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The Late Ottoman *Şarkı* and the Interweaving of Registers: Towards an Ideology of Song

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates the *şarkı* song form, composed in the late nineteenth century, discussed with regards to the linguistic registers that characterised the use of Turkish in the same period[1]. It considers the production and circulation of this popular vocal repertoire in relation to reforms in language education and an intense, public conversation about the place of Turkish in a society on the verge of a controversial modernity. My aim has been to suggest new ways of thinking about the role of song in supporting or subverting – and occasionally, both – language practice and efforts at standardisation, as well as considering it in the more general framework of language debate. The material chosen is a small group of songs appeared in the newspaper *Ma'lûmât* in December 1895. By particularly focusing on the way that various registers interweave in the texts, I have suggested that we look at this repertoire as a reflection of wider linguistic/cultural tensions. While Ottoman-period Turkish has often been regarded as an unreadable, impenetrable language belonging to the elites, the case of the şarkı and its urban, newspaper reading public suggests that we should begin looking at it as a language spectrum encapsulating a multitude of registers, chosen according to the intended meaning and occasion. I propose to consider song in its capacity to maintain affections and authority, as well as providing a tool for self-mapping in history and tradition. In the late Ottoman scenario, this translates into reconsidering notions of cultural and social schisms in favour of a fluidity in both language and music practice, that is manifest in the *şarkı* text.

[1] The term Ottoman Turkish, conventionally employed to describe the language used in pre-Republican Turkey, is – as will be seen in the paper – a controversial one. A first draft of this paper referred to the language by using that term but after some reflection and valuable suggestions, I have decided to substitute it with an expression that may convey more precisely the sense of fluidity I am discussing here. The main idea is that there is one language, Turkish, existing in different registers or modes, if you wish, and that the Turkish used prior to the foundation of the Turkish Republic (1923) is operating at a different mode from the one used today but should still be considered Turkish. The reasons for this decision will become apparent in the course of my discussion. I thank here Hikmet Toker for the discussion and suggestions provided on this particular topic. My gratitude also goes to Martin Stokes and Katherine Butler Schofield for their advice.

The second half of the Ottoman nineteenth century was a time of complex linguistic debate and intense efforts at standardization. From pedagogical reforms to the first works of linguistics, between the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Ottoman language issue became the arena in which ethnic and religious identities were affirmed, rejected, re-elaborated, and established. Similar dynamics were at play in central Europe and elsewhere (see De Mauro, 1991; Myhill, 2006; Benes, 2008; Kamusella, 2009; Gal 2011, 2015; Daskalov and Marinov, 2013; Bergeron, 2010). While, on one hand, efforts towards language standardisation were visible in the increasing number of published grammars, dictionaries, as well as dictionaries of wrongly used or misspelled words (*galatât*), the *şarkı* vocal repertoire composed and published in the same period suggests that the reality of standardisation may have been more complex.

The discussion proposed in this paper is one regarding the role played by song in processes of linguistic debate about standardisation. In particular, I will consider the ways in which the late nineteenth century *şarkı* vocal repertoire with its lyrics supported or subverted, contributed to establishing, or challenged, the linguistic policies of the period (on the *şarkı* form, see Öztuna, 1986, 1988; Özalp, 1992; Feldman, 1996; Akdoğu, 1995; Aksoy, 2003; Tohumcu, 2009; Özbilen, Ayangil, 2009; Uzun, Özkan, 2010; Salgar, 2011, 2017). The paper proposes a new way of thinking about the place of song in late Ottoman urban culture and, more generally, of whether it is possible to talk about an ideology of song, with its own agenda, amidst wider political tensions. My primary interest at this stage lies in understanding the way in which the *şarkı* complicates what we know of late nineteenth century Ottoman linguistic practice. The lyrics I will examine, printed in the newspaper *Ma'lûmât*, contain a significant variety of registers. The objective will be to reflect on what the overlapping and interlocking of language registers in song reveals about song's agency and interlocking with socio-linguistic practices, particularly in a standardisation and 'simplification' scenario.

The expressions, formulas, compound words, and phrases recurring in the songs would be familiar to a reading public exposed to *dîvân* poetry, as the imagery often used could be found within this rich tradition (see Andrews, 1985). This would not exclusively be the case for the palace or bureaucratic elites. It would include the readers of publications such as *Ma'lûmât* (1895-1903), which offered its readers a music supplement with *şarkı* lyrics and piano arrangements, and *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete*

(1895-1908), a publication for women where poems in the *dîvân* style were sometimes published, including poems in the *şarkı* form (see also Zeren Enis, 2013). This signals a familiarity that the upper-class readers of these publications had with the registers of the classical poetic tradition. The fact that such musical material was printed and circulated in newspapers may suggest that the wider, burgeoning reading public would be exposed to this vocal repertoire, as would professional performers and composers (on reading practices in late nineteenth century Ottoman society see Fortna, 2011; see also Spooner and Hanaway, 2012 for the Persianate world). It also suggests, I believe, that the notation printed both in *Ma'lûmât* and *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* would be aimed at a public performing music for leisure, in a home environment, among family (Duben and Behar, 1991: 223).

There is a tendency to view the later nineteenth century as a time when Turkish became gradually simpler and more accessible for a growing reading public, and that the development of press and newspaper made this possible (see Levend, 1960: 82). However, the song repertoire complicates matters. If the repertoire is taken within the context of its own compositional tradition and performance practice – in other words, that of classical music– then the fact that the *şarkı* at this time did not shy away from the sophisticated language which was under debate would not surprise us. Within its own framework, that of classical poetic and musical production, it is to be expected that the lyrics adhered to a consolidated tradition and followed certain conventions. However, the complicating factor is the juxtaposition of art song and its text, established in a consolidated, classical poetical tradition with the texts becoming accessible through newspapers and, more generally, through emerging reading-consumption practices, amidst simplification debates. I propose that, in fact, the late nineteenth century Ottoman *şarkı* publications – both in the form of lyrics collections (*güfte mecmuaları*) and supplements to newspapers such as *Ma'lûmât* (1895-1903) and *Hanimlara Mahsûs Gazete* (1895-1908) – complicate established views regarding the simplification of language.

My discussion will particularly focus on registers in relation to reading publics, asking questions regarding whether song, as register, can be thought of as a bridge-gaping force across "arenas of social life" (Gal, 2018: 3). The case of the *şarkı* is unique in this respect. Its quality as a particularly flexible and dynamic genre comfortable across the

socio-cultural spectrum, as well as its audiences and environments, make its channelling of poetry and language which move across the same spectrum by means of registers especially significant.

The *şarkı* as genre and in the press

As a genre, the *şarkı* found success across social strata and environments: it was popular both among the palace and city audiences. It gaped, in a way, bridges and arenas. It found acceptance and popularity first at the palace (in the seventeenth century according to some views, and the eighteenth according to others) and became the focus of compositional activity in the nineteenth century (Reinhard et al., 2001; Öztuna, 1986: 50-53; Hall, 1989; Feldman, 1996: 15; Toker, 2016: 197-198). It was the undisputed protagonist of the *fasıl's* transformation and transition from palace to urban entertainment.2 While the *fasıl*, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, included genres such as *peşrev, kâr, beste, ağır semâ'î, yürük semâ'î, saz semâ'î* (see Hall, 1989 and Feldman, 1996), it came to be gradually dominated by the *şarkı*. In the nineteenth century, different types of *fasıl* existed,3 although the *şarkı* gained prominence.

The most common form of the *şarkı* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was a four-verse stanza. The first verse, repeated twice, introduced the melody, establishing the *makâm*, and it was called *zemîn*. This was followed by another verse, the *nakarât*, or refrain, also repeated twice, which would then be followed by a third verse, called the *meyân* section, sung only once, in which the melody often modulated to a new *makâm*. This was followed by a repetition of the *nakarât* section (see Akdoğu, 1995 Günaydın, 2018). There were, however, variations to this template. Ahmed Tohumcu (2009) aptly highlighted in his paper the way the term *şarkı* transitioned from indicating a specific type of vocal composition with definite characteristics within the framework of the *fasıl*, to indicating, in the twentieth century, all types of popular vocal works regardless of genres and individual characteristics. In his paper, he discussed this process by using the term *yozlaşma*, or "degeneration". This notion, to me, suggests a conceptual

2 The *fasıl* is a suite of instrumental and vocal compositions., divided into classical (*geleneksel* or *an'anevi faslı*) and non-classical (*şarkı faslı*). The latter is still performed and very popular in Turkey. Its structure underwent significant changes in time, and its current format is that of a cycle of brief songs, opened and closed by an instrumental composition (a *peşrev* at the beginning, and *saz semâ'î* at the end). See Hall, 1989 and Feldman, 1996 for a history of the suite's evolution over time.
3 I am grateful to Hikmet Toker for pointing this out.

expansion whereby the term came to encompass a range of vocal genres, regardless of its originally specific structural characteristics and the qualities it embodied. In current Turkish language and musical practice, anything that has lyrics and is sung, is a *şarkı*, despite its genre categorisation as pop, rock, soul, blues, metal etc. And, as Tohumcu observes, all vocal performers nowadays are *şarkıcılar* (717). The best translation of this term into English would be simply "singers". However, in the nineteenth century, the term *şarkı* would still be indicative of a specific *genre* rather than any song, and a precise text format, one that, as has often been the case, replicated a poetic one – the poetry form *şarkı*. For this reason, I feel it should be established early on that, in the case of the late Ottoman vocal repertoire, using the term 'song' can generate confusion, as there were, in fact, other types of popular vocal compositions, such as the *türkü*.[4] There were, however, significant differences, as well as overlaps between the two genres. Having a brief look at them will help us position the *şarkı* in discourses about language.

The meter mostly – although not exclusively – used in the *şarkı*, the *'arûz*, employed in classical Arabic and Persian poetry, places it in a precise domain, that of classical poetry, markedly distinct from folk verse. The official literary life of the *şarkı* is thought to have begun with the *dîvân* of the celebrated poet Nedîm (1681-1730), who lived at the court of Ahmed III during the so-called *Lâle Devri*, or Tulip Era (1718-1730). His oeuvre is commonly regarded as innovative work, which brought the folk/poetic forms of *türkü* and *şarkı* to the attention of the court, significantly employing Turkish grammar and a rich Turkish vocabulary: Turkish would from now on slowly carve a niche for itself apart from the conventional Arabic and Persian that had long dominated court literary production and intellectual activity (Bombaci, 1956; İz and Menemencioğlu, 1978). In the *dîvân* of the eighteenth century poet Vahîd-i Mahtûmi, known as a vocal and instrumental performer of both *şarkı* and *türkü*, we find a section titled *Murabbât ve Şarkıyyat ve Türkmaniyyât ve Gayrihî* containing examples of texts written in *hece vezni* (the metre used for folk song, the *türkü*): the inclusion of the *şarkı* in this section would

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[4] Folk song belonging to the *halk müziği* (folk music) repertoire. Another aspect worthy of notice pertains to terminology. *Şarkı* is from the Arabic *sharqī*, meaning 'oriental' while *türkü* is a Turkish term indicating a local, popular genre. It is interesting to notice how the former term suggests a foreignness, an 'otherness', that would come to characterise much of the political discourse of the early Republic. A period in which, incidentally, the Ottoman art repertoire was heavily debated as, more generally, was the Ottoman heritage. On this see Signell, 1980; Feldman, 1990-1991; Tekelioğlu, 1996; Stokes, 2010; Erol, 2012; O'Connell, 2013).

seem to indicate that its place in the *dîvân* was among the more popular (stylistically speaking) forms, and thus confirm a greater formal and thematic proximity to the mode of expression of the *halk*, or the people. However, the great language variety used in the *şarkı* (ranging from Turkish vocables and syntax to Persian imagery, vocabulary etc.) again places it in a limbo: both sophisticated *and* popular. The form would be developed both by poets who were also composers, such as Sâmi, Nâbî, and the above-mentioned Nedîm, and composers who would pen their own lyrics.[5]

As a musical genre and as a poetic form, the *şarkı* transcended boundaries of class and categories, eventually becoming beloved of both court audiences and urban consumers, professional and amateur musicians. It inhabited and crossed over, as it is often the case with song, the domains of both poetry and music. Despite the fact that it belonged to a classical tradition, it was popular enough to be appreciated in non-court environments, that is to say, centres of popular, urban entertainment, such as taverns (*meyhaneler*, but not only: see Kalender, 1978), but also gatherings in private houses (see Poulos, 2014), and it was still sophisticated enough not to be eligible to be considered among folk genres. When we talk of 'ideology of song' in the nineteenth century Ottoman context, then, I propose we specifically focus on the peculiarities of the *şarkı* as both a form and a *concept*: a form flexible enough to cater for a spectrum of tastes and groups. As I will shortly discuss, I believe the same can be said about Turkish as a language, and as it existed in the centuries before the foundation of the Republic.

In the nineteenth century, the *şarkı* reached the peak of its popularity (see Tohumcu, 2009). The many collections of song lyrics published in this century give a clear picture in this sense (see Paçacı, 2010; Ekinci, 2015; Yalçın, 2016). Since its earliest appearances, it circulated in a number of *mecmû'alar*, presumably for private consumption and among amateur or professional musicians of the palace. Its space of consumption, however, gradually expanded as printing practices became widespread (Kunt, 2008; Fortna, 2011) and, more generally, as a consumer culture emerged in urban centres (Frieson, 2000). The development of recording techniques in the late nineteenth/early twentieth century provided an even wider audience to the *şarkı*

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[5] Among these we find Hafîz Post, the celebrated Itrî, Nazîm (see Erdemir, 1999). Tanbûri Mustafa Çavuş (1700-1770) was a noted composer of *şarkı* and so was Sultan Selim III (1762-1808), who reportedly contributed to integrate the form into the *fasıl* (Toker, 2016: 30; for a detailed study of the *fasıl* see Hall, 1989).

repertoire, in a sense completing the cycle (Ünlü, 2016). Considering the media through which in the late 1800s the *şarkı* was distributed – newspapers and lyrics books – we can deduce that the form itself began to become, in a way, a commodity. Its appearance in newspapers, for one thing, would suggest the familiarity of a wider public than that of music *aficionados* and connoisseurs. The case of *Hanımalara Mahsûs Gazete* suggests the existence of a reading (and playing?) public comprised of women – although not exclusively – from middle and upper class educated families (Zeren Enis, 2013).

The reading public, language education and debate

The emergence of a mass reading culture is certainly one of the most significant cultural shifts occurring in the nineteenth century. An increasing interest in language pedagogy methods developed alongside, together with ideas regarding language, ethnicity, and ideology. The three phenomena are deeply interrelated. As has been suggested by Levend (1960), the press was a major player in the process of language simplification (*dilde sadeleşme)* (1960: 82-83), rendering ideas accessible to a wider public. So much so, that he talks about a *gazeteci dili* (a 'journalist language') and cites Şinasi, the founder of what is considered to be the first Turkish paper, and his intention to make a paper written in a language that everyone would be able to understand available to people (83). The urge for "simplification" seemed both prescriptive and symptomatic of the emergence of the press. The need for simplification presupposes a notion of "difficulty" which is, in truth, an idea that dominated most of the political discourse around language in the twentieth century, and that informed much of the Republican ideology (see Holbrook, 1994; Andrews, Black and Kalpaklı, 2006: 8; Lewis, 1999; Ertürk, 2011). This difficulty was particularly ascribed to the presence of foreign linguistic elements (Arabic and Persian), and much of the debate in the late nineteenth century revolved around what language the Turkish people should use on the basis of its ethnic identity (Levend, 1960; Ertürk, 2011).

As highlighted by Fortna, the growth of a reading public signaled an increase in literacy. The nineteenth century was a time of significant reforms in the field of education. Especially in the era of Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), it became the focus of government policy (Somel, 2010; Vurgun, 2017). Great efforts were spent particularly in the direction of language education, in order for it to reach the villages as much as the disadvantaged parts of urban centres (see Kanal, 2016). Most importantly, emphasis

was placed on the teaching and learning of "Turkish" as a unifying factor among religious and ethnic communities (again Vurgun, 2017; Somel, 2010; Topuzkanamış, 2018; Şahbaz, 2004; Akaslan, 2018).

The reforms in the field of education interwove with a lively public conversation about the place of Turkish in a multi-ethnic society in transition towards modernity. In very broad terms, at the heart of the language debate lay the concern that the sophisticated Turkish that had existed for centuries as the language of poetry and bureaucracy was unsuitable to an audience operating outside of these two domains (Kushner, 1998). Most importantly, it was a language in which a more national, Turkic spirit could not find identification due to the heavy presence of foreign, unintelligible elements. In the 1890s and generally throughout Abdülhamid's time, the issue of what language should represent the Turkish nation became even more pressing. Linguistics, for one, took a more "nationalistic" turn. In 1893, Necîb 'Âsım's *Urâl ve Âltây Lisânları* was published. The work is one of the earliest examples of Ottoman linguistics, and one in which ideas regarding language and ethnic identity and affiliation were beginning to be ideologically framed (see Kushner, 1998 [1977]). The work proved an opportunity to discuss the language and its ethnic relations, thus marking clearly a separation between it and the Arabo-Persian world.

By taking a look at the efforts made in the direction of language education, however, it is impossible not to notice a more layered reality, in which children in particular were still taught the three languages and in which, most importantly, various terms for Turkish were used interchangeably.[6] This ambivalence points towards an often underestimated aspect: that the chasm between what post-Republic was to be referred to as "Ottoman Turkish" and Turkish was first brought forward as part of the Republican ideology, and has remained perceived as such ever since (see Lewis, 1999). Christine Woodhead, in her chapter "Ottoman Languages" (2011), challenges academic assumptions regarding the state of Turkish in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggesting that the

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[6] A look at the pedagogic material printed in the second half of the century gives a clear picture: *Sarf-ı Osmânî* ('Ottoman Grammar,' by Selîm Sâbit, 1880), *Elifbâ-yı Osmânî* ('The Ottoman Alphabet,' again by Sâbit 1885/1886), *Yeni Usûl Elifbâ-yı Türkî* ('New Method for the Turkish Alphabet,' by Şemseddin Sâmî, 1890), the work in four volumes *Hâce-i Lisân-ı Osmânî* ('Ottoman Language Instructor') with its first volume *'İlm-i Sarf-ı Türkî* ('Science of the Grammar of Turkish,' by Manâstırlı Mehmed Rıfat, 1893), and so forth to 1910 (and beyond) with *Yeni Usûl Resimli Türk-Osmanlı Elifbâsı Yâhûd Türkçe Dîline Başlângıç* ('New Illustrated Method for the Ottoman-Turkish Alphabet, or, Introduction to the Turkish Language,' by Mustafa Fâ'ik).

seeming divide between more popular and elite Turkish be thought of as varying registers within a "single language spectrum" (146). She points out that, until the nineteenth century, Ottomans referred to their language as "Turkish", seemingly not perceiving the demarcation between higher and lower registers, in either writing or speaking, as so clear-cut (145, also see Strauss, 1995). In her upcoming thesis, Communication PhD candidate Ester Cristaldi, whom I met in Istanbul, addresses similar questions and, by analysing the language used in late Ottoman/early Republican newspapers, she argues that a relation of continuity existed between mid-nineteenth century Ottoman and early Republican Turkish. She relies on the basic linguistics notion that an institution or organisation can neither change nor dictate a new course for a language. The process is always determined by the speakers of the language. She talks about a language standardization process that began in the 1840s, with the publication of grammar textbooks for schools. According to her thesis, the process of standardization aimed at unifying varieties of the Turkish language, ranging from more sophisticated to popular. While there is a tendency to speak of diglossia (for an evaluation of the term, see Strauss, 1995) as the linguistic reality of Ottoman society, with sophisticated language on the one, higher end and more basic Turkish for the lower stratum, I resist the notion of diglossia, and suggest that we evaluate *şarkı* in its capacity to channel the overlapping registers that constitute the essence of Turkish as it was used throughout the centuries since the Ottoman Empire was founded, until the declaration of the Republic. In other words, a fluidity of registers within language rather than two extreme ends of a spectrum (see İz, 1964; Strauss, 1995; Mardin, 2002; Ertürk, 2011; Woodhead, 2011).

As we have seen, the *şarkı* as a genre itself displayed a fluidity that allowed it to become popular across socio-cultural spaces. The publication of lyrics in newspapers suggests a broadening of the *şarkı*'s audience, in tandem with the widening of a reading public. In his work on the reading culture of the late Ottoman Empire, Fortna points out how the rise of a printing culture could be approached as a phenomenon both consolidating "traditional and intellectual culture" (2011: 17), drawing attention to Ottoman printing and reading practices, "an ongoing attempt to assimilate, supplant and emphasize a number of different cultural bases, including those of the Western European, Perso-Islamic and Turkic traditions." (2011: 17) Fortna also highlights how, in the Republican

era, poetry continued to be present in publications for children, signaling an ongoing "affection" (50) for the heritage that was symptomatic more of continuities between Empire and Republic than a brutal break (30). Indeed, the poetic tradition had always been a staple of Ottoman cultural life, "the highest form of literary expression" (*Fortna,* 2011: 17, see also Andrews, Black and Kalpaklı, 2006). Towards the end of the nineteenth century, poetry increasingly became the medium for nationalist tendencies to be expressed, a shift that, according to Fortna, also signaled a move away from traditional meters (2011: 17). It was at this point, however, that the *şarkı* – let us not forget, a song *and* a *dîvân* poetry form – appeared in the newspapers. I interpret its presence at this very delicate juncture as a sign of both an attachment to a tradition that would carry on into the early days of the Republic, but also as symptomatic of a process of "commercialization" of the Ottoman repertoire. Most importantly, the continuities that Fortna speaks of are, I believe, a key feature of the *şarkı*'s agency in the newspapers. but they should also be considered when looking at language itself. I believe that the *şarkı* was one of the forms that kept a certain linguistic (and poetic) past present throughout a time of transition and that it did so because, in fact, the language it channelled should not be seen in terms of a schism between higher and lower social spheres but rather, as fluid registers in motion across a spectrum.

If we go back to the differences between and similarities shared by the genre and its "folk" cousin, the *türkü*, and what the appearance of both in the early collections represented for Turkish as a language in a world dominated by Arabic and Persian, we will immediately become aware of a problem that the genre posed since the very beginning: yes, indeed the linguistic composition changed, with Turkish at the forefront. However, the presence or lack of a specific language depended on the nature and content of the composition itself; it varied from case to case (the same happened with *dîvân* poetry, see Erdemir, 1999). The phenomenon of mixing registers in poetry had, in fact, always existed and the literary milieu that was not confined to one language:

As one looks at the literature of the whole central Islamic world after Timur (the early fifteenth century) it is even difficult to see a reasonable pattern of literary history that confines itself to the literature of one particular language. Poets easily and regularly transcend languages. A single Ottoman poet might write in Turkish and Persian and Arabic and Eastern Turkic (Chaghatay). (Andrews, Black and Kalpaklı, 2006: 23)

The reason why I think the *şarkı* is a genre particularly worthy of consideration when we think about late Ottoman/Turkish language ideology is because, unlike the *türkü*, it is in this genre that we find this kaleidoscope of registers.

As will be seen from the lyrics that I will present later, the linguistic structure found in the material tells the story of enduring relations and overlapping cultural domains. This overlap, particularly the Perso-Islamic tradition, would be intensely debated and finally in a sense "disposed of" during the Republican era (the Turkish Republic was founded in 1923; see in particular Gökalp, 2017 [1923]). What we find in the 1890s, however, is a repertoire in print and, in fact, flourishing: a repertoire that had a connection both with the world of the court and that of urban audiences.

It is worthwhile thinking about the relationships that such audiences would have with this material. Fortna cites the example of the reading houses (*kıraathane*), which became increasingly common in the 1890s. These were, to some extent, public places of intellectual debate, where reading newspapers was a core activity. Fortna, in particular, highlights their close links with the publishing industry that made copies of newspapers available for free for their customers (2011: 162). Alongside this public, collective aspect of reading, he also offers a glimpse into the reading world of an individual, the author Halide Nusret (1901-1984). Fortna reports the author's experiences with both learning to read and write first, and becoming a reader and writer later (2011: 193). In the passage reported by Fortna, Nusret recounts the familial intimacy experienced after lunchtime, when she would lie on the bed with her mother and read newspapers such as *İkdam*, *Servet-i Fünûn*, *Musavver Malûmât* and *Hanımlara Mahsûs Gazete* (194-196). We can infer that, as a musical genre, it participated in the process of becoming public and private readers/writers, while itself originating from the domain of written and recited word (poetry), coming to the attention of a wider public, than that confined within the palace walls. Although Halide Nusret was born in 1901, the language education she received in school (Erenköy Kız Lisesi) would not be different from what children were receiving at the close of the previous century. That is, she would have gone through the process of learning Arabic and Persian too, although she would become a Turkish author, in a linguistic sense. We know from her example that at some point, in her childhood/early adulthood, as part of the publications she would read with her mother, she would have been at least exposed to the *şarkı* as a printed, musical text

and to a tradition that, although it would soon become problematic, was an important part of her own literary and linguistic upbringing. It was part of a heritage that nurtured her skills and that a wider reading public was able to enjoy by means of the press. In particular, let us remember the importance of poetry in Ottoman culture and how much it generated – and kept in place – "affection" (Fortna, 2011: 50) towards a contested and yet shared literary repertoire.

Registers and *şarkı*: the texts

These reflections partly help us in locating the ideology of song within the emerging language ideology. In particular, we can observe song as a vehicle for tradition and authority in the midst of attempts at, and platforms for, simplification[7]. Song here caters to all the strata of the language continuum showing how, in fact, these registers had always been integrated and interacting (as the identities they represented; on language performance and identity see Bauman, 1974, 2000; Collins and Blot, 2003; Myhill, 2006; Nic Craith, 2007; Edwards, 2009; Frishkopf, 2013, 2018).

The question of registers was debated on the pages of *Ma'lûmât* – one of the papers in which the songs were published. Tevfik Fikret, founder of the movement *Edebiyât-ı Cedîde* (see note), was one of the contributors to the discussion, together with the famous writer Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem or others such as Necîb 'Âsım,[8] who campaigned in favor of a simpler literary language, based on Turkish. The discussions revolved around which registers were appropriate to use when (Ester Cristaldi, personal communication, February 14, 2019) and in particular the relationship between language and content. This brings us back to the point made by Woodhead, and cited earlier, regarding a language that operated on the basis not of diglossia, rather, of a linguistic flow suiting the occasion. The *şarkı* emerges as a space where the full spectrum unfolds in a continuum. I would like to suggest that what dominates song and linguistic training in the late 1800s is more an impulse towards balancing strands of

[7] The real extent of that simplification is ambivalent as much as the language education and policy of the period. Cristaldi pointed out to me how the articles printed in newspapers displayed themselves a variety of registers, an element that testifies to a reality quite removed from the idea that a homogenous, simplified, newspaper language actually existed. She cited the example of the newspaper *Servet-i Fünûn* (1891-1944) that had a literary style developed a movement of literati and intellectuals by the name of *Edebiyât-ı Cedîde* ('New Literature'). They advocated for the use of a sophisticated language in harmony with sophisticated contents and, in particular, for the use of the *dîvân* language. This was in contrast with other ideas circulating around the same period regarding the need for a simplified, Turkish literary language (Levend, 1960; Kushner, 1998 [1977]).

