French harpsichordists, the romantic era and modernity).

Completes the microcycle '4 pieces' op.2 miniature, called Postludium, which has a sublimely light, lyrical character. Like the previous miniature from this microcycle, Postludium opens with a short introduction and ends with a coda, the thematic material of which is identical to the introduction. This creates the effect of a certain frame within which the main musical material of the piece develops. An interesting compositional find in the theme of the introduction (and, accordingly, the theme of the coda) is the use of an echo reception, which is formed by repeating the same motive in the dynamic nuances of *f* and *pp*. The need for performers to create such a sound effect is indicated in particular by the author's note in mm. 2 and 5.
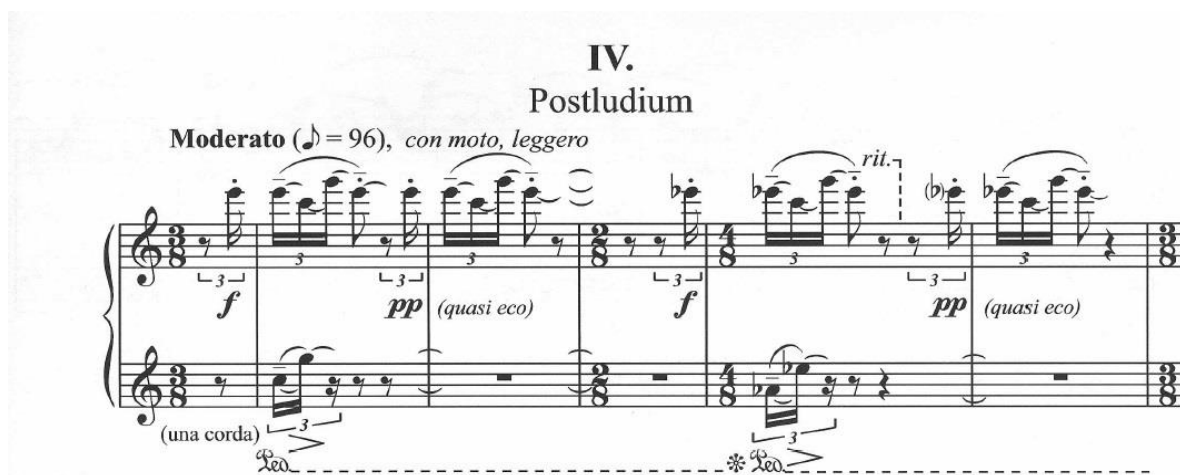
Figure 5. Postludium op. 2. Introduuction. (Silvestrov, 2009: 25).

In addition to both miniatures having an intro and coda, there are a few other significant similarities between the two that are worth noting. One such key point that brings these pieces together is the almost complete lack of meters' change. Like the Bagatelle, the main section of Postludium is almost entirely sustained in a single metro-rhythmic pulsation (in this case in 3/8). Exceptions in this sense are the themes of introduction and coda, as well as the small fragment at the end of the first section of the Postludium, based on the intonations of the mentioned themes. The form of these two miniatures also turns out to be similar, since V. Silvestrov again chooses a strophic form (Introduction AA Coda).

The main theme of Postludium, which develops during the first section (period), has a rapid, light character, and its metro-rhythmic organization suggests a waltziness, which is facilitated by the triple meter (3/8) and a certain swaying created in the left-hand part by the use of ascending arpeggiated chords with repetition of the rhythmic formula two sixteenths – eighth – quaver rest. Also, this effect of swaying, a certain internal movement, is completed by the specificity of the motive-intonation structure, namely, the gradual alternation of the upward and downward movement of the melody. Thus, this miniature can be considered as one of the vivid examples of metagenre since it contains a synthesis of several genre features (waltz, postludium, bagatelle).

The next microcycle is placed by the composer in Bagatelles op. 1-5 – '3 Waltzes with Postludium' op. 3 (2005–2006). An interesting difference of this microcycle is the presence of a dedication at the beginning of the work[5]. As in the previous microcycles, the

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[5] V. Silvestrov dedicated this microcycle to his friend and composer *André Volkonsky*.

composer connects the miniatures in a single continuous line of development, using the *attacca* remark after each piece. Another feature of this microcycle, which relates it to the previously discussed opuses 1 and 2, is the metro-rhythmic freedom (*quasi-improvisation*), noted by the composer himself in the sheet music, which is manifested in the use of mixed meter and microagogic. Certain parallels with other cycles can also be found in the predominance of quiet dynamics, the transparency of the texture, and the predominant use of the upper registers of the piano. In addition, in '3 Waltzes with Postludium', V. Silvestrov continues to use extended tonality, obviously, trying to find a wide range of harmonic colors to embody his musical images.

Waltz I has a light lyrical character. This work is written in the strophic modified form and consists of two periods and a coda (scheme AA$_1$ Coda). Noted that a similar principle of form organization is used by the composer in the following waltzes, which gives this microcycle compositional and dramaturgical unity. The theme of the Waltz I op. 3 draws attention to its emphatically vocal nature. The artist chooses a very smooth development of the melodic line, avoiding frequent jumps and preferring seconds and thirds in the interval ratio. In the second section (mm. 25-51), the composer uses a variable development, making slight corrections to the repetition of the main theme, which concern only the melodic line and do not change the general harmonic framework. A small coda, based on the initial intonations of the Waltz I, ends with the sounds of the F-sharp major chord. However, in terms of intonation, this chord is not perceived as stable, and its last c-sharp sound, repeated several times, creates the effect of incompleteness and dramaturgical openness, as if putting a question mark and making you expect what will happen next.

According to the composer's intention, the following miniature with op. 3 – Waltz II should be performed immediately after Waltz I and thus can be perceived as some continuation of the development of the previous light-lyrical musical image, now in a calm and contemplative perspective. This piece is also based on the formation of one musical image, and its compositional structure can be described as modified strophic (scheme A A$_1$ Coda). In the theme of Waltz II, the composer uses a rather interesting melodic and intonation solution. Building a melodic line that has an emphatically instrumental character, the composer constantly alternates motives that sound in

different octaves[6] and acquire different timbre shades. Such a timbre-register find creates the impression of a dialogue, as if the lyrical heroes of the Waltz exchange lines while dancing.

Figure 6. Waltz II op. 3. The theme with an imaginary dialogue in the melodic line. (Silvestrov, 2009: 30).

Coda Waltz II is also based on the initial intonations, and, as in the previous piece, it ends on an unstable interrogative second intonation, d natural – e-flat, which seems to hang in the air, gradually melting in the overtone haze, which is formed thanks to the pedal sustained until the end of the piece.

In the Waltz III, which is also preceded by the note *attacca*, V. Silvestrov again returns to the moving tempo. In its compositional structure, this Waltz is similar to the two previous ones, as it is entirely devoted to the development of one musical image, presented in the first section of the form. However, here the composer somewhat expands the general form by using small connections-transitions between sections, the thematic material of which slightly changes with each new appearance. Completes the entire composition of the coda, which combines the thematic material of the beginning of the Waltz III and the connection-transition. The main theme of the Waltz III is elegant, lyrical and light. The emphasized grace of the theme is provided by a capricious melodic line and accompaniment based on arpegged chords, the continuous alternation of which creates an effect of a certain swaying. Also in Waltz III, V. Silvestrov already traditionally for the bagatelle style uses an extended tonality, this time relying on the sound of A-flat major.

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[6] For example, one-line – two-line octaves or one-line – small octaves.

The next compositional feature of this work, which also acts as a certain marker of V. Silvestrov's bagatelle style, is a flexible metro-rhythmic basis, quiet dynamics, as well as the combination of one piece with another with the help of *attacca*.

The considered microcycle ends with a piece identified by V. Silvetsrov as Postludium IV, which differs in its compositional and dramaturgical specificity from previous miniatures from op. 3. Postludium is written in rounded binary form. The main theme of Postludium, written in the form of contrasting period (mm. 1-17), has a light lyrical, somewhat nostalgic character. From the intonation point of view, it is characterized by declamatoryness, which is manifested by the presence of an intonation rise within musical sentences followed by a fall, as well as a flexible metrorhythm, which actually allows to imitate the effect of live speech.

The next opus, placed by the composer in the Bagatelle cycle op. 1-5 – '3 Bagatelles' op. 4 (2006). An interesting feature of this microcycle is the ratio of pieces according to the principle of tempo contrast, thanks to which a fairly balanced compositional and dramaturgical structure of the whole is formed. In op. 4, it is also possible to note some stylistic constants that were already observed in other miniatures of the cycle op. 1-5. These include: the use of expressive possibilities of extended tonality, with the absence of key signs but with a noticeable reliance on a sound line of a certain tonality; mixed meter, small *accel.* and *rit.* within phrases, and predominance of quiet dynamics; the presence of small *cresc* and *dim*, sometimes even within a single measure (microdynamics); the predominant use of timbre colours of the upper registers of the piano. Such stylistic constants give the pieces chamberness, conditional improvisational character, which, as already mentioned, allows us to see in them a certain manifestation of the specificity of musical expression inherent in the lounge style. However, in terms of form and figurative structure, the pieces from this microcycle do not always fall under any one specific criterion, so it is worth dwelling on this issue in more detail.

Bagatelle I op*.* 4 is written in a strophic form and consists of two similar sections. The nature of its theme is lyrical and light, with an emphasized waltzness, which is formed both by the predominance of the triplet movement in the right-hand part and the use of an ascending movement on arpeggiated chords. Bagatelle II being an example of sophisticated, bright, somewhat excited lyrics, is in a certain sense similar to Bagatelle I

in its pronounced waltziness. However, in relation to the form and intonation component of the melodic line, it differs somewhat from the previous miniature. Bagatelle II is written in strophic form with a coda, and its theme, in contrast to the theme of Bagatelle I, has a rather capricious melodic line, saturated with jumps on wide intervals.

Bagatelle III is characterized by a different compositional and dramatic solution than the two previous miniatures from op. 4. Here V. Silvestrov chooses rounded binary form with a codetta. The theme of the first section of the form has a lyrical-narrative character, and its melodic line is approached by the composer to the specifics of live speech thanks to smooth rises and falls of intonations, micro-dynamics and agogic within phrases. The second section of Bagatelle III adds major modal colors to the minor sound of this piece, but from the thematic point of view, it does not contain a significant contrast and is perceived as a further development of the musical image presented in the first section. When the thematic material of the first section is repeated, it is not presented in the initial version but has small correlations in the melodic line, which makes it more expressive.

The last microcycle from the considered cycle Bagatelles op. 1-5 consists of only one miniature – Postludium op. 5 (2005). It is devoted to the exposition of one musical image, represented within the period that constitutes the first section of the form and then repeated again without changes (scheme: Introduction A A Coda). The melodic line of the theme of the first section is quite smooth and compact in range, which suggests its vocal-speech nature.

In terms of imagery, this miniature is full of sadness and nostalgia. Its thematic material is dominated by second intonations and shaded, gloomy of the minor mode colors, which are sometimes colored in the light shades of the sound of the major. Despite the fact that this miniature placed at the end of the cycle with the eloquent title Postludium can be interpreted as a certain afterword or final word from the author, from a dramaturgical point of view, it lacks a pronounced completeness. After returning in the coda to the alarming intonations of the introduction (nona sounding in great and contra octaves), the composer uses the intonation of the beginning of the theme, which does not receive any logical conclusion but seems to hangs in the air and gradually melts in the overtone pedal haze.

Another compositional feature of Postludium, which distinguishes it from other

miniatures, is the almost complete absence of timbral colors in the bright upper register. Basically, the theme of Postludium is presented in a soft, richer timbre range of the one-line – small octaves, and the highest point here is the E note of the two-line octave. However, in general, this work fully fits into the specifics of V. Silvestrov's bagatelle style and is similar to the previously considered miniatures of the cycle Bagatelels op. 1-5, as it also has the already mentioned metrorhythmic freedom, *quasi*-improvisation, the presence of micro-dynamics and a quiet general dynamic palette.

Conclusions

So, a detailed analytical examination of the cycle Bagatelles op. 1-5 by V. Silvestrov made it possible to reveal certain stylistic and compositional regularities concerning both the structure of the cycle as a whole and each of the miniatures that make it up. At the compositional and dramaturgical level, the composer unites each microcycle into a single whole with the help of the remark *attacca*. In terms of forms, V. Silvestrov prefers the strophic form devoted to the development of one musical image. At the same time, the composer manages to avoid a certain monotony by using variable development of the thematic material, which quite often manifests itself precisely in small corrections of the melodic line of the theme when it is repeated. Working with the musical material of each miniature, the composer chooses certain similar ways of its representation: the predominant use of quiet dynamics, which only sometimes reaches the *mf* sounding level, *quasi*-improvisation, which is manifested in the use of mixed meter, microdynamics and microagogics (small *ritenuto* and *accelerando* sometimes even within two measures), the predominant use of light timbral colors of the sound of the instrument (the upper registers of the piano), the predominance of calm, light-lyrical images. In addition, the artist actively uses the possibilities of extended tonality, which allows him to create unexpected changes and juxtapositions of major and minor sound, quite typical for jazz music, as well as to enrich the harmonic basis of the pieces, which would be somewhat limited within the traditional tonality system, with clearly defined mode and harmonic relations. Together, all the specified means of expression give the piano miniatures of the cycle a sense of chamberness and allow them to be attributed to the lounge style.

It is also worth mentioning separately the interesting combination of improvisation and quiet dynamic nuances in Bagatelles op. 1-5. Such a ratio gives the dramaturgy of

Bagatelles the immediacy of musical expression and creates the impression that the musical image, reflecting the fluidity of the moment, is in a constant elusive movement and the process of becoming and unfolding (relatively speaking in the process of finding oneself), gradually revealing the entire spectrum of intimate personal experiences (quiet dynamics, as if a conversation in a whisper) and emotions laid by the composer in each miniature.

The following observation regards the specifics of the bagatelle style in V. Silvestrov's creativity. Based on the fact that bagatelles play a leading role in the composer's work, and when trying to name modern composers who turn to the bagatelle genre, we are most likely to have an association with the work of V. Silvestrov and his style. We can attribute bagatelles not only to the category metagenre but also interpret them from the standpoint of stylistic metagenre. The concept of stylistic metagenre refers to the belonging of bagatelle metagenre to the style of V. Silvestrov, or the connection in our minds of bagatelle (as a metagenre) to the style of the artist. A somewhat similar situation arises with the work of another artist – F. Chopin. When we think of the mazurka in classical music, it is more than obvious that what comes to mind are F. Chopin's mazurkas, which also occupied a significant place in the composer's work and are firmly fixed in our consciousness in connection with the name of the Polish master. However, in the case of F. Chopin's creativity, we will not be talking about a stylistic metagenre (which is a characteristic feature of V. Silvestrov's style), but about a stylistic genre.

Continuing this idea, it is worth noting that despite the considerable number of works devoted to the study of Chopin's style (in particular, among rather recent studies it is worth mentioning such works as the fundamental monograph (Rink, 2018) and article (Venli, 2018)), this aspect of understanding the mazurka genre in Chopin's work is still out of the focus of researchers' attention.

However, in our opinion, this concept of 'stylistic genre' can be considered in a broader sense and applied not only to the works of a particular composer but can be interpreted more broadly. For example, the features of a stylistic genre can be observed in the works of many romantic composers. For F. Mendelssohn, such a stylistic genre can be Songs Without Words, for R. Schumann – the genre of piano miniatures, for G. Verdi – the genre of opera. Yet, it should be emphasised, that today musicologists quite often turn to the

consideration of various aspects of the concept of metagenre (in particular, pastoral (Lei, 2021) and world music (Nenić, 2006) are considered as metagenres) or even propose the model of "meta-genre form" (Popov et al., 2022), which helps to reveal the semantic content of modern and postmodern works. But at the same time, the concept of a stylistic genre, or a stylistic metagenre, has not yet received scientific comprehension and requires further research.

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Fiddlers and Their Music in the Romanian Principalities from the Beginnings until the Nineteenth Century: Social Status

ABSTRACT

As a continuation of my exposition on the history of fiddlers in the Romanian Principalities, I propose to the readers' attention other interesting perspectives from which these artists can be viewed. One of these is the social status of fiddlers, especially their place within society, their importance, but also their differentiation into: gypsy fiddlers and slaves of their masters and fiddlers with a higher status, "landsmen", a generic term for land and houseowners. Then, another perspective from which I will present the fiddlers is through their institutionalization, a measure implemented by the State (the ruler). The institutionalization is the historical moment when fiddlers' guilds are organized, thus their activity becomes a legal one. Finally, my focus is on presenting how fiddlers were paid for their musical activities, the amounts they received and on the "consequences" resulting from this process. All these research approaches presented in this second part of the study dedicated to fiddlers in the Romanian Principalities aim to discover to the readers the primary literary sources related to this subject, such as the Chancellery documents, the chronicles and the testimonies of foreign travellers, but through a critically research them, an academic endeavour that has been done before from this perspective.

Introduction

This second part of the study about the fiddlers in the Romanian Principalities is a natural continuation of the first part, where I talked about their origins in the Romanian territory, relying mainly on first-hand sources and trying to clarify the confusion that exists relating to this subject. Their repertoire, its historical source and its influence was also an interesting topic to explore there since it represents due to the position of the Romanian Principalities, located at the interference of the West with the East. At the end of that first part I talked about the instruments used by fiddlers in their music, insisting on clarifying the terminology with which they are found in the historical sources.

As a next stage of the research I turn, my attention to other important coordinates of this musical category members, such as their social status and the existing differences between the two categories of fiddlers. The first category, which was the most numerous and also well-known, was constituted by Gypsies, slaves of their masters; the second, was represented by 'earthly' fiddlers, i.e. a native population, musicians who had some privileges, such as the possibility to own land and houses. Another interesting aspect to bring up is this second part of the study regards their institutionalization, referring to the regulation of their activity by means of organizations, constituted by the type of guilds, and under the management of the State (the ruler), through its dignitaries. This stage in the history of fiddlers really represents their official recognition and the first attempt to establish and protect their work. The last stage of the research dedicated to the fiddlers and their music refers to a chapter that may not seem very important, but which turns out to be an interesting one, i.e. the payment of the fiddlers. The way in which they were paid, the amounts assigned to their performances and the context in which these things took place reflect an interesting picture of the fiddlers, placing them in a 'slavery' with some benefits.

The historical context in which the fiddlers are placed reflects the Romanian society in a generous timeframe, the 16th-19th centuries, a period in which the Romanian Principalities have had a tumultuous dynamic, with many political transformations, but also with many diverse cultural influences. The Princely Court, the main place where the fiddlers are encountered, represents a mosaic landscape from a musical point of view, with musical elements of both Western and Oriental origin, but also with a local

substratum. This whole soundscape has influenced the music of the fiddlers who transformed it and then play it through their own filter, making it their own. Also, their music is not only heard at the Princely Court, as is the case with the other musical categories present around the ruler, such as *mehterhane* (the Oriental classical music bands or military and city music, both influenced by the West), but also outside of the Court, even if less often, when they were called to various special occasions, such as weddings, baptisms or even funerals. All these opportunities when the fiddlers played outside the Princely Court and outside of the events centred on the sovereign, were also regulated by the State through those special directors called *vătafi*[1] and the conditions under which their performances are regulated through guilds, starting with the 18th century.

