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Seventh Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe: Place, Space and Resistance

Trabzon University State Conservatory

Trabzon, Turkey

2022

Music and dance in Southeastern Europe: place, space and resistance

Seventh Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe

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23 April – 25 April 2021

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Introduction

The seventh symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe was organised online between 23 April – 25 April 2021 by the ICTM Turkey national committee after a delay of one year due to the Covid-19 pendemic.

The programme focused on three themes:

1. Music and dance in the cultural basin of the Black Sea
2. Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation
3. Performance places and spaces – how these are constructed

This publication is considered a full record of the Study Group's biennial gathering. The aim of the editing is to standardise the use of English language and the style format from authors who use varying punctuation, spelling, and referencing rules. All texts were edited using the DdA reference format for dance[1] Twenty presenters did not submit full papers; these are represented by their original abstracts are grouped at the end of publication, so that there is a full record of all the symposium presentations.

Special thanks go to the Turkish national committee, the Program Committee and the Study Group executives, for their great efforts in the preparation of the Symposium programme.

The detailed full report of the Symposium written by the "newcomers" Bengi Çakmak, Nevin Şahin, Suna Başlantı, and Maja Bjelica follows.

Endnotes

1. see Elsie Ivancich
Dunin and Candi Harrington deAlaiza, 2010. "DdA reference format for dance." Online: <https://79c295e1-a534-4dee-8b68-e135ef174454.filesusr.com/ugd/c33df9_d76f567b50714bf6a4711c219d061614.pdf >.

Themes

1. Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation

Being a crossroad between the east and the west, the Southeastern European region has been, and still is, a place with important historical and social processes and events. These can be described in various music and dance expressions which are very often connected with the people's resistance, integration and separation in one country, between different countries, in one historical period or in a specific societal event or context. Songs and dances created as memory of these historical events mark important social and political changes in the society, but also describe the lives and the emotional response of the people during these changes. Witnessing the most recent historical, economical and political processes and movements in the region, scholars and researchers have documented different ways of expressing the people's resistance in which the music and the dance play a significant role in the integration and/or the separation of an individual, a group, a community, or an entire nation in the region, or in one country.

Participants are invited to address some of the following questions arising from the given topic: the role of music and dance as a resistance, an integration or a separation in a specific event; as a social process/revolution/movement; toward a concrete political person or ideology; as part of a past or a contemporary revolution (political, economical, social); the role of the musicians and the dancers who are part of the resistance; music and dance as a propaganda and/or a response tool in the contemporary media/internet space; connecting the past cultural memory with the contemporary societal resistance movements; the role of the music and the dance in integrating and/or separating an individual, a group or a community in sharing the same idea; music and dance as a resistance marker in a broad identity context; etc.

2. Performance places and spaces – how these are constructed

Since the second half of the 20th century the contemporary artistic interpretation of the traditional music and dance was named as "scenic", "scenic interpretation" or "art interpretation". The traditional places and spaces of performance changed and new cultural perspectives in the contemporary processes of transition and dissemination of the traditional music and dance heritage was created whereby the scenic infringement, reconstructions and interpretation of the folk song and dance become dominant forms. The stage, described as a place where something is performed in front of an audience, become a source not only to the appearance of some new perspectives and phenomena, but also gives completely new broader context of the construction and the usage of different performance places and spaces where the traditional music and dance gain new aesthetic and function. We are inviting presentations which would address the different aspects and issues of the importance and the role of the performance places and spaces and their construction such as: the role of the performance space in the relation of the actor with the performance context/repertoire/ audience/function; constructing performance of a traditional music and/or dance form for different performance places and spaces; using and constructing virtual and media performance places and spaces; the past versus contemporary places and spaces for performance; the relation between the performance timing and/or duration with the construction of the performance place and space; the construction of space by the music and/or dance performance; etc.

3. Music and dance in the cultural basin of the Black Sea

The Black Sea, located on the shores of many countries in Southeastern Europe, is a vast cultural basin that unites the Balkan, Crimean, Azov, Caspian, Caucasian and Anatolian geographies. Throughout history, there have been an infinite number of intersections in this basin and many communities have interacted with each other in different areas of the Black Sea. Under this title, we would like to discuss together the studies in the field of music and dance on communities living in different geographies of the Black Sea cultural basin. We welcome all your suggestions for the current work areas such as ethnographic writings based on fieldwork, theoretical approaches to formation and transformation processes, research that reveals historical, social and cultural affinities, archival studies, comparative studies, personal determinations about daily music and dance practices, repertoire analysis, identity and gender among many more.

Symposium report

Bengi Çakmak, Nevin Şahin, Suna Başlantı, and Maja Bjelica

(Note an abbreviated version of this report was published in the ICTM Bulletin No.147 October 2021)

This year's Symposium of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe held online due to the momentary worldwide health situation and restrictions, took place from 23rd to 25th of April. It concentrated on three main themes, mutually intertwining them, but also touching on topics beyond them. It included 47 presentations grouped under these three themes: "Music and dance in the cultural basin of the Black Sea" (7 presentations), "dance and music as resistance, integration and separation" (13 presentations), and "performance places and spaces – how these are constructed" (27 presentations).

The introductory session consisted of words of welcome from the representatives of the program and organizing committees, including Gökhan Altınbaş, Arzu Öztürkmen, Svanibor Pettan, and Velika Stojkova Serafimovska. They stressed the importance of this meeting and of the Study Group itself, being one of the biggest among the ICTM study groups that covered a variety of research areas of music and dance in southeastern Europe. The importance of the study group was later also emphasised by the honorary guest Susanne Ziegler, who was introduced by Abdullah Akat, who stressed her important work in phonogram archives and her research of music of Turkey, Caucasus, Georgia, and East and Southeast Europe in general.

Susanne Ziegler, the honorary guest of the symposium, presented her research work on linguistics and music, and talked about the institute where she worked and her mentors and colleagues whom she worked with. The focus of her talk was the ICTM study group on the Music and Dance of Southeastern Europe that since its inception in 2008 in Struga had kept growing in membership and has been functioning successfully despite the political differences and ideologies within the region. She also mentioned the transformation of the political and cultural frames in this geopolitical area in the last decades, such as "Europeanization", but also a turn "back to national roots", both accompanied by international coordination. This region is seen as a cultural unit, despite its social and cultural differences since its commonalities are strongly expressed in music and dance. She emphasised the importance of the symposia of the study group that considers themes beyond music and dance, such as problems of fieldwork, presentation, media, teaching, education, transitions, and changes, also national identities, migrations, global thinking, and political situations. Ziegler expressed her hope that the study group would continue its research in these directions and stressed the importance of topics concerning "antinational borders" on one hand, and the surmounting of disciplinary borders on the other, and that accounts of intercultural and interethnic communication in progress should also strive to establish or keep a balance between music and dance, local and global, and similar.

One of the three main themes of the symposium was entitled "Music and dance in the cultural basin of the Black Sea" and touched upon topics such as cultural interactions, fieldwork and gender binary, transformation processes, and migration. Sevi Bayraktar offered an insight into the reinforcement of gender binary in the realm of fieldwork research, carried out in the first half of the 20th Century in the region of the Black Sea, when (male) researchers visited the major coastal cities on the line between Istanbul and Rize. With questionable methodologies, they omitted the female population who were settled in the hinterland, and thus reproduced the gender binary also in the categorisation

of the traditional dances, that was formulated in a manner to fit the idea of national homogeneity. A counterpart to this was the presentation of the female mountain repertoire among the Romeyka speakers in the Pontic Alps by Andrea Pascaru who focused mainly on the lament, usually performed by women. She identified the role of women in this oral vocal tradition to be guardianship of the family's memories, oral archiving of collective memory, and also being a silent political voice affecting the society.

Many of the presentations unveiled the connections, interactions, and exchange among people from the Northern Turkish and Greek geographical areas that appeared due to migrations throughout the 20th century. İdris Ersan Küçük, for example, presented the horon tradition as a migrating one: the displacement of the Christian and Muslim population after the Lausanne exchange (1922–24) caused the traditions of the Turkish and Pontic/Greek societies to travel with the people. In this manner, these worked as a tool for integration and also for transforming "new" places into "old" ones. Spiros Th. Delegos offered an example of intertextuality and syncretism in the musico-cultural sphere with the case study of Ioannis Eitziridis (Yovan Tsaons) who migrated from Kastamonu first to Istanbul and later to Pireaus (Greece). He played the tambouri, a string instrument with a hybrid character, combining the Turkish saz and the Greek bouzouki, and was also part of a translocal musical cultural network, meeting and exchanging material with Ottoman musicians, forming a heteronomous style through rebetiko.

Abdullah Akat's presentation pointed out that the Black Sea basin is a diverse area of cultural interaction and transportation, which had been mainly investigated through focused research on a micro, local level, but it was rarely considered as a whole – the lack of holistic insight could be an incentive to rethink the Black Sea music and dance on a macro level and to connect the existing research. Akat also proposed to form a study subgroup on the Black Sea music and dance. This idea was backed up with the agreement of some researchers to form a research team focusing on interconnections in music and dance studies in the Black Sea area.

The second main theme of the symposium was entitled "Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation" and focused on questioning or rethinking historical events, social and political changes, identity forming, migration, as well as other topics. One of the sessions focused on feminist insights and practices in musical and dance activities. Selda Öztürk presented the musical activity of Syrian and Iraqi refugee women in Istanbul and Antep, through their collective and individual practices, which she had been researching since 2011. These women engage in choirs that allow them to express collectively, and challenge the negative impression of the refugees and transform this into a positive impression, empowering them as members of the community and musical performers, as well as allowing inter-community communication and social integration. This individual musical expression was found in the private realm where musical activity represents a way to cope with reality and a form of collective therapy. Berna Kurt on the other hand presented a feminist artistic project entitled Dansöz in which she took part as a dramatist that was performed and directed by Tümay Kılıçel. She identified this artistic process as an example of feminist solidarity and empowerment, and therefore a tool for resistance to the malestream artistic Eurocentric practices, rejecting hierarchies, inequalities and power relations. The performance problematises multiple identities, and leads to social emancipation of the body through "belly dance," and empowers the suppressed body. Also, Füsun Aşkar focused on women dances, returning to the Black Sea and Trabzon. She focused on a case study of a successful attempt of staging the horon, which was predominantly presented as a male dance, for female dancers. This was done through processes of deconstruction and qualitative research, where the dominant

shape and artistic expression was transformed through an application of scientific knowledge. In this way, the existence of female traditional dances was acknowledged that allowed some concrete and aesthetic updates of life experiences.

Athena Katsanevaki presented her research on one community dance, danced by two linguistic/ethnic groups that called the Chorlu Mare (in Vlach language) or also Tranos Choros (in the Greek language), searching for similarities in societies of Blatsi and the Pindus mountains, that has allowed the two communities to establish a common and shared ritual that promoted the integration of one community with the other. In her presentation Maja Bjelica focused on the plurality of the role of the music of the Turkish Alevis, stressing two aspects: one was the Alevis' public performance of their ritual whirling practices, called semah, that can be understood as a possible agent of integration, that allowed the Alevi communities a certain amount of public recognition in Turkey. The other aspect she presented was the fact that Alevi musical practices allow them to form a safe communal, common space for their community members to meet and share their emotions and feelings thus fostering social cohesion.

Gergana Panova-Tekath discussed the role of Bulgarian folk dance in intercultural communication between different diasporas, refugees, and the host community through the concepts of "strange and stranger". In her presentation, she treated Bulgarian folk dance as a non-verbal communication tool, and showing three different ways that music and dance can act as an intercultural bridge. Regarding this symposium theme, Gergana's inspirational presentation revealed how music and dance can provide both integration and separation – as she calls it "cultural strangeness", from a multicultural perspective. Similarly, also Selena Rakočević addressed traditional dances as mediums of both, integration and separation, in the dance practice of the Danube Gorge in Romania in the post-socialist era, among the Serbian and Romanian communities. Through a detailed analysis of the Romanian brâul and Serbian kolo, based on participant observation, interviews, and video material analysis, she identified similarities, but also obvious differences, that could be perceived as hallmarks of ethnic diversity. Thus, communal dancing reflects processes of both, socialisation, and othering.

Carol Silverman discussed Bulgarian wedding music by examining the political changes, restrictions, and resistance to these restrictions through the performative relationship between folk music, the market, and the state. Under the shadow of socialist, post-socialist, capitalist, and nationalist ideologies, Silverman shared the results of nearly 40 years of fieldwork, conveying the role of music as a resistance from a broad perspective in terms of historical, economic, and political processes, including contemporary media.

Muzaffer Sümbül discussed the changes in the socio-cultural structure of the Balkan immigrant communities that migrated from the Balkans to the Çukurova region since the last period of the Ottoman Empire, through dance and music practices. Sümbül interpreted the place of dance and music in the Balkan immigrant culture and the role of creating a new collective and identity through the concepts of integration, separation, and resistance by conveying the results of his ethnographic research in the region.

Kai Åberg evaluated Gypsy dances in terms of exoticism, stereotype, gender, identity, political ideologies, and dominant power, based on the data obtained from his nearly 25 years of fieldwork among Roma. Applying a critical approach, he suggested that orientalism existing within Europe should be evaluated – in his words "its orientalism needs to be exorcised," Åberg suggested that there is no uniform gypsy identity, therefore the musical identity of the Balkan gypsy dance and the musical research made accordingly should be considered as a constantly changing phenomenon.

Ivona Opetcheska Tatarcevska dwelt on the role of music as a symbolic and moving medium that was shared during the recent protests in Macedonia, "For Common Macedonia", against "Tirana's Platform". She had observed that each protest exhibited a variety of musical choices including the national anthem, folk songs, sports-related motivational cheer songs, hippie songs, etc. She also observed that music was given a core role in terms of symbolizing and leading the intensity by using microphone beats resembling the heartbeat and the use of speaker-installed vehicles as the mascot of the protests. She concluded by emphasising that, more importantly, folk music was not the prominent image reflected through these protests but the selection of different sorts of music embracing the multicultural background of the urban character of the protestors.

Similarly, regarding the current dynamic political atmosphere in Macedonia due to the transitional process and debates on becoming a member of the European Union, Velika Stojkova Serafimovska focused on the role of music within the protests as a means of enhancing the cultural and collective memory of that social-political soundscape. She took into consideration the signals, noises, music, and slogans as the primary sounds and the latent impact on the collective memory such as the songs and videos that are being produced. Tackling music with its "social glue" function and as a "sonic act", she focused on the aspects of transmitting political and social messages for struggles and to create the environment through collective participation. She especially emphasized how music becomes a tool of enhancing and manifesting communal identity and collective resistance, which are contested among the participants and against the authority within the soundscape of these urban public protests.

In the face of growing urban socio-political crises, Andrianopoulou Panayiota elaborated on the social movements continuing in Greece within the last decade that have indicated the spreading influence of traditional dance as an alternative political manifestation of resistance in terms of culture and heritage. She drew attention to the counter expression put forth using traditional dance and the activities of social groups using it against the policies and processes of commercialization, privatization, gentrification, and alike, holding a position of spatial and cultural defend. She shared her fieldwork in which she has taught dance courses and her ethnographic findings obtained from her respondents that showed that traditional dance was considered to be the crystallized form of endangered community values, the sense of solidarity, and revival.

Burcu Yıldız focused on the historical aspect of integration in the 78rpm records of Armenian immigrants from the Ottoman Empire in the USA in the early 20th century. While problematizing the tone-deafness of music researchers in Turkey regarding these recordings, she referred to the transcultural memory on a theoretical level and the multi-linguality of these recordings in order to emphasize their integrative character. Within the same historical fragment, Nevin Şahin shared her data on early 20th century music publication in Turkey, asserting the multilingual integration as well as the stylistic integration when the segregation of art music and folk music. Among the printed fasıls of Ottoman/Turkish music, she identified a diachronic tension in the changing terminology of genres. In a similar time frame, Teja Turk investigated the popularization of Slovenian traditional music through a transforming understanding of genres. She showed examples of how the tension between nationalistic discourse and popular culture through mass media reshaped polka into pop-folk. Putting political and ideological discourses into focus, Gül Kaplan and Cenker Ekemen contextualized the Praksis Music Band within the framework of the Gezi uprisings in Turkey. Analysing the uprising in relation to the Arab spring, they touched upon the function of music in integrating people of differing backgrounds into a culture of resistance, against the violation of human rights.

The third theme of the symposium was "Performance places and spaces – how these are constructed" and proved to be a very important and interesting topic, connecting accounts on performances, displacements, modernisation, performer-audience relations, among others. Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin offered a thorough theoretical background to the understanding of space and place within choreology studies, offering an epistemological frame that understands the body in connection to space and culture. The place where the dance occurs can be accounted on as physical, emotional, and social space, but it is also a place of values, domination and orientation, distancing, and embodiment.

Some presentations concentrated on specific places and spaces of performance. Eirini Loutzaki, for example, presented the work of the Lyceum club of Greek Women that had a crucial role in preserving Greek traditional folklore, offering a chronological insight into their work, of which the antithetical aspect of the grandeur of the past and simplicity of the present was prominent. She presented stage or theatre as a place of fostering folk tradition. The folk-dance performance was introduced to the province in the 1960s, which helped to gain popularity. It took place in different spaces, mainly in theatres and big stages forming so-called mega events. Marija Dumnić Vilotijević, on the other hand, concentrated on the presentation of the local Serbian taverns, kafane, as specific cultural and popular soundscapes, through the analysis of musical events. In the taverns of the Skadarlija area of Beograd, participatory musical performances take place, based on folk music with improvised structure. Crucial to these events are the collaboration among musicians and the audience, and their mutual proximity, which makes these events collective in character. To the presentation she added an account of the current situation in the kafane during the pandemic. Liz Mellish and Nick Green provided an account of the open-air events, the village days, that create a space for community events in Romanian Banat. They presented a comparative analysis of approximately 80 events in the villages, that occurred between the years 2015 and 2019. They explained that the space used during such events is socially constructed by transforming an "everyday space" to a "special place" for the event to occur. They emphasised the focus on the event/dance space, and the character of the event's programme being formed by local participation.

Iva Niemčić and Joško Čaleta presented the change of performing locations throughout the 20th century for local musical traditions: moving the performances of traditional singing such as ojkanje from an "authentic" setting to the stages had consequently also led to a change of the audience. Through modernization, this and similar traditions have become closer to the public, which also occurred through using the media technology and publishing on the internet, but consequently, the oral transmission between generations was mainly abandoned. The authors stress the importance of observing the consequences of the contemporary transposition of the stage to the internet due to the health crisis and social isolation.

Ana Petrović discussed the sonic and temporospatial construction of a specific form of space and place during recording processes in fieldwork, which she identified as certain performance spaces reflected through the sound recording. Her focus was on gender and how the performative space and the performance of women interlocutors differed from that of men within patriarchal environments and their spatial repercussions. Her examples of two female performers from her fieldwork conducted in Pešter, Serbia demonstrated that she, as the researcher, could get into a more intimate and informative bond with female participants, and, secondly, female performers performed in the private space and reflected very similar auditory narratives of being rather timid, self-diminished, etc.

Unlike women, male performers' "authoring of space" reflected being possessive, relaxed, etc., corresponding to the patriarchal gendered structures.

Ardian Ahmedaja's presentation concentrated on the institutionalization of musical life after World War II with the impact of communist cultural policies and the public control of local music and dance during the communist era, exemplified by the National Folklore Festival (NFF) in Albania, and the multiple realities reflected through the female ballads performed and accompanied by fyell. His emphasis was on the intriguing cast involving a female singer and a male fyell player in 1978s NFF, mainly because those ballads used to be performed without any instrumental accompaniment and gendered separation of men and women in everyday life did not match with that performance. He explained that since then fyell being played alongside female ballads has become a symbol and it has continued by being transformed and evolved in the following years until now. Considering the NFF as a resilient institutional performative space, he discussed the importance of the contrast between local practices and their stage representation and the dynamics between agents and agencies in terms of Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus.

Pınar Kasapoğlu Akyol discussed how folk dances should be exhibited in Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) Museums, through the examples of Fangango's Living Museum and "Leyli Nights" in Mardin Museum. She focused on the bond between performance as a part of the concept of ICH and museums as important means of safeguarding ICH, and especially on the new meaning attributed to museums where the issue of preservation and maintaining a holistic approach come together, that differentiates ICH museology from classical museology. From this view, she elaborated on museums as new performance spaces and traditional dance as a developing form of exhibiting ICH at museums. Noting that dance and music performances are still among the lesser exhibited forms of cultural practices at museums, she underlined the significance of folk dance performances at museums in terms of safeguarding, communicating, and sharing, and proposed that the ways of exhibiting such performances should be revised and developed.

Tanja Halužan shared the results of her research on a new singer-songwriter scene that has flourished in Zagreb for almost twenty years in which the character of the live performance space and the listening behaviour of the audience have created a specific scene. She mentioned the characteristics of the scene as the do-it-yourself approach of the performers, the physical and social importance of the intimate space showing itself within that DIY community, live music performances held in places such as cafes and libraries as part of DIY culture, and the consequential social interactions emerged within that scene. She especially drew attention to the intersection between the participatory listening and responses of the audience, instead of experiencing music as a background, and the potential of the space in which the experience was shared, which characterized the uniqueness of the scene.

Dilek C. and Aziz Ali Elyağutu focused on Caucasian folk dances performed in Turkey in Kars and Iğdır where their research was conducted. They tackled the subject in terms of the dynamic and changing nature of culture including folk dances. Considering the changes over time, they defined "old and new" dances. Classifying the current states of old dances into three categories, they demonstrated the sustenance and alteration process of folk dances in terms of their current incidence, changed forms, and availability. They also shared information about new types that have emerged since 1985, following the dance performance of the Azerbaijan State Ensemble in 1982, after which certain folk-dance groups imitated the dances they watched and recorded. Moreover, they explained that the emergence of new dances was also due to migration, passing by the elder

generations who were the transmitters of the earlier dance forms, and the hardship of practicing tradition as embedded in social life because of assimilation, oppression, and cultural forgetting, organised festivals, and culture industry.

Marko Kölbl shed light on the Burgenland Croats as a minority community, and relatively new arrivals in Austria, in which he has conducted fieldwork about the musical aspect of the ethnic and transcultural identity of the community. He focused on the importance and function of Croatian popular music that has become more widespread and more popular, bridging the sense of modernity and the ethnic identification of being Croatian. He emphasized the potential of popular music allowing people to dance, creating the sense of modernity and ethnicity at the same time, the easy import of songs via online platforms, the extension of local music with the repertoire of the 1970s-1990s and their incorporation into folk dances, the festive and ritual function of the songs, and the reinforcement of Croatian identity in the face of losing competence of language-speaking and singing.

Aleksandra Kuzman comparatively discussed how the Macedonian old-urban music tradition called chalgia has altered from the past to the present in terms of its changing contexts in relation to the performance space and the changing attitudes of the performers regarding their perception of the tradition. She demonstrated the changes of the performance spaces and places as the changing spatial and cultural contexts in the city, such as from private to public spheres, transitioning from informality to formality, from spontaneity to non-spontaneity, from the nonseparation between performers and the audience to their division. From the musical aspect, she stated that the use of instruments and the repertoire has changed as well as the acoustic and quiet environment of the past that has become non-acoustic and intensified with sounds. Considering the significance of chalgia culture with its urban, social, cultural, and ritual functions, Kuzman pointed out crucial comparisons between the earlier and current characteristics of chalgia as a changing yet sustaining socio-cultural performance.

Focusing on practices of folk music in socialist Bulgaria, Ventsislav Dimov discussed the folk music practices in media as a field of power. The power narrative behind the professional practices of non-professional local music practices standardized a style of cultivated folk music for broadcast, recordings, and concerts during the five decades of the communist period through Stalinist party slogans. Moving from media intermediaries to the stage and beyond as performance space, Lozanka Peycheva provided an account of Pirin Folk Festival, which celebrated the 28th edition in 2020 with the dominance of authored songs based on folklore. Different stages of the festival marked a move from traditional towards popular and from Bulgarian to Balkan, bringing in criticism on a variety of levels, the “folklore basis” being the most significant. Focusing on the performance space of HORO-teque in Bulgaria, Dilyana Kurdova discussed this phenomenon in relation to the discussions on revival of Bulgarian folklore dances. The motivation to meet for having fun and preserving folk dances intermingled in horotekas in the evolution of space into competition, a Balkan festival, inclusion of live music, and most importantly teaching of dance. Reflecting the pandemic effect of moving from actual spaces to an online sphere, Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg discussed the practices of Bulgarian folk dance on the internet. The significance of globalized Bulgarian identity both for digital learners and digital natives connected online spaces under dance tutorial videos, bringing together ethnomusicological and ethnochoreological questions about the new digital experiences enhanced by the pandemic.

Considering a music style through the perspective of a performance space, Serkan Şener shared the biographical narrative of Abdullah Nail Bayşu’s house. Giving examples from

early arabesk, he showed the influence of the gatherings in this house on music production, the first stars of the style, and early recordings of these artists. Irene Markoff, through her experience of intersectionality and multilocality, provided an account of Bulgarian performance practices in Canada and their connections with Bulgaria. Questioning her positionality as a researcher and performer in terms of self-reflexivity, she led multifaceted discussions on methodology. In light of the research conducted under the direction of Svanibor Pettan, Urša Šivic connected the two axes of the symposium "Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation" and "Performance places and spaces – how these are constructed" in the performance practices of ethnic minority communities in Slovenia. Her interview data revealed how performing the traditional music of their ethnic identity helped the practitioners' integration into both cultures and how moving beyond the traditional music of the ethnic minorities led to transnational outcomes and liberation of styles.

One of the highlights of the symposium was the panel entitled "Methodological approaches for the musical culture and sounding/moving nature" featuring four Turkish female scholars, visionaries in the field of environmental thinking, understanding the "eco" as the place, the environment, where music and dance take part, forming soundscapes and choreoscapes. This panel tried to put forward an ecological, multispecious and intersensorial perspective in relation to sound, music, and dance. Based on this perspective, Bengi Çakmak presented the general framework of critical ecology, about which she stressed that there is a methodological need to be integrated into the field, which primarily deals with the understanding of co-existence and multiple interconnected ecosystems. Suna Başlantı exemplified the ecological perspective by focusing on the relationship between soundscape, intersensoriality, and music. She argued that sound, which has an effective role in the formation and revival of sonic memories, is a sensorial element of music practices in the Anatolian Eastern Black Sea region and directly affects the perception of music. Aslı Kayhan shared the potential advantages of mapping applications in investigating the connection between urban space and music by conveying the music mapping project over the soundscape-landscape connection. In the final presentation of the panel, Belma Oğul shared three new concepts in which she integrated dance with ecology, sound and multispecies. Deriving from ecomusicology, she coined the term "ecochoreology" that examines dance both within an ecosystem and as an ecosystem. Her new approach promises eye-opening insights for music and dance studies.

Some presentations, already mentioned, touched upon more than only one of the symposium themes. One of them was the paper of Hamraz Lotfi Korun who offered an insight into the musical creative environment of the Iranian musician Mohsen Namjoo. Being productive in the realm of non-religious, sensory, and emotional, his music is considered as "haram", that is forbidden music. Living in the USA diaspora since 2009, the artist preformed in concerts all over the world. Through proactively positioning himself on the internet the artist employs this new performing space to share his music without the need that the audience would know his religion politics or language.

The closing session included reports by Belma Oğul as well as the newcomers on the statistics of the virtual symposium, and the prominent topics of discussion and emerging ideas for the next symposia. The efforts of the local committee, the technical team and the executive committee were acknowledged mainly by the acting director Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin, emphasizing the desire to include participants from less represented countries of Southeastern Europe and the hope that we will come together in person for the next symposium. The two themes for the next symposium were chosen as "Gender and

sexuality in music and dance in Southeastern Europe" and "Music and dance in virtual communications." The third theme for the symposium will be determined by the local committee from Greece.

Guest of honour

Susanne Ziegler, graduated in Musicology/Ethnomusicology and Slavic languages and literature from the University of Cologne and wrote her PhD thesis on folksongs in Yugoslav-Macedonia, based on fieldwork 1973–1974. She worked as assistant professor at the Institute for Comparative Musicology of the Free University in Berlin and lectured at various German universities. Until her retirement she held a position at the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv in the Ethnomusicology department of the Ethnological Museum, National Museums in Berlin, Prussian Heritage Foundation, where she was responsible for the historical collections. Her publications include the book "Die Wachszylinder des Berliner Phonogramm-Archivs" (2006), a series of CDs and numerous scientific articles on folk music in East- and Southeast-Europe, Turkey, the Caucasus, especially in Georgia, on instrumental music, on ethnohistory, on music and gender, and on archival collections and historical sources of traditional music.

Programme

23rd April 2021

Session I	**15:00-16:00**	**Opening**
Svanibor Pettan		ICTM President
Velika Stojkova Serafimovska		Study group Chairperson
Arzu Öztürkmen		ICTM Turkey
Abdullah Akat		Introduction of Suzanne Ziegler – honoured guest
Suzanne Ziegler		Honoured guest
Session II	**16:10-16:55**	**Theme 1 : Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation**
Chairpersons: Svanibor Pettan and Marija Dumnic		
Spiros Th. Delegos		Musico-cultural trajectories within Southeastern Europe and Anatolia as factors in the formulation of Rebetiko: The case of Ioannis Eitzirides or Yovan Tsaous from the Black Sea
Maja Bjelica		The plurality of roles of the music of the Turkish Alevi
Abdullah Akat		Re-thinking Black Sea music: micro and macro perspectives
Session III	**17:05-18:05**	**Theme 2 : Performance places and spaces**
Chairpersons: Berna Kurt and Urša Šivic		
Joško Ćaleta; Iva Niemčić		Slavuj piva… – contemporary scenic interpretation of the Croatian traditional music and dance
Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin		The relationship between the individual and dance space in Western Anatolian traditional dance contexts
Athena Katsanevaki		Chorlu Mare – Tranos Choros: Two linguistic-ethnic groups in one community dance
Hamraz Lotfi		The troubled tune of Iran: Mohsen Namjoo's music in between diaspora identity in a new performance place
Session IV	**18:25-19:25**	**Theme 2 : Performance places and spaces**
Chairpersons: Irene Markoff, and Lozanka Peycheva		
Carol Silverman		Cultural politics of Bulgarian wedding music: Reconsidering resistance through five decades
Gergana Panova-Tekath		It was very strange! The thin line between integration and isolation on the Balkans
Muzaffer Sümbül		Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation in Cukurova region Balkan emigrants
Kai Viljami Åberg		Balkan Gypsy dance – as a marker for global Gypsy identity
Session V	**19:35-20:35**	**Theme 2 : Performance places and spaces**
Panel: Chairpersons: Sirin Ozgun and Velika Stojkova Serafimovska		
Bengi Çakmak		On critical ecology as a methodological approach
Suna Başlantı		A sonic ethnography on the soundscape of the Eastern Black Sea
Aslı Kayhan		The discussion of potential of music mapping

Belma Oğul	Dance as an Ecosystem and within the Ecosystem

24th April 2021

Session VI 15:00-16:00 Theme 3: Music and dance in the cultural basin of the Black Sea

Chairpersons: Abdullah Akat and Spiros Th. Delegos

İdris Ersan Küçük	The relationship between horon and space in social integration after the Lausanne exchange
Sevi Bayraktar	Five men in a boat: Gazimihal in search of Horonin the national hinterland
Andreea Pascaru	Performance and meaning of a female mountain repertoire: Songs and the Creation of Spatial and Cultural Identity among the Romeyka speakers of the Pontic Alps

Session VII 16:10-16:55 Theme 1 : Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation

Chairpersons: Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg and Burcu Yıldız

Selda Öztürk	Woman voices of the war
Berna Kurt	Feminist dance dramaturgy as a tool of resistance in Dansöz performance
Füsun Aşkar	An aesthetic intervention to traditional dance: a case study of Trabzon women dances

Session VIII 17:05-18:05 Theme 2 : Performance places and spaces

Chairpersons: Ana Petrović and Mehmet Öcal Özbilgin

Selena Rakočević	Traditional dances as expressive medium for both ethnic integration and separation. The case of dance practice of the Danube Gorge in Romania in post-socialist era
Liz Mellish; Nick Green	Saints day, and village days: creating the space for community events in Romanian Banat
Marija Dumnić Vilotijević	Popular folk music live performances in Serbia: case of taverns
Irene Loutzaki	Theatrical stage vs. village square. Artistic creation vs. traditional dance

Session IX 18:25-19:10 Theme 1 : Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation

Chairpersons: Arzu Öztürkmen and Marko Kölbl

Ivona Opetcheska Tatarcevska	How we went back in time: Music on the protests of "For Common Macedonia" movement
Velika Stojkova Serafimovska	The soundscapes of the Macedonian Resistance (2015 – 2019)
Andrianopoulou Panayiota	Back to the traditional: traditional dance practices in Athens during the crisis period

Session X 19:25-20:25 Theme 1 : Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation

Chairpersons: Sevi Bayraktar and Selena Rakočević

Burcu Yildiz	Sounds of a lost past: Early 78rpm records of Armenians in USA
Nevin Şahin	Music Publishing as Tension: A Case Study of Early 20th Century Fasıls
Gul Kaplan; Cenker Ekemen	The power of music as a resistance culture on social movements: a case study "praksis music band"
Teja Turk	The influence of mass media on the construction of traditional music in the 20th century
20:40-22:40	Sudy group business meeting

25th April 2021	
Session XI 15:00-15:45	**Theme 2 : Performance places and spaces**
Chairpersons: Belma Oğul and Liz Mellish	
Ana Petrović	Field recording as a re/pre/constructed performance place; example of the two female performances during the fieldwork on Pešter, Serbia
Ardian Ahmedaja	Stage performances of traditional music and dance as a parallel reality to the local practice : Female ballads accompanied by fyell (local flute) in Albania
Pinar Kasapoglu Akyol	Dance and music in the museum
Session XII 15:55-16:55	**Theme 2 : Performance places and spaces**
Chairpersons: Iva Niemčić and Aslı Kayhan	
Tanja Halužan	Are you here to listen?": On the importance of place and audience through the prism of contemporary singer-songwriter scene in Zagreb
Dilek C. & Aziz Ali Elyağutu	Re-determination of Kafkas folk dances performed in Turkey by defining “old and new” dances : sample of Kars and Iğdir
Marko Kölbl	Resounding Croatian-ness: Burgenland Croats and popular music from Croatia
Aleksandra Kuzman	Performing chalgia - changing performance place and space vs. changing performance context
Session XIII 17:15-18:15	**Theme 2 : Performance places and spaces**
Chairpersons: Merve Eken and Gergana Panova-Tekath	
Ventsislav Dimov	Etudes for conductor, media speaking tube and non-tuned orchestra
Lozanka Peycheva	Pirin folk stage – contemporary performance space for Bulgarian popfolk music
Dilyana Kurdova	HORO-teque in Bulgaria
Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg	What is there? Bulgarian dance and the internet
Session XIV 18:25-19:25	**Theme 2 : Performance places and spaces**
Chairpersons: Carol Silverman and Ardian Ahmedaja	
Serkan Şener	A birthplace of Turkish Arabesk music: Abdullah Nail Bayşu’s house
Irene Markoff	The fate of traditional Bulgarian performance practice in the Canadian multicultural diaspora: A self-reflexive, auto-ethnographic perspective
Sirin Ozgun	New echoes on the mountains: Yörük feasts
Urša Šivic	Music of ethnic minority communities and individuals as an element of intertwining or differentiation
Session XV 19:40-21:20	**Final discussion and closing the symposium**
“Newcomers” final report	Bengi Çakmak, Nevin Şahin, Maja Bjelica, Suna Başlantı

Theme 1 – Dance and music as resistance, integration and separation

Aşkar Füsun
(İzmir, Turkey)

An aesthetic interference in traditional dance: the example of Trabzon women dances

The folk dance which is traditional practice in agricultural society, is an important information society, traditional dances are often presented in an aesthetized form. Until the 2000s, male dances were more dominant in local presentations of Trabzon dances in folk dance competitions, women's participated in these dances as accompaniment only, and after that date, women's dances in the stylized category were presented as often as men's dances. The main frame of this case study consists of discussion on the evaluation, acceptance or rejection of aesthetic interventions in the Trabzon women's dances. This study examines how the aesthetic interventions into a traditional formation affects the expectations of the followers. A communicative perspective will be used to comparatively analyse the results of the effects of intervention with a women's dance in the *horon* repertoire.

Keywords: Trabzon, women dances, *horon*, image, Dijon.

This paper emerged from a dialog between the famous *kemençe* player Serkan Genç and me during which he mentioned a women's *horon* with an unknown structure that is widespread in dance groups all around the Turkey. So I confessed that I was the person who invented that type of *Horon* for a dance competition in Dijon 2001.

Horon, which is mentioned in the genres of Turkish folk dances as a characteristic dance of the Eastern Black Sea Region, is mostly referred to as a man's dance. What is agreed by *horon* trainers about the women's *horon* is that these are male *horon*s in a form that is shaped according to the female body. This study excludes the evaluation of *horon* in terms of ethnicity. The main issue focused on is not a protest to the fact that women's *horon*s remain in the background as a gender inequality in folk dances, instead it is to try to make sense of this by briefly mentioning the reasons. In addition, the aesthetic interference in traditional dance will be examined through the example of the 'Women's *Horon*', being a part of the fiction for which Ege University State Music Conservatory Department of Turkish Folk Dances was awarded the 'Golden Necklace' in the stylized category of the World Championship in Dijon International Folk Dance Competition in 2001.

With the foundation of the Republic, the reflections of macro policies including legal regulations applied for socialization of modernization in every field are striking in Trabzon, as in other provinces. With the modernization movement causing social changes in sociological terms, organizational structures of folk dances – considering that they are traditional life practices, not only affected the context of tradition-modernity, rural-urban, but also the plateau-stage dynamics. By evaluating the modernization movements in Trabzon in terms of the visibility of the women's *horon*s on the stage, it can be said that they are not parallel to the male-dominated dances and they took place much later.

It is also noteworthy that the women's *horon* dances have been fictionalized and taught by male educators up to now. The main nationally recognized trainers on this subject are:

Ankara / Necati Türkmen
İstanbul / Cavit Şentürk
Trabzon / Sabahattin Uçar
İstanbul / Tahir Bakal
Trabzon / Ahmet Çilingir
Trabzon / Hüseyin Tahmaz
İstanbul / Hasan Tiryaki
Kocaeli / Salih Şentürk
Trabzon / İbrahim Çolakoğlu
Trabzon / Yusuf Kurt
İstanbul / Yaşar Şentürk
Trabzon / Mesut İsmailoğlu
Ankara / Erdinc Özten
Trabzon / İbrahim Çolakoğlu
İstanbul / Hasan Okumuş
Ankara / Baki Türkmen
Trabzon / Orhan Durgun
Trabzon / Şenol Şentürk
İzmir / Osman Yardım

Although the presence of women in the public sphere in Trabzon is permitted by legal regulations, it has not been the case in practice. So much so that to be elected in municipal councils, which is a given right of women by the Municipal Law in the 1930s and the drop in memberships of two of the three women entering the council due to absenteeism shows that the situation cannot be internalized. This passive situation is also noticeable by the silence of the other female members in the decision to ban wearing veils and *chador* at a parliamentary meeting [Usta and Baki 2016:255–56].

After this social and public situation, the historical visibility of the *horon* and the women's *horon* in Turkey can be summarized as follow show in Figure 1 and Figure 2.

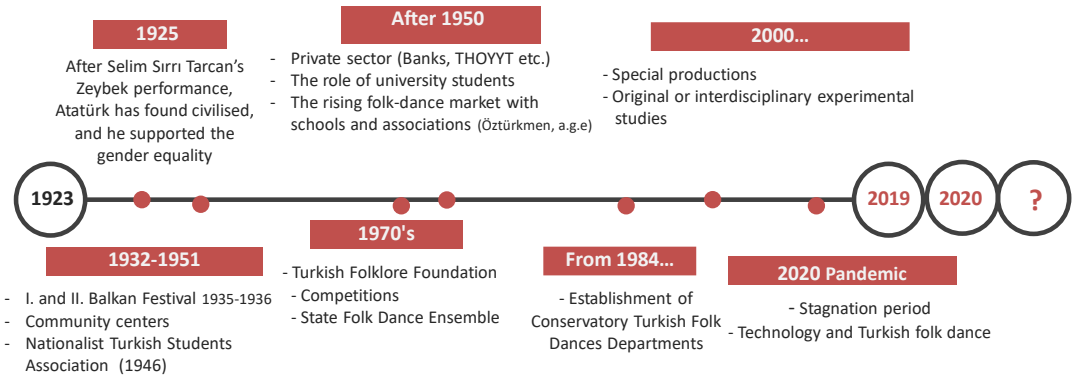

Figure 1. Historical appearance of *Horon* in Turkey

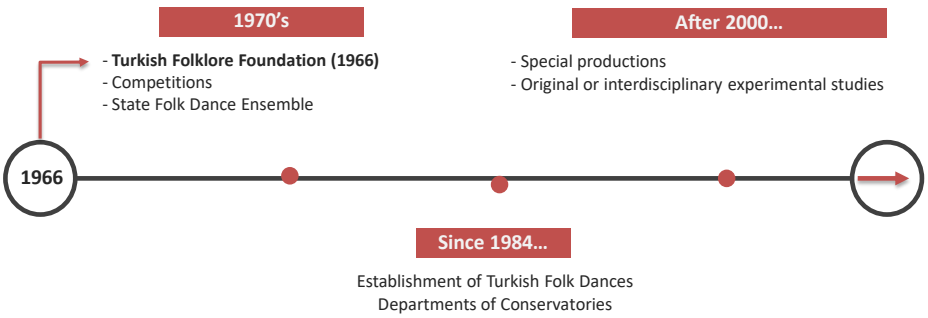

Figure 2. Historical appearance of Women's *Horon* in Turkey

Mehmet Bozok's reasoning behind the secondary place of women in the face of an image of Trabzon Manhood whose patriarchy is agreed upon with the following points:

- Conservatism.
- Taking control of the money earned by the woman who is hard-working, matronly, the pillar of the home, and long-suffering.
- Male-to-male socialization based on unemployment.
- 1989 opening of the Turkey-Georgia border with the code for connecting the male is sexually and emotionally linked to causes such as orientation to streetwalkers called "Natashas". Even in that situation; dyeing their hair yellow, creating an environment of competition by their exaggerated make-up and dressing styles similar to the streetwalkers; Trabzon women made an effort to eliminate the danger they experienced [Bozok 2012:413–44].

Due to religious and cultural heritage reasons, the woman is very active in the home, in the field, in production, but in a very passive position in public representation. In Trabzon, the appearance of women does not change at all. There are opinions about women being seen while men are dancing *horon* in a natural environment:

Yusuf Kurt argues that women do not naturally belong to the *horon*, and that the unity of the sexes is a new situation that came about more recently.

Abdurrahim Karademir has brought a different point of view for men and women being seen together in *horon*. According to Karademir, the places where there are *horon*s with men and women dancing in the plateau are the Alawi and Çepni communities in the Black Sea Region (Çepni Turkomens are known to be Alawi in the past). Although some parts of Ağasar and Şalpazarı consist of Alawis, it is seen that societies become Sunnis when they reach the shore.

Hüseyin Tahmaz confirms Yusuf Kurt's view, and give the information that in the 1950s; women were present on the plateau in order to carry food, weapons and bullets in a backpack called *camadan* for men. On the plateau, which is thought to be of two levels, women join the *horon* with close friends and male relatives; but in the common area where foreign men are located, they do not seem to be in a commodity-money relationship with them.

In the last 20 years, there has been a change of dynamics with a new political acculturation, and the revival of the plateau festival that has been reflected in the present day as the visibility of the women's *horon* due to the touristic revival.

Folk dances, which are traditional practices in agricultural society, instinctively are an important tool and indicator in the formation of cultural codes. In the information society, traditional dances are usually presented in an aestheticized way. In Özbilgin's words, he suggests that while dance was the representation of tradition before modernism, it has become the manipulation of tradition in the modern era [Özbilgin 2020:63].

Until the 2000s, the local presentations of Trabzon dances in folk dance competitions were dominated by men's dances, women participated in these only as passive accompanists. Since this date, it has become necessary to present women's dances under the stylized category as often as men's dances.

In the words of Barbaros Unlu, "traditional dances were compiled within folklore studies that started along with historical nationalization movements and turned into a stage show with revival movements" [Ünlü 2009:101].

Folk dances have now shifted from a perception of identity to a perception that has turned into a stage art. When the metamorphosis that occurs in the presentation or performance of the folk dances in the city is mentioned; the transformation of a traditional expression into art and an artistic expression into a formal one must be understood. This phenomenon should be perceived as an artistic practice with the form of stage dance. Anca Giurchescu expresses that the traditional dance of the people is considered as an artistic production stock (stored-owned-repertoire) only if it is performed on stage [Giurchescu 2017:28].

The staging principle in traditional dance is not to obliterate the tradition of play, but to convert knowledge regarding life into science and scientific knowledge into the artistic universe.

The Meaning of Traditional Dance for the Stage

- In terms of step and movement, it is unique, and it has unlimited variety,
- (Incomprehensible quality and quantity)
- Concrete as presentation, abstract as perception and message
- An aestheticized form of communication of traditional life practice
- Diversity which contains cultural codes
- The projection of tradition on the stage
- Assessable in variety of contexts
- It features as a source for current studies.
- Presentation formats are variable
- Open to reproductions that are characteristic of popular preferences

Method

In this study, I attempt to explain an aestheticized traditional formation that has a choreographic transformation in its qualitative and subjective aspects. In this choreographic work, the characteristic of the *horon* type was reassembled using the deconstruction method.

Considering the meaning of these words, deconstruction means both breaking and establishing. For this reason, the purpose of deconstruction is not only to destroy; but also to disassemble and reassemble structures. This actually means reconstructing the moving parts in the text in other ways. Disrupting the structure of a system that has a solid structure with its own logic centre and has its own transformation rules will upset its logic centre, and to reconstruct it means to replace this logic centre with a new logic centre [Polatel 2020:362–88].

Considering the research design, this sample of Trabzon female *horon* is considered as a case study. Hancock and Algozzine define studies that try to describe the events occurring in their natural conditions under time and space constraints as case studies [Hancock and Algozzine 2006:15].

Manipulation of Tradition on Sampling

The movements which are typical of Trabzon region folk dances (*horon*) such as shaking the shoulders and arms, trembling, beating the ground with the feet, are also reflected in the woman's body. When *horon* is evaluated from an ethical point of view [Ünlü 2014], the fiction of the women's *horon* which is the subject of his study, can be evaluated as a current work to gain visibility within the performing arts with a choreographic approach to a traditional practice in Trabzon.