[8] See above for his work on linguistics.

cultural inflections, the need to sail across a linguistic flux in which registers are not as rigidly bound or defined as we have learned to think. In which yes, language is produced according to the occasion, but in which the occasion itself is produced in the freedom of a vast array of forms.

The songs printed in 1895 display, as expected, considerable variety. The common denominator in the text is always Turkish grammar but the amount of Turkish words used varies according to the piece and the content. However, one important point to bear in mind is that words which come from Arabic and Persian, and which were (and still are) in use in current Turkish, are in fact today perceived as Turkish. The question of whether they were felt to be as such in the late nineteenth century stays open, but my idea is that their origin did not prevent affections and intimacies towards the vocabulary to be formed. This complicates my argument, and it may seem to actually challenge most of the linguistic ideology that animated much of the language reform, in which such terms were considered "foreign". Words such as *aşk* (from Arabic, expressing a type of "love") have become part of the daily used vocabulary and acquired their own meanings in a Turkish context, which are slightly different from those of its original context. This is a complex issue, but the material we are talking about is essentially a shared vocabulary, thus pointing out its linguistic origins may or may not help depending on the purpose of the analysis. This is an important point: regardless of their origin, a sense of intimacy and affection towards these words existed and continues to exist. The fact that they may be Arabic or Persian in origin is not necessarily known to everyone who uses them. This supports my idea that we need to focus on registers by highlighting the fact that they do not simply exist as foreign elements, but provide a greater liberty of expression through the use of a vast, shared, affection-inspiring vocabulary.

As to the theme, this is generally unrequited love and the impossibility to escape it, as well as incurable attachment to the beloved and lamenting one's black fate. Occasionally, there are songs purely in praise of the beloved's beauty and, in one case, an ode to village life and joys. In the song lyrics, the register used is an integral part of the meaning conveyed. That was also the case for different types of texts produced in

the late nineteenth century.9 Matching register to meaning and content is functional to the narrative of a text, regardless of the type.10 Registers reflect but also become, in a sense, the subject matter. They suit the occasion produced and produce the occasion. Most importantly, as we will see, the coexistence of different registers in a *şarkı* – but also within the same book collection of *şarkı* – displays relationships of authority, influence and affections. In Susan Gal's words, by connecting different "arenas of social action", registers produce interdiscursive connections that "link and organize not only discourses and registers but also societal arrangements" (2018: 1). The interdiscursivity that Gal discusses hinges upon repetition of elements retraceable to specific socio-political contexts but recognizable across those contexts. The repetition of an element traditionally associated with a specific domain not only gives that element an additional layer of meaning, but it actually brings out its socio-political meaning's potential, strengthening agendas and propelling action. She calls the register a ""clasp" or hinge between arenas", regulating relations (3). In the case of the *şarkı* song-text, for example, the interdiscursivity regulating relations is found in formulas, word compounds, words (see Yahya Kaçar, 2012) that recur throughout the *dîvân* tradition, connecting the text to a domain of poetic sophistication, but also political authority and power (see Andrews, 1985).

I have chosen twelve songs that appeared in the 5 December 1895 issue.11 In particular, I chose the songs that were included in collections of lyrics (*güfte mecmuaları*), published throughout the same decade. These are two editions of *Şevk-i Dil* (1893 and 1894), *Ferahfezâ Yâhûd Yeni Şarkı* (1896-1897) and *Yeni Şarkılar* (1896-1897). Moving across this 'repertoire map,' we encounter *şarkı* that must have been rather popular

9 Cristaldi pointed out to me how the register of articles published in papers from 1865 to 1935 exhibited a variety of registers depending on the content of the article.
10 English literature provides an excellent example in Shakespeare's linguistic manipulation in order to reflect the character's internal and interpersonal dynamics: let us think, for example, of the thick, impenetrable language used for Macbeth's thick, impenetrably dark thoughts, or the variety of registers used by different characters in his comedies. In Shakespeare's case, relations are articulated through registers and the registers used by the characters articulate their intents and the way that relations shape their personalities. We have yet another example in Dante's *Divina Commedia*, where registers additionally map places: hell, purgatory and paradise are depicted through varying registers that range from the lower, vulgar language of *Inferno* (hell) to the sophisticated, syntactically elaborate, Latin-infused language of *Paradiso* (paradise), via the mild, suffused stillness of the language in the waiting limbo, *Purgatorio* (purgatory).
11 The paper, held at İBB Atatürk Kitaplığı, is accessible as a PDF file and includes numerous supplements. This led me to think that more than one notation may have been published with each issue, particularly because the same is found with other issues.

throughout the 1890s, although some compositions were included in collections published in previous as well as later decades.[12]

Let us begin with the texts containing the highest amount of Turkish. I have used different colors to highlight the different languages: red for Turkish, green for Arabic and yellow for Persian. I have highlighted and provided alternatives where I was unsure as to the correct reading, and I left the words in black for words I was unsure of, but also for the name of the *makâm*, the composer's name and the publication date.

1. *Şarkı-yı Hâşim Bey* (1895), Usûlü Evfer

Mecbûr oldum ben bir güle
Şimdi düştüm dilden dile[13]
Fırsat bulsam alsam ele

Nakarât
Ben sarılsam ince bele
Sardırmam seni ellere

Nedir cevrin hürrem bana
Bir sözüm var dilber sana
Teşrif eyle bir şeb bana

Eyzân

2. *Şarkı-yı Hicâzkâr,* Rızâ Efendi (1895)

Düşeyim deriken eyvah vefâlısına
Düştü gönlüm aman ah belâlısına
Doyum olmaz güzelin gerçi edâlısına

Nakarât
Düştü gönlüm aman ah belâlısına

Yoktur cevr ü cefâdır dev belâ çektim ben

---

[12] The songs that appeared as a supplement to *Ma'lûmât* presented the interesting feature of being arranged for piano and having the text transliterated according to French transliteration conventions (*û* transliterated as with the diphthong *ou*, *ö* as *eu*, *î* as *ui*, *ş* as *ch* and so forth). This does not come as a surprise as the newspaper had some sections translated in French (such as the frontpage subtitles) and the supplement itself was called *Chant Turc* ('Turkish Song'), with French translations of the composer/arranger information, *makâm*, and rhythmic cycle in French, on the cover. The lyrics appeared after the notation, always with a transliteration. This hints at an expat public or educated, multilingual audience. The prestige attributed to the French language, particularly in the nineteenth century Ottoman urban centres, is well known (see Strauss, 2011 and 2017). It is possible that the *şarkı* had a foreign audience too and that it was performed by expats or foreign visitors (see Ekinci, 2015 on Madame Herzmainska de Slupno's collection of notations).
[13] *dil* is also Persian.

Varayım uslanayım vazgeçeyim her şeyden
Başım âsûde güzel sevmeyeyim deriken

Nakarât
Düştü gönlüm aman ah belâlısına14

3. *Şarkı-yı Hicâzkâr,* Hristo Efendi *(1895)*

Gîdelim Göksu'ya bir âlem-i âb eyleyelim
Ol kadehkâr güzeli yâr olarak peyleyelim
Bize bu talimiz oymadı yâr neyleyelim

Nakarât
Ol kadehkâr güzeli yâr olarak peyleyelim

Yanarak ateş-i aşk içre semendercesine
Çakarak semt-i Kalender'de kalendercesine
Ederek zevk ü safâ hal-ı Sikendercesine

Ol kadehkâr güzeli yar olarak peyleyelim15

4. *Şarkı-yı Hüseyni,* Rızâ Efendi (1895)

Bak şu güzel köylüye işte bu kızdır peri
Toprak ile oynamış belli güzel elleri
Böyle midir hep aceb köylülerin dilberi

Nakarât
Düştü gönül aşkına terk edemem bu yeri

Köyde imiş anladım mâye-i aşk u hevâ
Dağlara bak sanki aşk olmada suretnümâ
Cuyların nağmesi ruha verir bin safâ

Meskenim olsun benim terk edemem bu yeri

Elde kaval bak çoban eylemedir

Dinlemede hep sürü çünki hazindir kaval
Burda göründü/görendi bana naz ile o gül-ı cemâl
Sevdi gönül neyleyim terk edemem bu yeri

Bak ne güzel söylüyor dalda şu aşık hezâr
Burda bulur bâdesiz neş'eyi her gam küsar
Sen de gönül neş'elen işte budur kuy-i yâr

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14 This is the *Ferahfezâ* version. The *Yeni Şarkılar* version is a bit different. There is only one stanza and one refrain, and instead of 'ah', that edition has 'Allah'.

15 This is the *Ferahfezâ* version. The *Yeni Şarkılar* is different. Again, there is only the first stanza and refrain.

Ben de anın çün gönül terk edemem bu yeri

Yerde çiçekler bütün handenin âsârıdır
Gökte güneş veçhinin makes envârıdır
Karşığı orman ise aşkının esrârıdır

Hepsîiseni söylüyor terk edemem bu yeri

Gül yüzünü parlatan ismetinin nûrudur
Gönlümü sermest eden mahmurudur
Zanıma ol didenin kendi de meşhurudur

Tuttu beni ah o göz terk edemem bu yeri

Goncalara kim bakar gül teninin çağıdır
Böyle bakan kalbimi gamzesinin dağıdır
Saçlarının telleri sanki gönül bağıdır

Gönlümü bend eyledi terk edemem bu yeri

Kalbe safâ serpiyor hep şu bulutlar bugün
Başka bir âhenk ile ötmede kuşlar bütün
Zann ederim eyliyor burda tabiat

Neş'eye gark oldu dil terk edemem bu yeri

Buy latif veren gonca teni her yere
İşvesidir bahşeden derdini aşkın derdini sere
Sen de mi sevdâzede söyle mahzundere / dere

Ben de sana benzedim terk edemem bu yeri

5. *Şarkı-yı Beyâti,* Rızâ Bey (1895)

Aman ey yar cefâ-pîşe nizâr etme beni
Ölürüm sensiz a zâlım bırakıp gitme beni
Sitem etme kerem eyle kırıp incitme beni

Nakarât
Ölürüm sensiz a zâlım bırakıp gitme beni

Seni terk etme bana şimdi olmadın da beter
Sana qurbân olayım kılma beni mahv vahdır
Düşeyim payına çiğne (çeyne) çabucak etme keder

Nakarât
Ölürüm sensiz a zâlım bırakıp gitme beni

As we can see, most of the texts present a Turkish syntax (verb at the ending of the sentence) as well as vocabulary. The terms in Arabic and Persian are, on the other hand, conventional and recurring throughout *dîvân* poetry (see Andrews, 1985). They are mostly part of the shared vocabulary of affection that I mentioned earlier. Turkish grammar holds the texts together, beginning and closing each line. In part, the language used corresponds to particular themes. The case of song 3 and 4 is particularly relevant. Song 3 is an invitation to join the narrating voice on a drinking spree in the taverns of Beykoz, particularly the Göksu area. The song refers to other urban locations, such as Kalender, along Istanbul's Bosphorus and refers to familiar *dîvân* poetry protagonists such as the *kadehkâr*, the cup-bearer and an *ateş-i aşk* (fire of love), accompanied by a good dose of *zevk ü safâ* (pleasure and amusement). Song 4 describes a different, more bucolic, village setting. It does so, predictably, through the prism of love and but it also narrates of an attachment to a place that it is impossible to leave behind, a place where the melancholy voice of the *kavâl* fills the days spent surrounded by mountains and the *mâye-i aşk u hevâ* (*mâye* has more than one meaning, it may refer to the "essence" or "melody," *mâye* being a type of folk song, "of love and affection"). Against the background of these bucolic joys, the love of the narrator for the *güzel köylü* ('beautiful villager') blossoms. It is a variation on a familiar theme that is rendered particularly intriguing by the choice of Turkish to describe a non-urban setting where pure love finds its chance for blooming. However, it should be noted that, while Turkish is predominant, Arabic and Persian words are also found, and these are usually used to refer to the beloved (*yâr*), rosebuds (*goncalar*) and other floral metaphors for the beloved's beauty, lights (*envâr*) and secrets of love (*aşkının esrârı*). These nouns are held together by Turkish syntax and most of them are, in truth, still in use today, symptomatic of the fact that despite their origin, they have become a part of what we call the Turkish language.

Songs 1, 2 and 5 display similar patterns. All of them are so simple in language as to be easily understood by readers today. The Arabic and Persian terminology that they display is more or less still in use, and the lack of the *ezâfe*, the characteristic Persian particle that links two words together generating compound expressions and providing attributes to nouns, among other functions, is noteworthy.

The songs below contain more Persian and Arabic elements:

1. *Şarkı-yı Hüzzam,* Hacı Emin Bey (1895)

Bir gül-ı ranâye gönül bağladım
Hicri ile tâ beseher ağladım
Kendisinin meyli de var anladım

Nakarât
Aşkını tâ cân evime sakladım

Çeşm-i siyahında dönen cilveler
Kalbimi bin his ile lerzân eder
Vuslatıdır bence hayat değer/hayat-ı dîğer

Nakarât
Aşkını tâ cân evime sakladım

2. *Şarkı-yı Uşşâk,* Civan Ağa (1895)

Ey dil ne oldun feryât edersin
Feryât u zari mu'tâd edersin
Beyhûde ömrüm berbât edersin

Nakarât
Zannetme yarı münkâd edersin

Yarın cefâsı ta'dâde gelmez
Kuş etmez ehem feryâde gelmez
Bîmürüvvettir imdâde gelmez

Nakarât
Zannetme yarı münkâd edersin

3. *Şarkı-yı Muhayyer,* Hacı Arif Bey (1895)

Of Of Of Of
Deva yok mu neden bimar-ı aşka
Niçun bir çâre yok nâçâr-ı aşka
Rehâ olmaz mı bend-i nâr-ı aşka

Nakarât
Aman ya Rab yandım nâr-ı aşka

Helâk olmaktayım dağ olmadan
Yanar dil zahm-ı dil söz ve sitemden
İlâhî beni kurtar bu gamdan

Nakarât

4. Şarkı-yı Hicâz, Ali Rıfat Bey (1895)

Hüsn-ı güftarın senin ey mehlikâ
Çeşm-i fetânın gibi sevdâfezâ
Kahkahan cilven gibi şîrîn-edâ

Nakarât
Tarz-ı reftârın gören dir mehlikâ
Çeşm-i fetânın gibi sevdâfezâ

5. Şarkı-yı Karcığâr ve Şarkı Bestenigâr, Hakkı Bey (1895)

Tezyin ediyor gülşenî şîvî ile sünbül
İkmâl ediyor zâr ile bülbül
Sabrım tükenip kalmadı arama tahammül

Nakarât
Gel seyr edelim canım efendim şa bahârı
Bak mutribe eyler ne güzel beste

Seyre çikmışsın bugün Kağıthaneyi
Eyledin ma'mur dil vîrâne

Miyân
Söz aman söz dide-i mestâneyî

Nakarât
Eyledin ma'mur dil vîrâneyi

A more complex mixture in this second group of songs is immediately evident. Most of the Persian present in these texts is imagery and vocabulary that would be very familiar to *dîvân* readers. Again, the mix is held together by Turkish, which in the case of this second group of texts mostly provides verbs, but little more. The *ezâfe* is immediately detected, binding mostly Persian, but also Arabic words. The theme is, once again, the pangs of love and the excitement of flirtation and love drunkenness.

What do we make of the coexistence of such registers – the cohabitation of a classical, sophisticated tone with a more straightforward one to convey grief, love, innocence and light-hearted enjoyment? What do we make of this in the midst of discourses of authority versus accessibility, "unreadability" versus openness, simplification? Most importantly, what do we make of song channelling these strands? I believe the examples above show us that, according to the theme treated and the emotions intended to be

conveyed, choices are made with regards to the language and the register. In particular, it seems to me that Persian is the choice when the beauty of the beloved (*mehlikâ*, a "beauty as fair as the moon"), the drunkenness that love subjects the loving heart to (*dîde-i mestâne*, "drunken eye") and the piercing pain that unattainable beauty and love provoke (*feryâd*, "cry for help," or a flourishing, *ma'mûr* – which is Arabic – heart that has been made *virâne*, or "in ruins" – and we are back to Persian) have to be conveyed (see Tietze and Lazard, 1967 for Persian loanwords in Turkish). One word caught my attention, in song 8, and it is *nâr*, the Arabic for "fire". The *ezâfe* compound is interesting here: the often found expression "fire of love" is here rendered by using the Arabic *nâr* as opposed to the Turkish word for fire, *ateş* (*âteş* is also found in Persian: another case of a word that has been appropriated to the point that it is considered Turkish; see above for *âteş-i aşk*). This particularity may appear insignificant. However, I believe that it is in these language choices that are operated on the basis of how much sophistication – or perhaps affection? – is required to express a certain concept, or describe a certain emotion, that we can find some answers. *Nâr-i aşk* and *âteş-i aşk* have the same meaning and they are held together by the same *ezâfe* structure. However, the "fire" is evoked by a Turkish-appropriated word in a song that narrates the most light-hearted aspect of love and merry-making while the Turkish-appropriated Arabic is used in a song that narrates the anguish of incurable love. The *bîmar-ı aşk* ("he who is ill with love", using both Persian – *bîmar* – and Arabic, *aşk*) finds no cure. *Niçun bir çâre yok nâçâr-ı aşka/Rehâ olmaz mı bend-i nâr-ı aşka*: "why is there no cure for the one who is helpless for love/is there no escape for the slave of the fire of love?" The vocabulary, imagery and content would be known to the reader of *dîvân*. They are not particularly sophisticated or complex but they display choices and a linguistic architecture that reflects on-going affections and a familiarity for a common language and poetry repertoire. Most importantly, they are an example of language choice operated on the basis of occasion. This is not only related to the theme – light-heartedness versus hopelessness – that, after all, may very well be expressed in Turkish. Rather, what is noteworthy is that particular expressions to describe particular emotions are still solidly encased with the conventions and tradition of the *dîvân*, as references to modes of expression that, despite how problematic they were beginning to – and soon would – become, still held an important place in the self-mapping within history of readers and interpreters of the texts.

Returning to the idea of registers replicating relations, it will be helpful to reflect on the importance of developing a language for political, as well as poetic purposes, and what this reveals of those relations (see also Strauss, 2017). The poetic canon and language were, according to Carter Findley, developed in the court as part of a project to legitimise the imperial system as a whole (1980). An integral part of this project was the development of a language to fulfil the bureaucratic and literary aspirations – and needs – of an emerging power: Findley remarks that the texture of the language itself was impregnated with the Ottomans' sense of themselves and their place in the Islamic tradition (ibid.). It was a ruling class product, a Frankenstein bred in a rarefied space, the *sarây*. The *edeb* (translated by Findley as "good breeding", sophistication, good manners, refined education etc., 8) literary tradition came to be associated with the world of scribes and the palace school (*Mekteb-i Enderûn* or *Enderûn-ı Hümâyûn*). However, as we have already seen, this poetic tradition was not confined to the court. It existed beyond that rarefied space. The song-text taking that poetry across domains is one example. The juxtaposition of traditional formulas with their conventional meanings on a media space that proposed to re-adjust the linguistic domain they originated from is an example of that interdiscursivity and registers moving circularly across spheres of influence that Gal discusses. She rightly invites us to reflect not only on "how registers are made, but what is made with registers" (3) and poses enregisterment as an agent, and not simply as an exercise in demographics (5). She proceeds to show how register juxtaposition and borrowing/repetition across domains works in favour of specific political agendas and highlights particularly the sense of authority that register conveys and how that sense is manipulated to achieve political goals.

Authority as inherent to register, and register use is also discussed by Timo Kaartinen, looking at an Indonesian village chronicle. He highlights the way that song, among other types of oral and written texts, regulates community members' relations but also their positioning of themselves in their own history, amidst conflicts, disasters, colonialism etc. (2015). This partly resonates with the point made by Findley regarding the Ottomans locating themselves within the Islamic tradition via the development of language and a literary tradition. Kaartinen, citing Malcolm, defines register as "predictable conjuration of codal resources that members of a culture typically

associate with a particular recurring communicative situation" (2015: 165). In the case of chronicles, "different types of formal language ... signify traditional authority and truth" (*ibid.*) and it is via registers that the speakers – and listeners – position themselves in speech and contexts of social engagement (*ibid.*). Linguistic registers, further observes Kaartinen, "are entangled with different registers of self-knowledge and truth" (2015: 166), thus signifying a process of self-discovery and in-context positioning. The songs used by Kende in his performances, in particular, have the function to bring to the listeners the voices of "ancestors of linguistic and ethnic others" (2015: 173), thus producing a map for the audience to move across, finding itself through the contrast with the others and their past. All of it, through recognizable and relatable register formulas. Kaartinen also highlights how song is synonymous with authority in that it is regarded as conveying the truth regarding events which are contested by different parties (2015: 175). The most important aspect of register use in narrative/poetic texts, however, are the relationships established between the readers and the text *and* the readers and the contexts those texts took shape from. Coming back to the Ottoman *şarkı*, the point is crucial in evaluating the agency of this song form in establishing and maintaining relationships between readers from middle and higher class backgrounds and the contested, classical heritage in transition towards modernity. That is, this vocal repertoire as it appears in this particular media, at this particular juncture is a means of self-discovery in relation to tradition as well as an opportunity to reflect on one's place within that tradition. Such relations are regulated through language in the space of the song-text and, most importantly, attachments and affections are revealed in the flourishing of the repertoire at a time in which the nature of its linguistic content and affiliations were intensely debated. What is revealed, is a fluid language framework in which an on-going relational negotiation occurs, and that should not be thought of in terms of a divide. A fluidity shared by the genre, that moves across social groups and linguistic registers thus both reflecting the debate but also resisting absolute categorisation. This aspect, were one to look closely, also characterizes the language learning and teaching methods, and the terminology used to indicate their contents. The fluidity should also be observed in the fact that the vocabulary used has transcended linguistic origin and acquired its own specific meanings and presence in the language that has fully adopted it.

Conclusion

With this paper, I have tried to propose ways of thinking about song's role in subverting or supporting – or both – language policies and practice. By focusing on the late Ottoman *şarkı*, I have suggested that this art song form played a part in maintaining affections towards a shared linguistic and literary repertoire that was beginning to become controversial in the late 1800s, and would come to be seen as such during the Republic, with an increasing focus on the Turkish language and poetry/music forms. Furthermore, I discussed the song-text in relation to linguistic registers, arguing that the *şarkı* began, and continued to exist, in a form merging registers that reflects the reality of both newspaper language practice and methods used in language education. I have made my case against regarding what has been called "Ottoman Turkish" as a language far removed from Turkish as it is known and spoken nowadays, emphasizing how often the choice of terms depended on the content intended to be produced and how etymological origin is lost in communication, due to the appropriation of shared vocabulary.

My conclusions are as follows:

- The concept of linguistic registers and its use in song-lyrics can be helpful in reflecting on the ideology of song. Song carries its own ideological weight, subverting or supporting policy and ideology.

- The case of the Ottoman *şarkı* tells us that registers coexisted in song-text as much as in the press.

- These registers, in the context of both song and song published in press, may tell us of on-going affections and relations of the readers to their heritage, at a time of critical transformations.

- The texts proposed are an example of how the interweaving of registers worked in the *şarkı,* and the possible emotions the choice of vocabulary elicits/manifests.

- It is observed that a more straightforward Turkish text is linked to more light-hearted themes, while more elaborate use of Arabic and Persian is used for topics of greater emotional intensity. This may not be the general rule, however, it tells

us something regarding the relationship between form and content, as manifested through language.

An in-depth linguistic analysis and response to my suggestions would undoubtedly enrich my proposition. It is one of my hopes that these ideas will generate a discussion that could be useful to both the fields of musicology and linguistics, and beneficial to further understanding the interaction of song with language practice.

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Women Jazz Instrumentalists in Turkey within the Context of Gender

ABSTRACT

In this work, women jazz musicians in Turkey have been examined within the gender studies context. The purpose of this research, of which its theoretical frame was formed with a socio-musicological approach, via female musicians who are active in jazz music in Turkey, is to research and form a descriptive analysis by asking questions, such as: how gender roles affect women's careers, what steps female musicians have to go through in a sector dominated by men in order to be seen and which roles are attributed to women in jazz.

Due to the fact that women jazz musicians who play instruments are a minority, the scope of the subject has been limited to 'women jazz instrumentalists in Turkey', and in-depth interviews were conducted with selected sources within this context. The boundaries of the research topic were determined by the conducted interviews, and utilizing the feminist theory, qualitative research methods were used.

With this research, an effort was made at forming a systematic reference about female jazz musicians, which was previously not found in a thorough academic research before in Turkey. The people selected for the examination of their status in the field of jazz were seen as a starting point for the research of the subject, and following the transcription of their interviews, an attempt was made to determine the causes and conclusions of gender inequalities within jazz music in Turkey. Using the implications and the results gathered during the research, there was an intention to place an emphasis on the recognition of women jazz instrumentalists beyond what's known. In conclusion, in this paper, in order to provide support to studies of musicology with a feminist approach, up to date observations were made with the examination of women jazz instrumentalists in Turkey within the gender context.

Introduction

This work[1] constitutes a research that examines women's roles as jazz musicians in society within the gender context by using examples of women jazz musicians from Turkey.[2]

The observation that women jazz instrumentalists are a 'minor'ity, and fewer in numbers than males within the jazz sector in Turkey, has formed the starting point of this paper and the scope of the subject has been limited to 'women jazz instrumentalists in Turkey'. It has been determined that, although women jazz singers have largely found places for themselves on jazz stages, the ones who play instruments -and are also composers- are not as visible as singers. The purpose of this paper is to draw attention to women instrumentalists, despite their status as a minority in the jazz scene formed mostly by men, to add them to the literature and to expose the reasons as to why they are a minority and/or not as well-known.

The primary methods used in this research are the qualitative method and research techniques used in sociology, as well as musicology. The purpose of qualitative research is to understand and define the results of the research as they are, therefore, in order to understand the position of women in jazz music and the reality beyond what's known, 'in depth-interview technique' was utilized and eight women jazz musicians who had been selected as subject sources have been interviewed.