Regarding the scientific research concerning the fiddlers and their music, there are no known works so far that focus on clarifying the aspects debated during this research. There are no works that focus on detailing all these elements by using different sources, especially the documents issued by the Princely Chancellery, by presenting the data about this musical and social category. Therefore, the main target of this research is to reevaluate the existing information about fiddlers after adding new information issued from documents, chronicles and testimonies of foreign travellers in these Romanian territories. It is also of great importance to establish the place of these musicians in the historical and musical paradigm of the Romanian society during 16th-19th centuries. Thus, the findings of this research are relevant to musicology and ethnomusicology, as well as to history, and they can be useful to sociological research as well as they bring to light new information from sources not fully researched nor placed it in the right context.

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[1] Leader of a certain group of courtiers, servants or soldiers of the reign.

The status of the fiddlers

Figure 1. The illustration of psalms 148-150[2], in the painting of the porch of the Aninoasa Monastery, Argeş County, Romania, painted in 1730. The instrumentalists playing the double-membrane drum, like the davul type, the "S"-shaped trumpet and the kobza are most likely Gypsy fiddlers, if we take into account the specifics of their clothing and physical features, which are different from those of the other musicians depicted in church paintings in Romania during this period.

Figure 2. Another image from the painting of the same scene of the Aninoasa Monastery. Here we can see a trumpet player playing the same "S" shaped trumpet and a violinist.

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[2] I mention that the musical instruments that are painted in numerous churches in Romania, but also in other spaces, regardless of the period when the painting was made, reflect the musical instruments in use in the country at the time of painting the respective scenes. For details, see Rusu, 2024; Rusu, 2023: 149-162; Rusu, 2022a; 237-262 and Rusu, 2021: 64-84.

Figure 3: illustration of the "Wedding from Cana of Galilee" scene, the church in Urşani village, Vâlcea county, Romania, painted between 1801-1803. In this scene we can see a violinist, a trumpeter and a drummer.

The most reliable information regarding this category of musicians can be found in the official documents, i.e. the documents issued by the Princely Chancellery, where there are found details about their social status, the importance of owning such a musician, the obligations and sometimes the rights they benefited from, but also specific aspects concerning the instruments they played, their mobility etc. In general, they are being mentioned in the documents when the ruler grants to some boyars the right to own a specific property, when there is a confirmation of some properties or of some transactions between different persons that do not necessarily involve the rulers of the State. In these cases, the fiddlers were a valuable and profitable 'merchandise', which some also disputed (Chiseliţă, 2017: 180). From this point of view, they could very much resemble the minstrels of the European monarchical courts because they sang only what their master commanded them. In his position as a valet, the minstrel belonged entirely to his senior, to whom he owed his labour. If his artistic works had been published, he would not have received any fees or personal financial benefits. He was also tasked with creating pieces that would serve the ideology of his master and that would glorify his owner. Therefore, the minstrel would have composed everything that was imposed on him. In short, the master owned both the musician and his music (Attali, 1985: 47).

In a document from January 4th, 1574, issued by Metropolitan Eftimie of Ungrovlahia (Wallachia), he mentions the purchase of Radu the fiddler, together with his dwelling, by the Cozia Monastery, for the price of 4500 *akçe*s (Ottoman currency) (Ştefănescu and Diaconescu, 1988: 212-213). In 1636 Matei Basarab repays the loyalty of Radu the

postelnic[3] by offering him from the ruler's Gipsy properties, a Gypsy dwelling, among which Albul Iarul, the son of Stoica the fiddler, and Marcea the Gypsy fiddler (Mioc et al., 1985: 377-382). Another document offers an information regarding the presence of fiddlers on some estates or their sale to other boyars: Stoica the fiddler (Sava, 1944: 28), Stan son of Stan the fiddler (Barbu, Lazăr and Constantinescu, 2010: 100), Oprea the fiddler (Barbu, Chiper and Lazăr, 1998: 386-387), Stan the fiddler (Barbu et al., 2013: 207-208), Tatul the fiddler and his son Stan the violinist (Mioc et al, 1974: 382-385). Also that Tincul, the Gypsy of the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia, married to the daughter of Perţi Viorarul (the violinist), who belonged to the family of Ştefani Rătundul, had two sons, Ioan Şchiupul the kobzar and Alicsandru *cheminger* (*kemençe* meaning *player*[4]), whom the family of Ştefani Rătundul shared with the Metropolitan Church (Caproşu, 2001: 200). Another possibility for trading Gypsy fiddlers was through the wedding dowry. On the occasion of the wedding of Bălaşa's daughter, Elenco, with Doctor Constantin Darvari that took place in 1791 in Bucharest, there is the mention of dowries being given, which also included Gypsies. Among them was Dumitru the Gypsy fiddler, together with his wife Bălaşa and their children (Potra, 1961: 559). There are also cases of issued documents strictly to certify the trading of such a musician. Thus, from a document dating March 17th, 1635, issued by ruler Matei Basarab, we find out that Tudor the fiddler was bought by Gheorghe the *vistier*[5] from Radul Buzescu, the *ban*[6], for 4000 *akçes*, during the reign of Leon Tomşa (Florea, 2005: 34). From another document, dated August 3, 1645, we learn that Gheorghe the vistier sells Tudor Viorarul (the violinist) to Apostolache the *comis*[7] (Barbu, Chiper and Lazăr, 1998: 276). A similar document confirms the donation by Matei Basarab of a Gypsy fiddler to Udrişte the *vornic*[8] (Mioc et al, 1985: 449-452). Another fiddler sold together with his dwelling is Oprea the fiddler, in 1645 (Barbu et al, 1998: 387); Bîra the fiddler and Dumitru the fiddler were bought by Dumitru the great vistier in 1636, in Ialomiţa district (Mioc et al., 1985: 255-256). The

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[3] Title given to a great boyar, member of the Princely Council, who looked after the ruler's bedchamber and who, later, organized also the ruler's audiences.

[4] It is an Oriental musical instrument. Oriental, Ottoman and Persian classical music was also present at the Court of the Romanian rulers. For more details, see Rusu, 2022: 161-180.

[5] Title given to the great governor who was in charge of the country's treasury, the distribution and collection of taxes.

[6] Title held by the governor delegated by the ruler to govern over Oltenia, a component territory of Wallachia.

[7] High dignitary in the Romanian Principalities who took care of the horses and stables at the Princely Court, as well as assuring the supply of fodder.

[8] Grand boyar of the Princely Council having judiciar powers, charged also with the supervision of the Court and the management of the internal affairs of the country.

ruler Mihai Racoviţă confirms through a document issued on February 7th, 1705, in Iaşi, that Gheorghie the *serdar*[9] is the owner of Andronache Chemingiu the fiddler (Sava, 1944: 159).

A singular case regarding the instruments by which the Gypsy musicians were identified, but also referring to their social status, is to be found in a document issued by Matei Basarab confirming to the boyar Dumitraşco the *stolnic*[10] and his son Pano the *logofăt*[11], the ownership of also Stanciul Godoi the *gusla*[12] player and Marin Guslar (gusla player), whom he bought from Dumitraşco the *comis*, son of Radu the *sluger*[13] (Rizescu et al., 2009: 67-70). They being bought and having Romanian names is a proof that they were locals and not one of the guslars that came from the South of the Danube and roamed Europe. If we focus also on the instruments mentioned here, we discover that C. Ghenea puts a sign of equality between lute and *гусли* or between lute and *гуслъ* (Ghenea, 1965: 54), but the two instruments are different, the gusla being of Balkan origin, and in all the documents that have been consulted lute (lute player) appears in the Slavonic spelling in the form *алъвтар,* designating, even in this writing, two different terms.

Stan Gypsy bagpiper is being given with other Gypsies by the ruler Constantin Moruzi (1777-1782) to Iordache Balş, the great vistier (Caproşu, 2005: 489). In 1726 Pană gives to his nephew Matei, the possession of Iordache the *kobzar*[14] (the kobza player) and his son, Iordache. Also, the document specifies here that if Matei is not able to hold them and he wants to sell them, Pană will be the one to buy them back (Georgescu, Cernovodeanu and Cristache Panait, 1960: 86). We also encounter isolated cases, as that of Radu the violinist from Balomireşti, Teleorman, who sells himself and his two sons to Bunei the *vistier* for 4400 bani (Romanian currency) (Rizescu et al., 2013: 235-236). We believe that this Radu was a free man and not a Gypsy, who sold himself as serf because of his inability to pay his taxes and to support his family.

Apart from what has been said so far in connection with specific fiddler music, it should

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[9] Middle-ranking boyar. Commander of troops, especially of cavalry.
[10] Dignitary who took care of the princely table, being the head of the cooks, fishermen and gardeners.
[11] Title of high dignitary in the hierarchy of Romanian boyars, member of the Princely Council and head of the Princely Chancellery.
[12] Stringed musical instrument, similar to *kemençe*, used to accompany the ballads.
[13] Dignitary in the Romanian Principalities, in charge of supplying the Princely Court and the army with meat.
[14] For details about this musical instrument, see the first part of the study.

be noted that Gypsies were sometimes recruited for official music, as trumpeters, as we learn from the account of the 1759 message led by Iosif Podoski (Holban et al., 1997: 416).

Another element in the life of a Gypsy slave emerges from a document dating January 25th, 1647, from which we find out that Ibrahim and Husul, '*surlars*[15] Turkish Gypsies'[16], sell to Pahomie, the abbot of Sadova Monastery, for the amount of 14 thalers, a Gypsy child called Husain, who is the son of Carali; the child's father drowned in the Danube and was left with debts that were settled by selling his son (Barbu et al., 2001: 40). In addition to the tragic situation of the sold son, it should be noted the declared reason the two '*surlars* Turkish Gypsies' gave up Christianity for Islam: they had to endure a very hard life, being frequently tortured by their masters. Thus, they went to Hotin and became Muslims; as they were *surlars*, they were most likely committed as members of the *mehterhane* of the pasha (Potra, 2001: 73).

Referring to the importance given to this category of musicians, we note that they were sometimes a reason of financial conflict between the boyars; some amounts of money were being borrowed and guaranteed with the fiddler himself (Codrescu, 1892: 383-385), which proves the importance of owning such a musician.

The aspect of the ruler as the sole person allowed to own music of any kind, as an attribute of his power, applies also to fiddler music. A document issued in Iaşi between 1634 and 1635 speaks of an exchange of Gypsies between the dignitary Ionaşco Tăbîrţă and the abbot of Probota Monastery. The dignitary gives the monastery two Gypsy women, Ileana and Vărvara, and the abbot gives the dignitary Ion Giosea with his wife and his four sons, but also Ştefan Gypsy, the bagpiper (Cihodaru et al, 1974: 309). We notice that the abbot gave up that bagpiper, exchanging it with other Gypsies, precisely because he did not have any use of a musician within the monastery. Most likely, the bagpiper had come into the possession of the monastery after a donation or transaction, as it happened, for example, with Dumitraşco Doboş (the drummer) and Arsenie Cimpoeş (the bagpiper), who were donated in 1792 by Alexandru Constantin Moruzi to the Dancu Monastery (Marinescu et al., 2005: 226). Another document issued on September 6th, 1710, specifies the following: "Mihail the abbot of the holy monastery of Todereni, in Suceava, announces through this

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[15] Surla player. Surla or zurna is a musical instrument made of wood, with a shrill sound and a wide spread.

[16] They were not Turkish, but they were being labelled as Turkish after they converted to Islam, the religion associated with the Turks, a population with which the Romanian Principalities were continuously interacting.

letter, that the holy monastery, being in great poverty and having no other choice, but owning two *kobzar* Gypsies in Iaşi, namely Şărban and his brother, Dragomir, sons of Gligorie the fiddler, grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Drăgan, I have the blessing of His Eminence Father Gideon, the metropolitan, and from our founder, Neculai Costin the *vornic*, to sell them because the holy monastery has no use of them; they do not work nor do they offer any other help, they just walk doing some crafts and stealing. For this reason, having reached great need, I sold them to Bejan Hudeci the *vornic* for one hundred lei (Romanian currency); and the payment was made in full" (Caproşu, 2000: 350). This document is an extremely important one, just as the previous one because it indicates, first of all, that the fiddlers, although owned by a monastery or a boyar, played their music only around the ruler, at the Princely Court in Iaşi, as it can be comprehended from this story. Most likely, they were 'rented' for their service at the Princely Court and, in return, the owners received certain amounts of money. The information in this document relates to others that will be presented in this research, which refer to the possibility of fiddlers being 'rented' for their art in exchange for money. Hence, the possession of fiddlers was profitable, because it is clear from this document that the monastery gave up the two, and not others, only as a last resort, when it had no other option. It is also clear how these fiddlers became the property of the monastery, they being, most likely, offered by Nicolae Costin, whose family owned the estate on which the monastery was built. At the same time, it seems that another idea is solidifying: even in the case of fiddle music (over which lingered numerous doubts), only the ruler had the right to own any form of music, to enjoy its sounds and to state his power through a way accessible solely to him.

Another example is that of Andronache Chemengiu the fiddler, which was already mentioned, and which is co-owned by the Humor Monastery and by Gheorghie the *serdar*. Since the monastery wants to give up its share of ownership over the Gypsy, "as our praying monks do not need a Gypsy fiddler as they showed us also in the document with the signature of Humor Monastery", the value of the person in question is estimated by certain boyars charged with doing so, at the amount of 20 lei, of which Gheorghie the *serdar* pays the monastery the amount of 10 lei, and the fiddler remains solely his property (Sava, 1944: 159). We understand that this fiddler came to be co-owned probably as a result of donations or transactions. According to the canons, it was not appropriate for the monastery to have fiddle music. Therefore, Andronache Chemengiu

ends up being useless and unprofitable, which is why it is sold to the one who owned the other half of the property. It is another example that these Gypsy fiddlers did not practice their art in monasteries but were only owned by them and 'rented' for certain financial gains.

Staying on the same topic, the ruler Constantin Racoviţă, during his second reign in Moldavia (1756-1757), issues a document by which he exempts the Gypsies of the Episcopacy of Roman, those 'who work with iron and are *kobzars* and fiddlers' and living outside of the burg, along with those exempted from taxes, to pay a tax collected for the expenses of the princely stable (Caproşu, 2004: 17). The same details are specified in two other subsequent documents, one issued by Scarlat Ghica (1757-1758) (Caproşu, 2004: 138) and the other by Teodor Callimachi (1758-1761) (Caproşu, 2004: 175). From all three of them it appears that the tax was mandatory only for the 'Gypsy craftsmen' who lived in burgs and not for those living outside of the burg, those who 'work with iron and are *kobzars* and fiddlers'. What interest us here is the fact that these Gypsies, although they were musicians, were also mainly blacksmiths, their connection with musical activity being more of a label; if we respect the hypothesis issued above, the Episcopacy of Roman used these Gypsies for blacksmithing activities and not for music. As we will see, only in certain cases would these fiddlers be allowed, through the *vătaf* who negotiated the fees, to attend a wedding, for which they paid a sort of 'tax' to their owner.

Another similar case is that of the inhabitants of Bădeşti village, serfs of Câmpulung Monastery. Through a note from February 23th, 1710, it is stated how many days they will work on behalf of the monastery and what kind of work will they perform. Among the serfs there are Albul the fiddler and Stanciul, son of Albul the fiddler, who were used by the monastery in agriculture and other similar activities, despite them being musicians (Mihodrea et al., 1961: 235-236). When not working for the monastery, those two people were fiddlers and earned their living by being musicians. In the same category, another document dated August 3rd, 1785, refers to an issue of Tismana Monastery, which had to pay to some locals certain amounts of money for them to work as the Gypsies refused to do so; among those Gypsies refusing to work was Radu Falcoe the fiddler, him being the only one of those listed for which is being mentioned the profession he practices (Mihodrea et al., 1961: 720).

For the Gypsies belonging to boyars, we have fewer examples so far to prove or at least to indicate our hypothesis. Joseph Sulzer, when speaking about the Gypsies of the boyars, tells us that "they are in much larger numbers and serve their master near the house as coachmen, cooks, maids, etc. or they work his land as serfs or, if the boyar allows them, they carol and practice any profession or even their music at the dances, paying to the boyar an annual amount of about 6 to 7 lei per person, more or less, according to their arrangement (Zinveliu, 1995: 92). This fragment seems to support our idea as these Gypsies were allowed to practice their art only with the boyar's permission and not at his court, but wherever they were requested, the boyar benefiting financially from the activity of the Gypsies.

Another example which exceeds the time limit proposed here, but which also refers to our reference period, is a document addressed to the ruler Ioan Caragea on April 28th, 1818, by some important boyars of Wallachia, led by Metropolitan Nectarie of Ungrovlahia. This document specifies: "Your Highness, the Gypsies [belonging] to the monasteries and the boyars since the beginning of the country were never disturbed by the *Armăşie*[17]; they have dealt only with their duties and the taxes of their master, knowing him as their ultimate master. With this act of the *Armăşia*, invoking the tax of the guild of fiddlers, it cancels their master's right over them, and the *Armăşia* becomes their owner, for in order to collect the tax due to the *Armăşie*, they abandon the work of their master and go to work elsewhere. And with what they earn they can barely pay the tax to the *Armăşie*, and the master remains deprived of the benefits acquired historically from his servant, having nothing to take from him, nor leaving time for that Gypsy to work for the taxes due by his master; therefore we all pray to the mercy of thy Majesty, to issue an enlightened decision that only in the princely free cities to be administrators of fiddlers and to take from those fiddlers living in that city, the taxes for weddings and the fees, taxes and fees that were, in the old days, of a thaler for a wedding, and the another annual fee of 33 bani, as specified above in the princely act, which is recorded in the register of the Divan. Because all the prices have risen, let them be added to the other ones in order to take the tax of the wedding threefold, so 3 thalers, and the fees to be taken by the administrator from all members of the band of fiddlers who will be negotiating to play at that wedding, and not 3 thalers from each fiddler; [let the

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[17] Institution of the State, that subordinated the Gypsies.

administrators] take as well the tax of no more than one thaler per year from each fiddler, but that these taxes to be taken by the administrators only from the fiddlers who live in large, princely and free cities, and not from other fiddlers from small towns and villages, nor from the estates of monasteries, boyars or peasants or from nomads fiddlers, who walk from place to place, and [not even] from children who learn the trade of the fiddlers; [they must not] charge any fees for the wedding, nor tax, nor anything else, so that the Gypsies of monasteries and boyars may be able to obtain the money for the payment of their master's tax; or to do the needed work for their masters, as the slaves that they are, so the serf may know that he has a master, but also the master may know that he has a servant, and not for the serf to be pulled in two parts" (Urechiă, 1900: 425-426, 424-425).