We prepared a program for the Dijon competition in France. Other local dances such as *Zeybek* and *Tokat* were also included. Due to the editing and flow, it was not possible to perform a male dance in the competition series. In order to present more cultural elements in a short time, attention was paid to this in the fiction. The balance between male and female dance passages had to be maintained. So, two or three minutes of women's dances should have been taken place in order not to disturb the flow. In the world's largest competition, there was a competition in the stylized branch. A new peak should be reached, neither remain passive, nor should it have a filling element.

Also there was a later adaptation, gold jewellery was worn around the neck. In line with the available conditions, the gold that was seen in the finery of the Aegean Region was used. The rhythm that sounded from the gold that resounded in a way as each piece hit another was followed. Therefore, a syncopation was heard between the order of the steps and the sound from the jewellery around the neck. The weakness of the rhythm coming from the jewellery or the opposite effect created a different dynamical angle in the dance when the step emphasis was strong. Based on the tradition of the Trabzon territory, that is choreographically rich, with female arms going higher, and a faster system was chosen to give direction. In that series, the aim was to expand the scope of influence onto the dynamic audience (jury), which the arms achieved at the same angle. Feet, glances, commands, metronome and so on. While creating a non-aggressive, non-passive, dotted dance; it was designed as a counterbalance to typical Anatolian dance (down on the first stroke) structures in an international context. Stylized icons were placed in the dance, which completely evoked tradition. Taking strength from the stylized category of the international competition in which we participated, its place in the fiction was determined. It was predicted that these nuances, created as a choreographer's preference, would spread on social media. This sequence was also seen in the reinterpreted works that became widespread with a system within the framework of the creativity of the students competing and coaching in the team. In fact, much more manipulation of gestures is observed in the works done in the name of tradition.

While preparing the choreographic layout; the focus was on the communicative perspective, the evaluation of the competition jury in the stylized branch or the aesthetic judgment of the audience. A strategic choreographic pattern was observed in the contra rhythm of the gold on the neck, in the sounds of the commands, and in the gestures that were as active as the steps. The image formed in the consciousness of the choreographer is like a code that is perceived by the receiver and used to reconstruct life. A dance historian makes history with the creations of choreographers; it is the continuation of an archive created in the name of dance history and it is actually the determinant of the direction. In this trend, the audience as the buyer and the social media as the distributor take the dominant roles.

According to recent studies in neurology, it can be said that the audience watching the dance virtually accompanies the dance. Audiences can 'repeat' movement perceptions such as "speed, effort and changing body positions" within themselves [Watching Dance 2014]. The audience feels that they are participating in the movements they watch, even while sitting, and they experience the feelings of the dance. The concepts of kinesthetic empathy, inner mimesis, and empathy define this event. Choreographer Adesola Akinleye thinks that the relationship between the body, space, and current environment, and her work is equally important to how the audience sees her as her work is itself. While watching the dance, there is a situation of witnessing, which means that she hopes to be able to attract the audience, but not everyone can witness the same thing [Watching Dance 2014]. After all, dance is expected to leave a mark in the memories.

Competition is a dominant force in the field of folk dance and the efforts of the teams participating in the traditional branch to protect the past continue. The dances performed by women in the region can be divided into two as 'musical' and 'non-verbal'. Musical ones are the down-tempo of non-verbal ones and are called flat *horons*. They are carried out with 10 individual steps and decorated with folk songs. Nonverbal dances, on the other hand, are dances in which the tempo is kept high and there are parts of reductions. The girl's horon seen in these studies is the step order known as the step sentence consisting of 10 individual steps, the transition sentence consisting of 6 steps, *Horon kurma, Yenlik, Atlama, Aşağı Alma, Langepson steps, Maçka izme, Sıksara, Yenlik, Aşağı Alma.* In the fictional setting, this traditional sequence has not been taken into account, and a holistic visuality for the show was aimed at.

Musical and rhythmic setup of the sample:

Time signature: in 7/16 (2+2+3).

Tempo: Allegro (145–165).

During the performance of *kemancha*, usually measures with 2/4 time signature are heard, played with the Trabzon bow. With his sociological approach, Nicolas Elias expresses the *kemancha* as the spark that unleashes the collective joy of the *horon*, not actually to produce notes [Elias 2019]. This being also the case in the example; while the aesthetic interference tried to be created within a holistic internal and external approach, enthusiasm is given as much importance as form.

A professional musician reduces his bow speed in order to adapt to the long and prolonged movements of the female dancers. It sometimes decreases from 4/4 time signature to 2/2 in sequential movements.

It is a choreography focused on dynamism. The natural elements of the culture have not been used in a path that can be perceived by anyone other than those interested in these dances. A mental connotation of Trabzon / Akçaabat *kız horonu* was intended to be created for the audience with the help of a movement system that was more visual. Despite all the changes and developments in every environment, there have always been people who defend self-determination and criticize new studies. Although its widespread effect was great, there were also criticisms of this fictional order.

Conclusion

Turkish folk dances, which have great originality and variety in terms of step and movement sequence, are a valuable resource for contemporary choreographies. In the process of dance design, the value of a vibrant cultural fund such as the socially owned step archive, the artistic production stock (stored repertoire), and the source of movement cannot be disputed. Creating unusual perceptual designs with an extraordinary energy is characteristic of popular trends and is open to reproduction, thus confronts us with variable presentation forms.

In this study, a conceptual evaluation of the factors in the reproduction process has been made by focusing on the projection of a tradition from the past to the future on the stage. Carter's past exists only in the records of events, not in the events themselves [Carter 2010]. As in his statement, the essence should be kept and preserved as information in records, and should be a source of innovation. It should be seen that the current understanding of staging in folk dance presentations does not lead to the end of the tradition, but that distinct forms of presentation have developed in the presentation of the traditional.

André Lepecki treats the past as a common ground on which it is inevitable to wander [cited by Carter 2010:28].

Aesthetic interferences in traditional dance are open to modelling and bad copying. What is meant by intervening in the tradition mentioned in this work is to create a symphonic piece from almost an ethnic folk song. A simple cycle prevails, such as feeding the current approaches from the past, and the past as the source of the present. "While the important name of industrial design, Philippe Starck said 'design is dead' in an interview; Angela McRobbie speaks about 'the death of the designer' by opening up the retro culture and second-hand passion of postmodernism, especially in the field of fashion" [cited by Şiriner 2018:222].

Reactions against transformation can be eliminated by means of visual and auditory expressions related to the revitalization and reproduction of cultural meaning, even if the form and pattern change. In the aesthetics of presenting the traditional, the aim should be not to create from nothing, but to create usable cultural designs by bearing an artistic value that is based on creativity, transforming from a meaning existing in traditional culture. Life experiences should be updated in a concretized and aesthetic way as a reminder of its existence.

The goal of creating a women's *horon* movement parallel to male dominated *horon* arrangements has been achieved following the fiction of the *Kız Horonu*, which is a part of the fiction in which the Ege University State Music Conservatory Department of Turkish Folk Dances participated in the Dijon International Folk Dance Competition in 2001, where they were awarded the Championship in the stylized branch. In this case, with the belief that the designs in which the mental, auditory and visual associations of the tradition are not lost in terms of communication, is a reminder of the national dance culture.

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Gender dramaturgy in *Dansöz* performance

Dansöz solo dance performance is based on its choreographer Tümay Kılınçel's childhood memory of a female belly dancer in Turkey. Kılınçel, a German citizen born in Germany with Turkish immigrant parents, connects her experiences in Turkey and Western Europe. She aims to develop a feminist resistance against the orientalist, eroticized and exoticized images of belly dance. I have been collaborating with her for three years in some projects on belly dance and I worked as the dramaturg of this dance piece. In this paper, I make a feminist analysis of our common resistance in *Dansöz*. Adopting a self reflexive approach, I reconsider my subjective experience as well as the audience feedback. I discuss our feminist tools of resistance on stage in relation with the issues like audience expectations, terminology, identity and movement style.

Keywords: Belly dance, dramaturgy, gender, Germany, Turkey.

1. Introduction

German choreographer Tümay Kılınçel's *Dansöz* solo choreography is based on her childhood memory of a female belly dancer in Turkey. Her aim is "to locate 'belly dance' as a serious dance genre in the Western European art landscape and develop a feminist resistance against its orientalist, eroticized and exoticized [images]" [productions DOCK 2019]. Here I use the term 'resistance' as the synonym for 'opposition' as suggested by the Cambridge Dictionary. I dislike the use of the term 'belly dance' because of its colonialist and sexist history and "the responses [smirk, sarcasm, derision] it generally solicits, yet I use it because it is familiar, and because respectful usage might reclaim it to a certain extent" [Karayanni 2004:27].[1] Problematization of the terminology is also an issue in the performance that I will mention later in this paper.

Adopting a self-reflexive approach, I firstly introduce my personal context to studying this topic. For the last ten years, I have been working on the integration of my academic research with my experience as performer. Similar to most of the feminist researchers, I am questioning the so called 'objectivity' of the scientific knowledge and I am aware of my 'situated knowledge' – "which is obtained from a materially and discursively situated position at the intersection of a specific time, space and historical power relations" [Öztan 2015:275].

I have been collaborating with Kılınçel for three years in some projects on belly dance and lastly, I worked as the dramaturg of her first solo choreography. I acted in the creative team as the "person whose energy is completely committed to how the performance will function in front of an audience". As dramaturg Brian Quirt defines the position in most of the theatrical dance work, it was my responsibility to uncover the initial impulse which inspired the work. Accordingly, I asked Tümay a lot of questions regarding content and performance style and focused on the gap between what she wanted to do and what is being done [Quirt 2017]. My multi-tasking consisted of reading, writing, taking notes, giving some lectures to her when needed, documenting, translating (since the performance had narratives in three languages), briefly performing and directing during rehearsals when needed; in summary, supporting her in general.

In this paper, I make a feminist analysis based on our common experience of art-making, and analyse our common 'resistance' on two levels:

1) the working process as an empowering experience of two women,

2) the final dance work as a product and its critical reception.

My study fits into the definition of an 'old school' feminist research: "a research done by, for, and about women" [Kelly et al. 1999, as cited in Erdoğan and Gündoğdu 2020:16]. It also follows some distinguishing features of feminist research like "appropriation of a feminist viewpoint, paying attention to daily life and personal experiences, rejection of the hierarchy between the researcher and the researched, intention to empower women and change gender inequalities" [Öztan 2015:277].

I use many primary resources for this research, especially the documents of the working process. I also use my semi-structured interview with her as well as some audience feedback including press reviews. I am sharing with you the revised version of my paper after having Tümay's feedback.

2. Some initial questions of feminist dramaturgy: why and how to work on belly dance?

2.1. Autobiographical concerns:

Tümay says that she first watched belly dancers when she came to İzmir/Turkey, to participate in some family celebrations like weddings and circumcision ceremonies. Like all little girls dreaming of being a princess in glittered costumes, she always liked belly dancers. Later, having more sensitivity about the discriminatory issues, she wanted to make a critical performance [Kılınçel 2020a: interview]:

> "As a dance alumnus in 2010, I had the impulse to do an artistic work that opposes these racist and sexist images and my motif was the so-called "belly dance". For me, it has a feminist potential, moves as an anti-colonial and anti-sexist dance technique from the feminist perspective and has a performative power that can enable togetherness on equal terms" [Kılınçel 2020c: speech].

"As a person with a migration history, as a POC [person/people of colour] in Germany" [Kılınçel 2020c: speech], she has been scared to be stereotyped and this project was about detoxing her personal artistic fears and the dominant belly dance images [Kılınçel 2020b: artist talk].

In her daily life, she feels that the oriental image is "put" on her body as a "Turkish, muslim, girl from the 'Orient'"! She gives an example of a male German technician who salutes her in the youth club of the theatre as *"*the Ottoman sunshine"! She also reminds us that nobody asked her if she was able to perform belly dance. They took it for granted that she knew this dance of the 'Orient' or the 'Middle East' as a dancing girl from 'this region'.[2]

Tümay defines herself as a "more conceptual than technical dancer" [Kılınçel 2020a: interview] and like most contemporary artists, she does not separate her life and artwork, she does not represent anything on stage and pursues a real "presence" there [Lepecki 2004:173]. She escapes from talking in the name of 'silenced others' but still problematizes (her) stories concerning her multiple identities. She wants to criticize with fun, present a positive approach which 'opens hearts', be accessible to all and perform in a democratic relation with the audience:

> "*Dansöz*… brings up more questions rather than answers and builds up a space of discussion. Tümay Kılınçel believes that creative translations and a glimpse of humour can be an impulse to unbalance cultural dominances and move the minds." [Tanzkomplizen 2020]

2.2. A process of empowerment:

I first met Kılınçel five years ago in İstanbul and we began to work together in *We'R'Dansöz* artistic research residency in 2018 in Bonn/Germany. This experience allowed us to get to know each other better. After returning to Istanbul, I began to take belly dance courses. Tümay invited me to work as the dramaturg of her first solo work and we initiated the research process in Istanbul in April 2019. After her first rehearsals in Berlin, our common adventure began in July in Frankfurt, then Düsseldorf/Germany and lasted until the première in Basel/Switzerland.

During the rehearsals, we had a similar artistic orientation. We both felt free and happy to cooperate. Caring about each other, carefully expressing our different ideas, we refrained from creating power relations between us. As two highly committed and hardworking feminist women, we easily cooperated. This process was an empowering experience for both of us, providing some tools for putting our feminist ideas into practice. I was very motivated, I felt like I was doing my 'real' job that I could not do in my home country. I also felt happy to contribute to Tümay's search of empowerment as a feminist choreographer.

When rehearsing, she improvised best with words, quotations, notes from her different resources on socio-political issues. Words have always been important for her, she used them to detox colonialist, orientalist and sexist voyeurism. She tried to find her personal movement style and her own position about different feminism(s). She intended to write a manifesto at rehearsals but she ended up in creating a performative manifesto.

3. Feminist tools of resistance on dance stage:

> "In her solo the Berlin choreographer and dancer Tümay Kılınçel develops an artistic positioning in relation to belly dance. Playfully engaging with language and image, she investigates the potential of a resistant body. How can the image of the body in belly dance be socially emancipated, how can it be turned into an instrument of empowerment?" [HAU 2020]

Dansöz lasts one hour and includes movement, speech, live and recorded music and some words and short narratives translated and projected on slides. It consists of three parts consecutively linked to each other by her narratives in Turkish, German and English, all accompanied by the same song. This repetitive narrative is based on her childhood memory of a strong female belly dancer [e.g. *dansöz*] image in her parents' neighbourhood in Turkey. It is a half dream, half true image: a corpulent and hairy [most probably Gypsy] belly dancer smoking in the backstage of a village wedding in Ulamış/Izmir/Turkey - in a moment of stillness and self-enjoyment for her, consuming for herself instead of being consumed by the audience.

The term *dansöz* is used for belly dancers in Turkey and evokes negative connotations in relation to the sexuality, unreliability and commercial art. For example, in a very popular song by Turkish pop singer Serdar Ortaç, the term is used in a similar, pejorative way. Accordingly, most of the Turkish belly dancers define themselves as *oryantal* which they accept as a more prestigious term. In the Turkish context, when somebody defines herself

or himself as *dansçı* [dancer], it is mostly considered that s/he is a professional dancer specialized in Western theatrical dance genres. Therefore, professional dancers of 'other' dance genres like belly dance or folk dance define themselves differently.

In the following sections, I will try to discuss our feminist tools of resistance on stage by focusing on some specific parts in the same order as the choreography.

3.1. Playing with the audience expectations

In the first part of the performance, there is a 'dance in the dark' accompanied by classical belly dance music without showing the body but just the glittered belly dance costume [*bedlah*]. Sometimes "lights are hurting the audience… and create a feeling of discomfort... [and] it reverses the objectification of the body" [an audience member and technical director Jost von Harleßem, in Tümay 2020b:Artisttalk(audio)].

Tümay also plays with the audience expectations of belly dance when she both hides and shows some parts of her body and performs a 'mirror costume dance'. She presents different strategies to deconstruct the orientalist, colonialist and male gaze.[3] She moves between showing and not showing her body, she turns back the gaze of the audience and she alienates them with some unexpected, disturbing, absurd or funny acts.

3.2. Questioning of the terminology

> "During my practical research into whether a new dance name is needed and whether something is missing in the European dance canons, I asked myself… whether the term "belly dance" and "oriental dance", similar to "bitch" and "kanake", had already empowered in some communities? And: Does the community still have the need… to find an alternative name?" [Kılınçel 2020c:speech].

In her 'belly monologue', she just shows and moves her belly and makes it 'speak' in her own terms. She impersonates this most important part of the body which names the dance and criticizes the sexist and orientalist terminology of belly dance. Repeatedly saying "my name is not belly dance" in different languages, she pronounces alternative namings of the dance in Arabic, Turkish, English, French and German.[4]

3.3. Problematization of the multiple identities

In the second part of the performance, she talks to the microphone and problematizes her multiple identities. She uses the words, rhythm and movement as tools to construct her feminist discourse. Repetition is a general strategy in the performance: presenting a movement, adding it another level, repeating it to create an effect of alienation. In her narratives, she tries to develop an intersectional feminist approach, refraining from the reproduction of 1970s Western feminist belly dancers' essentialist and spiritual "Goddess" ecofeminism [see Keft-Kennedy 2013].

Following this scene, an interactive play with the audience happens. Here, she talks to the megaphone, performs in audience seats and asks them some questions. She then presents an alternative catwalk, playing with her costumes and props. She always 'owns' the stage; moves freely between her backstage and stage.

3.4. Development of a personal movement style

> "The focus in her artistic works is questioning the European and German dance canon, and empowering the suppressed and stereotyped body" [Tanzkomplizen 2020].

The last part is her final dance to live music. Here, she pursues finding her own hybrid movement style. She moves with music and gets in a democratic dialogue with it. She breaks the leader-follower dichotomies between dance and music. She re-appropriates the dance and tries to create some space for a "healthy" – not objectified – femininity.

She mixes belly dance and contemporary dance techniques without reproducing the existing hierarchy between dance genres. She avoids the commercial, essentialist and dualist approaches most 'Western' choreographers represented before her. Making a critical research on belly dance and getting an awareness of the uncomfortable facts related to the power relations, she tries hard to avoid the trap of cultural appropriation:

> "The dance art form "raks" [belly dance] is excluded from cultural support structures and systems. It is necessary for the raks community to be included in the German and European dance culture landscape and to develop an anti-colonialist vocabulary so that it can continue to develop as a serious dance style. It is necessary for the dance to develop further. It is necessary so that the othered bodies are not precarious and do not disappear under the category exotic box" [Kılınçel 2020c:speech].

4. Closing thoughts

Dansöz performance combines the choreographer's personal memory in Turkey with her recent experiences in the European context. It problematizes her experiences in Western Europe as a native German citizen with a migration background and resists against the ideological load of this geography: Euro-centrism, colonialism and patriarchy.

Most of the audience feedback from Basel, Frankfurt, Düsseldorf and Berlin proved that she has been successful in representing a feminist critique of the dominant approaches to belly dance.[5] The following review summarizes her achievement:

> "In *Dansöz*, Kılınçel takes on the task of putting oriental dance on the agenda as an artistic and emancipated genre. With crazy costumes, a large portion of resistance and a lot of love for dance, a space and a language of self-empowerment should be created" [Henle 2020].

As the dramaturg of this piece, I have been an active member of the creative process and performed multiple roles. Tümay's first solo piece has been my first professional dramaturgy at an international level. I feel lucky to experience such a feminist art making process and will continue to collaborate with her in new projects. I define this process as a performance of feminist solidarity, empowering both sides in art and in life.

Endnotes

1. For a detailed discussion on the (colonialist) history of the term and its alternatives, see also Hawthorn [2018:11–12], Hooi [2015], Shay and Sellers-Young [2003:32–33], and Keft-Kennedy [2005:42–45].

2. Before the research process for this performance, she knew just *çiftetelli*, one of the "Turkish" versions of belly dance. Most people do not know so much about belly dance. It is a very ancient tradition having so many variants in different parts of the world -North Africa, Middle East, Balkans, Northern America and

Europe. It is not only a female dance genre as it is generally accepted. It has a long history in Turkey both in performative and social contexts.

3. For belly dancing women's different strategies towards the male gaze see Moe [2015].

4. For such alternative names for belly dance, see Shay and Sellers-Young [2003], and Stavros Stavrou Karayanni [2004:25].

5. For a video on audience feedback in Basel, see 1Druck: DANSÖZ.

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The power of music as a resistance culture on social movements: a case study "Praksis Music Band"

At the beginning of June 2013, Turkey experienced its biggest civil social movement of this century which became known as "Gezi Park Resistance". It was a widespread challenge for a large section of the society, for those who felt under pressure against official ideology without discriminating between class, race, language or belief. Music had an important position in this challenging movement which consisted of a specific sense of humour and aesthetics. Open street performances and concerts improved the mass motivation as a tool of defiance; music was an action which has become a mark for its history. In this study, we would like to underline and explain how music holds people together as a tool of modern resistance, challenge, and disobedience by being a cultural product and how means of communication and social media affects its duration by using a case study of "Praksis Music Band" under the conditions of Gezi Protests.

Keywords: music, resistance culture, social movements, Praksis Music Band.

Wherever power relations exist, there are rulers and 'others'. A community can become the 'other' in the society they live in because of their ethnical roots, beliefs or class inequalities. If the rulers succeeded in holding the members of sub-cultures together by the economic, political and cultural systems they build or assimilate them nobody is able to cause trouble, which is very rare in history. But, if the 'others' do not accept the domination of the rulers, resistance emerges which sometimes is strong enough to create a mass movement that takes over power. When the leaders of these movements are progressive, enlightened and productive, the cultural reflections become individual, rich and include various works. Periods of political turmoil and social revolutions create a suitable base for these kinds of developments.

While struggling to erase the pagan roots from Europe, Catholic Rome, cursed music as the devil's business, musical instruments as the devil's invention and the musicians as witches. This was correct on their side, because they were aware of the power of music to mass-influence, in other words the 'bewitching' power of the music. For this reason, all of the rituals including music, dance, paintings or writings of paganism, were banned and many performers were burned alive in public spaces. This was because they knew that the way to capture or destroy a community, is to destroy its cultural values, especially its music.

African music is another example. African people were sold as slaves into a life with very hard conditions, they only brought their dance and music which was a part of their rituals. Thus, they held onto their roots and their music was a big factor in maintaining their culture, allowing them to stand together and to use it in their resistance against slavery.

In an interview by Wes Cowan, James Norris[1] explains that the songs of enslaved Africans have their roots in Africa, where music was infused into every aspect of life. They sang about their conditions, being sold and being separated from their family. Even though the words were from Christianity, these songs included coded meanings to bring messages of hope and sometimes, visions of escape.

> "Roll, Jordan, Roll". Jordan was what? A river you had to cross. Okay, that could have been what? The Mississippi or the Tennessee River. Crossing

> into a better place. Old Satan was the slave master. Hell was being what? Sold further South… They weren't allowed to use instruments they brought with them. They took them from them. So what, they improvise with what…[clapping hands]…hand clapping. On the side of the…[slapping leg]… what? Improvise. I look at them and I marvel, over how we got through all of this. But how we got through it all by what? Singing." [Norris and Cowan 2008].

That is why the slave owners of Brazil banned *capoeira* and *berimbau*, but they unwillingly created a cultural code that holds African people together. Traditional African music, transformed into Blues or Jazz Music formed in the streets of Chicago, was a symbol of political and cultural resistance for the Afro-American people in North America. Even the name 'Blues' includes within it the idea of freedom, and this genre of music was adopted and developed by other communities that fight for their democratic rights.

Another example can be given from Anatolia. The Ottomans adopted Sunni Islam as their official ideology and forbade the observance of the Turkmen belief system which is called Anatolian Alevism, the *Cem* rituals were performed secretly and a new character known as the 'doorkeeper' was added to these rituals whose duty was to watch outside and alarm the crowd in case of a threat. In these rituals, *bağlama* and the Alevi poems gained a political identity and become a symbol of resistance for 'the others' through Anatolian history of rebellions.

In this sense, Pir Sultan Abdal who was an Alevi dervish, poet and rebel can be understood as the theoretical leader of a rebellion. He opposed the injustice done by the administration of the time and was killed for this cause. He is depicted by a figure raising his *bağlama* – the only weapon he had – over his head. Many sculptures of him in this pose were placed in the squares and parks named after him. His remaining song lines accompanied the modern rebellions, and his unyielding attitude continued to motivate the masses. Here is a stanza of the bard, who did not give up on what he knew to be true:

> *Kadılar müftüler fetva yazarsa*
> *İşte kement işte boynum asarsa*
> *İşte hançer işte kellem keserse*
> *Dönen dönsün ben dönmezem yolumdan* [Avcı 2006][2]
>
> The judges, the muftis – if they write a fatwa
> Here's the noose, here's my neck – if they hang me
> Here's the dagger, here's my head – if they slash me
> Let those turn who turn, I won't turn from my way

Today, the forbidden songs of Anatolia can find a place in the free performances or protests. Even rituals, or folk songs of past centuries can become the voice, sentence and form of challenge of others as a symbol of resistance to oppression.

With the 20th century, larger resistance movements spread all over the world. Protests in 1968, started as a simple student movement in France. But many social, economic and cultural struggles for rights and objections to official ideologies, transformed this simple movement into an international challenge. It was a stand against social issues and in each society, it emerged according to the culture of that society and using its own unique methods such as student actions, street fights, objections of artists and upper-classes in France; anti-racist activities in North America; anti-militarist hippies; labour-movements in Italy; armed conflicts in Middle East; guerrilla movements in Latin America. Also in

Turkey, the 1968 protests started with a student-*petit bourgeois* radicalism and were transformed into a peasant-labour movement. The music used actively in all of these movements was a common feature.

Protest singers and bands of different countries such as the Beatles, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, Jimi Hendrix, Pink Floyd, Victor Jara, Inti-Illimani and Cem Karaca played an important role in these challenges against authority with their music. Their records had a similar impact on crowds as today's social media and their music was able to enter into the places where the newspapers or notices could not. They transformed the concerts into public meetings. Naturally every process ended according to the political and cultural structure of the country in which they were held. Some of these actions died out romantically, but others were quelled with slaughter. It was tragic to see that the modern world pursued this destructive tradition against political music. That is why Victor Jara was tortured by breaking the bones of his hands and fingers and killed in Chile Stadium. But the musical heritage carries the marks of that period as the music of Jara is still alive in the social movements as well as the marches sang in the Stadium where he was killed.

Music in Gezi Protests of Turkey

Today's conditions, digital media and social networks can carry this interaction to the masses and allow the resistance culture to rapidly defuse, spread and become a universal movement. Just as the winds of the Arab Awakening Movement that induced the global anti-capitalism movement started with 'Occupy Wall Street' and influenced Europe and finally Turkey, by Gezi Protests.

The Gezi Protests of Turkey started after the government's attempt to re-build artillery barracks that were demolished after the Ottomans in the Gezi Park where trees that were centuries-old were growing. The municipality personnel found volunteer environmentalists who camped in the Gezi Park to protect the trees. After the brutality of police, a peaceful action become a mass rebellion against the politics of the government. As the police intervention intensified the response of the masses strengthened. The unbalanced force of the power was confronted by an unbalanced intelligence of community.

The Gezi Protests did not belong to a certain group, each member of the community involved came to the protests with their own problems. The diversity of actions and protesters has increased the diversity of musical productions. Musical works of almost all genres, such as current adaptations of old songs, new productions, fan anthems, found a place in the protests and many of these acts involved an idiosyncratic sense of humour. The most distinctive feature of the Gezi Protests was the transformation of the challenge by the use of humour against power.

With the spread of the movements all over Turkey, filmmakers turned into video activists, mobile phones turned into reporter cameras, ordinary people turned into citizen journalists, and musicians became the soul of battle. Davide Martello gave piano concerts in Taksim Square to support the community, and Boğaziçi Jazz Choir made an a capella performance to an Anatolian Song by adapting the lyrics to the situation as "Are you a Looter?" thus the activists were labelled as Looters by the government. These musical activities, spread to the millions through social media in a short time and triggered many more.

QR Code 1: Gezi Protest Music Samples

QR Code 2: Boğaziçi Jazz Choir-Are you looter?

After 18 days, the government postponed the projects around Gezi and the movement faded. However, the social, economic and cultural agendas continued for nearly two years with small actions such as following a work accident, a corrupt action, a hydroelectric plant, using the power of music. We still cannot see the political results clearly yet, however the cultural reflections of these movements shared common features such as motivating, activating and keeping the masses together by triggering the musical creativity and productivity of the opposition musicians.

Case Study: Praksis Music Band

Our case study, the Praksis Music Band was established by Serdar Türkmen and Soner Küçükgürler in 2012 just before the Gezi Protests. Parallel to its name, praksis, which means the integrity of theory and practice, the band became an art collective and took responsibility for a school in addition to being just a music band. They formed "Şubadap Children's Choir" and organized musical education for children from low-income locations.

During the Gezi Protests, they not only made music from a distance but also joined the protests with their instruments and behaved as a marching band with the crowd and motivated the masses. In this period, they were taken into custody and were sued many times but they never gave up their musical actions. They describe themselves as a 'search for a journey' and seem to continue producing music on their way.

QR Code 3: Praksis Music Band

The themes of their music include the brutality of police, women's movements against men violence, injustice for the poor, labour, ethnics and all of the problems of the 'others' which had a place in Gezi Protests. They developed a humorous and mocking way to criticize these problems and created their own musical style. The instruments and the way they play these, reflects this mocking and critical style. Here are the names of their albums and singles in which they express their criticisms:

Albums:

2014 - Sokaklarda İsyan Var (There is Rebellion in the Streets)
2017 - Kavga Devam Ediyor (The Fight Continues)
2019 - Tekmeye Kafa (Head Against the Kick)

Singles:

2015 - Meçhul Öğrenci Anıtı (Unknown Student Memorial), Açlık Çoğunlukta (Hunger is the Majority), Yaşamaya Dair (About Living),
2017 - Bir Dağ Türküsü (A Mountain Song),
2020 - Umutsuzluk Hakkı (Right to Despair), Güzel Günler (Beautiful Days),
2021 - Hangisi? (Which One?), Sevmek Yetmiyor (Love is not Enough), Emek Irmağı (The River of Labor), Vatan (Homeland).

QR Code 4: Praksis Music Band

After the Gezi Protests, they toured under the title of "Caravan of three - five trees" which was a reference to the words "they are setting the woods on fire for three - five trees" of the official ideology. They travelled all over Turkey with the artists from other disciplines, organized concerts and sometimes street performances to support environmentalist actions in the regions they visited and transformed these places into an

action space. By these street performances and concerts, they raised their concerns about damage to nature, social injustice and inequalities.

Praksis can be described as storytellers and modern age bards who carry their music from today to tomorrow. They are a non-profit band; their concerts are open to public. They share their music via social media and the internet.[3] Nowadays the band continues to make their music on social media because of the pandemic in the same way as they used to do frequently before. They continue to be the voice of the oppressed and are still producing and organizing activities such as "Play for Yorum" hashtag which is a music group that was arrested. Recently they contributed to the protests of the musicians who lost their jobs, and made dedications to the memory of many musicians who committed suicide because of the pandemic conditions.

Conclusion

As a conclusion, the history of social movements is also the history of the resistance culture. So, music has been both influenced and impressed by these movements in these rebellions. The most important function of music is to carry the stories of these times to the present and preserve social memory. Another important function is to keep the morale of the crowd high and maintain them to stand together. Another function is the propaganda which music has the power to transfer the message of resistance directly to the mass. By this means, the relation between resistance culture and music is beyond being a cultural product, it is a tool for reaching political objectives and to achieve these aims.

In this study, we tried to examine and explain how music has an impact on resistance and 'the others' as a cultural tool and how it is influenced and impressed by the social movements, using a case study of Praksis Music Band under the conditions of the Gezi Protests. We hope that the modern world understands that a better tomorrow is possible for all of us by receiving these messages given by the culture of resistance arising from the feelings of the society struggling for better conditions.

Endnotes

1. Dr. James Norris, professor of music and director of the Howard choir, Howard University in Washington, D.C.

2. Lyrics for "Koyun beni Hak aşkına yanayım" [see Avcı 2006].

3. To reach their music, following links can be used:

https://praksismuzik.com/,
https://soundcloud.com/praksismuzik,
https://www.youtube.com/c/PraksisM%C3%BCzikGrubu,
https://open.spotify.com/artist/1paa8WFxXGr7VBWgfJJHbe

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How we went back in time: Music on the protests of "For Common Macedonia" movement

In the first half of 2017, turbulent political processes in the Republic of Macedonia provoked protests unified under the name "*Za Zaednichka Makedonija*" [For Common Macedonia]. With numbers from a few hundred to many hundred thousand participants, protests took place in 42 locations all over the state and the diaspora. A very diverse choice of songs were sung during these protests. The appearance of songs from the period of the *Ilinden Uprising*, through the partisan songs from World War II, songs from the hippie movement, authored folk songs and modern cheering songs for sports events were included in the academic provocation for scholars during the protests. Although the Macedonians consider their musical folklore as the main identity marker, neither traditional nor folk music resounded as the dominant music landscape during these protests. Musicians playing traditional music instruments, sometimes dressed in folk costumes, playing for themselves while walking, were more of a visual iconography than a representation of musical identity during the protests.

Keywords: "For Common Macedonia"- movement; music; political protests; national identity.

Whether expressing disapproval or advocating for change, protests are integral parts of contemporary political processes. They can vary in size, form and scope, range from peaceful to violent and can represent a number of positions on various political spectrums. Political protest has become a critical public manifestation of discontent in eastern, southeastern Europe and Eurasia today. The protests and counter-protests that have emerged in recent years under very different names were among the latest political happenings in Macedonia, but two movements were larger and opposed to each other. The first one was the "Colourful Revolution" (*Sharena Revolucija*) which was part of the world colourful globalist movements, and the second one was the national, sovereign movement named "For a Common Macedonia" (*Za Zaednichka Makedonija*) which started 5 years ago on 27 February 2017 and which, still quietly exists with ups and downs, and occasional protests. Marking important dates and events connected with the history of the protests, this movement also continued to exist in the form of a few groups on social media which mainly include in their names the term 'boycott', alluding to the successful campaign for boycotting the national referendum to change the constitutional name of the country.

The movement "For a Common Macedonia" has been my subject of interest since the very beginning of 2017, with a special focus on the aspect of the use / abuse of music for political purposes. The connection between music and social processes, especially the connection between music and identity is not a new topic at all [see Rice 2007], and this paper is only the first in a series of papers dedicated to this turbulent period when the destructuralization of Macedonia as a state began, which led to radical changes in every field of life of Macedonians. A new and very specific, tense atmosphere emerged, in which everyday life in Macedonia did not depend on any democratic processes in the country, nor on the political decisions of the domestic position and the opposition parties. The Macedonian people, in general, were confused by so many political challenges at the same time [Munck and Risteski 2013], that they had to acquire the skills to recognize and deal with all the political frauds that were presented to them and that resulted in intense political changes as a result of the three political documents. The first one is the so-called "Tirana

platform" in which the idea of federalization of the state dominates, then, "The Nivici Agreement" so-called "Prespa Agreement",[1] (signed with the southern neighbouring country) which forcibly changed the constitutional name of the state, which in the following years inspired additional problematization of national identity issues. The third attack on the nation was the anticipated negotiations with the eastern neighbour country about the set of questions regarding identity for the roots of the Macedonian language and the ethnical background of the ethnic Macedonians.

Besides the extremely, and not so ethical, interest in internal political processes from western countries, the everyday life of ordinary Macedonians in the first half of 2017, was filled with continuous and intensive afternoon protests. With numbers from a few hundred to many hundreds of thousands of mainly ethnic Macedonians (with the exclusion of Albanians, other ethnic minorities also were represented in the protests through their NGOs or political parties), protests against the many political processes took place in 42 locations in Macedonia and among the diaspora. Macedonians and all other minorities in the country who stand behind the sovereignty of their homeland, have started to ignore the practices of the state administration and its organs, at the same time adjusting and confronting them in many ways. Because of ideological and political, or sometimes conformist reasons, the protests of "For Common Macedonia" slowly captured academic or mainstream media attention in Macedonia, even when the necessity to describe them was a professional obligation of the journalists or scholars.

There is not enough space to analyse the iconography of flags, clothes, props, and so on that appeared at these protests that lasted around 80 days, but when it comes to the musical image and soundscape of these events, many songs in different genre and styles could be heard there organised in a certain order.

Figure 1. The walking route "path of statehood" and the Yugo-vehicle upgraded with speakers on the roof that became the mascot of the protests in Skopje. © For a Common Macedonia – movement.

Each day, the protests started with the national anthem "*Denes nad Makedonija se ragja*" sung by one of the most popular baritones of the Macedonian Opera and Ballet, Igor Durlovski, after which drummers with rhythmic support of the big drums (*tapani*), in the

so-called rhythm of the Macedonian dance 7/8, led the mass of the people on the walking route. Every day the protests ended with the folk song "Macedonian Land" (*Zemjo makedonska*) sung by the very well-known folk singer, Vaska Ilieva, in the early 1960s, which the participants in the protests considered as their unofficial, national anthem, followed by a strongly emotional rhythmic sound of pulsation performed on the microphone, which imitated a heartbeat, that symbolically signified the synchronization of the beating hearts of all the participants who were present that day at the protest. In the sound image of these protests, i.e. in the interspace as people walked every day from the assembly point A in front of the Government of the Republic of Macedonia, to the end, point B at the Parliament of the State (a path that was symbolically named "path of statehood") songs were heard from the speakers of an old turquoise, and for some of the people there nostalgic, vehicle of the brand, Zastava-YUGO (Figure 1).

Without a sense of culture inferiority, many different songs from the period of the Ilinden Uprising 1903 could be heard from these speakers, such as "*Krushevo aber pristigna*", or "*Ja izlezi Gjurgjo",* through to the partisan songs with the character of a military march such as "*A bre Makedonche*" or "*Vo borba*" ("In the struggle Macedonian People"). Sometimes songs symbolizing the hippie movement sounded, such as the song "*Age of Aquarius*" from the Galt MacDermot's opera *Hair*, or the songs of the Macedonian cult bands from the alternative rock and post-punk scene, like *Archangel* and their song "*Uber Macedonishe*" or the song "Honorary Shooting" (*Pochesna strelba)*, which belongs to the martial industrial, dark wave band *Mizar*.

Figure 2. Compilation of photos with musicians on the protests in Skopje. © For a Common Macedonia - movement

The motivational songs of the sports fan groups were not forgotten, such as "Macedonia cheers for you" (*Makedonija naviva za vas*) or "Come out, boy, right on the terrace" (*Izlezi momche, pravo na terasa*) also a cheering song that contains a certain amount of nationalist content (which is not so surprising for the songs of sports fan groups anywhere in the world) and which can be an interesting personal and intellectual provocation for a scholar at a protest [Teitelbaum 2019]. Although the Macedonians consider their musical folklore as their main identity marker, neither traditional nor folk

music sounded as the dominant music landscape during these protests. Musicians with traditional musical instruments sometimes dressed in folk costumes, playing for themselves while waking in the columns, were more a visual iconography which enriched the visual representation of these protests. Consciously or unconsciously, the organiser made a different choice for the genre of songs, giving a very different role to the music, far from ethnocentric (Figure 2 and Figure 3).

The selection of pieces of music, that sounded loudly and led the masses, indicated that the organizer aimed to engage and increase the number of younger and urban protesters, with a multicultural background, as opposed to the group of pacifists and apolitical, not to say apathetic, citizens. By giving an urban 'touch' to the protests through the means of expression,[2] including music, the number of protesters at one point culminated at 250,000 people in one day at 42 locations in Macedonia and around the world.

Figure 3. Musical landscape on the protests. © For a Common Macedonia - movement

The power of music to lead, to add or subtract the intensity of emotions to the protests, and in some way to 'control' the masses, was reflected in one of the last songs specifically arranged for these protests. It is Paul Simon's song "Sound of Silence", which, with new lyrics by the poet Aleksandar Rusyakov, and a new arrangement by a famous pop singer, Andrijana Janevska, was recorded and sung by two young people, Marta Kosturska and Jovce Panov. Although the original idea of the song, in the words of Paul Simon is a song that talks about the impossibility of communication between people, for these protests it became a "Song of Love", and was promoted in the moments when the protests were losing intensity, when the protesters have to be pacified and when the Macedonian corrupt political elites, aggressively pressed by the so-called international community joined by the ambassadors of several European countries, including the United States and the office of European Union, almost sold out the country, pushing the Republic of Macedonia into neo-apartheid and a new experimental hybrid regime.

Political upheavals in the last 5 years destabilized the country and left devastation behind, administrative, legal, economic and cultural chaos, while the energy of the awakened people of the movement "For a Common Macedonia" was transferred into

several different directions which resulted in the formation of at least three sovereign political parties, and more informal human rights associations which are fighting for the rights of Macedonians as an indigenous people, not only in the country itself, but also in neighbouring countries and the distant diaspora, thus shifting the political battle to the international level.

Endnotes

1. https://vlada.mk/sites/default/files/dokumenti/spogodba-en.pdf (accessed 2022 February 27).

2. At the protests, the organizer tried to invite as diverse groups of participants as possible, biker groups riding their motorcycles, bicycle clubs with their bicycles, agricultural associations with their agricultural machinery, folk dance groups from all ethnic communities who performed their dances, poetry associations, an association of archaeologists and other researchers of the culture of Macedonia, in order to show on the main stage the diversity of the state that respects the human, minority and cultural rights of each of its citizens. The whole visual appearance of the "For a Common Macedonia" was painted in the colours of the state's flag (yellow and red) which contrasted to the globalist "Colourful Revolution" in Macedonia from 2016,that was visually shaped in the colours of the rainbow.

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Female voices of war

In this paper, I will discuss, the voices of Syrian and Iraqi women with different identities, beliefs and socio-economic statuses who migrated due to the war conditions and conflicts in Syria and Iraq. Alongside their compositions, women express their deepest emotions through traditional and patriotic songs. They articulate and explain the collective trauma and pain by their methods, either by raising their voices or remaining silent. In doing so, women do not aim to heal or reduce their pain; on the contrary, they rekindle those pains by opening them to the witness of others. Their narratives and voices become a sort of document which marks the untold, unseen and unaccepted by official history. I discuss the music produced by immigrant women in the relation to the themes of resistance and integration, based on my research conducted in the cities of Istanbul, Diyarbakir, Adana and Gaziantep between 2015 and 2019.

Keywords: Turkey, migration, war, music, women.

Introduction

The vital and social crises caused by modern humans, who continue to destroy the world's natural resources with their greed for economic profit, are getting bigger and bigger. The wars, which are experienced with varying intensities in many parts of the world, are among the most important reasons for the creation of these crises. Wars never end. We are witnessing a period in which an anthropocentric view, which is "outdated" in my opinion, drags the planet towards extinction. Migration and immigration are experienced as a global humanitarian crisis. People have to migrate due to torture, conflict, violence, human rights violations and events that seriously disrupt public order. By the end of 2020, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported the number of people forcibly displaced as 82.4 million, the highest number available on record which is more than twice of the number of people ten years ago [UNHCR 2021a:2]. According to the mid-2020 data of UNHCR, 3,574,800 Syrian and 173,250 Iraqi immigrants are living in Turkey [UNHCR 2021b].

The issue of migration and immigrants has started to be one of the agendas of the public in Turkey, together with the Syrian migration. Similar to the increasing anti-immigrant opposition in Europe and many parts of the world, in Turkey, too, discourses against Syrian immigrants with an exclusionary and sexist point of view are produced. We often witness sentences such as "they came, they took our jobs", "we cannot get health care because of them", "they have spoiled our family structure", "Syrian women are corrupting our morals", "they are leading our husbands astray". With this perception, as Uçar says, an "image of Syrian woman" that is accepted and internalized in the society is being built, and it is precisely through this image that Syrian women become more vulnerable to sexual harassment and assault" [Uçar 2020:49]. The dimensions of the racism fuelled toward Syrians can extend to violence such as killings, attacks on homes and workplaces, incidents involving burning of properties, and others show how hatred against immigrants can reach horrendous proportions.

In most theoretical writings on disgust, the disgusting (abandoned) matter is imagined as the 'thing' that is excluded from the social order, expelled, but still a constituent component of it through negation [Navaro 2015:179]. Ahmed explains what the

relationship between disgust and power looks like saying that "disgust against the 'lowest' serves to establish the power relationship between upper and lower, and thus, being above or below becomes the characteristics of some bodies, objects and spaces" [Ahmed 2015:115]. Another emotion associated with disgust is fear. According to Ahmed, fear is a feeling that includes the expectation of pain or hurt that puts us under pressure now, as an expected pain in the future, and it pushes us towards that future as an intense bodily experience in the present [Ahmed 2015:86]. In the case of fear, as if the whole world puts pressure on the body; the body shrinks, withdrawing from the world to get rid of the object of fear; fear clearly restricts the body's mobility as it prepares the body for escape [Ahmed 2015:91]. In order to overcome the feeling of fear and protect themselves, the immigrants resort to various ways such as hanging the Turkish flag in their homes and workplaces, wearing clothes similar to the clothes of the people in the places they live, changing the way they wear the head covering, and leaving the neighbourhood where they were attacked.

Immigrants from Syria and Iraq prefer to immigrate to Turkey because they have kinship relations with the peoples living in Turkey and share the historical and cultural memory and heritage of the same geography. However, the fact that Turkey is on the transit route to European countries is also an important factor in its selection. Turkey maintains its position as a transit immigration country for immigrants whose main goal is to go to various countries in Europe and to more distant countries such as America, Canada, or Australia.[1] On the other hand, in Turkey, which has become the country with the highest number of immigrants in the world due to the migrations experienced (and continuing to be experienced) in the last ten years, millions of immigrants have willingly or unwillingly started to settle down.

Being a migrant woman in Turkey

Ethnomusicologists investigating music in difficult times [Rice 2014] have focused on a wide range of issues, such as how music provokes resistance, struggle, conflict and violence, how the war harms some traditional music practices, how the products of the war period reflect gender roles, the function of music in defining national identity, its role in promoting reconciliation, dialogue and solidarity. However, from a gender perspective, "transformations in the labour market in the last thirty years, the increasing role of migrant women's labour in the service and especially the care sector, with the increasing number of women among refugees, the feminization of migration has accelerated and women have become one of the important topics in migration studies" [Biehl and Danış 2020:8]. In this paper, the relationship between war, migration and music is discussed with a focus on the personal experiences and narratives of immigrant women in Turkey. In the following sections of the paper, I will first briefly discuss women's immigration experiences in Turkey, and then focus on their musical practices.