Throughout the literature search, the fact that no examples, other than Uyar's article (please refer to the bibliography), was come upon, and as research progressed, the lack of any sources in this format has supported the need for this study to be conducted. Additionally, while the above-mentioned article, written in Turkish, was focused on three women jazz pianists, within this research, the generation study exercised for the first time for Turkey's women jazz musicians indicates that the three generations (for now) of women jazz instrumentalists play instruments other than the piano, such as drums, double bass, and bass guitar, and have careers in composing, singing, band leadership and recording albums as well as their involvement in book editing and

[1] This paper was produced from a master's thesis for Istanbul University Musicology Department.
[2] This article, which was produced from the first author's Turkish thesis, was written in English with the intention of adding a comprehensive research about women jazz instrumentalists from Turkey to the international literature. The translation and final check was done in collaboration with native speaker Jonathan Can Uzuner Erkorkmaz.

academic studies, such as master's/PhD theses have been brought up as up to date observations. In addition, for the first time, a space was provided for a systematic reference of the brief history of jazz music in Turkey specific to women, and the biographies of the subject sources within the master's thesis, upon which this study is based.

This paper has been created with the intent of shining a light on the identities of women jazz musicians from Turkey, who play instruments (and compose), to create a collective memory and make space for Turkish women jazz musicians in the academic record.

Gender and feminist theory

The concept of gender formed within society draws attention to the roles attributed to women and men, focuses on differences of sex built by culture. "According to Ann Oakley, who introduced the term to sociology, '"Sex" refers to the biological division into male and female; "gender" to the parallel and socially unequal division into femininity and masculinity' (see *Sex, Gender and Society*, 1972). Gender draws attention, therefore, to the socially constructed aspects of differences between women and men." (Marshall, 1998: 250)

Feminist theory, a doctrine, which advocates for equality between genders, is a product of feminism[3] that came about during the 18th century in England, and became especially prevalent from the 1970s onwards.

Feminist historians have defined three waves of feminism. With the first wave (the 19th and early 20th century) women earned their basic rights, and in time, gained admissions into the academy. Academics with the feminist approach often leaned towards the arts in the 1960s, and became interested in the discipline of musicology in the 70s.

Within the questioning of art history with the feminist approach, Linda Nochlin's article *Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?,* published in 1971 plays an important part. In this work, Nochlin states that "In the former, too, 'natural' assumptions must be questioned and the mythic basis of much so-called 'fact' brought to light." (Nochlin,

[3] "Histories of feminism usually assume that feminism is a western, post-Enlightenment social movement which has contributed significantly to changes both in the social situation of women and in social perceptions of women… The most usually recognized starting point of western feminism in the eighteenth century and, in particular, the publication, in 1792, of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*." (Turner, 2006: 199)

2015). The feminist method used in this research too has embraced the equitable perspective and questioned the patriarchal views and traditionalist methods that leads science, just as it does every layer of society.

"Feminists ... are rewriting, redefining, and reconstructing historical and cultural thought and practice in order to repair the 'partial and sexualized character of existing theoretical knowledges.'" (Beasley, 1999: 5; as cited in Grant, 2006: 26) Specifically in this work, historical and cultural thought have been re-evaluated with a feminist perspective, while considering women's names generally being omitted from history, the literature as it was formed by the current patriarchal system, the possibility of women being left out on purpose and reparations have been attempted to the current information's gender based traits, by way of creating positive 'privilege'[4]/equality of opportunity to shine a light on, and to add women instrumentalists in Turkey to the literature.

The new musicology's work area has expanded with interdisciplinary research, such as feminist musicology with the cultural and historical context of music. Feminist musicology covers research that promotes musical works of neglected women and critical works on scientifically masculinized music. This work too, by focusing on determining whether it's possible for women jazz musicians whose recognition is debatable to play their instruments and compose regardless of their genders or not, adds to "'herstory' (a suggested play on words for 'history', 'history of women', an alternative to male history)" (Özkişi, 2009: 63) which itself is at the focus of feminist musicology studies.

"Is the construction of the category of women as a coherent and stable subject an unwitting regulation and reification of gender relations?" (Butler, 1990: 5) asks philosopher Judith Butler. As such, separating women based on their gender is perhaps another form of discrimination. However, as it stands, in order to provide equality between genders, descriptions such as 'woman instrumentalist', 'woman musician', 'woman composer' are used specifically to emphasize centuries of inequality/discrimination. Just as male musicians are not addressed as 'male musicians', there shouldn't be a need to address women as 'female musicians', however, to draw

[4] Its use was specifically preferred, instead of positive 'discrimination'.

attention to the issue until women and men are socio-economically and culturally equal and women get the recognition they deserve, the 'women' prefix is going to have to be used. Only by truly gaining gender equality can the quoted terms fulfill their duty. However, until an environment free of genders is reached, in order to quickly close and equalize the gap in the historical memory, there is still need for research that shines a light on gender equality, and this article has been formed with the intent of providing aid to gender studies within the field of music.

A brief history of women in jazz

While the when and the how of the birth of jazz is a topic for debate, the common consensus among many sources is that by the end of the 1800s, slaves brought over from the continent of Africa to America, combined the rhythm and melodies unique to their culture with American music in New Orleans, where slave ships usually docked. "The art world owes jazz to the slave trade that begun during the end of the 16th century and ended in 1865." (Mimaroğlu, 2016: 33) The social conditions that came about due to the slave trade created an effect on the Black population and has reflected on the way they express themselves and has led to the birth of jazz music.

Although the birth of jazz, which came to be as a sort of cry of racial injustice of the Black people can be interpreted as a cry of freedom, the common knowledge is that it took a longer time for Black women to take the stage as opposed to men. Jazz, in its inception was formed on the basis of discrimination and inequality as the Black people's music, so it would've only been appropriate to its roots and ideology had it empathized with and created a field of equality for women, who were living within a frame of discrimination and inequality. The fact that 200 years have passed since the birth of jazz, and women musicians are still a minority when compared to men on the jazz stage is ironic when considering the history and ideology of jazz music.

Although making significant contributions to jazz music, women jazz musicians have not received the attention they deserved, and it has been quite difficult for women to find a place in jazz playing instruments. During the first stages of jazz, women are usually seen as singers or pianists. The reason why women pianists could find their place and were plentiful in the early period jazz groups, is that men were playing brass instruments generally considered to be more 'masculine', hence the need for pianists. Another reason

for the existence of women pianists is due to middle/upper class families having their daughters take piano lessons as part of their upbringing, as the piano was considered a 'feminine' instrument. Because of these reasons, women have primarily found a place for themselves with the piano in the first periods of jazz. **Lil Hardin Armstrong** (1898-1971) and **Mary Lou Williams** (1910-1981) have an important place in the history of jazz among pioneer women jazz pianists.[5] Women who play instruments other than the piano have found opportunities within all-woman bands and family bands created during the 1930s and 40s in the big band period. Due to the conscription during the Second World War, female musicians had found a chance to play in place of male musicians, and orchestras formed entirely of women had become active. **International Sweethearts of Rhythm**, formed in 1939, is among the most famous of these bands. Trombonist **Melba Liston** (1926-1999), who was inspired by this band, is an important figure because she broke the prejudice by playing brass with prominent male bands. These women have become pioneers and role models as women instrumentalists within jazz music. Within the following periods, the prominence of women jazz musicians has risen significantly, women jazz instrumentalists as well as vocalists have gained importance in time and have been affective in jazz music. In the 21st century, there has been progress in comparison to the initial periods of jazz music, even though equality between female and male jazz musicians (especially in orchestras)[6] has not been gained, the inadequacy in the amount of role models for women jazz musicians remains an issue, and the stereotypes concerning women jazz musicians continues to a point.

[5] **Marian McPartland** (1918-2013) and **Hazel Scott** (1920-1981) are among famous women pianists in jazz music before 1960. Among the women pianists who gained prominence after the 1960s-70s are **Toshiko Akiyoshi** (1929), **Carla Bley** (1936) and **Joanne Brackeen** (1938). (Please refer to Leslie Gourse, *Madame Jazz* for other women jazz instrumentalists.)

[6] As an example; in 2014, musicians from San Francisco, with the organization of jazz trumpeter and activist Ellen Selling protested gender inequality, the exclusion of women for 26 years from the orchestra, therefore the lack of role models for young women musicians at one of the most important big bands in the world; the Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra and have requested 'blind auditions' (candidates to be evaluated behind a curtain during the selection for the orchestra, to avoid discrimination based on gender). Similar protests and campaigns have continued through 2015 and within the 2014-2015 season, the Jazz at Lincoln Center Orchestra has agreed to transparency and blind auditions within the selection process. Yet there still are no female members within the main staff of the orchestra.

After the First World War, jazz music has not only influenced the music of America, but also European art music. Jazz music has jumped across from America to Europe, and has influenced Turkey, therefore the meeting of Turkey with jazz has been through Europe.[7]

The first jazz singer in Turkey, also known as 'The Mother of Turkish Jazz' was **Sevinç Tevs** (1926?-1976). After Tevs, jazz singers, **Rüçhan Çamay** (1931), **Ayten Alpman** (1929/30?-2012) and **Tülay German** (1935) have come and can be referred to as the four pioneers of Turkish women jazz vocals.[8]

Women Jazz Instrumentalists in Turkey

When going back chronologically in the historical process, the first name that comes up as the woman jazz instrumentalist is **Nilüfer Verdi**, the first woman jazz pianist in Turkey. She is again followed by pianist **Ayşe Tütüncü**. Verdi and Tütüncü are also composers. During the period of Verdi and Tütüncü, one also comes across jazz drummer **Canan Aykent**, who lives in Ankara. Following Nilüfer Verdi, Ayşe Tütüncü and Canan Aykent, is pianist and composer **Selen Gülün**, who's played jazz in Istanbul for years, recorded albums, worked as an educator and has been living in Japan as of 2017.

On the jazz stage, following singing, the position seen as relatively 'appropriate' for women has been the role of a pianist, hence the large percentage of pianists within all the women jazz instrumentalists in Turkey. The pianist and composer **Eda And** who lives in Germany, who recorded her first album to feature her own compositions in Turkey in 2018 with musicians who live here, and pianist and composer **Bilge Günaydın**, who plays an active role in the Turkish jazz scene are among the new generation of jazz pianists in Turkey. New generation of musicians who are especially

[7] For detailed information regarding the history of jazz in Turkey, please refer to İlhan Mimaroğlu, *Caz Sanatı* (The Art of Jazz); Cüneyt Sermet, *Cazın İçinden* (From Within Jazz), *The History of European Jazz* book (edited by Francesco Martinelli) Turkey chapter (written by Hulya Tuncag) sources that were also used as references within the thesis.
[8] A name that cannot go by unmentioned in the field of Turkish jazz vocals is **Nükhet Ruacan** (1951-2007), who has also raised many students. Through the trail blazed by Turkish women jazz singers, Randy Esen, Sibel Köse, Elif Çağlar, Ece Göksu and Meltem Ege are among many jazz singers to continue on, as their numbers keep rising.

active in jazz music, but play instruments other than the piano, are double bass player and composer **Esra Kayıkçı** and bass guitar player and composer **Ceyda Köybaşıoğlu**.[9]

The eight women jazz musicians mentioned above form the subject sources for this study. Though many names came up during the preliminary research before the study, as the research continued, the evaluation of self-determined criteria -mentioned in detail within the thesis (İlbi, 2019)- created boundaries for the list which was used in the generation study below, regarding the eight women jazz musicians based on their dates of birth:

1st Generation (60s): Nilüfer Verdi, Ayşe Tütüncü, Canan Aykent.
2nd Generation (70s): Selen Gülün.
3rd Generation (80s): Esra Kayıkçı, Ceyda Köybaşıoğlu, Eda And, Bilge Günaydın.

Figure 1: First Generation; Nilüfer Verdi (1956), Ayşe Tütüncü (1960), Canan Aykent (1965).[10]

[9] Polish Drummer **Monika Bulanda** who has lived in Turkey since 2008, is active in Turkey's music stage, also drummer **Nihal Saruhanlı**, trombonist **Berna Sağdıç** who is a member of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality City Orchestra, trombonist **Ebru Kennington** again, is a musician of City Orchestra and the Emin Fındıkoğlu+12 orchestra, saxophonist **Ezgi Daloğlu** who was in the Istanbul Youth Jazz Orchestra that was conducted by pianist and composer Baki Duyarlar, **Aslı Özer** who is the pianist and composer of Cazzip Project, which is the winner of the 21st Istanbul Jazz Festival Youth Jazz Contest and the first Turkish band that got on stage in the Amersfoort Jazz Festival (in the Netherlands) in May 2019, drummer **Buse Şimşek** and pianist **Maya Muz** were not included within the scope of the research, however they have been involved in the jazz scene in Turkey. They weren't included within the scope of the research for reasons such as; some being active in various music genres other than jazz music, some becoming active just recently and some just being active in a single project.
[10] http://www.sanattanyansimalar.com/nilufer-verdi-caz-trio-5-mart-ta-erimtan-da/4315, http://nardisjazz.com/events/ayse-tutuncu-quartet from Canan Aykent's own database.

Figure 2: Second Generation; Selen Gülün (1972)[11]

Figure 3: Third Generation; Esra Kayıkçı (1982), Ceyda Köybaşıoğlu (1983), Eda And (1988), Bilge Günaydın (1989).[12]

[11] https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/kultur-sanat/2018/06/23/selen-gulun-kadinlar-matinesi-ile-sahnede/

[12] Esra Kayıkçı photo credit: Seda Özgüven, Ceyda Köybaşıoğlu: https://ankaracaz.com/, Eda And photo credit: Aykut Uslutekin, Bilge Günaydın: https://ankaracaz.com/

Basic information regarding the subject sources[13] are displayed in Chart 1:

GENERATION	NAME	INSTRUMENT	COMPOSITION	SINGING	BAND LEADERSHIP	ALBUM(S)	JAZZ MUSIC CAREER (years)	ACADEMIC STUDY
1st GENERATION	N.VERDİ	Piano	+		+	3	40	
	A.TÜTÜNCÜ	Piano	+	+	+	9	25+	
	C.AYKENT	Drum					25+	Master's+PhD thesis
2nd GENERATION	S.GÜLÜN	Piano	+	+	+	7	25	Master + Book editing
3rd GENERATION	E.KAYIKÇI	Double bass	+	+	+	1(vocal) + 1 (single)	5+	2 Master's thesis
	C.KÖYBAŞIOĞLU	Bass guitar	+	+	+	1(single)	10	
	E.AND	Piano	+		+	1	5	Master
	B.GÜNAYDIN	Piano	+		+	1	5	Master's thesis

Table 1: The Comparison Table of Three Generations[14]

The Evaluation of Women Jazz Instrumentalists in Turkey within the Gender Context

"Role is a key concept in sociological theory. It highlights the social expectations attached to particular statuses or social positions…" (Marshall, 1998: 570) Which means that roles are formed by social based expectations. The concept of gender, which also forms the perspective of this research is, in its essence, formed by roles determined by social expectations. What roles are predefined for women by gender, the social expectations required of women who are jazz musicians are and what the socially 'appropriate roles' for women within jazz music are, were researched within this study. Within the detected findings were data such as; singing being the usual role required of women jazz musicians, playing an instrument and/or composing not being associated with women, and that women who were involved in jazz music in capacities other than singing faced bewilderment. An example is Nilüfer Verdi, the first woman jazz pianist of

[13] Since any proper biographical information on most of these eight women musicians within this generation study couldn't be found in any obtainable source; the one-on-one interviews conducted for this research, the online resources and background information derived from their own personal archives have been mentioned in the thesis, which constitutes the basis for this study.
[14] Since most of the subject sources have master's degrees/thesis and have had academic activities as well as being musicians, a column has been added to the table regarding their academic studies.

Turkey, who's stated that it was more probable for a woman in jazz to find a job by being a singer[15] (Nilüfer Verdi, personal communication, February 22, 2019).

In jazz, while the role of a singer is seen as 'appropriate' for women, naturally the path is cleared for them, whereas the role of an instrumentalist is a few steps ahead, and women have had to/and still have to struggle for that path. For example, pianist Selen Gülün (2nd Generation) has stated that;

Never ever in Turkey have I ever been invited as a pianist, and until I attended Berklee [College of Music], I was only invited as a singer. Actually, society, willingly or not pushes you towards something like this: "Don't you play just sing, so don't use an instrument use your voice" (Selen Gülün, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

On the other hand, while the role expected of a male jazz musician is the ability to play his instrument 'well' befitting of his status, the role expected of a female jazz musician is that she play her instrument 'very well'. Penina Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, in their books *Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Women into the Professions, 1890-1940* talk about the four strategies women use to combat gender inequality. One of them; the strategy of 'super-performance' fits in accordance with the role of playing 'very well' mentioned previously. For example, Selen Gülün has said; for women jazz musicians to be taken seriously, they have to play "much better" compared to men and also conduct their business "much more orderly, without any mistakes" (Selen Gülün, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

With data gathered throughout this study, specifically within jazz music, the most important reason why women usually lean towards singing, why women jazz instrumentalists are a minority, and why they usually prefer being pianists is the subject of (the) role model.[16] For example, when asked about women not leaning towards instruments, Bilge Günaydın (3rd Generation) responded that the low number of women jazz instrumentalists puts potentially influential role models out of reach, and that the

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[15] It's observed that the role of a singer being a more 'appropriate' role, and one that's more customary for women in jazz is an ongoing social code that provides women a place on the jazz stage and an ease in getting a job due to demand to see the female figure aesthetically or up front -in front- of the musicians on stage.

[16] "A significant other, upon which an individual patterns his or her behavior in a particular social role, including adopting appropriate similar attitudes. Role-models need not be known personally to the individual: some people model their behavior in particular roles on the real and legendary example provided by historical figures." (Marshall, 1998: 572)

high number of female jazz singers naturally creates a shift towards singing and also that the singer's model is carried to the foreground (Bilge Günaydın, personal communication, April 6, 2019).

Selen Gülün also states that the lack of inclination to play instruments when starting out as a jazz musician is especially due to the knowledge that the road ahead will be a difficult one, because of the low number of role models available. For Gülün, the small number of examples before women who want to be jazz pianists means the struggle to stand out and to be seen among millions from the very start. She adds that; to be assisted by an appropriate emotional state and background requires a courageous and intellectually dense surrounding, and that no such level of cultural consciousness can be said to have matured in Turkey as of yet (Selen Gülün, personal communication, February 12, 2019).

Once again, Selen Gülün has touched on the importance of having role models;

Ayşe Tütüncü can be considered my role model because when I first saw her I was very young. She was on the stage playing the synthesizer as well as singing and playing the piano with the band 'Mozaik'. My God!... That was the first role that gave me courage, when I saw Ayşe and said "So I can do that as well." Therefore, I know how important it is. I myself have tried to stand in that place as well, so I could raise others who came after... (Selen Gülün, personal communication, February 12, 2019)

Pianists Eda And (3rd Generation) and Bilge Günaydın have also talked about the availability of women role models as a need and a source of inspiration when starting out as an instrumentalist in jazz music.

On the topic of women playing instruments in jazz music in Turkey, it has been observed that pianists hold the highest percentage. While the tradition of women pianists being common during the infancy of jazz music in the US could be regarded as one of the causes for this issue, the most important reasons for the prevalence of women jazz pianists over other women jazz instrumentalists could be explained in the following way: Due to the masculinity-femininity characteristics projected onto instruments, the piano is considered a more 'feminine' instrument and is associated with women, therefore girls usually start their music lives with piano lessons and within

conservatories, among the instruments that girls are lead towards such as the violin, the flute and the piano, because of the common usage of the piano in jazz music, when they want to get into jazz music and better themselves, their piano training makes them lean towards becoming jazz pianists.

According to Sherrie Tucker, "Throughout jazz history singing has been understood as relatively feminine, or an activity in which women could participate without appearing 'abnormal', compared with the playing of brass, reeds, bass, and drums – instruments typically associated with men." (Tucker, 2003: 2) Throughout history, women who've played instruments generally used in jazz music other than the piano have had to face certain prejudices, and have been regarded as 'abnormal' as stated above. Social norms[17], while not written, have been accepted by society, so actions that do not fit in with these norms and with the roles of gender are regarded as 'abnormal' by society. Women who play instruments generally associated with men such as drums, bass guitar, double bass and brass instruments, have had to face and struggle with certain stereotypes. As the number of role models keeps increasing, and society grows to understand that these prejudices are just the perspectives formed by the social system, so the stereotypes too, will decrease, and women playing these instruments be normalized. Among the eight subject sources selected for this research, five are pianists, while one is a drummer, one is a bass guitarist, and one is a double bass player. The ratio specific to this research indicates that the selection of instruments other than the piano is fewer in numbers.

Double bass player Esra Kayıkçı (3rd Generation) has stated that she's sometimes had difficulty in carrying her double bass, but that a musician will and can play the instrument that they want to play. While also a singer, Esra Kayıkçı has said that she has been met with surprise and interest when she used her double bass and her voice at the same time on stage (Esra Kayıkçı, personal communication, March 26, 2019). Ceyda Köybaşıoğlu (3rd Generation), who plays bass guitar and sings within her own project, has put forward that the notion of difficulty in doing both at the same time is quite common: "*I receive feedback asking me whether I can do both at the same time. Some are*

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[17] "In sociology a norm is a shared expectation of behavior that connotes what is considered culturally desirable and appropriate. Norms are similar to rules or regulations in being prescriptive, although they lack the formal status of rules." (Marshall, 1998: 453)

positive, but some display pessimism by way of being looked over." (Ceyda Köybaşıoğlu, personal communication, April 22, 2019)

In essence, improvisation, one of jazz music's key aspects can be likened to composing in regards to creative skills being put forth by improvising. As such, with the nature of jazz being so lenient towards improvisation, an important skill that most jazz musicians have, is that of an improviser. About 90% of the subject sources involved with this research are also composers. The role of composing, again, like playing an instrument, is not one associated with women, due to gender inequality. Throughout history, the low number of women composers, as compared to men, is an important indicator of this fact. Women composers have had to endure and face prejudices throughout history, like they did when playing instruments. An example; "Women have had to develop certain strategies just to prevent unjust negative reviews upon their works because of their sex. One of these is to hide their sex by using their initials on the concert programs." (Özkişi, 2017: 75) An example of data gathered by asking the subject sources about their roles as composers; Eda And has said that when she reached out to musicians to play and work with her on her first album, comprised of her own compositions, her works were well liked, and some male musicians were surprised that she was able to compose them as a woman (Eda And, personal communication, April 5, 2019).

Within the societal system, women not getting the opportunity to express themselves also constitutes a disadvantage in jazz music. Jazz music, generally, is the music of self-expression; therefore, in a geography where women still can't express themselves in many fields, it may seem usual for women who express themselves within jazz music with their instruments and/or their own works to be a minority. One of the key elements of jazz music is that it's based upon improvising by stepping away from central rules. In a patriarchal society, individuals, unknowingly, take on certain roles and these roles become visible through certain actions. Turkey too, is an androcentric geography, and while this situation has started to unravel through a slow movement of consciousness and awareness, some codes from the past make themselves apparent under certain circumstances. Within the patriarchal system, women are expected to be quiet, self-sacrificing and obeying, to remain in the house, and to refrain from stepping forward as much as possible. All these expectations and gender roles may willingly or otherwise reflect upon women's feelings and actions, so becoming free and improvising

may take a period of adjustment. This process can only be improved with equality of opportunity. For women to improve themselves in jazz, they have to be constantly playing, and for that, both jazz bands and jazz stages have to embrace equality of opportunity.

In jazz, being a composer brings with it being a band leader. This is because in the tradition of jazz, composers play their compositions in their groups with their instruments, and the groups that play their compositions usually carry their names and are led by them. The status of being a leader is limited to women, not only in the field of music, but in many others. Society is not used to seeing women in leadership positions. For example, pianist Ayşe Tütüncü (1st Generation) has said that women musicians as leaders are usually as unexpected as women having a say in society and governance (Ayşe Tütüncü, personal communication, March 22, 2019).

When Eda And was studying jazz composition in Germany, she was conducting her own composition in school, and said that she was not taken seriously and constantly criticized by the group she was leading, while her male classmate wasn't met with such behavior, therefore the mistreatment she received was because of her sex (Eda And, personal communication, April 5, 2019).

Like in many other occupations, women come across the disadvantage of being a minority in jazz music as well. For example; Ayşe Tütüncü has expressed the feeling of loneliness this situation brings as such;

There is a nice, fraternal, equal atmosphere when the group we're playing in is comprised of two women and two men... But when men outnumber women, there tends to be a situation where a male sense of humor and male style of conversation is generally felt heavily. Actually, being seen out there in numbers really does change a lot. Things change where women are abler to be together, or the women to men ratio is closer in numbers. A male musician would feel alone too if he were a minority amongst many women. Being a minority creates the feeling of loneliness... (Ayşe Tütüncü, personal communication, March 22, 2019)

As stated in the documentary *Miss Representation*, American female activist Marian Wright Edelman's phrase "You can't be what you can't see", young women can't imagine

being somewhere where there are no women, or if women are a minority. It's what's seen that inspires the idea of what's possible. For this reason, like stated in the subject of role models, the visibility of women jazz musicians carries a significant importance, as they will be the examples for future generations to come. In this study, the recognition of women jazz instrumentalists was questioned, questions like whether the subject sources had to work extra in order to be seen in the sector of jazz music and to find a place for themselves, and what sort of processes they had to go through within this context were asked.

For example, drummer Canan Aykent (1st Generation) has stated that in her view, in order to be seen as a musician, the individual has to work hard regardless of their sex and that in order to be successful in jazz, it takes a lot of effort, and that it has less to do with gender, and more to do with skills and effort (Canan Aykent, personal communication, April 23, 2019).

On the other hand, Selen Gülün has stated that in order to be seen and accepted in jazz, women have to write their own music, that this issue had an effect on her leaning towards composing and becoming a group leader:

Women have to write their music... You get to a point where you have to be a leader yourself, because no one invites you as a musician, but you want to play and so you start creating your own music so you can create an offering. So that you can gather people around you. This in fact, is a point of struggle, creating your own music and your own domain. I was in the need to do just that. I wanted to do it regardless, but I would've had to do it even if I didn't want to. (Selen Gülün, personal communication, April 9, 2019)

It has been observed through this research that male jazz musicians usually play with males, that they generally don't work with female instrumentalists as group members and that women create a workplace for themselves by forming all-woman bands. After all these observations, it could be said that while male jazz musicians take place as group members in groups formed and led by women who write their own music, in their own groups they generally work with male musicians. As mentioned in Leslie Gourse's book *Madame Jazz*, "It isn't necessarily chauvinism alone that still keeps most men playing with men. Habit usually guides them... So men usually play with musicians they have always worked with: other men...For the women players, the breaks have to come

from leaders who… keep their minds and options open. Or the women must get their own gigs as leaders…" (Gourse, 1995: 12)

The subject sources were consulted to find whether the male-dominated world of jazz has an influence on the creativity and enthusiasm of women musicians. For example, pianist Selen Gülün has shared her experiences as such:

Of course it affects. As a woman, throughout your life you're subjected to a lot of behaviors that make you question your existence in this profession, within education etc. There were many times when I was depressed, and as an example, this is what led me to leave Turkey for Berklee. (Selen Gülün, personal communication, April 9, 2019)

Generally, subject sources have stated that their creativity was not affected by the male dominated jazz stage, but that their enthusiasm and motivations were. The experiences and comments shared by subject sources are indications of gender inequality. It is only possible that there are examples whose spirit was broken, enthusiasm diminished and, in the end, lost their struggle when their motivation ran out. As such, it's important to increase awareness about gender inequality, to construct this consciousness, and to be involved in activities that encourage the rise of women instrumentalists in jazz music.