This document is of particularly importance for the issue discussed here. First of all, we notice that 'from ancient times' the fiddlers of the boyars and monasteries sang in different places and at various occasions. Part of their gains went to their master, this representing for the masters the way of capitalizing from these fiddlers. With time and, most likely, with the growing need for money that the ruler had because of the political context and the financial decline of the Romanian Principalities, the ruler of the State extended its 'arm' also on fiddlers who did not belong to him, a social category that was considered profitable. Therefore, the *Armăşia*, through its administrators, came to collect the tax from the fiddlers of the boyars and monasteries, who are thus forced to abandon the work for their masters, referring here perhaps even to physical work, which has nothing to do with music, and go working elsewhere so that they could pay their own taxes, leaving their masters deprived of the income from their slaves. Therefore, it is required that the administrators collect the tax only from the cities of the ruler, that is, from the fiddlers of the ruler, and to let those of the boyars and monasteries continue to work only for their master, as it used to be. Also, at the end of the document it is emphasized that the Gypsies who do not belong to the ruler must be allowed to earn their living by singing in order to be able to pay the specific tax, or to work in various other ways, depending on the needs of their master, so that he knows that he has a serf and the serf, a master. The intervention of the reign in this relationship disrupted the old order and changed the traditional relations.

From these examples, we see that the monasteries and boyars, although they owned fiddlers under different forms, did not benefit from their art directly, but only took

advantage either of their work in various non-musical fields or of the money obtained by providing them performing in other places, outside the monastery or the boyar's court. In fact, fiddlers playing music as a way of earning their keep is not specific only to the Romanian extra-Carpathian countries. The same situation can be encountered in Transylvania (Zăloagă, 2015: 353), Hungary (Warren, 2012: 28), the Ottoman Empire (Özateşler, 2014: 125, 129) or wherever they happened to live in larger communities.

The 'indigen' fiddlers (in rom. '*pământeni*')

Using the expression of Dionisie Fotino (Fotino, 2008: 655, *passim*) to define this category of fiddlers, we notice that there are examples that offer us another dimension of the activity of fiddlers, opening new perspectives for us. There are a number of documents in which certain musicians (fiddlers) appear as witnesses to various transactions or even as owners, which make us wonder what was their social status, since they appear in this kind of situations. If the Gypsies were slaves and did not have properties such as land or houses, generally living in huts built on the land of their master or on the outskirts of the city, it means that those to whom we refer here were not Gypsy slaves, but free people. A first argument for this hypothesis is their name in the documents. For example, the fiddlers are almost always called 'Gypsy fiddlers', while those who appear as witnesses amongst the 'good people' or those who own properties are simply called by name and by the instrument they play, without any reference to the term of 'Gypsy'. A first example is Lupul the fiddler, which is being mentioned amongst the 'good people' as a witness of a land sale (Barbu et al., 2006: 79). We rather believe that the character in question was not a Gypsy, which is why he appears in such a role. Other witnesses of different transactions are: Vasile *kobzar* slumdweller, Neculai Muntean *kobzar* slumdweller and Toader *skripka*[18] player, son of Avrămiei (Caproşu, 2007a: 206).

From the previous example, we can observe a clear terminological difference between the first two references and the last one: Toader fiddler, son of Avrămiei, seems to be an indigenous fiddler, while i.e. Toader the Gypsy fiddler of the *logofăt* Ioan Cantacuzino, who owns an earth hut (Caproşu, 2005: 624), is certainly, just as the document specifies, a Gypsy servant of the *logofăt*, who lives in a hut like everyone elso from his social category. In the same idea we extract from a document since 1710 that a certain Ştefan

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[18] It is a musical instrument from the violin family; the term is also used sometimes as a synonym for violin.

kobzar gives a house to Sandu Crupenschi, a great *jitnicer*[19], in exchange for 12 lei, the amount for which the house was built (Caproşu, 2000: 349). Another Ştefan the *kobzar* was a land and houseowner (Caproşu, 2006: 436, 449). Grigorii Gagea *kobzar* buys a house in the Frecău slum of Iaşi, paying 150 lei (Caproşu, 2007a: 206), a large amount for such transactions, and Ion Toporaşu *kobzar* sells land (Caproşu, 2007b: 28). According to a document dated July 28th, 1704, Andrei the princely fiddler and his wife Titiana sell a house to Cîrstea for the amount of 15 lei (Caproşu, 2000: 227). Ariton, an Armenian *kobzar*, owned a shop on the Old Bridge (Podul Vechi in Romanian) street in Iaşi (Caproşu and Ungureanu, 1997: 289). These are examples showing the difference between the Gypsy fiddlers and the indigen ones.

A more complex example is that of Gligoraş the *kobzar* fiddler, to whom the officials set the borders for his inherited house plot (Caproşu, 2001: 528-529, 600-601). The same Gligoraş Moarte the *kobzar* fiddler sells a house with a shed to the merchant Lohan from Iasi for the amount of 60 lei (Caproşu, 2008: 3-37). From both these examples we can understand that this *kobzar* was one of the ruler, who played at the Court and who had the right to own and trade house or land in the vicinity of the Court (the house was located between the Old Bridge and the Armenian Street in Iaşi), probably so that he could always be close to the ruler and respond promptly to his requests. There are also documents that show that there were other Gypsies having different occupations, who owned properties near the Princely Court, probably for the same reason, to be close when they were needed.

These examples show us that there were also cases of Gypsy fiddlers who, although slaves or slaves at origin, managed to rise above their social status most likely through the music they frequently performed, which was supposed to be a high quality one and for which the fiddler was well paid. Similar situations can be found in Transylvania, where some Gypsies, virtuoso interpreters, were very well paid, acquiring thus a privileged social position (Zăloagă, 2015: 356-357).

Institutionalization

Starting with the Phanariote reigns, the great boyars gave up living on their estates in order to settle within the capital city, closer to the ruler and the atmosphere of the Court.

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[19] Dignitary who looked after the granaries of the Princely Court.

Thus, they began to adopt the city customs, to speak foreign languages and, following the princely fashion, Romeo Ghircoiaşiu mentions (Ghircoiaşiu, 1963: 178) that they began to form their own band of fiddlers who will always be at their disposal. We do not know to what extent the fiddler bands were available to the boyar (if they indeed existed) since the beginning of the Phanariote reigns because the music is still an attribute of the ruler. Perhaps the end of the Phanariote era has brought some changes into the power scale within the State, allowing somehow this privilege to the boyars as well.

The fact is that since the first half of the 18th century the first guilds of fiddlers begin to appear. This is also the time when the name 'fiddler' is being generalized and institutionalized, covering all the members of these guilds, regardless of the instrument they played, labelling, in fact, the newly established profession (Cosma, 1970: 7; Debie, 1970: 226). However, it should be highlighted that every reference to a particular fiddler in the documents of those times is still identifying him by his name and by the instrument he plays.

In 1723 the first guild of fiddlers was set up in Craiova and the document attesting to this fact specifies:

> "The paper for Constantine the fiddler to be the leader of the fiddlers. We issued our document to Constantine the Gypsy fiddler for him to lead all the Gypsies who are now in the city of Craiova, either those of the boyars or of the monasteries or of any others, except for the Gypsies who belong to the treasury or to the merchants, or to any others here in Craiova, so the Gypsies do not go negotiate without the knowledge of their leader, and those who will be performing to weddings, to call the above mentioned leader or to send [people] to him to talk and to negotiate as many singers as needed for that wedding and for large feasts planned by boyars, merchants or others; likewise [the Gypsies] are to send [the people] to their leader and it is for him to provide as many singers as needed at that paid feast; and if one of the Gypsies was to make any foolishness and get into a fight at any wedding or at any feast, or [fight] between themselves, or disobeying their above mentioned leader, he is to reprimand each one of them, according to their individual fault, and any dispute they might have regarding their art, he is to judge them and to amend

their arguments, and they are to go to their leader when there is need of mending more serious quarrels between them and he is to collect 20 bani in one year from each Gypsy fiddler, according to custom" (Ghenea, 1965: 112).

This document is very important as it certifies the first institutionalized organization of the fiddlers, which regulates their status, attributions and limits within which they must carry out their activity. Here we also notice that a usual fee is charged to the Gypsies who performed at certain events (the fee for the performance of fiddlers was prior to the constitution of their first guild), the difference now is that the fee is to be collected through their leader. In 1785, ten years after the constitution of the guild of fiddlers from Bucharest (Urechiă, 1891: 95) and Focsani, the guild from Iaşi was formed, and in 1795, the one from Huşi (Ghenea, 1965: 114; Brâncuşi, 1969: 86).

About the duties of the leader of fiddlers (*vătaf* in Romanian), we discover from another document the following information: "the one that My Highness [Alexandru Ipsilanti] made him *vătaf* over all the fiddlers from the city of Focsani, over the Gypsies of the ruler, of the monasteries and of the boyars, so he may take care of all assignments and obey all commands that I will be giving to him through the great *armaş*[20] (i.e. the hierarchical superior of the *vătaf*); no one is to bespeak himself for any wedding without the *vătaf*'s knowledge and not until he goes to negotiate and to take the commission (*adet* in old Romanian) of 1 thaler from each wedding. And the one found out by the *vătaf* that he has negotiated without the *vătaf*'s knowledge, he is to be brought to the county officials in order to be punished by beating. Also, the appointed *vătaf* must collect the usual tax of 33 bani from each fiddler. My Highness also commands to you all fiddlers, those of the ruler, of the monasteries, and of the boyars, to submit to the *vătaf* who will carry my command, given through the great *armaş*, that those who will not obey, to be brought to the county officials and be punished by beating" (Cronţ et al., 1973: 5).

This document is a very important one, mainly because it attests to the establishment of the fiddlers' guild from Focşani, then because it shows the mechanism through which the fiddlers functioned at an institutionalized level. Thus, the ruler gives a command to all fiddlers, even if not all of them were of his property. He also sends orders to all of them

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[20] A princely dignitary, who, in Moldavia, was in charge of guarding dungeons and carrying out executions, and in Wallachia, he took care of the army's artillery and Princely Gypsies.

through the great *armaş*, who in turn transmits them to the *vătafs*. The *vătafs* were appointed by the ruler, a fact being later confirmed through an act issued by the Princely Chancellery (Urechiă, 1892: 213). We notice that he is the one who regulates and manages the artistic activity of all fiddlers, creating a mechanism through which he controls it. The other owners of the fiddlers, the boyars and the monasteries, benefit from the artistic performance of their 'property' through those amounts established by the *vătaf* as taxes to be paid. The income of the *vătaf* was also made from the fiddler's performances, that had to give 1 thaler for each wedding where he was called to sing, as well as the usual annual tax of 33 bani. The disobedience of the commands attracted physical punishment; practically, the fiddlers had little to no power over their own performances, them being mere performers who received nevertheless some payment for each event they attended to, just as we have seen with their artistic predecessors, the minstrels of the European noble courts.

In *The Synodal Act for donations, exchanges, and sales, and for Gypsies* issued by Alexandru II Mavrocordat, the ruler of Moldavia (1785-186), it is specified that:

> "if the Gypsy man or the Gypsy woman will be found doing their craft without them being able to reach an accord with their masters regarding the craft, then they need to go to trial where it will be decided the price [the Gypsy] has to pay, to whom shall remain the revenue from the performance of the Gypsy man or the Gypsy woman, apart from the already established price for the person; but for the craft of the fiddlers, of the *kobzars* or of other singers, no additional price will be settled nor given" (Codrescu, 1889: 85-86).

This text is yet another very important example for establishing the condition of fiddlers in relation to the ruler of the State and for seeing the way their activity is organised. We note that, besides the price set for the Gypsy's person (the person is labelled as 'soul' in the Romanian text), the specific document mentioned that no higher price should be charged for their music, which leads us to believe that the tendency of those times was for fiddlers to be better paid than other Gypsies.

Another significant element that emerges from this text is the difference between the music of fiddlers, the music of *kobzars* and the music of singers (vocalists). There is also a classification in types of fiddlers, this short text confirming our hypothesis that there

were distinct categories of Gypsy musicians, named after the instrument they played. Until the 18th century, the documents show that the lute was the main instrument they used. Most likely, the fiddlers did not necessarily represent a distinct category, but were rather lute/*kobza* performers (Zinveliu, 1995; 131), who were also vocalists, accompanying themselves instrumentally. At the various events they participated, they used a certain repertoire, they sang or made a greeting, and then continued with their instrumental music. From some accounts we know that, when several fiddlers were present, they took turns in singing the vocal melodies they knew, while the others accompanied them instrumentally (Simonescu, 1939: 285; Fotino, 2008: 639). More precisely, according to Lazăr Şaineanu, the instrumental and vocal interpretation of these musicians was the following: "one holds the fiddle and executes the melody, the second one accompanies it with the *kobza* and marks the rhythm on the chords of the instrument, singing the words; and the third one, with the panpipes adds to the executed arias low or high flourishes" (Şaineanu, 1900: CXVIII).

Payment

The fiddlers performed in different places around the country and, initially, they were not obliged to justify their earnings to anyone, but later schools were created so that they could learn music and become profitable and bring profit to their masters (Ghenea, 1965: 113). Depending on his income, the boyar could have owned several Gypsies, with various occupations. When they did not have much work to do, they were allowed to go to other places to gain a financial supplement, from which they also gave part to the boyar. This was especially the case with fiddlers who could go perform, in general, at various taverns and village feasts for an annual amount paid to the boyar (Djuvara, 2013: 312). There are several examples of such payments, but it should be noted that in most cases the ruler's fiddlers were the ones being paid and not all three categories of fiddlers. The main income of the fiddlers belonging to the ruler were the tips received from the ruler himself on the occasion of various events at which they performed. On the occasion of the move of the princely residence of Constantin Brâncoveanu from Targoviste to Bucharest and back, large processions were organized in which all the court music participated, including the fiddlers, who were rewarded with various amount of money. In 1696, upon the arrival of Constantin Brâncoveanu from the war, 2 thalers were paid for the fiddlers who were part of the procession (Giurescu, 1962: 465). For the feast of Saint John, the fiddlers and the

kobzars were paid half a thaler (Giurescu, 1962: 465-466), probably for the carol performed for the ruler. Two years later, on the feasts of Saint Basil and the Epiphany, the fiddlers and kobzars received 1.5 thalers (Giurescu, 1962: 464), and in 1701, also on the feast of Saint Basil, the same musicians were paid a thaler (Giurescu, 1962: 462). In 1700, the kobzars and fiddlers received a thaler (Giurescu, 1962: 463), and the following year they received the same amount (Giurescu, 1962: 463). It should be noted that each time they are mentioned in the Register, the fiddlers are separated into two distinct groups, fiddlers and kobzars, which highlights that the difference between them depends solely on the instrument they played. According to a document from the Hurezu Monastery Archive, in 1701, at the wedding of a certain Badii, belonging to a boyar family, 8 thalers were paid for "Badea's fiddlers" (Iorga, 1907: 258-259), specifically, for the musicians belonging to a boyar named Badea. In July 1797, 8 lei were paid for the Gypsy fiddlers on the occasion of the repair of the ship and 15 lei on the launching ceremony of the ship (Caproşu, 2003: 259).

Still relating to the payment of these musicians and their names in the documents, some information has been found in a register from Vrancea County, written in 1827 (Sava, 1934: 117-118). The register shows that a fiddler was paid with 4 paras (parale in Romanian, a Romanian currency) for performing in a tavern. It is mentioned that the fiddler wanted to leave, but those who paid him wanted him to stay longer, so the fiddler had ran away. In his run, he fell and broke its *skripka*. The vornic of Vrancea has made those who caused the fiddler to run away to pay 16 lei for the broken *skripka*, an amount that represented the price of the instrument, as well as payment of a fine for their action (Sava, 1934: 151-152). Here, we can see again that the documents specify the exact instrument played by the fiddler, although the content of the text refers to a generally labelled "fiddler". It is also important to note that this incident has been recorded and that the *skripka* player has been compensated with a fairly large amount compared to his earnings.

Conclusions

The fiddlers were highly regarded at the Princely Court, but also outside of it, every important feast or event being accompanied by their music. Foreign travellers noticed their importance, but also the fact that, although they were an appreciated category, their

social and material situation was unfortunate, not being granted a comparable status with the art they performed. The tendencies to institutionalize them by creating the guilds of fiddlers aimed at a better recording and a stricter control, precisely because they were profitable to their owners, an aspect that should not be neglected. The fiddlers contributed to making the Court's atmosphere more entertaining. They even were quite indispensable to the ruler, accompanying him everywhere, as he was the only one who could use their music during the parades that followed him everywhere, but also during other events.

The various transactions of fiddlers for considerable amounts of money also reveal their importance, as well as the fact that the ruler pays special attention to this category of people. Looking from a general perspective, the fiddlers represent one of the defining elements of the Romanian culture, one of the pillars that have constituted it, but also one of the artistic (namely musical) ways through which a political representation of the ruler may be observed. The analysis of this category of musicians offers rich information about a multitude of aspects concerning the life of certain people living in the Romanian Principalities. Capitalizing on documents and testimonies less known in historiography, the first part of this study about the Gypsy fiddlers has tackle the elements that define the artistic side of this category of musicians, such as the origin of the Gypsies living in the Romanian Principalities, some of them having been mentioned as musicians. Each of the several terms used in documents for naming the fiddlers has its own importance, especially when wanting to highlight the fine details. The repertoire of the fiddlers was also important to analyse, but not necessarily from the perspective of the songs the fiddlers played, but rather because of the genres they covered and the musical influences compiled in their songs. One of the last elements that were covered during the first study about fiddlers emphasized the musical instruments used predominantly by these musicians, such as the lute, the kobza, the violin and the panpipes, giving some specific details about each one of them.

This second part of the research dedicated to fiddlers showed some very important aspects related, this time around, to their social status, the fiddlers being placed in different other artistic categories, and not only in the musical atmosphere of the Princely Court. This study also portrayed the social status of the fiddlers, placing them in the hierarchy of society of those times. Their status as slaves, a superior state of slavery to

that known on the American continent, for example, did not prevent them from developing their talent and art. Moreover, they knew how to become almost indispensable for certain events that took place at the Princely Court or outside of it. For these reasons, the aspects discussed here regarding their institutionalization and payment are of great importance.