As in the case of Syrian and Iraqian societal structure, immigrants from such countries have different identities based on ethnicity, gender and class, as well as cultural and political differences. Within the migrant communities, women have different experiences related to their identities, but they also have similar experiences and common problems arising from war, migration and being a woman. The war caused a great break in the lives of all women and divided their lives into two periods as 'before' and 'after' the war. With the sudden interruption that war has brought to the ordinary course of life, women began to experience a new way of living: They realized the impossibility of escaping the savagery surrounding them. They witnessed the multiple facets of violence such as murder, rape, forced abduction, trafficking, discrimination and poverty, both in their home countries and their new settlements.

Veena Das [1991] states that women use representations of the interruption of daily life such as “I didn't have time to cover up, I just ran away”, “I just put the food in the oven, then we heard a humming sound, I couldn't even take the tray out of the fire”, “I ran barefoot”, “I was feeding the baby, I didn't even have time to button my blouse”, to emphasize the violence in the space where they felt peaceful and comfortable such as cooking, feeding the child, covering their bodies. Das [1991] states that women use very similar expressions when they hear of the death of a close relative by adding that lamenting such ordinary details while not remembering more traumatic events can be a representation of women's unique way of remembering. Syrian and Iraqi women, who said that they took their children with them in a hurry after a sudden bombing and fled barefoot and desperately, also used a similar narrative style when describing their war testimonies.

> We saw the war. Do you know how was it? They dropped bombs on our houses, our house was destroyed, we fled. I still wouldn't come. Our house was beautiful from other places, but when it collapsed. We left everything and ran away, we couldn't even bring our clothes, we came barefoot, we didn't even have shoes on our feet. They plundered our everything, our house [Ayşe 2015].

> Two bombs fell on the house we stayed in Syria. We were sleeping at home. I was scared, I took my kids and left. There is no one left in our village, they strike our village with chemical weapons [Sarah 2015].

> We were in our village when there was no war, we were in a good situation. It got worse when the war started. We left everything and ran, what should we do? They brought disaster upon us. They threw us into the fire. When the war started, we used to go with our children at night and sleep in the hills, and return to the village during the day. Now it's all over. We have nothing left [Şêrîn 2015].

Among the migrant women who came to Turkey, there are many of them whose husbands died during the war, or either immigrated to a different country, got lost or are still at war. These women took refuge in Turkey with their children or alone in such conditions. Migration causes fractures and changes, especially in poor family structures.

Throughout my research, while some of the women remained in Turkey during the research period, some migrated to European countries via Greece, and some were looking for ways to go. Most of the women I spoke with said that they wanted to go abroad because they did not see a future for themselves in Turkey. The difficulties experienced in many areas such as education, health, security, social/cultural rights and economics are important factors that make them think in this way. One of the most difficult aspects to deal with of being a migrant is the psychological difficulties created by the uncertainty of the process and the future. In this process, children help women to generate positive emotions such as hope, happiness and self-confidence, as well as negative emotions such as fear and anxiety. Women mostly think about their children, try to protect them and worry about their future during that period. Just like a woman from the Syrian Women’s Choir said: “We all have different stories, but we also have things in common. We all lost our loved ones, our homeland. We lost everything, but still, thank God, our children are with us” [Mizgin, 2016]. They receive the greatest support from their children while looking for ways to eliminate difficulties.

Other important issues that women emphasize in their narratives are being exposed to humiliations and psychological violence because of their immigrant and ethnic identities.

> The Turkish children in the opposite apartment beat my children when they came downstairs and said, "Syrian, Arab!" They are bullying. I can't send them to the park alone. The people in this apartment put their garbage in front of our apartment and then they say that the Syrians throw the garbage on the street. We do not throw them out on the street, but we cannot defend ourselves because we do not speak Turkish [Hesna 2015].

> We have always suffered from racism, and we suffer a lot here too. We are among the Kurds, yet there is discrimination. While my children go out to the park, other children call them "terrorist Syrians" [Hêlîn 2015].

Discrimination was not just a phenomenon that women experienced as immigrants, they also talked about ethnic discrimination in their hometowns. In the conversations during the collective meetings, after some women remembered Syria with longing and said that they were satisfied with their economic situation and life, some stated that they were oppressed and subjected to violence by the regime in Iraq and Syria because they were Syriac, Chaldean or Kurdish.

> Because I was a Kurd, I felt like a tenth-class citizen, not even a third. I learned Kurdish secretly, as if I was committing murder, we were always hiding. Everyone wanted to be alike in Syria. One president, one idea, one way. Colours were undesirable, there was no rainbow. In this way, we would live as two people in the body of one person, we were Kurds internally and emotionally, but we should have stated that we were Arabs in state institutions and official places; we should have said Syrian, Arab, Muslim. All three of these count as conservatism. We do not have such discrimination and conservatism among the Kurdish people. We believe in humanity, our life in Syria was schizophrenic [Midya 2015].

On the other hand, immigrants, who were initially thought to be 'temporary guests' and turned into permanent communities over time, build cultural spaces where they can express themselves through the magazines and newspapers they publish, as well as radio broadcasts, concerts and film festivals. They transformed the cities where they settled into living spaces. For example, a women's magazine published in Arabic called Syrian Woman (*nisâ' suriyya)*, published by Syrian women in Gaziantep. Again in Gaziantep, a radio station named *rozana* was established. The art centre *ArthereİstanbuI* founded by Syrian artists in Kadıköy Yeldeğirmeni has been organizing cultural events since 2017.[2] These works that they carry out in the field of culture and arts help to increase their visibility in society as immigrants and contribute to their empowerment. At this point, it would be appropriate to look in more detail at what immigrant women are doing in the field of music.

Musical practices of migrant women

In this process, migrant women use music as a method of struggling with conditions during difficult times and here music functions as a tool of resistance, integration and for shaping social life. They engage actively with music through weddings, baptisms, mourning rituals, chat nights, and concerts as well as their daily listening practices, and through these ambiences, they express all kinds of emotions through music such as sadness, anxiety and hope about the past, present and future. As McClary said, music helps us shape

our internalized ideas about our emotions, ourselves, gender, our bodies, pleasures, and even our social organization [McClary 2013:201].

When we look at the musical practices of immigrant women, it is seen that they produce new music as a representation of resistance, socialization and integration, and in this context, they care about conveying their social messages. In their repertoire, traditional songs, lullabies, peace songs, patriotic songs, love songs, hymns and improvisational music come to the fore. The musical performances of immigrant women are divided into two categories: individual performances and choirs in which music is performed collectively.

During my research, there were four choirs with some common characteristics, three in Istanbul and the other in Gaziantep. Established by Iraqi Chaldean and Syriac immigrants, the Syriac Catholic Church Choir is a predominantly female choir that performs Syriac and Arabic hymns every Sunday and on special occasions. Istanbul Mosaic Oriental Choir was founded by Maisa Al-Hafez, herself a Syrian immigrant and music instructor. The Syrian Women's Choir, which gave its first concert with the title "We Will Not Forget Our Songs", was established within the Human Resources Development Foundation Syrian Refugees Support Office. *Haneen*, on the other hand, was founded in Gaziantep, following the initiative of another Syrian immigrant, Raja Banout, for Syrian women. The common features of these choirs can be summarized as:

- the constant change of participants due to the continuation of migration;
- except for the Syrian Women's Choir, establishment of the choirs by immigrant women;
- adopting a multilingual repertoire by singing melodies exemplifying the common cultural heritage of the peoples together with oral versions in Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic;
- caring about integration with the society and therefore they must include a symbolically Turkish song in their repertoire.

This way of coming together with music through choirs has a political potential. Apart from the choir experience itself, it is possible to observe this through discourses on why the choirs were formed, their repertory preferences, and the interviews they gave in various radio / TV channels, newspapers and magazines in Turkey and abroad. When women explain the purpose of establishing choirs they say that it is important for them to convey some social messages such as contributing to integration, reflecting the multicultural character of Syria, eliminating negative thoughts about immigrants by showing that they are peace-loving and productive people with their language and culture. Although it is a concern to reflect multilingualism, their repertoire mainly consists of Arabic songs, other languages are represented at a symbolic level. This communication through the choirs and music, not only allows women from different socio-economic groups, professions, ethnicities and ages come together and socialize, but also creates a basis for dialogue with local people and other immigrant groups. Although women have different experiences, they establish a closer bond with each other by producing common feelings through music. As Hofman says, music can make it possible to establish a different relationship with identity belonging, "by enabling the establishment of collectives that go beyond time-spatialisms" [Hofman 2015:157]. Women have their first stage experiences by singing together in choirs, and they sing their songs more and more confidently with the strength they get from this sharing. While the collective performance of music empowers women, these experiences have a transformative effect not only on women but also on their husbands and families.

Another important function of choirs in the lives of immigrant women is to strengthen solidarity and collective feelings, thus creating a representative space for home, homeland and identity. For them, the choir filling the spiritual void of being away from home becomes a symbol of longing for home and homeland and the imaginary representation of the motherland.

> When we started to sing, we saw that we got rid of our unhappy mood. One year after the establishment of the choir, I can say that the choir was a great idea. Now we have announced our name in Gaziantep. We are known not only in Gaziantep but also in other cities. We are invited to the events organised by our Turkish siblings. They talk about us in the newspapers. This choir became the homeland that brought us together [Karakurt 2016].

In this context, traditional songs and patriotic songs, which carry collective affect, memory and a sense of resistance, and also provide a collective therapy, come to the fore as songs that help immigrants. For example, the Arabic song *Mawtini* (My Motherland) is played in choir concerts, in which Syrian immigrants also participate as listeners, as well as in concerts given by Syrian street musicians and in events related to Syrian immigrants, and intense emotional moments are experienced during the performance of this song. The song *Mawtini*, which is the symbol of the Palestinian resistance, is a song that the Arabs, who left their country because it is under occupation, embrace with the same feelings as the Arabs far from their homes. The same song became a symbol of the resistance in Syria through new lyrics written when the uprisings started in Syria in 2011. When the Syrian Women's Choir sang this song in their first concert called "We Will Not Forget Our Songs!", because they were crying, some women covered their faces and some had to leave the stage. Later, when we met with women and I asked how they felt while singing this song, one woman expressed her feelings with these words:

> We did not experience such pain when we sang in our country. You sing in your own country because we didn't feel longing, you say it comfortably. But when you come here, you say it with a pain in your heart. While singing, some of us choked before we could complete the song [Ruba 2016].

Collective music practices, in which immigrant women are visible in the public sphere, are shaped through choirs. Performance practices other than choirs are individual performances and it is possible to reach these performances through personal interviews and home recordings. The repertoire in individual performances consists mainly of improvised melodies and laments. These laments, in which emotions such as pain, grief, anger, sadness, longing, frustration, hopelessness, helplessness, alienation, loneliness, and nostalgia are expressed, are important documents and musical works on recent history, cultural heritage, social memory and female oral music repertoire. In the laments that I recorded from Syrian and Iraqi women's voices, the losses and deaths in the war, some anecdotes about the events that took place during the war, some information about the war, and immigration themes are covered. For example, Bazin [2015] tells about the deaths that occurred as a result of the attack of ISIS in the Shengal region of Iraq (one of the holy places and living spaces of Yazidis), and all kinds of sexual violence incidents (such as kidnapping, killing, raping and selling) against Yazidi women and she rebels against what happened. Zozan [2015] from Kobanê laments the young people who died as a result of the ISIS attack on Kobanê. Ayşe [2015] laments the difficulties and psychology of living as an immigrant in Turkey, and Buckra [2015] laments her husband who was killed by the regime.

Conclusion: what are the women's voices of war saying?

Women use music both as a historical heritage that connects with the past and with a political function to build an identity, and as a means of struggle. They do this through both their collective and individual performances. Choirs function and benefit in the lives of immigrant women and help them in many aspects such as carrying the collective feeling and memory of home, homeland and identity; preserving and re-establishing a sense of belonging; as a means of conveying the social message; creating a basis for socialization and dialogue between the local population and the immigrants and within the immigrants themselves; being both an individual and social empowering experience.

On the other hand, in individual performances that are not visible in the public space and performed indoors, the words and music they improvise come to the fore. With the music they produce, women demonstrate the existence of the agency, produce social discourse and build their lives upon music. Immigration experience also provides some opportunities for many women to meet music for the first time as performers and to engage more closely. While doing my research, I met young women who had never had such an idea before but changed their minds after becoming immigrants. They started music education to improve themselves, and decided to become musicians by thinking of building their future in music. As a performer (vocals and percussion) myself, I find it extremely exciting that music enables such a transformation, opening new doors for women and increasing the possibilities of expression.

Endnotes

1. Countries such as America, Canada and Australia are places where mostly Iraqi Christian communities such as Chaldeans and Assyrians prefer to go. It can be said that these Christian communities, which are under the protection of the United Nations, are more likely than other communities to settle in a third country and obtain a visa, but more recently, things are getting harder for them and they have to wait for many years to get a visa.

2. See the website for *arthereistanbul* art centre in Kadıköy Yeldeğirmeni <https://www.arthereistanbul.com/home>.

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Music publishing as tension: A case study of early 20th century *Fasıl*s

The 20th century marks a segregation between art and folk music in Turkey on a theoretical and ideological basis. Orally transmitted for centuries, traditional Turkish music experienced various notation systems parallel to the segregation of terminology. While Byzantine and Armenian neumatic notations were used among the music communities in Istanbul, Western staff notation dominated music publication in the early 20th century. Could the published music tell a different story than the dominant ideological discourse of the period? This study analyses 65 *fasıl*s[1] published before the Alphabet Revolution in 1928, which are catalogued as part of the Corpus Musicae Ottomanicae project. The genre distribution of the published *fasıl*s could be interpreted as a challenge to the theoretical and ideological segregation of soundscapes. Despite its integrative power, music publishing also brought about terminological segregation at the genre level, which is reflected in genre names existent in the *fasıl*s in question that have no correspondence in the current repertory.

Keywords: *Fasıl*, Turkey, Ottoman Empire, printed music, genre.

Political and ideological background of early 20th century musicking in Turkey

The early 20th century marked the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire for the musical life surrounding Istanbul, which not only had political consequences. Following the independence wars of the Balkan nations from the Empire and the First World War, the Empire came to an official end and the Republic of Turkey was established in 1923. Cultural revolutions followed the new political organization in the land in an effort to establish the pure national identity as part of the nation-state building process [see Üngör 2012; Bayar 2014; Balkılıç 2015; Greve 2017]. The establishment of a pure national identity included the renunciation of cultural elements attributed to the Ottoman Empire, which deeply affected the musical production and consumption processes within the country.

The revolution of music rested mainly on the ideas of Ziya Gökalp (1876–1924), who disregarded court music and recommended that Turkish folk music should be integrated into Western polyphonic music so as to establish the new music of the new nation [Gökalp 2007:126–8]. This recommendation triggered several revolutions against Ottoman art music such as the closure of the art music department of Darülelhan, the state school of music from the Empire to the Republic, and prohibition of art music in radio broadcasts [see Durgun 2010; Ayas 2020]. By the 1930s, the segregation between art music and folk music was crystallized and to this day, the repertories have developed separately. Before continuing with the tension between the repertories, it might be beneficial to have an overview of notation in Turkish music, which will bring us to the discussion on printed music of the early 20th century in Turkey.

Notation in Turkish music

Traditional Turkish music was transmitted orally from masters to students through a teaching technique called *meşk* in the Ottoman Empire [see Behar 2016; Tanrıkorur 2016]. Although there were attempts to use notation in explaining music theory in early manuscripts, this did not happen until the 17th century when the Polish interpreter Ali Ufkî used Western staff notation for recording music pieces in his manuscript [Ayangil

2008:403]. Later on, the Moldavian prince, Dimitrie Cantemir, compiled instrumental pieces in a peculiar notation system and Nâyî Osman Dede developed his own notation system in the 18th century. Such attempts were followed for notating Ottoman court music in the 18th and 19th centuries [see Feyzi 2018].

Meanwhile, the Byzantine and Armenian church traditions, which enlivened the music life of Istanbul, already had their peculiar notation systems. Byzantine neumatic notation was used for notating art music during the 19th century and in printed format, appealing especially to the taste of Phanariot music lovers [Kalaitzidis 2012:158–9]. Armenian musician and composer, Hampartsum Limonciyan (1768–1839), developed another notation system, which was named after him, and many musicians during the 19th and early 20th centuries benefitted by using this notation in their manuscripts [Ayangil 2008:416–7].

Among the first systems for notating Ottoman art music, Western staff notation became the dominant tool for writing music in the early 20th century. Many music publishers utilized Western staff notation for printing sheet music, and the most significant format was printing fascicles in *fasıl*s. *Fasıl*s are suites beginning with instrumental pieces, *taksim* and *peşrev*, continuing with either classical genres of vocal pieces such as *kâr* and *beste* or directly with *şarkı*s in an order of rhythmic patterns (from *ağır aksak* to increasing tempos), and ending again with instrumental pieces, mainly *saz semâîsi* [see Feldman 1996]. The content of *fasıl*s printed in the early 20th century tells us about the repertory preferences of publishers and performers of that period. Against the backdrop of the ideological discourse dominated by the nation-state building process and revolutionary approaches to Ottoman court music, can the printed music tell a different story with its content?

Printed Fasıls of Early 20th Century

Musicologist Gültekin Oransay [1978:278–295] identified 183 *fasıl*s published between 1875 and 1976, including those of significant publishers of the era such as Notacı Emin, Şamlı İskender Kutmani, Şamlı Selim, Ûdî Arşak, and Onnik Zaduryan. Among the *fasıl*s categorized into 19 publication groups by Oransay and other *fasıl*s of the period, 66 *fasıl*s in Western staff notation which were available in different libraries and archives were indexed within the long-term research project Corpus Musicae Ottomanicae [CMO 2018], which started in 2015 for cataloguing Near Eastern music sources and editing music manuscripts handwritten in Hampartsum notation and Western staff notation. The 65 printed *fasıl*s and one handwritten *fasıl* can be identified as dating from before the Alphabet Revolution, which was implemented in late 1928, as the headings of the musical pieces included in those *fasıl*s and incipits of the lyrics available are mostly written in Arab letters, with a few exceptions of French transliterations into the Latin alphabet. The cataloguing of these *fasıl*s within the scope of CMO is still in progress and most up to date information, including concordances of the works found in other print or manuscript sources, is available in the CMO Online Publication Platform, which was initiated in late 2018.

The 65 printed *fasıl*s were published under 13 different series (*Münteḫabāt, Dilḥayāt noṭa mecmūʿası, ʿOs̱mānlı Mūsiḳī Dosyası* etc.), in numerous *makam*s[2] from *Acem aşîrân* to *Yegâh*. A total of 1848 pieces, including both instrumental and vocal music, are available in those *fasıl*s. Since the 19th century marked the dominance of *şarkı* over classical vocal genres, around 80% of the repertory included in these *fasıl*s comprised of one genre: *şarkı*. When we look at other genres included in the *fasıl*s, we can see that genres of folk music were integrated into the repertory together with genres of art music despite the ideological segregation of the two musical domains.

Genres of instrumental music available in the *fasıl*s include *taksim*, *peşrev*, and *saz semâîsi* from court music; *sirto*, *longa*, and *kasap havası* from dance music which fall in between the two domains; and a genre titled *türkü havası* which is a direct reference to the folk music domain. Furthermore, genres of vocal music included in the printed *fasıl*s analysed encompass other musical domains. Besides *şarkı*s, classical genres of *kâr*, *beste*, and *semâî* (*ağır, nakış, yürük*) are available within these *fasıl*s. Other than genres of art music, genres of Western music such as *marş*, *vals*, and *romance* were printed. Genres of dance music such as *kanto* and *köçekçe* appear next to an exceptional example of *duaname*, which is a religious music genre. Genres of folk music are also varied; other than *türkü*; *kesik kerem*, which not only refer to a *türkü* variant but also to a modal progression in folk music, can be observed.

The most interesting genre among vocal genres found in *fasıl*s is *dağî*. Forgotten as a genre for decades, *dağî* is defined as "a vocal musical work having the character of *uzun hava*" in Redhouse [1968:266]. However, no other definition is available in sources on Turkish music. With the specific reference to a folk music genre *uzun hava*, *dağî*s can be counted as folk music genres included in *fasıl*s. In more recent catalogues of the repertory, the *dağî*s are categorized as *şarkı* [Türk Müzik Kültürünün Hafızası Nota Arşivi 2010], which point to both a transformation of the cognition of genres and a loss of memory in between different periods of musical ideologies. Although the genre attributions in *fasıl*s are not completely systematic as *dağî* is also used as the name of the rhythmic pattern in several cases, and the significance of the numbers of *dağî*s compared to the music pieces catalogued within the *fasıl*s in issue is ignorable (less than 1%), it is still striking that *dağî* was available in the vocabulary of musicians back in the early 20th century and we had lost trace of this until the 21st century.

Insights

The preliminary study on printed *fasıl*s of the early 20th century reveals that despite the ideological segregation of art music and folk music in the Turkish context, music publication carried an integrative function, probably being reflected in the performative domain. Nevertheless, printed *fasıl*s might have also been a source of tension in that one genre that is not quite exceptional in the data available gradually disappeared from the vocabulary of Turkish musicians who perform and study *fasıl*s.

What else can the printed *fasıl*s tell about the early 20th century musicking? It is crucial to point out that further study of printed *fasıl*s is essential. Among the *fasıl*s listed by Oransay, only one third was catalogued within the scope of this paper. The earlier and later publications might show deviation from the genre choices in the repertory compared to the 65 *fasıl*s in this study. Moreover, the appearance and disappearance of the genre *dağî* might be traced in the one-century period of *fasıl* publication. Editorial analysis of sheet music might also reveal publisher and performer tendencies in light of the similarities and differences between alternate scores of same pieces. In the case of significant deviations, it might be possible to discuss micro level tension between music publishers. Keeping in mind possible questions that can be asked as a result of further research, it can be claimed that the early 20th century printed *fasıl*s have many more stories to tell. It is the researchers' vocation to hear the music and feel the tension between the staves.

Endnotes

1. *Fasıl* is a compilation of vocal and instrumental pieces of a variety of genres in traditional Turkish music, performed in a specific order.
2. *Makam* in this paper refers to the melodic system in traditional Turkish music, with peculiar intervallic structures, modular progressions and sets of rules for composition and performance [see Signell 2006].

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Sounds of a lost past: Early 78rpm records of Armenians in USA

In this paper I address 78 rpm records by early 20th century Armenian immigrants to America, drawing attention to what these recordings will contribute to musicological research in Turkey. This contribution is quite significant, not only in terms of the musical material acquired, but also in the reinterpretation of the musicultural memory transmitted from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. Pointing out the multidirectional music exchanges of communities, I argue that 78s by first generation immigrants in the US can be considered some of the earliest field recordings from Turkey, so much so as if they had been collected from local people in Anatolia. Thus, I indicate the historical significance of those records through Ottoman transcultural memory with a shift away from a view of memory as a product of distinct cultures within boundaries such as ethnicity, and toward a focus on the fluidity and hybrid status of memory.

Keywords: Armenian Americans; 78 rpm records; transcultural memory; Turkey; music.

The 78rpm records (*taşplak*) that emerged with the commercial recording industry allowed the recording of the music of diaspora communities who had been forced to emigrate from the Ottoman Empire to America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These records not only bear witness to the historical and socio-cultural background of the period, but also transmit the musicultural memory of Ottoman-American diaspora communities. With the emergence of a commercial recording industry, these Anatolian immigrants appeared on recordings that circulated within the diaspora communities, singing in various languages. Their music included folk songs from their homelands, urban popular Turkish music, and new compositions about life and love in the diaspora. The recorded songs of both amateur and professional musicians served to assuage these immigrants' longing for their homelands and help them feel at home.

World-renowned *oud* virtuoso and composer Ara Dinkjian has a record collection in New Jersey, and the most noteworthy section of this collection consists of approximately 5,000 78s recorded from 1905 to 1960s in the Ottoman Empire and the USA. The songs are mostly in Turkish and Armenian but also include music in Kurdish, Greek, Syriac, Arabic and Ladino. It is here that the importance of Ara Dinkjian's archive stands out, because many of these recordings are still very rare or entirely absent from professional or personal archives in Turkey and the world. In this paper, focusing on early Armenian 78s in Dinkjian's collection, I indicate the historical significance of those records for musicological research in Turkey, in order to examine the concept of Anatolian musical heritage through Ottoman transcultural memory. Pointing out the intercommunal coexistence and the multidirectional music exchanges of communities, I argue that 78s by first generation immigrants in America can be considered some of the earliest field sound recordings, so much so as if they had been collected from local people in Anatolia. The records' content is very similar to the folk songs recorded on gramophone in the *Darülelhan* compilations collected between 1926–1929, and also to the folk song collections carried out by the Ankara State Conservatory from the 1930s to the 1950s. As the sounds of a lost past, why are these 78s ignored within folk music research in Turkish academia?

Much has been published over the last 20 years on the musical policies during Turkey's Republican Era [Balkılıç 2015; Hasgül 1996; Stokes 1992]. Briefly, the goal of the governing elite during the period of transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic was the creation of a Turkish identity based on a single language and a single ethnic identity, redefining the ethnic and religious elements that constituted the nation as Turkish and Muslim. This process of restructuring was characterized by practices that illustrated the political and economic aspects of demographic engineering, such as massacres during deportation, assimilation, and replacement of exiled populations with immigrants of a different ethnicity and religion. The "National Music" policy was based upon denial of the Ottoman musical legacy, replacing it with a synthesis of Western music and Turkish folk songs. The music of other ethnic groups in Anatolia was either disregarded, or assimilated and appropriated into Turkish folk music. In order to create a national repertoire, the folk music collection and transcription efforts included Turkification of folk songs sung in other languages. During Turkey's post-Republican years, the echoes and traces of cultural plurality within the musical heritage of the land were erased from collective memory. So, the silence regarding these early period 78 recordings is not at all surprising. Early recordings of Armenians in the USA, reflecting the unique multilingual and cultural pluralistic nature of the Ottoman empire, present a disruptive counter-narrative to Turkish Republican Era musical policy. In this context they share much with Gomidas Vartabed and Pakhtikos' folk song collections in Armenian and Greek, which were discredited by the early Turkish musicologist Gazimihal and became invisible in the historiography of musicology in Turkey.[1] These records are historically as precious as the Turkish and Kurdish songs of Avedis, an Armenian boy from Gaziantep, whose voice was recorded by Felix von Luschan in 1901. The fact that Avedis' songs were the first ever recordings in Anatolia was revealed in publications on the Berlin Phonogram Archive, and has begun to be shared by musicologists [Simon 2000].

To elaborate on this point, let us take a short look at the Armenian communities who arrived in America in the early 20th century. Independent researchers and authors Harry Kazelian, Harout Arekelian and Ian Nagoski's archival research of American Armenian musicians and their records are priceless. Published in newspapers, magazines and web sites, their work has contributed greatly towards my own research. And of course, the information that Ara Dinkjian shared with me as we listened to the records in his collection, forms the basis of this research. From 1880–1924, more than 100,000 Armenians immigrated to the United States, and most of these were from the Ottoman Empire. Because American Protestant missionaries had a strong presence in Harput, the people of that and nearby regions had the most interest in America. After Harput, the next largest groups of Armenians to come to the United States were from Diyarbakır, Sivas, and Kayseri. Many also came from Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Antep, Marash, Yozgat, Erzincan, Erzurum, Van, and Muş [Kezelian forthcoming]. These first-generation immigrants, survivors of 1915, brought their traditional music, which mostly consisted of songs with Turkish lyrics, to their new homes. In American cities such as New York, New Jersey, Boston, Detroit, and Fresno in particular, they created new musical entertainment venues. In America, Armenians were able to preserve much of the Anatolian village culture from where they came. They had largely shared this culture with Turks, Kurds, and Assyrians, and one of most significant parts of this culture was their folk music. At weddings, picnics and festive dinners – any time Armenians gathered together – they continued to play the Anatolian music of their childhood.

In the early 20th century, ethnic music became a lucrative area for America's recording industry. Various musical cultures, discovered by record companies like

Columbia, Victor, Oriental, Parseghian, Kaliphon and Pharos, were recorded. For diaspora communities, listening to songs from their homelands became a powerful tool in preserving ties with home, and dealing with their homesickness, losses and trauma. So how did large companies like Columbia make these recordings? According to Dinkjian, record company employees sought out areas of New York with ethnic communities, then went into neighborhood shops like dry cleaners, groceries and cafes and asked if there was anyone there who sang or made music.[2] Offering five dollars to anyone who would bring their friends to sing and play, they made the recordings. Of course, they could not understand what these people were singing about; they did not know, and that was not very important to them. The expenses were low, and the records were an easy source of profits.

The first-generation musicians recorded had been born between 1860 and 1907. Mostly amateurs, the majority of them had come from the Harput and Diyarbakır regions. Their main instruments were oud, clarinet, violin, *qanun*, *dümbeg* and *def*, comprising an Anatolian version of the *ince saz* style orchestra. The musicians rarely played *zurna*, *davul*, *santur*, *bağlama*, *kaval*, *çığırtma,* piano, harmonica or *tar*. Two styles could be considered their primary influences. The first was the music of Ottoman urban centers, which included a wide varity of hybrid genres such as *şarkı, kanto, gazel, taksim, türkü, çiftetelli, karşılama, zeybek* and *kasap havası*. The other was similar to the repertoire gathered in the aforementioned folk music collection projects. The folk music of the Eastern provinces (mostly from Harput and Diyarbakır) and rural folk dance songs usually in 10/8 *curcuna* rhythm are the second style that we can listen to by the means of these records. They were in a general Anatolian rather than specific ethnic style.

For example, Kaspar Janjanian's "Harpooton Yazelary" and "Maya" released in Boston in the 1920s under the Yeprad Record label, are some unique examples of this[3] (see Figure 1). Kaspar was born in Harput in 1883, immigrated to the US in 1907, and worked as a locksmith in Boston. Most of the Harput-Elazığ recordings are in *uzun hava* style (free meter song) such as *maya* and *hoyrat*. The songs have distinct patterns with alternating rhythmic instrumental and free rhythm vocal sections. Most of them are sung for a distant lover or family, and the lyrics are usually about migration and longing for the homeland. The songs are played by *ince saz* groups, also known today as *fasıl* orchestras, which feature clarinet as the main instrument along with *qanun*, violin, *def* and *dümbeg*. Kaspar Janjanian, Harry Belezarian, Vahan Boyajian, Asadur Kevorkian and Vartan Margosyan are some of the singers from Harput. I would especially like to point out that their performances reflect their regional styles and the repertoires, as genuine as 'national' voices like Hafız Osman Öge and Enver Demirbağ, who were recorded by the state officials in Turkey as masters of Harput *ağzı* (dialect) singing.

Another remarkable singer of the period, Karekin Proodian, born in Diyarbakır in 1885, came to America in 1903 and settled in New Jersey. He recorded Turkish, Armenian and Kurdish songs, and became one of the most famous Armenian folk singers of the 1920s. As Kezelian states, the Armenians from Diyarbakir were the chief contributors toward a new Armenian-American style characterized by new songs written in the standard Western Armenian language, using instruments like oud and violin, and incorporating the urban styles of Istanbul along with rural styles similar to Harput and Diyarbakir music, and everything in between. M. Janigian, Khoriad Kevork, Khosrof Malul and Hovsep Shamlian were the other singers recorded, all born in Diyarbakır. During their childhoods they too probably shared the soundscape of Diyarbakır with Celal Güzelses, one of the prominent Turkish folk singers of the region.

If we know which region of Anatolia the singers were born and raised, we may then use the songs they recorded to draw conclusions about their regional repertoires and styles.

For example, Yenovk Der Hagopian, born in 1900 in Van, moved to America in 1923, and recorded songs in Armenian, Kurdish and Turkish. We can determine some of the songs from Van region and safely say that these are among the earliest recordings of music from this region. Musicologist Bedros Alahaidoyan later released Yenovk Der Hagopian's recordings under the category of Van Folk Songs.[4] As another example, the song "Kesinin Baghlari, Atma Anam",[5] recorded by Garabet Merjanian from Kayseri, is notable as one of the earliest recordings of the Kayseri song known in the Turkish folk song repertoire as "Gesi Bağları". Most of the singers who I heard in Dinkjian's private collection sang in Turkish and Armenian, but I was also able to find ten Armenian singers who sang in Kurdish. The variety of languages in the songs highlights the multilingual character of the period as well as the cultural plurality between different religious and ethnic groups in the Ottoman Empire. An examination of the musical forms and styles, instrumentation and general performance practices reveals a very shared musical sound. This is actually quite similar to the situation in Ottoman classical or urban music. Musicians such as Victoria Hazan and Haim Efendi; Marika Papagika, Achilleas Poulos and Rita Abaci; Marko Melkon and Kanuni Garbis, singing urban popular songs in different languages, successfully reflected this multilingual character and common sound.

Figure 1. "Harpooton Yazelary" by Kaspar Janjanian

As I stated at the beginning, in this paper I addressed the 78 rpm records recorded by Armenian immigrants to America in the first half of the 20th century, and draw attention to what these recordings can contribute to folk music and musicological research in Turkey. Going beyond only the musical material acquired, this contribution is quite important in the reevaluation and reinterpretation of the musicultural memory transmitted from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey. In memory studies, "transcultural memory" began

drawing attention as a theoretical and methodological approach from 2010 onwards. More recent studies involve a distancing from the idea of memory as a product of distinct "cultures" within boundaries such as national culture or ethnicity. It is a rejection of the formerly pervasive model of container culture in favor of a more fluid and transient paradigm of relations between societies [Erll 2014; Bond and Rapson 2014]. There is an attempt to draw attention away from a purely national-cultural concept of memory to the liveliness of memory, relationships and hybridity; from fixed venues of memory to memory in motion and transience [Rigney 2008; Olick 2007]. Transcultural memory studies suggest that social, ethnic, religious, social, gender, linguistic, national and regional viewpoints may bring out different aspects of memory formation. Barbara Tornquist-Plewa, pointing to the distinction between transnational and transcultural memory, argues that transcultural memory not only crosses cultural boundaries, but points to a sort of memory hybridization that allows the conception of new societies and new forms of belonging [2018:302]. While 'transnational' memory deals with the relationship between multiple localities, transcultural memory examines the memory formed as these different localities mingle and blend.

In 2019, the *Memory Studies* journal released a special "Ottoman Transcultural Memories" issue. As a contemporary discussion it made an important contribution to the field. The goal of the researchers who prepared the issue was to discuss Ottoman Transcultural Memory by identifying the cultural exchange and remembered past dynamics between the different groups, ethnicities and religious communities that comprised the Empire. Their fundamental question was this: Can the Ottoman Empire be remembered in a transcultural context? At exactly this point, the abovementioned 78 recordings represent a venue for sharing (soundscape) capable of reflecting this transculturality, forge relationships between people of different ethnic/cultural groups, and be their subject and representation (not a "contributor"). For this reason, I believe that they present a useful framework in which the Ottoman Empire may be remembered in a transcultural context.

In remembering the past in Turkey, the official discourse concerning the cultural and religious diversity of the Ottoman Empire is generally one of an 'empire of tolerance' which brings with it a multicultural view in which the elements outside of Turkish identity are identified not as active agents but as contributing 'subsidiary' elements. The crucial point here is, who, or which community/communities own this cultural wealth or cultural heritage they are trying to underscore? As stated by Benessaieh, transculturality does not exclude conflicts; rather, it contains the desire to live with and understand the other. It requires a sense of understanding that may reduce the distance from what we perceive as different [2010:29]. At precisely this point, I agree that transcultural memory provides a very functional conceptual framework in order to understand the historic-cultural dynamics of the societies reconstructed following empires, such as Turkey. For this reason, I must say that a comparative analysis of the recordings that I examined in the scope of this study, within the context of transcultural memory, would be a suitable next stage of this work.

Endnotes

1. For further debate see Yıldız [2016:52–56] and Bilal [2019: 167–221].

2. In her book, Sylvia Alajaji [2015:144] presents a wonderful description of the Anatolian/Ottoman cafeehouse environments of this period, in the western Unites States in particular.

3. These songs (Harpooton Yazelary and Maya) are listed in Spotswood [1990:2510].

4. https://www.houshamadyan.org/mapottomanempire/vilayet-of-van/kaza-of-van/local-characteristics/song-alahaidoyan-collection1.html

5. Kesinin Baghlari (Atma, Anam) is listed in Spotswood [1990:2513].

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Theme 2 – Performance places and spaces – how these are constructed

Panel introduction:
Methodogical approaches for the musical culture and sounding/moving nature

Eco, the home, which hosts human, non-human and non-living subjects as well, is constructed by them, and is both the space and the place where music and dance performances take place. The landscape of the eco as a place becomes space through the soundscapes and choreoscapes.

This panel discusses ecomusicological and a newly coined "ecochoreological" approaches to study the music and/or sound as well as the dance and/or body in the framework of applied studies and also to survey the music mappings method as an opportunity to show the mutual diversity of music and sound structures in urban places. In considering the possibilities of researching them with the blurring borders of nature and culture, the panel will try to present the participants' different perspectives that can be used in studies of musical culture by sharing both their theoretical backgrounds and ethnographic experiences on how to analyse the interaction between them.

The first paper, by Bengi Çakmak, mentions the philosophical grounds of these methodological approaches, in other words, the critical ecology. The second paper, by Suna Başlantı, discusses the sonic ethnography by giving some examples from the Eastern Black Sea region that focus on the individual's experiences of nature. The third paper, by Aslı Kayhan, attempts to discuss music mapping as a method to preserve and share the layered and relational structures of sounds and music in urban places. The last paper by Belma Oğul tries to transfer the ecomusicological ideas to "ecochoreology" considering the bodies as home and within the home.

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On critical ecology as a methodological approach

In this paper, I discuss the meaning, importance, and potentials of embracing a critical ecological position as a researcher and of methodological contributions of critical ecology as a perspective. This discussion purposefully reflects my ongoing journey as a researcher, including what I embarked on, and are still developing, on the way towards a critical ecological methodology. I first explain what critical ecology refers to theoretically and conceptually, and then I elaborate on the methodological aspects of doing critical ecological research, along with its potential contributions. I will begin with the *eco-paradigm* and its interpretation based on ecomusicology and move on to the major questions of holding a critical ecological approach, concerning the current paradigmatic transition mentioned, and its methodological dimensions combining theory and practice. The question of ecosystem and home is tackled as the fundamental focus of this paper.

Keywords: critical ecology, eco-paradigm, ecomusicology, ecosystem, home.

In this paper, I discuss the meaning, importance, and potentials of embracing a critical ecological position as a researcher and of methodological contributions of critical ecology as a perspective. This discussion purposefully reflects my ongoing journey as a researcher, including what I embarked on, and are still developing, on the way towards a critical ecological methodology in terms of what I find to be meaningful and convenient in my questions and position. Therefore, I first explain what critical ecology refers to theoretically and conceptually, and then I elaborate on the methodological aspects of doing critical ecological research, along with its potential contributions. Following such an outline, I begin with the eco-paradigm and its interpretation based on ecomusicology and move on to the major questions of holding a critical ecological approach, concerning the current paradigmatic transition mentioned, and its methodological dimensions combining theory and practice.

The eco-paradigm basically refers to a paradigmatic transition from the Western dominant worldview accompanied with the processes of industrialization, modernization, and capitalization towards an alternative one invested with ecological concerns that have recurred, been recalled, and reviewed due to the impacts and results of the former. Noting that the former has not yet ceased to exist or to be dominant, this ongoing transition reflects its negative impacts in all dimensions, the discomforts it has spread and how it now has become non-negligible, and the insights and endeavours regarding its replacement with an alternative one. Therefore, the notion of eco-paradigm or the ecological paradigm shift points out a disrupt, a break, and a recreative transformation process with ecological concerns. Each side of the transition can be elaborated on with several different, yet interconnected, conceptual frameworks and (inter/trans)disciplinary fields, such as ecophilosophies, ecomusicologies, environmental sociology, ecosociology, ecopsychology, post-humanist theories, ecocritical and ecofeminist approaches, bearing in mind questions concerning the new sociality, new subjecthood, new social sciences, new activism, and so on. What remains to be the common and the major ground is the natural-cultural crises of the 21st century and the emphasis voiced by *eco*.

The point of departure and rupture is first and foremost the nature/culture binary embedded in the Western worldview and civilization. This binary takes its sources from the

anthropocentric civilization process that was especially followed by the settlement of humankind via agricultural production and private property, which resulted in the control of the natural environment by creating the social/cultural environments, taking so-called vital measures against the forces of nature and all forms of non-human lives and non-lives, and prioritizing the existence of human species above all others. In parallel, humanity's existence and sprawl over the planet with this kind of mentality and practices coincides with the humanist ontological position found in the enlightenment logic. Catton and Dunlap, two pioneering scholars in environmental sociology, define this anthropocentric worldview as the "Human Exceptionalism Paradigm (HEP)" and list the basic premises of this paradigm, such as the uniqueness of human beings for having culture, the supremacy of culture over "biological traits" and thus nature in this sense, the variations of "human differences" as culture-induced phenomena, and the ostentatious assumption that "cultural accumulation means that progress can continue without limit, making all social problems ultimately soluble" [Catton and Dunlap 1978:42–43]. HEP underlines well how the ontological and practical parting from nature has ended up with the anthropocentric claim of superiority.

Besides the philosophical and sociological aspects, anthropocentrism has been widely disputed within the context of current global crises such as climate change, epidemics and pandemics, extinction, pollution, and so on. These phenomena have been gaining wider attention by focusing on the notion of ecocide as they have become more tangible, and the impacts have become more immediately observable. The debates on the Anthropocene have voiced the immediacy of the ecological devastations and their results, emphasizing the urgency and calling for a vital and quick transformation. The concept of the Anthropocene refers to the contextualization of "the historical moment when the Human has become a geological force capable of affecting all life on this planet" [Braidotti 2013: 5]. "The fact that our geological era is known as the 'anthropocene' stresses both the technologically mediated power acquired by anthropos and its potentially lethal consequences for everyone else" [Braidotti 2013:66]. Feminist philosopher Rosi Braidotti is among the significant scholars of posthumanism who criticizes the anthropocentric activity on the planet due to its fatal determinacy and dominancy but she also remarks on the potential behind this transformation happening in ontology, epistemology, methodology, and ethics of the very same era we are in. The efforts of posthumanist approaches to discuss and produce a new human subject by taking all human and nonhuman subjects into account appoint a paradigm shift that was mentioned in the 1970s as the environmental turn.

The environmental turn can be traced back to the 1970s, and occurred in different ways in various fields. Here I will briefly mention the major steps in sociology and then dwell on ecomusicology. Peter Geddes' works are considered as an initial tendency towards environmental sociology [Halsey 2004; Studholme 2007], which were made in the early years of the 20th century. However, the attempts to review and reinterpret the literature that began in the 1970s have now increased momentum. Indeed, the paradigm shift and the various current debates are remarkable not for the novelty of the concerns but the growing awareness and visibility of them in academia and elsewhere. In the 1970s, in the sociological literature, Catton and Dunlap [1978] drew attention by offering the "New Environmental Paradigm" (NEP) against HEP by stating that environmental facts and social facts could not be separated. Again, by them, the environmental and ecological concerns were discussed and gained more audience in the 1980s; Catton and Dunlap [1980] criticized the Western worldview by explaining the contemporary condition with the concepts of "post-exuberant age" (associated with the true results of the colonial fantasies) and "ecological scarcity", and Dunlap [1980] elaborated on the ecological paradigm shift

and its necessity within social sciences. Works on the critique of capitalistic modernity (such as Ulrich Beck's theory of "risk society") have also been among the reflections of the paradigm shift in social sciences and sociology.

As for the discipline of musicology, and towards my main discussion in this paper, ecomusicology appears to be a crucial transdisciplinary field that emerged within the paradigm shift in question. The same timeline of the 1970s as the initial moment, and the expansion, of the extent and visibility of environmental and ecological debates, reflected a paradigm shift that especially after the 2000s can be observed in the emergence of ecomusicologies. Caprioli [2012] states that the presence of an "eco approach" in musicology follows this timeline in parallel with the tangible phenomena affecting the natural and social environments and ecosystems. In musicological traditions and theoretical approaches, ecomusicology's roots are considered to be observed both in ethnomusicology and soundscape studies, where the eco-related interests of those mostly depended on the analogical link between the variety of natural sounds and the species, and thus the concerns for extinction and protection [Ingram 2011]. Therefore, the relatively early steps of the transformation towards an eco-paradigm in musicology discloses that the notions of nature and culture, natural and social environments were still perceived and studied separately. In other words, as Perlman puts it, ecology operated then as a "metaphor" within "the ethno/musicological discourse of the late twentieth century" [Perlman 2012: 2]. From this perspective, it is understood that the presence of eco-paradigm refers to a transition from the ethno, Perlman also implies this emphasis to eco by writing it separately. This transition I want to underline simply deals with the problem of separating nature from culture, natural sounds from cultural sounds, natural environments from social environments, and the lack of the extent of thinking and acting beyond the resemblance between natural diversity and sounds in music. It is this problematic gap that is necessary to be overcome and it is this purpose that constitutes the major motivation of ecomusicology. Quoting Feld, "'ethno' always implies otherness, but 'echo' is about presence, about reverberant pasts in the present, presents in the past" [Feld 1994: 3]. Feld willingly uses the words 'eco' and 'echo' interchangeably in his work to emphasize the close relationship between the meaning of 'eco' as coexistence and its potential to bring past, present, and future into a vibrant copresence.

Holding the focus on 'eco' instead of 'ethno', ecomusicology tackles various issues from diverse aspects to takes on several explanatory definitions. Jeff Titon defines ecomusicology as "the study of music, culture, sound and nature in a period of environmental crisis" [cited in Allen 2017:92], and similarly, Allen [2017] highlights the equal weight on music, culture, and nature put by the field of ecomusicology. Related to Titon's focus on the context of the environmental crises, Perlman, as aforementioned, perceives the potential of ecomusicology to act beyond "the ecology metaphor" and open space for enacting change. A similar remark is seen in Rice's [2014] approach to ecomusicology as he mentions two interconnected names "environmentalist ethnomusicology" by Ramnarine and "ecomusicology" by Guy [2009]. Rice's review is important both because of the ethno-eco relationship and his mention of Guy's usage of the term ecomusicology in which she underlines the distinguishing manner of ecomusicology, when compared with ethnomusicology, with this question: "Does music contribute to our survival or is it indifferent to our possible extinction?" [cited in Rice 2014:203].