Conclusion

Within this article, women jazz instrumentalists have been examined within the gender context, and the structure of the study has been shaped by interviews conducted with the subject sources.

The topic that comes up when questions like 'why have there been no great/important women artists/writers/scientists' in various fields are directed towards women returns the result that they're not 'absent', but a 'minority', and the reason for that, is historically, gender inequality; one of just many social injustices that affects women's educational and career opportunities negatively.

On the topic of 'why have there been no… women', for example, English writer Virginia Woolf, in one of feminism's most prominent works; *A Room of One's Own*, talks about "If Shakespeare had a sister…" (and if she too wanted to be a poet…) that this sister's fictionalized 'potential career' wouldn't go anywhere, and that she would end up taking her own life. Keeping in mind the fact that women are not as frequently mentioned in

music as men until the 20th century, in the times of Shakespeare (16th century), this assumption could only end up as predicted.18

When looking at the 20th century, with the effect of the feminist movement, there has been significant progress in areas of women gaining their basic rights, in finding a place in education, and in joining the work force. In the 21st century, this state has been improving, but the equality between men and women throughout every facet of society has still not been established, and women's ongoing struggle concerning their existence and recognition has not been completed. Throughout human history, although co-existing with men, women, who, for some reason, have been left out by male dominated literature, perhaps have begun to gain more recognition in each and every field, as the concept of gender has in time, started to come under critical view.

Within this research, while the perception that 'there are no' women jazz instrumentalists has been done away with, and it's been determined that they're a minority when compared to men, it turns out that they're still not a 'minor'ity as they're generally thought of, and that the reasons as to 'why' they're a minority are connected to parameters based in gender.

When going through the literature of women's works in Turkey, the bibliography based on gender is generally limited to the field of arts, and are limited in numbers in the field of jazz music. Using publications such as *Gölgenin Kadınları* (The Women of Shadow), *Sanatın Gölgedeki Kadınları* (The Women of Art within the Shadows), with an emphasis on being left in the shadows of art history written by men, parallel to male dominance within jazz history as well, the purpose of examining women who've been left in the shadows or left out, should not be to put them where 'they should be' or to fill gaps, but to take a close look at women's productivity, their creativity, and the strategies developed by them to overcome difficulties, to make yesterday's experiences visible/recognizable within today's practices.

18 Another point that destroys the 'why have there been no... women' argument are women who've had to conceal their true identities as women, and have gone in history as men to be able to exist as writers, musicians etc. For example, the most famous French woman writer Aurore Dupin (1804-1876), who's been involved with 19th century Polish composer F. Chopin for a while, uses the pseudonym George Sand, and inspires progressive women like Mary Ann Evans (1819-1880) who writes in England with the pseudonym George Eliot, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861) who gets her poems published as translations because of women poets not being perceived well in her times. On the other hand, jazz musician 'Billy' Tipton (1914-1989) whose real name is Dorothy, but can only subsist by disguising herself as a man, is an example from jazz history.

As stated by some of the subject sources, within the seminars they've attended abroad or the education they've received, the number of examples of women musicians have been limited when compared to men. While a worldwide issue, the status of women in jazz music being a minority is higher in ratio in Turkey. Selen Gülün, who lives in Japan, and Eda And, who lives in Germany, have conveyed that the instances of women jazz instrumentalists abroad are much higher when compared to Turkey. In these countries, the idea of possibly becoming a woman jazz musician is spreading among women, musicians and within society thanks to the visibility of these examples. As the number of women jazz instrumentalists rises in Turkey, as more visible examples become available, so will the perspective of society change, and further boost the rising number of women jazz musicians. It could be possible to start locally, to point out where these questions/problems rise and to help increase this ratio with studies like this.

As determined from the statements put forward by many of the women instrumentalists who've taken part in this research, the need that every individual feels is to see an example/role model in the path they will choose for themselves; therefore, the need for women to see role models in jazz music is one of the most interesting determinations of this study. The higher the number of role models, the brighter and less handicapped the road will be for women jazz musicians who will follow in their path. Just like a relay race, the number of women in arts and sciences continues to rise, thanks to the torch lit by the women movement's that started only 200 years ago. Therefore, from Marie Curie, the first woman scientist to win a Nobel Prize, to the first Turkish woman stage actress Afife Jale, from the first Turkish *primadonna* Leyla Gencer, to the first Turkish jazz vocalist Sevinç Tevs, from the first woman jazz pianist in Turkey Nilüfer Verdi to the youngest member of the generation study of this research; pianist Bilge Günaydın, the existence of 'sheroes' (a play on the word hero that refers to women/women heroes who are appreciated because of their courage, extraordinary accomplishments, noble qualities) of this relay race holds great importance for jazz musicians both of today and tomorrow.

As Virginia Woolf writes in her book, there have been many famous male thinkers throughout history who've clearly put forward their hatred of women, their ideas about women being incapable of dealing with 'serious' matters, that they never could create/be creative, that they could never compose etc. However, studies conducted on

the matter provide information that when any work of art is examined without information regarding the artist who created it, there can be no definitive conclusion about the gender of the artist. Taking this into consideration, focusing on the 'reason's as to why women are a minority in jazz, like in so many other fields, urgent steps have to be taken to remove the causes. Nature's 'law of balance' is one of opposites in harmony. For example, like the black and white in the *yin-yang* symbol being featured in the same circle, and like the thesis-antithesis forming the synthesis, the roles of women and men have to be balanced on the level of collective consciousness. When the balance is broken, it affects both sides of the dualism. Although usually, it's the negatively affected side that tries to recreate balance at first, this by itself becomes inadequate. As such, the effort put forward to ensure the balance between men and women can only go so far, when the effort is only by women.

Thus, for male jazz musicians to develop an awareness of the gender inequality within jazz, to be aware of the female jazz musicians left on the broken side of the balance who start their careers off in the same sector in a disadvantaged state; and to make an effort to balance the situation even though they're on the advantageous side will form a solid step forward in creating this balance. Moving from there, for male jazz musicians to create 'equality of opportunity' by giving place to women colleagues within 'male' groups, and for festival and club managers to provide women with equality of opportunity with the same mindset may be the accelerators for the change that's been in the making for so long, and for it to be permanent.

As can be observed in the generation study conducted within this research, the number of women jazz instrumentalists keeps rising, and this is promising with regards to establishing equality amongst men and women in jazz music. Over the course of this research, up and coming women jazz musicians have been identified, and within future research they may be subjects of, the generation study started here can be used. And so, as new names expected to get additional recognition are added to women jazz instrumentalists, the generations that follow may be in the majority when compared to those who came before. As this research, and others like this find a place in academic literature, the male-dominated literature will be left behind, and a more equal playing field can be formed. This study, which aims to form a qualitative memory within the

academic research on women, is at the same time a gesture of respect towards all the women who've put the effort within this field.[19]

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[19] The many possible solutions to balance recognition of women (jazz musicians) within society can be found in the thesis study that formed the basis of this article.

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150 Years of Choro – Where Are We Now?

ABSTRACT
According to a Brazilian saying, choro is the father of samba and the grandfather of bossa nova. Starting off as a way of interpreting European music with an African twist, it developed from a lower middle-class style played for fun and without monetary ambition to one of Brazil's most revered genres, played by all classes. Choro fell in and out of fashion various times: It was declared to be the embodiment of Brazilianness in the 1920s, 1930s, and 1970s, and almost vanished twice (in the 1950s and 1960s, and from the 1980s into the early 1990s), because it was considered old-fashioned. When exactly choro saw the light of day, is a matter of discussion. This will be described in the article. We come to the conclusion that choro can claim to be 150 years old and has now reached its most diverse stage so far. It boasts a fairly good infrastructure with institutes, schools, concerts, jam sessions, sheet music, method books, books, an online magazine, CDs, films, radio broadcasts, TV productions, websites, and diligent studies, both by instrumentalists and scholars. Furthermore, it is by now played on all inhabited continents.

Introduction

Sometimes a simple question from a fellow musician can have an enormous effect. After we had played "Bb Minor Bulgar" by Dave Tarras with a trio in a *klezmer* session, I remarked that the piece reminded me, in some respects, of *choro*. The flutist asked me why and what *choro* was, and I explained the similarities in the harmonies and the three-part structure. I felt that I could have given a more satisfying answer, and the day after the session started digging deeper into the definition of the genre, its history, and its present situation. Moreover, I learned dozens of pieces on various instruments, and started to frequent and host *choro* sessions. During my studies, some of my questions have been: What makes a *choro* piece a *choro* piece? Why are there differing answers as to when *choro* arose? How could *choro* develop from a very local to a national, and then an international phenomenon? I also noted that some claims in the literature had been repeated again and again, but urgently needed more precision (for instance the concept of *choro* as the first urban genre in Brazil), while other phenomena like the increasing number of strings on various *choro* instruments had gone more or less uncommented. Additionally, when I started writing this article, I was not aware of any satisfactory up-to-date overview of the *choro* infrastructure in Brazil today, nor of any publication that had ever tackled the question on which continents *choro* is played and whether it is played the world over by now. Some authors had mentioned *choro* outside Brazil, but these reports were various years old and rather incomplete. They only covered a fraction of the countries in which *choro* can now be found.

In order to write this article I not only considered about 80 publications ranging from articles and interviews to books and dissertations, but also consulted hundreds of web pages and contacted more than 60 musicians – some of them absolutely vital for the establishment of *choro* in particular continents, countries, or regions – to make sure I could include the very latest developments. 12 of these musicians filled in a questionaire I had sent them. This number seemed too small to present the results systematically, but the filled-in questionaires nevertheless contained a wealth of information concerning activities in various countries, performance practice, and motivation for playing *choro*.

Choro at a Glance

Choro, pronounced [ˈʃoɾu] and sometimes spelled *chôro*, is a mainly instrumental Brazilian genre, which evolved in the 19th century – when and how exactly will be discussed in the next two sections. It combines European and African influences. In this

respect it is similar to *danzón* (Cuba), *beguine* (Martinique), tango (Argentina) and ragtime (USA). Table 1 shows how the genres are related. We omitted *danzón* and *beguine* for clarity's sake (they would fill boxes analogous to tango), but added two other important genres of Brazilian music to show their relationship with *choro*. We could possibly make the case for *choro* even stronger, since according to Sivuca, one of the most revered musicians in Brazil, the following holds: "For any and all Brazilian instrumental music, if it really is Brazilian in origin, we must consider *choro* as its basis" (Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia, 2005: 177).
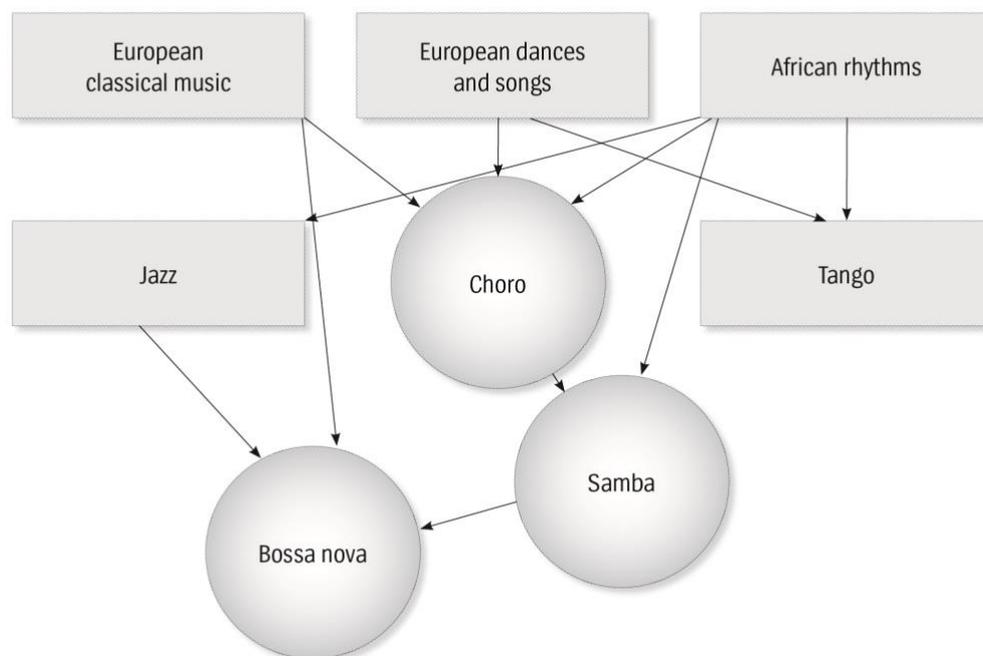
Table 1. *Choro* in context: its origins and its influence on other Brazilian genres of music together with some of the styles from the same sources

Those who are interested in what exactly the European and African influences on *choro* are, should refer to Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia (2005: 17 ff), Magalhães (2014), and Diniz (2003: 17-18). Likewise, we will not repeat the discussion on the etymology of the word *choro*. Suffice it to say, that Brazilians connect *choro* with the word *chorar* (to cry), because of the allegedly wailing sound of the first *choro* musicians. However, the most likely origin seems to be the word *choromeleiros*, designating musicians playing the *charamela*, a folk oboe. For further details see Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia (2005: 59 ff), Ramos (2015: 12), or Valente (2014: 27).

What is common to all incorporated styles, with the exception of the waltz, is that they are written in 2/4 signature. Only in the last few years other signatures have been introduced; interestingly, these are sometimes only kept up for one or just a few bars. It should also be noted, that notated *choros* only approximate the way the music is played, since the swing of African rhythms is not easy to transcribe by Western means.

If asked for the instrumentarium of *choro*, most people with a background of *choro* music would answer: flute (or alternatively, a clarinet or mandolin, which is *bandolim* in Portuguese), *cavaquinho* (relative of the ukulele, with four strings tuned to D_4 G_4 B_4 D_5), a guitar with six strings (*violão seis cordas*, V6C), a guitar with seven strings (*violão sete cordas*, V7C; like a V6C with a an additional C_2 or B_1 below the E_2) and a *pandeiro* (a tambourine like instrument, which looks like a *riqq*, but is played differently). This has certainly been the paradigm, particularly from the rise of the so-called *conjuntos regionais* onwards (sometimes only *conjuntos* or *regionais*; literally: regional bands; these were formed by and for radio companies). However, there is a huge amount of variation. Historically, *choro* started with a combination of flute, *cavaquinho* and one or two V6Cs – all but the flute were considered to be instruments of the lower classes. The piano, a distinctly upper-class instrument, has also had its place in *choro* almost from the beginning. In the late 19th century, military and other brass bands started to play *choro*. Heitor Villa-Lobos and other composers have integrated stylistic elements of *choro* into their classical compositions and have called some of their compositions *choros*. Also, there are a number of arrangements for solo guitar. Today, almost anything goes, particularly if it is also used in the framework of classical, jazz, or other Brazilian music.

Perhaps – at least in the context of bands and *rodas de choro* (literally: *choro* circle; jam sessions; more in the sections on the history and *choro* worldwide) – one should not think so much in terms of instruments, but more in terms of four functions: *choro* needs someone to play the melody and improvise (*solo*), then someone is supposed to play the chords (commonly called *centro*), someone is to provide the bass line, often in the form of counterpoint (*baixaria*; today usually the V7C, but in earlier times it could also be a V6C or the now-extinct ophicleide), and someone is needed for the rhythm section *(ritmo)*. Musicians are allowed to change between these functions within a piece, if their instrument allows for it.

The three most important stringed instruments of *choro* – the *cavaquinho*, the *bandolim,* and the guitar – have, over time, shown a tendency to pick up more strings, which is probably due to the fact that because of the early piano influences a lot of *choro* pieces stretch over considerably more than two octaves. Today you find *cavaquinhos* with an added A$_3$ or G$_3$ string, or even *cavaquinhos* with six strings tuned like a guitar, but one octave higher, so the *cavaquinho* player can easily play three octaves instead of two. The *bandolim* now sometimes has a fifth pair of strings, giving access to another fifth below (particularly since Hamilton de Holanda, the contemporary reference, when it comes to playing the *bandolim*). The seventh string of the guitar was added as early as the 1920s. It became common in the 1930s and might go back to a – differently tuned – Russian seven-string guitar the members of the famous *Os Oito Batutas* discovered in Paris in the early 1920s. There is a photo of them from that time in the collection of the Biblioteca National in Rio de Janeiro, in which guitarist China, brother of the famous flutist, sax player, and composer Pixinguinha, is sitting on the far left with a V7C in his hand.

Choro has a prototypical form which has been used almost exclusively until the middle of the 20th century: AABBACCA. In practice, however, particularly at *rodas,* with many people playing *solo*, repetitions are more frequent than the standard scheme suggests: a C part may be played four times in order to make sure everybody gets to *solo*; or the B part is played again repeatedly after the C part has already been played. Breaking up the AABBACCA scheme normally does not create chaos. Each part usually has a different pick-up preceding it, mostly three sixteenths, so musicians usually have a little time to understand what the *solista* (soloist; here referring to someone playing melodies or improvisations) is up to.

Apart from the three-part *choro*, there are two-part or even one-part *choros*. Two-part *choros* (AABB or ABA) occasionally go by the name of *chorinho* (little *choro*), a name which some people apply to any piece of *choro*. This is not received well by many *chorões* (*choro* musicians), who retort that since one does not call jazz *jazzinho* or *bossa nova bossinha nova*, one should refrain from using the diminutive for *choro*.

Dating Problems

When *choro* arose is a matter of debate. If we look at various sources, we find answers, which in part seem mutually exclusive. The dates given range from an imprecise "19th century" (Ramos, 2015: 8) via "mid 19th century" (Mair, 2000: 14), "around 1870"

(Vasconcelos, 1986: 193; Diniz, 2003: 9; Coelho and Koidin, 2005: 37), "in the end of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s" (Cabral, 2009: 10) to "late in the 19th century" (Magalhães, 2014: 79), which at times means the 1880s or 1890s, but can apparently also refer to the 1870s (compare Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia, 2005: 17 versus the chapter heading "1870 to 1920" on page 58 of the same book).

While the vague "19th century" has the advantage of being irrefutably correct, the range of almost 50 years in the other answers seems unsatisfying. It must, however, be considered that we only have limited knowledge of the habits of the lower middle class, which emerged in the 19th century in Brazil and developed *choro*. Furthermore, we have to bear in mind that the term *choro* has undergone a metamorphosis over the course of time. According to Alexandre Branco Weffort (2002: 6; as cited in Valente, 2014: 26), the term first designated a social event, then a musical practice, later a repertoire, after that, a way of interpreting pieces, and finally, a genre. One might add that the former meanings did not completely die out when new meanings arose and that *choro* can also refer to a group of musicians playing *choro* music. This is an old meaning of the word which is still understood by Brazilians today, as can be seen in band names like today's *Choro Livre*. Bearing this in mind, you can give different dates according to which sense of the word *choro* you refer to. Marilynn Mair, for instance, claims that *choro* as a performance style started in the mid-1800s, while the first *choro* compositions in print appeared in the 1870s (Mair, 2000: 13). You may then continue to say that the genre arose at the end of the 19th century, as do Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia (2005: 66), who point to the fact that the word *choro* was first used to designate a genre in 1889 with the publication of Chiquinha Gonzaga's composition *"Só no choro"* (Only in *Choro*).

In the context of this article, we date *choro* back to around 1870, not because this date is in between the mid 1800s and the late 19th century, but mainly because Joaquim Antônio Callado's influential band *Choro Carioca* was founded in 1870. It was the first *choro* band ever to carry *choro* in its name. Another reason is the fact that some pieces we now consider part of the *choro* repertoire were composed and/or published around that time. *"A flor amorosa"* (The Loving Flower) was composed in 1867 or 1868, but only published in 1877 or 1880 (Delarossa, 2019). *"Querida por todos"* (Cherished by Everybody) was published in 1869 as was *"A sedutora"* (The Seductress). One must consider that the word *choro* had a derogatory ring well into the 1920s, so people avoided the term. For a long time composers used other genre names, when they in fact

published *choros*. Ernesto Nazareth, for instance, did not even use the term *choro* once. He called a *maxixe "tango brasileiro"* and a *choro* "polka" (Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia, 2005: 76). So, we believe that by 1870, *choro* already had a firm place in Brazilian music, and it is safe to speak about 150 years of *choro* in 2020.

Before we look at the development of *choro*, another dating issue should be mentioned. It is generally claimed that *choro* was the first typically urban genre or the first popular genre of music in Brazil. It should be noted that *choro* was neither, if this is understood as "played on Brazilian soil". In this case, the medal should go to the *modinha* and the *lundu*, both of which were already played in Brazil in the 18th century. If, on the other hand, we talk about "developed in Brazil" or about Brazil as an independent state (i.e. Brazil after 1822), the claim is correct.

A Short History

If we want to know where *choro* stands now, we need to know where it has come from. Since the development of the genre and the lives of its greatest proponents have already been subject to a number of studies (see for instance Diniz, 2003; Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia, 2005; Mair, 2000; Valente, 2014; Vasconcelos, 1986), we can concentrate on the following aspects: performance settings, social class, politics, and times of particularly high or low interest in *choro*. Since all these aspects are intertwined, we will treat them together.

In 1808 Napoleon invaded Portugal, and King João VI fled to Brazil and made Rio de Janeiro the center of the Portuguese empire. In 1822 João returned to Portugal, and his son Dom Pedro declared Brazil's independence. Under both kings Rio and the arts thrived, and particularly after the independence the king needed people to administrate the country. In Rio, which had been the capital since 1763, a middle class arose, consisting of whites, blacks, and people of mixed-race. In 1845 England's Aberdeen Act prohibited Brazil from trading slaves, so many Europeans came to Brazil in order to work there. They brought their songs and dances with them, most notably the polka (slavery within Brazil was only abolished in 1888, by the way).

While in former times the aristocracy had mainly left making music to their servants, there was now a growing number of people in the cities, who had jobs and enough spare time to gather in the evenings or on weekends and make music. They mainly played

flute, guitar and *cavaquinho* and created this genre in between classical, European, and African, which we now call *choro*. The first *chorões* were not particularly interested in making money with their performances, because they had jobs. But they were often invited to play at parties, which they only did when the food promised to be good. While most of the *solistas* could read music, the majority of the accompanying musicians could not, and improvised chords over the melodies. For many *chorões* the favourite format was the *roda de choro*, an informal gathering, where *choro* would be played without a set list, without arrangements, and without using sheet music. *Rodas* were held in bars, music shops, private homes, and out in the open – for instance, in parks. They are the only format used throughout the history of *choro,* and by and large, still follow the rules the early masters set up – at least in Brazil.

From the 1890s onwards, *choro* was also played by brass bands, and it is mainly these you can hear in the first *choro* recordings (from 1902 onwards), since at that time brass music was easier to record than most other instruments. In 1922 Brazil celebrated the centenary of its declaration of independence with the *Semana de Arte* (Art Week), which "aided the acceptance of Brazilian popular music as a legitimate national expression and facilitated the rise of the professional *choro* ensemble, the *conjunto regional*" (Livingston-Isenhour, 2005: 82). This same year, the first radio broadcast went on air. From that time on, *choro* spread to the remotest corners of the country. During the 1930s and 1940s almost every radio station had its own *conjunto regional*, which functioned as an in-house orchestra and played various genres, particularly *choro*. The *conjuntos* often accompanied singers. For these, lyrics had to be written, mostly to *choros* which had been composed many years before. The genre also profited from the fact that the nationalist dictator Getúlio Vargas, who was president from 1930 to 1945 and again from 1950 to 1954, assumed power and took control of the media. He used *choro* "to represent his ideas of a unified Brazilian culture" (Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia 2005: 106). In the early 1950s, however, radio stations turned to prerecorded music, jazz and samba seemed more attractive, and Vargas' reign came to an end. *Choro* fell out of fashion. It survived mainly in *rodas*, while a new Brazilian style took the world by storm from the end of the 1950s onwards: bossa nova, directly influenced by samba, particularly the *samba canção* (samba song), and indirectly by *choro*. In stark contrast to *choro* and samba, it was associated with modernism, intellectualism and the (white) upper middle class.

After hibernating for about two decades, *choro* was brought back into the limelight by musicologists, journalists, critics, and musicians. The *choro* revival of the early 1970s was created and staged as an act of salvaging an almost extinct, but valuable, authentically Brazilian music from oblivion. *Choro* clubs were founded, and festivals were held. The state also played a huge part in the revival. General Ernesto Geisel, president from 1974 to 1979, had to fight an economic and social crisis. Various musicians in Brazil had a predilection for the American protest song, prominent in the USA from the 1960s onwards, and sang about the miserable situation of the people and of the country as a whole. In order to keep the masses quiet, Geisel supported the mainly instrumental genre of *choro*. Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia suggest that "the state intended to use the *choro* revival as an overt attempt to win over the conservative middle class that was beginning to side with the radicals in their demand for democracy" (2005: 149). After Geisel, the state withdrew its support, which had an imminent negative impact on *choro*: No more festivals were organized, and many *choro* clubs closed down. Since most of the *chorões* of the revival had only reproduced the sound of the *regionais* of the 1930s and 1940s, hardly any innovation had taken place. By the time the military rule came to an end in 1985, most music lovers turned to rock and roll, *axé*, *pagode*, *sertaneja* and funk. *Choro* again had to wait in the wings for almost 15 years, until it was rediscovered by music enthusiasts in the course of the world music boom and via the Internet.

Brazil Today

Even if *choro* musician and composer Danilo Brito (2019) regrets that, unlike in jazz, there are hardly any specific places dedicated to *choro,* and that *choro* musicians therefore have to play in concert halls, theaters, and bars, *choro* is now better off than at any other point in its history. There is a thriving scene, which developed from the late 1990s onwards. As V7C player Lucas Telles said in conversation with Paulo Henrique Silva (Silva, 2019) there are now more than 30 *rodas de choro* per week in Belo Horizonte alone – and this city has never been a *choro* hotspot. Unlike during the *choro* revival of the 1970s, when most *choro* musicians aimed at reproducing the music of the great masters of the past as accurately as they could, there are now three tendencies, and the traditional is only one of them (see the detailed discussion, including examples, in Valente, 2014: 99-143). Number two could be called erudite *choro*. It is close to chamber music, borrows from classical music, has tight arrangements, leaves little room for

improvisation, and is best heard in concert halls or other quiet places. The interest in classical music, particularly baroque music, is not new. In fact, classical music was one of the sources of *choro*. Early masters like Ernesto Nazareth had profound knowledge of classical music; Heitor Villa-Lobos regularly played in *rodas* and was heavily influenced by *choro* (Livingston–Isenhour 2005: 186-192). The exponents of the third and most prominent approach to *choro* today could be called transformers (*transformadores*, see Valente, 2014: 100). These are musicians who want to make *choro* more interesting by changing its structure, altering the beat, refraining from using pick-ups (in the sense of anacruses), playing improvisations influenced by other styles (mainly jazz), incorporating other genres (particularly music from the northeast of Brazil, funk, and rock), introducing new instruments like the mouth organ (*gaita*), or expanding the repertoire by playing Japanese folk songs or the music of the Beatles in *choro* style.