In other words, the difference between Gypsy and indigen fiddlers should not be overlooked, as their social status differs, as well as their way of interacting with the ruler of the State. Most of the examples recorded in official documents or in various narrative sources refer to the Gypsy fiddlers and we must remember that they were more numerous and more financially profitable, their status as slaves limiting or even annulling their rights. On the other hand, indigen fiddlers were free people, living in cities or even near the ruler, getting involved in Court life and sometimes being part of the princely parades.

The limits in which all this research is carried out, between the 16th and the 19th centuries, represent the time when the first testimonies about fiddlers appear, testimonies from which the study of the 'phenomenon' could begin. The 19th century, the upper limit of this time frame, represents a benchmark around which conclusions can be drawn, without the after facts affecting, in a certain way, the understanding of the approach. The use of information from sources dating after the year 1800 was to complete the general framework around fiddlers.

It must also be said that, from a musical point of view, the 19th century is a century of transformations taking place within the Romanian Principalities. If in the first decades, the Western musical influence manifests itself gradually more, really changing the sound context by the middle of the 19th century, during all this time the fiddlers keep the characteristics of their music. Visible changes in the specifics of fiddler music appear particularly during the second half of the 19th century and during the 20th century, but these changes have to be tackled in a distinct research.

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Kazakh *Prima-Kobyz* and Kyrgyz *Prima-Kyyak*: The Experience of the Comparative Study

ABSTRACT

This work is devoted to improved string-bowed chordophones – Kazakh prima-kobyz and Kyrgyz prima-kyyak. They have almost a 90-year history and have not been studied much so far. In comparative terms, they are considered for the first time. Similar instruments of the same type became widespread in many Turkic republics of Central Asia in connection with the creation of folk orchestras. Later, they became actively used in ensemble and solo musical practice. Their popularity and available repertoire make it possible to pay closer attention to them.

Introduction

According to the systematics of E. Hornbostel and K. Sachs, the above mentioned instruments belong to the neck lutes with glued bodies and metal strings and are designated by the index 321.322.22. (Hornbostel and Sachs, 1987: 229-261), (Utegalieva, 2013: 418-425), and *prima-kyyak* - by 321.31–71 (Subanaliyev, 1986: 13).

We consider the prerequisites for the creation of improved types of kobyz and kyyak (1); identify similarities and differences in ergological (technology, material of manufacture) and morphological properties (2); instrument setting, techniques of sound production (right and left hand technique), performance techniques (3), as well as their repertoire (4). In order to solve the set tasks, the author turned to the system approach, using comparative-typological, comparative-historical, as well as system-ethnophonic (Matsiyevski, 2007) methods.

We used scientific research on general organology (Belyaev, 1962; Vinogradov, 1958; Vertkov, Blagodatov and Yazovitskaya 1963; Matsievsky, 2007; Vyzgo, 1980), took into account the works of scientists devoted to Kazakh traditional (Zhubanov, 1976; Mukhambetova, 2002; Utegalieva 2006; 2013; Bulatova 2017; Medeubek, 2021) and advanced kobyzs (Sarybayev, 1978; Gizatov, 1994; Tezekbayev, 1980; Urazalieva, 2013; Rauandina, 2001), Kyrgyz traditional and modernized kyyak (Yankovsky, 1982; Subanaliyev, 1986, 1983; Kasey, 2017; Dyushaliev and Luzanova, 1999). Some information was obtained as a result of interviews with performers on the *prima-kyyak* (Ainazar Atilov, associate professor of the Conservatory of Kyrgyzstan, Sana Kirikechova, teacher of a music school), as well as masters of both republics (Valery Abramkin, Marat Berikbayev).

Since the instruments made by Kazakh (Aleksey Pershin, Valery Abramkin) and Kyrgyz (Marat Berikbayev) masters are currently in demand and widespread, we give as an example measurements and characteristics of 4-string prima-kobyz and *prima-kyyak* created by them. Their instruments are variants, not standard versions. There are other masters (Turar Akunov, Aleksey Nepryakhin, Zamir Uteshov etc.), whose instrument shapes differ from the types we have given.

Prerequisites for origin and development history of *prima-kobyz* and *prima-kyyak*

It should be noted that the predecessors of *prima-kobyz* and *prima-kyyak* are traditional Kazakh *kyl-kobyz* and Kyrgyz *kyl-kyyak.*

Kyl-kobyz is an ancient stringed-bowed musical instrument, belonging to the all-Turkic musical instruments. Kazakh people treated it as a sacred instrument because it was believed that it fulfills the function of healing and wards off the evil eye. In the past, it was an indispensable attribute of the ritual practice of baksy (shaman) and zhyrau (epic narrator) (Ibraimova et al., 2018: 135).

Kyyak is an all-Kyrgyz stringed and bowed national musical instrument. It is considered to be the most archaic one among stringed instruments. It was not used in shamanistic rituals like the same-type Kazakh *kyl-kobyz* (Subanaliyev, 2003: 127).

Vyzgo believes that kobyz and kyyak have much in common; they can be considered as one and the same instrument (Vyzgo, 1980: 142). It has a ladle-shaped chiseled body and two strings made of untwisted horsehair; its lower part (narrower) is closed with a leather membrane, and the upper part (rounded) is open. It is played with a horsehair bow, simultaneously on both strings, tuned to fourth or fifth (Ibraimova et al., 2018: 137-138). The pitch level is regulated by *pressing the fingers* to the string. It has two methods of sound production: ordinary and flageolet. It is played with the nail method, using complete or incomplete finger pressure.

In the dictionary of Mahmud al-Kashgari (XI century) "Diwan Lughat al-Turk" the word *kobyz* was mentioned as a musical instrument formed from the word *kubuz* (lute) (Mahmud al-Kashgari, 2005: 63). Kazakhstani scientist-linguist K. Zhubanov wrote that the etymology of this term probably comes from the word *abyz*, which meant *shaman*. (1966: 315), in Mukhambetova's opinion, the meaning of the word kobyz as a musical instrument refers to later time. Originally, as a derivative of abyz - the oldest in the clan, abyz - shaman, it meant a senior, main, sacral instrument (Amanov and Mukhambetova, 2002: 189). *Kobyz* can be used as a collective name denoting a musical instrument in general. The same term is applicable to various musical instruments – *kobyz* (bow) – *kubyz*, *khomus* (idiophonic), etc. (Utegalieva, 2006: 18)

Kobyz was the name of several varieties of musical instruments. The additional word

defined the device and type of the instrument. For example, *kyl-kobyz*, *shan-kobyz* (a Jew's harp-type instrument), *kagaz-kobyz*, *til-kobyz* (harmonica), *zhez-kobyz* (*zhez* is iron; it is intended to be a kobyz with a metal body) (Sarybayev, 1967: 5). Explanatory words like *kyl* (translated from Turkic languages as 'hair') *kyl-kobyz* indicate on strings (*kobyz* with hair strings) (Utegalieva, 2006: 19). *Kobyzs* of large size are called - *narkobyz* (*nar* is a kind of a camel), it sounds lower than *kyl-kobyz* (Medeubek, 2021: 16), it was used for fighting purposes. The narkobyz, decorated with a mirror and owl feathers, was more often played by folk healers (Tattibaikyzy, 2022: 47).

The term *kyyak* is used to describe the Kyrgyz traditional instrument. According to S. Subanaliyev, the *kyyak* comes from the word *gidzhak*, a string-bowed instrument found among Turkmens, Uzbeks, and Tajiks. It is similar to the word *kyzhak*, which is widespread among the Ichkiliki, an ethnic group of Kyrgyz living in the southwest of the Osh region of Kyrgyzstan. The word *kyzhak* has acquired the sound *kyyak* (Subanaliyev, 1989: 85).

The term *kyyak* is also used in combination with the word kyl - *kyl-kyyak*. This variant of the name of instruments, apparently, began to be used at a later time (Bulatova, 2017: 79-88). We think that, in instrumental art, the word *kyl* may have been added after the appearance of orchestral subspecies of *kobyz* and *kyyak* - such as prima, viola, bass, and double bass.

The term prima, added to the instruments from the family of string-bowed instruments we are considering herein, has several meanings in the musical dictionary. In the interpretation of Vakhromeev, prima (Latin *Prima* – "first") is the first step of a diatonic scale, a basic tone (note) of a tonality, an interval, the first part (primo) (usually the highest one (first)) in groups of homogeneous instruments of an orchestra or ensemble (Vakhromeev, 1959: 14-20). Other names of instruments are *zym kiyak* and *sym kobyz*. The word zym, translated from Kyrgyz language and *sym* from Kazakh, means *wire*. This designation is rarely used.

The 30s of the twentieth century, the period after the Great October Socialist Revolution, was marked by important events in the cultural life of the peoples of the former Soviet Union, including Central Asia.

Participation of the masses in revolutionary festivals, creation of national theaters and concert organizations required to take the instrumental music into the streets, theatrical scene, and concert platform. The existing forms of music-making associated with solo artistic performance no longer met the new requirements. In many republics and autonomous regions began to appear collectives of musicians on the model of the Russian orchestra of folk instruments, founded by Vasilij Andreev (Vertkov, et al. 1963: 12).

In 1934, an orchestra of folk musical instruments was created in Kazakhstan; its founder and artistic director was A.K. Zhubanov (1906-1968), academician of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, doctor of study of art, People's Artist of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic, professor (Gizatov, 1994: 5). In 1936, the first orchestra of Kyrgyz folk musical instruments emerged, initiated and founded by the composer, band director, musician-performer, and teacher P.F. Shubin (1894–1948) (Yankovsky, 1982: 63).

The formation of national orchestras is primarily closely related to the redesigning and improvement of folk instruments (Vyzgo and Petrosyants, 1962: 17) According to A. Mukhambetova: "Playing together necessarily entailed standardization of instruments". In this regard, it was necessary to identify the dimensions, to create precise dimensions of the mensuration (Amanov and Mukhambetova, 2002: 113-114). For performance in a large audience, it was necessary to enrich their sonority by changing the structure, the shape of the resonating hole and the material of the strings, the strength of their tension, etc.

Zhubanov noted that despite the available timbre and other qualities, the traditional *kyl-kobyz* at that historical period did not meet the growing demands of our people. Therefore, to include it in the orchestra, they improved many details and raised the instrument to a new qualitative level (Zhubanov, 1976: 122).

To expand the overall range of the orchestra, instruments of different sizes and families - groups of similar instruments sounding in different registers - were constructed. Orchestral subspecies of *kyl-kobyz* and *kyl-kyyak* appeared in the string-bowed group: prima, viola, bass, and double bass (Sarybayev, 1978: 125), (Dyushaliyev and Luzanova, 1999: 154). The string instruments of the symphony orchestra were taken as a reference point.

Zhubanov saw the orchestra as the future of Kazakh musical culture. "The Kazakh orchestra of folk instruments named after Kurmangazy is a world-recognized performance ensemble, the importance of which in the development of Kazakh professional instrumental culture is very great" (Zhubanov, 1976: 182).

In the process of modernization of the prima-kobyz and the *prima-kyyak* several stages can be distinguished.

The first stage relates to the creation of a three-stringed 'prima-kobyz'. At the instruction of the leader of the orchestra, A. Zhubanov, masters E. Romanenko and K. Kasymov created new samples of instruments in the 30s (Tezekbayev, 1980: 3). This large-scale and demanding challenge was entrusted to the research room and musical-experimental workshop, organized in 1933 at the Almaty Musical and Dramatic Technical School (Gizatov, 1994: 9-10).

The second stage of modernization was the appearance of a four-string prima-kobyz. This process took place in 1957-1958; it related to the development of drawings and sketches by Sh. Kazhgaliev together with music masters K. Kasymov, K. Dubov, and S. Fedotov, with the participation of A. Lachinov (Gizatov, 1994: 38).

In 1953-1954, at the same time, based on the drawing of D. Tezekbaev, honored teacher of the Kazakh SSR and former director of the music school named after K. Baiseitova, music masters A. Pershin and A. Turdybaev created a new form of prima-kobyz (Tezekbayev, 1980: 3). The new 4-string instrument, under the influence of European traditions and cultural trends, by its structural characteristics and appearance became more and more similar to the violin.

At present we can speak about the existence of two similar types of kobyz: a) the traditional one with two strings made of horsehair and b) the improved one with four metal strings (Sarybayev, 1978: 125).

The addition of the fourth string was related to the expansion of the repertoire, the inclusion of European musical works, as their performance required a large sound range. This improved version of the prima-kobyz became established in the musical practice of Kazakhstan.

The first experiment of creating a '*prima-kyyak*' was made in the 1930s by Shubin and the music master Verkhoglyadov, who prepared projects of modernization for folk instruments, including the *kyl-kyyak* for the Moscow factory of musical instruments (Yankovsky, 1982: 63). However, it was not very successful; the instrument was rejected (Vertkov, 1963: 177) and it was not included in the orchestra.

In the early 50s, during the second reconstruction of Kyrgyz folk instruments at the experimental laboratory for the reconstruction of folk instruments in Tashkent, their new versions were made under the supervision of Petrosyants, head of the experimental laboratory of the Research Institute of Art History, and Didenko, designing master of the laboratory (Kuznetsova and Sadykov 1990: 32).

A comparison of prima-kobyz and *prima-kyyak* in the light of the works of V. Abramkin and M. Berikbayev

Ergological features of the prima-kobyz and prima-kyyak

Material. *Similarities.* The belly (top plate), both masters make of *spruce*, which is characterized by softness and elasticity. They believe that the best material for making instruments are trees growing in the mountains. While a Kazakh master mainly uses *spruce* from the Tien Shan mountains and the village of Chundzha, a Kyrgyz master uses *spruce* from the Alatau and Tody mountains.

Differences. The body and the bottom (back plate) a Kyrgyz master makes of *apricot* and *pine trees* of Kyrgyzstan. Kazakh prefers Canadian so-called tiger [1] maple and Almaty *maple*, and in some cases *pear wood*. In density it is much higher than Almaty maple; having made several varieties of instruments, he noticed that their sound is richer, louder, and the sound is flying sound (Valery Abramkin, personal communication, July 20, 2021).

Differences in drying wood. Each master has his own way of drying wood.

The master of the prima-kobyz, V. Abramkin dried the wood within 5–6 years, under a cover to keep out direct sunlight and rain. He believes that "Drying the wood naturally is very important for making a quality instrument with a good sound. It is impossible to

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[1] Tiger or Flame Maple. The wood of many maple species has patterns, the stripes can be of different widths and densities: more compressed and narrow, and, on the contrary, quite wide. Its striped pattern is very reminiscent of flame shapes; they can be curved or perfectly straight.

make a quality instrument from dried wood in a dryer. Since in the process of drying wood at high degrees the threads between the rings inside the wood burn out, it greatly affects the sound quality of the instrument" (Valery Abramkin, personal communication, July 20, 2021).

The Kyrgyz maker Berikbaev has several ways of drying wood. In the first case, he used the method of drying by folk masters, which was described by Vinogradov: "Masters subject wood to a peculiar treatment: they soak it in horse or ram dung, boil it in water, and dry it. This process is carried out from time to time and during the period of manufacture for the purpose of giving the wood greater strength to prevent it from cracking during the scraping of the body" (Vinogradov, 1968: 52). In the second case, he washed out the wood in running water for several days, after which he dried it in the shade within 3 years (Marat Berikbayev, personal communication, July 25, 2021).

Manufacturing technology

Similarities. The instruments were made by the glued method, assembled from several parts. The sequence of making instruments in both masters was the same. First, the side parts of the body are made, a pre-made iron form is taken as a basis. To give stiffness to the body, it shall be fixed with internal overlays. The belly (top plate) shall be already glued to it, which, in turn, is to be treated; cut out the sound holes on it and insert the spring. Then the neck with the head shall be attached to this shape with glue, and the lower part of the plate to be fixed. After the instrument is assembled, it shall be coated with primer and then with varnish. An endpin, a string holder, and a stand shall be installed, and the strings shall be screwed up.

Lacquer. According to V. Abramkin, the use of a thick layer of lacquer affects the sound quality and contributes to its muting. He does not worry about selecting the lacquer. He applies a tinted liquid to the instrument and then lacquer on top, so that the color of the instrument does not burn out and does not change.

Marat Berikbayev (Kyrgyz master) purchases lacquer from Italy as a powder and makes it himself using certain proportions.

Some people believe that varnish has a great influence on the sounding of instruments. The famous Soviet master Evgeniy Vitachek believed that any varnish, even the lightest

one, would bind the wood, make it less elastic, and therefore worsen the sounding of an instrument. However, "The research work carried out does not yet allow us to draw final and accurate conclusions about the degree of influence of lacquer coatings on the acoustic properties of bowed musical instruments". This is the conclusion of the Research and Design and Technological Institute of the Music Industry (Gazaryan, 1989: 118-119).

Differences

- 'Tuning' the sounding board (plate) of instruments is one of the most difficult and important operations during their manufacture. For this purpose, a master, while tapping out and listening out them, planes off thin layers of excess wood in certain places.

V. Abramkin (Kazakhstan master) believes that the middle of the sounding board (plate) should be thinner than the edges. To measure them, he used a special device for measuring the thickness of wood. In addition, the sounding board (plate) should be dome-shaped rather than straight and smooth. In his opinion, this pattern shall be the most important fundamental. It affects the sounding of an instrument. The thicker the sounding board (plate), the thicker the sound; the thinner it, the louder and brighter the sound (Valery Abramkin, personal communication, July 20, 2021)

M. Berikbaev (Kyrgyz master) prefers to 'tune' the sounding board (plate) by touch, using approximate dimensions that he considers appropriate. The sounding board (plate) on his *prima-kyyak*s may have the same size on all sides. He relies on his natural talent.

- The neck on the prima kobyz is made in a special stencil, while the *prima-kyyak* to be fitted with a ready-made standard violin tail piece.

V. Abramkin makes a stand for the prima-kobyz by hand, cutting triangles and gluing rosewood into them. "Now many masters use stands bought at the store, the rings on them are horizontal, although they should be vertical, because the string presses on the stand, which transmits vibration to the sounding board (plate). Horizontal arrangement of rings removes (eats up) the sound to 40-50 percent" (Marat Berikbayev, personal communication, July 25, 2021).

M. Berikbayev used a ready-made violin stand on the *prima-kyyak*.

- Another difference was that when making a *prima kobyz*, V. Abramkin had the exact size of the spring. M. Berikbaev created springs of different lengths for each *prima-kyyak*.

The spring shall be inside the instrument; firstly, it should hold the belly (top plate) so that it does not break, as the tension of the strings is 80 kg. In addition, there is pressure from the bow on the strings. Secondly, the stand presses the spring with one leg, and the other leg presses the soundpost. When there is oscilation, the spring also vibrates and transmits the sound to the bottom (back plate) through the soundpost.