The apparent significance of praxis within the field of ecomusicology specifically problematizes the natural-cultural crises of our time and the phenomenon of ecocide. In this sense, ecomusicology embraces a critical ecological position by making the circumstances of the planet Earth at the planetary scale. To elaborate on the potential sourced from this

attitude, I propose that critical ecology, as seen in ecomusicology, necessarily keeps itself busy with the notion and question of home as the very basis of the intersection between nature, culture, and vibration/sound/music, between past, present, and future, and the meaning of *eco*. To better explain the primacy of the question of home, the development of ecology as a scientific field of inquiry and its etymological roots would be a good starting point.

The term ecology was coined by Ernst Haeckel as the inquiry of all interactions of animals with their organic and inorganic environment [Haeckel 1866; Schwarz and Jax 2011]. The term ecology consists of *oikos* and *logos* from Greek, *oikos* referring to the house, home, family, property of the family, and alike. In my perspective and in the context of the eco-paradigm and critical ecology, *oikos* corresponds best to the notion of home. Regarding the critical position I talk about here, it meshes with ecological concerns around the wider ontological meaning of home, including the main home that is the planet Earth for us Earthlings. Taking home as the semantic foundation, and a decisive point within this paradigmatic transformation, reflects the critical stance toward the modern capitalistic location of private property against the wellness of nature-social and coexistence, and toward the ecological harm given by Anthropos to their home(s). Concordantly, by elucidating the methodological potential of critical ecological research I hereby put an emphasis on examining the question of home.

Since the wider semantic content of home is at stake, it begins with emotionally and bodily existing in space, place, ecosystem, and thus coexistence. Music and dance have a primary role in creating this sense of belonging to the home, the ecosystem, and the coexistence via the immediacy of vibration. From the view that nature and culture are inseparable, any environment is "all that surrounds" and "a sonic or sounding environment" [Reybrouck 2015:3]. Each entity living in an ecosystem, therefore, feels their own sensations of being present within that ecosystem first and foremost by their vibrating bodies, which creates the unhesitant and immediate sense of being a participatory subject of what I call "co-vibration." Putting it differently, each human and nonhuman, living or nonliving subject creates and belongs to their "subjective universes" and "self-worlds" as part of the wider vibrating and sonic universe [Reybrouck 2015:4–5]. Hence music cannot be reduced to some cultural product in which nature merely takes part as the background sounds or via the appropriation of natural sounds, but "as a tool that is appropriate to construct different forms of self-experience and social relatedness" [Reybrouck 2015:7]. Caprioli [2012] also makes a similar remark about how the lived space is sensed and felt through the sounds.

This growing sensation in one's body and among coexisting and co-vibrating bodies goes hand in hand with affects and emotions and their similar role in creating "self-worlds" and shared ecosystems. The links between affects and emotions and their conceptualizations provide the togetherness of nature and culture as interconnected realms. The gap between nature and culture that is prominent in Western philosophy and civilization has led to a comparable gap among the ways of studying affects and emotions. To illustrate, there is an interval of almost one hundred and fifty years within the disciplinary accumulation of sociology in terms of taking emotions as a unit of analysis, or emotions were tackled merely as cultural categories not being worthy of bearing the focus [Stets and Turner 2014:10]. Emotions and affects had been restricted in the realms of psychology, neurology, and alike that mainly held the biological and cognitive perspectives. This gap and the reduction of the study of emotions and affect to certain fields and perspectives reflect the Cartesian mind/body dualism that places them either into cultural constructions or the cognitive activities of the brain [Stets and Turner 2014]. In

return, such a manner consolidates and couples with the nature/culture, object/subject, and inside/outside binaries, which clashes with the critical ecological understanding of coexistence and co-vibration. Nevertheless, this problematic situation has been overcome since the affective turn that is an ontological, epistemological, and methodological shift going on since the mid-90s towards the study of affects, emotions, subject, object, and so on as it was characterized by Patricia Clough in her comprehensive work [Clough 2007]. The affective turn puts great emphasis on the conceptualizations of affect, emotion, and their relationship from bodily (combining with the bodily turn) and intersubjective perspective. In this regard, I underline that a critical ecological approach should employ and/or take its sources from affect and emotion-based analyses.

To elaborate, I want to touch upon the conceptualizations of affect and emotion and discuss how they are integrated with the role of vibrations and sounds in creating the sense of space, being-in-environment, and coexistence. The fundamental characteristics of the notion of affect are connected with fluidity, openness, potentiality, and being "open-endedly social" [Clough 2010:209], "radical openness" among bodies [Pile 2009:8], circulation and transmission [Brennan 2004], and being "sticky" [cited in Gregg and Seigworth 2010]. In this sense, affects can be considered rather intangible yet sensible, and thus harder to be represented in language and cultural practices when compared with emotions. However, it is their interaction with each other and the surrounding ecosystem that leads to the sustenance of affects through places, bodies, and time, while turning into emotions and emotional practices, expressions, memories, and cultural entities. It is also at this point where the unifying and aggregative influence of vibrations and sounds cooperate with the circulation of affects and emotions. The sociologist Georg Simmel's discussion on the differences between the sensory capacity provided by the eye and that of the ear, as well as the experiences of seeing and listening contributes well to grasping this crucial point. According to Simmel, the eye produces a sense of private property and an association of resemblance whereas the experience of listening eliminates any possibility to individually possess the whole experience [Simmel 2009]. In different words, each listening subject is vibrating, sounding, sensing, affecting, and being affected at the same time, which creates the circulation, transmission, and stickiness of individual bodily, affectual, and emotional experiences in a shared surrounding. Hence the collective sense of coexisting in an ecosystem, the sense of belonging and home.

Recalling that homes and ecosystems share the same semantic and ontological ground, the question of home that needs to be repeated, reviewed, and revived in the contemporary era of ecocide and crises requires the critical ecological methodology to meet these aspects discussed above. The methodological potential of critical ecology, in this sense, should consider and care about the multiplicity and complexity of ecosystems and homes and the pursuit of the affects-emotions of feeling at home. This necessity has to deal with the search of ecosystems and the sense of home in research through the fragmented space, time, and identity, meaning that the research should consider the probability of the existence of dispersed or intermingled ecosystems, for which the attempts to determine a certain field of research as the concrete ecosystem limited with boundaries would be inadequate to disclose the home narratives, the sense of home and belonging, and how certain affects and emotions correspond to the ecosystem itself for its participants at visible or invisible dimensions. That is why, another important point is to not take categories like identity, subject positions, and culture for granted since they are usually constantly reconstructed and reshaped by the circulation and transmission of affects and their formation into various emotions through time and space. The last point I would like to mention here is the significance of critical ecological concerns along with the questions of

home and ecosystem, which can reflect through the emergence and growing impact of affectual-emotional themes such as nostalgia and apocalypse, DIY (do-it-yourself) cultural practices, crisis solidarities, cyberspace, changes in the categories of individual and family, etc.

As for the practical methodological correspondences of holding a critical ecological stance with the aforementioned concerns, the most important aspects of critical ecological research appear to be participation, intersubjectivity, and post-humanity, which altogether serve the understanding of coexistence, co-vibration, and co-presence in ecosystems. This is crucial not only to comprehend the ecosystems that are being sought and/or studied but also because there occurs a shared ecosystem during research with the participation of the researcher. Moreover, the contextualization of the field of research should be made in accordance with the sense of home and the possible ecosystems that might appear simultaneously or separately, which requires analyses on affects and emotions. Finally, research techniques and methods should be reviewed as well by blending the prevalent and new ones and/or using mixed methods. Following the paradigm shift from 'ethno' to 'eco', a transition from doing ethnography to doing ecographies would be a more meaningful step as well. The concept of "ecography" was first coined and introduced by Heather Young-Leslie in her field research conducted in the Tongan island Ha'ano as "the inscription of human history and agency in a place and its inhabitants, and a mutual reinscription of land, sea, and dwellers into human lives, by way of place-names, emplaced stories, ceremonial titles, and remembered ritual" [Young-Leslie 2007:366]. I will not go into the details of ecography here but most importantly, what she means by ecography corresponds to the immediacy of vibrations and affects that come together with the medium of cultural traits in making ecosystems places of home. Young-Leslie also states that there can be several ecographies and she introduced her definition of ecography in accordance with her case study and what she sensed and experienced within those ecosystems.

To conclude, I have discussed the significance and potential of a critical ecological stance from ontological and especially methodological perspectives. I believe that such a position carries great potential to grasp the crises and needs of today, of our planet. As I elucidated with the ecological paradigm shift and ecomusicology as a specific exemplary field, the methodological potential I call for meets the understanding of coexistence and the sense of home that is primarily created by vibrations and affects. Through vibrating together, affecting and being affected, all intersubjective subjects coexisting in ecosystems make sense of their space, time, and togetherness. This very primordial and bodily aspect of being in an ecosystem (in the whole planet in the larger context) and feeling at home appears to be the crucial essence of dealing with the age of ecocides and the intense question of homes today.

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A sensory ethnography on the soundscape of the eastern Black Sea

In order to understand the function of childhood sounds in memory and music perception, this study aims to examine how we encode sounds, the relationship of these sounds with music perception, and the importance of senses and emotions in the revival of auditory memory by referring to ethnographic findings. For this study, I used sensory ethnography as the main methodology by focusing on the Eastern Black Sea soundscape and the embodied experiences of individuals in this geography through sound. Within this context, this paper presents the inferences where I combined the auditory memories conveyed by the interlocutors through inter-sensory expressions with my observations and experiences as a result of the fieldwork.

Keywords: Eastern Black Sea, soundscape, sensory ethnography, auditory memory, music perception.

The geography we were born in creates the initial soundscape that is probably the most effective on our auditory memory. In the richness of Eastern Black Sea geography, sounds have meanings derived from everyday life and penetrate into the bodies and memories through nature and life. However, since memories and related experiences are shaped by more than one sensory input, our sonic memories are not only auditory but also involve whole inter-sensory relations. What makes these relations valuable and memorable are the emotional bonds that arise as a result of bodily engagement with the physical world that surrounds us. Therefore, the conscious or unconscious emotional bonds we establish with sounds and the meanings we assign them are shaped by our cultural practices and geography. As Heikki Uimonen remarks in his chapter in "Acoustic Environment in Change", these bonds play an active role in our musical taste:

> […] the interpretation of soundscape is affected by factors within a given place and culture. Therefore a development of local soundscape competence is a part of the enculturation process and parallel to the construction of musical competence where social meanings are being created [Uimonen 2009:45].

For this reason, neither sound nor music perception can be evaluated independently of culture and geography. This means, in order to make an in-depth evaluation, the researcher should approach the perception of music by taking into account the sounds and the meanings attributed to them by individuals in the geography they live in. In this sense, sensory ethnography, which provides a holistic perspective through the analysis of space, memory, and experience, enables the comprehension of the individuals' reactions to music by utilizing the experience and observations of the researcher in the geography studied.

Based on this, between July and August 2018, I conducted fieldwork around Rize, Artvin, and Trabzon for my master thesis titled "Searching for lullabies: Remembering the past through lullabies in the soundscape of the Eastern Black Sea" [Başlantı 2019]. The main question of this study was what is the function of our childhood sounds in music perception. By focusing on the lullabies, my aim was to show that even though it is assumed that our initial sonic memories are long gone when we consciously developed an appreciation to certain musics, contrarily, somehow their effects can still continue in terms

of music perception. To explain the "somehow" part, I argued that emotions and the multi-sensorial perception of our environment have a key role in the interplay between auditory memory and music perception. In order to investigate this argument, I made interviews during fieldwork where I asked my interlocutors if they remembered any lullabies from their childhood. However, I collected mostly sound recordings, apart from the auditory memories that ultimately represent perhaps the strongest and most intimate bonds of their childhood. Thus, while searching for lullabies they thought they did not remember, by focusing on individuals' experiences with nature and sound, I tried to analyse their auditory memories conveyed through the inter-sensory expressions.

This paper presents the second part of this study in which I used sensory ethnography as the main methodology by focusing on the Eastern Black Sea soundscape and the individuals' embodied experiences of this geography through sound. To understand the function of childhood sounds in memory and music perception, the aim of this paper is to exemplify how we encode the sounds, the relation between those sounds and music perception, and the importance of senses and emotions in memory revival. Based on this aim, after introducing the traces of sounds in the memories of my interlocutors under the sub-headings of silence, senses, and musical practices, I will explain the relationships of these sounds with music by giving examples from their statements.

The Traces of Sounds in Memories

The experience of sound cannot be considered independent of other senses. Accordingly, auditory memory is the combination of our sensory experiences that enables us to relate to the geography and society we live in. For example, as we get older, we may not remember exactly how the favourite bird in our childhood sounded like, but if we remember the smell or the colours accompanied that experience, or if we listen to music that arouses the same emotions, the pieces that made up the memory come together and we can begin to hear the birds again in our minds. Moreover, "creating, listening to, or appreciating any kind of music cannot be separated from the essence of our culture, society, and identity which consists of everything about our past, present, and future: Our memories" [Başlantı 2019:85]. Similarly, in "Acoustic Environment in Change", Helmi Järviluoma emphasizes the importance of memory:

> For the researcher of culture and music the subject of memory is central, linking both individuals and human groups with history, culture, and society, and inviting the exploration of how the local and subjective specificity of memory is connected to the larger societal contexts [Järviluoma 2009:138].

So, the auditory memory, including its connections with other senses, is also important for understanding the relationship between sound and music.

In the Eastern Black Sea region, nature with all its sounds and facilities becomes an inspiration where people make music by using it as a material, by imitating its sounds and rhythms, and by coexisting with it. When I asked my interlocutors if they remembered any lullabies, they almost always said 'no'. However, they remembered so many sounds although they were unaware of how rich their auditory memories were. "In general, they remembered the sounds better than any piece of music. Besides, people generally used sounds to revive their memories. Even though they forgot all the melodies mentioned in between their sentences, they precisely remembered the sounds of their childhood. It was also so exciting to witness how incredibly they still could mimic and perform those sounds" [Başlantı 2019:114]. Considering this effect of sound, I listed to all the sounds they

introduced to me including the ones I found in the literature by showing the relationship between sound, memory, geography, senses, emotions, and music in my thesis [Başlantı 2019]. In this section, I will discuss the traces of these sounds in the memories of my interlocutors by quoting their explanations.

Sound and silence

What silence means to us can vary according to physical and emotional circumstances. Silence appears as a relative phenomenon due to the perceptual and semantic differences with sound. This was what I experienced first in the fieldwork: During my 24-hour experience of recording the sounds of a day, I realized that silence does not exist physically at all. This experience led me to query the relationship between 'sound and beautiful silence' to which my interlocutors often refer:

> There was a very light gentle breeze coming from the sea, the leaves with a rustling sound, and a beautiful bird singing. I am crazy about this time of morning; it is the most favourite time of the Black Sea for me. And so, I used to listen to my grandmother secretly in those mornings. Silence, but a beautiful orchestra and my grandmother. I can't explain how fascinating those sounds were. Even the sound of the river at that hour made you think as if it had a different beauty. Do you know that there is an expression like "water sleeps" in our neighbourhood? Like the sound of that river! As if everything is a voice, the wonderful lights of the sun over the sea, even I have this moment as a sound. I probably explain it better with sound rather than with words [cited in Başlantı 2019:45].

In other words, while my interlocutor explains that the best memories about her childhood lullabies are the songs that her grandmother sang in the "beautiful morning silence", she actually describes this silence by referring to the sounds of that memory.

Another person I interviewed lists many sounds that make up his memory about the evening silence, which is his favourite time of the day:

> The call for prayer and jackals, the sound of frogs after the rain, and especially the sound of a blackbird in fall; it used to give me peace. The sunset, silence, the sudden sound of the brook coming from afar, the sounds of the cows while women take them away to feed, and a very nice sound of a blackbird that comes from afar. It extends the sound: adds them consecutively as if it's a song. And then it suddenly flies away and disappears after creating a scream-like sound…I love that sunset and the silence [cited in Başlantı 2019:45].

Although he insisted at the beginning of our conversation that he did not remember any sounds from his childhood, he started to talk about the sounds that used to accompany the evening silence right after he remembered those moments.

As seen in these two examples, which refer to the silence especially at sunset and sunrise, the concept of silence is used to express the moments when the emotional intensity is high, which is generally identified with longing, desires, and peace. Because of this intensity, the memories associated with silence essentially contain rich sound information existing in the environment.

Sound and senses

Sounds gain their own affective meanings in the geography they exist within. Here, the affect refers to an intense physical and sensational state or an experience in response to a stimulus. We generally used our emotions to refer to when explaining this state, which seemed to be the outcome of, and to juxtapose with, affect. Like the affect, the essence of our emotions is the experience that enables us to understand and engage with our environment through sensational perception. As emotions accompany the experience of sound, which is intertwined with our senses that contributes to the formation of memory, we also use emotions to revive and express our memories, whether they are directly related to sound or not.

When my interlocutors recount their most vivid sonic memories, there was almost always the presence of another sense accompanying the ambient sound: The sounds, the nice weather, and calmness; the redness of sunset and blackbird singing; the smell of flowers accompanying the birds; the smell of cooked bread and the sounds of butter chunk; the jackal howls in the darkness of the night and the fear of a child; the fog in the mountains, the sound of thunder and heavy rain; the echoes of women voices in the green steep mountains. The effect of these sounds is so evident that when my interlocutors explained something, they almost always put a sound imitation between their words, like an expression they use in a spoken language. For example, while explaining how incredible, impressive, horrifying, or soothing some animal sounds were such as jackals, blackbirds, crickets, or owls they generally tried to vocalize the sound that remained in their memories. Also, there were other environmental sounds conveyed through sensory and emotional explanations such as the sound of a chainsaw, the colours of autumn, and a sweet sadness; the sound of raindrops on building tiles and the peaceful sleep of a child.

The point to be emphasized here, when I asked my interlocutors if they had any auditory memories of their childhood, they thought that most of these sounds were lost. However, as they began to remember the most effective sensory interaction, which has an emotional intensity, all these sounds emerged, even if they were not aware of them. In The Cultural Politics of Emotion, Sara Ahmed claims that affect is "sticky" [Ahmed 2014:13]: An affect, like an emotion, can be associated with an object or a subject. It leaves a residue, a sign that we are also exposed to and has values, in the body. So, even though we think that the sounds of our childhood have been erased from our memory, these sounds, together with all the senses and emotions accompanying them, are so affective that they leave a residue in our body and continue to exist in our memories.

Sound and musical practices

As sound can find a place in everything about life in the Eastern Black Sea, it also affects the formation of musical practices by becoming an inspiration. This happens sometimes consciously, sometimes unconsciously, but perhaps instinctively as an integrated part of that geography. Thus, creativity, which is at the core of existence, manifests itself as music that becomes another sound of this geography. In this sense, these instinctive musical practices that feed on and imitate geography also diffuse into the minds and memories, and they affect the creation and perception of music.

There are some sounds in this geography that comes to prominence for most of the inhabitants. For example, most of my collaborators agreed that depending on where you live whether in the mountain, or nearby the sea, any kind of sound related to water is important for everyone in the Eastern Black Sea. The sounds of rain, a brook, the sea, and waves were mostly associated with joy, rhythm, harmony, and melody. Similarly, the

rhythmic patterns of daily sounds have taken their place in the music and dance of this geography. The sounds of a water mill, tealeaf cutter, and weaving loom are among those whose rhythmic feature is most emphasized during the interviews. For example, one of my interlocutors told me "When he was a child, he used to go to the stone mill with his mother to help her. By imitating the sound of the stone mill, he explained it had a steady rhythm, and listening to that rhythm used to make him calm. He said it was always in the same pattern with a piece of flowing water" [cited in Başlantı 2019:107]. Likewise, Ayşenur Kolivar, who was born in the Eastern Black Sea Region and has been dealing with the music of this geography, gave a similar example by stating that a bagpiper (*tulumcu*) told him that they use the mill as a metronome while practicing. It can probably be said that this rhythm is also effective in *horon* (a traditional dance of this region) steps and that these steps are even reinforced by bagpipes (*tulum*) [cited in Başlantı 2019:107].

The animal sounds are another prominent input for the musical practices in this geography. For example, it is quite obvious that there is a similarity between the howl of jackals and the common type of yelling by women or men in this region. People are in a way mimicking the jackals while creating these particular sounds, which are also commonly used in music or dancing. Likewise, it is mostly said that the movements of fishes, especially the anchovy, inspire the melodic movements of songs and the rhythmic patterns of the dance.

On the other hand, nature is not only an inspiration for people, but it also provides mediums and materials for creating music. For example, a piece of leaf, or a pumpkin leaf stalk turns into a musical instrument. Again, this geography has an acoustic feature with its natural echo in mountains, valleys, or brooks. So much so that women especially prefer to sing in these places, and their voices echoing in the mountains take their place among the most permanent childhood sounds.

The Effect of Soundscape in the Perception of Eastern Black Sea Music

One of the main questions in my thesis was what affects us in music, that can even be a melody that we sometimes think we do not like. According to Stefan Koelsch, a prominent name in music psychology, "A musical stimulus might be associated with a memory of an autobiographical event, and the perception of music might evoke an emotional memory representation leading to an emotional response" and in relation with other sensory stimuli, its repetition makes it the key to a particular emotional response [Koelsch 2013:233]. So emotion is what affects our judgments and appreciation that we have in response to a stimulus. If so, I argue that how we hear sounds and make sense of them, and what we choose to listen to depends on the geographies where we have been, the sounds that we accumulated, the emotions that we experienced in them. In this sense, if we consider music as a human-created term, sound, as a basic element of this creation, directly affects our music perception due to the emotional reactions that we give to it.

When I asked my interlocutors what reminds them of the aforementioned sounds now, almost everyone referred to music. During our interviews, Ayşenur Kolivar told me about the preparation of the Heyamo album. After learning the background of this album, I understood better why the people I interviewed remembered the sounds in their memories mostly through music. Ayşenur said that while preparing the album, they recorded many sounds from the sound of waves to cowbells. They sometimes inserted the effects, sometimes the actual sound recordings into the songs. She said, "What we actually want to put there musically is something that people have already had in their ears" [cited in Başlantı 2019:106]. Indeed, this relationship between music and sound was expressed in similar ways in the narratives of my interlocutors. For example, they created correlations

between sound and music by referring to hearing the rhythm of the mill in music; the similarity between the ornaments in *kemençe*, *tulum* and the vocal styles of women; the use of footsteps emphasized during the *horon* as a kind of drum; the sensation of thunder created by the drum; frequent use of the yelling of people in songs; the musical effects like the echo in the mountain. These associations show why these sounds are effective both in the production and appreciation of music.

So how are these sounds heard in music? In the Eastern Black Sea, *hayde* (come on) is a commonly used exclamation in daily speech and frequently encountered in many songs from this geography. Most people in this region remember a woman calling her child or someone else by loudly saying this word. Likewise, it is widely used as a word in lyrics, a song title, and a female vocalization. Therefore, *hayde* functions as a catchy sound or expression in music for people by reminding them of a familiar or perhaps emotional moment related to geography.

In *horon*, one of the most dominant sounds in the environment is the footstep that accompanied the music, in addition to the shouts of women and men. Especially when dancing indoors, the effect of these footsteps is much more prominent and creates a sound like a drum. The enthusiasm experienced in these moments, together with these strong footsteps, is so engraved in people's minds that the sound of a drum, which is not normally used in the music of this geography, added to music appears as another effective sound that takes the person to their memories and affects the perception of this music. Likewise, the drum is also used for giving the sound of thunder, which is quite common in this geography. Whether it is a child or an adult, these drums, which are used in music especially with reference to thunder, take the person to the rainy Eastern Black Sea days.

Finally, as I mentioned in the previous section, water-related sounds are also one of the most cited sounds in music. For example, there are folk songs that start with the sound of a brook, have lyrics about a brook, or are titled 'a brook'. Similarly, some songs use the sound of waves hitting the shore or have lyrics that describe the harsh waves of the Black Sea. Additionally, rain is one of the prominent themes in the songs, and the sounds associated with it are also used musically.

During our conversation, Ayşenur stated that what makes this music Black Sea music for her is hearing the sounds in her head in the music [cited in Başlantı 2019:106]. Therefore, similarly, all these sonic associations with music so far mentioned here enable people living or born in this geography to interact with these songs and music through the sounds in their minds.

Conclusion

Just as life in the Eastern Black Sea Region depends on geographical conditions, this study is based on the geography that is effective in our lives both biologically and sociologically. The connection I tried to examine between lullabies, memories, and music provided me different sub-topics to investigate in my initial inquiry. When I realized that sound plays a leading role in every conversation I made with my interlocutors, my search for lullabies brought me to the realm of sounds. In this sense, one consequence of my fieldwork was to understand the role of sound and listening practices in the formation of social memories, music perception, and music making.

Sound as an initial sensory input acts as a key in the memory-revival circuit, but it would be meaningless and insufficient to revive the corresponding memory without any other complementary senses and emotions. Speaking of sound in this relational sense means that sound should be evaluated as a polysemic phenomenon of which perception can change

under different circumstances. Because sound is so ubiquitous that we are exposed to it at every moment of our lives continuously, consciously, unconsciously, purposely, and compulsorily, this perception can evolve and change over time. However, despite the fact that we have an enormous database of sounds that have accumulated since the beginning of our lives, we can keep these sounds alive by associating them with any piece of music depending on the emotional responses that helped us encode them in our memory. Therefore, even though the sound is physically lost, it continues to reverberate in our memory mostly through music, and it affects our habits of listening, music making, and perception. This means the perception of sound and music turns into an experience, which includes more than one sense, and which is beyond listening.

In the light of these inferences, I argue that there is no strict borderline between sound and music in terms of memory and perception. Music is a functional tool, and people use it in various ways for listening, creating, and remembering. Therefore, we can say that the soundscape of our childhood is effective in shaping our memory and perception of music when evaluated in the context of our sensory and emotional experiences with sound. In this respect, music becomes both a sensory and an emotional tool that reactivates the sounds in our memory. Because what makes music meaningful for us is perhaps the fact that we can hear the sounds in our heads within the music.

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A discussion on the potential of Musical Mapping

Critical mapping studies try to structure maps in a changing and relational way in contrast to approaches that see space as stable. Cognitive mapping should also be taken into consideration in urban mapping because city maps are the memory of all peoples and non-human forms of being that lived there throughout history. Point mapping techniques do not show how music is related to space. It cannot turn on the music's ability to produce and transform space, it only allows us to see a superficial network. In this study, the possibilities of a critical urban sound and musical mapping method will be discussed. The aim is to discuss different ways of making the layered structure and mutual patchwork of music and space relations concurrently visible with the 'Kocaeli Music Map', which is an example of musical mapping.

Keywords: methodology of ethnomusicology, soundscape of urban, critical mapping, ethnography

In 2017, I conducted a workshop titled "Kocaeli Music Map" in Kocaeli, the city where I work. I chose Kocaeli for musical mapping because I have explored the city's multi-layered, rich musical culture since I started working there in 2004. I started to work together with the inhabitants to explore Kocaeli, an old port and industrial city, with its sound and music. This workshop, which is still ongoing, pursued the music in the memories of the people of the city. By doing this, we continue to learn and experience critical soundscape and sound/musical mapping. I will focus on the limitations and possibilities of musical mapping as a new musical research method. Then, I will convey some of the experiences I have gained from my fieldwork.

Theoretical framework

People reproduce spaces while producing their social relations. These spaces, that include cities, are separated from the physical nature by their structures, which are human products. In cities, the sounds of the environment and artefacts both certainly coexist and become a part of cultural communications. The cultural sounds that spread through everyday life flow, produce and are reproduced by all human activities. The sounds, the silence, the noise indicate the different symbolic or ideologic contents in these spaces, and this has become the subject of soundscape studies. Moreover, there is a wide range of literature that studies the internal relationship between space and time and musical structures through spaces and daily life culture.

In this study, I took advantage of the methods of sound/musical mapping and discussions concerning critical mapping. These discussions are conceived by considering the ideological and spatial power relations behind the mapping. A critical view of mapping techniques allows us to see the historical and political dimensions of the visual recording of social spaces.

"Geographical space is not an 'empty stage' on which aesthetic, economic and cultural battles are contested." Those are "actively and dialectically related", which means that they mutually shape each other. "In various ways sounds have been used to create spaces and suggest and stimulate patterns of human behaviour in particular locations" [Connell and Gibson 2003:192].

Moreover, we can say that the urban structure's sound and musical memory reveal the social subjects that established it. As Giddens says,

> "Until modern times, the map was drawn from the narrator's eyes, except for military purposes. It became a new political struggle space where the West put itself at the centre in the modern times" [Giddens 1996:17–21].

Indeed, Gidden's comment shows us the advantages and risks of mapping while the critical cartography studies accepted these. As a challenge, digital platforms eliminate geography's local boundaries and redraw personal experiences on a cognitive level in critical mapping studies. Moreover, digital boundaries can also visualise the information and convert it into an open data source. On the other hand, we should see that institutional or official maps represent space determined by political and economic power relations. When marking the sounds on the official maps, we place them within these borders.

To reconstruct the critical map, it should focus on the struggle of power relations. As Drumeva says "Soundscapes unfold in time, and aside from offering an at-a-glance view of geographical place, they are also experienced in time" [Droumeva 2017:5]. As a counter-mapping framework, radical cartography and critical mapping continue to have debates and practices that open a horizon while struggling with institutional mappings. There are even more optimistic views:

> "Critical mapping has a wide range of applications, from map art to social media applications, tactical mapping and radical mapping. The basic argument is that maps are always open to democratic and participatory methods and experiences as a work of art or a field of political struggle. Especially with the development of the internet and social media, mapping is no longer a control area" [Crampton 2009:845–846].

Drumeva also tries to open the main pathway for discussion of critical cartography with these questions,

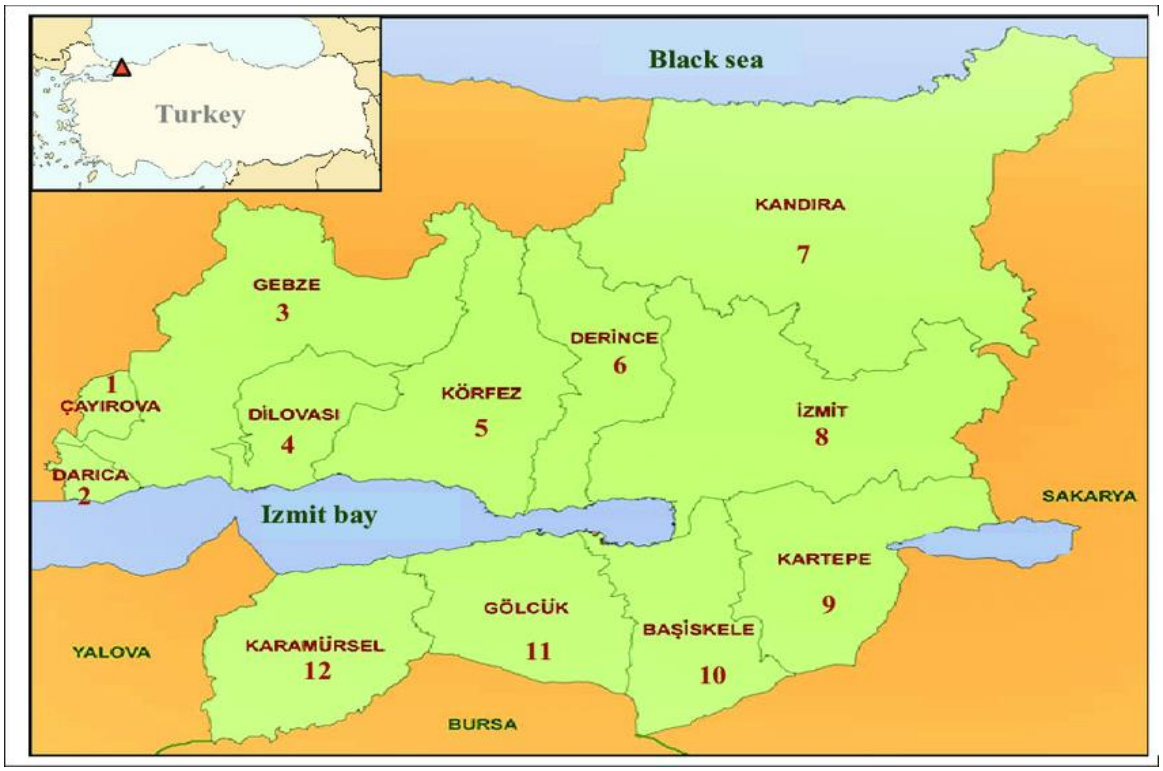
> "What then could be an alternative grammar, a more critical discursive re-imagining of online sound maps in their functions as public knowledge artefacts? What would a different type of sound map look and sound like? How could these accessible information systems explore the different types of relationships between sound, space and cultures? Sound maps, after all, can provide a basis for historical inquiry, a context for negotiating urban space, insights into urban renewal and livability, and a myriad of other applications" [Drumeva 2017:10].

Kocaeli musical mapping studies

Kocaeli is located in the Marmara Region, in the north-west of Turkey (see Figure 1). It has a long-established history, dating back to the Roman Empire. As with the other industrial pioneering towns in history, the city was shaped around big factories, attracting significant amounts of migration in waves.

The movements of the people who migrated into Kocaeli took place during different periods. Crimean Tatars, Uzbeks, Abkhazians, Georgians, Caucasians, Circassians came during the 1917 Russian Revolution. The Laz immigrated during the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1888, known as the '93 War. Bulgarian Turks came to Kocaeli in 1989, and were given residency and job opportunities. Roma/Gypsies in Kocaeli have a similar history with

their migration to other regions in Turkey [Uğurlu 2018:71–104]. The Kurdish people were forced to emigrate following the war that intensified in the 1990s. The Manav people were the first inhabitants of the Yoruks in Anatolia- they define themselves as the local people of Kocaeli.



Figre 1. Map of Kocaeli retrieved from Google Map Images (2021)

My purpose is to understand the historical relations between the inhabitants, the urban spaces and the music in Kocaeli. In other words, to see whether it would be possible for the city dwellers to explore their own social and cultural identities through their recording choices during their fieldwork.

In Kocaeli, there is heavy industry; the differentiation of life due to the rhythm of factory production can be seen in the sound structures. Heavy industry is situated in the same region alongside agricultural areas. The hybrid stratification is observed in terms of class. It can be seen that, with the exception of the indigenous people, known as Manavlar, the immigrants, are concentrated in different areas in several parts of the city. Since each migration has a different story, a rich cultural map emerges. In a large industrial city such as Kocaeli, it is possible to capture the interrelationship between the linear time of modern working order and the cyclical time of nature and the human body [Lefebvre 2007:74–75] with a soundscape perspective.

In the 19th century, like the other industrial cities, the social and cultural structures of Kocaeli were determined under the conditions of production. The primary source of Kocaeli's sounds and music was the factories and the factory workers. At shift changing times, the bazaar was filled with workers who did their daily shopping. The official and religious special holidays were celebrated in factories alongside other city dwellers. Sometimes there were big protests on the street, even long strikes supported by the whole city. Since the 1980s, the process has changed, many factories have moved out of the city or closed. After the 1990s, the university was established, Kurds who were job seekers

started to migrate so new social relations have been constructed around them. The cultural memory of the city continues to take shape from the encounters of these generations. I attempted to pick up and record this flow through music and sound together with the dwellers of the city.

I first made a public announcement to organise meetings in the form of a workshop. We talked about the history of their relationships with the city, their ethnic identities, and how they relate themselves to music in the first workshop. These conversations enabled us to explore the unofficial musical history of the city. At the same time, participants started to demonstrate the stereotypes they hold regarding the relationship between music and identity. On the other hand, while they discussed and refreshed their memories about musical activities in the city and popular genres and their personal experiences with these, some sort of an urban musical memory was being re-established.

We made brief readings about different themes such as music and identity and ethnographical musical studies during workshops. During this process, the participants started to determine the parts of the city where they wanted to make recordings and what these places meant for them. When the topic was prepared, we began to step into the field for recordings. While choosing the locations for conducting interviews, recording music and songs, the participants had to confrunt their own prejudices.

Visualising the study in the form of a map enabled us to demonstrate the relationship between music and the environment in a dynamic and multidimensional way. However, it was also necessary to remember that the old mapping techniques had a political history that evolved from the individual's eye towards the ruler's eye [Giddens 1996].

The Google online map allows us to capture another side of the space-time relationship of the modern era. We can track the speed of spatial transformations on this map. The map shows the conflicting relationship between the rhythm of cultural memory and the rhythm of urban transformation. Google mapping only allows us to put the data side by side. Yet layering is another dimension, so we might need to get assistance from the soundscape background.

It is expected that, as the experimental knowledge and critical mapping techniques accumulate, this study will gradually turn into a record of the city's sonic environment, that can help us to understand the relationship between the city and its inhabitants through music/sound and space.

Conclusion

This study deals with sound and music together, which is observed as a cultural element in musical maps. It tries to demonstrate the mutual transformative nature of the relationship between music/sound and the environment, which always contains an aspect of collective memory that has a multilayered and transitive nature as well. Although it contains many possibilities and new perspectives, this kind of research has also some limitations. We can identify some important possibilities:

- It sees and visualises the multi-layered and relational structures of cities or spaces, it opens the path for collective working and thinking practice.
- Gathering knowledge through sound and music and re-associating them with space by questioning can refresh memories and transfer these to the next generations and the urban collective memory.

- The practice of doing this mapping can offer the opportunity to develop a new dialogue and language among the city's inhabitants.
- They can also find the chance to see a history other than the official cultural history of the city they live in and feel themselves as part of this.

The risks and limits can be:

- Because mapping is also essential for power and dominant politics, they are always supervised.
- Dominant ideology may even be to keep media under constant control.
- Such sharing of information may involve political dangers linked to geographies' dynamics. It can make fragile and minority cultures unprotected.
- Digital media has risks of using open data and mass resources commercially.

It was an eye-opening experience for the residents of Kocaeli to personally redefine their positions by questioning the relationships they have established with the sound and musical structures of the city through musical mapping. This study also had the limitations mentioned above. In addition to these, the historical process of Kocaeli and the political structure of Turkey also caused some problems. The most decisive of these was the fact that no up-to-date information could be collected about the Armenians, the people of Kocaeli, and some resource people did not want to be visible in the study. In addition, we were confronted with similar problems that emerge in soundscape studies involving public participation, such as poor quality recordings, forgetting to submit the full information about the recording, failure to record a successful interview. Another critical limit is that women who make music are not visible in the city. To reach them, we had to go into their homes using women's networks. We also had a hard time persuading them to be recorded. Therefore, to have a place for women in the Kocaeli musical map, it was necessary to work with a more sensitive and persistent attitude.

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Dance as an Ecosystem and within the Ecosystem

The body, as the home and within the home, is the main subject of the dance. It is impossible to consider the body without the emotions and the mind as well as without the co-existence of the other living and non-living subjects. The body locates and manipulates itself according to the places and other subjects, in other words, affected by the ecosystem, as well it may change its ecosystem.

Similar to ecomusicology, "ecochoreology" may contain various subfields. One of them is ecological activism, in other words catching the attention of people for environmental problems by using dance. Another would be the ecochoerographies where the landscape is considered as a container for choreography on the stage. On the other hand, the already existing choreographies can be analysed by looking at the "ecokinemes" they contain. In other words, the third one is the constructed dances imitating the "ecokinemes" of living and non-living nature. In this paper, the last field will be discussed by using some examples in terms of dance as an ecosystem itself and within the ecosystem in order to seek a methodological approach for dance studies.

Keywords: Ecochoreology, ecokinemes, critical ecology, posthumanism.

Introduction

We meet many paradigms, theories and approaches that originate in many epistemological biases with a suffix '-centric' throughout the history of thought; such as geocentric, heliocentric, egocentric, ocularcentric, logocentric and many others. When the history of dance and music studies are analysed, we come up to mainly following epistemological biases that are employed to understand dance and music. The knowledge of dance and music is produced by a. Ethnocentric, b. Anthropocentric, c. Ecocentric biases. However, all of these centres allow us to question whether we need just only one centre to interpret the knowledge(s). The posthumanist approach, which finds its roots in postmodern thought and feminism, answers this need by non-centric and/or multi-centric dispositions, while deconstructing the binary oppositions and hegemony of humans.

This paper aims to formulate a flow of the epistemological dispositions in music and dance studies, which allows us to rethink these and the related methodologies. While doing this, there appears to be a need to denotate some terms for dance studies, such as ecochoreology, choreoscape and ecokinemes.

Epistemologies

The ethnocentric epistemology considers the bodily organized movement patterns and organized sounds of a certain society or community as dance and music; the movement patterns and organized sounds of others are interpreted as nonsense or unintended movements and sounds. Moreover, they sometimes are not considered as worthless to study, as seen in many 'dance history' books [see Sachs 1965]. If they deserve to be studied, then the other's dance and music is compared with the author's own; such as in comparative musicology.

The anthropocentric epistemology, on the other hand, looks at the humanly organized movements and sounds [Hanna 1996; Blacking 1973]. In this approach, that originates mostly both in the monotheistic religions and Enlightenment thought, the intention to dance

and to make music is ascribed only to humans as the same as only humans can have culture, since the mind is considered as belonging only to human.

Ecocentric epistemology, on the other hand, finds that it is worth investigating the musical or non-musical sounds of non-human beings, which are defined by humans, in addition to the sound of humans. The fact that humans are agents of the ecosystem, which is an integrated, balanced and continuous ecological system that is formed by the mutual relations and coexistence of living and non-living beings in a certain area, blurs the binary distinction between nature and culture [see Ingold 2000; Haraway 2008, 2015] according to the "situated knowledges" [Haraway 1988]. This epistemological concern based on the critical ecology, along with other concerns, gave birth to ecomusicology, in fact ecomusicologies, which is an umbrella term that covers many studies, such as biomusic, zoomusicology, acoustic ecology, soundscapes and others [Allen 2011; Titon 2020]. The main concern of ecomusicology "is to question and eliminate the separation between culture and nature, and bring about the understanding of co-existence through the idea of the ecosystem and sustainability. Ecomusicology discusses and applies this kind of thinking mainly in studying sound and music cultures but its overall argument aims at a wider transformation of consciousness." [Çakmak & Oğul 2019] In this epistemological disposition, the sound of all beings, in addition to music, gains importance.

Moreover, talking about the intra-active existence of living and non-living agents within the framework of posthumanist approaches takes this idea further. As an agent of nature, what humans produce is also considered as nature since humans, non-humans and non-living agents are entangled [see Barad 2003, 2007; Braidotti 2014; Braidotti and Gilroy 2016]. They co-exist and perform intra-active actions. Posthumanist approaches, which draw attention to the co-existence of diversity, do not distinguish between ontology and epistemology, as can be understood from the concept of ethics-onto-epistemology [Barad 2007:90], but they base this co-existence on the concept of responsibility, as an ethical issue. The term responsibility has a meaning that has the ability to respond, thus the distinction between the subject and the object is questioned because of this entanglement; similar to the binaries mentioned above. Here, it should be noted that the human or any other being is not intended to be detracted or glorified. However, the diversity is to be remembered with the rights and responsibilities of each being based on their features. Therefore, this disposition allows that the human is not dealt only with mind, and thus intention, but with all features to give opportunities for destructing the mind-body, mind-soul, mind-emotion binaries; for example, Hofman [2015] attracts attention to the topic of affects in the ethnomusicological studies.

The question is how can we re-think the concept of dance and research methodologies in dance studies when we consider the ecomusicological and posthumanist approaches. To group the earlier studies in the light of these approaches may give us further opportunities to think by dance and body as well as on dance and body.

Ecochoreology

Body as *eco*, in other words as a home, is considered as the main agency of the dance. It consists of many moving parts as well as hosting emotions, mind, biological agents, experiences and others. On the other hand, the body also exists in relation to and entangled with other agents within *eco*, such as other bodies, walls, floor, ceiling, mountains, rivers, animals, plants and many others. Thus, one of the fractal definitions of the dance would be then 'the movements of entangled agencies in an intra-active becoming' based on its temporality, which is not only seen in the performance of the dance but also in the becoming

of the dance. Body as *eco* positions and manipulates itself with respect to the places, spaces, time and other aspects affected by the ecosystem, while it may also modify its ecosystem.

The topic 'dance in the *eco*' focuses on the sustainability of dance as a biocultural resource and its relationship with other elements of the system; for example, dance place and spaces, related economic, political, social, educational institutions and many others. One sub-topic would cover, similar to the soundscape, the choreoscape based on the landscape, which would include all living and non-living agents as in the social and artistic stages [Kurtişoğlu 2014]. For example, the choreoscape of a Black Sea town would cover the clouds passing fast overhead, waves of the sea, sailing fishing boats, flying seagulls on the sea, fluttering fish, body movements of the fishermen and many others. The term choreoscape was previously used by Banerjee in the doctorate dissertation [Banerjee, 2015], however, with a different meaning. It indicates the performing places of the Indian dance called *Bharatanatyam* in Britain. Another sub-topic would be ecological activism, in which the dance is utilized to catch the attention of the public for ecological problems. Bayraktar [2019], for example, examines the Black Sea *horon* dance as a means of protest. Sustainability of the dance cultures could be another sub-topic. It is important to study the dances to keep them as an intangible cultural heritage and to safeguard their diversity to prevent them vanishing. Gardner [2015], for example, offers a four-dimensional cultural sustainability model for the dances from Domaniç-Turkey that are in danger of disappearing. The last sub-topic would be the ways of performing the dances without doing any harm to the ecological systems; such as digitalisation of the dance performances for reducing the production of carbon footprints, less energy consumption in the dance shows and many others.

The topic 'dance as the *eco*' considers the body itself as an ecosystem, where the body is not independent of the other agents of the ecosystem. In this case, the study deals with the inner vitality of dance cultures, the social organization of dance productions and the creation of a dynamic unity in itself. Furthermore, the body does not necessarily belong to humans but also to non-humans. To be able to articulate this distinction, we may address the non-humans as the first nature and the second nature, as the social ecologists do. The first nature consists of humans, animals, plants, the sea, the sky and any others, while the second nature covers all the agents that are produced by humans, such as machines, robots, houses, roads, stages and many others.

This second topic of ecochoreology would have sub-topics such as zoochoreology, how ecology constructs the body and how the body constructs the ecology, and lastly the choreographies by the ecokinemes. The last sub-topic will be discussed here briefly because of the limitations of this paper.

Choreographies by Ecokinemes

Kaeppler suggests structural analysis based on structural linguistic approaches to overcome cultural based research and the smallest meaningful unit in this kinetic identification of the body movement system is called 'kineme'. [Keappler 1972; 1985; Kaeppler and Dunin 2007]. In this manner, I propose 'ecokineme' which does not only cover the smallest movement unit of the human body but also of the non-humans. For the time being, I do not use the further identification levels of Kaeppler; in other words, morphokineme, motif and dance genre.