The past thirty years have seen the establishment of various institutes linked to *choro* music. The most important ones are the following three: the *Instituto Moreira Salles* (founded in São Paulo in 1992), which hosts the personal archive of Pixinguinha, most likely the most influential *choro* player ever, material by Ernesto Nazareth and the archive of Chiquinha Gonzaga; secondly, the *Instituto Casa do Choro* (House of *Choro*; founded in Rio de Janeiro 1999), which focuses on musical education, preservation, and the distribution of *choro* music; and thirdly, the *Instituto Jacob do Bandolim,* which is responsible for the archive of Jacob do Bandolim (founded in Rio de Janeiro in 2003), the *choro* musician who made the *bandolim* the most common *solo* instrument of *choro*. The *Instituto Cravo Albin* (founded in Rio de Janeiro in 1992) should also be mentioned: though it does not specialize solely in *choro*, but in Brazilian music in general. It does a lot to promote *choro*, for instance, via *Rádio Cravo Albin*.

In the same period various *choro* schools have been established. The first one was the *Escola Brasileira de Choro Raphael Rabello* (Brazilian *Choro* School Raphael Rabello), named after an important V7C player, in 1998. Interestingly, it did not open in Rio de Janeiro, where the genre originated and which is still seen as the center of *choro* activities, but in far away Brasília, which has been the capital of Brazil since 1960. This is due to the fact that Jacob do Bandolim spent six months there and instilled a strong interest in *choro* in the local musicians. Also, the *choro* club founded in Brasília in 1977 was one of the first to come into existence. The president of the school is Reco do Bandolim, leader of the band *Choro Livre* and president of Brasília's *choro* club. The most

important school in Rio is the *Escola Portátil de Música* (Portable Music School), founded in 2000, which has a branch in Florianópolis. It was initiated by the *Instituto Casa do Choro*. The school's policy is not only to teach *choro*, but to educate socially and emotionally as well – an aim which is also followed by the *Escola de Choro e Cidadania Luizinho 7 Cordas* (*Choro* School of Luizinho V7C) founded in Santos in 2011. Apart from these and various other schools, one can also study *choro* at some universities and conservatories, amongst them the *Conservatório de Tatuí* (teaching *choro* since 1993), and the Bituca: Universidade de Música Popular, opened in Barbacena, Minas Gerais in 2004. Additionally, there are workshops in many places throughout the country. Last, but not least, *choro* clubs still exist. They organise tuition, host concerts and *rodas*. In 2010 Juliana Bastos (cited after Valente 2014: 242) listed 17 such clubs in her M.A. dissertation, not including Fortaleza, Curitiba (listed, however, by Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia, 2005: 170) and the first *choro* club ever, which, according to Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia (2005: 138), was founded in Rio in 1975 and whose function is today served by the *Casa do Choro*.

From 1995 to 1997 there was a magazine, *Roda de Choro*, solely dedicated to the genre. It contained articles on *choro* history and practice and featured contributions from well known musicians like Mauricio Carrilho, Henrique Cazes, and Luciana Rabello. It sold about 800 copies and shut down for financial reasons. Now there is an online publication. Established by Leonor Pellicione Bianchi in 2014, it is hosted from Lumiar, Nova Friburgo, Rio de Janeiro, and is available for a yearly subscription price of 240 R\$ (approximately 50 €). It features articles on *choro* players and bands, both within and outside of Brazil. According to Bianchi (email correspondence with the author) a fair number of subscribers are from abroad, and she has various correspondents outside Brazil. Bianchi's publishing company, *Flor Amorosa*, also publishes books on *choro*.

Sheet music is readily available; in fact, it has been available for a long time. But some of the first publications are not held in high esteem, since they contain a lot of mistakes. One such faulty book containing 84 *choros* has now been replaced by *O Melhor do Choro Brasileiro, Vol. 1-3* (The Best of Brazilian *Choro*, Vol. 1-3), edited by Irmãos Vitale in 1997 (vol. 1 and 2) and 2002 (vol. 3). These still contain some mistakes and a few pieces are printed in keys that differ from the ones generally used, but these editions have the advantage of being typeset in a font which is easy to sight-read. It is also not difficult to navigate the AABBCCA structure of the songs. The standard edition amongst *choro*

musicians (also outside Brazil) now is Songbook Choro 1-3, published by Lumiar in 2009 (Chediak; Sève; Souza, Rogério; Dininho) (vol. 1) and 2011 (Chediak; Sève; Souza, Rogério; Dininho) (vol. 2 and 3). This edition is more difficult to read because of the font. Finding the next part of the *choro* to be played can be difficult as well, but these editions contain some more interesting chord progressions, include written bass lines, and use the keys in which the pieces are normally played. Apart from that, there are method books like Mario Sève's *Vocabulário do Choro* (Vocabulary of *Choro*) (Sève, 1999) and Pedro Ramos's book on the basic concepts of *choro* (Ramos, 2015). When it comes to CD productions, the first label specializing in *choro* is *Acari Records*, founded by the musicians Mauricio Carrilho, Luciana Rabello and the producer João Carlos Carino in 1999. They have scanned the major public and private archives in Rio and have found more than 1300 composers (and over 8000 compositions) born before 1900 alone, and want to make some of them known to the general public through recordings and by publishing scores with historical information. They are also dedicated to contemporary *choro*.

Choro is still far less prominent on the radio and on TV chanels than Brazilian pop, rock, bossa nova, and samba, but it does have its place. Apart from the aforementioned programs on *Rádio Cravo Albin*, there is a series by *TV cultura* (TV Culture), broadcast on Sundays at 12 o'clock, called *Brasil toca choro* (Brazil Plays *Choro*). The episodes are dedicated to particular persons, styles or instruments, have a net length of about 50 minutes, and feature *choro* stars of the past and present, talking about and playing *choro*. They are readily available on YouTube. Apart from these programs, the most important documentary on the genre was made in 2005 by the Finnish director Mika Kaurismäki. It is called *Brasileirinho* (Little Brazilian; after the famous composition by Waldir Azevedo of the same name) and features clarinetist Paulo Mouro, V7C player Yamandú Costa, and the Trio Madeira, among others.

The Internet provides a lot of information on the history of *choro* and its protagonists, as well as a wealth of (sometimes illegally provided) sheet music. According to many *chorões*, the most significant website has for many years been the *Agenda do Samba & Choro* (www.samba-choro.com.br). However, it was under construction while we prepared this article. Before, it gave a good overview of *choro* activities, publications, and productions in Brazil and provided links to other *choro* websites. In addition to this

resource, many *choro* artists have their own websites, where they inform the public about concerts and CD releases.

In 2000 the *Dia Nacional do Choro* (National *Choro* Day) was introduced on the initiative of Hamilton de Holanda and his disciples from the *Escola de Choro de Raphael Rabello*. The date chosen was April 23th, for a long time thought to be Pixinguinha's birthday. In November 2016 it was discovered that Pixinguinha was actually born on May 4th 1897 (Wikipédia, 2019). The date of the National *Choro* Day, however, was not altered. In the state of São Paulo there is also the *Dia Estadual do Choro* (State Day of *Choro*) on June 28th. On this day the *choro* guitarist Garoto, who hailed from the state, was born.

Choro now has a firm place in Brazil as an important style of music. Considering the many schools, institutes, concerts, *rodas,* and the emerging academic interest in this genre throughout the country and beyond, it is unlikely that it will ever disappear again as completely as it has at various times. What is just as noteworthy is that now Brazilian professionals of all styles of music cherish this genre and know its role in the history of their music. Many of them include at least one or two *choros* in their repertoire because, as the well-known singer Edson Cordeiro remarked during a concert in the Brazilian embassy in Berlin on November 5th, 2019 before singing the *choro "Carinhoso",* (Affectionate) "there is no music which expresses the Brazilian soul as well as *choro*, and particularly this song by Pixinguinha."

Choro Worldwide

Although in the last two decades *choro* has come to the attention of many listeners and musicians worldwide through the world music boom and the Internet, particularly YouTube, this was not the first time, *choro* fell on the ears of foreigners. In 1921 *Os Oito Batutas* spent six month in Paris. After this they toured Argentina. During his reign, Getúlio Vargas also ordered the famous music program "A Hora do Brasil" ("Brasil's Hour") to be broadcast from Argentina. In the 1940s, Carmen Miranda became a big star in the USA, where she mainly sang sambas, but also *choros.* Of her musicians, particularly guitarist Garoto kept close contact with many jazz greats, among them Art Tatum and Duke Ellington. He showed them how to play *choro* and learned about jazz music from them. Definitely from the 1950s onwards, possibly earlier, *choro* artists were also sent abroad by the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, the Itamaraty. One such musician was *cavaquinho* player Waldir Azevedo, who toured South America and Europe extensively

and played in a BBC program, which was transmitted to 52 countries. Today, various *choro* artists like Reco do Bandolim, Yamandú Costa, Hamilton de Holanda, and *Choro das 3*, regularly play concerts outside of Brazil.

	Bands	Choro Clubs	Concerts	Festivals	Musicians	Publishers	Rodas	Schools	Workshops
Argentina		x	x		x		x		
Austria		x	x		x		x		x
Australia		x	x		x		x		
Belgium	x		x	x	x		x		
Brazil	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Canada	x	x	x		x		x		
Chile					x		x		
China					x				
Colombia					x				
Denmark			x		x		x		
Finland	x		x		x				
France	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
Germany	x		x		x		x		x
Israel	x		x		x		x		
Italy	x				x		x		x
Japan	x		x		x		x		x
Korea					x				
Mexico					x		x		
Mozambique			x						x
Netherlands	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x
New Zealand		x	x		x		x		
Peru					x				
Portugal		x	x		x		x		x
Spain	x		x		x		x		
Sweden	x				x				
Switzerland	x		x		x		x		
Taiwan					x				
U. Kingdom	x		x		x		x		
United States	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x
Uruguay					x		x		

Table 2. *Choro* worldwide: activities sorted by countries

Now music enthusiasts on all inhabited continents have discovered *choro*, as table 2, which lists the *choro* activities we came across while preparing this article, demonstrates. An X in a box denotes that we found at least one incidence in the respective field in the history of *choro*. We only list activities, which have also occured outside of Brazil. So TV programs on *choro* and specialized record companies are not mentioned, because we are not aware of the existence of any of them outside of Brazil.

There is little interest in *choro* in Africa, however, possibly because spicing up European songs and classical music with African rhythms seems somewhat pointless on a continent which still abounds with these kinds of rhythms. Hence, we only found a few activities in Mozambique: a concert and a workshop by Reco do Bandolim's *Choro Livre* in 2017, the celebration of the Day of *Choro* in 2018, and a note that Brazilian Cibele

Palopoli toured Mozambique with a *choro* group consisting of musicians from the University of São Paulo in 2010.

There is more interest in South and Central America, for instance in Argentina, which has a *choro* club in Buenos Aires with sessions on the first Saturday of each month, and musicians like Diego Jascalevich (now living in Germany), who plays *choro* on his *charango*, a stringed instrument the size of a *cavaquinho*. Uruguay, at the very least, had a *roda*. The last announcement we found was from the end of 2018. In Chile *rodas* are held in a bar in Santiago. In Colombia, musician Oriana Medina is very knowledgeable about *choro*, and in Mexico, we found evidence of a *roda* in Mérida in 2014. According to Naomi Katamoto (email correspondence with the author), there are also activities in Peru.

US mandolinist and *choro* expert Marilynn Mair told us in an email that whenever she wants to join a *roda*, she goes to Rio. This, however, does not mean good *rodas* do not exist in the USA: there are quite a few, particularly in the Bay Area. Brian Moran from the *Grupo Falso Baiano* wrote us that he teaches a monthly workshop combined with a *roda* at Ashkenaz in Berkeley. He goes on: "Other *rodas* are more informal and attract passionate amateurs such as one being organized monthly at Café Chiave. ... Others are attended in houses and private locations, and tend to be frequented by professional musicians. ... There are two regularly working *choro* groups, ours and *Berkeley Choro Ensemble*, as well as other talented *chorões* such as Rebecca Kleinmann, Marcelo Meira, a guitarist here for a year working on his PhD named Julio Lemos and others. This group will often combine with visiting Brazilian artists like Danilo Brito, Rogerio Souza, Almir Cortes and others." Also there is a *Berkeley Choro Festival,* started by Brian Rice and Jane Lenoir in 2013. The last one before handing in this paper was held in 2019. There are workshops and summer camps in San Francisco, Port Townsend, New York and other places, *choro* clubs in Los Angeles and Miami, and biweekly *rodas* in New York, hosted by the *Regional de New York*, a five-piece band dedicated to *choro*. Other groups include *Choro Louco*, *Choro de Ouro* and *Dois no Choro*, the last one founded as early as 1997. The US is also the homebase of *Choro Music*, a publishing company founded in 2006, which specializes in songbooks that come together with play-along CDs. They contain pieces by masters like Jacob do Bandolim, Ernesto Nazareth, Joaquim Callado, Pixinguinha, and Altamiro Carrilho. In Canada there is a *choro* club in Montréal, presenting concerts and

hosting *rodas*. Tio Chorinho from Toronto claim to be the only *choro* ensemble in Canada. They host a monthly *choro* club which in fact seems to be a *roda*.

Concerning Australia, we talked to Doug Vries, who is the leading musician in this part of the world, when it comes to the Brazilian repertoire. His involvement with *choro* goes back to the early 1980s. He has played and recorded with Mauricio Carrilho, Paulo Aragão and Yamandú Costa amongst others and has hosted a *roda* in Melbourne since 2001. Julian Scheffer wrote his dissertation about this *roda* in comparison to *rodas* in Rio (Scheffer, 2010). There are additional *rodas* in Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth. Sydney has had a *choro* club since 2017, organized by flutist Sara Muller and guitarist Douglas Aguiar, who plays *pandeiro* in the weekly *rodas* they hold in a café. The club has organized various events, including workshops. *Choro* is practised and taught at Melbourne University as chamber music option. In New Zealand, *choro* is played in Wellington and Christchurch.

In East Asia, the place to go for *choro* is Japan. The country is crazy about Brazilian music, and you can hear it in bars, restaurants, shopping centers, and elevators. Livingston-Isenhour and Garcia (2005: 51) mention Shigeharu Sasago, the founder of the Japanese band *Choro Club*, who came to Brazil from 1987 onwards to learn the repertoire. Just before that, Paulinho da Viola visited Japan. Now there are *rodas* in Okinawa, Fukuoka, Hiroshima, Osaka, Nagoya, Fujisawa, Tokyo, and Hokkaido, as Naomi Kumamoto wrote us in an email. She founded the *roda* in Osaka in 2001. This is held in the bookshop *Chove Chuva* (It's Raining; after a song by Jorge Ben Jor) and is the only one in Japan in which *chorões* play by heart, just as they do in Brazil. Kumamoto, who moved to Brazil and now teaches at the *Escola Portátil de Música*, goes back to Japan every year to give workshops. Sometimes she takes Brazilian *chorões* with her, like Mauricio Carrilho, Luciana Rabello or Celsinho Silva. She also published the first book of *choro* sheet music in Japan. Apart from Kumamoto and *Choro Club*, the Japanese trio *Ko-Ko-Ya* and the singer Yoshimi Katamaya deserve to be mentioned. According to Kumamoto there are *choro* activities in China, Korea and Taiwan. On the western side of Asia, you can hear *choro* in Tel Aviv, which has a *choro* club hosting *rodas*. Of the *choro* formations in Israel, the quartet *Cholorê* stands out, while when it comes to individual musicians, it is pianist and composer Roee Ben-Sira, as well as clarinetist Anat Cohen. The latter plays with a Brazilian trio called *Choro Aventuroso* (Adventurous Choro).

The *choro* scene in Europe, particularly in the western and central part of the continent, is so big by now, it could easily fill an article of its own. Indeed, Roee Ben-Sira is preparing a PhD thesis about *rodas* in Europe for the Hebrew University in Jerusalem entitled "Recrossing the Atlantic – The Case of Brazilian *Choro*". Enumerating activities in Europe is made difficult by the fact that sometimes terms are used in a non-standard way. For instance, in the United Kingdom, there is a *Clube do Choro Liverpool*, which is actually an ensemble, and a *Clube do Choro UK*, which is a participatory project combined with *rodas*. In France, on the other hand, there is a duo called *La Roda*, founded in 2007. Apart from these, there are *choro* clubs in Lisbon, Porto, Paris (including tuition), Lille, Toulouse (called *Casa do Choro*), Brussels, Amsterdam and Vienna, plus a club called *Chorinho* in Nuremberg, which promotes all kinds of Brazilian music. Most, if not all of these clubs host *rodas*. We found additional *rodas* in Bordeaux, Paris (several), Strasbourg, Bologna, Torino, Milan, Madrid, Barcelona, Lisbon, Kopenhagen, Zurich, The Hague, Nuremberg, Cologne, Dresden, Weimar, Kassel, Leipzig (possibly defunct after 2018), Saarbrücken (possibly a one-off in 2017), Stuttgart (probably defunct, definitely active between 2011 and 2013), Augsburg (called *Choro* Club), Münster (possibly a one-off on January 5th, 2020), Munich, Berlin, and Hamburg.

The way *rodas* are organized differs to some extent. During the monthly *rodas* in Hamburg, organized by Rémy Tabary and Stella Varveri (from France and Greece, respectively), and most often hosted in a café called *Brückenstern* or in *Café Olé* since 2016, all musicians sit around a table (see photo 1) and are allowed to play right from the start, with the audience sitting around other tables. The monthly *rodas* in Berlin, hosted since 2016 by the Brazilian *cavaquinho* player Eudinho Soares and until recently taking place in the bookshop *A Livraria* (The Bookshop), however, are divided into two parts: During the first part the *choro* ensemble of *Musikschule City West* (Music School City West; see photo 2) plays a set of 6 to 10 pieces to an audience sitting in rows facing the musicians, and during the second part anyone who wants to join in is welcome to come to the front and play. Sometimes the line-up becomes so big that musicians end up with their backs to the audience. Thirdly, there is the *grande roda* format: *chorões* who know each other play a concert like a *roda*, with no preconceived arrangements, but with a prearranged setlist and a fixed number of participants, as seen in the Brazilian Embassy in Berlin on November 26th, 2019.

Photo 1. *Roda de choro* in Hamburg with the *chorões* sitting around a table (photo: Vikas Narula)

Photo 2. *Roda de choro* in Berlin with the choro ensemble of *Musikschule City West* playing the first set in concert formation (photo: Christoph Kühn)

Among the European *choro* groups, France's *Bécots da Lappa*, *Maria Inês Guimarães Quartet*, *Pingo de Choro* and *Que isso*, Italy's *Choro da Rua*, Switzerland's *Odeon Chôro Quintett* and *Deu Choro*, Sweden's *Stockholm Choro Ensemble*, Finland's *Nordic Choro*, Britain's *Alvorada,* and Germany's *Tropical Samba Choro*, *Bavachoro*, *Choro dos Três,* and *Choro de Saideira* stand out. *Choro* festivals are held in Brussels, Rotterdam, Lille, and Paris, with Paris being the oldest. There is a branch of the *Escola Portátil de Música* in Rotterdam, founded by Marijn van der Linden in 2012 with 10 teachers and over 60 students. In Weimar, the *Institut für Musikwissenschaft* (Musicologist Institute) offers a seminar on *choro*. Workshops and masterclasses are held in various places all over Europe.

Choro outside Brazil is mainly played in countries, in which classical music is a well-established genre. Many people playing *choro* outside Brazil are not from Brazil. They generally have a solid knowledge of their respective instruments and of music theory (up to having a degree from a conservatory). They read or even sight-read music, while the most appreciated *chorões* are still those who have a big repertoire and know it by heart.

Most *chorões* today seem to like the genre because it is close to other genres they play (classical music, bossa nova etc.), and at the same time, musically challenging and connected with an above-average amount of social interaction with one's fellow musicians: You can have intense experiences of community, without these being too intimate. Additionally, *choro* somehow seems to lift everybody's spirits. As Saskia Dittgen, *pandeiro* player at the *rodas* in Berlin, and member of the ensemble of *Musikschule City West*, told us: "*Choro* macht glücklich" (*Choro* makes you happy).

Choro has, at various points in its history, been used as a propaganda tool, but it is fairly unpolitical right now. We have rarely come across political statements in *choro* circles in the last few years, except for protest against the politics of Brazil's current president, Jair Bolsonaro. The hosts of the *roda* in Hamburg, for instance, have posted a photo on Facebook, showing the musicians holding up banners against Bolsonaro's politics.

While Irish music lovers profit enormously from www.thesession.org, which shows places to go to for sessions and concerts worldwide, and provides scores that are easy to read and download, the *choro* scene has not yet established anything quite like this. As of now, there are various web pages, many Facebook pages of individual clubs, *rodas* and bands, a Facebook page *Choro Europa*, and mapadochoro.wordpress.com, each of which have started to compile parts of this type of information, but the *choro* community – like many special interest groups – still has not made full use of today's technical possibilities.

Conclusions

Choro offers an interesting case for those who want to study how a genre can turn from a very local to an international phenomenon, and from music played by members of a particular class to musicians of all classes. Many factors have contributed to this success, among them a quest for national identity, political ambitions, the individual freedom this genre offers to the musicians, the necessary high command of an instrument which can

proudly be presented when playing, the enormous amount of interaction during sessions, publications, and technical advancements, like the Internet. While we clarified some points about claims made about *choro*, and drew attention to some of the lesser-considered details, it remains to be seen how *choro* will surive the corona lock-downs and restrictions, which have been enforced in recent months in many countries. This will present another interesting aspect to study, since *choro* depends more on spontaneity and interaction – and therefore on the presence of other musicians– than many other musical genres.

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Records of Turkish Folk Dances from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Research Center for Humanities, Institute for Musicology

ABSTRACT
This study includes the first part of the results of the research titled "Examination of Literature on Turkish Folk Dances and Creating a Movement Notation Archive with Analysis Outputs" conducted within the scope of TUBITAK 2219 Post-Doctoral Research Fellowship Program. The research is designed to comprise three parts. The first part involves reviewing the archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences1, Research Center for Humanities, Institute for Musicology and existing literature regarding the subject, the second part involves notating the Turkish Folk Dances with Labanotation/Kinetography Laban, and the third part involves comparative analysis and interpretation of such dances notated in terms of Turkish-Hungarian Dance Folklore.

This article includes the findings and determinations related to the research on Turkish Folk Dances in the film collections found in the archives of the Institute for Musicology, Research Center for Humanities.

A Descriptive Survey Model has been used to obtain data. The information tags of the records found in the video archives have been examined, deciphered and corrected.

1 Institute for Musicology, Research Center for Humanities has not belonged to the Hungarian Academy of Sciences since last September. For this reason, it was expressed in as Institute for Musicology, Research Center for Humanities later in the article.

Introduction

The first and earliest scientific studies in Turkey on Turkish Folk Dances started in the early 1900s. In the last period of the Ottoman Empire, there were two important figures that studied Turkish Folk Dances. These are Rıza Tevfik Bölükbaşı and Selim Sırrı Tarcan. "The article 'Dance and its Various Styles' published by Rıza Tevfik in 1909 in Memalik-i Osmaniye is one of the first written studies on Turkish Folk Dances. The first institutionalized study was a large field study organized by Darülelhan in 1926, which also involved folk dances" (Öztürkmen, 2014: 216). "A group of researchers including Yusuf Ziya Demircioğlu, Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, Ferruh Arsunar, and Abdülkadir İnan filmed many dances in Rize, Trabzon, Erzincan, and Erzurum, while also compiling many folk songs" (Öztürkmen, 2014: 216). In Turkey, studies were conducted with a focus on compiling Turkish Folk Dances, particularly in the 1940s, and compilation activities were organized in a number of cities. The dances compiled were filmed and, in the following years, taught to students in cities like Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, by association. This way, only the dances that were appreciated during shows attracted attention and became popular, whereas many other traditional dances were excluded from the repertoire and forgotten. Unfortunately, a large part of these original compilation records that were filmed could not be preserved and did not survive until today.

Looking at the literature on the subject, Ahmet Feyzi's (2015) article called "Erzurum Folk Songs in the Anatolian Folk Songs Book of Darü'l Elhan" incorporates details on Darü'l Elhan compilations, which is considered to be the first of the institutionalized compilation studies in Turkey. The study contributes to the project in the way that Turkish spiritual cultural productions were compiled in 16 works by Hungarian studies. Similar musicological studies were conducted by researchers such as Ribakof (1879), Pantosof (1890), Çlingaryan (n.d), Leysek (1890), Pahtikos (1905), and P. Komitas Vardapet (1905) in the same period in the regions populated by Turkish people. They identified the musical works of such regions and published their research in the format journal format in cities like St. Petersburg, Tashkent, and Budapest. These pieces of information serve as a basis for the research we will conduct in Hungary, increasing the probability of accessing the expected data.

During the early years of the Republic,

"In early 1920s, the Ministry of National Education founded a cultural department for the purpose of collecting folklore products and included the folklore studies in the publications of the ministry during the first ten years of the Republic. Foreign experts and scientists were invited to Turkey for purposes such as preparing reports, improving the folklore studies, organizing folklore compilation trips and establishing a public museum. Following the recommendations and suggestions of Béla Bartók, Istanbul Conservatory compiled 2000 folk songs and published most of them during the years 1925-35" (Başgöz, 2011: 1540).

During such compilation studies, Hungarian Turkologist Ignácz Kunos participated in the studies alongside musicologists like Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály. The compilation works conducted by Hungarian musicologist Béla Bartók in Turkey were later published as '*Béla Bartók's Folk Music Research in Turkey* by Ahmet Adnan Saygun'[2] (Vikár, 1976) and *Turkish Folk Music from Asia Minor* (Bartók, 2017).