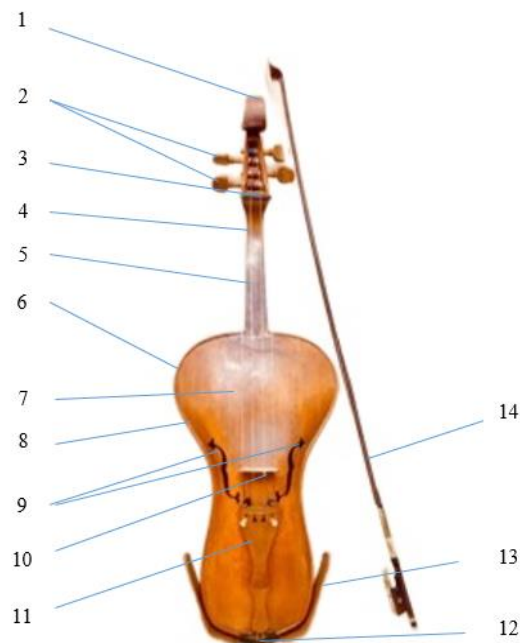**Morphological** features of the prima-kobyz and *prima-kyyak*.

Figure 1. *Structure of the prima-kobyz: Prima-kobyz made by A. Pershin*: 1 – head, 2 – pegs, 3 – top nut, 4 – curved neck, 5 – strings, 6 – body, 7 – upper deck (top plate), 8 – lower deck (back plate), 9 – efs (sound holes), 10 – main support (stand), 11 – string holder, 12 – endpin, 13 – bridge, 14 - bow
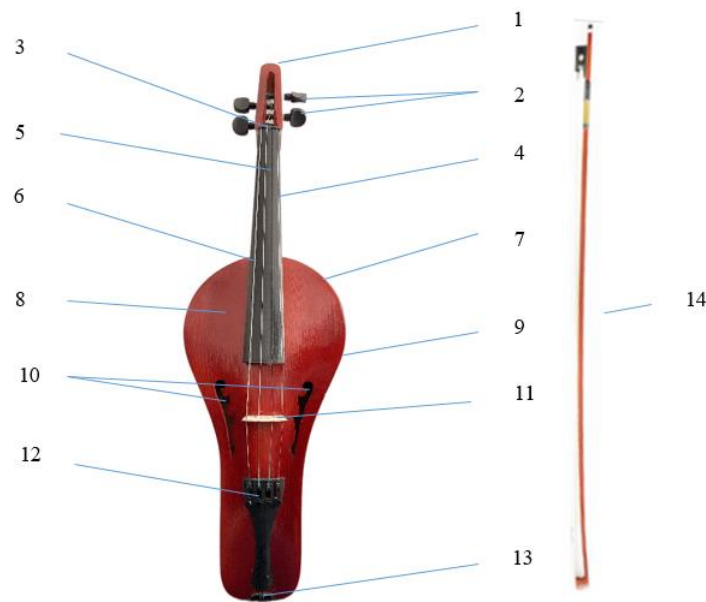
Figure 2. *Structure of the prima-kyyak: Prima-kyyak made by M. Berikbayev*: 1 – head, 2 – pegs, 3 – top nut, 4 – neck, 5 – fingerboard, 6 – strings, 7 – body, 8 - upper deck (top plate), 9 – lower deck (back plate), 10 – efs (sound holes), 11 – main support (stand), 12 – string holder, 13 – endpin, 14 – bow

Similarities. Both instruments consist of three parts: body, head, and neck. They use metal (violin) strings tuned to the fifth (**G** of small octave, **D** and **A** of one-line (one-accented) octave, **E** of two-line (twice-accented) octave), with a range exceeding 4 octaves (from **G** of small octave to **C** of four-line (four-times accented) octave). Pieces shall be written on musical staff in treble clef.

Differences. The shape of the Kyrgyz instrument by Berikbayev is gradually narrowed to the bottom, the shape of the Kazakh instrument by Pershin has two clearly expressed parts, one part is at the top and two second parts are at the bottom (Valery Abramkin, personal communication, July 20, 2021). By their material and shape, these instruments resemble the European violin.

The head of the prima-kobyz is rounded in the upper part, while that of the *prima-kyyak*, on the contrary, is flat and close to an oval shape.

The neck of the prima-kobyz is arched, flat from the front side, and rounded from the back side. On the *prima-kyyak* the neck is straight, with a flat violin fingerboard installed on the front side.

Besides, there is a special iron bridge in the lower part of the body of the prima-kobyz, which helps to clamp the instrument steadily during playing and promotes the freedom of the playing apparatus.

In the manufacture of instruments, masters have fixed dimensions of certain parts (Table 1).

Table 1. The parameters used for making Kazakh prima-kobyz and Kyrgyz *prima-kyyak*

	Prima-kobyz *(master A.Pershin)* *(cm)*	*Prima-kyyak* *(master M.Berikbaev)* *(cm)*
Overall length of the instruments	69	63
From a top nut to a stand	34	26
Body length	36.5	36
Body height	4	3
Body width		
Upper part	20,5	18
Middle (part)	11,5	13
Lower part	13,5	9
Neck length	16,5	15
Head length	16	11,5
Fingerboard length	----	27
Distance between strings	11-12 mm	11-12 mm
Spring length	27	always different
Distance between a string and a neck	3.5	0.5

From the given measurements[2] it is seen that the overall length of the Kazakh prima-kobyz is bigger and the body is wider than the Kyrgyz *prima-kyyak*.

The conducted analysis of morphological and ergological features of the improved instruments showed that despite the fact that both instruments have a similar appearance, according to our observations, there are some differences in structure, dimensions, method of manufacture, used material, and method of drying.

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[2] The measurements were made by the author himself.

Setting up instruments, techniques of sound production (right and left hand technique).

Similarities. The setting of both instruments is the same, vertical. When playing, the instrument is placed between the knees. The performer sits closer to the front edge of the chair without resting his back, tilting his torso forward to the instrument. During the performance, the performer's back should be straight and the body free.

Another common characteristic is the *right-hand technique*. It began to correspond to the academic one. The violin bow is used; it shall be held from above, with palms downwards. This change contributed to the convenience when playing, for a large swing of the bow and expanding the amplitude.

Differences. *Left hand technique.* The pitch level on prima-kobyz and *prima-kyyak* shall be regulated by *pressing the fingers* to the string. The Kazakh prima-kobyz uses the nail method of playing. Pressing by the nail plates on the string from the side (the distance between the strings and the neck is on average 3-4 cm.), while the *prima-kyyak* is pressed from above, by the finger-pads. The techniques of the left-hand playing on both instruments were borrowed from the tradition.

Performance techniques

Similarities. All the main groups of strokes are used: drawn, singing (détaché, legato), jerky percussion (martele, hard staccato, dotted strokes), sharp jumping (spiccato, staccato volant, ricochet, sautiller, tremolo).

Particularly valuable in technical techniques are the ways of sound extraction. These include pizzicato, flageolets, trills, and vibration. The range of playing techniques is rather wide. All these articulations and methods of sound production have been borrowed from playing the violin.

The placement of fingers on the strings in low and high positions shall differ from each other. This can be noticed at all stringed instruments. A low position conditions for more comfortable placement of a hand on the instrument, while higher positions create certain difficulties because the finger placement is narrower. As a result, as the position increases, technical difficulties are created in terms of intonation. This is especially noticeable when playing virtuoso pieces.

Differences. There are some physical and technical difficulties in performing techniques for playing the *prima-kobyz*. For example, the preserved traditional nail method of playing on it requires the performer to have strong nail plates, as longtime playing on metal strings leads to their defect.

Prima-kobyz, by its construction, has an arc-shaped neck; the strings are in the air, in a suspended state, and there is no support. The pitch of the sound may change when the fingers are applied. There may be additional difficulties in producing a clean sound. In perfecting mastery while learning, there are some physical costs required.

Some technical difficulties are associated with the performance of pure fifths. The fingers are placed on top, parallel to the strings. Because of the inconvenience of placing a finger on both strings, this interval (perfect fifth) sounds insufficiently clean and accurate.

On the *prima-kyyak* the violin fingerboard is installed, the strings are clamped from above by the finger pads, which contributes to tone stability and does not lead to damage the nails.

The comparative table below (Table 2) describes the components of both instruments, helping to see and analyze the differences in their design and sound production on clearly.

Table 2. Design and sound production on prima-kobyz and *prima-kyyak.*

Description of Musical Instruments	Prima-kobyz	Prima-kyyak
Body type	Pear-shaped, actually inverted violin	Pear-shaped, actually inverted violin
Difference in construction	The bridge is installed	There is no a bridge
Strings material	Metal	Metal
Bow type	Straight, violin	Straight, violin
Neck type	Curved	Straight, violin fingerboard is installed
Fingerboard	Not available	Available
Method of sound production, pitch change	Pressing the string by nail plates to the neck from the side.	By pressing on a string from above by finger pads
Method of holding	Between the knees, vertically	Between the knees, vertically

Repertoire. Expansion and creation of own performing repertoire for prima-kobyz and *prima-kyyak* is actual till now. It is related to the development of the technical mastery of performers.

The repertoire for prima-kobyz and *prima-kyyak* can be considered in the following directions:

1. Musical works of small and large form of foreign classics and Russian composers for violin.

2. Original works of small and large form, arrangements written by national composers.

3. Traditional music.

Works of small and large form of foreign classics and Russian composers for violin.

"The beginning of training on the reconstructed kobyz at the Alma-Ata Conservatory[3] and Music College was connected with the search for a sheet music repertoire for young kobyzists, as the modern kobyz, which still had 3 strings and violin tuning of fifth, was, in fact, completely devoid of repertoire, and what existed in folk performance practice for the natural two-stringed kobyz did not correspond to the means of the new instrument" (Dernova, 1962: 226). The main repertoire for the prima-kobyz consists of virtuosic, technically complex works for violin by foreign classics and Russian composers. Musicians perform these works in their original form without changes. The same tendency has developed in the repertoire for the *prima-kyyak*.

The repertoire includes pieces by Sarasate, Saint-Saens, Tchaikovsky, Bartok, etc. Works of large form are concertos and sonatas by Haydn, Mozart, Berio, Khachaturian, Tchaikovsky, Vieuxtemps, Sibelius, and many other composers.

Original works of small and large form, arrangements written by domestic composers

> "The educational music for the prima-kobyz was first created from adaptations of songs and light violin pieces. I.A. Lesman became a real enthusiast of creating repertoire for the kobyz[2], having adapted for it some of Glinka's romances (for example, *Don't tempt me needlessly*), 'Adagio' from the sonatas

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[3] Kazakh National Conservatory named after Kurmangazy

of old-time masters, etc. He was also the author of the first school of playing the kobyz[5] (the manuscript is in the library of the Conservatory). A.K. Zhubanov had worked for a long time in the field of making music for the kobyz with accompaniment. He wrote '*Aria*', '*Romance*', '*Waltz*', '*Koktem*' and made an arrangement for Ykhlas's kyui '*Zhez kiik*'. The pieces were created with real awareness of capabilities of this instrument originally sounding but difficult to perform. (All the mentioned pieces are often performed by violinists as well)" (Dernova, 1962: 226-227).

In general, composers of Kazakhstan created their works for the prima-kobyz. What has been said is necessary for adaptation of the instrument and its successful solo functioning. This is evidenced by the creative activity of such musicians as G. Bayazitova, the first performer on the three-string prima-kobyz. She was an excellent musician who preserved strongly pronounced national features in her playing.

The opening of the faculty of Kazakh folk instruments in 1945, the second year of the conservatory's existence, was an important step in the development of professional training on folk instruments (Balgayeva, 1970: 3), including the prima-kobyz. Fatima Balgayeva became the first graduate of the Almaty Conservatory (now the Kazakh National Conservatory named after Kurmangazy) and a professional performer on the prima-kobyz, who received the special musical education from the world violin school. Her teacher was Iosif Lesman, an excellent musician, a successor of the school of the great violinist Auer, a pupil of the St. Petersburg Conservatory.

Balgayeva was on a lot of tours and listened and communicated with representatives and masters from other states. Her knowledge and musical taste were formed as a result of familiarization with the musical culture of these countries. Therefore, her mastery had been gradually honed and acquired new facets. Balgayeva immediately made a huge leap in the development of the *kobyz* and created a high-performing style. This determined a highly professional level of the basics of teaching methodology on the prima-kobyz. Being a bright performer, she inspired many composers to create works for the prima-kobyz. For her, as for an excellent performer, Sergey Shabelsky and Leonid Shargorodsky created the first "Concerto" for the prima-kobyz. Especially for her, Dubovsky wrote a concerto accompanied by the orchestra of Kazakh folk instruments. The first sonata for the prima-kobyz was created by Yevgeni Brusilovsky (Dernova, 1962: 226-227).

At the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first century, the People's Artist of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Moldakarimova contributed to the expansion of the repertoire for prima kobyzists. Her collections present a number of works of foreign and domestic composers in the interpretation of the author with musical, methodological, and performance recommendations. The textbook is published to replenish the repertoire for a prima kobyzist with little-known and little-performed works (Moldakarimova, 2015: 2).

Her collection includes works by composers of Kazakhstan written specifically for the prima-kobyz, many of which have not been published in print for a long time, as well as kyuis and songs adapted for this instrument. ('*Qobyz áuenderi*' Almaty 1999, '*Qobyz úirenu mektebi*' 2004, '*Qobyzǵa arnalǵan shyǵarmalar*' 2008, '*Galiya Moldakarimova plays*' 2015, '*Galiya Moldakarimova plays*' 2 part, 2021). Audio recordings of the works performed on the *prima-kobyz* by the compiler of the collection are attached.

The *prima-kyyak* was for a long time used only as an orchestral instrument. A solo performance was formed later. After its second reconstruction. Its relatively late appearance as a solo instrument also caused a number of peculiarities in its development. For example, there are no known original works for *prima-kyyak* by domestic composers (Ainazar Atilov, personal communication, September 22, 2021). Performers make adaptations of works by Kyrgyz composers written for other instruments and include them in their repertoire. For example: M. Begaliev '*Elegy'* (for French horn), A. Zhukhamakhmatov '*Akku'* (symphonic music), K. Moldobasanov '*Melody'*, '*Scherzo'*, T. Medetov '*Poem'* and many other compositions written for violin[4].

During the existence of the prima-kobyz, in comparison with the *prima-kyyak*, a rather solid repertoire has been accumulated. A considerable number of works have been written for it, but for the repertoire of this instrument, the compositions are considered not numerous. This situation related to the growth of the performing skills of musicians.

Traditional music

The repertoire of the prima-kobyz includes adaptations and arrangements of Kazakh

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[4] Educational and methodological program of the discipline "Specialty" - Kyrgyz traditional music and folk instruments (prima kyyak). Compiled by Associate Professor of the Department of "Instrumental Performance" A. Atilov.

traditional kyuis and folk songs. The most frequent object of arrangement is dombra music. They are created in European academic style, accompanied by piano. One of the first who turned to arrangements of dombra kyuis is A. Tolganbaev, '*Boz zhorga'.* A number of adaptations and arrangements of Kazakh folk songs were created by I. Kogan, '*Nazkonyr'.* Kazakh folk song, Aqan Seri '*Mańmańger'* arranged by A. Zataevich, and Kazakh folk song '*Ġaini'* arranged by A. Tolġanbaev. Their adaptations and arrangements were created for the violin, but, however, they are a part of the prima-kobyz repertoire.

Since the end of the twentieth century, they began to create adaptations of dombra kyuis specifically for the prima-kobyz. In 1998, Ye. Usenov made an arrangement of the kyui '*Túrmeden qashqan*'. The first collection of adaptations for kyuis '*Qobyzġa arnalġan kyuiler*' (2003) was compiled by the honored artist of RK M. Kalenbaeva (Kalenbaeva, 2003: 11-15).

On *prima-kyyak* traditional music is not performed, it sounds only on *kyl-kyyak*. Musicians master two instruments simultaneously, including in music education. For example, K. Kadyraliev (1946-2000) became one of the first performers on *prima-kyyak* due to his performing talent and skill. In 1954-56 he studied majoring in the *kyl-kyyak* at the music school, at the faculty of folk instruments. In parallel with his studies, he was invited to join the folk orchestra as a *prima-kyyak*ist. He is also an outstanding performer on the komuz and played in the ensemble of komuzists (Kasey, 2017: 218). T. Medetov (1930) was an orchestral performer as a prima-kyyakist. He did not limit himself to one instrument but also mastered the komuz and made famous the komuz playing in the ensemble of komuzists abroad (Canada, Paris, etc.) (Kasey, 2017: 209). Among other performers from 1970-1990 include E. Zhumabaev, T. Tomotaev, A. Serkebaev, S. Asankadyrov, Zh. Aysaev, S. Kirekechova, B. Adysheva, and many others.

In the twenty-first century, more modernized types of *prima-kobyz* and *prima-kyjak*, so-called electric instruments, have appeared. They have broadened the scope of the instruments and reflect already new musical practices. Electric instruments have gained great popularity in modern mass music (in genres such as pop, jazz, blues, rock and country, etc.). Their creation was primarily related to the aspiration of musicians to adapt the instrumental and national music played on them to modern times and to popularize it among young audiences.

The improvement of musical instruments was conditioned by the general development of musical culture; it opened great opportunities for the development of folk performing art. "Creative practice testifies that the improvement of musical instruments accompanies with the whole history of musical culture. Many pages of treatises on music, legends and mythology tell that some famous musician extended the range, increased the number of strings, etc." (Kuznetsov, 2015: 12).

Experienced masters carried out work on modernization of prima-kobyz and prima-kyyak, we indicated the stages of their implementation. In our opinion, the road to improving the instruments in the present time is not closed. In connection with the surge of demand and interest exactly for these instruments, it is necessary to continue experimental works and to make attempts at their further modernization on a new qualitative level.

The issues of further modification of folk instruments are considered in the works of scientists from other countries of the world (Italy, France, Germany, Austria, USA) as well as in higher educational institutions (Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan, Russia) (Tashmatova, 2022: 124).

Conclusion

For the first time in the work, the improved Kazakh *prima-kobyz* and Kyrgyz *prima-kyyak* are studied in a comparative aspect. We consider the etymology of the words *kobyz* and *kyyak*, the prerequisites for their origin, and the history of development of their modernized types.

Their *similarities* and *differences* in manufacturing technology, in the material used, in morphological features (Abramkin's *prima-kobyz* and Berikbaev's *prima-kyyak*), in the positioning of the instruments, in the techniques of sound production (right and left hand techniques), and in the repertoire are revealed.

As a result of several reconstructions, bowed instruments with a new timbre and wide technical capabilities appeared. The structure of the modernized types of instruments includes the use of pegs, strings, string holders, and, in some cases, the violin stand. From its predecessors (*kyl-kobyz* and *kyl-kyyak*) the positioning and the traditional performing left hand technique have been preserved.

The improved instruments, combining the preserved pronounced national features and having mastered the music of world academic performance, have actually become a new kind of instrument with their capabilities. Performing schools of playing the modernized instruments were established, and their own listening audience was formed.