The humanly structured body movement systems, in other words, ecochoreologies, are abstractions and imitations of the first and second nature. By observing the 'dancing' first nature in the immediate eco – mostly –, such as flowing rivers, shaking trees,

swimming fish, flying birds, working, resting, fighting humans and many other examples, the ecokinemes of these beings are abstracted, like in the example of *horon* from Black Sea region [Halk Müziği Arşivi 1975]. Another method to produce new choreographies is imitation as seen in the Eagle dance from Bingöl with the mimetic movements. [TRT 2 2021].

The bodies of the robots and machines as the second nature are also the inspiration for the ecochoreologies. The ecokinemes of the human body are applied to the bodies of robots where they are programmed by the human to imitate them. Moreover, they may produce new ones by using the algorithms of the humanly structured body movement systems both to imitate and perhaps abstract them. This example shows the dance of the robot family performing electronic dance. [Cities of the Future 2021].

Human bodies as the first nature become machines as a group or individuals. The roots of this, in fact, date back to the beginning of the 20th century. Industrialization, furthermore the Taylorist production system, and other reasons resulted in the rational avant-gardes in art, which are dominated by the transhumanist discourse, as articulated in the constructivist manifesto "Art is dead! Long live machine art!". The choreographies of the *Ballets Russes* are one example of this machine art, which affects almost all choreographies of the staged folk dances of the nation-state's folkdance groups and even the more recent ones, such as Fire of Anatolia. [RagingTortoise 2012]. The choreographies are in geometric shapes, representing the universal and thus social harmony, and the bodies of the dancers perform the same movements at the very same time, like the units of a machine. Human bodies becoming the machine bodies are observed also in the individual bodies, as seen in the popping and robot dances based on boogaloo funk dance in the 1960s. One of the very striking examples is the robot dance of Michael Jackson [fullspeed 2012].

Concluding remarks

The critical ecology and the posthumanist approaches provide diversified opportunities for these methodologies and choreographies. Inspired from ecomusicology as a field of applied ethnomusicology, ecochoreology can be considered both as a research subject and as a methodology of dance studies. Ecokinemes in the choreoscapes can be used both to analyse and to explain their meaning as well as to produce new choreographies by observing them.

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Balkan "Gypsy dance" – as a one marker for global Romani identity

In this article I research the questions why and how Balkan gypsy dance works in many countries – especially in social media – as a marker for "global Gypsy identity". In Bulgaria and other Balkan countries, Romani dance and costumes (flared skirts and shawls for women, wide shirts and boots for men) are also becoming more popular among the many Romani music ensembles everywhere (not only the groups of Roma and but most of all non-Roma). Although there is no uniform Romani music or dance in the world, the stereotypes are universal. This article is based on my long-term fieldwork – since 1994 – among the Roma in Finland and Europe.

Keywords: Gypsy/Romani dance, musical-identity, stereotypes,

Cultural and social contexts of the dancing

Dance, is everywhere a mode of activity in social culture that only rarely appears as individual or isolated acts. One of the central meanings of dance for the Romani community, especially family and kin and the performer and the audience, is to be together. Although dancing underscores the dancer's feeling of community, the manner of performance and the rhythm, movements and tempo of the dance vary on an individual basis. Also in other respects, dance should contain a given amount of known and familiar features in order to be recognized as belonging to the community in question. It is the "familiarity" in particular that keeps a dance balanced and popular among the members of the community, even though it might not be repeated in completely identical ways [Kauppinen 2006:15]. The aesthetic of dance, which in traditional dance is produced jointly by movements, song and rhythm, is realized in the space shared by the dance and the social setting [Välipakka 2003].

For example, the free, acrobatic dance movement described in this paper refers to a form of dance performed by the Roma that imitates or parodies the Russian *trepak*. Moreover, dances of Russian origin, in many countries, marginalize women more readily than general depictions of traditional music, which is understandable in view of the dance movement (slapping the boot, jumping alternately with different feet in a squatting position). The women dancers perform the dance and songs with sensitive sensuality without gestures or emphasized mimetic movements. The meanings of the women's dances are to be found in the moral practices of everyday culture: movements of the body are restrained, for according to the ritual code of purity/impurity associated with various Romani groups, a woman must control the movements of her body to prevent sexuality from being expressed in any way, even indirectly [Åberg 2002; 2015; Markkanen 2003]. Ritual behaviour is manifested in respect and so-called avoidance practices meant to keep the categories of gender and age separate [Viljanen 2012; Markkanen 2003]. In the realm of sexuality, however, women must theoretically conform to ideal behaviour precisely because sexuality poses the greatest danger of *ladz* or *sram*. Literature on honour and shame in the Mediterranean region is useful in that it identities the honour of the family with control of female sexuality, but this literature must be criticized for reducing a complex and variable system to a rigid dichotomy [Silverman 2012:109–110]. Various authors have shown that the presumed pan-Mediterranean concept of honour via music and dance means different things to different cultural groups [Magrini 2003]. The Balkan Romani moral

system contrasts *pativ* (Romani respect) with *ladz* (Romani shame) [see Silverman 2012:109]. Although dance is with doubt part of cultural signification, the Romani culture of customs is not a coherent closed system that could be explained solely, for example, with models of ritual purity.

The Stereotypes of the Roma

First, however, return to general stereotypes of Roma. Dimitrina Petrova [2003:128] suggests that negative stereotypes of Roma blossomed in the fifteenth century in Western Europe and spread eastward.

> "Roma were viewed as intruders probably because of their dark skin, non-European physical features, foreign customs, and association with both magic and the invading Turks. She asserts that the rising tide of the Protestant work ethic condemned vagrancy, idleness, and lenience as well as alms for wanderers and beggars (op. cit. 125). Perhaps most important was the late arrival of Roma into Europe, plus their lack of roots in terms of land and property" [Silverman 2012:9].

> "Ultimately the main difference that set the Roma apart was that they were the only ethnically distinct nomadic communities in a civilization that had been non-nomadic for centuries" [Petrova 2003:9].

The English sociologist and Roma researcher Thomas Acton [2004:3] notes, in turn:

> "Up until 1800 almost all the writing, and pictures and noted-down music we have which represent Roma have been put on paper by Gaje, some of whom witnessed Roma self-representations themselves, and others of whom worked indirectly from the representations of other Gaje. In the 19th century, however, while the direct contribution of Roma to the written record remains small, there was an increasing professionalization of Romani self-representation in Europe, in the sense that musicians, fortune-tellers, givers of Gypsy balls and spectacles were able to charge Gaje for attending at their own representations of Romani life, thus obliging the Gaje experts to include this Gypsy self-representation. They could do so by representing Romani music as 'folk-music' and Romani verbal accounts as folklore, and Romani-made images as 'folk-art' or 'naive art'. They could thus represent these productions as not being the work of individual authors, but rather as collective facts of nature, which only become a concrete representation when in some way authored by the collector, the folklorist. Only in the 20th century do we find the individual Romani writer or artist beginning to challenge that easy ascription of cultural products to the great 'anon.' and insist that personal creativity is at work. For their pains such Romani artists are often typified by Gaje as 'unrepresentative' – as if the artist, in the very act of formalising a representation as a cultural product, is not always carrying out an untypical, unrepresentative act" [Acton 2004:2].

Despite this, Danielle Fisher [2012] lists a total of 10 stereotypes that mainly concern Roma in the United States (Gypsies or Travellers). These stereotypes are associated with the presumed origin of Roma (the region of Punjab in India), their mobility due to traits of personality, their asocial and criminal way of life, livelihoods and professions (for example fortune-telling), institution of marriage (marrying at an early age), remaining outside the

social norms of marriage, manner of dress, lack of education and unemployment [see also Malvinni 2004; Åberg 2015]. Of the stereotypes listed by Fisher, the notion of the origin of the Romani people traces the original home region of the Roma both linguistically and culturally to the province or region of Punjab in India. This thematic was popular for a long while in both scholarship and the arts. In Western universities, this oriental tradition has been read as part of the linear narrative of tradition, while the arts applied the interpretations oriented towards orientalism to Romani exoticism.

This notion is quite presentist and largely based on linguistics. The purpose of the perspective may have been to enhance the status of linguistics within global Romani research. Whether or not this is true, this view based on alterity appears to find a response regardless of the discipline concerned, for musical features of Finnish Roma have also been scraped together from the musical heritage of India. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that not only in the case of the Roma but also many myths, explanations of the world and personal biographies contain similar elements.

Commenting on the Roma ethic of yearning for liberty, being unfettered and unattached to a given place, Judith Okely [1983] notes that exotic literature and folklorism – applied as concepts for perceiving the past [see Laaksonen 1974] – often creates the kind of atmosphere of ideological and symbolic disorder into which Roma are often placed. According to Okely, Roma are presented in these contexts in either a positive or negative light; their apparent differences from the majority being emphasized for example in the notions and beliefs in which the state of being Roma is equated with a free close connection to nature. Similar lines of interpretation are followed by the French sociologist Jean-Pierre Liégeois [2005] in his interpretation that the mythical nature of Roma is due to their being sufficiently distant from the everyday life of the majority; they become attractive, handsome, beautiful, artistic, symbols of freedom and so on. Therefore they are also expected to have a command of various elements of folklore, including music, dance, visual arts and circus performances. Liégeois even brings his viewpoint to a head by noting: "The only good Gypsy is a mythical one – the one that does not exist".

Romani stereotypes have been constructed in similar ways also in Finland, as reflected in the following observation by lawyer Heikki Lampela: "A Gypsy is understood as a member of the Romani tribe who commits crime dressed in ethnic costume […] On the one hand, society believes that the Gypsy does not want to go to school or work, that he idealizes freedom and vagrancy, wants to remain outside society and earn his livelihood in dubious ways" [Harri 1993].

Romani stereotypes in scholarship and art thus appear to go hand-in-hand. Like David Malvinni [2004], Elena Gabor has considered the uses of Roma stereotypes in a film trilogy addressing the novels of Tony Gatlif Gabor sought to identify in the films the cultural elements and feature of Roma on which the director bases his narrative and ideological message. Gabor [2003:63] observes that a film that contains only positive depictions or stereotypes (or ones felt to be positive) of a minority as discriminated against as the Roma is based on a false depiction. The filmmaker himself relies on theses of authenticity by pointing out that the last part of the film trilogy *Gadjo Dilo* is an absolutely honest and real depiction of the Roma. It is true that in this film, the director steps outside the ethic of the traditional Romani stereotypes such as musical talent, poverty, lack of education and a free way of life, and instead creates his narrative along the axis of a human and egalitarian perspective. Nonetheless, also in this film, stereotypes are constructed in the viewer's eyes on the basis of earlier experiences. For example, a scene in Gadjo Dilo in which a young Romani woman dances erotically on a table in a restaurant acquires, instead of a stereotype of general Romani sexuality a completely different meaning within the community, where

the strong *mahrime* codes regulate the position and everyday life of young women in particular. By the *mahrime* norms, I am referring here to the union of purity and honour that also applies in the culture of the Finnish Roma [Viljanen 2012:388–399; Åberg 2015].

In Finnish Romani culture – as in many others – the hierarchy of the human body, the pure upper part and the impure lower part, underline the symbolic dimensions of dirt and purity. The symbolic meanings of different parts of the human body are in turn reflected in the hierarchical structure of the Romani community, in which the highest rank is given to the community's "purest" and most respected members, that is old people. Lowest in the hierarchy are young women of childbearing age [Viljanen 2012]. In many cultures, uncontrolled sexuality and fertility are associated with notions of their danger to the rest of the community. As a result, the behaviour of women is regulated more strictly with norms than that of other members of the community [see Viljanen 2012:389].

In view of the global nature of Romani stereotypes, it is no wonder that there are also alternative viewpoints. Likely Okely, Acton, Malvinn and Silverman, also Ronald Lee [1998] has wanted to criticize and renew the view of the formation of Romani stereotypes. Among other things, Lee interprets the stereotypes as having been formed by the ignorance of members of the majority regarding the history and culture of the Roma. According to Lee, the word *Gypsy* (Finish *mustalainen*) alone bears negative stereotypes of content, and therefore it should be replaced by the word *Roma*/*Romani*. Lee points out that the negative attitude of Roma towards cultural assimilation is explained by the efforts to preserve their own language and cultural customs, not by a lack of desire to be an integral part of society. Magic and fortune-telling are also stereotypes attached to livelihoods mostly practices members of the majority and, as phenomena, currently professional activities (e.g. conjurers and makers of horoscopes).

Similar interpretations of the mobility of Roma have been presented by, among others, Angus Fraser [1992:43] and Leo Lucassen [1998:171] who have noted that mobility has never been a characteristic of the Romani population. It is also a fact that in Finland at the turn of the 20th century the itinerant population was variegated and its standard of living was often low. As opportunities to find work outside the towns had become reduced, a large number of beggars and itinerant seasonal workers wandered along the roads and highways in search of a better livelihood [see Nygård 1998:49]. Concerning ornamental dress, Lee [1998], in turn, notes that any culture will appear colourful when it is marketed with the means of art or explicitly chosen folklore.

The above perspectives on the Romani culture (its customs, practices, norms and values etc.) relying on the origin and unchanging nature of the culture and the lack of individual orientation disregard the notions of possible change and unpredictability. For example, in discourse on Romani identity and culture everywhere in Europe one notes the frequency of the word 'tradition' both within the Roma community and among the majority. I would even claim that scholars, either explicitly or unwittingly apply these stereotypes. A Finnish example, is the recently published and widely commended *Suomen romanien historia* (A history of the Finnish Roma) [Pulma 2012], where stereotypes follow the course of mental imagery and thus repeat themselves.

The stereotypes of Romani music and dance

How are the above general Romani stereotypes expressed in Romani music and dance? It is known that descriptions of Romani, or rather Gypsy, music have been attempted since the 18th century using definitions of the Romani lifestyle, such as free, emotional, genuine, close to nature, soulful and so on. Neither is the stereotype combining eroticism,

music and "Gypsiness" a new phenomenon. Georges Bizet's opera *Carmen* (1875) based on the short novel of the same name by Prosper Merimée (1845) bought Gypsiness to opera by creating forceful romantic images of eroticism associated with alterity. The story of the independent, openly flirtatious and freely loving Carmen, who prefers to die rather than be forced to love creates an image of the treacherous sexuality of a Romani woman, but also one of a free and independent woman whose death is ultimately killed by Don José in his blind desire to own her [see Malvinni 2004:41]. In this sense, the story of Don José is orientalism within the family. Where the above romantic notion of the "Gypsy woman's" freedom, erotic nature and uncompromised emotional fascinates use Westerners and is manifested as admiration of exoticism and the east, also known as orientalism, it gains a completely opposite meaning when viewed from within the culture. Nonetheless, chronological and localized constructs of the nature of "Gypsiness" are not too distant, for early descriptions of Romani music in Finland also repeated these ideals of the romantic period. Hence the positive and dangerous coding of Romani otherness hinges on their romanticization, on the part of non-Roma, as free souls (outside the rules and boundaries of European society); their association with the arts, especially music; and their proximity to nature and sexuality [Silverman 2012:9]. To use Said's (1978) concept, we can claim that Roma are "orientalized" and exoticized.

As mentioned earlier, interest in Roma arose in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries in both scholarship and the arts. The early interpretations of researchers repeated many of the above-mentioned international Romani stereotypes of scholarship and art; free musical interpretation based on improvisation and emption, the oriental origins of the music, its rhapsodic character, proximity to nature and virtuosity. The descriptions generate a conception of the unity of the aesthetic ideals of Gypsy music and dance in relation to a free nature. In these descriptions, maintaining the structure of orientalism, Roma are primitive, but talented and oriental in all their combinations, including music and dance. Nonetheless, the rhapsodic nature of the music, the combinations and loans of different styles and customs include implicitly a centuries-old connotation and stereotyping associated with the Roma instead of just the ability to combine the wide range of different genre of music into an original entity. Published research on the relations of loans in Romani music everywhere in Europe implicitly associate the formations of Romani music traditions with one of the earliest and most enduring Romani stereotype, i.e. theft and criminality. In a negative sense, the abstraction of motifs and lyrics can be considered stealing, which is one of the strongest and most common Roma stereotypes [Fisher 2012; Malvinni 2004]. Only the manner of performing the music adopted by Roma is regarded as the denominator – according to the emotion stereotype – when defining Romaniness. It appears, thus, research unanimously rejected the notion of national dimensions and focus was directed to forms of expression characteristic of all Romani music. The international nature of Romani music and dance is, in fact, a global Roma stereotype that is repeated in research and art. In the legacy and spirit of Romanticism the impact of the music on its listeners and audience was also evaluated.

Despite this, this interpretation has been cultivated actively until recent years in international rhetoric concerning the cultural history of the Roma, and has been applied in literature, visual, music and dance alike [Blomster 2012:291]. On the other hand, the critical reception of music and dance has focused attention on the constructed nature of stereotypes and their political and economic associations. In *Romani Routes* Carol Silverman [2012], an expert on the Romani music of the Balkans, questions the innate nature of Romani stereotypes and focused on the ability of the majority to create "Gypsy stereotypes" linked to the music and dance according to prevailing interests. Silverman [2012:7] notes aptly

that the ethnic markers of Romani music, such as exoticism, emotion and soulfulness are not created only by "the parties that market Gypsy music" but are also produced by Romani musicians and the performers themselves. This is viewpoint, I used to name ping pong theory.

Also in Finland the early interpretations of researchers repeated many of the above-mentioned international Romani stereotypes of scholarship and art; free musical interpretation based on improvisation and emotion, the oriental origins of the music, its rhapsodic character, proximity to nature and virtuosity. The descriptions generate a conception of the unity of the aesthetic ideals of Gypsy music in relation to a free nature. In these descriptions, maintaining the structure of orientalism, Roma are primitive, but talented and oriental in all their combinations, including music and dance. Nonetheless, the rhapsodic nature of the music, the combinations and loans of different styles and customs include implicitly a centuries-old connotation and stereotyping associated with the Roma instead of just the ability to combine the wide range of different genres of music into an original entity. Published research on the relations of loans in Romani music everywhere in Europe implicitly associate the formations of Romani music traditions with one of the earliest and most enduring Romani stereotypes, i.e. theft and criminality. In a negative sense, the abstraction of motifs and lyrics can be considered stealing, which is one of the strongest and most common Roma stereotypes [Fisher 2012; Malvinni 2004]. Only the manner of performing the music adopted by Roma is regarded as the denominator – according to the emotion stereotype – when defining Romaniness. It appears, thus, research unanimously rejected the notion of national dimensions and focus was directed to forms of expression characteristic of all Romani music. The international nature of Romani music is, in fact, a global Roma stereotype that is repeated in research and art. In the legacy and spirit of Romanticism the impact of the music on its listeners was also evaluated.

It is obvious that most of the stereotypes are well suited to the music and dance performed by the Roma just as to other art. Later, these notions, that were occasionally very mistaken, have become realized through the migrations of Roma and they have negatively marked the identity of itinerant Roma groups all over Europe. At present, researchers of the Roma more or less agree on the constructed nature of 'Romaniness'. Despite this, the arts produce and reinforce an interpretation that was previously regarded as having documented the essence of being Roma. Partly due to the marginal status of the Roma, the stereotypes created by the majority come back in a boomerang analogy to the majority as the notions of the Roma themselves regarding the special nature of their music. Neither do these stereotypes emerge from any historical void.

Female sexuality underlined in the depictions of dance ("skirt pulled up to the thighs") can be seen not only in terms of the international Gypsy stereotype of sexuality associated with Romani women, i.e. a sexually active, fateful and seductive Romani beauty, but also from a folkloristic perspective as part of the asymmetry of ethnic relations. The erotic humour and sexual comedy present in the dancing, whether as class or ethnic *eros* berating and humiliating marginal and socially inferior people (or vice versa), continuously considers the relationship of mental images with the opportunities provided by reality. [Knuuttila 1992:249]. Accordingly, the Gypsy dances as performed by members of the majority express the mental images and fantasies of Finns regarding the uninhibited nature of Romani women. Dance produced by the majority with reference to Gypsy dance is specifically revealed by the fact that women's chastity has always been a subject of particular focus in Romani culture [Viljanen-Saira 1979; Grönfors 1981; Markkanen 2003].

The various meanings of dance

In different contexts and cultures dance has highly different functions and meanings. In addition to this, the interpretations of researchers vary regionally and chronologically according to the prevailing cultural climate. Through the various stages of their history, Gypsy dance and the ethnography of dance have had different functions and meanings. As can be seen, like Romani music the early ethnographies of Finnish gypsy dance contain a large number of mythical explanations of the nature of dance that also create alterity. Later, in the 19th century Romani exoticism highlighted above all definitions linked to emotions, such as sentimentality and fieriness. From the outset, the concept of Gypsy dance referred above all to forms and customs of dance imitating Gypsiness that were performed by the majority [see Blomster 2012:352]. At the same time, a mythical and mystic character entwined with Romani identity was emphasized via dance. This national discourse also contained the more general Romani-exoticist assumptions of a mystical tribe that emerged later. Notions of the original and internationality of the Romani people, their free way of life, close connections with nature, mysteriousness and supernatural aspects are expressed in these early depictions of dance.

Early ethnographic descriptions of Gypsy dance show how alterity or otherness is constructed through dance. The notions of the authentic, original and international nature of Gypsy music that emerged in European thinking in the 18th century were transferred as such into the constructs of Romani music, and dance, created by Romani researchers in different countries. Also in Finland, the notion of exotic "Gypsy dance" was adopted in the late 19th century as the result of the so-called second Roma migrations and the spread of stage performance styles of music. Numerous and singular interpretations of dance in association with traditional Romani songs were presented that are marked by the conceptions engendered by Romanticism of the authentic, natural and mythical character of dance. On the other hand, these dances and dance depictions parodying Romani identity highlight the attitudes of the majority towards this ethnic minority at different times and also their respect for the minority. For example, sexuality between ethnic groups has also in Finland in our century involved strong socio-cultural meanings that are expressed in outlandishly comical and grotesque descriptions of dance.

We can see in these ethnocentric parodies and mental images of Gypsy dance a large number of shared features with which members of the majority and minority culture alike brand each other. Gypsy dances performed by the majority can also be approached from artistic and aesthetic perspectives; they are not always meant to parody and mock but can also express some degree of admiration for solo dance popular among the Roma. There was a desire to imitate dancing that aroused admiration even though the results were grotesque and clumsy [Hoppu 2006]. Dance performances by the Roma themselves in association with traditional singing and their conceptions of dancing are closely associated with the system of values and norms of Romani culture. The internal hierarchy of the community is expressed by the fact that in matters of music young people must show respect to older persons. The gender differences that can be seen in dance construct notions of feminine and masculine that are also present in everyday life. The main function of dance, to lend rhythm to singing, does not have any major association with the early ethnographies of Gypsy dance. The aesthetic of dance is based above all on the joint effect of dance movements, rhythm and music.

Balkan gypsy dance and global identity of the "Gypsiness"

Balkan gypsy dance is suitable as a model for global gypsy dance for several reasons. First, visually it involves early gypsy stereotypes ranging from myth to sexuality,

emotionality, fieriness. On the other hand, dance can be easily changed from some forms of national gypsy dance, such as flamenco or Romano polka from Russia, also musically, as much of the elements of the dance can be transferred from polyrhythmic to even rhythmic dance. Socio-cultural features such as respect and shyness that characterize certain Roma tribes, such as the Finnish Kaale or Sinti and Manouche groups, are also appropriately present in the gypsy dance of the Balkans. Thereby the gypsy dance in the Balkans fits perfectly with the stereotype of "Gypsy-ism" that much of the dominant cultures of the Roma have created over the course of history. This cultural capital value has also been embraced by Roma artists. Every music, dance, or other art must have something recognizable in order to resemble its role model, even if gypsy dance or music does not have a common language. A dance loosely and appropriately leached into the mould of stereotypes is well suited to create an image of global gypsy, such a thing does not exist.

The gypsy dance in the Balkans fits perfectly with the stereotype of "gypsy-ism" that much of the dominant cultures around the Roma have created over the history from the Roma. In the legacy and spirit of the time of Romanticism in the 1800s the impact of the music on its listeners was also developed. This cultural capital value has also been strength by Roma artists themselves. This is something I call ping pong -theory. The main population gives meanings to the Gypsy art and Roma artist and sends it back like an authentic art. Anyway, every music, dance or other art must have something recognizable in order to resemble its role model, even if gypsy dance or music does not have a common language. In my mind a Balkan Gypsy dance fits perfectly into the mould of stereotypes and is well suited to create an image of global gypsy, such a thing does not exist.

Jointly, the various descriptions of Gypsy dance clearly show how attitudes to, and respect for, the Roma have varied in different periods; the descriptions have marked lines of ethnic policy followed by society in the period concerned. The early ethnographic descriptions and present views on dance share the fact that they contain and pass on aesthetic, social and cultural values. The movements of dance thus underline, in miniature, a whole culture and notions of one's own and other cultures. Although dance could be viewed in purely physical terms, the notions attached to it show that it is always more than the sum of physical motoric actions.

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Etudes for conductor, media speaking tube and non-tuned orchestra (on folk music in the media of Socialist Bulgaria)

After World War II, Bulgaria fell into the Stalinist-type state socialism zone. The proposed text looks at the so-called *narodna* and *estrada* music (folk, popular) in Bulgaria during the years of socialism (1944–1989) as a field of power, ideological, cultural, aesthetic struggles. Radio and television, and the music they broadcast, prove to be more than just a music scene. They can be seen as a political spectacle with complex relationships between the figures within, as processes of interaction in vertical and horizontal networks, such as a conductor and non-tuned orchestra. This study tries to put the power speech (up); the media speaking tube of this speech in the practices of intermediaries such as radio, creative unions and cultural organizations (in the middle); consensus and dissonance, acceptance and resistance (down), in the everyday life of the common man of the people.

Keywords: *narodna*/folk music, cultural front, radio, Socialist Bulgaria

Introduction

After the Second World War, Bulgaria fell into the zone of the Soviet bloc and built a state socialism of the Stalinist type. The political and ideological establishment of the new government leaves clear imprints on music and the media. They become part of what is called the "cultural front" – political governance, ideological foundations and institutional regimes of cultural organization during communism [Fitzpatrick 1992; Elenkov 2008].

This text offers approaches to understanding the so-called folk music (I will metaphorically call this form of folk music, music for the people) in Bulgaria during the years of socialism (1944–1989) as a field of power, a terrain for ideological, cultural, aesthetic struggles.

The media and the music they broadcast can be seen as a political spectacle with complex relationships between the figures inside it, as processes of interaction in vertical and horizontal networks, as a conductor and a non-tuned orchestra. This study of media music during socialism should present the processes of interactions; of the power narrative (ideology and policies, the directives for this music, lowered from above); the media speakers of the power speech (the practices of intermediaries such as radio, creative unions and cultural organizations - in the middle); the acceptance, experience and re-creation of music for the people in the everyday life of the common people (relations below). Here I will focus on *narodna muzika* (folk music).

In the twentieth century, the term *narodna muzika* is a label for naming the transformed, recorded and media distributed music of rural origin and folklore roots in Bulgaria – a genre array in the recording industry and radio programming [Dimov 2019:47–50]. Folk music is one of the directions of modernization of folk music from Bulgaria: from premodern *folk* to Bulgarian *narodna muzika* [Peycheva 2008:80–85]. *Narodna muzika* - *naroden orkestar* and folk ensembles perform rural and hybrid music (*obrabotki*). As the etiquette of tradition and authenticity, the notion of *narodna muzika* combines aspects of the pastoral, agrarian, pre-socialist past with a more recent urban, socialist present and even a post-state socialist, transnational future; it combines old, non-professional local music practices with new professional Western European concert life practices [Buchanan

2006:41–45]. For most of the forty-five-year-long communist period, this style of cultivated folk music became the standard way "folk music" (*narodna muzika*, people's music) was presented on the radio and in recordings and concerts [Rice 2004:67–68].

Above: Music for the people in the narrative / speech of power

To understand the 'Music for the People', seen from above, through the power narratives, means to see it through the intersection of the ideologized doctrines with the practices for their realization by power structures with a pyramidal organization.

Since in socialist Bulgaria the power is concentrated in the Communist Party (BCP), documents, resolutions, decisions, letters of the BCP congresses, the plenums of the BCP Central Committee, the *Politburo* of the BCP Central Committee, the departments of the BCP Central Committee, the party organizations of creative unions and media institutions, and so on are available. The next step is to read the 'power speech' through the documents and practices of state bodies – Council of Ministers, Ministries, Committees and other state institutions related to art and media (for example, the House of Folk Culture, part of the Ministry of Propaganda after the September 9 coup in 1944, Committee for Science, Art and Culture after 1954, later renamed and restructured into the Ministry of Culture, and so on).

One of the emblematic phrases of power in socialist Bulgaria is "bright folk art, national in form, socialist in content". This formula of power for socialist art and the people also applies to music for the people.

The phrase, which is repeated as a slogan, appears in texts by Georgi Dimitrov (1889–1949), even before he became the first party and state leader of the new socialist People's Republic of Bulgaria (Prime Minister since 1946) when he was Secretary General of the Comintern (Communist International, since 1935). It was repeated by Valko Chervenkov (1900–1980), leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party after Dimitrov and Prime Minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria (1950–1956). However, this phrase was first used by the party and state leader of the USSR Joseph V. Stalin in 1930 as one of the directives of the XVI Congress of the CPSU (b) on the unity of national cultures and internationalism in the construction of socialism.

According to Boris Groys, in the communist project, the political power builds the new world with programs, resolutions, orders, prohibitions, instructions, which make a linguistic turn, which resonates in social practice [Groys 2014:9–14]. The centralized party power of Bulgarian socialism follows the Soviet experience in the ideological 'packaging' of society from the communist utopia as a surrealism [Fotev 2014]. In the phenomenon of 'packaging', party leaders play a major role, playing the role of 'priests' of rational magic, whose word is repeated and disseminated by the media in the process of ideological enchantment.

The following phrases – party slogans in the speech of the government of Socialist Bulgaria are among the key directives for the production and proper use of the media and their music for the people: Cultural revolution and cultural front; Socialist realism; artists as "engineers of the human soul", works of art as construction; Culture: national in form, socialist in content; heroism and modernity: the new hero, the new man; *Narodnost* [Nationality]; *Partiynost* [Party affiliation]; Soviet example; *Hudozhestvena samodeynost* [The amateur art] and the music of the people; the competition in life and art.

I will dwell on one of these 'magic phrases' to show the connection between the power narrative of the party leaders, the activities of the authorities of the state bodies and the practices of the media intermediaries.

Like many others in the field of the cultural front, amateur art is a concept that as an idea and practice for the implementation of the Bulgarian communist government borrows from the Soviet. According to Donna Buchanan, "amateur art does not spring voluntarily from the source, it is an invented academic and political construct of Soviet origin, borrowed from the Bulgarian government" [Buchanan 2006:133]. Lozanka Peycheva interprets it as one of the trajectories and transmissions for socialist modernization of traditional music from Bulgaria, the main function of which is performed by institutions and organizations of the socialist state, which perform the main roles of amateurism - mediation and democratization of traditional music; becoming an instrument of aesthetic education; massification [Peycheva 2008:372–402].

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the party and state leadership organize a series of reviews, festivals, competitions of rural, labour, military, youth, and so on amateur activities, which present singing, dancing and sports, Bulgaria as a "vast concert stage" for which socialism is a "Golden century for the flourishing of culture" (the speech of Todor Zhivkov, party and state leader). The form for the development of amateur art – competition – is among the favourites of the government in the leadership and control of the cultural front. An example of this is the First All-Bulgarian Competition for Masters of Pop Art, organized as a competition in several stages (1953–1954), in which only the best received the title of "winner".

In the middle: the media as intermediaries

How is music produced and distributed for the people as part of the "bright folk art, national in form, socialist in content" in the practices of intermediaries such as Bulgarian Radio and Television, the state record company "Balkanton", and creative and cultural organizations of the People's Republic of Bulgaria?

Muzika za naroda [Music for the people] – Bulgarian folk music, which also includes traditional minority music, *estrada* / pop music – was part of the ideologized radio practices during socialism. This is because music is a determining quantitative and qualitative component of radio content (music occupied between 60% and 90% of the program of the Bulgarian National Radio). Apart from being a key element in the radio programme, music has ideological functions: being a "universal key to the audience's consciousness", it "helps the ease with which the media influences" the listeners [Angelova 2018:164].

The role of the media and media music as intermediaries is well illustrated in the case of the First All-Bulgarian Competition for Masters of Estrada Art in 1954.

Competitors in the group "Variety musical performances" – singers and instrumentalists, duets and groups, with repertoire and style: folk (Bulgarian folk songs, people, songs of the peoples), popular and dance music. All candidates are professionals – with or without music education ("self-taught" and "folk musician"), but according to archival documents there are amateurs in the competition - folk musicians without education, some of whom work in music formations at the radio, in concert groups to Committee on Science, Arts and Culture (KNIK), restaurants, ensembles, cultural centres, community centres.

Among those mentioned in the documents as collaborators of the radio (official notes from the Radio Information): Yovcho Karaivanov, associate of the Folk Music editorial

office; Boris Karlov – accordionist, artist-orchestrator in the Folk Ensemble; Atanaska Todorova, singer, associate of the Folk Music editorial office; Atanas Valchev, artist-orchestrator in the Folk Ensemble and others [CSA 1953].

The above names of singers and musicians of folk music illustrate the important role of the state Bulgarian radio during socialism for the creation and promotion of folk music that meets the ideological understandings and aesthetic tastes of power.

These are the first radio groups for folk music in Fatherland Front Bulgaria (until 1947) and socialist Bulgaria (after 1947):

In the late 1940s:

Groups "Rosna Kitka", "Haidushka Pesen", Naroden [Folk] Orchestra (conducted by Ivan Kavaldzhiev), the Thracian group of Stanil Payakov.

The group "Rosna Kitka" is composed of eight singers who graduated from the Music Academy and were accepted into the radio team through a competitive exam. The folk orchestra included four violins, viola, cello, double bass, flute, clarinet, accordion, piano and percussion – 12 men admitted to the radio through competitive exams.

Rosna Kitka – a vocal group at Radio Sofia, Created and led by Ivan Kavaldzhiev, became a regular participant in radio programs after 1944; folk singers Giurgiu Pindjurova, Victoria Kraiselska, Gudi Gudev and others sing in it.

The magazine "Radio Program" (№11, 25 May 1947) published photos from a meeting of the leader of the party and the people Georgi Dimitrov with "Rosna Kitka".

In the 1950s:

The Ugarchinska Group, led by the kaval player Tsvyatko Blagoev (includes *kaval* [flute], bagpipe, *gadulka* [rebec], *tambura* [long necked lute], drum), became the first full-time folk orchestra on the Radio and in 1952, together with the group "Rosna Kitka", became the basis of the Folk Song Ensemble (later renamed the Folk Song Ensemble at BRT) with conductor Boris Petrov, concertmaster Tsvyatko Blagoev and choir conductor Kosta Kolev.

In the middle: Folk music of minorities in media practices

The concept of *naroda*/people, "basic matrix legalizing the regime" [Znepolski 2008:140], has a semantic duality: a discriminatory social notion, from which political opponents gradually fall away in order to arrive at designation only in the field of the class.

The people are no longer an ethnic but a social concept: the masses that fill the streets with rallies and demonstrations. The unity of the people is understood as social homogeneity [Znepolski 2008:140–145].

Thus, the "faithful sons" of the people are the homogeneous class and the social Turks (ethnic, minority), but not the rich and kulaks, ethnic Bulgarians who are foreign to the people. The presence of the other ethnic group in the years of socialism is not constant in the concept of "people" – during the years of the people's democracy and during the totalitarian period there is much more talk of "minorities" than during the "real socialism" of Todor Zhivkov.

Folk music also includes folk music of minorities, as evidenced by media labels (broadcasts and departments in the Bulgarian Radio, catalogues and records of the record company "Balkanton") - such performances are broadcast as "folk music" and "music of

the peoples" and include Turkish and Gypsy traditional music, and folklore of Balkan peoples).

The place of Roma music and musicians is indicative of the policies for the folk music of the minorities in the media practices of socialist Bulgaria.

The policy of the OF (Otechestven front) [Patriotic Front] for Minorities sounds like this on the radio: September 9, 1944 is a historic date for foreign minorities (Jews, Turks, Gypsies and Armenians), since then their "new life on the path of their national and cultural development" has begun. The above lines are part of the radio broadcast scenario.

The first radio program with Roma music has been broadcast on January 14, 1946: "Romano esi" (Roma voice), a half-hour program for the "Feast of the Gypsy Minority in Bulgaria St. Basil" [CSA 1945–1946:149–150].

Tsiganska narodna muzika / Gypsy folk music in the Bulgarian Radio and "Balkanton" has the following popular artists over time:

1940s-1950s: Roma Gypsy Theater, Peyu Budakov's orchestra, singer Asiba Kemalova.

1960s-1970s: original songs by Roma authors - Yashar Malikov, Hassan Chinchiri

1980: original songs by Angelo Malikov, high-circulation recordings of accordionist Ibro Lolov.

Turkish music has a clear presence in the program of Bulgarian radio during socialism. This is because the Turks are the largest ethnic minority in Bulgaria.

The following quote from a document of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Propaganda and Agitation Department, expresses the government's attitude towards Turkish music on Bulgarian radio in 1951: "The music we give to the Turkish listeners should be above all folk, intensifying the music with oriental motifs, which still remains close to the taste and understanding of the broad strata. We will have to oppose this music to the tasteless jazz music that Ankara radio constantly serves to its listeners […] Comrade Nazam Hikmet finds it urgently necessary for the Radio Information Directorate to soon acquire gramophone records of Turkish folk music. Folk music to be broadcast continuously in all our shows for Turkish listeners" [CSA 1951–1952].

Ethnic Turks, performers of Turkish folk music, took part in the First All-Bulgarian Competition of Masters of Estrada Art (1954). "The Turk with a saza - Ibrahim Destanov" received high marks from the jury. In 1953 he was recorded for Radio Sofia and Radio Varna. As a singer he was one of the founders of the Turkish Variety Theatre in Kolarovgrad (1952). After that he worked in the Turkish Variety Theatre in Razgrad.

Radioprom (1352) published a gramophone record of the Kolarovgrad Turkish amateur group with two newly created songs in the folk style, in Turkish: "Song for Stalin" and "The Right Way".

Conclusion

The sound of *narodna muzika* (music for the people) is not only the result of the power speech - the ideas and gestures of the conductor, but also of the role of mediators - the practices of the orchestra, in which individual instruments and groups are not always equal, tempered and tuned.

The media setting of this music during the socialist period is not uniform and harmonious: music for the people sounds both in the marching ideological register of

"fanfares and spells" [Deenichina 2008], and in the dance rhythm of the entertainment allowed with western popular music and its local variants (*estrada*), and even in the 'wet' register of the song and the whistle with which the people eat and drink, share the common tables and people on holidays - the local ethno-pop song, the songs of the Balkan peoples, the music of the wedding orchestras.

Meanwhile, the ideas for this conference report, initially presented in 2017, were further developed and tested in the work on the interdisciplinary research project "Soft Power of Popular Music in Bulgaria and the Balkans" to find expression in the monograph "Music for Folk Music front" [Dimov 2019]. But the topic is so important and with so many ramifications that it suggests more intriguing pursuits and searches. One of the directions is the comparisons of the Bulgarian media scene of music for the people with similar such as cases of power, political and ideological use of traditional and popular music in the media by the socialist authorities in Southeast Europe.

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Chorlu Mare – Tranos Choros: Two linguistic-ethnic groups in one community dance.

The *Chorlu Mare* ("the great communal dance") is a ritual performance, common in most of the communities of Western Greece. The Vlach-speakers of the area call it "Chorlu Mare" which means "The Great Dance". The Greek-speakers call it "Tranos Choros" which also means "The Great Dance". The two phenomena are accompanied by a slow cyclic ritual dance with similar *syrtos* steps but also with some varieties that imply the local characteristics of each ethnic group and their integration into one ritual. Although an integration of the two ritual dances might be considered difficult it seems that the identification of the two groups regarding their musical system, the preference for the use of the Greek language, the social purpose and the use of the surrounding space create a common ritual performance at least in the space and community of this case study, the village of Blatsi.

Keywords: Greece, Vlach, Greek, Authenticity, dance, space, gender.

This paper presents the mutual integration of two ethnic groups in the geographical space of a certain community, namely in the village of Blatsi.[1] Part of this integration is bound to a very definite space chosen by the local community and selected due to the facilities offered to its inhabitants. The geographical space is chosen for reasons of survival because of the special geographical affiliations and habits developed by each group in the course of time. The community has developed its own cultural relations bound with its geographical space and place and makes its own interactions with it forming and making its own peculiarities. Here I will present the reasons for the blending of the two ethnic groups and the similar practices of the Great Community Dance (though keeping their local characteristics) both in the village of Blatsi and on the Pindus mountains.

In the community of Blatsi the event where *Tranos choros* (see Figure 1) is performed is at the yearly *Panygiri* which in Greece is a typical form of religious feast or festival which is found in different forms in different places. Nonetheless there are some common characteristics shared by different local *panigyria* (plural*)* in certain areas of Greece which reveal a process that supports important social purposes.[2] These purposes which reflect the self–identity of the community are indispensable with it and are bound to the question of its survival. In this way they are incorporated in every activity that is bound to it and especially in every activity that reflects the reaction of its members against its dissolution. When these activities become common practices among ethnic groups considered to be distinctive from each other then the functionality of the local *panygiri* becomes extremely important as a field to research the matter of ethnic identity, its possible characteristic shifts and transformations as well as their possible reasons and concerns.[3]

Blatsi community and its historical context

The village of Blatsi is situated on a secondary route on a highland on Mount Bourinos next to the area of Voion, the old Anaselitsa, in Eastern Pindus [see also in Schinas 1886:111,129]. While presenting this case study it is necessary to evaluate it in reference to a broader experience and knowledge of the area. I present how the *Tranos Choros* is similar to the *Corlu Mare* of the high Vlach villages of the Pindus mountains, and how the practices which unfold simultaneously with the change in purpose and of

space, follow the same norms in both areas. For this reason, I also compare this case study to the results of other researchers who have focused on similar locations or settlements as well as to my own experience in different communities and areas.

Figure 1. The view of Tranos Choros in Blatsi.
(https://www.vlahoi.net/gallery/displayimage.php?album=8&pid=412)

A first historical population movement (see Figure 2) found in the local history of Blatsi is the one which followed the movements from the Greek-speaking settlements of Gratsiani and Pekrebenikos (settlements situated lower on the slopes of Siniatsiko) at the end of the late Byzantine period and the beginning of the Ottoman Era during the 14th century A.D. Very probably this was after the naval battle of Naypaktos in 1571, and the revolutionary movement of *Orlof* against the Ottomans, when the nearby small town of Sisani which was a Bishopric was also destroyed. In all probability, the first name of the old settlement was not "Blatsi". Part of the population possibly traced its origins to the village of Pekrebenikos where there is a place called "St. Mark" *Saint Markos* who became the Protector of the later Blatsi (despite the fact that he is not found as a protector in any other village around the area). We know that inhabitants from the village of Gratsiani, Pekrebenikos and the small town of Siatista collaborated and had connections with Venice [see Patsika 1998:20 from Kalinderis 1982:45].

A second movement which is attested in the history of the village comes from Northern Epirus. It happened following another destruction of a large Vlach-speaking settlement in the uplands above Korçë. Moscopole (Greek Moschopolis, Albanian Voskopojë) was destroyed for the last time in the 18th century A.D. by Muslim Albanians. It is documented that its population followed different directions. One such direction was the village of Blatsi [Patsika 1998:16,22]. It is interesting that the geographic area, climate and natural environs of Moscopole are very similar to those of Blatsi. The settlement of

Blatsi, similar to Moscopole, is situated in a valley enclosed by mountains and the climate is ideal for summer pastures.

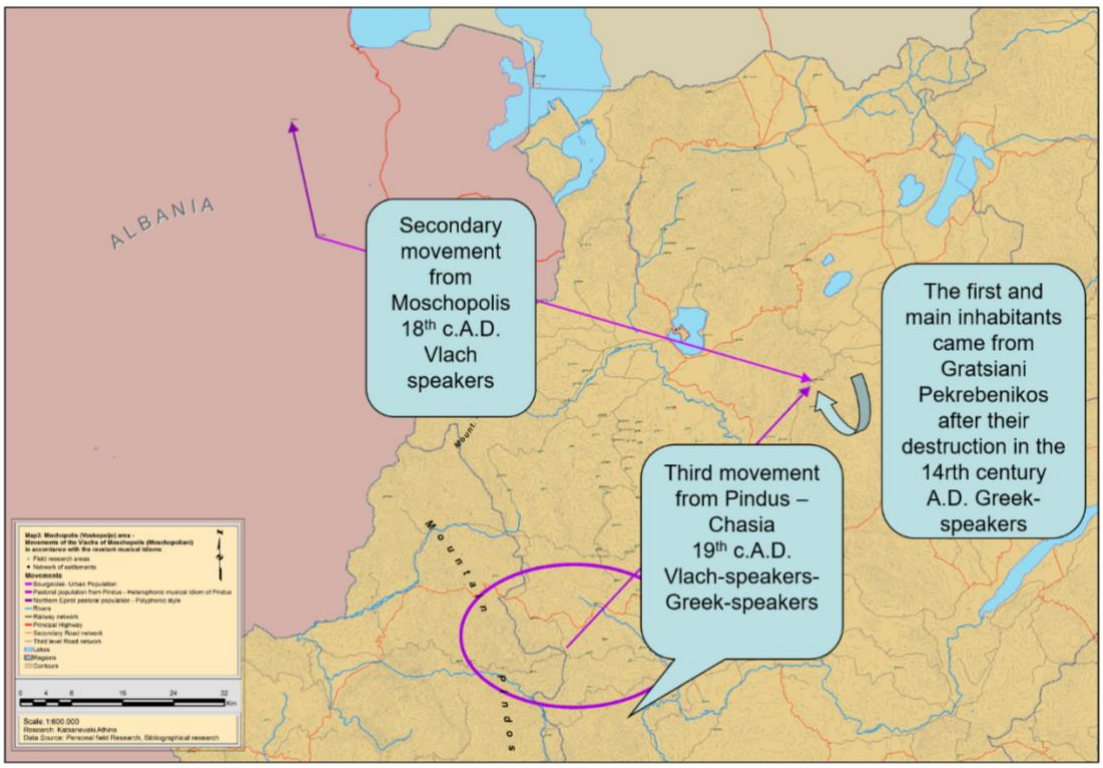

Figure 2. Map of the area and the population movements

A third movement, due to another revolutionary movement against the Ottomans in the area of Grevena, followed the two others: in the 19th century small pockets of Vlach-speakers from the villages of Pindus in the Grevena region as well as some of the Greek – speaking population from the slopes of Pindus in Chasia in the Grevena region moved and settled in Blatsi [Patsika 1998:23].