"It can be said that the systematic compilation of folk dances for teaching and staging purposes began in the 1940s and 1950s with the exception of Selim Sırrı Tarcan and Darülelhan examples" (Öztürkmen, 2014: 232). Conducted under the roof of community centers at first, compilation studies were also later supported throuth contests held by organizations such as the Association for Promoting and Sustaining Turkish Folk Dances, and the National Students' Federation of Turkey. Hundreds of traditional dances were performed at national holidays, celebrations and festivals, and spread and kept alive. Such compilation studies started only in more recent times and covered only the Anatolian geography. However, the cultural elements of the Turkish people who lived on the Ottoman territories that stretched from Eastern Europe to the Indian Ocean were excluded from such compilations. From the perspective of the history of Turkish Folk Dances, the information on the timeframe during the Ottoman Period is not comprehensive enough to determine the styles and characters of dances. Relevant findings reported by the dance scholar Öztürkmen as a result of her research are important in terms of the history of dance. "Although Ottoman Miniatures related to fields of performance such as dance, acrobatics and parade were addressed by art historians, there was relatively little interest in the analysis of movements in miniatures

[2] This book that we took from Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Musicology Institute's Bartók Archive includes the compilation notes and musical notes handwritten by Bartók himself. The study also has a music archive consisting of two CDs.

(Öztürkmen, 2016: 59)". This leads to the inability to determine the geographies, from which the characteristics of the dances performed during the Ottoman period came.

While determining the laws and rules related to the formation, change, and spread of folklore events and products, folklorist Nail Tan argued, that "all changes and spreads in folk culture will occur through contact" (Tan, 2000: 16). We have chosen Hungary as our field site, as we thought cultural contact would be highest there. The similarities between Hungarian People and Turkish People, particularly regarding music cultures, are reflected in their dance cultures. For this reason, the research started in the region, the origins of which date back to Arpad, and which was, for many years, governed under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire.

The literature review on the subject of the research has shown that there are important relations and ties especially between Turkish and Hungarian cultures and histories. All the sources obtained touch upon the common grounds of the communities of the two countries and examine their relations in terms of historical, linguistic and musicological aspects. In particular, the sources that frequently talk about cultural similarity give clues that Turks and Hungarians come from the same lineage and such similarity may be reflected in all cultural productions today. Similarly, today's studies support this idea as well. Young Hungarian historian and dance researcher Erika Barabási-Mocsári builds her academic career on Turkish Folk Dances today. "The dance treasure of Hungarians and its place and role in the European dance tradition are now a subject that has been already studied and told. However, our job now and in the future is to look into the similarities to our folk dances in the East and the Eastern influences. Folk music studies are far ahead on this subject. This is because this subject was first researched by Béla Bartók in 1930s and János Sipos has been researching it, in his footsteps, since 1990s" (Barabási Mocsári, 2018:162). Although previous studies did not address the association of the traditional dance cultures of the two countries, today's researchers do not ignore the fact that the similarities found in their music and languages exist also in their dance cultures.

"Hungarians, with whom the Ottoman Empire had frequent contacts since the first years of its development, and struggled for more than 300 years, remained under Turkish rule for over 150 years since 1541" (Çolak, 2010: 373). It is a fact that Turkish identity, which

existed as a demographic element for a long time in Hungary, continues to live in this region and/or has cultural effects that still persist. As a matter of fact, Hungarian scientists that look for the traces of their culture in the Turkish culture, have been highly curious about, and researched the elements of the Turkish Folk Culture. Such research is still ongoing, and Hungarian Musicologists and Ethnocoreologists trace their roots in the East in Turkey.

Some of these recent studies include "Karaçay-Malkar Folk Songs, a Trip to the Caucasus on the Track of Hungarian Folk Music" prepared by Sipos and Tavkul (2018) and Sipos (2009), *In the Footsteps of Bartók in Anatolia*, and *Török Nepzéne II* (Sipos, 1995).

Upon reviewing the literature on the subject, we can see that studies are not limited to the musical culture, and there are mutually important studies in the field of linguistics, too.

In Turkey, the Chair of Hungarology was founded as an equivalent of the Library of Oriental Languages in Hungary. Çoban (2016) talks about this philology chair and its functions, which was founded under the name of Hungarology in line with the special desire and directives of Atatürk when the Faculty of Languages, History, and Geography (DTCF), which would be the core of Ankara University, was being founded in 1935. Hungarogy, the primary purpose of which was to reveal, process, and analyze everything related to the historical past of this nation, as well as its present or past culture, was founded from the Turks' desire to explore the link between the Turkish and Hungarian roots.

Çalik (2015) mentions that it is a turning point in the Turkish-Hungarian cultural relations that Hungarian scientists are closely interested in the Turkish history, which they associate with their past, and accept Turkology as a "national science". It is indicated that the fact that the science of Turkology was born on Hungarian lands has been a driving force that has improved and continued Turkish-Hungarian relations. Additionally, he also talks about certain figures and studies that have strengthened Turkish-Hungarian relations. One of the figures who has contributed in this field is undoubtedly famous Hungarian Turkologist György Hazai. In 1965, exhibitions dedicated to "Turkish-Hungarian Relations in History" were organized in Istanbul,

Ankara, and Tekirdağ, thanks to his initiatives. The cultural relations between the two countries were addressed in many ways in the exhibitions.

Bayram (2011) gives important information about why Turkish culture has been investigated by Western states. He states that a lot of research has been done especially in the field of language and history in order to build on a solid ground the relations between the Turkish-Hungarian communities, which are believed to be related within the framework of the Ural-Altaic theory. This study, which we have added to our literature, shows that Turkish Culture and Hungarian Culture should be explored not only based on language and history, but also based on dance, music, and other traditional arts.

Csáki, Kamalı and Yıldırım's (2016) work called *About the Hungarian Folk Dances* includes significant information about Hungarian Folk dance compilations and traditional folk dances, serving as a basis for the research to be conducted. The work talks about the Dance House movement's process of becoming a place where many cultural elements, such as folk music, handicrafts, and especially Hungarian traditional folk dances, are compiled and exhibited.

The Táncház (Dance House) movement was stared in the 1970s in Budapest. The collection of original traditional music that is played in dance houses today was started by composers and musicologists Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály; the tunes originate from Hungary and Transylvanian regions, which incorporate Hungarians living in Romania. A leading personality of the dance house movement, choreographer Sándor Timár, contributed to the dance material applied in dance houses, but the greatest contribution to establishing the large film collection on Hungarian traditional dances is the work of György Martin, one of the greatest personalities of Euopean folk dance research. He and his colleagues collected about 400,000 meters of film, mainly during the second part of the 20th century, not only on dances that existed within the present borders of Hungary, but also in the entire Carpathian Basin. They established the Folk Dance Archive, housed by the Institute for Musicology, which includes films, photos, manuscripts of interviews, and also a large collection of dance notation and motifs with

the system called Kinetography Laban.3 They recorded not only the dances that existed within their borders, but also the dances in the entire Carpathian Basin, and created a collection of Hungarian traditional dances. The compilations made by ethnochoreologist, who worked at the Institute for many years, are published on the *Internet Knowledge Base of Traditional Dances* (Fügedi 2016b), Another example of a published collection of dances in notated form, is the representative book of *Old Hungarian Dance Style* (Ugros) (Fügedi and Vavrinecz, 2013). The Hungarians were able to create a map of the Hungarian Traditional Folk Dances by comparing their own dance culture to the dance cultures of all the neighbors, with whom they had been in contact, thanks to the method they used.

When we look at the traditional dance repertoires in Turkey, we see that compilations have been limited to only the political borders of the country and the dances have not been examined from an etymological point of view. Compilations made based on such an understanding have caused discussions and criticism in recent years. Furthermore, since the compilation works were not written in notation, popular and acclaimed dances have survived until today, whereas many of our traditional dances have been forgotten. Although the folklorists at the National Folklore Research Office (MIFAD) tried to notate Turkish Folk Dances and archive them for a period, these efforts were not continued.

Therefore, the traditional dance archives found in the Institute for Musicology, Research Center for Humanities have been examined first as part of the research. The information and findings discovered there have been recorded to be compared with the information and findings in the archives of our art and science departments. Thus, we have attempted to determine whether Turkish Folk Dances were compiled in the same quality and quantity as Turkish Folk Music by Hungarian scholars. (Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály, György Martin). In light of such determinations, the process of creating an updated archive regarding the literary history of Turkish Folk Dances will begin.

This study has been designed to initiate a literary research and study process that will contribute to the Turkish Folklore and Turkish Folk Dance Departments. This is

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3 Labanotation, a.k.a. Kinetography Laban, is a tool that allows coding the movements through symbols, making it possible to record all the movements the human body is capable of. The writing of the movement is its alphabet. For more detailed information, please see: (Hutchinson Guest, 1998; 2005; Fügedi, 2016a).

necessary, in order to notate and analyze dance archives from past to present, and to contribute to the creation of a literary archive.

Analysis is necessary to investigate the History of Turkish Folk Dances on European lands and to reveal the Turkish traces in the traditional dance culture in Europe. In addition, it is necessary to determine whether Hungarian musicologists compiled samples from Turkish Folk Dances during the Turkish Folk Music compilation studies they did in Anatolia.

Another reason that has made this research necessary is that the Turkish Folk Dance compilations have not been notated like music compilations, and they have disappeared over time. Whereas the Turkish Folk Music Compilations made during the same period by folklorists and musicologists, such as Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, Muzaffer Sarısözen, and Béla Bartók, are still kept in our archives, the Turkish Folk Dances compiled during the same period were not notated and preserved. There was an attempt to archive notations after the 1990s, but such efforts were not fruitful. Creating a written archive for not only ethnochoreology, but also in anthropology, dance anthropology, and dance history departments, is an important element in terms of the development of scholarship on dance. Scholarship requires first creating a common writing language and terminology. For such reasons, it will be possible for the art of dance to serve the field as a field of scholarship, if it can establish its own terminology through a writing system, and if it can be archived and analyzed. Many ethnochoreologists around the world approach areas of study with such awareness and care about the structural content, as well as the functional content of dance. The objective of this article, which is the first stage of the research, is only to transfer the findings. In the following studies, we is aim to determine the similarities between the Turkish and Hungarian Dance Cultures through a comparative analysis. Thus, while the history of Turkish Folk Dances will be defined with accurate and analytical values, a written archive, based on notation will also be obtained.

Findings

As a result of an approximately nine-month study, it has been determined that there are 12 films about Turkish Folk Dances at the Institute for Musicology Institute, Research Centre for the Humanities. A total of 28 Turkish Folk Dance shows from 14 different

cities have been found. These regions are Bitlis, Elazığ, Artvin, Gaziantep, Trabzon, Adıyaman, Edirne, Diyarbakır, Bingöl, Silifke, Erzurum, Ankara, Kars, and Mut. If we classify these regions based on their styles, we can see *halay*, *horon*, *hora*, *bar*, *zeybek*, *kaşık,* and *karşılama* from each style of 7 regions. Of these dances, the dances belonging to Bitlis, Diyarbakır, Ankara, the Black Sea, and Edirne regions have been selected and notated with Labanotation. Dances were filmed at different times during different organizations and by different ethnochoreologists. Each film reel in the Institute's archive has an information tag. These information tags provide as many details as possible, as recorded by the researchers, such as the date of the film recording, name of the organization, venue, researcher, the countries to which the filmed dances belong, the styles and names of the dances. Since information tags were handwritten by the researchers, there have been some problems with deciphering them at times, and because of this, some information is missing. The findings have been provided with the information tags and the archive numbers in the film archives of the Institute for Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities. The decipherable information on the logbooks has been written below the logbook.

Data of Ft.866[4]

Figure 1. Logbook of *Ft.866*a.

Year: 1974

Place: Zakopane

Organization/Event: International Festival of Highland Folklore in Zakopane

Researcher: Palfy Gyula

Region: South East Anatolia

Type: Halay, Bar

Location: Bitlis

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[4] Ft. identifies the Film Collection of the Traditional Dance Archive in the Institute for Musicology, Research Centre for the Humanities.

Dances: Ağır Govent, Meyroke, Değirmenci, Sepe (Sippi), Ağır Govent, Meyroke, Papuri, Harkuşta, Sepe (Sippi), Papuri, Harkuşta.

Performance: We determined that the dances were performed in their traditional forms (line, half circle, circle). The dances in the film roller number 688 belong to Bitlis Center Dances. The first dance, the Ağır Govent, is always mixed with dance *Bitlis'de Beş Minare*. The difference between the two dances is their direction: Bitlis'te Beş Minare is performed by going to the left and right, while the Ağır Govent is performed by going forward and backward (Mehmet Savaş, personal communication, September, 15 2018).

Gender: In the film, only male dances were performed. There were 8 male dancers.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Bitlis costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments: Davul, Zurna

Region: East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Elazığ

Dances: Delilo, Çayda Çıra, Fatmalı (Nure), Çayda Çıra:

Performance: It was determined that the dances were performed in their traditional forms (line, half circle, circle).

Gender: Male and female dancers were performed together by 5 male and 5 female dancers

Costumes: The men's costumes were traditional Elazığ costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments: The film numbered 866 is a silent recording, there was no any other evidence of dance-accompanying instruments.

Data of Ft.970

Year: 1977

Place: Zakopane

Organization/Event: International Festival of Highland Folklore in Zakopane
Researcher: György Martin

970/8

Region: Black Sea

Type: Bar, Horon, Halay

Location: Artvin

Dances: Hemşin Horonu, Coşkun Çoruh, Daldalan

Performance: It was determined that the dances were performed in their traditional forms (line, half circle, circle).

Gender: Both male and female dances were performed by 8 male and 8 female dancers, performing together.

Costumes: The costumes seen in the film were compiled from different local clothes.

970/17

Region: South East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Gaziantep

Dances: Mani, Çepikli (Havarişko)

Performance: It was determined that the dances were performed in their traditional forms (line, half circle, circle).

Gender: Male and female dances were performed by 13 male and 13 female dancers performing together.

Costumes: The costumes seen in the film were compiled from different local clothes. Trabzon, Gaziantep, and Caucasian Costumes were worned.

Data of Ft.994

Year: 1978

Place: Istanbul Açıkhava Tiyatrosu

Organization/Event: Festival

Researcher: György Martin

994/1

Region: Black Sea

Type: Horon

Location: Trabzon

Dances: Sallama, Sıksara, Sallama.

Performance: It was determined that the dances were performed in their traditional form (line). Akçaabat *Horon* consists of three parts. The first part is '*düz horon*' section, second is '*yenlik'* section and the third one is '*sert sallama*' section. In this film, it was seen that the dance started from the third part of the dance.

Gender: 7 male dancers performed.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Black Sea- Akçaabat costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments*:* As seen in the film, kemençe player plays on the stage, in front of the dancers and accompanying them.

994/2

Region: South East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Adıyaman

Dances: Simsim (Simsimi), Çep, Halay, Tırge (Tirge).

Performance: The dances in the film were staged in a choreographic manner.

Gender: 10 male and 10 female dancers performed together

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Adıyaman costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments: Only *Davul* was seen in the film.

994/3

Region: Marmara

Type: Karşılama, Kasap, Hora

Location: Edirne

Dances: Ahmet Bey, Kabadayı, Ahmet Bey, Zigoş, Zigoş Karşılama, Takuş, Eski Kasap.

994/4

Region: South East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Diyarbakır

Dances: Gelin Halayı, Delilo, Kadın Halayı, Diyarbakır Halay, Diyarbakır Halay, Çaçan, Çepik.

Performance: It was determined that the dances were performed in their traditional form (line).

Gender: 5 male and 5 female dancers performed together.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Diyarbakır costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments: As seen in the film, *Davul* and *Zurna* were played on the stage.

994/5

Region: South East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Gaziantep

Dances: Kırıkhan, Dokuzlu, Bağlantı-Çepikli, Dokuzlu.

Performance: The dances in the film were staged in a choreographic manner.

Gender: 10 male and 10 female dancers performed together

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Gaziantep costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

994/6

Region: Black Sea

Type: Horon

Location: Trabzon

Dances: Horon Kurma, Sallama.

994/7

Region: East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Bingöl

Dances: Esmer (Harani), Meyremo.

Performance: The dances in the film were staged in a choreographic manner.

Gender: Only male dances were performed.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Bingöl costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

994/8

Region: Mediterranean

Type: Kaşık

Location: Silifke

Dances: Yayla Yolları, Silifke'nin Yoğurdu, Keklik.

Performance: The dances in the film were staged in a choreographic manner. In the town Anamur, Mut and Silifke, there was no tradition of men and women dancing together. According to the Sünni tradition, it was a shame of women to dance in the community. For this reason, women had danced amoung themselves and men had danced amoung themselves. Also in the period of Ottoman, before going to the plateau, there were entertaintment in the city, and Greek women were brought to dance to Anamur (Ahmet Doğan, personal communication, January, 30 2019). But nowadays this tradition is not valid.

Gender: 8 male 8 female dancers performed together.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Silifke costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

994/9

Region: Black Sea

Type: Horon, Bar

Location: Artvin

Dances: Şeyha (Şahlan), Sarı çiçek.

Performance: The dances in the film were staged in a choreographic manner.

Gender: 10 male 10 female dancers performed together.

Costumes: The costumes were seen to be traditional Artvin costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Data of Ft.996

Year: 1978

Place: Pest

Organization/Event: 6. Dunamenti Festival

Researcher: Pálfy Gyula, Görgy Martin, János Szabo…

996/1

Region: East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Adıyaman

Dances: Simsim (Simsimi), Çep, Goftan, Düz (Hellocan), Fadile**,** Galuç.

Performance: The dances in the film were staged in a choreographic manner.

Gender: 10 male and 10 female dancers performed together.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Adıyaman costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments: As seen in the film, *Davul* and *Zurna* were played on the stage.

996/2

Region: East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Elazığ

Dances: Bıçak (Elazığ Zeybeği), Delilo, Halay.

Performance: The dance which involved knives, is a choreographic choice. The other dances were all performanced in their traditional forms.

Gender: 8 male and 8 female dancers performed together.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Elazığ costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Data of Ft.1037

Year: 1979

Place:

Organization/Event: Festival

Researcher: Laszlo Felföldi, Gyula Palfy.

1037/

Region: East Anatolia, South East Anatolia, Black Sea.

Type: Bar, Halay, Horon.

Location: Erzurum, Gaziantep, Bingöl, Bitlis, Akçaabat

Dances: Başbar.

Performance: The *Başbar* dance of Erzurum is traditionally performed in four sections. Firs section is moving forward, second is progressing in a circle form, third one is bouncing and the fourth one is kneeling and final.

Gender: Only male dances were performend

Number of dancers: 4 men dancers

Costumes: The costumes worn in the record are the traditional Adıyaman and Trabzon costumes.

Data of Ft.1066

Year: 1980

Place: Fransa / Confolens

Organization/Event: Festival De Confolens Dance Et Musiques De Monde / Ataköy Folklor Kulübü

Researcher: Zoltán Varga, Jakab Jozsef

1066

Region: South East Anatolia, East Anatolia, Black Sea

Type: Halay, Horon.

Location: Gaziantep, Diyarbakır, Trabzon

Dances: Oğuzlu (Gaziantep), Çaçan, (Diyarbakır), Çepikli (Havarişko), (Diyarbakır), Sıksara + Sallama (Trabzon), Horon Kurma (Trabzon).

Data of Ft.1099

Year**:** 1981

Place**:** Bursa

Organization/Event**:**

Researcher: Laszlo Felföldi

Region: Black Sea

Type: Horon

Location: Trabzon

Dances: Horon Kurma, Sallama, Sıksara, Horon Kurma, Sallama, Sallama, Sıksara, Sallama, Kozan Gel, Kozan Gel Sallaması, Yandan Alma (Tonya), Parmak Ucu (Tonya), Sallama, Bıçak.

Performance: It was determined that the dances were performed in their traditional forms (line).

Gender: Male dances were performed by 6 male dancers

Costumes*:* The costumes were traditional Black Sea- Akçaabat costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments: As seen in the film, *kemençe* player plays on the stage, in front of the dancers and accompanying them.

Data of Ft.1101

Year: 1981

Place: Pest

Organization/Event: 7. Duna Folkor Festivali

Researcher: Csapó Karoly, Pálfy Gyula, Nemeth I., Pesovar Ernö, Fesovar Ferench, Lanyi A.

1101/1

Region: South East Anatolia

Type: Halay

Location: Diyarbakır

Dances: Delilo, Çaçan.

Performance: It was determined that the dances were performed in their traditional form (line).

Gender*:* 6 male and 6 female dancers performed together*.*

Costumes*:* The costumes were traditional Diyarbakır costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments: As seen in the film, *Davul* and *Zurna* were played on the stage.

1101/2

Region**:** East Anatolia

Type**:** Halay

Location**:** Adıyaman

Dances: Simsim (Simsimi), Çep, Halay (Goftan), Galuç.

Gender: 6 male and 6 female dancers performed together.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Adıyaman costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments*:* As seen in the film, *Davul* and *Zurna* were played on the stage.

Data of Ft.1171

Year: 1984

Place: Budapest

Organization/Event: 8. Duna Folklor Festivali

Researcher: Csapó Karoly, Gyula Pálfy, Felföldi László

1974

Region: Central Anatolia

Type: Seymen

Location: Ankara

Dances: Seymen Zeybeği, Hüdayda.

Performance: The dances in the film were staged in a choreographic manner. These performances in the film number 1171c were applied very close to the traditional form. The dances performed are well-staged example for the performance of traditional 'Seymen Dances Performance'.

Gender: Only male dances were performed.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Ankara *Seymen* costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Data of Ft.1180

Year: 1984

Place: Samsun

Organization/Event: Festival

Researcher: Zoltán Karácsony

Region: East Anatolia

Type: Bar, Halay, Yallı.

Location: Kars

Dances: Sarı Seyran, Dans: Pappuri (Papuri).

Performance: The image in the film does not give an idea about the quality of execution.

Gender: 6 male and 6 female dancers performed together.

Data of Ft.1197

Year: 1984

Place: Mersin

Organization/Event: Mersin Festivali

Researcher: Imre Fapp, Miklós Szalóczy, Anikós Péterbeneze

Region: Mediterranean

Type: Kaşık

Location: Mut

Dances: Karakuş Zeybeği, Tımbıllı, İrfani, Çay Zeybeği.

Performance: It was determined that the dances were performed in their traditional forms (line, circle, half circle).

Gender: 6 male dancers performed.

Costumes: The costumes were traditional Mut costumes, which are mentioned in the Turkish Folk Dance literature.

Accompanying instruments: As seen in the film, Klarnet and Koltuk Davulu were played on the stage.

Data of Ft.1443

Year: 1993

Place: İstanbul

Organization/Event: Festival

Researcher: János Fügedi, Gyula Pálfy, Zoltán Karácsony

Region: Black Sea

Type: Bar, Horon, Halay.

Location: Artvin

Dances: Düz Horon (Vazriya).

The film record was not found of this ınformation receipt.

Conclusion

The data obtained from this study shows us the interest of Hungarian Ethnochoreologists in Turkish Folk Dances. This can be interpreted as Hungarian ethnic researchers' interest in the traditional dance folklore of different cultures, or an attempt to find their links to the East.

Another notable aspect of the data is that the data contains important information about the period, to which it belongs. Although the available data is not a result of a Field Survey, it contains highly important information about Turkish Folk Dances, festivals, and dance organizations held in the 1970s and 1980s. Some of the recordings in the archive are silent films, and some are sound films. Films numbered 866,970, 994, 996b, 1037, 1066, 1099, 1180, 1197 are silent films. The dances in these films are identified based on the motif structures of the dances, the costumes that the dancers wear, and counting the rhythm patterns and frequencies of the motifs in the movements.

Since the films numbered 996a, 996c, 1101, 1171 are sound films, the melodies of the music of the dances and the musical instruments used in these recordings can be easily detected.

Among the dances in the films, the dances performed in the reels numbered 994, namely the dance peculiar to Diyarbakır, and the dances numbered 1037, 1066, 1099, 1171 were filmed in the open air, with no stage. It is established that the dances in film reels numbered 996a and 1101 are performed on a stage in the open air. It is seen that all other dances are performed on venue stages.

We established that the dances peculiar to Adıyaman, Bitlis, Diyarbakır, and Elazığ, the dances peculiar to Akçaabat in Eastern Black Sea Region, and the dances peculiar to Silifke and Mut in Mediterranean Region, are mainly preferred for Halay, Horon, and *Kaşık* (folk dances) respectively to be represented in international folklore organizations in the 10 year period. The general characteristics of these dances are performed by dance ensembles. We can see that the dances peculiar to Edirne province in the Marmara region were also performed. As for the interior parts of Turkey, only the

dances peculiar to the Ankara province were performed. As a result of the study, we can observe that the dances peculiar to the Aegean region were not chosen to be performed in international folklore organizations between 1974-1981. This data can be interpreted as the dance called Zeybek, which is performed commonly in the Aegean region, is generally a solo performance and that such dances did not attract much attention at that time.

When we check dates on the records in the archive, we can see that folklore festivals held in different cities were recorded every two years between 1974 and 1981, and especially Turkish dance ensembles were filmed in these performances. Some of the recordings were made on professional stages, whereas some others were filmed purposely in areas off-stage. This information can be interpreted as the Hungarian ethnochoreologists wanting to record Turkish dances purposely outside off-stage and archive better quality data. For the years between 1981 and 1993, there were no recordings of Turkish Folk Dances in the archive. The most recent recording is of 1993, and the film indicated in this record could not be found in the archive.

We can say that the costumes identified in the film are generally traditional costumes of the relevant region. In some dances, it seems that dance ensembles made their stage performances with costumes from different regions, and this was considered to be a situation that occurred at a later date, due to organizational conditions.

It is established that traditional forms of dances are mostly preserved, but there are choreographic additions in only a few performances. It is understood from the performances that folklore clubs, which represent Turkey in International folklore festivals achieved quite successful performances and had mastery of the local dances.

Based on the films in the archive of the Institute, the dances of Mut, Ankara, and Silifke regions have come to the present day almost unchanged, with the same style of performance. The performances of these dances are of rather high quality, and natural. However, the dances performed in Edirne were performed differently from their current performance. In today's dances of Edirne region, there is a section called *Zigoş Karşılaması*, also known as *Drama Karşılaması* after the *Zigoş* dance. As a result of the interview with the informant in the region, we found out that this section is performed only at local weddings, and not taught in any other institutions and places (Serdar Sayın,

personal interview, February, 10 2018). Such details will be expressed more comprehensively in the publications to be made after this study.

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The Development of an American Sound: From the Perspective of Twentieth Century Masters, Aaron Copland & Leonard Bernstein

ABSTRACT

As musicologists and scholars of American art music, we are forever indebted to Aaron Copland and Leonard Bernstein for their music, their conducting, teaching, and lecturing, and especially for their writings. It is still a relatively recent phenomenon in the history of music to possess writings from composers that explain, not only their own works, but their perspective on all aspects of the musical world in which they lived. One significant topic which both Copland and Bernstein addressed was the process by which a uniquely American sound began to develop and shape the music of the twentieth century.