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Music, Protest and Social Inclusivity: The Case of Ahmet Kaya as a Deviant Example of Protest Music in Turkey

ABSTRACT

This study examines Ahmet Kaya's significance as a protest singer-songwriter in Turkey, focusing on his unique position within the protest music scene of Turkey. Despite facing challenges and criticisms, Kaya used his music to voice the struggles of the oppressed, creating enduring documents of social strife. The research argues that Kaya's music exhibits a higher degree of social inclusivity compared to traditional Turkish protest music, attributed to his diverse musical-cultural background, relatable lyrical themes, emotional connection with audiences, and the socio-cultural transformation in Turkey during the 1980s and 1990s.

The study employs Homi Bhabha's concept of 'cultural hybridity' as a theoretical framework. Central to this analysis is the application of Bhabha's 'third space' concept, which illuminates how Kaya's music creates a unique cultural intersection where diverse musical traditions and social experiences coexist and interact. The study also introduces the concept of 'musical mixture' to describe Kaya's innovative fusion of various musical elements, which contributes significantly to the social inclusivity of his work.

The multifaceted methodology for this study combines historical analysis, biographical research, musical analysis, and sociopolitical contextualization, introducing 'musical accumulation' as an approach to analyzing Kaya's style. The research involves review of historical sources, audiovisual archives, and interviews, analyzing Kaya's musical elements, lyrical themes, and collaborations.

The study highlights the relationship between music, protest and society, illustrating music's role in protest, identification, and inclusivity. 'Social inclusivity' emerges as a key parameter in understanding Kaya's broad appeal, suggesting new avenues for protest music studies. This research contributes to understanding how hybrid cultural forms shape political discourse and social identity in late 20th century Turkey.

"One side of us sheds leaves,

The other blooms like a springtime garden's gloss."[1]

In the rich tapestry of protest music in Turkey, Ahmet Kaya stands out as a vibrant and complex thread, weaving together diverse musical traditions, political activism, and profound emotional resonance. This study emerges from a compelling question: What distinguishes Ahmet Kaya as a deviant example in the protest music scene of Turkey?[2] The answer, as argued in this study, lies in the remarkable social inclusivity[3] of Kaya's music, a quality that set him apart from his contemporaries and continues to captivate audiences today.[4]

Born on October 28, 1957, in Malatya, Turkey, Ahmet Kaya's life and music were shaped by the tumultuous political landscape of late 20th century Turkey. The son of a Kurdish father from Adıyaman and a Turkish mother from Erzurum, Kaya's mixed heritage played a crucial role in shaping his musical identity and political stance. From an early age, Kaya displayed a natural affinity for music, despite lacking formal training or experience in traditional musical styles performed by *dengbej, âşık*s, or *ozan*s.

Kaya's formative years coincided with a period of intense social mobility and political activism in Turkey during the 1970s. As a young man, he became involved in

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[1] A stanza from the song *Öyle Bir Yerdeyim ki* (*Acılara Tutunmak*, 1985); lyrics by Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil and composed by Ahmet Kaya. The original lyrics of the stanza is "*Yaprak döker bir yanımız, bir yanımız bahar bahçe*" translated by the author.

[2] This paper is produced out of a subchapter from my doctoral dissertation entitled "Left-Leaning Protest Music Tradition in Turkey (1960s-1990s) and the Case of Ahmet Kaya" (Özer, 2022).

[3] For the purposes of this study, the term 'social inclusivity' has been used instead of 'social inclusion,' which are used interchangeably in the literature. Social inclusion is defined as "the use of policies and programs to reduce inequality, exclusion, and disadvantage" within a society, and it is a process that aims to ensure equal opportunities for all individuals, regardless of any dividing factors. It encompasses making all people in a society feel valued in civic, social, economic, and political activities, as well as participation in decision-making processes (What is Social Inclusion, 2024). On the other hand, I consider 'social inclusivity' as a term that refers to the ongoing practice and effort towards inclusion, rather than an official policy.

[4] In this study, Kaya's capacity for social inclusivity is approached primarily through the lens of ethnic, class, and cultural identities, in parallel with the conditions of the period. However, it should be noted that Kaya's statements about women and particularly LGBTQ+ individuals in various speeches are disturbing, and as the author, I do consider these attitudes as a factor that questions his social inclusivity. While it is an important topic, I will only emphasize this point here. In fact, during that period, the issues around gender and sexual orientation were not widely addressed within the leftist/dissident movement but began to be questioned parallel to the rise of the women's movement in the 1990s and continued to be questioned with the emergence of new forms of protest and especially the rise of queer studies in the 2000s. In summary, discussing these parameters solely through the lens of Kaya without expanding the study to include the entire dissenting field may not be sufficient. This is not the subject of this article, but it is a topic worth bringing to attention.

organizational struggles, a commitment that would later infuse his music with a powerful sense of social justice and political awareness. His musical career began in earnest in the mid-1980s, a time marked by the aftermath of the 1980 military coup. In this climate of political repression and cultural upheaval, Kaya's music emerged as a beacon of hope and resistance.

The unfruitful post-coup period, characterized by the suppression of art and especially oppositional music, paradoxically created an opportunity for Kaya. With limited resources but boundless courage and talent, he launched his first albums, quickly gaining a devoted following. Kaya's music stood out not only for its political content but also for its unique blend of folk, *arabesk,* and pop/rock elements, a musical mixture that would become his trademark.

The research process for this study has been multifaceted, combining historical analysis, biographical research, musical analysis, and sociopolitical contextualization[5]. Through extensive review of historical sources, audiovisual archives, and interviews with key figures, including Kaya's wife, Gülten Kaya, I have sought to create a comprehensive picture of Kaya's artistic journey and its significance in Turkey's cultural and political life.

Through this exploration, I hope to shed light not only on Kaya's singular contribution to Turkey's protest music scene but also on the broader dynamics of cultural production, political resistance, and social change in late 20th century Turkey.

Key Concepts

Cultural hybridity, third space and musical mixture

At the heart of the analysis of Ahmet Kaya's music lies the theory of cultural hybridity, as articulated by postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha. This concept provides a powerful framework for understanding Kaya's unique position in Turkey's protest music and his

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[5] The data for this study focuses on three main aspects: i) the socio-political context of the period (Alişan Akpınar, personal communication, December 15th 2012, May 18th 2018, June 3rd 2020; Aral, F. et al., 2008; Gürpınar, 2012; Küçük, 2007; Salâh, 1984; Şenliler, 2016; Tekin, 2012; Yaman, 2013 et al.), ii) Kaya's individual life (Kaya, 2005; Gülten Kaya, personal communication, April 12, 2018, May 16, 2018; Süreya, 1989; Dündar, 1997), iii) the mixed character of his music, including the lyrical themes and his vocal style (Osman İşmen, personal communication, March 17, 2014; Kara, 2019) and iv) the debates around his musical style and quality (Aköz, n.d.; "Arabesk mi Protest mi?", 1987; Buğdaycı, 1987; Kahyaoğlu, 2003; Kozanoğlu, 1990 et al.) including the studies and debates around *arabesk* music during the period (Eğribel, 1984; Ergönültaş, 1980; Güngör, 1990; Özbek, 1991; *Özgün Müzik Dosyası*, 1991; Stokes, 1998 et al.).

appeal to diverse audiences.

Bhabha defines hybridity as a process that "emerges from and engages with (...) hollows in the democratic regime. The agency of hybridity is profoundly shaped by these discriminatory, disempowering hollows" (Bhabha, 1994: 159). In the context of protest music, this concept allows us to examine how Kaya's music emerged from and engaged with marginalized spaces in society, challenging established norms and binaries.

Central to Bhabha's theory of cultural hybridity is the concept of the 'third space.' Bhabha describes this space as "the 'inter' – the cutting edge of translation and negotiation, the in-between space – that carries the burden of the meaning of culture" (Bhabha, 1994: 38). This space is not simply a mixture or fusion of two distinct cultural elements, but rather a new area of negotiation, meaning, and representation. The third space is where fixed identities and binary oppositions are disrupted, allowing for the emergence of new cultural forms and identities that are neither one nor the other, but something altogether different and new.

In Kaya's case, his music embodies this third space in multiple ways: Born to a Kurdish father and a Turkish mother, his very identity straddles cultural boundaries. His musical style, blending traditional Turkish folk elements with Kurdish influences, Western rock, and *arabesk*, creates a sonic landscape that defies easy categorization. This hybrid form allows his music to speak to multiple audiences simultaneously, creating a space where diverse listeners can find points of connection and identification.

The third space in Kaya's music is not just a passive zone of cultural mixing but an active site of cultural production and political resistance. By combining elements from different musical traditions and addressing controversial political topics, Kaya's music creates a discursive space that challenges dominant narratives and power structures. His songs often address themes of cultural identity, political oppression, and social justice, articulating complex identities and political positions that don't fit neatly into existing categories.

For example, in his song *Başım Belada* (I'm in trouble) in the album *Başım Belada* (1991), Kaya creates a third space by integrating diverse cultural and musical elements. He combines the melancholic tone of Turkish *arabesk* with rock instrumentation and

politically charged lyrics about persecution and resistance. The song also incorporates elements of the *delikanlı* (tough guy) attitude, evident in lyrics like "*tabancamı unutmuşum helada*" (I forgot my gun in the toilet). This phrase, using slang associated with street culture, resonates with the 'tough' demeanor often adopted by politically revolutionary youth of the time.

By interweaving these varied elements, Kaya constructs a complex cultural intersection where the personal and political, the traditional and modern, and the street-wise and revolutionary coexist and interact. This multifaceted approach allows his music to appeal to a remarkably wide range of listeners; from rural Kurdish communities to urban Turkish youth, from leftist intellectuals to working-class migrants familiar with street culture, and from politically active students to those navigating the challenges of ethnic and nationalist discourses in Turkey.

Building on this concept of cultural hybridity and the third space, I propose the term 'musical mixture' to describe Kaya's unique style. This goes beyond simple fusion, instead highlighting the complex accumulation of diverse musical influences that characterize Kaya's work. This 'musical accumulation' approach allows for a more comprehensive analysis that considers Kaya's diverse influences, personal experiences, and the sociopolitical context of his music.

Musical mixture in Kaya's case includes not only the combination of different musical traditions but also the integration of various vocal techniques, lyrical themes, and performance styles. For instance, in a single song, Kaya might combine the modal structures of traditional Turkish music with the instrumentation of Western rock while employing vocal techniques reminiscent of both Kurdish folk singers and *arabesk* performers.

This approach to musical creation results in a richness and complexity that resist simplistic categorization. It enables Kaya to create music that is simultaneously familiar and innovative, traditional and modern. The concept of musical mixture helps explain how Kaya's music could function as a third space, appealing to and uniting diverse audiences while challenging established cultural and political norms.

Kaya's approach to musical mixture bears similarities in the work of protest musicians

around the world, each creating their own unique third spaces through music. For instance, Manu Chao weaves together rock, reggae, ska, and traditional Latin American sounds, addressing themes of political resistance and migration (Fernandes, 2011). Similarly, Fela Kuti pioneered Afrobeat, blending Yoruba rhythms with highlife, funk, and jazz to craft potent political commentaries (Veal, 2000). In the Middle East, the Palestinian group DAM fuses Arabic poetry and folk music with hip-hop, rapping in multiple languages to confront issues of occupation and cultural identity (McDonald, 2013). These artists, like Kaya, serve as cultural bridges, using their music to span diverse traditions and speak to varied audiences. They share a commitment to political engagement, often giving voice to marginalized communities while reaching broader listeners. Their work defies simple categorization, combining elements from various musical genres and linguistic traditions to create unique sounds that challenge established norms. In doing so, they exemplify how musical mixture can be a powerful tool for protest music, transcending cultural boundaries and carving out new spaces for expression and engagement. Through their art, these musicians demonstrate the potential of hybrid musical forms to not only reflect complex cultural identities but also to actively shape and challenge societal narratives (Born & Hesmondhalgh, 2000).

Social inclusivity

The concept of social inclusivity is another key element central to understanding Kaya's unique position in Turkey's protest music. In this context, social inclusivity refers to the ability of music to appeal to and represent diverse social groups, transcending traditional boundaries of class, ethnicity, and political affiliation.

Theoretically, this concept draws from various sociological and musicological perspectives. Hesmondhalgh's (2013) work on music and social identity highlights how music can create connections across social divides, fostering a sense of collective identity. Roy and Dowd's (2010) sociological analysis of music emphasizes its role in creating and maintaining social boundaries, as well as its potential to bridge these boundaries.

Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000) argue for an understanding of music that recognizes its capacity to articulate multiple social identities simultaneously. This perspective aligns closely with Kaya's ability to speak to diverse audiences through his music. The concept also resonates with Eyerman and Jamison's (1998) theory of social movements and

cultural transformation, which posits that music can serve as a medium for articulating collective identities and fostering social change.

This concept is particularly relevant to Kaya's case because his music achieved a level of popularity and resonance across different segments of society that was unusual for protest music of his time. While much protest music appeals primarily to specific ideological groups or social classes, Kaya's music found listeners among urban intellectuals, rural peasants, Turkish nationalists, Kurdish activists, and many others.

The social inclusivity of Kaya's music can be attributed to several factors: His use of musical mixture allowed listeners from different backgrounds to find familiar elements in his music. His lyrics, while often politically charged, also dealt with universal themes of love, loss, and human struggle, making them relatable to a wide audience. His persona, as an artist of mixed Kurdish-Turkish heritage who sang primarily in Turkish but increasingly engaged with Kurdish themes, embodied the complex, often contradictory identities of many Turkish citizens.

By examining Kaya's music through the lens of social inclusivity, we can better understand how his work challenged and expanded the traditional boundaries of protest music in Turkey. It allows us to explore how music can serve as a medium for creating shared spaces of meaning and identification across social and cultural divides.

The integration of these concepts provides a powerful analytical tool. Bhabha's (1994) notion of the third space, as a site of cultural negotiation and production, aligns closely with the idea of social inclusivity in music. Kaya's musical mixture, by incorporating diverse musical traditions and cultural references, creates a third space that facilitates social inclusivity. This space allows for the articulation of hybrid identities and the negotiation of social and political differences, making Kaya's music a site of cultural production that challenges established categories and fosters new forms of social connection.

In essence, Kaya's musical mixture becomes the means through which he creates a third space, and this third space, in turn, enables the social inclusivity that characterizes his appeal. This theoretical framework allows us to understand Kaya's music not just as a reflection of existing social realities but as an active force in shaping new forms of social

and cultural identity in Turkey.

The Evolution of Protest Music in Turkey and Ahmet Kaya as a Deviant Example

The story of protest music in Turkey is a vibrant tapestry woven from threads of political struggle, cultural transformation, and artistic innovation. To understand Ahmet Kaya's position as a deviant example within this tradition, we must first trace the evolution of protest music in Turkey and the unique sociopolitical context from which Kaya emerged.

The foundations of modern Turkish protest music can be traced back to the mid-20th century, with the pioneering work of Ruhi Su (1912–1985). A classically trained opera singer who turned to folk music, Su played a crucial role in shaping the leftist musical tradition in Turkey. His approach to folk songs, incorporating Western classical techniques, was both innovative and controversial (Su, 2010 [1985]). Su's efforts can be understood as an 'invention of tradition,' a concept developed by Hobsbawm (2012). By reinterpreting traditional folk songs and especially *Alevi* religious music forms -*deyiş* and *nefes*- through a socialist lens, Su created a new musical language that spoke to the political and social issues of his time.

The 1960s and 1970s saw a further mobilization and transformation of the protest music tradition in Turkey. While Alevi *âşık*s (minstrels) continued to serve as an important channel for protest, this period was also marked by the emergence of Anadolu Rock, a genre that blended traditional folk music with Western rock influences. Artists like Cem Karaca, Selda Bağcan, and groups like Moğollar played a significant role in popularizing this new sound, which often carried political messages (Akkaya et al., 2008).

The military coup of 1980 marked a significant turning point in Turkey's political and cultural life. In the realm of music, this period, particularly the second half of the 1980s, saw both a reconnection with earlier protest traditions and a disconnection from some of its elements. The disconnection manifested in several ways, including a shift away from overt political messaging due to increased censorship and repression, the emergence of new musical styles that diverged from traditional folk-based protest music, and a generational gap between pre-coup and post-coup musicians, leading to different approaches to protest music.

Musically, this period also witnessed the introduction of instruments and vocal styles that

were not commonly used in previous eras. The 1980s saw the incorporation of *ince saz* (traditional Turkish music ensemble) instruments and more melodic singing styles into protest music. Furthermore, there was a shift in musical influences. While the rock music wave of the 1970s had been dominant, the 1980s brought in tones and sounds from Mediterranean music, influenced by the revolutionary movements in Latin America and the Mediterranean region. This new sound incorporated classical guitar, flute, and other instruments associated with these musical traditions, as well as a heightened sense of lyricism.

During this time, the concept of *özgün müzik* (literally; original music) also emerged, referring to a style of music that combined folk traditions with contemporary political themes (Kahyaoğlu, 2003). This period saw the rise of artists like Zülfü Livaneli and groups such as Yeni Türkü, Çağdaş Türkü, Ezginin Günlüğü et al. who blended traditional folk elements with more contemporary sounds as well as lyrics and [often] subtle political messaging. The harsh political repression following the coup led many musicians to adopt more nuanced forms of critique, often using metaphor and allegory to convey political messages (Değirmenci, 2006). At the same time, more overtly political groups like Grup Yorum began to emerge, representing a different strand of protest music that maintained a more direct approach to political themes despite the repressive environment. These diverse approaches to musical expression reflected the complex and often contradictory cultural landscape of post-coup Turkey, as artists sought various ways to navigate the new political realities while maintaining their artistic and political integrity.

It was into this complex and charged musical landscape that Ahmet Kaya emerged in the mid-1980s. From the outset, Kaya's approach to protest music set him apart as a deviant example. His deviation from the established norms of Turkish protest music can be observed in several key areas: Firstly, Kaya's musical style represented a radical departure from the dominant forms of protest music at the time. Kaya incorporated a wide range of influences in his music. His use of *arabesk* elements, which were often denigrated by leftist intellectuals, was particularly controversial (Kaya, 2005). This musical hybridity allowed Kaya to create a sound that was both familiar and innovative, appealing to listeners across different social and cultural divides.

Secondly, Kaya's vocal style set him apart from other protest singers of his time. His

distinctive style, which incorporated elements from different dialects and musical traditions, added a layer of authenticity and emotional depth to his performances. This vocal approach allowed Kaya to convey complex emotions and political messages in a way that resonated deeply with his audience.

Thirdly, while Kaya's lyrics often addressed political and social issues, they also dealt with personal themes of love, loss, and identity. Such a blend of the personal and the political in Kaya's songwriting allowed him to create music that was both politically engaged and emotionally relatable to a wide audience.