Space, time, and geography, culture and authenticity

In the case of small-scale societies when it comes to the *Tranos Choros* or *Corlu Mare* we can trace different ways that involve the notion of space in culture and community [see also Katsanevaki 2011].

1. As a movement of society and culture in historical time. In the case of *Blatsi* there are certain population movements that are described above.
2. As a notion of constancy and authenticity while fixing a locality in small-scale societies (place as a space of local identity).[4] "No cultures were ever wholly isolated from external contact, and from material transactions and culture change, but until recent phases of world history many cultures were of the most part separate and distinct from others only ten kilometres away" [Connell and Gisbon 2003:21].
3. As a social functionality of space serving social purposes (different spaces in different phases of the *panigyria*)

When it comes to this case of study of the village of Blatsi *(*namely the mutual integration of two ethnic groups in one geographical space and community), all three experiences of space, are part of the process of this integration. The main questions to be

answered are: Why the local population came into contact and integrated the newcomers in one ritual? And why this local expression of *Tranos Choros* could be a declaration of local ethnic identity for both ethnic groups so as to become a common ritual?

Usually there is some reason that encourages a society (a small scale society in our case) to open its borders to make its limits flexible.

This encounter can be easy or difficult and this is due to the proximity (ethnic, cultural, historical, or religious or linguistic and in cases also economic) of the two sides that come into contact.

In such a context, authenticity can be divided into two categories regarding the two basic different kinds of societies found in the contemporary world, two models that one may say represent the extremes of two different social notions:

a) Society of community → communal choice

b) Society of individuality → individual choice of timing

In small scale societies the choice of the pace of elaboration of the new messages or the new encounters relies on communal spirit and the result of this is performance. The result comes slowly and after "creative assimilation" [Katsanevaki 1998:Part A:31; Katsanevaki 2010:84].[5] For this reason these performances are considered in their contemporary environs as "authentic". They remain almost unchanged unless the community finds a good reason to have contact and relationships with ethnic groups which come from a different historical and cultural background. This is a choice that usually (though not always) happens in the context of urbanization. The social purpose changes and the members of a former community change completely their way of life and their culture in the context of urban life.

Cultural proximity and fusion

It might be considered that multi-cultural divergence might have existed in Blatsi, but this is not the case. The reason is simple and was revealed by extensive field research in the wider area: All inhabitants of the village, initially Greek speakers and later partly Vlach speakers, participated in one and the same ethnic and cultural context despite the two different languages: the music and dance dialect of the wider area of the Pindus mountains and Western Greece and Northern Epirus in Southern Albania. Though some writers refer to a large number of close villages or small towns as the original places of the people of Blatsi [Paraschos 2019:25], all these communities belong to this same wider area.

The cultural fusion of these population groups as a unified culture and society was not difficult as Greek language predominated in the area. Greek was the second language in the Vlach villages, especially in Moscopole where the Hellenic Academy and its printing house were established.[6] It was the mutual language of the "Chorlu mare" in the Vlach-speaking villages of the Pindus mountains as well as of the "Tranos choros" of the Greek-speaking villages in the wider area of Pindus. Both mean "the Great Dance" thus describing the ritual communal dances of the religious festivals in Western Greece.

Comparing today's practices in the areas of *Pindus*[7] where parts of the population of Blatsi originated from, and those of the village of Blatsi one can still find strong links which reveal the common past of the area.

Additionally, I realised that the characteristic melodic pattern of the women's laments follows the pattern of the rest of the Greek-speaking villages around in the area of Voion and Grevena while on the higher Vlach villages of Pindus we find relevant melodies with

local variations [Katsanevaki 2018:669–676; Katsanevaki 2017:114 map]. This is also additional evidence that the *Vlach* newcomers enriched and reinforced a Greek-speaking local population of Blatsi.

By way of comparison, we can consider cases where people are forced, or make a choice for economic reasons (administration or survival), to share a common space with another ethnic group which does not share with them a common cultural or other kind of identity. In such a case, they will form different *mahalas* (*mahalades*) where each group will experience their cultural identities separately and more or less independently.

This is the case of the small town of Prosotsani in the area of Drama in Eastern Macedonia in Greece, where during my fieldwork I interviewed different Vlach interviewees whose musical identity had nothing common with that of the *Dopioi Macedonians* and the *Thracians* (who had settled there as refugees). All three groups enjoyed their *panygiria* in different spaces in one and the same small town. They did not intermarry until later following the globalization of their societies.[8] Nonetheless during one of the weddings I documented in the nearby village of Volakas where the groom was a *Vlach* from Prosotsani and the bride a *Dopia* (meaning "local" in Greek) from the village, two different groups of instrumentalists accompanied the groom and the bride, on the way to the Church, each of them representative of the two different traditions and ethnic groups. The Vlach tradition of the Vlachs of Prosotsani (and not of *Prosotsani* as a whole), which was represented by musicians that joined the event coming from the Pindus area and the bagpipers of the village of Volakas, who represented the tradition of the *Dopioi* in Eastern *Macedonia* [Brandl and Katsanevaki 2003].

Another case-study refers to such phenomena as a "formation of Vlach cultural identity" [see Panopoulou 2008].[9] Such is the case of the Vlachs of Chionohori in the nearby region of Serres where it is claimed [see Panopoulou 2008] that their co-existence with another ethnic group the *Dopioi* (the local Macedonian Slavic-Greek bilinguals) encouraged them to retain their characteristics and cultural identity keeping their independent character [Panopoulou 2008].

In my case I recorded exactly the opposite: the Vlach-speakers and the Greek-speakers join each other in order to create and develop a common cultural phenomenon: the *Tranos Choros* in Blatsi or *Chorlu Mare* on the Pindus mountains.

This is different. What is called by previous researchers as "formation of the Vlach cultural identity" is true when the other ethnic groups come from different cultural backgrounds. It must be noticed that it is not a matter of language. Ethnic groups with the same language for example the *Sarakatsans* or the *Epirots* who both come from a Western Greek tradition would not come into contact with *Thracian* Greeks or *Macedonian* Greek speakers from Central or Eastern *Macedonia* in the case of their local *panygiria*. The reason is the different cultural identity in terms of music and dance despite the common language. It seems then that culture, music and dance is equally, or even more important than the linguistic identification. During my fieldwork among the Vlachs in Central Albania I realized that religious proximity among the Vlachs and Albanians was even more important for decisions of intermarriage and common festivals than ethnic or linguistic identifications.

Behind this behaviour of contact and relationships among different ethnic groups, older layers of common populations exist that share common characteristics attributed to the older cultural and ethnic zones of the Balkans. Languages have been restricted or expanded due to many different reasons and along with the many changes of administration and dynamics of the area through time.

Figure 3. Giannis Barbaronas-Vlachodimos, Dance leader in Blatsi in the meadows (Photo A.Katsanevaki 2003).

It seems that what has restricted and weakened these older layers is the process of urbanization in certain areas of the Balkans and the global urbanization of today.

It can be asked how long these practices will be continued by their bearers. The importance and the symbolic meaning of these practices is apparent due to the massive participation of the local people even today. Certain individuals, such as Giannis Barbaronas who was one of the later leaders of the *Tranos Choros* and who travelled every year from Canada to Blatsi in Greece in order to lead the dance (see Figure 3), reveal the symbolic meaning of the ritual for the local people.

Until today these practices which keep the basic core of the locality while being fused with other relevant localities, give to these rituals the sense of a practically "internal being" traced in the words of the local people:

> "Its purpose was unknown, (meaning the "*Tranos Choros*" the Great dance of Blatsi). Absolutely unknown… We couldn't say when the "*Tranos Choros*" started. In 1650…in 1750…we have no idea…But what I might say…I don't want to boast…it was the shepherds who created it [Lilis 2011]

These words might be interpreted in a slightly different way: the shepherds in most of the villages are considered by the locals to be those who due to their conservative lifestyle have retained the older singing style, practices or rituals (in short the 'older' cultural style). It is said though (in the case of Blatsi) that the most energetic participants in these rituals are those who originated from Pindus and moved there in the 19th century. Of course this does not mean that the characteristics of this ritual were introduced by the more recent immigrants. As I presented before, the *Tranos Choros* also exists in the

settlements of Bourinos, Askion, and Voion mountains. The *Tranos Choros* presents direct links with the practices in the villages in Pindus regarding the style of singing, the melodies and in some cases the texts of the songs as well as the steps of the dances. It is not then just the ritual dance and the practices of the steps, or the styles of the melodies and the practices of the leaders of the dances (*protochoreytes*), that share similarities in both areas. It is the whole process of the ritual starting as a communal ritual dance and ending with a "choosing of the brides" (*nyfodialegma*), and the difference between these phases of the ritual, which is transferred later to in front of the coffee shops. In both areas the local society chooses the appropriate space to continue and fulfil the broader functionality of the ritual which is the commemoration of the past and its continuum in the future.

Tranos Choros and *Corlu Mare* (correspondences)

During fieldwork and documentation of the extended rituals in the villages of the *Pindus* mountains and in Blatsi I located four (4) parallels between the practices of *Tranos Choros* of *Blatsi* and the relevant practices of the *Corlu Mare* in the Vlach villages of the Pindus mountains which can be seen in the video (Figure 4).

1. The spatial choice of the first ritual practice and its sonic characteristics in the open space.
2. The distribution of the male singers in order to control the sonic effect along the cycle of the dance and to strengthen the voices of the women.
3. Special characteristic movements with the foot or the handkerchief by the leaders of the dance in order to synchronize the large number of performers.
4. The transfer of the dance to a closed space in front of the coffee shops in order to fulfil the purpose of "choosing the bride" so promoting closer relationships.

Figure 4. Katsanevaki Athena fieldwork SEE Study Group ICTM Meeting of Trabzon 2021. Tranos Choros-Corlu Mare.
https://youtu.be/gmggmi5pPuk

I will describe these similarities in detail with reference to the observations of the local people during fieldwork[10] and will then present my conclusion:

In most case studies (communities) I observed a common norm: each day of the religious festival which may last up to three days, starts with a "*Tranos choros*" a communal dance, (no matter whether it is called with this name or not) after the Holy Liturgy outside the Church which is celebrating its day. At Easter it starts with a communal dance after the *Vesperus of Love* in the afternoon or at midday of *Good Sunday*. The "*Tranos choros*" in Greek or "*Chorlu Mare*" in Vlach is performed in an open landscape where almost all the community can participate in the dance in one circle (men at the head and after them women and children). These communal dances are the focal events of these villages as they celebrate the unified society of the settlement and thus all villagers are supposed to participate in them. For such a dance where more than 500 people sing and dance together a vast space is required. Whenever possible a space is chosen that is close to the village. In such a case the men dance at the front of the circle while the women dance next to the male *hemichorion* (half part of the circle). At the front there is the leader of the dance (*protochoreytis*), next to him the first singers (*architragoudistai* -the best singers). The best

singers would dance next to the leader and next to the women in order to strengthen their voices ("the song is at the front and close to the women" [Lilis 2011]). If no such a space is found close to the village, then they select a wide space within the village but in this case instead of performing in one circle the dance occupies two, three, sometimes even more circles. The reason for a double circle or three or more circles has also been discussed many times. Nonetheless, the extended field research I conducted in many villages in the area has demonstrated that both cases may happen and that the locals always offer a different explanation. The basic reason for dancing in more circles, was that there was not always enough space to make one large circle (as a singer in *Phillipaioi* (Grevena) said showing to me an old photo with multiple circles). Thus, they make more circles so that the whole village can participate, although they present different interpretations about the main reason, for arranging the space and dancers and for following one or another pattern of organization. So they explain:

> "The women danced in the inner circle because we had to protect them".

Or

> "The women danced in the outer circle because it is not polite for the men to look at the women's backs!"

So, the important thing was the massive participation of the villagers in order of age, sex, and marriage but also of quality of voice thus keeping an eye on the musical result of the sound. It also seems that apart from gender reasons there are other practical reasons for them to arrange the space and to organize the circle of the dance in the way they do it.

When the ritual dance finishes there are some other occasions to dance with instrumental accompaniment. These dances develop closer relationships among the villagers and encourage marriages. Consequently, they take place in smaller spaces. These dances are usually performed in the central square of the village close to the coffee shops. There, all families participate and each family leads its own dance ordering the instrumentalists to play the favourite melody of each family. In some cases this occasion is given the name: "*Nyfodialegma*" ("Choosing brides which occasionally would also mean "Choosing grooms") (see the fieldwork video in Figure 4).

Instead of a conclusion

It can be observed that while the practices of the Pindus and the practice of the *Tranos Choros* in Siniatsiko look very much similar there are small variations which place the *Tranos Choros* of Blatsi in the cultural dance zone of Siniatsiko. This is due to a special variation of the step motives of the dance (in and out of the circle or back and forth). This is also an indication that the Vlachs were integrated in the *Tranos Choros* and reinforced this cultural phenomenon in their own way because the local variation of the *Tranos Choros* which they encountered, matched perfectly with their own expression of their cultural identity, their own cultural phenomenon of the *Corlu Mare*.

Endnotes

1. Part of this research was presented in Katsanevaki 2011. Acknowledgements: Many thanks to Thomas Karanikolas and Vivian Doumba for her cartography support, to Aristeidis Mbakaimis and his wife for introducing me to the village of Blatsi, to Christine Glauser, ethnochoreologist for she coincided her fieldwork with mine for a while, to all those who supported and still support my fieldwork in the wider area. To kyr-Giannis Vlachodimos-Barbaronas† for being there in Blatsi every August to lead the dance. May he rest in peace. Recently, in 2018, *Tranos Choros* of Blatsi was deposited, approved and included in the catalogue of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Sports (see Patsika 2021).

2. As Nitsiakos and Kosmatou [2008:345-6] explain "[…] the religious festival has as its focal point a relationship of a religious character, but taking a start from this relationship it develops phenomena of a specific symbolic meaning, when it comes to the social fabric and its "making", as well as the reproduction and reconstruction of the community in space and time" (translated by this author from Greek).

3. The issue of Music and Identity has been discussed repeatedly in the field of Ethnomusicology, see Rice [2007], Stokes [1994:1-27], also a relative analysis in Katsanevaki [2021].

4. See also Connell and Gisbon [2003:21], where they state that "[h]owever, while "tradition" is fluid and constructed, some cultural expressions have persisted despite or in reaction to, cultural change". The relationship of civilizations with geography was supported by Braudel as early as 1963. Braudel states that "civilizations are geographic areas." (Braudel,1963,1993,2009,60). The relation of music and geography as well as its spatial dimensions is depicted and presented in the *Introduction: Geography, Music, Space* by Samuel Horlor in 2018 where he describes the multiple ways to conceive and consider this scientific turn. See also in different case-studies in this respective volume.

5. "In the cases of community reaction presented above, what one could call "collective creative censorship" is at work (see also [Sugarman 1988: 7]), which is responsible for the operation of "creative assimilation" [see Katsanevaki 1998:Part A:31

6. Several works exist about Moschopolis or Voskopoje in both Greece and Albania [Martinianos 1957:55, Gartsopoulos [1979:10-11,12 Dhori [1998].

7. Nitsiakos describes the process and the symbolic meaning as well as the social functionality of the *Corlu Mare* in the village of Perivoli on the Pindus mountains. Though in this case the "*Kînik*" (as it is named) is performed exclusively with an instrumental accompaniment, the purpose of the dance is fulfilled in similar ways and is the same: to reassure the unity of the community and its solidarity [Nitsiakos 1994:37-40].

8. This process also includes the transfer of the rituals from the practice in the context of the community to the stage (see Papakostas who refers to Loutzaki's research [1989] in a similar mixed community namely in *Mikro Monastiri* where different ethnic groups coexist. In such communities the usual notion of "authenticity" is seriously disputed [Papakostas 2001:259].

9. Panopoulou in her two articles [2008; 2009] presents the practice of the Vlach dances as a vehicle to develop their own identity. In her second article where she cites my musical analysis of the dances of the Vlachs of Chionohori translated in English [Panopoulou 2009:178-180] and my research in the town of Prosotsani in Drama and in the areas of Grevena and Voion [Panopoulou 2009:179-180] she presents the transformation of their dance identity among three generations. In any case it seems that such transformations are part of the process of urbanization of the community life of many ethnic groups. In fact, this coincides with the model Urban/Folk suggested by previous researchers (see Nitsiakos [2000:63-4 Redfield and Singer [1960:337-365], also Nitsiakos's critical overview about this model [Nitsiakos 1995:15-37].

10. One common practice of field work in social anthropology is so-called "diörect measurement" which is involved with measurements of differences in space dimensions (land, number of individuals participating in special activities etc.) in order to find relationships among different social factors, activities and organization and their spatial context [see Salzman 1996:365]. This practice of field work in social anthropology is of a special interest when it comes to the social function of song and dance in their relevant space in the local *panigyria*. The case of Blatsi is very characteristic but field research in different villages in other areas of Pindus in Western Macedonia in Greece revealed that the social meaning and functionality of space in the course of dance, follows more or less the same model performed in the surrounding villages, dividing and classifying the processes of the dances of the local *Panigyria* (namely of the *Tranos Choros* and the *Corlu Mare*) into certain phases while interacting with the space.

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HORO-teque in Bulgaria

The paper explores *horoteque* (or *horoteka*, in Bulgarian: хоротека/ оротека) and in what way it influences and/ or transforms Bulgarian traditional dances. It follows the origins and stages of development of this relatively new Bulgarian folklore phenomenon and further ruminates the implications it has for Bulgarian dance folklore both in its traditional settings in the villages as well as within recreational clubs in Bulgaria and abroad;

Why was the name "Horoteque" chosen? What meaning do people assign to this new stage for folklore and how does it influence them?

This paper draws upon my own experience as a teacher, dancer and judge in a *horoteque*. By combining humanistic urban theory with the ethnochoreological instruments for research I will try to explore the dimensions of *horoteque* in the wider framework of folklore in Bulgaria aiming to present a new perspective on the folk dance revival and its consequences for Bulgarian traditional dances.

Keywords*:* *horo*; Bulgarian; dance; traditional; folklore

Introduction

The Bulgarian folk dance "revival" started towards the end of the 1990s and went through several phases which included different developments within recreational clubs (from dancing for fun through folk-fitness to intangible heritage collection) and outside of them in the larger framework of folk dancing in the country. *Horoteque* emerged to become a dance hybrid where dance folklore is performed and at the same time taught to the audience which in turn becomes an active participant. This relatively new phenomenon nowadays is an established institution and has not yet been analysed albeit important for the dissemination and transmission of Bulgarian dances. Why was the name *horoteque* chosen? What meaning do people assign to this new folklore scene and how does it influence them and the dances they dance overall?

When I heard for the first time the word 'horoteque' it was a year after I had returned to Bulgaria after my bachelor studies in Greece. The suffix *-teque*[1] automatically translated to me as a hall where one places something in order to protect and preserve it – for example in Greek language the word *library* translates as *βιβλιοθήκη*, literally a place where you put books and keep them. Partially because of that, or maybe because for many years I had the experience of *taverna* in Greece and *kafana* in Serbia, I expected a *horoteque* to be a place where one dances traditional *horos* to live music thus safeguarding them for the generations to come. Later, I understood the ideas behind *horoteque* were closer to a discotheque with mostly recorded music, and in general it was a place where people meet to have fun and dance.

In her book from 1955, one of Bulgaria's ethnochoreology pioneers, Raina Katsarova-Kukudova [1955], pays special attention to dance as a phenomenon born and linked closely to society. In this context, dance interacts with a number of external factors, but is also influenced by internal ones, which in turn determines and directs its further development. Elsie Dunin also emphasizes the interaction between dance and the environment in which people dance, as well as the inseparable connection between the people who perform the dances (Dancers, dancing the dances) [Dunin 2017].

Horoteque serves as a meeting point of teachers and dancers. Videos from different venues that host *horoteque* are online and have a major role in shaping the ideas of dancers and dance teachers of what constitutes a folk dance or not. It is also a major influencing factor in Bulgaria's so-called folklore dance "revival".

Methodology

Because *naroden* (of the folk/ people), *tradicionen* (traditional) and *avtentichen* (authentic) are most often used as synonyms in Bulgarian language among dance teachers within the framework of recreational clubs, I found it crucial for my topic to define what I would mean when using the words *horo* and 'traditional' while discussing Bulgarian dances in the context of *horoteque*. For the scope of the present paper, I will follow Nahachewsky's ideas that the concept of tradition signifies transmission of knowledge and experience from one generation to the next within traditional contexts [Nahachewsky 2012:39]. This particular meaning of the term 'traditional' is also used in the works of Bulgarian ethnochoreologists Anna Shtarbanova, Anna Ilieva, Evgeniya Grancharova and Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg as a way to set apart such dances from those which have been choreographed and/or newly created.

On the other hand, when talking about a combination of steps albeit based on traditional sources, but not transmitted along the generations in a village, I will use the term 'choreographed dance'. Last but not least, I will approach the topic by combining autoreflexion with traditional ethnographical tools (fieldwork, questionnaires, and so on), or the so-called autographic method [Grau 2007] as I will observe the topic drawing upon my own experience as a teacher and dancer in a *horoteque*. By combining humanistic urban theory with the ethnochoreological instruments for research I will try to explore the dimensions of *horoteque* in the wider framework of folklore in Bulgaria in hope of giving a new perspective on *horoteque* and its consequences for tradition.

The context behind *horoteque*

One cannot comprehend the context of *horoteque* and recreational clubs without taking into account the processes in Europe and in particular in Bulgaria of urbanization, industrialization and concentration of population in the cities during and since the 1950s. Another factor for the path the Bulgarian "revival" took, is the enormous influence the Russian dance school and the political regime between 1944–1989 had on the development of Bulgarian dance in the urban environment (the establishment of the national Bulgarian folklore ensemble model and the Bulgarian choreographic school as a whole).

To some extent, Bulgarian recreational clubs and "revival" have something to do with how the Norwegian revival took place. There traditional dances were revived and brought back to life as an interpretation of the old folk dance patterns [Bakka 1999:80]. However, in the case of the Bulgarian "revival" an important clarification needs to be made – in Norway the goal was to preserve traditional dances, and researchers worked with the dancers. In Bulgaria this developed in a different way. The first recreational dance clubs leaders were mostly either ex- or still active folklore ensemble dancers, many with a choreographic degree. The goal of Bulgarian dance clubs (at least in the beginning) was entertainment for a fee, although today after several decades of existence, here and there we observe groups and teachers with revivalist motives for bringing traditional dance patterns back to life. This fact in itself indicates the direction of development of the club form in our country, namely, the opportunity for entertainment, mental relaxation, social communication, movement and teaching of dance, and not for the purpose of being in the field and research work or preserving traditional folklore.

In the spirit of market economy, there was an exponential growth of the number of new specialities for acquiring choreographic education in secondary schools and higher education institutions after 1989. The labour market was already becoming oversaturated with dancers and choreographers who were looking for a way to apply their diplomas, all this in parallel with the closure of several professional ensembles and the decentralization of folklore 'management' established during Communism. In her work from 2011, Ivanova-Nyberg defines the dance club as an 'urban phenomenon', which combines the tradition of "former groups from the beginning of the century (close to sports clubs) and the folk dance ensemble", created on the model of the Bulgarian choreographic school [Ivanova-Nyberg 2001:334].

One of the first folk dance clubs in Bulgaria is considered to have been established in 1998 at the State Ensemble for Folklore Songs and Dances "Philip Koutev" (in Bulgarian: Държавен ансамбъл за народни песни и танци „Филип Кутев"). Less well known is the "Belomorie" club of the Youth Organization of VMRO in Sofia[2], which was founded in 1993 but became more active in 1996 when they invited Ivailo Ivanov (choreographer of "Philip Kutev") to lead classes there. 1995 is the year in which the "Generations Club" started, led by Ventseslava Elenska at the Center for Work with Children (former House of the Pioneers) in the city of Plovdiv, in order for the parents of the children in her ensemble to have a place to learn how to dance *horos*. In the next years, between 1993 and 2008, recreational clubs became a fashion and different other phenomena closely connected to them came to exist.

What is a recreational club today in Bulgaria? Clubs are in most cases a private initiative, which originated initially in an urban environment, and later spread as a model to smaller settlements. The choreographer is the leading figure, and sometimes there is one teacher, but in other cases a team of colleagues works at more than one location and/ or branch of the particular club. Meetings are held two or three times a week for 60 minutes. The accompaniment is more often with recorded music, but there are also clubs that work with an accordionist. At the beginning of the class, before any dancing starts, attention is given to warming up the body via the specially developed exercise program, based on the classical ballet routine modified to accommodate Bulgarian moves found in traditional dances. Following my enquiries on how teachers gather the dances they teach in the clubs, one of the highest percentages was allotted to *horoteque* classes and videos on YouTube.

A Horoteque was born

Horoteque started as a trend in the early stages of the so-called Bulgarian dance revival, which can be traced back to the early 1990s right after the fall of Communism, within an ever-growing net of recreational clubs and folklore dance competitions.[3] Mostly, a *horoteque* is a fixed location owned by a legal entity and its main purpose is organizing dance parties for everyone who is interested. Sometimes *horoteque* is used to signify just the party itself – for example a dance club decides to have a *horoteque* every Friday solely for its members in its own dance club just to practice the new dance material.

The first ever *horoteque* to exist as an establishment officially, was the one hosted in bar "Zanzibar" in Plovdiv. The year was 2008 and Andrey Ivanov – a big fan of Latin dance parties[4] but also an active dancer at the "Detelini" recreational dance club – was inspired to try and make a folklore dance party for his club together with guests from fellow clubs. He contacted the managers of bar "Zanzibar" because the place was big enough to host such an event and in May 2008 the first *horoteque* took place. It was an immediate success, and every Wednesday was the night of folklore for all connoisseurs from Plovdiv, soon gaining popularity among clubs from Asenovgrad, Smolyan and other nearby cities. After

2 years, this meeting for fun and friendly competition grew into the First Balkan Folklore Festival "Hopni mi, tropni mi", starting on April 6, 2012 and ending in June 2013.

In 2011 "Chanove" recreational club together with the organization "Horo.bg" – who also produced the first instructional DVD with Bulgarian dances in 2007 – created the first *horoteque* in Sofia under the name "Club of the Horo"[5] which was open '24/7'. The leaders of Chanove made the first such initiative abroad in The Hague (Netherlands) in 2013, which brought together about 15 Bulgarians from the local diaspora. Two years later, on October 10, 2015, Caspar Bik[6] and I, with the active participation of the Bulgarian Church in The Hague and with the help of the Bulgarian Embassy in the Netherlands, made a *horoteque* for Dutch and Bulgarians at the "Nitsanim" international dance organization.[7] This in turn provided an incentive for further joint work of Dutch and Bulgarian dancers in the form of mixed Bulgarian dance courses, various activities helped by the Bulgarian Embassy, and frequent gatherings with spontaneous *horoteques*.

Nowadays there are different dance parties focusing on Bulgarian dance all over Bulgaria and abroad, however there is only one active private institution in Sofia "Oroteka Sedyanka" (In Bulgarian: Оротека „Седянка")[8], see Example 1).

Example 1. Typical party at *horoteque* "Oroteka Sedyanka" in Sofia (video).
https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=593683721677955

The Heart of the Matter

As mentioned above, the name *horoteque* can signify a fixed location but it can also be a party organized by one or more people or a legal entity. It started as a place to dance from the people for the people and went on to become similar to a normal discotheque but with *horos*.

In the case of the Plovdiv *horoteque*, when the idea caught on and dancers wanted more, different other activities started taking place – for example, an evening of traditional costumes, a ball with masks, a pajama party, charity events and so on. In 2010 the natural competition between people on the dance floor grew into a real competition between the recreational clubs. Regular *horoteque* was on Wednesday, whereas the *horoteque* competition started happening every Saturday, an entrance fee was paid, music was on a CD or from a flash drive.

Plovdiv is the city where the Academy of Music, Dance and Fine Arts is situated. It was established in 1964. Since 1975 it has had a department of Bulgarian folklore choreography. Many active dancers in ensembles and/ or private dance companies founded recreational dance clubs as well to support themselves financially. During the first few months of the competition in the Plovdiv *horoteque* the participating and competing groups stemmed from Plovdiv, afterwards from the larger area around the town and at some point, from all around Bulgaria. There was a strict set of rules, a panel of judges with well-known choreographers. For every competition the panel of judges was different and there were three groups competing with two different dances. Every competition was videotaped and published on the Facebook page of the festival (see Example 2). However, competition incorporated within the *horoteque* activities never happened anywhere else in Bulgaria as a *horoteque*-based initiative.

Example 2. Plovdiv *horoteque* competition published videos on their Facebook page. https://www.facebook.com/nadigravane/videos_by

The second *horoteque* chronologically, as mentioned above, was founded in 2010 in Sofia and worked 24/7. It was situated in the heart of the city and for several years functioned quite well, riding the wave of the many club openings and the numerous competitions for recreational clubs organized all around the country. It closed its doors because it did not go beyond a functioning dance hall. Other *horoteques* opened in different cities of Bulgaria and they always had the following in common – big dancing space; music DJ who would play popular requests; drinks and food served during the party.

The only active Sofia *horoteque* nowadays is an interesting case worthy of discussion as it has survived even the Covid-19 lockdowns by adapting itself via marketing and management policies. When dance parties became too routine, it was the first and only *horoteque* ever to invite big ensembles with live musicians for a concert inside its space. In a way it functioned as a theatre stage for an hour or an hour and a half. Afterwards the people present would have the pleasure of live music by professional musicians and the possibility to dance along. A DJ party with popular demands would follow up until the early hours of the next day, always stopping at midnight for everyone to listen to the Bulgarian national anthem and then continuing with the dancing.

At a later point, the boss of the *horoteque* had the idea of inviting prominent Bulgarian choreographers to teach a so-called "master class" in Bulgarian dances to anyone present there. Last but not least, in the Bulgarian *horoteque* choreographers show not only Bulgarian dances, but also Greek, Serbian, Turkish and other Balkan dances. Some of those classes found their way onto online services such as YouTube, Facebook and Instagram – via the Facebook accounts of the *horoteque*, the teachers or participants (see Example 3 for one such video).

Example 3. Severnyashko khoro "Tŭkanata"- open lesson https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_u4z47EensA

The newest initiative of the "Oroteka Sedyanka" *horoteque* in Sofia is dance vacations twice a year, either before or after the active tourist season. Participants stay in hotel facilities near the sea or in the mountains and at the same time enjoy dance classes with professional teachers and DJ parties in the evenings. In 2021 the first dance cruise vacation took place along the river Danube a week before Christmas.

Traditional dances today and the influence of *horeoteque* on *horo* perception

As an active dancer and teacher of Bulgarian and Greek dances in Bulgaria and abroad, I have been a part of the recreational dance club movement since 1999 but more active since 2008 when I returned from Germany after finishing my MA. My first dance club was founded in the town of Assenovgrad, 15 minutes by car from Plovdiv. Needless

to say, my group was always present in the *horoteque*, however I never allowed them to take part in the competition as representing our club. My idea was that dance folklore cannot and must not go down the path of folk-fitness, on the contrary – clubs, their dance leaders and all dancers should do whatever they can to go to village fairs, dance with the locals, take in the music and dance of the dance event they are in. What is more, I always have preached the idea that live music and the connection between musicians and dancers must never be lost.

I have been to many of the parties and the competitions of the Plovdiv and the Sofia *horoteques*, I was also a judge in more than one panel in the "Zanzibar" *horoteque*, nevertheless my point was always to observe rather than participate. One could say that this is a clear case of participant observation [Kaeppler 1999:17–19] since my "dancerly point of view" [Farnell 2004] gave me a balance of -emic and -etic in the given context. My stance could also be partially explained by David Kolb's reflective observation theory [Kolb 1984].

Adding to all of the above, I am aware that when a researcher digs inside one's own culture, s/he cannot always stay impartial to how phenomena evolve and develop. Many times, I have caught and stopped myself before making a harsh and heavily biased remark when dancing with people in the *horoteque*; when trying to ask for live music or while being a judge on a panel of a competition there or in any other venue with a competitive character between clubs. I have always considered that it is quite unprofessional and detrimental to the work of a researcher to be too involved. However, when it comes to traditional dances, and replacement of one tradition with another, more *horoteque*-y kind of culture, I tend to stick to my non-professionalism. Come what may.

The Plovdiv *horoteque* was active for several years after it started while the dances performed there within the competition or in the DJ party could be characterized as still having a connection with traditional dances – groups were dancing their local repertoire. The rapid popularity of *horoteques* and the many clubs in the following years, however, brought on the fashion of showing off on the dance floor. Each and every club would dance a popular folklore dance with a pinch of something new added by their choreographer. Competitions with judges were not there but it felt as if the judges were around. The *horoteque* movement gave ground for a whole new repertoire which had nothing to do with traditional dances but the plethora of dancers are convinced of the opposite as shown in the answers of my respondents on the topic.

At this point I will give two examples of dances under the same name. The first one is of dance tutorial at the "Oroteka Sedyanka" *horoteque* where prof. Anton Andonov, head of the department of Bulgarian choreography of the Academy of Music, Dance and Fine Arts "Prof. Assen Diamandiev" – Plovdiv, teaches a choreographed dance under the name "Aidar Avasi" on the song "Moma odi za voda", performed by the singer Yordan Mitev from the Republic of Macedonia (see Example 4a). The dance was never popularized as a choreographic creation, so all of my respondents expressed sheer surprise when I showed the traditional *horo, Aidar Avasi* (see Example 4b).

Example 4a. Anton Andonov teaches a choreographed dance under the name "Aidar Avasi" at the "Oroteka Sedyanka" horoteque.
https://youtu.be/JnC7Uf2343A

Example 4b. Village group performing the traditional dance Aidar Avasi on the stage of the open-air festival Koprivshtitsa in 1986. https://youtu.be/-ENcTmecd3w

The second *horo* (Example 4b) is of a village group performing a local variation of *Aidar Avasi* on the stage of the open-air festival Koprivshtitsa in 1986. *Aidar Avasi* is a traditional dance from the Gotse Delchev area, its musical accompaniment is on two *zournas* and one *tapan*.

The choreography's undeniable appeal easily overshadows the traditional example in the hearts of dancers according to many of my respondents. The architectonic norm of the microform is altered in the newly coined dance. The old folklore model comprises 2 measures in the rhythm of 9/8 (QQQS). The new dance consists of the traditional 2 measures plus 2 more choreographed ones. In addition, the contemporary choreographic interpretation changes the connection of the dance with a specific melody. This would be a typical example of how *horoteque* changes the perception of dancers and teachers who learn their repertoire from there and so may directly or indirectly alter and/or replace tradition as they do not have and/ or have not been given in-depth information about a certain dance which they learned in a dance club, a *horoteque* or a folklore dance competition.

The repertoire of dance clubs includes modern models of new dances in a horo-like manner, created specifically for them. Some become especially popular, loved and are often performed – such an example is the dance "Douna" (see Example 5), created especially to the melody of the song "Douna ide" by Nikolai Slaveev.[9] Almost all of my respondents (404 people) wrote down that this dance is a traditional *horo* from the Pirin ethnographic area, whereas it was actually created by a choreographer.

Example 5. The dance "Douna", created especially to the melody of the song "Douna ide" by Nikolai Slaveev. https://youtu.be/f1_1Cs_Duo4

Example 6. The dance "Stamena" created especially for the song "Stamena" by the pop-folk singer Raina. https://youtu.be/iorBFf9dNew

Another such case is the dance "Stamena" whose creator is Stamen Stamenov, a choreographer with a recreational group in the town of Targovishte. The dance was created especially for the song "Stamena" by the pop-folk singer Raina.[10]

Both "Douna" and "Stamena" have a dance structure which was created by compiling or collaging a variety of movements, regardless of ethnographic regional specifics. Both songs to which the dances are choreographed and danced have a generic electrical sound to

them and cannot be easily identified as belonging to Pirin or Shopluk or any other ethnographic area. I joke many times that we must add a "Pub/*horoteque* ethnographic area" to the other established ethnographic areas of Bulgaria in order to accommodate this new type of dancing hailed as folklore. On the other hand, Petyo Krastev from the Academy of Sciences in Bulgaria says that those new creations lack the formative forces and dependencies of the architectural norm of *horos* [Krastev 2021:159]. These dances constitute freely constructed chains of dance movements, combinations not influenced by regional and local stylistic characteristics. Moreover, the anonymity of their authors and their wide popularity among clubs is reminiscent of principles from traditional folklore culture applied in modernity [Krastev 2021:159].

One could argue, in an attempt for extreme researcher's unbiasedness, that such newly created dances are in fact urban folklore and that *horoteques* are the nowadays village square (*megdan* in Bulgarian). I can only agree to the extent that dancers, teachers and the public know which is what – what is a traditional dance, which one of the two *Aidar Avasi* is the choreographed version and so on. However, this is rarely the occasion in the case of *horoteque* dance classes. On a positive note, in the answers to my questionnaires and in personal conversations, more and more dancers have expressed a genuine wish to know additional background info and have a desire to search for and dance traditional dance material.

Instead of a conclusion

In the spirit of Arjun Appadurai's "deterritorialization" [Appadurai 2000:7] where people become detached from their home turf, one could speculate that recreational clubs as hybrid forms of a new genre were born detached from one of their "homes" – that is, the village tradition – and lean more towards the choreographed material as well as the overall ensemble-like feeling (such as the warming up by Bulgarian exercises; the dance attire worn, and so on). Thus, they lack the sensitivity of what is considered traditional or not under the prism of the village dancing laws of aesthetics.

By the words of Daniela Ivanova-Nyberg "[…] the folk-dance group in the urban environment began to provide and support the almost solitary opportunity for folklore-related dancing as a *product* which is not already folklore as a *process*" [Ivanova-Nyberg 2012:59, see also Giurchescu 1999:42-44].

Exactly because of dancing as a product and the deterritorialization, modern urban people but also villagers who no longer have the bond with tradition, have less and less knowledge of what traditional dances look like. On the other hand, the exponential growth of recreational clubs in Bulgaria leads to a constant demand for new repertoire to be taught and danced. My hypothesis is that *horoteque* alters the perception of active dance teachers, dancers and dance connoisseurs as to what traditional *horo* is and looks like. Due to the rapid mediatization of the past few decades, aided to a big extent recently by the several consecutive lockdowns in 2020 and 2021, many videos from *horoteques* all around the country have found their way online. My observations show that online material is rarely reflected upon, rather it is regarded as true.

Endnotes

1. The suffix -*theque*/ *teque* comes from Latin (*theca*) which in turn borrowed it from Greek language (*θήκη*) and means box, chest or a sheath.

2. For more on the topic see Ivanova-Nyberg, Daniela [2009].

3. Belomorie Club (Клуб "Беломорие") was established in 1993 by Margarita Nedkova. A group from the Youth Organization of IMRO enthusiastically start dancing people from the southwestern parts of Bulgaria,

accompanied by zurni and drums. A little later, the young people named their club "Belomorie" after the song of the same name by the great Bulgarian singer Lyubka Rondova. <https://www.facebook.com/%D0%9A%D0%BB%D1%83%D0%B1-%D0%91%D0%B5%D0%BB%D0%BE%D0%BC%D0%BE%D1%80%D0%B8%D0%B5-1973725615993253/>.

4. Salsa was already a very popular form of social dancing after the year 2000 and there were salsa parties every Thursday at club “Casa de Cuba” in Plovdiv.

5. “Chanove“ is the biggest club in terms of members in Bulgaria with franchises in almost all big cities. The Horoteque they created no longer exists but there is a functioning webpage here < http://horoteka.bg/>.

6. Caspar Bik is a dance teacher from the Netherlands, specializes in dances from the Black Sea region (Armenian, Georgian, Turkish and Bulgarian dances). Caspar is also an eurythmy teacher at the de Vrije School in the Hague <https://www.devrijeschooldenhaag.nl/> and a dance teacher and choreographer at the De Vrije Theaterschool <http://www.vrijetheaterschool.nl/de-School/>

7. The “Nitsanim” international dance organization <https://www.nitsanim.nl/>.

8. “Oroteka Sedyanka” <https://www.facebook.com/orotekasedianka/>

9. Nikolaj Slaveev and song “Duna ide” <https://youtu.be/r4znrnEAiDU>.

10. Raynaand song “Shto Imala Kasmet Stamena” <https://youtu.be/_c0KvsVBvs8>.

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Performing *chalgia* – changing performance place and space *vs* changing performance context

The Macedonian *chalgia*, as a specific living traditional music form, is mostly connected with the development of the Macedonian old-urban music tradition and urban life in the 19th and 20th centuries. It was performed at a specific cultural place and space for performance and had a specific role in society marking and describing all important events in the everyday life of the urban people. Being still a living tradition, with its transmission in contemporary performance, it changed its performance place and space becoming a scenic interpretation with a different contextual function. Using comparative and applied methodology, this paper compares the past and the present performance of *chalgia* music in its different contexts connected with the changes of the performance place and space, as well as the changes of the role of the performers and their interpretation of the *chalgia* tradition in contemporary events.

Keywords: Macedonia, *chalgia*, places, spaces, context.

For a musical tradition to exist, it takes a group of people to cherish it, a cultural place/space where it can be practised, as well as a cultural context (cultural activity, occasion, event) in which the tradition can be nurtured. According to Nada Shvob-Gjokich, the term 'cultural space' is traditionally understood as the physical place where cultural activities take place, inhabited by people sharing the same civilizational and cultural values [Švob-Đokić 2004:10].

This paper examines Macedonian *chalgia* and its presence in different cultural places/spaces and contexts. *Chalgia* is a significant Macedonian musical tradition that was thriving in Macedonian cities, mostly in the 19th and 20th centuries, during the period of the country's revival. Macedonian *chalgia* is a particular musical style, with a repertoire created with specific musical instruments, such as: *qanun*, *oud*, lute, violin (locally so-called "*kjemane*"), clarinet (locally so-called "*grneta*"), tambourine, *def* or *tarabuka*.

The Macedonian urban *chalgia* centres (Ohrid, Veles, Bitola and Skopje) were cultural places with vibrant urban life, that keep an imprint of the personal stories of urban dwellers. The old-urban *chalgia* songs depict the everyday life of urban citizens' during the Macedonian revival period (19th and the 20th centuries), saving them for the current and future generations, and played a major role in the cultural and social lives of Macedonian urban centres.

Broadly speaking, the city is the cultural space, the starting point where the presence of *chalgia* may be located. While the presence of *chalgia* may be tracked on the city streets (of course, only on certain occasions), in the restaurants (*kafeani*) and some localities in the city, it was primarily nurtured in people's houses. Most of the events of everyday life took place at home, on different saints' days, name days, matchmaking events and so on, which made the home a small but significant cultural space.

It is interesting to note that the houses of well-off families in Veles were designed by paying special attention to the location of the *chalgia* group during familial festivities. This directly contributed to the interior design of the house, so the vast balconies (*chardaci*), which are open to the sides (or some of the larger guest chambers), reserved a special place for the *chalgia* group. As Djimrevski describes, this is a place, a small still podium made

of planks (about 30 to 40 cm high, with a surface of 10 to 15 m²) called "minder",[1] where the *chalgia* group sat cross-legged, playing traditional dances and songs to the guests who were present [Djimrevski 1985a:18].

Figure 1. Part of the old-town guest room in the house of Kire Vangelov from T. Veles (19th century) showing the part of the room with a small podium for the *chalgia* ensemble (photograph taken in 1977; copied from the Archive of the Institute of folklore "Marko Cepenkov" – Skopje).

Figure 2. Part of the balcony of the old house of the Kasapovi family from Veles, with a small podium for the *chalgia* ensemble (photograph taken in 1977; copied from the Archive of the Institute of folklore "Marko Cepenkov" – Skopje).

It is a well-known fact that a similar interior design also existed in the houses in Bitola and Krushevo. Marula Nikoloska explains that the interior design of the houses of well-off families was adapted for this purpose, usually the central area on the first floor so-called *chardak* [Nikoloska 2009:73].[2]

While it cannot be confirmed that the "minder" in the guest chambers in Ohrid was strictly intended for the *chalgia* groups, there were interesting and typical night sailings from Ohrid town on Ohrid lake, in the skiffs (*chunovi*)[3] which are no longer made and were replaced by the barques (*kajchinja*). Vladimir Tuntev explains that these Ohrid skiffs had a special balcony where the *chalgia* group sat. He describes that, when heading to St. Naum,

the well-known Ohrid *chalgia* group called "Tajfata na Sadilo" was sitting on the skiff with a balcony and the rest of the crowd was seated on the other skiff [Tuntev 2004:108].[4]

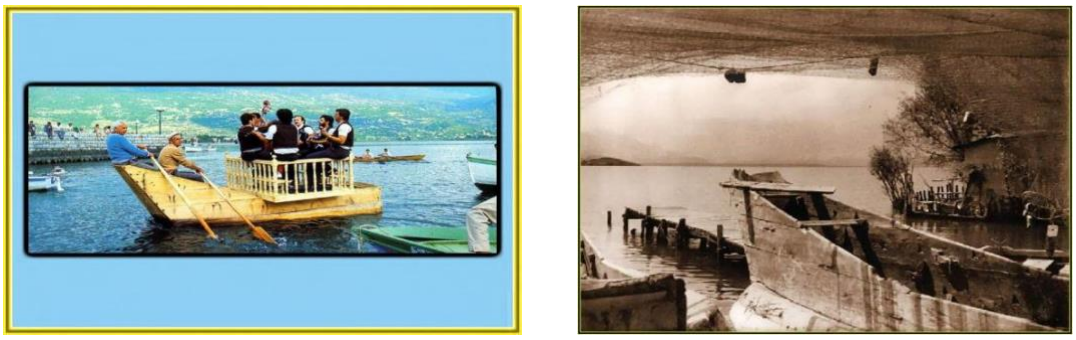

Figure 3, 4. Ohrid skiffs (*Ohridski chunovi*) (copied from the private archive of the interlocutor Vlado Zhura).