Through a thorough examination of their writings, supporting research from other scholars, and original analysis of key musical works, this article will trace the beginnings of a nationalistic thread in American art music and identify the musical traits that communicate such nationalism. Both Copland and Bernstein identified influential figures in the development of an American sound, such as Antonin Dvořák, Nadia Boulanger, Charles Ives, George Gershwin, Aaron Copland, Virgil Thomson, William Schuman, Roy Harris, and Carlos Chávez. Also, jazz, folk music, and Latin American music were highly influential to the art music of the twentieth century.

Looking back throughout history, there is rarely one defining moment when music changes completely. It is usually a combination of many and varied factors that occur throughout a period of time. In this study, identifying the causes and influences in the development of an American nationalistic sound, we have the distinct benefit of taking cues from some of the most influential figures in twentieth century art music who blessed musicians, music-lovers, and scholars with their words, eloquently bringing to light the serendipitous events that created the art music of the last century.

In the twentieth century, a nationalistic American sound began to develop in the world of art music; a music full of buoyancy, bounce, and exuberance; of 'pioneering' experimentation; of jazz inspiration; an expression of big industrial cities and wide-open prairies, of "America's physical, geographical vastness" (Mellers, 1948: 19). Composer, author, critic, conductor, lecturer, and 'Dean of American Composers,' Aaron Copland, greatly contributed to this sound in his own compositions, but also in his writings and lectures. Both Aaron Copland and Leonard Bernstein were extremely influential figures in the world of twentieth century art music, and arguably remain so today.

In this article, we will investigate American nationalistic art music from the perspective of these two influential figures. Through a thorough examination of their words, we will search for the beginnings of a nationalistic thread in American art music and identify the musical traits that communicate such nationalism. To trace the development of an American sound in music, we must first look at some of its precursors, both American and European, which sparked a change in the historical and cultural context of this music.

Antonin Dvorák (1887-1979)

Dvorák, a leading composer in the Czech national movement, was well-known as a nationalistic composer. On a two-year visit to America in 1892 (Copland, 1952: 103; Bernstein, 1962a: 150), Dvorák was shocked to find that American composers were not composing music in a nationalistic style, as he was accustomed. To these American composers, he said, "Look at your country. Here you live in a land abounding in folk traditions and folk material of the most varied and exotic kinds. What of your Indians, with their noble chants and dances? What of your [African-Americans], with their spirituals, ballads, laments, and work songs? Why do you not create a wealth of symphonic music from this treasury of material? You have a heritage; all you have to do is use it" (Dvorák, paraphrased in Bernstein, 1962a: 150). The inherent fault with this logic is that these particular American composers were not of Native American or African-American heritage and had no connection to the native music of which he spoke (Bernstein, 1962b: 38-39). Dvorák committed to writing an *American-sounding* symphony to show American composers his method for composing nationalistic music. The result was his *Symphony No. 9*, '*From the New World*', which is commonly nicknamed, the *New World Symphony*. In his endeavor for an American sound, he

incorporated Native American themes and some African-American themes because he felt that this was the indigenous folk music of America (Bernstein, 1962b: 39).

One of the best-known themes from the second movement of the *New World Symphony* is called "Goin' Home" (Bernstein, 1962b: 39), and though it possesses the qualities of a preexistent spiritual, Dvorák created the melody specifically for this piece. Depending on the setting and treatment, however, this melody could be extremely versatile. In Bernstein's estimation, the same melody set with Czech words or Czech accompaniment would sound Czech. Its dotted-rhythms and simple, conjunct motion classify the melody as folk-like (see example below), but not necessarily American.

Figure 1: "Goin' Home" (Bernstein, 1962b: 38-39).

At Dvorák's suggestion, many composers began writing what they thought were "American-sounding" pieces utilizing Native American and African-American melodies (Bernstein, 1962b: 40). Unfortunately, since none of these composers had any connection with the heritage of this native music, the lifespan of the music was greatly limited. According to Copland, "You can't just *decide* to be American; you can't just sit down and say, 'I'm going to write American music, if it kills me'; you can't be nationalistic on purpose" (Bernstein, 1962b: 40).

In Copland's expert opinion, "there is nothing inherently pure in a melody of folk source that cannot be effectively spoiled by a poor setting" (Copland, 1952: 103). Thus, the usefulness of incorporating folk material into one's composition is negated when a composer is unable to identify with the source and "re-express in his own terms, the underlying emotional connotation of the material" (Copland, 1952: 104). Reflection of emotion, an appropriate setting, and an imaginative and unconventional approach, rather than mere quotation, are essential in producing effective folk-influenced music (Copland, 1952: 104). This was a fundamental problem with Dvorák's *New World Symphony* and with the many American composers whom he influenced. They were all able to use folk material in their compositions, but the harmonic language and treatment of the themes did not match the origin of the folk themes. In Dvorák's case, the music

sounded Czech, or at least European, as do many of his other compositions, because his particular style and tonal language remained consistent, in spite of his attempt to compose an American sounding piece. The other American composers who attempted nationalistic music under his influence had a similar conundrum. Their music, other than the folk material they borrowed, sounded European because they studied composition in Europe and that was the musical language with which they were familiar (Bernstein, 1962a: 150).

Dvořák made a significant impression on the composers with whom he came in contact during his stay in America. And although the seemingly simple formula for writing nationalistic art music was not a complete success for these composers, it began the process that would eventually revolutionize the world of American music. In short, he identified the 'problem', which Copland, Bernstein, and numerous other composers strove to remedy in the twentieth century.

Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979)

As with Dvořák, it may seem strange to include a non-American in a discussion about influencers of American art music, but Nadia Boulanger is credited as being one of the most influential people for Aaron Copland and numerous other composers in the twentieth century.

In 1921, a summer music school was established at the Palace of Fontainebleau, in which Nadia Boulanger was an instructor of harmony (Copland, 1960: 83). She was known for her wonderfully warm personality and her ability to teach with verve. An introduction was made by one of Copland's colleagues and he quickly developed a great deal of admiration and respect for Ms. Boulanger. It was not until Copland auditioned to become her pupil that she began teaching advanced composition on an individual basis (Copland, 1960: 84).

She knew everything about music from all eras, including technical information on harmonic transposition, figured bass, score reading, organ registration, instrumental techniques, structural analyses, all types of fugues, modes, and Gregorian chant (Copland, 1960: 87). "She had the teacher's consuming need to know how all music functions, and it was that kind of inquiring attitude that registered on the minds of her students" (Copland, 1960: 88). She also had a unique ability to bestow on her students a

sense of confidence that they were able to achieve beyond their perceived abilities. Her intuition and forethought as a musician gave her the ability to see potential, as well as flaws, in unfinished works. She was especially concerned with "*la grande ligne*"––the musical line, "the sense of forward motion, of flow and continuity in the musical discourse; the feeling for inevitability, for the creating of an entire piece that could be thought of as a functioning entity" (Copland, 1960: 90). She was also concerned with the bassline, the structural framework of the piece, the progression of harmony, a keen sense of contrast and balance, and "clarity of conception and elegance in proportion" (Copland, 1960: 90).

"It was her broadness of sympathy that made it possible for her to apply these general principles to the music of young men and women of so many different nationalities" (Copland, 1960: 90). And it is for this reason that she mentored so many American composers, helping them to grow in their compositional technique and maturity, and, most importantly, helping them find their own voice. This mentorship produced generations of composers that did not return home copying the style of European music, but were able to create, for the first time, truly unique and American art music. The list of Nadia Boulanger's American pupils is quite extensive and includes Aaron Copland, Walter Piston, Virgil Thomson, Roy Harris, Marc Blitzstein, Elliott Carter, David Diamond, Irving Fine, Harold Shapero, and Arthur Berger, to name a few (Copland, 1960: 91). Nadia Boulanger, though French by nationality, accomplished an incredible amount for the cause of American nationalistic music.

From Copland's viewpoint, the teachings of Ms. Boulanger were invaluable, as evidenced by his own words in a letter on November 24, 1950: "It's almost 30 years since we met . . . and I still count our meeting the most important event in my musical life" (Crist, 2006: 203). For Copland, his inspiration from the great teacher was not restricted to his period of study in Paris. They continued to correspond through letters and occasional meetings in Paris and in America throughout the remainder of her life. Copland also sought her input on his pieces, sending scores of his works both before and after publication for her review.

Charles Ives (1874-1954)

According to Leonard Bernstein, Ives was "perhaps the first great composer in American history" (Bernstein, 1962b: 175). His "serious musical style" (Copland, 2004: 155) attempted to blend war songs and street songs for a truly unique sound. His approach involved quotation of popular songs in their 'unadulterated' form while the remainder of the music employed some rather complex harmonies. The effect resembled a patchwork quilt rather than a cohesive piece of music. Consequently, these were some of his least successful pieces.

Ives was "deeply immersed in his American roots... the village church choir, the Fourth of July celebration, the firemen's band, a barn dance, a village election, George Washington's Birthday" (Copland, 1952: 103). He treated these subjects more imaginatively than literally. "What is most impressive [about Ives] is not his evocation of a local landscape but the over-all range and comprehensiveness of his musical mind" (Copland, 1952: 103).

In contrast to his war songs and street songs, Ives' second symphony was a more cohesive example of a blending of folk and "serious" styles. Ives deliberately quotes folk tunes in this symphony, but he also "imitates the spirit of American folk music in general" (Bernstein, 1962b: 174). Ives was greatly influenced by folk material, such as hymns, patriotic songs, popular country music, and Stephen Foster melodies. Sometimes, he quoted directly from these sources, while in other compositions he chose not to utilize direct quotation. In the final movement of his second symphony, for example, there are tunes that resemble barn dances or Foster melodies, but instead are Ives' way of assimilating different folk materials into his own personal style. In this movement, Ives quoted at least 5 well-known folk tunes (Bernstein, 1962b: 176).

Figure 2: "Turkey in the Straw" (Bernstein, 1962b: 174-76).

Figure 3: "Long, Long Ago" (Bernstein, 1962b: 174-76).

Figure 4: "Camptown Races" (Bernstein, 1962b: 174-176).

Figure 5: "Reveille" (Bernstein, 1962b: 174-176).

Figure 6: "Columbia the Gem of the Ocean" (Bernstein, 1962b: 174-176).

Because of his adoption of folk tunes, Ives is able to reflect a portion of America's historical sound and spirit in this symphony (Bernstein, 1962b: 175). Copland also quoted "Camptown Races" in *Lincoln Portrait* as a way of capturing the time period in which the former president lived, possibly influenced by Ives in this regard. Using folk material has a two-pronged effect. First, it helps listeners identify with the nationality of origin of the folk music. It also identifies with the time period in which the melody was written and/or when it was best-known. This is perhaps why Ives and Copland were so effective in their use of folk elements. Both composers chose specific tunes to help portray their desired mood or affect. Used in isolation from an effective setting, as Bernstein pointed out, these folk elements would have been less effective, but assimilated into one's compositional style, these folk songs can help create a very successful piece.

One of Ives' great innovations was called 'musical perspective,' which imitated his experience as a child listening to three street bands playing simultaneously in different places. An example of this device can be seen in his 1907 piece, *Central Park in the Dark*. The piece involves two different performing groups: a muted string orchestra behind a curtain and a woodwind ensemble in front of the curtain. The strings were meant to portray the sounds of the night, while the woodwinds imitated city noises. "The music seems to exist independently on different planes" (Copland, 1952: 106).

This technique of 'musical perspective was well ahead of its time. These types of spatial effects would later influence American composers as well as composers throughout the world. Likewise, Ives made significant progress in the incorporation of popular or folk elements in 'serious' art music.

The Influence of Jazz

Both Copland and Bernstein agreed that jazz elements influenced many composers throughout the world. However, in this article, we will specifically investigate the influence of jazz on American art music composers. Copland's 1927 article on *Jazz Structure and Influence* (Copland, 2004: 83), dealt with both the origins of jazz and its specific characteristics (rhythm, timbre, structure).

Among the many diverse elements of jazz, the most foundational is rhythm (Copland, 2004: 83). "Jazz is a certain way of sounding two rhythms at once… a counterpoint of regular against irregular beats" (Virgil Thomson quoted in Copland, 2004: 83). First, Copland traces the origin of jazz rhythm to spirituals and then ragtime, with its characteristic unchanging bassline made up of four equal quarter notes per bar. Over the bassline lies a couple of rhythmic possibilities involving dotted and/or syncopated rhythms. Though many of these rhythms originated from ragtime, Copland points out that "ragtime is much inferior to jazz and musically uninteresting; it consists of old formulas familiar in the classics which were rediscovered one day and overworked" (Copland, 2004: 84).

The next step towards modern jazz began with the fox trot. The bass remained consistent––four straight quarter notes. The second and fourth beats were accented instead of the first and third in ragtime. The overlying rhythm also changed and was often written as straight eighth-notes, tied across the middle of the bar. Tying eighth-

notes across the middle of the bar effectively eliminates the strength of the third beat of the measure. (Traditionally the first and third beats are strongest in a group of four). This obfuscation of the beat was a relatively new concept, especially in contemporaneous popular music (Copland, 2004: 87). It also caused a regrouping of the beats according to their strength or accent: three eighth notes, one quarter note (equivalent to the two tied eighth-notes), followed by three eighth-notes (1-2-3: 1-2: 1-2-3). Or, condensing the last two groups, we arrive at one group of three eighth-notes followed by a group of five eighth-notes (1-2-3: 1-2-3-4-5) (Copland, 2004: 84). This new rhythm also created syncopation that quickly spread in popularity. Fox trot rhythm may seem elementary, but this is the beginning of a fairly complex device called polyrhythm. Essentially, two independent rhythms occur simultaneously.

Subsequent developments retained the quadruple meter bass, but the melody was essentially triple meter (Copland, 2004: 85). Consequently, the inherent rhythmic stresses in the melody are contrary to the quadruple meter of the bass, creating two independent metrical organizations. George Gershwin's *Fascinating Rhythm* makes good use of this device, creating the feel of mixed meter without actually notating it as such. In this example, the left hand retains the unchanging four-quarter bass (actually steady eighth notes, but achieves the same effect) while the stresses and groupings of the melodic notes create the effect of changing meter (Copland, 2004: 86). It is little wonder that Copland calls it "rhythmically not only the most fascinating but the most original jazz song yet composed" (Copland, 2004: 86).

Figure 7: Gershwin, *Fascinating Rhythm*, mm. 3-6

According to Stanley Kleppinger in his article, "On the Influence of Jazz Rhythm in the Music of Aaron Copland," jazz rhythmic techniques from the 1920's can be summarized as "the organization of melodic patterns to produce metrical strata that move in and out of phase with an unchanging, periodic, simple-meter accompaniment" (Kleppinger,

2003: 75). Copland's *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* is an excellent example of this. In the 4/4 measures of the example below, Copland exhibits his use of the foxtrot rhythm; the left hand of the piano retains the "four quarter bass", while the right hand plays an eighth note, then quarter note, then quarter, eighth, and quarter. This is the definition of a polyrhythm as Copland explained in his article. The right hand's eighths and quarters can be grouped together for a group of three, essentially making this bar 3 + 2 +3. Copland's twist on the foxtrot polyrhythm can be seen in the second measure of the example below. Here, he changes the time signature to ¾ for both staffs, with two dotted-quarter notes for both hands. In so doing, he extends the pattern of the previous measure by adding two more groups of three. In the final two bars of this example, he consistently uses groups of three by tying chords across bar lines.

Figure 8: Copland, *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*, Second Movement, mm. 39-43 (Copland, 1929).

Finally, Copland's article discusses the Charleston rhythm. This dispenses with the traditional four-quarter bass, emphasizing only the fox trot rhythm (1-2-3: 1-2-3-4-5) by joining both hands together in this rhythm. The syncopation of the fox trot remains yet it provides relief "from the old relentless 4/4 bass" (Copland, 2004: 86-87).

In addition to the fox trot rhythm, Copland also utilized the Charleston rhythm in his piano concerto (see below). In the following section of the piece, Copland uses the Charleston rhythm for eighteen straight bars in the piano part, building intervallically from a second (as seen below) to large tone clusters to whole octave chords. The Charleston rhythm was beneficial for Copland in this piece, as it allowed him to make use of the syncopation without having to retain the unrelenting four-quarter bass of the foxtrot.

Figure 9: Copland, *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*, Second Movement, mm. 168-171 (Copland, 1929)

Many years after Copland's article on "Jazz Structure and Influence" (1927), Bernstein authored an article entitled "the World of Jazz" (1955), in which he cites more derivations of jazz, such as Blues, Dixieland bands, Charleston bands, Swing bands, Boogie-Woogie, crazy Bop, cool Bop, and Mambo (Bernstein, 1954: 106). Some of these terms may seem outdated in the twenty-first century, thus showing how much jazz has evolved from the 1920's to the 1950's, when Bernstein's article was published, and continuing to the present.

Melody is the first element of jazz Bernstein's article addressed. Jazz uses a special variation on our traditional major scale, in which the third, fifth, and seventh scale degrees are lowered, creating "blue notes". These types of "blue note" scales are typically only used melodically, and the lowered scale degrees do not affect the way the harmony is structured (Bernstein, 1954: 110-112). This causes dissonance when the major key harmony and the blue note melody collide.

Bernstein makes use of blue notes in his piece, *Prelude, Fugue & Riffs*. For example, the alto saxophone in the example below draws specific attention to the blue notes by including both the regular scale tones and the lowered "blue notes" in the same melodic motif––from G to G# in the first measure and D# to D-natural in the third measure.

Figure 10: Bernstein, *Prelude, Fugue & Riffs*, Second Movement, mm. 136-138

Next, like Copland, Bernstein discussed the innovation of jazz rhythms. However, Bernstein utilizes these concepts differently in his compositions. In the example below, Bernstein uses a technique similar to the foxtrot rhythm mentioned earlier. He retains

the four-quarter bass, but the right hand notes are grouped differently and separated by rests, utilizing strong syncopations.

Figure 11: Bernstein, *Prelude, Fugue & Riffs*, Third Movement, mm. 184-185

Displaying another one of Bernstein's derivations of the foxtrot rhythm, the next example disposes of the four-quarter bass, instead maintaining steady eighth notes throughout. The right hand of the piano is highly syncopated. In addition to the syncopation, Bernstein accents the fourth sixteenth note of each beat in the second bar, further reinforcing the weakest part of the beat, and setting the right hand rhythmically against the left. Another interesting point about the example below is that Bernstein presents the thematic material with the solo clarinet and the right hand of the piano follows in canonic fashion—a technique which one would expect of Baroque or Classical era art music, rather than a jazz-inspired piece from the twentieth century.

Figure 12: Bernstein, *Prelude, Fugue & Riffs*, Third Movement, mm. 180-183

Next, Bernstein addressed the element of tone color in jazz. Mutes are often added to traditional instruments to change the timbre. Cup mutes and wah-wah mutes can be used for the trumpet, for example, and a plunger mute for the trombone. A wide variety of percussion instruments may be utilized, such as bongo drums, maracas, Cuban cowbell, vibraphone, and various cymbals, adding to the unusual and distinctive timbre of jazz music (Bernstein, 1954:118-120). These techniques can also be seen in Bernstein's *Prelude, Fugue & Riffs*. The instrumentation includes tom-toms, hi-hat, snare

drum, bass drum, xylophone, vibraphone, wood block, and timpani. Also, one of the first thematic statements of the piece is presented by the third, fourth, and fifth trumpets with Harmon mutes (see below).

Figure 13: Bernstein, *Prelude, Fugue & Riffs*, First Movement, mm. 5-7

Twentieth century composers, such as Debussy, Stravinsky, Ravel, Milhaud, Honegger, Martinu, Tansman, Satie, and Hindemith were all influenced by jazz (Copland, 2004: 87; Bernstein, 1962*:* 53). Debussy and Stravinsky were also influenced by ragtime rhythms and harmonies, which they incorporated into some of their compositions. Stravinsky's *Ragtime* for piano (1917-18) and *Piano-Rag Music* (1919) are two such examples. Ravel invokes the sounds of ragtime in his *L'enfant et les sortilèges* and employs jazz elements in his *Piano Concerto in G*. Arthur Honegger also incorporated jazz elements into *Le roi David* (1921) and *Judith* (1925-27). Bohuslav Martinu claimed jazz as a major influence in his twenties and thirties, utilizing jazz style in several of his pieces from that era: *The Soldier and the Dancer*, *Les larmes du couteau*, *Les trios souhaits, La revue de cuisine*, and his *Sextet for wind and piano*. Finally, the focus of his orchestral piece, *Le jazz*, was to imitate the big-band sound of Paul Whiteman's band. Darius Milhaud's *La creation du monde*, written one year before Gershwin's famous *Rhapsody in Blue*, not only evokes jazz influence, it is a unique blend of jazz and classical elements.

European composers considered jazz an exotic influence, and eventually, it lost its appeal. But to American composers, jazz was an indigenous music that infused their compositions and helped to develop a truly American sound (Copland, 2004: 87). Jazz has been "the most powerful, even if not the most permanent, influence upon American music" (Bernstein, 1982: 308). It "has entered the mind and spirit of America" and thus is assimilated into American compositions whether consciously or unconsciously. Some

American composers influenced by jazz are Copland, Harris, Schuman, Sessions, Bernstein, and Piston. They "have written music that is American without trying, the result of an unconscious metamorphosis of jazz elements… This has been one of the strongest conditioning forces of the American musical language" (Bernstein, 1962a: 64). "Our composers are not *attempting* nationalistic music; they are merely taking advantage of their heritage quite naturally, and with no artificiality" (Bernstein, 1982: 98-99).

The evolution of jazz profoundly influenced the musical world of the twentieth century in all genres of music. The rhythmic techniques, blue-note melodies, extended harmonies, and timbres continue to infiltrate popular music, commercial music, rock 'n' roll, and art music all the way through to the present time. These 'new' sounds assisted American composers in establishing a new and Nationalistic identity, especially in the genre of American art music. An investigation of specific American nationalistic composers of the twentieth century follows, including a thorough look at what inspired and influenced them.

George Gershwin (1898-1937)

I don't think there's anyone in the country––or in the world, for that matter––who wouldn't know right away that Gershwin's music is American music. It's got 'America' written all over it (Bernstein, 1962b: 33).

Gershwin was not always accepted as a great composer, innovator, or influencer among 'serious' musicians. And while it is Bernstein's opinion that "Gershwin was certainly one of the true, authentic geniuses American music has produced," (Bernstein, 1982: 308) in the academic world of music, Gershwin is often looked down upon as merely a songwriter and not a serious composer of concert music (Bernstein, 1982: 307-308). His songs are immensely popular and "have become part of our language" (Bernstein, 1982: 308); his music has made its way into television commercials and movies, and is still frequently programmed in major concert venues throughout the world.

Gershwin's compositional career did not begin in the same way as a typical composer. He came from Tin Pan Alley, and his career was an endeavor to 'cross the tracks', so to speak, to serious concert music. In many ways he succeeded, but sadly did not live long enough to see his labor come to fruition (Bernstein, 1982: 308). It is impossible to

predict what direction his career would have taken if he had lived longer, but one can imagine that he may have perfected the symphonic techniques with which he had been working in his later pieces.

According to Bernstein, "He has left music none of which is dull, much of which is mediocre, and some of which is imaginative, skillful, and beautiful" (Bernstein, 1982: 55). In the latter category, we find his many songs, his theater piece, *Of Thee I Sing*, concert pieces like *Rhapsody in Blue* and *Concerto in F*, and his opera, *Porgy and Bess*. *Rhapsody in Blue*, though one of his most popular pieces to this day, is considered by Bernstein to be structurally deficient. "It is episodic, loosely strung together by rather artificial transitions, modulatory devices, and secondhand cadenzas" (Bernstein, 1982: 308).

Perhaps Gershwin's greatest contribution to the musical world of the early 1900's was his incorporation of jazz elements into his concert music, or the "symphonization of jazz" (Bernstein, 1982: 55). This fusion was not something that came naturally for Gershwin. He was well acquainted with jazz rhythms and harmonies, but needed to learn the intricacies of symphonic writing (Bernstein, 1962a: 60). He found himself using typical European symphonic techniques as a structural basis in which to add jazz elements. His melodic gift was an enormous benefit to his musical language. Much of the aesthetic appeal of *Rhapsody in Blue*, for example, is the number of memorable or 'catchy' themes. In the same piece, his timbral combinations also show a departure from 'serious' concert music. From the first exaggerated glissando in the clarinet to his use of saxophones and muted brass, Gershwin effectively and creatively combines the colors of a jazz band with those of a traditional orchestra.

The excerpt below exhibits the roots of jazz rhythms discussed previously in this paper. In each of the measures below, Gershwin groups three sixteenth notes together by accenting the first of each group of three, which causes overlap between different beats of the measure, thereby creating syncopation.
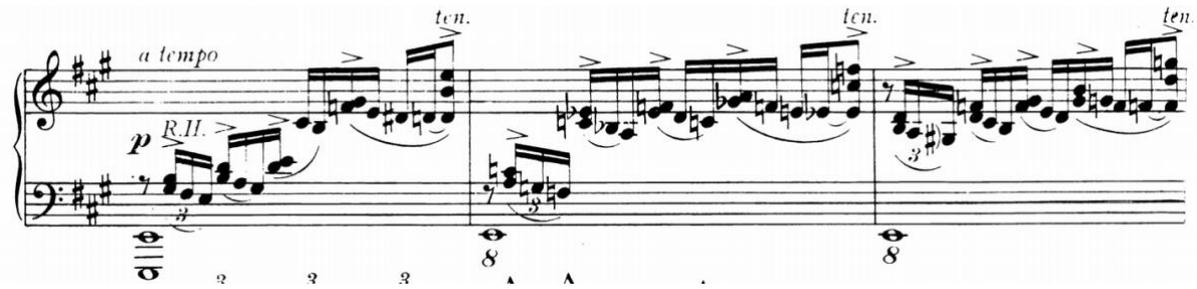
Figure 14: Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*, mm. 30-32 (Gershwin, 1924)

The excerpt below illustrates Gershwin's influence of the blues. The linear, chromatic movement in the first two measures as well as the colorful extended harmonies, such as those highlighted below, contribute to the bluesy sound that Gershwin sought to infuse into his concert music.

Figure 15: Gershwin, *Rhapsody in Blue*, mm. 48-54 (Gershwin, 1924).

"Certainly, the composer who used jazz most effectively was Gershwin" (Bernstein, 1962b: 41). He was ground-breaking in blending jazz elements with traditional symphonic techniques and was soon to be followed by other American composers. Gershwin's use of jazz made significant progress towards the development of a true American sound. There is no doubt that "Gershwin was, and remains, one of the greatest voices that have ever rung out in the history of American urban culture" (Bernstein, 1982: 309).