Fourthly, Kaya's cultural identity played a significant role in his deviance from the norms of Turkish protest music. As an artist of mixed Kurdish and Turkish heritage, Kaya's engagement with Kurdish themes and his eventual embrace of his Kurdish identity challenged the predominantly Turkish nationalist narrative in much of Turkish protest music. This aspect of Kaya's work became increasingly prominent in the 1990s, as the Kurdish conflict intensified and issues of cultural identity came to the forefront of Turkish political discourse.

Perhaps most significantly, Kaya's music achieved a level of popular appeal that was unusual for protest music of his time. Unlike many protest musicians who appealed primarily to leftist intellectuals and activists, Kaya's music resonated with a broad spectrum of society, from working-class urban migrants to middle-class intellectuals. This wide appeal can be attributed to the social inclusivity of Kaya's music, which allowed listeners from diverse backgrounds to find points of connection and identification in his songs.

Kaya's approach to protest music was particularly significant in the context of the 1990s, a period marked by the rise of identity politics and the intensification of the Kurdish conflict in Turkey. His increasing engagement with Kurdish themes and his incorporation of diverse musical influences reflected the changing landscape of Turkey's politics and culture. At the same time, the controversies surrounding his work highlight the tensions and conflicts within society during this period.

The difficulty of categorizing Kaya's music within existing genres is perhaps best exemplified by the debate surrounding terms like *devrimci arabesk* (revolutionary

arabesk), coined to describe his unique style (Kozanoğlu, 1990). This terminological struggle reflects both the innovative nature of Kaya's approach and the challenges it posed to established categories of Turkish music.

In essence, Ahmet Kaya's approach to protest music represented a form of cultural hybridity that challenged established norms and expanded the boundaries of what protest music could be in Turkey's context. His ability to create music that was both politically engaged and socially inclusive set him apart as a unique and influential figure in the history of Turkey's protest music.

Musical Accumulation of Ahmet Kaya

The concept of 'musical accumulation' is proposed as a more appropriate analytical approach for understanding Ahmet Kaya's music and potentially other similar musicians instead of traditional notions of musical style. This approach is necessitated by several factors, such as the mixed character of Kaya's music, his diverse appeal, the inconsistent arrangements in his music, his lack of formal education and his cultural and personal context.

The term 'accumulation' is defined as what an individual or group keeps, practices, performs, and reproduces in relation to relevant cultures and traditions. It's not a passive collection but an active process of combining elements from various cultures and traditions, often reimagining or reinventing them. This process is closely tied to identification and a sense of belonging. Hence, musical accumulation as an analytical method allows for a more comprehensive understanding of Kaya's music, taking into account its mixed character, diverse influences, and the personal and cultural context of its creation.

By using 'accumulation' instead of 'style', this analysis aims to overcome the limitations of traditional musical analysis that often overlook or undervalue mixed-genre music; provide a framework for understanding how musicians like Kaya create a unique sound by drawing from diverse musical traditions; expand the definition of protest music, showing how it can incorporate various musical elements while maintaining its oppositional character; offer a more nuanced understanding of how musicians build their musical identity and create music that resonates across diverse audiences.

Musical sources and influences

Born and raised in Malatya, Kaya was steeped in the rich musical heritage of the Malatya and Harput-Elâzığ region, an area known for its cosmopolitan and hybrid musical cultures. The music of this region, known as *ince saz*, is distinguished by its unique modal structures and instrumentation. It differs from other folk traditions in its use of instruments like clarinet, oud, and violin alongside the more traditional *bağlama*.

This regional influence is clearly evident in Kaya's repertoire. For instance, the traditional song *Mamoş* from his early repertoire showcases the distinctive melodic structure and ornamentation typical of the Harput-Elazığ region. Similarly, *Telgrafçı Akif* (Akif, the telegrapher) from the album *Beni Bul* (1995) is a traditional song that Kaya arranged in the *ince saz* style, demonstrating his deep connection to this regional musical tradition.

Moreover, Kaya's music bears the clear imprint of Azerbaijani musical traditions. This influence is particularly noticeable in the melodic character and 6/8 rhythmic patterns. Even many of his march-like songs are in 6/8 rhythm. Kaya often included one or two traditional Azerbaijani folk songs as covers or his own compositions in this style in many of his albums.

However, Kaya's musical influences extend far beyond these regional traditions. His cultural background and family history exposed him to the Kurdish *dengbêj* tradition and the Alevi *âşık-ozan* tradition, both of which left their mark on his musical style. The storytelling aspect of the *dengbêj* tradition and the poetic lyricism of the *âşık-ozan* tradition can be heard in many of Kaya's compositions.

Furthermore, Kaya's music was not confined to traditional forms. He was also influenced by contemporary genres such as rock and pop, as well as various world music styles. This eclectic mix of influences allowed Kaya to create a unique sound that bridged traditional and modern musical forms.

Despite this diverse range of influences, Kaya's music maintains a strong connection to the maqamic character of his geographical region. Many of his compositions, while not strictly adhering to all the properties of specific maqams, nonetheless reflect the modal structures and melodic patterns characteristic of this musical tradition.

In essence, Ahmet Kaya's music represents a complex synthesis of diverse musical traditions, from the regional *ince saz* and Azerbaijani influences to Kurdish and Alevi traditions, and even contemporary rock and pop. This musical accumulation resulted in a distinctive sound that was both deeply rooted in tradition and innovatively modern, allowing Kaya to create music that resonated across a wide spectrum of listeners.

Song types and musical elements

It's important to note the deliberate use of terms like '*türkü*-like,' 'march-like,' and 'ballad-like' when describing Kaya's music. This terminology reflects the hybrid nature of his compositions, which often incorporate elements from traditional forms without strictly adhering to their conventions. The '-like' suffix acknowledges Kaya's process of musical accumulation, where he drew inspiration from various styles and adapted them to create his unique sound. This approach allows for a more nuanced analysis of Kaya's work, recognizing both his musical roots and his innovations while avoiding the limitations of rigid categorization.

Kaya's repertoire encompasses a wide range of song types, each reflecting different aspects of his musical accumulation. His compositions, other than free airs and instrumental pieces, typically follow the song structure in verse-chorus form, sometimes with added intros, solos, and outros.

Kaya's folk-like or *türkü*-like songs draw heavily on traditional melodic structures and rhythmic patterns; yet are infused with contemporary sensibilities in their arrangements and delivery. His march-like songs demonstrate his ability to incorporate martial rhythms into the context of protest music, creating stirring anthems of resistance. These compositions follow the rhythmic structure of marches, often in 4/4 or 6/8 time, but usually lack traditional march harmonies. Songs like *Katlime Ferman* (Death warrant) on the album *Yorgun Demokrat* (1987) and *Kadınlar* (Women) on the album *Acılara Tutunmak* (1985) exemplify this style, with their steady rhythms and rousing melodies underscoring themes of solidarity and resistance.

Kaya's ballad-like songs reveal a softer, more introspective side of his artistry, often dealing with themes of love, loss, and personal struggle. Songs such as *Acılara Tutunmak* (Holding onto pains) (*Acılara Tutunmak*, 1985) and *Büyüdün Bebeğim* (You've grown up,

my baby) (*An Gelir*, 1986) showcase this style, where Kaya's emotive vocals take center stage, supported by arrangements that emphasize the emotional weight of the lyrics. These ballad-like songs often embody the essence of lyricism, bringing contradictory emotions like pain and joy to life simultaneously.

Perhaps most intriguing are Kaya's mixed-style songs, which defy simple categorization. Songs like *Yorgun Demokrat* (Tired Democrat) (*Yorgun Demokrat,* 1987) embody the essence of Kaya's musical hybridity, blending elements from various musical traditions to create something entirely new and uniquely his own. *Yorgun Demokrat* features a long and episodic introductory section presenting various musical influences, combining the narrative style of traditional folk music with more contemporary rhythmic patterns and instrumentation. Another notable example is *Giderim* (I'll go) from his 1998 album *Dosta Düşmana Karşı*. This song showcases Kaya's ability to blend traditional melodic structures with more contemporary pop-rock elements. The result is a powerful piece that speaks to both Kaya's roots and his evolution as an artist.

It's important to note that the classification of Kaya's songs is not always straightforward due to their mixed character. Some songs are too mixed to fit into any single category, mainly due to the role of arrangers. This mixed nature of Kaya's music aligns with his own description of his work as "a music constantly in search," which is indicative of its hybrid character.

This diversity in song types and musical elements reflects Kaya's process of musical accumulation, drawing from various traditions and styles to create a unique sound that resonates across diverse audiences. It also demonstrates how Kaya's music expands the definition of protest music, incorporating various musical elements while maintaining its oppositional character.

Modal structures and rhythmic patterns

A key aspect of Kaya's musical innovation lies in his use of modal structures within a contemporary musical framework. His songs often feature maqamic sequences (*dizi*s) rather than adhering strictly to complete *makam* structures. The most frequently occurring *dizi*s in his music include *Buselik*, *Kürdî*, *Uşşak*, and *Hicaz*.

For example, *Ağlama Bebeğim* (Don't cry my baby) (*Ağlama Bebeğim*, 1985) uses the

Buselik dizi[6], creating a melancholic atmosphere that complements the song's themes of hope and socialist future. The *Buselik dizi*, with its characteristic half-flat second degree, adds a distinctive flavor to the composition. In contrast, *Başım Belada* employs the *Buselik dizi* in a different context, its distinctive intervals enhancing the song's sense of struggle and defiance.

Kum Gibi (Like sand) (*Şarkılarım Dağlara*, 1994) features the *Hicaz dizi*, its characteristic augmented second interval contributing to the song's emotional intensity. This use of the *Hicaz dizi[7]* is particularly effective in conveying the song's themes of shared poverty and solidarity. The song *Arka Mahalle* (Back streets) on the same album is composed in the *Kürdî dizi[8]*, its unique tonal structure supporting the narrative of urban marginalization.

Rhythmically, Kaya's songs incorporate a wide variety of patterns, ranging from traditional Turkish rhythms to more contemporary meters. *Ağlama Bebeğim* uses a 4/4 time signature with a *düyek usûl*, a traditional Turkish rhythm that adds a distinctively local flavor to the composition. *Katlime Ferman* employs a 12/8 rhythm, creating a flowing, almost march-like quality that underscores the song's themes of resistance and sacrifice.

In a more complex example, *Sorgucular* (The interrogators) on the album *Başkaldırıyorum* (1988) uses a 9/8 (3-2-4) rhythm, demonstrating Kaya's ability to incorporate traditional *aksak* (uneven) rhythms into his protest songs. This rhythmic complexity adds a layer of sophistication to the song's critique of interrogators and systemic oppression.

Instrumentation and arrangement

Ahmet Kaya's musical journey, as reflected in his instrumentation and arrangements, tells a story of evolution and experimentation. In his early period from 1985 to 1986, Kaya's sound was anchored in a blend of modern and traditional, with drum machines and synthesizers providing the foundation, while traditional instruments like *bağlama*, bouzouki, *mey*, and *zurna* took the lead. This period also saw the introduction of Western instruments such as flute, oboe, bass guitar, and guitar, creating a somehow fusion of

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[6] *Buselik dizi*: La, si, do, re, mi, fa, sol (or sol sharp), la. Used in natural minor, harmonic minor, *buselik* and *nihavend makams*.

[7] *Hicaz dizi*: La, si flat, do sharp, re, mi, fa (or fa sharp), sol, la. Used in *hicaz makam*.

[8] *Kürdî dizi*: La, si flat, do, re, mi, fa, sol, la. Used in *Kürdî makam*.

sounds.

The role of arrangers was crucial in shaping Kaya's sound throughout his career. In his early albums, Sezer Bağcan was instrumental in creating the initial fusion of traditional and modern elements. However, it was Kaya's long-term collaboration with Osman İşmen, beginning with the album *An Gelir* (1986), that truly defined his musical style. İşmen's arrangements often featured introductory passages that were sometimes disconnected from the main body of the song, creating a distinctive and recognizable style.

As Kaya's popularity grew between 1987 and 1991, so did the complexity of his instrumentation. Working with professional studio musicians and İşmen's arrangements, Kaya's music incorporated more pop/rock elements while maintaining its traditional roots. This period was marked by experimentation, sometimes leading to stylistic inconsistencies, and the introduction of *arabesk* and *alaturka* elements in some arrangements.

The period from 1992 to 1998 saw Kaya pushing his musical boundaries even further. The arrangements, still primarily handled by İşmen, became more experimental [though not always with success], incorporating influences from rock, Latin pop, and even country music. At the same time, there was a renewed focus on local forms and folk traditions, with increased integration of Alevi and Sufi musical elements.

Throughout his career, Kaya's arrangements typically included introductory sections, interludes, and the use of various lead instruments to carry melodies between vocal sections, creating a rich and layered musical landscape. The evolution of his sound, guided by his arrangers, reflects both his personal growth as an artist and the changing musical landscape of Turkey during his career.

Vocal style

Ahmet Kaya's vocal style combines technical skill, cultural influences, and expressive techniques, creating his distinctive sound in protest music. His bass-baritone voice showcases a remarkable range, transitioning effortlessly between soft, resonant lows and powerful, emotive highs.

Kaya's articulation is clear and precise, employing natural voice resonators and a mix of

chest and nasal resonance. His vocal technique includes the use of falsetto for emotional depth. His pronunciation and articulation are deeply influenced by his regional and cultural background, often using non-standard Turkish pronunciations and incorporating Kurdish phonetic elements.

His expressive techniques are particularly noteworthy. Kaya skillfully manipulates rhythm and emphasis of syllables for prosodic effect. In chorus sections, he employs vocalizations, hiccups, and breath sounds to convey intense emotions, reminiscent of traditional laments.

Kaya's vocal style blends elements of traditional Turkish folk singing with influences from Arabic music and *arabesk* style. This unique combination, coupled with his technical prowess and emotive delivery, allows him to create performances that resonate deeply with listeners.

Across his repertoire, Kaya demonstrates versatility. In the song *Şafak Türküsü* (The ballad of dawn) on the album *Şafak Türküsü* (1986), he uses a declamatory, almost speech-like delivery. *Acılara Tutunmak* showcases his use of melismatic passages for emotional effect. *Munzurlu* (He, from Munzur) on *Tedirgin* album (1993) features vocal ornamentation typical of traditional Kurdish music and represents almost lament-like quality, while *Giderim* on the album *Dosta Düşmana Karşı* (1998) demonstrates his ability to convey complex emotions through subtle changes in vocal timbre and phrasing.

Table1: Main aspects of Kaya's vocal style

Aspect	Characteristics
Voice Type	• Bass-baritone with soft lows and powerful highs
Vocal Technique	• Skilled in octave transitions
	• Effortless switching between chest and head voice
	• Use of natural voice resonators in lower registers
	• Clear articulation without exaggerated mouth movements
	• Employs falsetto for hiccup-like effects
	• Utilizes a mix of chest voice and nasal resonance
Pronunciation Articulation	•Sometimes narrow pronunciation of certain vowels such as 'a'
	• Resonates and vibrates consonants especially during the consonants such as 'm'
	• Uses dialect influences in pronunciation
	• Employs non-standard Turkish pronunciations (e.g., *'mavi'* with short 'a', *'mawzer'* instead of *'mavzer'*)
	• Incorporates Kurdish phonetic elements (e.g., 'w' instead of 'v', 'x' instead of 'k')
Expressive Techniques	• Manipulates rhythm and emphasis of syllables for prosodic effect
	• Uses vocalizations, hiccups, and breath sounds to convey emotions like grief and pain
	• Increases pitch in chorus sections to reflect emotional intensity
Cultural Influences	• Vocal style reflects his regional, familial, and cultural identity
	• Incorporates elements reminiscent of Arabic music and *arabesk* style
	• Uses vocal techniques similar to traditional laments

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Main lyrical themes in Kaya's songs

Ahmet Kaya's lyrical journey reflects a profound engagement with Turkish literature and the evolving socio-political landscape of his time. In his early career, Kaya drew inspiration from established leftist poets like Sabahattin Ali, Ahmed Arif, and Nazım Hikmet, setting their powerful words to music. This choice of poets reflected his initial political leanings and the charged atmosphere of post-coup Turkey.

A pivotal moment came in 1987 when Kaya began collaborating with his brother-in-law, Yusuf Hayaloğlu. This partnership marked a shift towards more contemporary themes, with Hayaloğlu's lyrics capturing the pulse of Turkey's social and political realities. Alongside this collaboration, Kaya continued to explore a diverse range of poetic voices, from Attila İlhan and Can Yücel to the young prison poet Nevzat Çelik, whose works featured prominently in Kaya's breakthrough album *Şafak Türküsü*.

Kaya's own lyrical voice emerged strongly throughout his career, addressing pressing social and political issues of his time. This blend of original compositions and carefully curated poems from various sources contributed to the broad appeal and depth of his music, allowing him to connect with diverse audiences while maintaining a distinct artistic vision.

An analysis of Ahmet Kaya's discography reveals a thematic evolution that mirrors both his personal journey and the changing socio-political landscape of Turkey. His lyrical themes can be categorized into four distinct periods, each reflecting the unique circumstances of its time and Kaya's evolving artistic and political consciousness:

The Breakthrough Period, spanning from 1985 to 1986, is characterized by themes deeply rooted in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup. Songs from this era reflect the experiences of political prisoners, the struggle against oppression, and the resilience of the human spirit in the face of adversity. *Ağlama Bebeğim* speaks to the separation of families due to political imprisonment, its lyrics "Don't cry my baby, your [father] will come back" reflecting the pain of those left behind and the hope for reunion.

The Popularization Period, from 1987 to 1991, sees Kaya's lyrics begin to explore life after imprisonment, the disillusionment with post-coup society, and broader social critiques. *Yorgun Demokrat* captures this shift perfectly. The song expresses the weariness of leftist activists in the post-coup era, with lyrics like "I'm a tired democrat, my heart is full of sorrow" giving voice to the disillusionment of those who fought for democracy but found themselves marginalized.

The Kurdish Movement Impact Period, spanning from 1992 to 1998, marks a significant evolution in Kaya's lyrical themes. During this time, he begins to engage more explicitly with Kurdish issues and broader social themes. His lyrics become more politically direct,

addressing the Kurdish conflict, social inequality, and the plight of marginalized groups. *Şarkılarım Dağlara* (My songs are to the mountains) (1994) is a powerful statement of solidarity with the Kurdish people, the mountains serving as a symbol of both refuge and resistance.

The final period, the Exile Period from 1999 to 2000, reflects Kaya's experience of exile, his longing for his homeland, and his reflections on the events that led to his departure from Turkey. The posthumously released album *Hoşçakalın Gözüm* (Farewell my dear) (2001) encapsulates the themes of this period. The title track is a poignant farewell to Turkey, with lyrics expressing both love for the homeland and bitter disappointment at being forced into exile.