Milka Sadilo, daughter of the famous Ohrid *chalgia* musician Klime Sadilo, speaks of the unforgettable and alluring serenades at the time, performed for the girls who lived in Kaneo (presumably the most beautiful place by the Ohrid lake), by boys in love. Boys would rent a skiff with a balcony and pay the Sadilo *chalgia* group to play for the girls. Sadilo's other daughter, Margarita Sadilo, mentions the "Venice nights" (*Venecijanski vecheri*), organized between the two world wars when the Ohrid skiffs and barques sailed with Sadilo's *chalgia* group.[5]

People also sailed on skiffs when going to the monasteries in the evenings before religious holidays. They would sleep in the monastery and celebrate the holiday in the morning. Fairs (*panagjuri*) held outdoors (in this case, near the monasteries), served not only as a place for merchants to trade products, but also for the celebration of the merchants with the rest of the crowd. Vlado Zhura describes how the skilful Ohrid restaurateurs opened restaurants near the fair, while various musical ensembles entertained and pleased the crowd.[6] Tatarovska believes that fairs greatly contributed to the popularity of urban music, saying that "in addition to brokering deals between the partners of the commercial and artisan world, the cultural lives of our people also took place at the fairs" [Tatarovska 2001:77].

Artisans from various cities and their guild associations celebrated different patron saint's holidays when craftsmen, foremen and apprentices would go to church for the service and then gather for lunch (in absence of information about the location of the gathering, it is assumed the lunch either took place in somebody's home or in some open-air urban place – note by the author), followed by a celebration with *chalgia*.[7]

Evidently, there were many occasions and events that would not go by without hearing the sound of *chalgia*. Not only was it present during the celebration of the patron saints of houses, name days, dinner parties, evening sittings[8] (in a quiet and intimate atmosphere), fairs, holidays for patron saints of guilds, different Muslim and Christian holidays, circumcision events, when a new house was built (called "*Kutlama*" in Bitola), even funerals, but it is also interesting to note that some *chalgia* groups played in the bey's estates and even in the sultan's court.

From the cultural spaces and contexts where *chalgia* was nurtured, weddings were the most specific because they took place in several different locations around the city. In addition to the festivities in the homes of the families, at some point the *chalgia* group and the wedding guests moved through the city streets and the city bazaar, even in the

churchyard where the bride and groom were wed. In fact, the whole wedding procession was led by *chalgia* music. In almost every city where the *chalgia* tradition was nurtured, weddings followed certain rules in terms of the role of *chalgia*. *Chalgia* dictated which songs and dances were played during certain parts of the wedding ceremony, but also the order of the movement of the wedding guests together with the *chalgia* performers (*chalgadziite*) during the wedding ceremony.[9]

The city restaurants (*gradskite kafeani*) were also interesting places where *chalgia* music was nurtured, and their function as a cultural space was more pronounced in the city of Skopje. A fascinating fact about *chalgia* in Skopje is that the performance of the *chalgia* players was followed by a performance of professional female dancer, called *chocheci*, and as Djimrevski explained in his book, they often used metal plates (*champari, zils*) or wooden spoons to emphasize the rhythmical part of the dance.

Figure 5. *Chalgia* group from Skopje, with the professional female dancers from Thessaloniki, in front of "Dardaneli" kafeana in Belgrade (photograph taken in 1930; copied from the Archive of the Institute of folklore "Marko Cepenkov" – Skopje).

He also says that between the two world wars, the most famous restaurants where the best *chalgia* groups (*chalgiski tajfi*) played in Skopje were "Mavrovo", "Janche" and "Bela kafeana" [Djimrevski 1985a:36]. In Ohrid, Milka Sadilo considers that the most famous restaurants, where the *chalgia* performers played, were "Orient" and "Letnica". Kosta Bele's inn in Kalishta, where Angjele Karagjule (one of the first Ohrid *chalgia* performers – *chalgadzii*, *troubadours*) played, is famous for the song "Fanche ojde vo Kalishcha" [Fanche went to Kalishcha].[10] Alo Tonchov tells that during the summer, the cafes around Kojnik in Veles (one of the largest and most beautiful neighbourhoods of Veles, inhabited by the most respectable and well-off families from Veles – note by the author) were the place to play and dance,[11] while Smilevski mentions three restaurants, two bakeries, barbershops and other shops on the square in Veles, where in the evenings, you could feel the real life of the dwellers of Kojnik. It was the place to buy basic household supplies, to hear the town's news, a place for meetings and celebrations. During these celebrations, people would dance to traditional music played by the famous *chalgia* groups from Veles [Smilevski 2014:15].

Speaking about restaurants, as cultural spaces that nurtured urban music in Bulgaria, Ventsislav Dimov views their function from a different angle. In his article "Balkan taverns and cafes and the birth of the local recorded music" (*Balkanskite kr'chmi i kafeneta i*

razhdaneto na lokalnata zapisana muzika) he says that Balkan taverns, restaurants and cafes played a major role in the development of the local music culture in Bulgaria and in the Balkans in general, and that these places were a meeting point for opposing influences, such as "alla turca" and "alla franga", folklore and popular, urban and rural, domestic and foreign. He also says that such places, where popular city music was nurtured, existed in all major cities in Turkey and the Balkans, and he mentions the Macedonian cities of Bitola and Skopje. Dimov explains that these cultural spaces, where citizens were entertained by music (including *chalgia* music – note by the author), which was enjoyed alongside conversations and alcohol, from the 20th century (a period when the musical influence from Western Europe intensified) represented an opportunity to reshape old musical traditions so they gained new expression with the advent of technology. The gramophone appeared as a sound carrier, that enabled making the first gramophone recordings of musical pieces of the local city music performed by the city musicians.[12] The gramophone recordings made it possible for the music, that was nurtured in the Balkan restaurants and cafes, to be heard in a wider geographical area, so Dimov calls the various city restaurants, taverns and cafes – "incubators" of the first recordings of local performers with local repertoire (made by American companies for gramophone recordings). These were very important for the transition from live to recorded performances, the transition from mono-ethnicity to inter-ethnicity, from local to cross-border music, from tradition to modernity [Dimov 2007:45–49].

The above-mentioned refers to the cultural places and spaces that represented the core of everyday city life, enriched by the sound of *chalgia* music, which underlined the social and cultural function of this music tradition. While in the recent past the cultural space or the natural setting where the *chalgia* old-urban song was most frequently heard was the home of the well-off (*chorbadjiite*), where people would frequently dance (both, the performers and the guests, participated in the celebration), nowadays, this function has been taken over by public spaces and places, such as, different city restaurants, hotels, numerous urban clubs that support the independent and non-commercial musical scene around Macedonia, as well as the rarely organized festivals for traditional music. So, they become the old-new cultural spaces/places where *chalgia* flourishes in a new context, changed to some kind of concert/scenic performance. The mere existence of a stage in such performances underlines the division between the performers and the audience. Performers play according to a previously determined repertoire, while the audience only listens to the music and applauds. Thus, it is the stage that takes the major part for nurturing Macedonian *chalgia* music, and the change of the cultural space/place from the home to the stage, from the informal to the formal, contributed to the development of certain adaptations of the performance and the repertoire, which in turn affected the aesthetics and the function of *chalgia* music as an urban music tradition.

In her work "Socialist stage: politics of place in musical performance" Ana Hofman mentions the views of certain researchers who criticized the stage representation of traditional music, believing that it extracts traditional music from its "natural context". They considered that the performance of cultural activities (in this case the performance of *chalgia* music – note by the author) in an informal setting ("private" place) (in this case the home of the well-off – note by the author), among a smaller group of well-known people and without a strict division between the performers and the audience, are perceived as a "natural" setting or context to perform traditional music. While the non-stage performance is considered "pure", "spontaneous" and "naturally developed", the stage performance was perceived as "adapted", "non-spontaneous", while the stage was seen as an artificial space to present traditional music [Hofman 2010:123].

Various traditional music festivals represent exactly the space for stage performance of traditional music forms, but one of the most famous festivals that nurtures and supports the old-urban song is the "Ohrid Old-town Encounters Festival" (*Ohridski starogradski sredbi*), which was held in Ohrid from 1975 to 1994. Following a brief interruption, the festival was restarted and continues to be held to this day.[13] In her previously mentioned work, Ana Hofman offers a beautiful description of the process of organizing festivals, how they work and affect the authenticity of traditional music forms. Because they were organized according to a pre-arranged program, they required adaptations in the way the music groups performed and their repertoire (the selection of songs, as well as the process of shortening the chosen songs because of the strict time-frame) in order to keep the audience interested [Hofman 2010:125–129]. Therefore, the tendency to achieve a more attractive quality music programme, resulted in the adaptation of traditional music forms for stage performance, which in turn affected their authenticity.

When we speak about Macedonian *chalgia*, it can be noticed that today, urban city clubs represent the most frequent places that nurture the new stage/scenic form of this music genre, attended mostly by an audience comprised of the younger population, and the modern *chalgia* groups are the ones that strive to preserve the *chalgia* songs and dances, which is a legacy left by the old *chalgia* masters.

However, the modernity and the adaptations imposed by the stage performance of traditional music drove the transformation of the *chalgia* sound, which is a process that frequently leads to losing or distorting some of the authentic features of the Macedonian *chalgia*. Although a number of music groups are still nostalgically striving to preserve the spirit of the *chalgia* tradition, it has become more common for music groups to introduce instrumental changes and replace the un-tempered *chalgia* instruments with tempered instruments, such as the harmonica, guitar, keyboards, and so on. Such instruments are not typical for *chalgia* because these cannot play the microtones which occasionally appear in some of the *chalgia* songs and dances, and they also disrupt the monophonic nature of Macedonian *chalgia*. These ensembles, that introduced tempered instruments, are described by Djimrevski as stylized ensembles [Djimrevski 1985b:130] and in such form they are mostly present in city restaurants, which continue to nurture the old-urban song. A typical restaurant music band comprises a violin, harmonica, guitar and double bass. These ensembles also adjust their repertoire, reducing the performance of *chalgia* songs and dances, in order to introduce newly-composed folk songs, *kafana* songs, as well as songs in Serbian language, to cater to the taste of listeners, even though they are not in accord with the *chalgia* repertoire or sonority. Thus, to please the momentarily desired songs by listeners, a music group must be able to play a wide range of songs, especially songs which have nothing to do with *chalgia* music.

According to my interlocutor Taso Pavlovski, one of the most significant transformations was brought about by technology, which led music ensembles to play using microphones that intensified the sound.[14] Acoustic playing is mostly avoided because of the altered context and the spatial requirements, distorting the intimate quiet atmosphere typically created by the *chalgia* groups.

When we speak about wedding ceremonies, certain transformations have also taken place, especially the concept of the music. In the past, *chalgia* was the primary element that led the whole wedding ceremony, but today, you can rarely find a *chalgia* ensemble as part of a wedding celebration. If a *chalgia* ensemble plays during a wedding, they would usually play only in one part of the whole celebration, for example when the guests are resting (during lunch or dinner, depending on the type of wedding).

The sequence of transformation makes perfect sense considering the times we live in, the way people live today, where technology and its advancement affects many aspects of urban life. However, it is important to remember that there was a *chalgia* tradition closely related to the city as a general cultural space where it was, and still is, performed. It was part of the everyday lives of citizens and could be heard on certain occasions (cultural contexts) and in certain places (cultural spaces). *Chalgia* played an important cultural and social function, which became more pronounced in everyday gatherings, meetings and festivities that marked the social lives of citizens. At that time (in the period of Macedonian revival), it was part of everyday urban life, and today it is still part of the city, and with some sound transformations and changes in the new context, it is still nurtured as a cultural tradition. The research and analyses in the field point out that the most relevant cultural space where *chalgia* can be nurtured today is the Macedonian music scene, which includes a number of cultural events and festivals for traditional music. As long as this cultural space and the young enthusiasts exist, Macedonian *chalgia* music will be preserved (alive).

Endnotes

1. According to Abdulah Shkaljich, the meaning of the term "minder" is something soft which was used for seating on the "sèćija", and that every old house had one. That is a wooden seat placed by the window from one wall to another [Škaljić 1966:553]. But besides the "sèćija" with soft seating, the people in Macedonia also called the little podium made of planks "minder".

2. The "chardak" was the spatial communication centre of the house – a dominant element from which all other rooms could be accessed. It was used for celebrations, meetings with friends and so on [Nikoloska 2009:62].

3. Today, there is one example, a replication of the *chun*, that was made as a result of the project "Return to memories of the Old Ohrid Fishing Boat" initiated by the architect Goran Patchev from Ohrid. The boat was made by Goran Dimoski and since 2015 it is placed in the yard of the Institute for the protection of monuments of culture and Museum – Ohrid. In 1982, John Allcock started the idea and initiated the project for making a representative example of the *chun*. At that time, he was communicating with some important people from Macedonia, Mr. Matevski and Mr. Mihail Bande, asking for a skilful craftsman to make such a boat, as well as the director of the Exeter Maritime Museum – David Goddard, for providing an appropriate home for the boat. So, in 1987 two examples of *chun* were made, and after a presentation at the Ohrid Lake (Macedonia), one was transported to the Exeter Maritime Museum in Devon (county in South West England). My colleagues, Liz Mellish and Nick Green, sent me an article "The Ohrid Boat" by John Allcock, which describes all this process, and thanks to them I made a contact via mail (12 May 2021) with John Allcock, who said that, when the Exeter Maritime Museum was closed, the *chun* (along with many of their other items) was passed to the International Sailing Craft Association. So, no one has any idea where the boat is today.

4. The statements of the interlocutor Vlado Zhura (the journalist and publisher) during the discussion with the author were also used, 19 December 2009, Ohrid (personal notes); and more about the skiffs can be found in Nikola Stavrich's paper "Development of lake traffic on the Ohrid lake, from a wooden skiff to a motorboat", 1983:211–213.

5. Milka and Margarita Sadilo (daughters of Klime Sadilo) in their discussion with Borivoje Djimrevski, recorded on 12 August 2001, in Ohrid [Djimrevski 2001].

6. Vlado Zhura (journalist and publisher) in the radio documentary devoted to the song "Fanche ojde vo Kalishcha" (Fanche went to Kalishcha) played on the Ohrid radio "Lav" (see in the references below).

7. Also, data were used from the statements of the interlocutor Aleksandar Patchev (artist) during the discussion with the author, 19 December 2009, Ohrid (personal notes); more about the patron saint holidays can be found in: *Macedonian holidays*, Marko Kitevski, 2001.

8. Describing the Ohrid meetings/gatherings, Vlado Zhura says: "The times did not call for celebration and party […] but the soul of a man sometimes needs to indulge. And for that we had the chalgia players (*chalgadjiite*), Sadilo and his ensemble knew how to play not only the old-urban songs (*starozamanski pesni*), but also waltzes and quadrilles (*kadrili*), they also played at weddings, the custom of the first visit of newlyweds to the bridal parents, visits […]" [Zhura 1995:42].

9. Gjorgji Chochegovski (tambourine player) in his discussion with Borivoje Djimrevski (which took place on 15 February 1979, in Ohrid [Djimrevski 1979]), describes the wedding procession in the street that was heading to the house of the bride: the *chalgia* group was in the front, followed by the groom, his brothers

(*pobratimi*), the godfather, and the rest of the relatives, who stood in the back. They played a *chalgian* march (*marsh*) while moving down the bazaar. Once the bride joined them, they headed to the church. The *chalgia* group stood in front of the church during the marriage ceremony and once the newlyweds were outside, the *chalgia* group started to play. This information was also confirmed by Alo Tonchov (violin player) in his discussion with Dushko Dimitrovski (recorded on 14 June 1974, in Veles [Dimitrovski 1974]), who explained that in Veles the *chalgia* was also in the front row and the bride and the groom stood 3 to 4 meters behind them. In Smilevski's book, Alo Tonchov tells that, later on, these rules changed and their meaning was lost: the relatives started to dance in front of the *chalgia* group, which was incorrect according to him, saying that the wedding celebration should be in honour of the newlyweds, not the cheerful relatives. Their cheerfulness should be more pronounced in the home or the room where the celebration took place, not the city streets [Smilevski 2014:91].

10. Milka Sadilo (daughter of Klime Sadilo), in her discussion with Borivoje Djimrevski and Sonia Seeman, recorded on 06 June 1987, in Ohrid [Djimrevski and Seeman 1987].

11. Alo Tonchov (violin player) in his discussion with Dushko Dimitrovski, recorded on 14 June 1974, in Veles [Dimitrovski 1974].

12. According to Milka Sadilo (daughter of Klime Sadilo), in her discussion with the interviewer Valentina Nelovska in the TVM documentary *Pechat*, on 25 February 2015, Sadilo's ensemble recorded numerous tapes in the USA and Zagreb. Mesrur Said (violin and *qanun* player) in his discussion with Borivoje Djimrevski (recorded on 30 October 1983 in Skopje [Djimrevski 1983]), discusses that in 1925, his father's, Redjep Said, ensemble together with Stela Ashkenazi as vocalist and Mamut-bej playing the *oud*, recorded around twenty tapes with Turkish traditional songs in Zagreb.

13. This festival is mentioned in, Asen Grupche, *Ohrid / The Cultural and Creative Life in Ohrid and Its Surroundings in the 20th Century* [Grupche 1998:85], and also mentioned in the documentary *History of the Macedonian Folk Song*, accessible at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NBWfqtnGxbY>. [accessed 2018 May 27].

14. Taso Pavlovski (tambourine player) in his discussion with the author on 06 October 2017, in Veles (personal notes).

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What is there? Bulgarian dance and the internet

The study of "What is there?" is research for understanding today's processes of cultural transmission. It suggests that the internet is the platform with a major impact on the recreational repertoire across various dance communities and is also a significant predicament for building the 21st century Bulgarian performance repertoire. In addition, this paper addresses the new experiences with dance caused by the lockdowns of 2020-2021. Furthermore, it faces the recent "democratization" of the teaching methodologies and repertoires. It shares analytical observations on the data found on the internet, including YouTube and Facebook groups. Finally, it proposes potential reasons behind the observed trends and changes since the emergence of the Bulgarian folk dance clubs' movement.

Keywords: Bulgarian dance, internet, repertoire, dance-under-Pandemic.

Introduction

My research faced two stages of before and after the Pandemic.

According to my initial idea, my study entitled, "What is there? Bulgarian dance and the internet", would collect and analyse Bulgarian dance globally disseminated via YouTube and Facebook. The internet was viewed as the platform with a significant impact on the recreational repertoire across diverse dance communities and as a considerable predicament for building the 21st century performance repertoire of the Bulgarian groups in Bulgaria and abroad. In this regard, "What is there?" was envisioned as research for understanding today's processes of cultural transmission.

Under the Pandemic, my study on Bulgarian dance and the internet developed itself as a swing between planned and unplanned. Because of the travel restrictions, new phenomena appeared – for example, Bulgarian professionals conducting a zoom-workshop in a private hall in Bulgaria, Germany, or elsewhere, joined by hundreds of people attending the event from their homes in the United States, Europe, Asia, and other places across the globe. Dance lovers and followers gladly spread the news about such events via emails and Facebook. Along with this, issues of global, globality, globalism, globalization popped up, more vital than ever. In addition, people of various backgrounds began teaching online and one may encounter professional choreographers, folk dance club leaders, and individuals-dance enthusiasts among the instructors.

In observing this, I started asking myself, "What else (or new) is there?" What else, that was caused by, or inspired by, the new stage of globalization processes? In other words, the context of my research changed because of the dramatically intensified role of the internet. The internet (everybody's and nobody's space) became the only access to dance outside one's private home. The latter realization encouraged me – along with collecting my data – to review notions of globalization and mediatization,[1] reaching out to critical cyber-culture studies,[2] studies on internet society,[3] internet audiences,[4] mass communication,[5] visual methodologies,[6] and more.[7]

Initial research questions, theoretical framework and methodology

What is there? concerning Bulgarian dance and the internet is only the tip of the iceberg of who's, what's, why's, and so what's related to each of the existing genres and their audiences. Who posts Bulgarian dances videos (together with information about the Bulgarian dance) online, in what forms, and using what sources? What are the audiences and how do various respondents perceive the presented material? How does the 21st century folk dance club movement in Bulgaria play a role in disseminating Bulgarian dances worldwide? What is the impact of the available online sources? And what about the folk dance websites and Facebook discussion groups? What kind of descriptions and videos do they publish, and is there any censorship?

Apparently, I cannot address all of these questions.[8] But I can explore the available sources and contemplate the recent trends. I tried to keep my research horizon open, practising the "routine intellectual hygiene" believing with Albrow that it helps us

> […] avoid the historicists fallacy of seeing the present as the culmination of the past, always germinating in it. Instead we need to treat each successive present as the open outcome of an encounter with a world which human beings have only partially made themselves, on the basis of a collective experience we only dimly understand. This modest and limited, some may even say negative, awareness is necessary for writing about both past and the present. For it allows us to write about ruptures and shifts as much continuities, beginnings as much as repetitions. It has an important positive consequence: we are prepared for, but do not presuppose, the possibility of a shift from one age to another, and even in our own time. This is the attitude which leads me to declare that the Global Age has arrived [Albrow 1996:106–107].

I don't know how much (or if) we were prepared indeed for the most recent change. But I felt that due to the increased role of the internet and new technology in such a dynamic development, the best way to approach my topic is to reach out to scholars whose field is under construction. Such studies are the critical cyberculture studies – "with boundaries not yet set, with borders not yet fully erected, and with a canon not yet established" [Silver 2006:5–6].[9]

Along this direction, I also tuned my perspective to the studies of mediatization and the new ways of communication. Today we have "mediated politics, mediated family […]", wrote Livingstone [Livingstone 2009:ix]. And I believe we can also talk about mediated dance and mediated cultural transmission.

To provide an overview of the 2020-2021 period, I became a cyber-participant-observer, collecting data by watching videos on Facebook and YouTube, creating a list with examples belonging to particular categories, and documenting comments on social media, and conducting interviews with folk dance specialists. Below are some of my findings.

"What is there?" Online findings

Bulgarian dance on Wikipedia

Assuming that anyone interested in Bulgarian dance who doesn't know much about this topic would write on a search engine "Bulgarian dance", I typed "Bulgarian dance" on Google. First to pop up was the description posted on Wikipedia, with many hyperlinks embedded in the text. The introductory paragraph was followed by several segments

referring to regional differences, rhythm, and meter. There was also a list of Bulgarian folk dances providing further details, including references and video tutorials.

Prepare yourself for Bulgaria: Bulgarian dance on travel blogs

Travel blogs and websites that included information about the Bulgarian dance were also quickly displayed. One example was written in English by a young Bulgarian. His post offered an "interesting science" behind Bulgarian folk dances in terms of Bulgarian irregular meters. According to the author, this science "sheds some light on the magic behind the Eighth Miracle".[10] Here his "technical" paragraph continues with an explanation of the relationship between meters and dance types, with the stress on the "irregular" meters.[11]

This blog is not unique; there are various blogs and websites that are branding Bulgaria with slogans such as "are you ready for Bulgaria" or "be prepared for Bulgaria". Such travel blogs or websites always include video links. In my specific example, as in many other cases, including Wikipedia, these videos are the dance tutorials produced by Philip Koutev Ensemble during the first wave of Bulgaria's folk dance club movement.

Bulgarian dance on YouTube

Both professional and amateur folk performances and tutorials appear on YouTube. The Bulgarian amateur appearances include folk dance clubs' productions (in Bulgaria and abroad) and village performances. In terms of who shares such posts, there are professional choreographers or Bulgarian music and dance lovers, Bulgarians and non-Bulgarians.[12] Some aspects of the differences in posts made by professionals and amateurs are addressed further in the text.[13] There are many dance tutorials, along with various group performances (at concerts, festivals, dance competitions), dancing at weddings and other celebrations, flashmobs, and more).

Bulgarian dance on Facebook

Facebook provides material that sometimes duplicates the YouTube posts. However, it differs from YouTube in one significant point. The latter is regarding the establishment and the development of the Facebook discussion groups, the personal pages of ensembles of any kind, folk dance groups (all ages), and clubs based in Bulgaria and abroad. Such discussion platforms invite studies of post-performance audience connection [see Ivanova-Nyberg 2020] that also include commentaries under YouTube videos; these present a wide variety of personal tastes based on attitudes toward the "classical" traditional folk dance material. They also inform about the aptitude toward newly-created dance patterns. Examples of such forums are the Facebook groups, "**Sakrovishnitsata**" (the treasury house), and "**Vlyubeni v Horoto**" (Fallen in love with the *horo*).

Bulgarian dance on dance websites

Many choreographers developed their websites and shared their individual artistic and pedagogical practices or their work with a particular ensemble. Such sites include various videos accessible also on YouTube. The website "owners" are predominantly Bulgarians, but not only – there is a high percentage of international instructors who teach Bulgarian dance and post videos of their teaching materials. There are also websites, written by dance scholars, Bulgarians and non-Bulgarians, based in Bulgaria or abroad.[14]

Bulgarian dance on academic sites

Such an academic site is Academia.edu, where researchers of Bulgarian dance culture(s) include references to YouTube and social media in illustrating their research findings.

Analytical commentaries based on data collected in 2020 and 2021

I would like to begin by sharing the following quote by Livingstone:

> […] the media do more than mediate in the sense of 'getting in between' […]. Rather, they also alter the historical possibilities for human condition by reshaping relations not just among media organizations and their publics but among all social institutions—government, commerce, family, church, and so forth [Livingstone 2009:x].

The notion of mediated (Bulgarian) dance, proposed earlier, suggests a closer look at the current trends in Bulgarian society with its professional and folk dance club activities. It also demonstrates the stages that Bulgarian groups go through building a unified, mediated repertoire, that is, to a certain level, "synthetic" repertoire (under this category, I put the newly-created choreographies to popular folk/*chalga* tunes). The overview of the available sources in 2021 suggests, first of all, a higher degree of "democratization" in terms of having "rights" or the confidence to teach. The latter includes the multitude of styles of teaching and the kinds of dance materials. Everyone with a computer or phone can post their video online. Everyone can share it. Everyone can learn it – up to their ability to learn, and everyone can comment. Everyone can create a dance website, YouTube channel, Facebook dance page, or a Bulgarian folk dance Facebook group where discussions address the posted dance videos. In most cases, these are accessible from any corner of the globe by Bulgarians and non-Bulgarians. The Google translate option further facilitates the distribution of the available sources and supports the spread of unified dance repertoire and information about the dances.

My findings are put only boldly here. Some concern Bulgarian dance and the internet more broadly, while others specifically address the period 2020-2021. My "coding" of my research data displays:

> *change in the "function" or application of some of the folk dance tutorials produced by Philip Koutev Ensemble and other specialists*

In the dawn of Bulgaria's folk dance club movement in 2008 and 2009, such YouTube tutorials for popular dance were eagerly welcomed. There was a hunger for popular repertoire. In 2020-2021, these earlier examples became somewhat "retired". However, these tutorials – presented both with a rehearsal outfit by the instructor and by a couple of dancers dressed in staged costumes and to traditional orchestra accompaniment, remained an excellent source for beginners – mostly foreigners and can be considered an ideal material for branding the country.

> *a newer degree of departure from the initial idea of the club movement*

The fashionable examples of *horos* composed to *chalga* music show a noticeable degree of departure from the initial idea of the club movement: to go back to our roots, bring back to life long-forgotten traditional dances, and escape the *chalga* pollution. Today

there are certain groupings within the folk dance club movement and these rest on the repertoire choices of the clubs.

an increased number of virtual dance sessions offered by both professional choreographers and amateur folk dancers

Some amateur dancers began dancing before the camera not only to show their experience but also to teach. And here come some questions: Is this an urge for sharing one's experience, a longing for social interaction? Is it a kind of selfie (extended-and-shared-with-the-world image of me)? Or is it a search for the excitement to perform?[15]

various adjustments of dance figures due to space (mostly on Facebook platforms)

Often, steps and figures of a *horo* are presented in a minimal space, such as one's kitchen, living room, or backyard. The zoom-teaching requires various adjustments. Here, many details are left to the imagination and the learner's previous experience.[16]

composing new choreographies to new arrangements of a traditional song, or crafting new choreographies to chalga (and ethno pop-folk) tunes

The latter brings the topic discussed earlier by Professor Olivera Vasić on the occurrence of *Čoček* and *Šota* in Serbia ("give him/her, the dancer, the movement just for the move itself, he/she only cares for moving to let the pressure out," – quoting freely), [Vasić 1997]. There are strong public expressions of "pro" and "cons" under such videos.

different stands of popular Facebook groups for amateur folk dancing

"Sakrovishnitsata" (the treasury house) put criteria or guards on their platform in response (or as an alternative) to the "ethically silent dances". This approach certainly evokes (at least in me) Plato's idea that there should be guards in music. And here comes the question of both education and value that invite further research.

very dynamic activities of some popular Facebook forums, including reaching out to the Bulgarian government

These activities are related to sharing and re-resharing dance materials of various kinds, passionate discussions, live presentations, and even arguments for sending a petition to the Bulgarian government. This petition was an appeal to Bulgarian officials to open the dance halls. The latter brought to my table some of the "classical" Habermassian's writings on the public sphere [Habermas 1991] and more recent texts on public space.

A further increase of repertoire of the folk dance clubs, divided more visibly into clusters

The folk dance club movement underwent various stages and has grown multiple branches or clusters. These branches developed specific repertoires that Bulgarians (in Bulgaria and abroad) and International folk dance groups quickly adopted.

Zoom classes and seminars

These were disseminated both via Facebook and YouTube. Zoom classes and seminars became a separate topic to research because of teachers' and learners' experiences and participants' comments shared publicly online.

Further elaboration

In summary, my remarks have three aspects. The first concerns the actual findings online, the second is the research approaches, and the third is a call for joint efforts.

The online data

The ethnographic data reveals dynamics that flow in various directions. These concern,

- changes in the "meaning" or the function and application of videos published a decade ago
- the repertoire
- the ways of teaching (due to the background of the instructors)
- the online performance-audience connection
- the ways of using the internet

My overview suggests that the folk dance club movement is not monolithic anymore. Today, each of these clubs, established in the past decade or earlier, has hundreds of dances. The membership includes thousands of people who went through such clubs. Some former members meanwhile founded their clubs as one establishes a business. This direction was not on the horizon during the first five years of the clubs' existence but was facilitated by the economic and political environment in the country.

The YouTube tutorials that were so needed in 2008 and 2009 are now playing a different role since the initial hunger of the first clubs for traditional material was satisfied. In 2008 I collected surveys in which Bulgarians stated that the reason for the folk dance club's popularity is that there is a need to go to our roots, that "we grew tired of *chalga*". But it is not true anymore. At least, it is not valid for a more significant number of recreational dancers who readily embrace the *chalga* genre while dancing newly choreographed patterns.

What happened? Is it because there is a constant hunger for new material and the "catchy" tunes are delicious for being choreographed? Or is it so because, as we remember from Raina Katzarova, the dances have fashions [Katzarova 1955:34]? Or is it so because we may expect to find at least a few "branches" at any time we have a massive movement like this? On the one end, today, we have professionals who advocate for careful research before offering any folk dance to one's club members. On the web, such a position is held by the Facebook group "Sakrovishtnitsata" administrated by our colleague, Dilyana Kurdova, and a folk dance specialist Misho Kadiev. I interviewed both of them, and I know that particular repertoire will never be shared on the monitored platform. Such an example would be a dance named "Green Salad".[17] At the same time, another popular Facebook group, named "Vlyubeni v horoto" allows everyone to share everything that they or their group does.

One may call the "Sakrovishnitsata" approach (that is respectful to both classical folk dance tradition and the "classical" folk dance choreography school) "the purist's approach". On the other end is the approach that welcomes new choreographies to newly composed *chalga* tunes. Let's call it "the Green Salad approach" (it may be equally named after the

name of another popular *chalga* melody[18]). This way of grouping is not judgmental; it simply describes two noticeable trends in the clubs' repertoire developments.

There is a third line between "the purist" and "the Green Salad" trends (thousands and thousands of people love to dance holding hands in a circle with no strict ties to the "classical" traditional repertoire). To the third trend (and in between the two approaches described above) belong various fashionable choreographies. Such an example is the dance *Stamena* – a pattern created by a student in choreography named Stamen. Stamen used the popular Bulgarian version of the traditional Macedonian song, *Stamena*. The tune and the steps immediately attracted the clubs' attention, and *Stamena* became internationally recognized Bulgarian repertoire.[19]

All these materials – from my selection for the Western Washington University (WWU) students for educational purposes[20] to examples of folk dance club's repertoire with its branches, reach both Bulgarian communities abroad and non-Bulgarians who are Bulgarian music and dance lovers.

Instructors that appeared on Zoom, Facebook, and YouTube were all "conscious" of the "eye" of the camera. They pay close attention to the quality of the sound and the space itself. Dances of varied nature, some newly composed, and video clips appeared. The professionals used the Bulgarian folk choreography's methodology (and the terminology), while others used their vocabulary and understanding of breaking down a complicated pattern.

Additional remarks

Here I want to return to Albrow's quote with his reminder about the expected repetitions but also new beginnings. With the 2020-2021 recent occurrences, the mediated dance needs to be analysed, I believe, within two contexts: the first one is when life with (within) media is optional. In such context, the reviewing and collecting of the dance materials available online are most commonly physically shared with other people. The global lockdown generated a new context in which connecting to the internet was the only way to have a social (and even dance) experience in whatever format generated a new context. Because of these, the mediated cultural transmission processes (concerning dance) became significantly intensified during the lockdowns. During the Pandemic, Facebook, "the village square," offered an abstract space for "folk" dancing that was the only space for dancing with others (while staying home). However, Facebook (with its discussion forums) also showed indications to serve as a public sphere (as was the case with my example of submitting a petition to the Bulgarian parliament to open the dance halls).

We live in a heavily mediated world where the internet is used in a new way. Therefore, the topic of "What is there?" concerning dance could be viewed only through consulting fresh approaches – both cross-cultural and cross-disciplinary. If mediatization refers to the meta-process by which everyday practices and social relations are historically shaped by technologies and media organizations [Livingstone 2009:ix-x], it seems that approaches in studying mediatization, for example, is a helpful direction to go for studying dance and/in the internet.

Theories in mediatization, with their intersection with theories in communication and cyberculture studies, provide a large platform for looking at dance as a "mediated" cultural form that is also used for branding the country.[21] If we are all globalized (after Bauman) and mediatized, it is worth exploring what happens with the dance shared online. Simultaneously, we, dance researchers, need to put our object of study within various contexts, as suggested by critical cyberculture studies.

While paying attention to the Bulgarian dance on the internet, my paper is a call for a joint project of our study group on Folk Music and Dance and the internet.[22] The perspectives in approaching the topic of dance in/and the internet are nearly endless. And although these questions were already vibrant before the global pandemic caused by Covid 19, with the lock-downs in the years of 2020 and 2021, these became even more important since the human needs for music, dance, and arts, in general, were able to be fulfilled by meetings and interactions online only.

Instead of conclusion

The high modern societies are media-saturated societies, wrote Lundby [2009:2]. Then he continued by quoting Scott Lash, according to whom there are two modernities and "the second modernity is one in which the media spread like a disease" [Lash 2005, cited in Lundby 2009:2]. Under the global pandemic, this metaphor brings goosebumps. And yet, dance is always about elevating the human spirit and body. Regardless of how big the mediated dance topic had become, whatever significant historically and culturally, I hope that the issues concerning the physical reality – with the joy of dance shared with other people in person – would prevail.

Endnotes

1. For example, Albrow [1997]; Bauman [1998]; Lundby [2009].

2. Silver; Massanari [2006].

3. See Bakardjieva [2006].

4. See Bermejo [2007].

5. See Peterson [2003].

6. See Rose [2016].

7. See for example Ingram et al [2019] and Charmaz [2014].

8. For my previous investigations, see Ivanova-Nyberg [2013].

9. This quote is from Silver who broadly defines this field as a critical approach to new media and the contexts that shape and inform them; its focus is not merely the Internet and the Web but, rather, all forms of networked media and culture that surrounds us today, and to mention, that will surround us tomorrow [Silver 2006:5–6].

10. The notion of Bulgaria as the "eighth miracle" was introduced by "Bulgare" National Ensemble, that is a private folk ensemble.

11. Source: <https://svetdimitrov.com/bulgarian-folk-dances/> (accessed 2021 Mach 16).

12. Professional choreographers in Bulgaria have received their BA or MA diplomas from a higher institution that offers such degrees and teaches Bulgarian dances full-time. Amateurs are typically members of one or more clubs for recreational dancing.

13. For the difference in comments regarding folk dance clubs/groups/ensembles in Bulgaria and abroad see Ivanova-Nyberg [2020].

14. See for example ≤https://eliznik.org.uk> (accessed 2021 April 2).

15. A survey I conducted at the beginning of 2021 with members of folk dance groups in Bulgaria and abroad showed that the performance aspect is as needed as the social aspect and the dancing itself.

16. Selena Rakočević shared similar observations during the virtual meeting of our study group on ethnochoreology in 2020.

17. See for example <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9sfTLyem3nw> (accessed 2021 April 4) or <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QTFI9Q3XILE> (accessed 2021 April 4).

18. Another example is Kruchmarskoto: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C93MIPWXIH8> (accessed 2021 April 4)

19. A video of Stamena performed by a club may be accessed here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TKmEAK-KtT0> accessed 2021 April 4), and a lesson – here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sMBqLbQNVsw> accessed 2021 April 4). In the tutorial, the

instructors explains that "this is not an 'authentic' dance, but rather a choreographic composition offered by Svetla and Stamen Stamenovi".

20. See for example Illustrative Materials: YouTube Bulgarian Music and Dance Videos (examples) ≤https://www.academia.edu/50948553/Illustrative_Materials_YouTube_Bulgarian_Music_and_Dance_Videos_examples_≥ (accessed 2021 September 12).

21. Special cases are the initiatives of Richmart Ltd. ≤https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCOi1JSukXfISgeHistArvAA≥ (accessed 2021 April 10) and the flash mobs of Bulgarians abroad (See for example <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LtNCvL4DuLU> (accessed 2021 April 5).

22. This idea was initially ignited by the volume "Folklore and the Internet" edited by Trevor J. Blank [2009].

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The troubled tune of Iran: Mohsen Namjoo's music in between diaspora identity in a new performance place

Throughout the 1970's Islamic revolution in Iran, most of the active musicians had to leave the country due to the sociopolitical problems and the newly prescribed understanding of Permitted/Forbidden Music (*Halal* / *Haram* Music). With this new shift rather than resisting the new culture, they had to embrace the new cultural values and tones to reflect the homeland. Mohsen Namjoo was one of the musicians who had to leave the country more recently due to the always changing sociopolitical conditions.

Keywords: Mohsen Namjoo, ethnomusicology, contemporary music, Iranian contemporary music, Forbidden Music

Questions about the permissibility and regulations regarding music in Islamic law and Persian / Iranian rule have been discussed historically. Since the 1979 Revolution, Iranian music and musicians have been suppressed by its theocratic state and supervisory boards. Religion and political censorship banned musicians who meet with the public at every opportunity banned women from singing, and suppressed, among other examples, the production, distribution, and consumption of music deemed 'incompatible' with the values of the Islamic Republic. However, due to these restrictions in the last three decades, musicians and their music have benefited from new media technologies. During this period, musicians turned to digital media in order to convey their voices to their audience both faster and uncensored.

To address the issues of Legal / Forbidden Music (*Halal* / *Haram* Music), the music that is considered prohibited or *haram* according to Islam is non-religious and "sensory" music, as well as any pre-Islamic or non-Islamic music, in other words, human emotions are activated by these genres of music that are not accepted according to Islam. Religious leaders are often hostile to music, it has been viewed with suspicion as its effect on the listener cannot be justified or explained theologically.

Although it is fundamentally problematic, the religious use of music has been accepted as 'obligatory', therefore it is believed that the religious use of music helps to achieve religious sublimation, and is not the same as 'music' as understood in western literature.

While various distinctions have been made to preserve the religious use of music, what is controversial for Islamic scholars is the permissibility of instrumental music, seriously measured songs, pre-Islamic and non-Islamic music accompanying ancient mystical poetry, Persian traditional music while producing this dilemma, the pressure of the music also produced power. Music therefore began to serve as a means of power; it defines and disregards the use of non-religious music while using the power of the religious segment to control the behaviour of the masses by identifying and promoting religious practices [Youssefzadeh 2000].

However, what should be noted at this point is that with the generation of power, the Islamic authorities also generate counter power.

Although the permissibility of music in Iran stems from the inculcation of *haram* and *halal* music criteria, the government has played an important role in legitimizing religious ideologies as well as in self-development through music.

Music has been at the centre of Iranian governments and dynasties for centuries. For example, the tradition of a girl singing was documented in royal courts centuries before the birth of Islam, and music theorists were highly revered by political leaders and their dynasties spanning the centuries before and after the Islamic Revolution.

While its role in politics and the role of politics in music is limited to political music and political participation in music, the term 'politics', in this case, refers to what British political scholar John Street [2012:160] describes as the "circulation and use of public power" in relation to music.

Political music in post-revolutionary and pre-revolutionary Iran refers to all kinds of music associated with or representing the state and its ideologies. This type of music in Iran includes patriotic hymns and songs performed such as military marches and the national anthem that when broadcast, support pro-government ideologies.

The use of internet over Iran

The state-sponsored internet was originally introduced in the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1993 for academic and organizational purposes. The government saw the internet as an opportunity for two main reasons; as an alternative way of achieving scientific and technological progress within Iran, and they considered the Islamic Republic to be a tool for external networks to promote their ideology in the furthest reaches of Iran.

Public curiosity and the popularity of the internet quickly exceeded the initial expectations of IPN, Iran's main academic service provider, which approached the internet solely as a tool for scientific exchange of ideas in the inter-university system [Rahimi 2003].

"Compared to well-developed state controls over print media, radio and television, the internet initially also allowed independent media and opposition voices by providing a relatively independent medium for communication in Iran" according to an OpenNet Initiative report published in June 2009 [Rahimi 2003]. Thanks to special access to the internet and its applications, universities and government institutions created a total of 250 internet users in Iran in 1994. But as the demand for internet access increased, the necessary physical and technical infrastructure expanded and in just a decade the internet became available to the public.

About Mohsen Namjoo

Mohsen Namjoo,[1] born in 1976 in the state of Khorasan, one of the epicentres of poetry and music in northern Iran, is a singer-songwriter, music scholar and *setar* (traditional Persian instrument) musician currently living in New York. Appearing in world-renowned media like The New York Times, The Guardian, the BBC, the Los Angeles Times and many more, Namjoo is considered a visionary artist speaking for young people in Iran. He seamlessly blends classical Persian music and scales with electric guitar, Rock and Blues vocal techniques, and Persian *Avaz* (singing).

Since his departure to the USA in 2009, Namjoo has travelled the world to give concerts in prestigious halls including the Palace of Fine Arts (San Francisco), La Sala Verdi - Conservatorio di Milano (Italy), Disney Hall and Mark Taper Forum (Los Angeles), Barbican Hall (London), Symphony Space (New York), Volkswagen Arena (Istanbul) and more. From Tehran to New York, Melbourne to Istanbul, Berlin and many more cities in a

short time he has become one of the few Middle Eastern artists followed from all over the world.

About Namjoo's music style

Mohsen Namjoo's Shams piece, along with the rest of his recordings, creates an online space for internet users inside and outside of Iran to experience. Namjoo moved from Iran early in his career as a musician, partly because state-enforced censors prevented him from living an important life as a musician inside Iran. Due to his nomadic career, the majority of his fans and followers kept pace with him through online channels. The unauthorized publication of Shams, which led to Namjoo's prison sentence in 2008, was originally on the internet. Considering Namjoo's international acclaim and being a generally permitted (but unwillingly by conservatives) musician in Iran prior to Damascus's release, the case initially did not receive political attention. However, shortly after the Iranian scientist, Abbas Salimi, sent the report to the authorities, the issue of Shams' regulability became widespread among Islamic scholars and Quran experts. Namjoo's lyrics make his music so important. With the connotations of love and lust, he reveals his compositions using ancient Iranian poetry, such as the works of the 13th century mystical poet, Rumi, or the 14th century poet Hafez, but with his mastery of Persian literature, he adds layers of meaning to accepted forms by writing his own words. While challenging Iran's cultural prohibitions, he is not afraid to emphasize contemporary issues.

Although forced to live in exile and assigned a reputation as a political dissident by juxtaposing associations, Namjoo continued to produce and publish Shams professionally online. However, Namjoo's case has been suspended online and in real time. Namjoo's career thrives in various music fields and the Iranian diaspora around the world, thanks to online music distribution platforms, online radio, online social networks, his website (which is the official website of his independent recording label), numerous blogs hosted inside and outside of Iran, forums and independent news agencies, all (excluding sites hosted in Iran) are within reach of the Iranian government's tightening control.

The effect of the new performance space on the artist

Designing space should be one of the basic concepts within the scope of the word architecture, as it is in every branch of art that has aesthetic concerns. The sound and structural integrity that arise when music and architecture come together add aesthetics to architecture, transforming the visual sense into a sensory sense at the same time.

According to the French sociologist Henri Lefebvre (1901–1991), space is socially produced in three ways: by living, perceiving, and designing [Lefebvre 1991]. Lefebvre, who conceptualizes the abstract and concrete space by separating it with this triple dialectic, argues that in order to change the world, it is necessary to change the space. Architecture, which has been discussed throughout the ages, when considered as a concept, contains more than one component. Just like in music, it has a strong relationship with other branches of arts and sciences [Gündem 2015].

Assuming that space is a variable element for a performance artist, it is necessary to examine its effect on the artist's performance not only in terms of architecture but also in a psycho-social context.

For example, Namjoo has been organizing concerts all over the world for many years, but after the first Istanbul concert in 2015, we can often come across the phrase "Istanbul is my second home" and "New York is my home" in interviews[1] with him. Namjoo, who

gained a huge fan base after this concert, organised concerts again in 2018 in Ankara and Istanbul and said, “I want to settle here one day”.

Covering an area in social media as large statistical as Namjoo’s, not just Iranians living in Turkey has now managed to get under the influence of Turks. The fame and success of the artist in a new space along with cultural variables stems from his style of conveying classical Persian poetry to his audience in unusual ways, and his use of his own sarcastic wordplay and metaphors in his lyrics.

Namjoo’s work in Turkey, Persian classical music, folk, western and traditional tunes are interpreted as innovative because it combines elements of rock with a modern sensibility. Namjoo does not find the performance venue, which is variable as an artist, sufficient only for organising concerts in different countries, so he tries to publicise his music via various social media without selling albums. The striking point here is that the album releases must be made through the Soundcloud application and then broadcast on YouTube, Spotify, Apple Music and other media.

Result

The interconnected global communication and communication network provided by the internet and its applications has changed the barriers to the bureaucracy facing music and musicians in the Islamic Republic of Iran and the diaspora. It changed the agreements on both sides of the issue of bilateral regulation of music in Iran. This had technical, political, economic, and social implications for Islamic jurists and their censorship systems and the music and musicians these censors aim to regulate.

Religious-political authorities routinely took a coercive attitude with technological advancement to recalibrate the effectiveness of institutionalized, relatively static systems of censorship enforcement.