Aaron Copland (1900-1990)

Copland's innovations contributed a great deal to the development of an American sound. From some of his earliest compositions, a uniquely modern voice could already be detected. For example, at the premier of his *Symphony for Organ and Orchestra*, the conductor, Walter Damrosch addressed the audience, saying, "If a young man at the age of twenty-three can write a symphony like that, in five years he will be ready to commit murder" (Walter Damrosch quoted in Copland, 1968: 157). Presumably these comments stem from an anti-modern sentiment, but Copland made a strong statement about his compositional style with this piece and was not swayed by such criticisms. On the contrary, Copland maintained a sense of humor and perspective regarding this piece, exhibited in the following letter to a friend, in which he said, "When the Concerto is played again, ('O horrid thought!') we must see if we can't get the police to raid the concert hall to give a little added interest to this 'horrible' experiment" (Copland, 1927).

Not discouraged by such negative reviews as those from Mr. Damrosch, Copland continued to experiment in his compositions of the next several years. Like Gershwin, he experimented with jazz elements in some of his pieces including *Music for the Theater* and *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra*. Feeling that he had done all he could with the idiom, the *Concerto* was his last conscious use of jazz techniques. "It was an easy way to be American in musical terms, but all-American music could not possibly be confined to two dominant jazz moods" (Copland, 1968: 159). Though the *Concerto* was his last *conscious* use of jazz techniques, his propensity for rhythmic complexity and vitality, which was originally inspired by jazz, persisted throughout his compositional career.

Copland's *Piano Concerto* is an excellent example of how jazz manifested itself in otherwise serious concert works. It is a "work of skill, structural merit, and great contrapuntal interest" (Bernstein, 1982: 58). As discussed earlier in this paper, in this piece, as well as his other jazz-inspired works, Copland did not merely write a symphonic piece and then add jazz elements, but devised a way of reconciling the popular idiom with his own 'advanced style.' Like Gershwin, his aim was to symphonize jazz, but Copland achieved this in a much different way than Gershwin. Instead of simply using triadic harmonies, Copland uses polytonality (Bernstein, 1982: 58) to create a more sophisticated and complex harmonic structure, partially achieved through Copland's use of counterpoint. This is one of the ways in which Copland reconciles two

diverse worlds: jazz melodies with blue notes, and his own modern idiom. Copland also introduces a virtual jazz band in the second movement of this concerto, like the "burlesque imitation of 1926 jazz bands" (Bernstein, 1982: 61), including soprano and alto saxophone, muted brass and copious percussion.

As a response to his perception of the widening gap between modern composers and audiences, in the mid 1930's Copland resolved to compose in the simplest possible terms, creating a more accessible style. His resulting works are some of his most well-known and frequently performed today: *El Salón México*, *Billy the Kid,* and *Rodeo.*

In these early years of experimentation, Copland found himself drawn to Mexican and Latin-American sounds. His interest likely derived in part from his relationship with Mexican composer Carlos Chávez, as well as his visits to Mexico and South America. In a letter to a friend, Copland said, "Mexico offers something fresh and pure and wholesome––a quality which is deeply unconventionalized" (Crist, 2006: 101). And, in a letter to Carlos Chávez, he remarks that "it took [him] three years in France to get as close a feeling to the country as [he] was able to get in three months in Mexico" (Crist, 2006: 100-101). The resulting works from this connection to Mexico and South America include *El Salón México*, *Danzón Cubano*, and his *Latin American Sketches*. Their dance-like quality, irregular meters, asymmetrical phrases, and extreme rhythmic vitality contribute to the Latin-American blend for which Copland was striving during this time.

Danzón Cubano, for example, which Copland composed in response to a trip to Cuba in 1941, was first written for two pianos and then orchestrated by the composer at a later date. As can be seen in the piano excerpt below, Copland utilized syncopated, Latin-American rhythms and articulations in this piece. In many ways, he was emulating the traditional Cuban *danzón*, and though he understood that he was working from the outside, not as a native Cuban, he strove to use the popular materials and dances and translate them into his own voice (Dickstein, 2005: 97).

Figure 16: Copland, *Danzón Cubano*, mm. 1-5 (Copland, 1942)

The excerpt below is an excellent example of how Copland assimilated the Cuban *danzón*, while bringing his more modern sentiments to it. Throughout Copland's compositional career, a common thread of rhythmic experimentation is present. Quickly changing meters such as this can also be found in early works, such as his *Passacaglia* (1921), later works like *El Salon Mexico* (1938), and much later works, like his *Duo for Flute and Piano* (1971), just to name a few. In fact, this became one of his most distinctive characteristics.

Figure 17: Copland, *Danzón Cubano*, mm. 149-153

During Copland's trip to Havana, Cuba in 1941, which ultimately inspired the composition of this piece, he sat in a particularly large dance hall with two orchestras playing, one at each end of the hall (Pollack, 2000: 376). In the excerpt below, each piano part is layering a different theme, preexistent from an earlier part of the piece, on top of one another. This goes beyond strictly polyphonic texture, which one might expect from Palestrina, or one of his Renaissance contemporaries. In this excerpt, not only are both pianos playing different themes, they are both playing *fortissimo* in this section, which seems to suggest that the composer was not concerned with a delicate or diplomatic balance of ideas. Instead, this evokes the dual orchestras as he experienced them in Cuba, and also harkens back to Ives' use of layered themes and spatial experimentation.

Figure 18: Copland, *Danzón Cubano*, mm. 249-253

Copland's affinity for Latin-American sounds was not all-pervasive throughout his compositional career, but, like jazz, the influence of these rhythms and harmonies helped define Copland's compositional voice and influence other composers in the process. His connections to this region were not only noted by composers and critics, but also by the government. In 1940, Nelson Rockefeller, the Coordinator of Cultural Relations with Latin America, appointed Copland to the Advisory Committee on Music (Crist, 2006: 133-134; Berger, 1945b: 425). The goal of this committee was to collect Mexican folk song material from native groups in remote areas of Mexico (Crist, 2006: 134-135). According to musicologist Carol Hess, "Surely if any US art-music composer is associated with musical Pan Americanism it is Copland. Not only did he serve the government in an official capacity, but he published on Latin American music and composed Latin-American–style works" (Hess, 2013: 192).

In addition to jazz and Latin inspiration, Copland's 'American spirit' was portrayed in the ruggedness and open space in *Billy the Kid* through his characteristic use of spread out, open sonorities (Bernstein, 1962b: 48). This effect can also be seen in works such as *Rodeo*, *Of Mice and Men*, *Lincoln Portrait*, and *Appalachian Spring*.

In addition to Copland's compositions establishing a distinctly American sound, Copland lectured extensively in America and abroad on the importance of American music. For example, on a tour of South America in 1947, Copland gave a series of lectures in Brazil on American music, and provided commentary to his own compositions as they were played on the radio (Crist, 2006: 183). In 1955, on a tour of Europe, he also gave lectures on American music in Florence, Bologna, and Genoa (Copland, 1951a). Additionally, Copland conducted many American works in concerts around the world, including an all-Copland program at the Colon Theatre in Buenos Aires (Copland, 1947), an American chamber music concert in Rome, and a performance of "In the Beginning" for a Passover service in Tel Aviv (Copland, 1951b). Clearly, Copland made a priority of creating American music, making these developments known to others, and ultimately, making American music relevant to the world.

In their writings, both Copland and Bernstein discussed composers of contemporary and future generations that helped contribute to the development of an American sound. Among them are Virgil Thomson, William Schuman, Roy Harris, Roger Sessions, and Walter Piston.

Virgil Thomson (1896-1989)

According to Copland, "no country's musical life appears to be entirely mature until its composers succeed in creating an indigenous operatic theater" (Copland, 2004: 202). For this to be done, one must find a way of appropriately setting one's language to music. Virgil Thomson is one of the first American composers to appropriately address this problem and set America on its way towards having a national voice in this arena. His works are "thoroughly absorbing and attack the primary operatic problem of the natural setting of English to music" (Copland, 2004: 202).

Thomson was a completely original personality, and the diverse environments in which he lived – Kansas City, Missouri, where he was born; Harvard, where he resided for many years; and Paris, where he studied and remained for some time – contributed to

this (Copland, 2004: 202-203). His first successful opera was *Four Saints in Three Acts*, with a libretto by Gertrude Stein (Copland, 2004: 203). Thomson produced a simple and natural setting of this complex text, giving "the words their true speech inflections just as if their literal meaning [was] continuously understandable, while at the same time creating a musical scene that was crystal clear in its emotional intention" (Copland, 2004: 204). To achieve success in this approach, Thomson created straightforward and unambiguous musical emotion.

Thomson's philosophy of simplicity resulted from his reaction against the overly pretentious modern music that dominated the country since the mid-1920's. He felt that composers were concerned with inventing new rhythmic and harmonic devices rather than the overall integrity of the music, which ultimately pushed him to the opposite extreme. Instead of complex and modern, Thomson began to compose in a more ordinary fashion, with a sweet, simple, sentimental, and even naïve quality (Bernstein, 1962b: 50). His point was simply that "modern music has forgotten its audience almost completely. [T]he purpose of music is not to impress and overwhelm the listener but to entertain and charm him" (Copland, 2004: 203).

Thomson's unique style developed with a combination of elements, such as hymn tunes, vocal exercises, Gregorian chants, Mozartean phrases, and French *chansons*, which when done with flair, contribute to the general flow of the music (Copland, 2004: 204).

According to Copland, Thomson's simplistic style is most effective in his vocal works, while his chamber works are less effective, never really freeing themselves from an air of "artful sophistication" (Copland, 2004: 203-204). One of his greatest attributes is his ability to set the English language to music in a unique and natural way. His compositions, including his *Five Phrases from Song of Solomon* through his *Gertrude Stein Songs* show his sensitivity to the innate rhythm of English. "It is as if Thomson merely wished to draw a musical frame around the words. This simplicity of the underlying musical urge is what permits the composer to put all stress on the exact setting of the rhythm of the language" (Copland, 2004: 203-204).

In addition to *Four Saints*, some of Thomson's best-known works include: *The Mother of Us All*, his second opera with a Stein libretto, and his film scores, *Louisiana Story, The River,* and *The Plow That Broke the Plains*. He also composed many choral and orchestral

works, songs, solo piano pieces, and instrumental compositions. All of his works are unique and unpretentious. "He expresses only those feelings he really has; at the same time his attention does incline to move by means of joy and energy away from an inner emphasis to the outer world of nature, events, and people" (John Cage, quoted in Copland, 2004: 205).

William Schuman (1910-1992)

In Copland's estimation, "Schuman is generally ranked among the top men in American music" (Copland, 1960: 233). His mature works portray a sense of urgency, with ingenious instrumental techniques and experimental harmonies (Copland, 1960: 233). His *String Quartet No. IV*, for example, is somber, tentative, dark, and forbidding, unlike the eloquence and almost boyish optimism of his earlier works. Part of the dark character comes from his free use of tonality. It is less defined than previous works, even bordering on atonal. This piece is consistently dissonant in its chordal structure--more than any of his other works (Copland, 1960: 234). In his later works, Schuman employs a device where both major and minor intervals are sounding simultaneously, producing chords of a bitter-sweet nature. He alternates between chromatic and diatonic harmonies, which give the listener a sense of tension and relaxation respectively. "But it is the over-all experimental attitude that augurs well for the future" (Copland, 1960: 234). He produced a new method of expression, discarded the old formulas, and achieved a new and distinct style.

Schuman's rhythmic ingenuity and his expert treatment of instrumental timbre are part of his characteristic style. His rhythms –– skittish and personal, free and inventive (Copland, 1960: 234)––are difficult to perform because, though he stays within a regular metric format, the rhythmic impulse does not take bar lines into consideration. Some excellent examples of his rhythmic ingenuity can be seen in his *String Quartet No. IV*. The example below is indicative of his penchant for disregarding bar lines. In the time signature of 4/2, Schuman uses a number of ties to obscure the sense of beat and bar lines. In the first measure, for example, instead of four clearly defined beats, the listener would only detect three accented 'beats'. The first beat, the second half of the second beat and the fourth beat are accented in this bar, and the fourth beat is tied over into the next bar.

Figure 19: Schuman, *String Quartet No. IV*, Second Movement, mm. 52-55 (Schuman, 1951).

The next example shows numerous rhythmic ideas. First, his sense of rhythmic vitality is communicated with a dotted-eighth–sixteenth motive, followed by a measure of 'skittishness'. The second system of this excerpt exhibits a string of ties no doubt engineered to obfuscate the beat further.

Figure 20: Schuman, *String Quartet No. IV*, Second Movement, mm. 190-199 (Schuman, 1951).

Schuman's *American Festival Overture* is another excellent example of his contribution to the development of an American sound. It portrays the American spirit–– loud, strong, and wildly optimistic (Bernstein, 1962b: 47). Schuman states that the piece is based on a street call that he used when he was a child to see if his friends wanted to come out and play (see example below). This is the type of vitality and youth of this concert overture.

Wee - aw — kee!

Figure 21: 'Childhood Street Call' (Bernstein, 1962b: 47).

The example below will show Schuman's adaptation of this childhood call in the opening of his overture.

Figure 22: Schuman, *American Festival Overture*, First Movement, mm. 1-3 (Schuman, 1941).

There are multiple elements in the *American Festival Overture* that denote youth, strength, and optimism. His sense of rhythmic vitality is perhaps the most prominent,

followed by his use of upward leaping intervals at the opening of new themes. The example below shows both youthful qualities of the composer. This following theme contains wide intervallic leaps near the beginning, followed by an accented, meandering melody. And although the composer uses chromaticism in this melody, the listener detects little in the way of dissonance, as the wandering and accented melody simply reinforces both Schuman's and Bernstein's assessment of children at play.

Figure 23: Schuman, *American Festival Overture*, mm. 92-98 (Schuman, 1941).

Perhaps not a national figure like Aaron Copland, William Schuman progressed towards the national sound for which American composers were searching during the early part of the century. The rhythmic vitality and youth portrayed in his music is an essential characteristic of American art music. Schuman did not claim jazz as a particular influence in his works. Instead, Copland states, the root of Schuman's rhythmic genius lies in non-Western influences, such as African and Asian influences (Copland, 1952: 84). The polyrhythms regularly used in these musical cultures were considered exotic, unique, and unusual to Western music. Schuman's incorporation of these rhythmic techniques in his otherwise American-sounding music not only gave a truly original sound to his works, but lent more credibility to the advancement of an American sound. Use of jazz techniques and simple quotation of folk materials were not all the movement had to offer, as we can see in the works of William Schuman.

Roy Harris (1898-1979)

According to Copland, "the work of Roy Harris is one of [the] principal manifestations… of the mainstream of American music today" (Copland, 1968: 118). In 1940, Harris' music was more frequently played, more praised, and more condemned than any other living American composer. The wealth of vitality "will keep his music alive for future audiences of Americans" (Copland, 1968: 118, 126).

Unlike many composers who develop their compositional voice gradually, Harris' distinct personality existed from the very beginning (Copland, 2004: 174). It is one of the "most pronounced musical personalities" (Copland, 1968: 119) of anyone composing at the time. There were speculations that Harris' musical roots came from his pioneer, Oklahoma background, but Copland debunks this theory by reminding us that he moved to California at the age of five and lived in the suburbs of Los Angeles for the majority of his life (Copland, 1968: 119). Regardless, his music does sound distinctly American, with a strong sense of community, and a great breadth, full-bloodedness, power, spiritual purity and emotional depth. He writes music to address a large public, a sure sign of a composer from a large country (Copland, 1968: 120; Copland, 2004: 175, 177-178); describing, in his music, "America's physical, geographical vastness" (Mellers, 1948: 19).

His rhythms are characteristically American––a little jerky and nervous in some cases; crude and unabashed in others. In addition, his gift for melody is probably one of his strongest assets. He borrows Celtic folksongs, hymn tunes, and occasionally even Gregorian chant as a basis (Copland, 1968: 120; Bernstein, 1954: 223), and reworks or manipulates them into his own peculiar sound. His copious melodies and themes tend to be long, flowing lines, full of generosity and feeling, giving Harris a special character (Copland, 1968: 120). However, a byproduct of Harris' strong melodic gift is a lack of development. There are almost too many melodies being utilized in some cases. In his earlier works, he rejected established forms and structure, preferring to develop his own formal procedures. When these proved less than successful, he embraced older forms, viewing forms such as *passacaglia* and *fugue* as a challenge to incorporate into his compositions (Copland, 1968: 121).

Some of Harris' works show a lack of direction and perhaps an inadequate handling of larger forms. His setting of poetry for the voice is not his strongest quality, and music with programmatic tendencies does not always reflect the extra-musical content that it should (Copland, 1968: 122-123). Some of his greatest works, however––his *Sonata for Piano* and *Concerto for Clarinet, Piano, and String Quartet*––are full of zip and strong harmonic sense entirely personal to the composer. His *Quintet for Piano and Strings* and *Third Symphony* (Copland, 1968: 123-124) possess an original textural content, though Copland remarked that the latter "has some impossible string writing" (Copland, 1953). His music is built out of a "seemingly endless succession of spun-out melodies, which...

together convey a remarkable impression of inexhaustible profusion of melodic invention" (Copland, 1968: 124).

Harris's rhythmic and melodic innovations can be seen in his *Sonata for Piano*. The following example from the first movement exhibits his rhythmic innovation. In this section, he changes time signatures from 9/4 to 11/4, 14/4, and later, 16/4, producing a sense of uncertainty. However, at a slow pace, spacing the bar lines so far apart, the listener loses any rhythmic pulse whatsoever. This loss of rhythmic pulse along with the melismatic nature of the eighth note passages in the following example show the influence of Gregorian chant previously cited by Copland.

Figure 24: Harris, *Sonata for Piano*, Second Movement, mm. 26-28 (Harris, 1931).

Another example from Harris's *Sonata for Piano,* third movement *Coda*, employs almost exclusively parallel octaves and fifths, creating a hollow, medieval feeling. This could be attributed to an influence of Gregorian chant or of Debussy, as it is an excellent example of planing.

Figure 25: Harris, *Sonata for Piano*, Third Movement, mm. 102-106 (Harris, 1931).

Harris exhibits numerous rhythmic experiments in this piece, many of which can be seen in this next example. Here, he ties notes across bar lines (measure 23–24) and simply carries beams of eighth notes across bar lines in several measures. This is one example of the rhythmic vitality, mentioned by Copland.

Figure 26: Harris, *Sonata for Piano*, Third Movement, mm. 21-25 (Harris, 1931).

These compositional techniques rank Harris among the top American art music composers of his generation. His rhythmic devices are varied and plentiful. For a composer to juxtapose an audible lack of rhythm in one section of a piece with a vigorous, almost chaotic, aggressive rhythmic section, as in the last example, is truly unique. The plethora of ideas in this sonata do suggest a lack of development, as Copland mentioned, but his strikingly original personality, his daring approach to music and the distinct fighting quality that can be found in many of his works portray the true American spirit.

Carlos Chávez (1899-1978)

Carlos Chávez lived and worked in New York for several years, and many of his works were performed in New York concerts of the International Composers' Guild. In this sense, according to the 'Dean of American Music,' Aaron Copland, "he belongs with the composers of the United States, for he owes much to our country" (Copland, 1968: 145).

In the twentieth century, Chávez was considered a completely modern composer, with all the essential traits of modernism: "rejection of Germanic ideals, the objectification of sentiment, the use of folk material in its relation to nationalism, the intricate rhythms, [and] linear as opposed to vertical writing" (Copland, 1968: 145-146).

Chávez taught himself harmony and composition, rejecting more conventional teachers. He analyzed works of previous masters, having no musical tradition from which to draw in Mexico. He was ultimately successful in "forging a music that is not only his own but is recognizably Mexican" (Copland, 1968: 146).

His first Mexican ballet, *The New Fire* draws from Native Mexican folk songs for its themes. This was his first opportunity to turn away from the style and techniques of the European masters and embrace his own indigenous folk material. In this early ballet, he quoted folk songs literally, while a few years later he composed three sonatinas in which no folk melodies were specifically quoted. By this time, he had digested the material and created a characteristically personal sound, while still reflecting a Mexican influence. "As a whole the folk element has been replaced by a more subtle sense of national characteristics" (Copland, 1968: 147). His strong, deliberate, persistent, relentless, and uncompromising music is characterized by a stark, clear, and earthy style, with no frills, nor anything extraneous. It is almost as if he is expressive in his inexpressiveness (Copland, 1952: 91).

Two of Chávez's best-known orchestral works, *Sinfonía India* and *Sinfonía de Antígona*, show different approaches to nationalism (Copland, 1968: 148; Bernstein, 1962b: 174). While they are both distinctly Mexican, the former can be described as a "medley of delightful native tunes," and the latter uses no Mexican folk material at all (Copland, 1968: 148). The former also utilizes several Native Mexican percussion instruments that "give the work a special color" (Copland, 1936). Other contrasting works include: *HP,* which Copland described as a "youthful and colorful score once it is 'discovered'" (Copland, 1959), *Blues* and *Fox*, the *Huapango* section of *HP*, and the Aztec images in *Xochipilli-Macuilxóchitl*-- all have Chávez's personality, clarity, and sharpness of outline (Copland, 1959). His *Piano Sonata* and *Sonata for Four Horns* are both extremely personal, obstinate in purpose, and also distinctly Mexican––Native Mexican, more specifically– with a stoic, stark, and somber character (Copland, 1968: 148-149).

Chavez's *Sinfonia No. 3* succinctly encapsulates his compositional career. It represents a more mature compositional style, having solidified his personal character in earlier years. In this *sinfonia*, he does not quote specific folk songs, but his melodies exhibit folk elements and rhythms that portray a Mexican folk feel. The example below is an oboe melody presented in the first movement, *Introduzione*. This melody displays some chromaticism as well as lowered scale degrees that were previously sharp (the G-natural in measure 6, for example).

Figure 27: Chavez, *Sinfonia*, First Movement, mm. 15-21 (Chavez, 1955)

The second movement of the *Sinfonia* shows Chavez's use of *ostinato* rhythms in 12/8, providing a lilting or galloping accompaniment to the melody. This type of compound meter and simulation of galloping is also common of Mexican folk music and one which Copland also made use of, most notably, in his *El Salon Mexico*.

Figure 28: Chavez, *Sinfonia*, Second Movement, mm. 1-2 (Chavez, 1955)

Leonard Bernstein, in one of his *Young People's Concerts,* described music that used a 'childhood call.' Specifically, he identified the *American Festival Overture* of William Schuman as an example. Chavez uses a similar childhood call in the first movement of *Sinfonia*––one which Bernstein also discusses in one of his lectures at Harvard. This childhood call (see example below) is made up of three fundamental tones Bernstein calls *Musical Phonology*, the idea that a "worldwide, inborn musical grammar" exists based on "the similar idea of a universal grammar underlying human speech" (Bernstein, 1976: 7).

Figure 29: 'Childhood Call' (Bernstein, 1976: 7)

Chavez uses these fundamental tones in one of the first movement themes, which recurs in later movements of the *Sinfonia* (see example below).

Figure 30: Chavez, *Sinfonia,* Fourth Movement, mm. 70-71 (Chavez, 1955)

This piece also shows Chavez's flexibility as a composer blending folk elements, modern techniques, and classical forms. For example, Chavez composed a full-fledged fugue in the third movement. The subject is first presented by the flute, and then the bassoon, followed by clarinet, and finally, contrabassoon. The first subject and beginning of the bassoon statement is shown below.

Figure 31: Chavez, *Sinfonia*, Third Movement, mm. 1-17 (Chavez, 1955)

Chavez's twist on the use of a traditional fugue form can be seen in the next example. Here, the viola and cello are playing the fugue subject in unison and in counterpoint with the timpani. An emphasis on percussion is common in modern music, but it is a truly unique juxtaposition of elements for Chavez to utilize the timpani for real melodic and thematic content rather than simply rhythmic punctuation.

Figure 32: Chavez, *Sinfonia*, Third Movement, mm. 171-176 (Chavez, 1955)

Chávez is a first-rate Mexican composer and one of the first from the Americas to break away from a strict European tradition. Composers of the United States cannot borrow as readily from Chávez's treasury of folklore, given that they cannot easily relate to the folk material of Mexico, but his compositions have "stimulated and instructed" (Copland, 1968: 150) both contemporary and future composers. "Here we have one of the first authentic signs of a New World with its own music" (Copland, 1968: 150).

Aaron Copland and Carlos Chávez enjoyed a friendship and cross-pollination of compositional influences throughout their careers. Copland visited Chávez in Mexico on numerous occasions and became acquainted with the folklore that had influenced Chávez. These influences can be seen in some of Copland's works, such as *El Salon Mexico* and *Danzón Cubano.* Chávez also maintained a reputation of national and international importance. He was sought after as a prestigious guest teacher at Tanglewood, following in the footsteps of composers like Hindemith, Milhaud, Honegger, Martinu, Messiaen, Ibert, and Dallapiccola (Copland, 1952). From the multiple visits and letters exchanged between the two composers, it is clear that Copland thought very highly of Chávez. One of the strongest examples can be found in a letter from Copland to Chávez in 1948, where Copland describes an occasion where he reportedly "upset Villa-Lobos considerably at a meeting of the *Academia Brasileira de Musica* by talking at too great a length about the achievements of one Carlos Chávez!" (Copland, 1948). Copland's

esteem for the composer can further be seen in the following statement made after Chávez's death:

Carlos Chavez and I had been friends and composer-colleagues for half a century. His role during that period as composer and conductor and his country's chief animator of musical life is now a part of music history.

It is impossible to imagine the Mexican musical scene of the past fifty years without his leadership. He and I felt ourselves brothers-in-arms, desirous of having the musico-artistic life of our two countries join the twentieth century.

His contribution as conductor, teacher and leader of the musico-cultural life of Mexico for half a century will always be remembered. But most of all, Carlos Chavez would wish to be remembered, and rightfully so, as composer. As I once wrote: "Whatever his musical style, harsh or mellifluous, it is the music of a personality, one of the most striking of our time" (Copland, 1978: 1).

Conclusion

Developing a truly American sound was a difficult task for the art music composers of the twentieth century. Even before the turn of the century, American composers were urged by Dvorák to produce American compositions simply by quoting indigenous folk music. It became evident that this approach would not ultimately be successful for two reasons. First, these American composers had no connection with the folk material they were using, and second, the resulting pieces were more like patchwork quilts than cohesive pieces of music. The composers' styles and compositional techniques were not unified with the blindly quoted folk songs. With the evolution of jazz, however, American composers had a uniquely American music from which to draw. In this vein, we saw Gershwin's music and some of Copland's early works emulating jazz, adapting, and reconciling these very different genres of music. Copland also made use of folk material from the United States and Mexico, and many other composers followed his lead. From all of these influences, an American sound was developing; a sound that came from the individual and personal voice of the composer and reflected the true spirit of the country. "There are as many sides to American music as there are to the American people––our great, varied, and many-sided democracy. And perhaps that's the main quality of all: the many-sidedness" (Bernstein, 1962b: 50).

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