Throughout these periods, certain themes persist in Kaya's work: Love and relationships are often used as metaphors for broader societal issues or political commitments. The struggle for justice and equality remains a constant thread, evolving from personal experiences of imprisonment to broader social critique. The theme of alienation and exile, initially internal (feeling alienated in one's own society), later becomes literal in his final years.

Kara (2019) provides a comprehensive analysis of these thematic elements in her work *Bir Politik Anlatı Olarak Ahmet Kaya Şarkıları/Açık Yaranın Sesi* (Ahmet Kaya's songs as a political narrative/The voice of open wound) (2019), where she examines how Kaya's personal experiences are reflected in his lyrics and how his songs function as voices of resistance and 'the voice of unhealed wounds' (*kapanmayan yaraların sesi*). This interpretation aligns with the way Kaya's lyrical themes evolved to encompass both personal and collective experiences of struggle, resistance, and alienation.

This complex weave of influences and evolving themes (see table 2) not only charts Kaya's artistic growth but also provides a powerful lens through which to view Turkey's intricate social and political transformations in the late 20th century.

Table 2: Lyrical themes

Periods		Album	Year	Main Themes
1. Breakthrough (1985-1986): September 12 Coup, jail life and inmates	1	*Ağlama Bebeğim* (Don't Cry My Baby)	1985	☐ Unending jail life ☐ Hope (Future is socialist) ☐ Hopelessness (We were defeated in the struggle) ☐ Patriotism (nationalism) ☐ Ex-, Unfaithful Lover
	2	*Acılara Tutunmak* (Holding On Pains)	1985	☐ Unending jail life ☐ Hope (Future is socialist) ☐ Hopelessness (We were defeated in the struggle) ☐ Patriotism (nationalism) ☐ Ex-Lover
	3	*Şafak Türküsü* (Ballad of Dawn)	1986	☐ Unending jail life ☐ Hope (Future is socialist) ☐ Hopelessness (We were defeated in the struggle) ☐ Patriotism (nationalism) ☐ Ex-Lover
	4	*An Gelir* (The Moment Comes)	1986	☐ Unending jail life ☐ Hope (Future is socialist) ☐ Hopelessness (We were defeated in the struggle) ☐ Patriotism (nationalism) ☐ Longing (for children, lover)
2. Popularization (1987-1991): Life after prison, disappearing youth, inmates being tested outside, tired democrats and portraits.	5	*Yorgun Demokrat* (Tired Democrat)	1987	☐ Defeat ☐ Life after coup ☐ Love, separation, longing
	6	*Başkaldırıyorum* (I Revolt)	1988	☐ Unfaithfulness ☐ Contradiction between a prisoner's expectations and outside Life ☐ Manifestos
	7	*İyimser Bir Gül* (An Optimistic Rose)	1989	☐ Longing for ex-lover ☐ Contradiction between a prisoner's expectations and outside Life ☐ Civil war, Struggle, Fear ☐ Love, Separation
	8	*Sevgi Duvarı* (The Wall of Love)	1990	☐ Love ☐ Longing ☐ Separation ☐ Struggle, Despair
	9	*Başım Belada*	1991	☐ Life conditions after the coup

		(I'm in Trouble)		☐ Criticism for 'pseudo-intellectuals' ☐ Meeting a revolutionary at childhood
3. Further popularization and impact of Kurdish movement (1992-1998): Struggle, guerilla, revolutionaries and disadvantaged sections of the society such as workers, mothers, et al.	10	*Dokunma Yanarsın* (Don't Touch or You'll Burn)	1992	☐ Struggle (guerilla, eşkıya, child worker, agricultural worker) ☐ Hope ☐ Unrecognized, betrayed revolutionary
	11	*Tedirgin* (Uneasy)	1993	☐ Struggle (guerilla, eşkıya) ☐ Unfaithfulness ☐ Destiny of slumps
	12	*Şarkılarım Dağlara* (My Songs are for the Mountains)	1994	☐ We will defeat imperialism despite its cost. ☐ Ex-Lover
	13	*Yıldızlar ve Yakamoz* (Stars and Sea Sparkles)	1995	☐ Struggle ☐ Loneliness ☐ Boredom
	14	*Beni Bul* (Find Me)	1995	☐ Struggle ☐ Death ☐ Unfaithfulness and unrecognition
	15	*Dosta Düşmana Karşı* (Against Friends and Foe)	1998	☐ Unfortunate destiny of revolutionary ☐ Unfaithfulness of people ☐ Struggle (eşkıya, guerilla)
4. Exile (1999- 2000)	16	*Hoşçakalın Gözüm* (Farewell My Dear)	2001	☐ Exile ☐ Reproaching unfaithfulness

Kaya's working processes and collaborations

Ahmet Kaya's musical journey was shaped by various influences, with his wife Gülten Kaya playing a pivotal role in his artistic development and creative process. She introduced him to influential poets and musicians. She was an active participant in Kaya's creative process, often engaging in deep discussions that sparked his creativity. As she recalled, "We could talk until morning over the phrase 'a blind boatman saw the murder' in the poem *Cinayet Saati* (The time of murder) on the album *Şarkılarım Dağlara* (1994). What does 'I saw, my ears saw' mean? What did it mean for someone's ears to see? We could talk for hours on this sentence" (Gülten Kaya, personal communication, April 12, 2018).

Kaya's composition process was intuitive and emotion-driven. Gülten explained, "Sometimes he wouldn't pick up an instrument at home, and sometimes he would play

like crazy." His approach to songwriting was primarily lyrics-oriented. As Gülten described, "He would work by starting from an image, the story and by transforming these into an emotion. 'An emotion that would catch him!' That was his starting point and what mobilized him mostly" (Gülten Kaya, personal communication, April 12, 2018).

Kaya's approach to songwriting was primarily lyrics-oriented. Gülten explained, "He would work by starting from an image, the story and by transforming these into an emotion. 'An emotion that would catch him!' That was his starting point and what mobilized him mostly" (Gülten Kaya, personal communication, April 12, 2018). This process is exemplified in songs like *Korkarım* (I'm afraid) (*Dosta Düşmana Karşı*, 1998), where the melody came first, followed by the lyrics - a reversal of his usual method.

Beyond his partnership with Gülten, Kaya's collaboration with arranger Osman İşmen was particularly significant. Their working process involved Kaya recording his compositions on tape and sending them to İşmen, who would then work independently on the arrangements. İşmen himself acknowledged the unique quality of Kaya's compositions, stating, "What moves an arranger is the material, the composition" (Gülten Kaya, personal communication, April 12, 2018).

Another key collaborator was lyricist Yusuf Hayaloğlu, Gülten Kaya's brother. Their collaboration was characterized by a shared cultural background that allowed for a deep understanding of common themes and emotions. Hayaloğlu described their approach: "We didn't have a problem to belong to an intellectual world and to isolate ourselves from the street. On the other hand, we did not have a problem to make ourselves accepted in those worlds. So we were very free" (as cited by Gülten Kaya, personal communication, April 12, 2018).

The songwriting process with Hayaloğlu often involved separate work followed by collaborative discussions. Their songs frequently drew inspiration from current events, personal experiences, and the lives of those around them. For instance, in crafting the lyrics for *Giderim*, Hayaloğlu incorporated elements specific to Kaya's life, such as his love for dogs and birds, to capture the essence of Kaya's emotions (Gülten Kaya, personal communication, April 12, 2018).

Gülten Kaya attributed the success of these collaborations to their shared cultural

background: "They were the children of the common culture who used to cry and laugh at the same things and affected by the same" (Gülten Kaya, personal communication, April 12, 2018). This common ground allowed Kaya and his collaborators to create music that resonated deeply with a wide audience while maintaining its authenticity and emotional depth.

In essence, Kaya's working processes and collaborations with Gülten Kaya at the heart of his creative journey were characterized by a deep emotional connection to his material, a spontaneous and intuitive approach to composition, and partnerships that were rooted in shared cultural experiences and understanding. These elements combined to create the unique and powerful musical legacy that Ahmet Kaya left behind.

Relationship with the Music Industry

Ahmet Kaya's relationship with the Turkish music industry was complex and often fraught with tension, reflecting the broader political and cultural conflicts of his time. As an artist who straddled the line between commercial success and political activism, Kaya navigated a difficult path within Turkey's music scene.

Kaya's emergence in the mid-1980s coincided with a period of significant change in the music industry. The post-coup era saw a rapid commercialization of popular music, with major labels increasingly focused on marketable, apolitical content. In this context, Kaya's politically charged music presented both opportunities and challenges for industry players.

Initially, Kaya's unique blend of traditional and contemporary styles, coupled with his powerful vocals and emotive performances, attracted the attention of several record labels. His early albums, such as *Ağlama Bebeğim* (1985) and *Acılara Tutunmak* (1985), were released through smaller, independent labels that were willing to take a chance on his unconventional style.

As Kaya's popularity grew, larger labels began to show interest. However, this increased visibility also brought greater scrutiny of his political content. Some labels pushed for Kaya to tone down his political messages, leading to conflicts over artistic integrity. Despite these pressures, Kaya largely managed to maintain control over his musical output, often at the cost of foregoing more lucrative contracts (Gülten Kaya, personal

communication, May 16, 2018).

The 1990s saw Kaya achieve significant commercial success, with albums like *Şarkılarım Dağlara* (1994) selling hundreds of thousands of copies. However, this success was accompanied by increasing controversy. Many of his albums faced bans or restrictions, limiting their distribution and airplay. The music industry's response to these challenges was mixed, with some labels standing by Kaya while others distanced themselves from the controversy (Kozanoğlu, 1990).

Kaya's relationship with the industry was further complicated by his increasing engagement with Kurdish themes in his music. This not only made him a target for political criticism but also posed challenges for marketing and distribution within Turkey. Some industry figures saw Kaya's Kurdish-themed work as a liability, while others recognized its potential to tap into an underserved market (Gürpınar, 2012).

The culmination of Kaya's troubled relationship with the mainstream Turkish music industry came with the controversy surrounding his announcement to record a Kurdish song in 1999. The backlash from this announcement not only led to his exile but also resulted in many industry figures and institutions distancing themselves from him.

Paradoxically, Kaya's contentious relationship with the music industry may have contributed to his enduring popularity and influence. His perceived authenticity and willingness to sacrifice commercial success for his principles enhanced his credibility among fans and fellow artists alike.

In the years following his death, the music industry's approach to Kaya's work has shifted. His music has been reissued and celebrated, with many artists across different genres citing him as an influence. This posthumous recognition highlights the complex legacy of Kaya's interactions with the music industry, demonstrating how an artist's impact can transcend the commercial constraints of their time.

Social Inclusivity in Ahmet Kaya's Music

The concept of social inclusivity is central to understanding Ahmet Kaya's unique position in Turkey's protest music. Unlike many of his contemporaries, whose music appealed primarily to specific ideological groups, Kaya's work resonated with a remarkably diverse

audience. This broad appeal can be attributed to several key factors that contributed to the social inclusivity of his music.

Firstly, Kaya's musical hybridity played a crucial role in his ability to connect with diverse listeners. By incorporating elements from various musical traditions - including traditional/regional folk, Kurdish music, *arabesk*, and Western rock - Kaya created a sound that was simultaneously familiar and innovative. This musical fusion allowed listeners from different cultural backgrounds to find points of connection in his music.

Secondly, Kaya's lyrical themes, while often politically charged, also touched on universal human experiences. His songs dealt with love, loss, exile, and the search for identity - themes that resonated across social and political divides. Even when addressing specific political issues, Kaya often framed them in deeply personal terms, allowing listeners to connect emotionally with the material regardless of their political orientation.

Thirdly, Kaya's vocal style and delivery contributed significantly to the inclusivity of his music. His distinctive voice, with its ability to convey deep emotion, created a sense of authenticity and intimacy that appealed to a wide range of listeners. Moreover, his use of different linguistic elements - including regional Turkish dialects and, later in his career, Kurdish - allowed him to connect with diverse linguistic communities within Turkey.

Fourthly, Kaya's personal background and public persona played a role in his broad appeal. As an artist of mixed Kurdish and Turkish heritage, Kaya embodied the complex, often conflicted identities of many Turkish citizens. His journey from a working-class background to national fame resonated with many listeners who saw in him a reflection of their own aspirations and struggles.

The social inclusivity of Kaya's music is perhaps most evident in the diversity of his audience. His listeners included urban intellectuals and rural workers, Turkish nationalists and Kurdish activists, leftist revolutionaries and apolitical music lovers. This broad appeal was not without controversy; Kaya often faced criticism from different quarters for not adhering strictly enough to particular ideological or aesthetic standards. However, it was precisely this ability to transcend traditional boundaries that made his music so powerful and enduring.

Kaya's approach to social inclusivity evolved over the course of his career, reflecting

changes in both his personal journey and the broader sociopolitical context of Turkey. In his early work, this inclusivity was often implicit, emerging from his unique musical style and his ability to address universal themes through personal narratives. As his career progressed, particularly in the 1990s, Kaya became more explicit in his engagement with issues of cultural diversity and social justice. His increasing incorporation of Kurdish themes and his outspoken advocacy for Kurdish rights, while controversial, expanded the scope of his inclusivity to embrace a more overt politics of identity.

The social inclusivity of Kaya's music had significant implications beyond the realm of art. By creating a musical space where diverse identities and experiences could coexist, Kaya's work challenged dominant narratives about Turkish national identity and social cohesion. His music provided a platform for marginalized voices and experiences, particularly those of the Kurdish community, to enter mainstream discourse. At the same time, by framing these issues in terms of shared human experiences, Kaya's work had the potential to foster empathy and understanding across social and cultural divides.

However, it's important to note that the inclusivity of Kaya's music was not without limits or contradictions. His increasing focus on Kurdish issues in the latter part of his career, while expanding his appeal among Kurdish listeners, also led to backlash from some Turkish nationalist quarters. The controversy surrounding his announcement of plans to record a Kurdish song, which ultimately led to his exile, highlights the challenges and risks associated with attempting to bridge deep-seated social and political divides through art.

Despite these challenges, the social inclusivity of Ahmet Kaya's music remains one of his most significant legacies. By creating art that spoke to diverse audiences while addressing pressing social and political issues, Kaya expanded the boundaries of what protest music could be and do in the Turkish context. His work demonstrates the potential of music to serve not only as a vehicle for political expression but also as a means of fostering dialogue and understanding in divided societies.

Conclusion

Ahmet Kaya's legacy as a protest musician in Turkey is both profound and complex. Through his innovative approach to music-making and his commitment to addressing social and political issues, Kaya challenged and expanded the boundaries of protest music

in Turkey. His work stands as a testament to the power of art to engage with complex realities while maintaining a deep emotional connection with diverse audiences.

The concepts of cultural hybridity, musical mixture, and social inclusivity have been central to our analysis of Kaya's work. These frameworks have allowed us to understand how Kaya was able to create music that was simultaneously rooted in tradition and innovative, politically engaged and emotionally resonant, specific to Turkey's context and universally appealing.

Kaya's musical journey, from his early days as a voice of the post-coup resistance to his later role as a symbol of Kurdish cultural expression, mirrors the complex social and political transformations of late 20th century Turkey. His evolving artistic choices - in terms of musical style, lyrical content, and public persona - reflect his ongoing engagement with the changing realities of society.

The social inclusivity of Kaya's music offers important insights into the potential role of art in divided societies. By creating a musical space where diverse identities and experiences could coexist, Kaya's work challenged dominant narratives and opened up new possibilities for cross-cultural understanding. At the same time, the controversies surrounding Kaya's work, particularly in the later stages of his career, highlight the challenges inherent in attempting to bridge deep social and political divides through art. The backlash against his engagement with Kurdish themes demonstrates the limits of inclusivity in a highly polarized society and the risks faced by artists who challenge established norms.

Kaya's approach to protest music, characterized by its hybridity and inclusivity, offers valuable lessons for understanding the role of art in social and political movements. His work demonstrates that effective protest music need not be limited to narrow ideological expressions or specific musical traditions. Instead, by embracing diversity and complexity, both in musical form and lyrical content, protest music can reach broader audiences and engage with social issues in more nuanced ways.

The concept of 'musical accumulation' introduced in this study provides a useful framework for analyzing the work of musicians like Kaya who draw from diverse cultural and musical traditions. This approach allows us to move beyond simplistic notions of

fusion or influence, recognizing instead the complex, ongoing process of cultural synthesis that characterizes much innovative music-making.

Furthermore, Kaya's career offers insights into the evolving relationship between music, identity, and politics in multicultural societies. His journey from a broadly leftist protest singer to a symbol of Kurdish cultural expression reflects the increasing importance of identity politics in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. At the same time, the persistent universality of his appeal suggests that music can transcend identity categories, creating spaces for shared experience and mutual understanding.

The study of Ahmet Kaya's music also highlights the need for a more nuanced understanding of protest music itself. Rather than seeing protest music as a fixed category with clearly defined characteristics, Kaya's work encourages us to view it as a dynamic, evolving form that responds to changing social and political contexts. This perspective opens up new avenues for research into the relationship between music and social movements, particularly in contexts of political repression and cultural conflict.

Looking forward, several areas emerge as promising directions for future research: First, there is a need for more comparative studies that place Kaya's work in the context of protest music traditions from other parts of the world. Such research could shed light on the ways in which artists in different contexts navigate the challenges of creating politically engaged art in repressive or divided societies.

Second, further investigation into the reception and impact of Kaya's music among different audience groups could provide valuable insights into the real-world effects of socially inclusive protest music. This could include studies of how Kaya's music has been interpreted and used by various social and political movements in Turkey and beyond.

Finally, the concept of social inclusivity in music, as exemplified by Kaya's work, merits further theoretical development: How can we understand the relationship between musical form, lyrical content, and social inclusivity? What are the limits and possibilities of inclusive protest music in promoting social change?

In conclusion, Ahmet Kaya's contribution to protest music goes far beyond his role as a singer-songwriter. His work represents a significant intervention in the cultural and political landscape of Turkey, challenging established norms and opening up new

possibilities for musical expression and social engagement. By embracing hybridity and inclusivity, Kaya's music offers a model for how art can address social and political issues while fostering dialogue and understanding across diverse communities.

As Turkey and other societies continue to grapple with issues of cultural diversity, political representation, and social justice, the lessons from Kaya's life and work remain relevant. His legacy invites us to consider how music and other forms of cultural expression can contribute to building more inclusive and equitable societies, even in the face of significant political and social challenges.

Ultimately, Ahmet Kaya's music stands as a powerful reminder of the potential of art to not only reflect social realities but also to imagine and help create new ones. In a world increasingly divided by political, cultural, and economic barriers, Kaya's vision of music that speaks across these divides offers both inspiration and a practical model for artists and activists seeking to use culture as a tool for social change.

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