Meanwhile, the results of this research show that music and musicians have managed to stay in a proactive position by using and developing the internet and its applications as alternative tools and dimensions to musical applications.

Although underground music and musicians have created and continue to create new musical venues online, they must devise and develop new technologies and practices to deal with the historically rooted and controversial barriers, underground music and musicians, and its turbulent diaspora both in Iran and in its growing diaspora. While emphasizing the importance of the performance space for the artist, we can see following the example of Namjoo that this identity reaches new audiences in different countries and leads to new channels without knowing the religion-politics or even language,.

Endnotes

1. Official website for Mohsen Namjoo <https://www.mohsennamjoo.com/> has links to press reports at <https://www.mohsennamjoo.com/press>.

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The relationship between the individual and 'dance space' in the Anatolian traditional dance context

This paper examines the conditions under which the interaction between the dancing body and the 'space' occur. It deals with the effect of the dancing place on the dance and dancer both individually and socially, and interprets the ways that the dancer and the dance are affected by the 'dance space'. It reflects on the diversity of the relationships established by the individual and society with the 'dance space'. It looks at the complex tripartite relationship between body, space (and place) and culture through a cognitive approach. It examines how space contributes to cultural learning and the effect of sensorimotor experience, perception and internal somatic states, which are abstract cultural concepts of dance.

Keywords: Space, place, body, traditional dance, performance, interaction.

This paper looks at the complex tripartite relationship between body, space (and place) and culture through a cognitive approach. It examines how space contributes to cultural learning and the effect of sensorimotor experience, perception and internal somatic states, which are abstract cultural concepts of dance.

Cognition is based on sensory perceptions, affect, and other internal somatic experiences, as well as imagery and sensorimotor stimuli. Therefore, the 'cognition paradigm' of cultural movement schemes embodied through dance and space interaction includes the cognitive formation procedure in the mind and the manifestation in the body. As Kimmel [2013] states:

> Researchers who understand culture as a generic property of being human use the notion of embodiment to emphasise that human knowledge is rooted not only in physical interaction with the world, but bodily mediated social intersubjectivity. A complementary viewpoint most typical of linguists and anthropologists investigates cultures (in plural), thus prompting questions like: "What is universal about the body and what varies?" and "How do human patterns of anatomy, locomotion, affect, etc. to the extent that they are transcultural, constrain or enable specific cultural manifestations?"[2]

Body and space

Living things are beings that have the limit of spatial dominance. They fulfil their basic needs within certain limits. They feel safe and socialise in limited designated spaces. Space plays a dominant role in the communication process of all cultures.

> Space, in the Cartesian sense, is a lived reality rather than being a homogeneous spread expressed by the coordinate system. It is one of the basic frameworks observed in the behaviour of individuals or groups. […] In every society, whether nomadic or settled, traditional or modern, people reside within a space; draws a place with borders, partitions, marks the inhabited area; personalizes it; materializes with things; every person has a place identity [Bilgin 1993:38].

The inner most space that can be determined for a person is his own body. Then comes the personal space and the space of sovereignty determined by abstract boundaries.[3] Although personal and sovereign places differ from individual to individual, they are primarily determined by culture. While it is not welcomed for people to touch each other in daily life in Western Europe, touching is considered an expression of sincerity in cultures with narrow personal space boundaries, as in Turkey. In the Anatolian dance tradition, it is common for the dancers' bodies to touch each other so that the dance structure expresses solidarity and friendship.

Proximity (spatial intimacy)

The use of the surrounding space along with the dancer's movement, the spatial expression of the movement, the interaction of movement and space, and so on reveals the spatial meaning of dance. Therefore, spatial intention and geometric concepts are associated with spatial proximity.[4] Body-oriented spatial proximity is the level of cultural and physical distance that plays a role in individual or social interaction. The social distance scale (Bogardus Scale), used in the field of social psychology suggests social distance and physical distance are directly proportional. Therefore, the interaction levels related to physical space proximity fall under the concepts such as friendship, acquaintance, citizen, citizenship determined by social closeness.

According to the social structure of the society, the positioning of the people in the 'dance place' is determined within the framework of social formations such as gender status, kinship, or neighbourhoods.

A starting point is needed for a location-dependent proximity assessment within the dance community. The starting point in the dancing area is usually determined by the owner of the dance event considering the dance place. The musician's position within the dance place is the starting point that enables the dance event to take place by providing interaction among dancers as well as between the dance and the audience. The central position of the music group in the space requires it to be considered as a reference point in determining the degree of social closeness between individuals and groups.

Edward T. Hall argues that the level of intimacy in human relationships is linked to distance [1973]. He proposes four levels of personal space according to relationship-regulating distance: intimate distance, personal distance, social distance and public distance. Dancers tend to maintain their dominance within these invisible boundaries [Bilgin 2009:139].

In traditional dance practices, intimate distance is not used in the transfer and interaction between individuals. In traditional dance spaces, the closest distance between individuals is personal distance. The limits of personal distance refer to an area of approximately 45 cm. and 1.25 m. Personal distance coincides with the concept of kinesphere created by Rudolf Laban [Davies 2006]. It can be defined as the greatest distance that all the body's limbs can travel in space.

In order to dance whilst maintaining a personal distance, it is necessary to establish close relationships between individuals, based on trust. Without a dancer's permission, one cannot enter their personal space. In Turkey, these relationships come from kinship, friendship, and so on. Personal distance between individuals with close relationships such as those who have intimate relationships may allow the limit of intimate distance to be approached. However, no matter how advanced their level of intimacy is, opposite sexes do not violate each other's personal distance when dancing. There is an obligation to act in harmony in traditional collective dances. Therefore, in order to adapt to the direction and

rules of the movement, dancers generally prefer to dance with personal distance from the people they feel close to. Especially during an improvised dance, responding to the direction and commands of the partner can only be successful when there is harmony between the dancers. Therefore, there must be an 'attraction' between the dancers.

> Attraction is a normal state of positive mutual attraction towards something, a person, or a person or something. Various phenomena of attraction such as love, friendship and friendship become known phenomena by being objectified in interpersonal relations and in society's rituals and art [Bilgin 2009:136].

Social distance is the most common distance in the field of dance, in which effective communication takes place between dancers. This constitutes approximately 1.25 to 3.70 meters according to Hall's definition [Hall and Hall 1983]. It represents a space where dancing individuals can control each other and interact intensely by establishing effective dominance over each other. Social distance borders are not individual. Relationships within the social distance area are carried out in accordance with the rules of non-personal organized behaviour. For this reason, it can be said that the interaction will begin when other individuals enter this area. In Roma culture, forms of competition dance among dancers are seen. These are dances for entertainment, which are performed as a form of question and answer, which should be performed within a certain social distance. The fact that communication between dancers based on movement and facial expressions is within the boundaries of social distance increases the quality of communication.

Spatial domination

In the dance space, there are dominant boundaries surrounding the individual and the group. In Western Anatolian societies, it creates a problem if others intervene when a person dances *zeybek* as a solo. When a group is determined to dance as a certain number of people of the same age group, others cannot enter the dance space. Dancers tend to maintain their dominance within these invisible boundaries.

When organizing the dance space, it is important where the owners of the dance event are positioned. The owners of the dance event first gather to form a dominant area on the dance floor. They then take a position to control the musicians and finally the guests. The most important place that musicians want to control is the 'dance area'. There is also the desire for the owner of the dance event to occupy a dominant space. When we think of the whole dance environment as a circle, the owners of the dance environment are in the centre of the circle. The musician is lined up in the middle of the dance floor and is the owner of the dance circle. However, everyone's direction is facing towards the 'dance area' and therefore towards the dancers. Thus, all participants enter the field of dance to varying degrees. As social status increases in cultures where an authoritarian structure is more prominent, the extent of the place dominated during the dance increases.

> The typology developed by Moles consists of the body, the direct gesture area, the room or visual space, the apartment, the neighbourhood or the district, the city, the region and the wide world. Each of these layers differs from each other according to various criteria. For example, in each shell, human dominance and cognitive control level, the power of freedom or social control, and the texture of interaction between people have a different meaning [Bilgin 2003:235].

The primary owner of the dance event is of great importance in establishing the dominant area in the dance space. Bride-groom, circumcised child, and youth who are about to join the military constitute the main focus of the 'dance venue' in the ceremonies held for them. When arranging the 'dance area', it is important to position the primary actors within the dominant area of the 'dance area' and musicians. In the positioning of the owners of the dance event, it is seen that the order that will create an area of dominance over the 'dance area', then the musicians and finally the guests, are seen in order of importance. For the context of ritual dance, Alevi community practices can be given as an example of spatial dominance during the *cem* ritual. In the ritual space restricted by being consecrated by certain rituals, the chief of the ceremony "dede" is in the top position. Thus, all ritual acts are organized in the sacred dominant space of the *dede* (this can be in any room of a house).

The public distance can be interpreted as the interaction area of all elements such as dancer, audience, musician, and so on in a dance environment. The spatial volume of the dance environment constitutes the largest limit of public distance. The concept of public distance within the dance space also plays an important role in the interaction between individuals. The interaction between dance, dancer, and the audience in the public distance continues at different levels and contexts. The previous experience of a 'dance venue' gives the dancer a sense of confidence.

Communication between the audience and the dance and the dancer creates different feelings and reactions according to the physical structure of the space and public distance. Thus, deep communication between the dancer and the audience, whilst maintaining social distance, is generally expressed with sensory expressions such as applause, whistles, or cheering. Western Anatolian dancers generally do not establish direct communication with the audience, but it does not mean that the dancer does not care about the audience. In many parts of Anatolia, there is a tradition of tipping (*bahşiş verme*) the musician in honour of the dancer as a measure of appreciation. Professional dancers can go outside the 'dance place' and collect money by going to the audience. However, when an amateur traditional dancer is striving to get appreciation from the audience they may have to ask for a tip. For this reason, it is not preferable behaviour for a traditional dancer to dance outside the boundaries of the 'dance place'. On the dance floor, the dancer tries to cut off communication with the outer layers of distance to show the focus is only on the music, musicians, and the other dancers.

The audience ought to come inside the dancing area to express their satisfaction with the dancer. It is important to go within the personal distance of the dancer for the appreciation ceremony to be held for a person whose dance is favoured. Practices such as the presentation of food by going over to the dancer, giving money to the musician by "turning" money over his/her head, and so on take place within the dancer's personal distance.

Cultural space and values

According to Geert Hofstede's *Theory of Cultural Dimensions*, culture is not hereditary and all human behaviour patterns are acquired through lifelong learning. Models determined in connection with context and place show the individual how to think, how to feel, and how to make sense of the world. For this reason, Hofstede calls culture a "collective cognitive software" [Hofstede 1991].

> Values are usually considered to be more general in character than attitudes, but less general than ideologies (such as political systems). They appear to be relatively stable features of individuals and societies, and hence

correspond in this to personality traits and cultural characteristics [Berry et al 2002:59].

Hofstede's cultural dimension work on values [as cited in Berry et al 2002] can be interpreted as follows within the context of dance and place [Karaağaç 2017].

1. Power Distance: It questions the distribution of power among the members of a society or social structure. A high power distance indicates an uneven distribution of power, and a low power distance indicates a more equitable distribution of power. In societies with low power distance, such as western countries, equality is seen in the use of the dance space. The individual who is strong socio-economically does not impose great pressure on others in the context of space and place. In the dance cultures of societies with high power distance, such as Turkey, the privileges of the powerful in the use of place and space are evident. The weak act subordinates by obeying the strong. The use of space, distance, and privileges are constantly emphasized.
2. Individualism/Collectivism: In proportion to the individual's sense of belonging to the group/society, the individual sees self as a part of the society or as a separate individual from the society. In societies with high belongingness, it is seen that the dance place is used more intensively, dancers are closer to each other and interaction is more open. In individualistic cultures where individual's needs and success are more important, it can be said that individuals dance more independently. While collectivist societies show strict adherence to dance values and observe more specific rules in the use of space and place, individualistic societies exhibit more liberal behaviour in dance space and its use.
3. Avoiding Uncertainty: In environments where social change is rapid or information is ambiguous, some societies are highly concerned about uncertainty, while some societies may have a high tolerance for uncertainty. In societies with a low tolerance for ambiguity, dance places and dancing traditions are protected by formal rules. Such societies tend to be conservative.
4. Masculinity/Femininеness: Reflection of the values attributed to men and women in social life in terms of gender make great differences in the use of space between men and women in the dance environment. In the Western Anatolian tradition, male and female dance areas are mostly separated. While necessities of social status are applied exactly in monosexual dance environments; the authority, space sharing, and so on of the 'dance place' in dance environments are shared in a male-dominated way where men and women are together. That way, a relationship between the individual and place would be constructed.

The boundaries of the dance space are also a holistic spatial design in which the music, the audience, and other practices within the scope of the event are located. Within the dance space, there are sections with different values created under different social systems and statuses and separated by physical and cognitive boundaries. For example, in marriage ceremonies, the sitting area of the bride and groom is separated from other areas by various objects. The special section created indicates that the 'dance place' will be constructed with reference to this 'dance area'. As Arın specifies in her study:

> In the creation of the concepts of *spaces;* the book *Metaphors* by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Three Different Domains of Experience: Spatial, Social, and Emotional,* has been a guide. […] The spatial space is where one feels safe. […] With the simplest definition, the social space can be defined as space where people come together and communicate. […] Whereas emotional space brings forward the concept of 'belonging' in human [Çakıcı 2007:4–6].

When we adapt these concepts to the dance field, the dance-space relationship becomes more visible.

Every individual is a member of a place-related group in society. The individual is expected to adopt and implement the rules and practices of the social areas he lives in. The dancer's communication with himself, and the effects of all spaces, starting from his body, shape the individual's state of self. For this reason, in all dance societies, there are many dimensions of social values in terms of space-space perception of the relations between the individual and the group. The ways of using the space that emerged among the dancers, the audience, and the dancer-spectator can be discussed under the headings as place orientations, dominance in the place, or place and distance.

Social space

The relationship between individuals and objects inside the dance space contains important understandings in the context of social psychology. The body has always been shaped by social processes, macro and micropower, contemporary conceptual discourse, and body politics. While the studies on subjects and individualities construct a language in terms of 'the body', the effects of the social on individuals have also been reshaped within the context of this very language [Topaloğlu 2010:252]. Every interpretation, discourse, and expression of the body through dance is the symbol of the communication language of the culture of that society. Therefore, the dancing body as a physical and natural entity carries historical, social, and cultural images. The individual interacts easily with the group members by increasing the sense of belonging overcoming the prejudices and stereotypes depending on the place in the culture of which he is a member. Prejudice and stereotypes are often based on the idea of 'otherizing' in interactions with outgroups. For this reason, judgments and acceptance towards the out-group tend towards a more negative quality.

Space conveys meaning as a status symbol, the location of the space compared to other places, its size, and the way it is arranged are of great importance in terms of indicators of status.

The place-status relationship has an important role in the internalization of social, economic, and cultural situations within the society. In the formation of spatial status, economic factors are one of the determining factors. The interpretative indicator of the chosen dance place determines the socio-economic status of the individual. In Anatolian culture, during marriage, circumcision, and other customs the venue, which is used in dance entertainments, symbolically represents the social and economic status of the owners of the dance event.

> Status refers to the individual's various values, attitudes, level of aspiration, and measures. As expressed in the proverb "nobility obliges", each status compels its participants to certain activities and practices, that is, the status has a binding effect. Therefore, everyone tends to put forward indicators that are suitable for their status [Bilgin 2003:354].

The symbolic values of communication are interpreted by considering the positions of the people in the space. The social position and status of the people participating in the dance environment are objectified by the positional relationship they establish on the "dance place".

Emotional Space

The body, as a biological being, has physiological needs and psychological effects. The body with its' social and cultural dimension is a place where messages, expressions, and identities are embodied and transmitted outside the self [Bilgili 2017:22]. Spinoza points out that the body is the space of thought, saying that there is no mind, comprehension, or spirit without a body [İmamoğlu 1995:347]. As thinking, producing, and interpreting creatures, humans embody abstract concepts containing complex symbol systems when the body takes action.

Humans acquire image schemas from birth through movement, object manipulation, and bodily proprioception.[5] They internalize the ideal image schema by constantly experiencing basic movements such as walking and running. While walking on uneven terrain our body changes the way it moves according to stony or muddy areas. Just as our body adapts to the terrain when going up or downhill, it also knows by itself how to adapt to the dance space. By making the topological logic acquired through previous experiences reusable in many conceptual ways, the body knows what constitutes the boundaries of space and how to behave inside or outside of it.

Body experience is cultural in nature. The body is the witness and symbol of the period and culture. It is not possible to consider intangible culture as ontological 'meta-culture' independent of the body. The intense relationship between the body and culture forms the basis of the dance concept. In the process of transforming dance into a concrete performance, the body is a tool for the acquisition of conceptual skills. In this field, there is a fundamental complementarity between views that develop the compositional structure of complex schemas (that is to say morphology) and those that analyse the ontogenetic development of abstract ideas [Kimmel 2013:30].

The body in its concrete aspect; our appearance, stance, style, colour, height, volume, language, and voice, is the only spatial indicator of our existence, an expression of our reality and personality [Akay Ertürk 2006:104]. In addition to their appearance, people influence others with their dance behaviour. This is related to the use of the body. In addition, the person has a body image in his own mind, and whether he is satisfied with it or not affects his self-worth [User 2010:133–169].

According to Edward T. Hall's theory of information systems [1973] when individuals are exposed to too much information they make a classification in order to process this information. The individuals prioritize the information they think is important in their daily life by separating this from other information. As new information similar to the priority situations comes in, they update themselves each time by selecting this and combining it with their previous information using contextualization.[6] According to this theory, the dancing individual also updates the dance by choosing the knowledge that feels closest to their own taste and feelings and contextualizing it with their own dance type and attitude. When we look at it from the point of view of traditional dance, multi-faceted interactions occur between individuals dancing in the same place. Although the traditional dancer adds innovations to their dance by making improvisations, according to the information theory of Hall, their dancing within the dance patterns appropriate to their own tradition overlaps.

Conclusion

It is important to consider the social and psychological position of the dance phenomenon in society in terms of place. The psychological and social dimension of 'dance place' extends beyond physical reality. Social, psychological, and physical factors that determine the boundaries of the place directly affect the dance and the dancer. How one defines the self, one's relationship with those around, and their personal distance from other people can be explained on the basis of dance space. Psychological factors in the emergence of performance are also directly related to the social environment and place. The perceptions created by all these personal and social situations and conditions determine the boundaries of the individual and the distance between the self and others. The social and psychological effects of dance venues are clearly seen in the formation and diversification of Turkish folk dances in Anatolia culture.

In the context of Turkish folk dances, a wide variety of selected dance environments can be seen sociologically and psychologically. According to Bourdieu [2006], it is the place where social behaviour takes place. In order for players to be included in the dance, it must be considered to be worth practising and it must be interesting (*illusio*) for them. The individual involved in the dance has now accepted and adopted the rules of the field (*doxa*) without questioning the values of the field [Kaplan and Yardımcıoğlu 2020]. Bourdieu sees each player as having some cards in their hand to use in the dance. These cards are economic capital that consists of material resources, cultural capital acquired through education, or social capital acquired within the system of relations. When Bordieu's approach is applied to the field of ethnochoreology, the field of struggle is the 'dance place', the capital held by individuals is the economic level-social status-social knowledge-skills, the rules of dance-types-traditions are *doxa* and the benefits believed to be achieved at the end of dance are *illusio*, being the social status, liking, and so on. The phenomena of dance and place shed light on the formation and current functioning of social structures. Studying the concept of 'dance place' from an ethnochoreological perspective provides an important contribution and expansion to the field of social sciences.

Endnotes

1. Translation by Gökçe Asena Altınbay.

2. Kimmel [2013:301 footnote2] suggests in the paper to see Shore [1996], Cienki [1999], Kimmel [2002; 2004].

3. Personal space is a space that is unique to the individual where no one else can enter without permission due to abstractly determined boundaries. Members of cultures with large personal spaces are uncomfortable with being touched. It can be said that within the traditional social structure in Turkey, the personal limit does not exceed 30 centimetres from the circumference of the body.

4. For further reading see Sinem Kırkan [2015].

5. Proprioception, is a feedback loop that occurs in the sensory nervous system that informs our brain about the position of the limbs .

6. In the contextualization process, the individual makes sense of the information perceived, connects it to the information seen as relevant among those in memory. In this way, getting rid of the information overload becomes possible. It can create meaning by processing small amounts of information. Such cultures are called broad-context cultures, see Hall [1973].

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New echoes on the mountains: *Yörük* feasts

*Yörük*s are social groups who used to maintain a nomadic life in Anatolia. *Yörük*s are organized around tribal associations, through which traditions are negotiated, invented and interpreted. One example of this negotiation is *Şölen* – the feast organized by each tribal association during the summer, on one of the plateaus in Southern Anatolia. This paper focuses on the feast of Akkeçili *Yörük*s, which took place on June 2018 in Isparta, a city in southern Anatolia. It analyses the sonic structure which marks the beginning of the event: the broadcasting of the national anthem from the loudspeakers echoing on the mountains, followed by one minute of silence to show respect to the martyrs. This structure is a common representation of unisonance in sound and silence, as one of the core sonic performances of masses in Turkey, shared by diverse groups and ideologies.

Keywords: Anatolian nomads, *Yörük*, acoustemology, soundscape, unisonance.

The focus of this paper is a discussion on how *Yörük* people in Southern Anatolia produce sound in relation to their natural and socio-cultural environment during a specific event – *şölen*. The discussion is driven from fieldwork I conduct in Antalya, a southern Anatolian city in Turkey, with a team of student researchers (Turna Ezgi Toros, Suna Başlantı and Laçin Şahin).

To begin with, it is worth clarifying the difficulties that talking about *Yörük*s and their cultural practices bring about. *Yörük* studies is an ideologically loaded realm, marked with nationalism, essentialism and colonialism. There are historical and cultural judgements people make when it concerns *Yörük* people, mostly based on the belief and ideological stance that the *Yörük*s are the essence of Turkishness. These preconceptions produce a homogenizing perspective towards *Yörük*s, but the truth is that there are diverse *Yörük* identities and cultural practices all around Anatolia. This point will be important in my analysis of the *şölen*, which is a mass gathering of each *Yörük* tribe made once a year on a plateau, where musics, dances and sounds play significant roles. But first, I will briefly explain who are the *Yörük* people.

Who are the *Yörük*s?

The first ideas we have when we hear the word *Yörük* is a nomadic way of life, animal husbandry, a life in tents, tribal culture and specifically the essence of Turkishness brought by *Yörük*s to Anatolia from the Central Asia, and preserved by them. According to Turna Ezgi Toros, a *Yörük* ethnomusicologist and member of our fieldwork team "the widely accepted and well-known meaning of the word *Yörük* represents the people who earn their lives by stockbreeding and maintain a nomadic life in Anatolia" [Toros 2018:14–15]. It is also worth mentioning that there are diverse *Yörük* communities living in different parts of Anatolia. Our fieldwork however is located on the Toros Mountains, especially around Antalya region. The event that I will discuss in terms of its sounds took place in one of the plateaus in Isparta, a neighbourhood city. Before I pass to the analysis of the *şölen*, let me set out my perspective on the sounds and musics in our fieldwork.

Acoustemology and sound worlds

In Turkey, in the realm of *Yörük* studies, fieldwork is mostly perceived as collecting songs from people, archiving and publishing those repertoires. From that perspective, a new fieldwork on *Yörük* musics in Antalya region seems meaningless, since there are a number of professional and amateur researchers doing exactly the same work. So what is the difference that we make in the field? The main difference is our acoustemological perspective towards sounds, musics and performances in the field and we are a team who try to understand the interconnectedness of musical and non-musical sounds, while at the same time question the boundaries of the concept of music itself. In this position, the discrepancies between the conventional understanding of music and the actual sonic practices reveal themselves in several aspects. Above all, nobody asks about the local perspectives on the boundaries of music and all the collectors put their own understanding of music forward. For example, is women's throat playing by the *Yörük*s singing or playing? In Turkish, women call it *boğaz çalma,* meaning 'throat playing', which inherently makes the throat and the body a musical instrument. Or does the women's frame drum sing or sound? *Yörük* people in general, use the verb *ötmek*, meaning 'to warble" for their instruments, which is the same verb used for the sounding/singing of the birds. So how are the sounds of instruments related to the people's perception of natural sounds?

Acoustemology can be defined as knowing the world around us and ourselves through the sounds which envelop us and which we produce to interact with this world. According to Steven Feld "it is a sonic way of knowing and being in the world" [1996]. This perspective can become an alternative to anthropocentric ethnomusicology, since acoustemology is a relational ontology, where an existential interaction, the connectedness of being occupies its core. Consequently, all the parts of an experience are included in the research: humans, mountains, or animals; non-humans as well as humans.

Our purpose is to understand, how *Yörük*s connect to different sounds, how do they perceive sounds around them? In the next section, I will shortly point to one sonic aspect of *Şölen* to demonstrate an example of the application of this perspective in the field.

Şölen

During our fieldwork, we focused on the sounds, the narratives and memories of people. In these narratives, there were vast references to sonic perception, which in turn allowed us to reconstruct our perception of sounds and music.

In the narratives of *Yörük*s in Antalya, *şölen* is described as a feast organized at the end of the seasonal migration journey. *Yörük*s used to do the *şölen* to celebrate the ending of the roads, the forthcoming season in the plateaus and the new beginnings that would follow. Nowadays, the majority of *Yörük* tribes are settled (mostly by force), and lost their nomadic practice. The intertribal social organizational structure in the settled life deploys itself in *Yörük* associations. Each *Yörük* tribe is represented by an association, and these institutions in turn constitute a federation which connects diverse tribes all around Anatolia. Each *Yörük* tribe organizes a *şölen* through its representative association every year on their traditional plateau. So, *şölen* as the annual celebration of the ending of the roads, and the new *şölen* as the annual gathering of the tribe are different events; yet people perceive the new *şölen* as the continuation of the old tradition.

In 2018, when we first started to work on *Yörük* sound-worlds, we organised our first field trip to Isparta, where one of our team members Turna Toros' family and tribe (Honamlı Tribe) were spending the summers in their settled village. During this fieldwork, we attended the *şölen* of a neighbour tribe: Akkeçili Tribe. At the first moment when I

entered the *şölen* field, I experienced a very familiar feeling from my previous fieldwork in Istanbul on the political sounds in the streets. What we have seen was as follows:

Surrounded by huge mountaintops, a large plateau was filled with cars on one side, a few traditional tents spread over the land, and there was a separate area isolated for the event. In that specific area there was a stage, a stand for the speeches, a large tent for the protocol and several huge loudspeakers. The moment we got out of the car and stepped on the field, the opening ceremony started, and we had to stay outside the celebration area, looking from outside, and standing still (Figure 1). We were standing still because, unexpectedly for me, the opening ceremony started with the national anthem broadcasted from the huge loudspeakers, echoing around the mountains, that was followed by a minute of respect, filled with the sound of the trumpets. It was after this ritual finished that we could walk onto the field. But I felt turmoil from this experience, since it echoed my previous experience in my previous fieldwork - the sounds of political actions in the streets of Istanbul - which lasted over 3 years in Istanbul between 2009 and 2013. My experience which transcended times and spaces with the mass performance of the national anthem followed by the moment of respect will constitute my main point of analysis in the following sections.

Figure 1. The moment of silence. Photo by E. Şirin Özgün [2018].

For an ethnomusicological understanding of *Yörük şölen*, we can focus on a number of issues as analytical categories. First, in the whole event, there are moments when the distinction between the performers and the audience becomes faint or fluid, hence the horizontal and vertical reproduction of multi-layered symbolic relations are worth contemplating and discussing. On the one hand, there is the patriarchal power, which manifests itself in the protocol with the presence of the local governor, mayor, heads of tribe associations and the gendarmerie. On the other hand, there are also abundant symbols expressing traditional understandings of femininity, masculinity, childhood and family life, deployed in the costumes, organization of social interactions in the field, dances etc. Consequently, musical preferences, local dance costumes, songs and dances are another layer of analysis

The interplay of musical and non-musical expressions in events is crucial in understanding the social structure: we need to focus on sounds, silences and noises; on the protocol and its manifestations; dances; on how the meaning is structurally constructed – that is tents, cars, food, musicians, the economic dimension that includes the staging and affordability of a sound system; and power and its sonic aspects. Another layer of analysis could be the relationship of *Şölen* to larger social, cultural and historical contexts. The initial question in order to dive into this analytical category might be "what is the place of the festival in the mobility of the system of tribes, associations and families?" We can expand the context to include dynamics of migration and settlement; intertribal relations, relations with the state, relations with the other settled peoples and communities around *Yörük*s and relations with the music market. However, in order to be able to illustrate my acoustemological approach, I will focus (1) on unisonances and unisilences; and (2) on spaces, echoes and voices.

Unisonance and unisilence

During the years I was doing field work for my PhD dissertation – *Sounds of Political Actions in the Streets of Istanbul* [2013] – I attended many mass gatherings of various sizes. A recurring pattern was common in different kinds of gatherings: the anthem (national or not) followed by a moment of silence for respect to the martyrs. Witnessing the broadcast of the Turkish National Anthem followed by a moment of silence right after our entrance to the field of *şölen* was like a twist between times and places. Imagine a wide field on top of mountains, which itself is backed by higher mountaintops, and looking down from the top of the world, hearing the echoes of familiar sounds in that altitude. In Turkey, when people come together for political events, commemorations, sometimes weddings, end of school year celebrations, they repeat this pattern. This sonic ritual is the expression of an imagined identity, which is claimed to encompass all of us.

Benedict Anderson, in his *Imagined Communities* [2006:145], introduced a concept called unisonance. This concept emphasizes the importance of the sense of contemporaneousness that these anthems evoke, when people construct or imagine themselves as societies and communities. We sing the same song at the same time, and the practice of singing that anthem tells us who we are; singing the same tune and the same words with the same emotions makes us whole. What is envisioned here is unisonance. We imagine ourselves as if we were one single voice:

> "Singing the Marseillaise, Waltzing Matilda, and Indonesia Raya provide occasions for unisonality, for the echoed physical realization of the imagined community. [...] How selfless this unisonance feels! If we are aware that others are singing these songs precisely when and as we are, we have no idea who they may be, out of earshot, they are singing. Nothing connects us all but imagined sound" [Anderson 2006:145].

The unisonance in the *şölen* field has been occurring not only through the national anthem and the religious recitation from the speech stand, but also through the discourses that *Yörük*s adopted about their history, roots, religion and race. *Yörük* oral history is usually a narrative of oppressions and forced settlement. These narratives are also woven with a feeling of pride and an exaggerated focus on the roots of *Yörük*s, as being the essence of Turkish culture. While they imagine *Yörük* people as a whole, as the basis of Turkishness, they also emphasize the fact that they are being otherized. Ethnic and class discrimination against them appears in all the narratives. As a response to this contemptuous gaze, *Yörük*s have a specific emphasis on development and education, which

are considered pathways for possible vertical social mobilization. Hence, the unisonance is operated not only through the national anthem, but also through the discourses adopted, as in the opening speech from the stage where several references to Turkish roots as well as religion had a central importance.

On the one hand, this ritual pattern of "anthem followed by the moment of respect" in this case was articulating this community to the rest of the country in an imaginary unisonance. But on the other hand, in Turkey, the issue is not only a common imagined voice, but also a common silence/voicelessness. These moments of silence bind us much more deeply and comprehensively than the anthems do. These silences point to a shared set of meanings of sounds and silences and also to the emotional repertoire attached to silence, regardless of who (which martyrs or national heroes) it is dedicated to.

What happens during the moments of silence? Logically, we would expect that the natural/environmental sounds take over in those moments. But especially during the official/state events, while people are silent as expected, the environment is instead invaded by trumpet sounds, and this was exactly what happened in the *şölen* field. Interestingly, I did not notice the presence of the trumpet sound until I listened to the field recordings. For me, this sound was non-existent. In these moments, the silence of people becomes a sound itself, which suppress all the other sounds. This inner silence of people in the field is an affective one, characterized by the temporary voicelessness of the participants.

While looking at this sonic ritual and the magnificence of the mountains from a distance, I felt desolated: this nature was in a different silence (full of environmental sounds) just before this festival started, and at that moment there was an intrusive attitude towards nature in a way that is sharply contrasting with the traditional practices of the *Yörük*s. Instead of an organic mutual communication with coexisting sounds and voices in the environment, there were technological sound systems, rumbling electric generators, microphones, big words, great men who were all together aiming to suppress the sounds of nature. And precisely because of this violent operation of the power relationships, I thought, when the festivity dissipates, a dark emptiness or exhaustion would remain in its place.

Spaces, echoes, voices

The stage, the loudspeakers, electric generators and the use of excessive reverberation from the sound system are sonic interventions into the natural soundscape. It is definitely in contrast with the organic acoustic understanding of the *Yörük*s: traditionally they listen to and sound with nature. This technological intervention can be interpreted as a result of the aggressive exploitation of nature, but I think there is one more layer which deserves attention.

On the mountains, nature and the landscape envelop oneself, as well as the sounds. In that soundscape one can integrate with the existing relationality of the sounds: the sounds of the mountains are constituted by the sounds of nature – winds and trees; water and rocks – and the sounds of human and nonhuman beings. The echo of the voices of these beings is one of the most significant aspects of this soundscape.

So, the excessive use of reverberation effects, enhanced with the physical presence of the mountaintops during the *şölen* might be representing a longing for the past echoes of the nomadic life, which were cradling/enveloping one's body and mind: in the narratives about the past migrations, echoes of the sounds in the mountains was a recurring theme.

Conclusion

We can argue that throughout the *şölen* a sonic domination of a settled life is reproduced. On the one hand *Yörük*s reproduce and reimagine their sound-worlds by appropriating new technologies. On the other hand, however, just because of these means of reproduction, they accept the domination of the state, technology and the modern world. We can detect the dilemma of *Yörük*s in terms of preservation of their identity and integration to the settled society in their sonic practices. The penetration of anthems, nationalist and religious discourses in *şölen* and the affective state of people attending this sonic ritual; the echoes and loudness of speeches and music which become almost physically tactile during the *şölen* represents the ambiguities *Yörük*s experience in their relationship with the state and about their imagined identities.

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Saints' days, and village days: creating the space for community events in Romanian Banat

The annual celebration of designated days in villages is a widespread custom in southeastern Europe and beyond. In Christian locations these are often linked to the day of the patron saint of the village church. In Romanian Banat these are usually called *ruga*, plural *ruge* (literally prayer). Alternately the day of the village known in Romanian Banat as *ziua*, plural *zilele* (meaning day(s)) can be chosen for secular or practical reasons. This paper draws on a five-year case study in Romanian Banat that covers around eighty Saints' days (*Ruge*) or village days (*Zilele*). It presents a comparative analysis of the 'framing' of the event space that covers both the functional preparation of the event space and the socially constructed space during the event. This includes an examination of the interrelationship between the physical design of the event space, the actions within the social space during these events, and the community's knowledge or desire for participation.

Keywords: Romania, Banat, Saint's-day, space, place, community, context, participatory festival.

From early spring until autumn draws in, community events with food, drink, music and dancing take place in an open space in the centre of villages in Romanian Banat. This formula for local events and the use of space is broadly similar to village events held throughout southeastern Europe. During these events, everyday space, often a bleak location central to the village, is transformed into an event space that provides the opportunity for cosy socialising whilst listening to local music or joining in with the dancing. These events are essentially local events for the local community and others with a connection to the village that have returned to the village for the occasion. They are multi-generational participatory events where families and friends meet to share food, conversations and to dance together.

Annual village festivals have been common for centuries across much of Europe with local variations in their observance. In Christian locations these events are often linked to the day of the patron saint of the village church.[1] In other cases where religious observance has been discouraged due to political or other influences the chosen day of the village can be linked to a specific event in the village history, or else chosen only for secular or practical reasons, for example during the summer period when outdoor events can take place.

This paper presents an anthropological analysis of village festivals in Romanian Banat, where village saint's days are usually called *Ruga*, plural *Ruge* (literally prayer), while village day(s), the annual non-religious village fairs/ festivals are known as *ziua*, plural *zilele* (meaning day(s)).[2] The local festivals or fairs, that form part of Saints' days and village days in Romanian Banat, are broadly similar in the use of space and the various elements that make up these events. These are local community events with multi-generational participation that includes all the co-located ethnicities. The differences between the two are generally in the details of the programming. Saints' days include a church service, and are usually opened by a procession from the church to the dance space where a *hora*[3] is danced led by the local priest and mayor. Both Saints' days and village days often include a short performance by the local children's Romanian dance group, and also groups from the co-located ethnicities. Saints' days generally have a higher content of

local music and dance than village days. When the two are combined, the Sunday tends to be the day allocated to local music and social dancing, whereas the Saturday may have mostly popular music performances.[4]

This paper draws on the authors' five-year case study (between 2015 and 2019) that covers around eighty Saints' days and village days, focusing on events that take place in villages on the Banat plain within a two-hour radius of Timișoara (by car). An analysis of our data has allowed us to make a comparative summary of the 'framing' of the event space for these community events in Romanian Banat villages that covers both the 'spatial' (functional) preparation of this space, and the 'temporal' framing of the socially constructed event space during the event, and make connections between these and the community participation within the event space. As the focus for this paper is on place and space we have not included a detailed analysis of the dances recorded at each event or the religious aspects of the Saints days.

Our usage of 'place' and 'space'

In various academic disciplines (including anthropology), and individual interpretations, there are many confusing, overlapping and inverted usages of the terms 'place' and 'space' so we need to clarify how we have used these terms in this paper

We use 'place' to refer to 'a particular position, point, or area',[5] the geographic relative location of the village, or the location of the 'event space' within the village. We consider that the use of 'place' need not be restricted to a geographic or physical location, it can be a temporal, personal or social construction, but a place will always be located relative to another space or place.

The meaning of 'space' in English is 'emptiness', with the secondary meaning being 'space' as available to use, move and exist.[6] Taking a social and cultural viewpoint, we define 'space' to refer to a multi-dimensional expanse limited by physical or social constructed boundaries within which human interaction take place. This falls in line with Casey's view that "space and time are contained in [operate within] places rather than places in them" [Casey 1996:44].

The events we are discussing are always located in an area that is shared by the community and forms part of the public space in the village. In order to delimit this area more specifically we use the term 'event space' as a concise way of covering the extent and usage of the physical-dimensions of the space during the temporal-dimension of the event and the term 'dance space' as the area set aside for active participation within the 'event space'.

Research methodology and event analysis

Immediately before, and on each key Saint's day, we check Facebook and local news media for posters advertising events. On the day we again check Facebook for postings that tell us that events are happening (such as 'tonight go to the *Ruga* in xxx village with my friends'). Most events start late afternoon, from 17:00 onwards or sometimes on Sundays slightly earlier, and continue until the early hours. The dancing is organised as a cycle of dances that lasts an hour or so, followed by half an hour or more rest time for the musicians, and this cycle is repeated many times during the event. During the evening we visit one or more locations where the events are happening, observing what is going on, and sometimes also participating in the dancing or discussing with friends.

Our observations on the location and participation are recorded in our field notes prepared during and after each event we attend. Later on the same evening and the next day we check for videos, photos and Facebook posts uploaded on the internet by others attending the same events, or other events on the same day, and we review our video recordings and photos in order to add further observations to our notes.

For the purposes of this paper we prepared a summary from our field notes of all the events we have attended using a set of 'key themes' that we tabulated on a spreadsheet with the resulting summary allowing us to make a comparative analysis, using a combination of statistics and our subjective participant observations.

We investigated the different aspects of 'framing' (both physical and temporal) of each event.[7] These include:

- The event place, its position in the community, its use as a community space.
- Physical framing of the 'dance space' using fixed and temporary delimitations.
- Additional attractions at the event and their separation from the 'dance space'.
- Distractions from the focus on the 'dance space'.
- The use of temporal framing that incorporates the 'time-space' sequence of the event.
- The social construction of the 'event space' and 'dance space'. Placing of musicians, areas set aside for eating and drinking, passing and seated audience.

Questions that we focussed our enquiries on:

- Are there commonalities in the utilisation of 'place' and 'space' that makes a 'successful' community event?
- Does the allocation of 'space' affect the overall atmosphere and participation at the event?
- Is there any identifiable reasons that differentiate events that have good participation and events that have poor participation?
- Do events change over multiple years?
- Are there differences between events organised in small villages compared to those organised in the larger villages closer to Timișoara?

Physically framed 'event space' and 'dance space'

These events are usually held in a suitable communal area within the 'focus' of the village. This is most often a public space in the central part of the village near the church. The day-to-day usage of this space can be a village square, a car park, a school playground, or road junction, a central market square or a park.

About half of the events that we visited are located close to the central crossroads in the village. This is an area that can be framed more successfully than a longitudinal street. Others are held in the grounds of the Culture House which is very often located close to the 'focus' at the village centre. In some villages the precise location has changed from year to year, such as moving from the centre of the village to a sports field or stadium on the edge of the village. This is possibly for logistical reasons, such as it provides a bigger area for a more extensive funfair, or the locals want to make use of a newly constructed sports centre.

It is interesting to note that the exact location is never stated on the event publicity, the locals culturally know where the event will take place.

The designated 'event space' is delimited using fixed and temporary constructions that provide what Pistrick refers to as the "framing of space" [Pistrick and Dalipaj 2009:173]. Fixed delimitations can include buildings such as the church, culture house, shops, roads or landscape features. Taking these into account the event space is further delimited in advance of the event, usually earlier on the same day, using 'temporary framing' including food and drinks stands, tables and benches for eating and drinking, a tent or special tables designated for a socialisation space for guests, toy stalls and/or large bouncy castles or other fairground rides. Audience seating is usually arranged facing inwards into the open area set aside for dancing and a semi-public area is designated for musicians adjacent to the dance area. Additionally, the standing or passing audience frames the remaining open areas, but this can leave the 'even space' appearing 'unframed' until the audience has increased in number.

Ideally, the framing of the dance space should be appropriate for the active participants. Appropriate being, not too large or small, and sufficiently enclosed. 'Appropriate' is very subjective, our assessment was based on our observation of the extent of active participation and socialising, particularly the participation in social dancing and the relationship of this to the areas set aside for the seated audience including eating areas. From our observations it seems that events (*Ruge*, *ziele* or other festivals) where the physically framed area is more extensive seem not to attract dance participation in Banat.[8]

Socially constructed and temporally framed 'event space'

We use the term 'socially constructed event space' drawing from Lefebvre's [1991:14] 'space of social practice' and Low [2009:24] who suggests that:

> "the social construction of space is the actual transformation of space — through peoples' social exchanges, memories, images, and daily use of the material setting — into scenes and actions that convey symbolic meaning" [Low 2009:24].

As Hannerz points, out social anthropology is not necessarily about places, it is concerned with social relationships within places [Hannerz 2006:29] thus the physical place becomes socially constructed through the participation of the people who are 'moving' within this space. In the case of village festivals we are describing a phenomenon that for locals is 'customary' and so recurs in all community events, and where, social and cultural practices play an important role as "social groups negotiate their relations, and the community is generally formed and is symbolically reconstructed over time" [Nitsiakos 2010:241–243]. During the event, cognitive boundaries and the socially constructed space transform the venue from an 'everyday space' to a 'special space' where the action takes place with zones of active and passive participation (see also Coleman and Collins [2006:2] and Casey [1996:5] who talk about "pre-existing, empty and absolute space […] transformed into a meaningful place").

This socially constructed space exists within the 'temporal space' of the event, in other words the framing in time. The event moves through a time-space sequence with distinct phases, similar to Schechner's [2002:225] "performance process", that includes the preparation phrase (proto-performance), the event itself (performance) and the aftermath – the closing of the event, the participants leaving the venue and the post-event disassembly of the temporary fixtures and clearing up of the venue.

After the formal opening the event slowly builds up to the main part of the event, most often between 10 pm and midnight, and then gradually winds down later in the night. If the programme starts with a performance, the dancing that follows starts with the local community 'opening' dance for participatory events (*hora*), rather than a popular dance for the participants (for example *ardeleana*).

During the event there is a mutually accepted observance of implicit boundaries that set apart the 'public space' from the 'semi-public space' - the musician's area, food preparation and sales area, and hospitality zone for guests. Each event space includes zones of active and passive participation. During the event the focus is on the active participants (dancers, musicians and singers). The passive participants sit and watch the 'dance space', whilst socialising with relatives and friends.

Observations

The majority of the around eighty events that we have attended in Romanian Banat, mostly in Timiș country have a core of active participants, especially later in the evening when it is dark (after 9 pm depending on the time of year). On occasions when we were at a location earlier in the evening and there were only a few active participants when we checked later in the evening the numbers of active participants had increased. For some locations when the most popular local singers are booked from around dusk onwards until after midnight the 'dance space' is so crowded that there is only minimal room for dancing. As a contrast we have also attended several events in the adjacent country of Arad, just north of Banat, but we noticed in those events that active participation has mostly faded.

A few overall comments from our five years of observations

- The active (dancing) and passive (watching and eating) participation happen simultaneously within the same public 'event space' without physical separation or borders.
- The 'focus' of the passive audience is usually inwards onto the dance space. When there are performers (dance ensemble, or singers and musicians) they enter the focus of the 'dance space' at certain times during the event. Where there is a 'stage' for the musicians and sound amplification equipment this is not the 'focus' for the audience, just a practical delimiter of the 'dance space'. This flexibility for the musicians and singers to enter the focus of the 'dance space', as was traditional in the past, has been regained more recently through the use of radio microphones which have released the musicians and singers from the attachment to sound systems that have become an expectation for all events over the past thirty years.
- Passive participants watch and socialise simultaneously, and active and passive participants fluidly exchange roles. People freely join and leave the dancing throughout each sequence of tunes. It is not a cultural necessity to pay attention to the duration of a performed item.
- For the locals, the observance of implicit boundaries between public and semi-public space, such as the area occupied by the musicians, does not need to be reinforced by physical constraints.

Two ethnographic examples

We presented two specific examples, the *Ruge* in the villages of Costeiu and Dragșina. In both villages the event space is in the open village centre and is physically framed to provide a contained dance space (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Physical framing plans for Costeiu and Dragșina village *Ruge*.

Easter Ruga in Costeiu

At the Easter *Ruga* in Costeiu village (see Figure 2) the event space was delimited by stalls forming an entrance with a funfair at the far end, enclosing a contained 'dance space'. The event commenced with a procession from the church accompanied by local musicians and the local children's dance group who performed a suite of dances on arrival in the 'dance space'. This was followed by a *Hora* led by the priest and mayor. The musicians were initially seated on a farm trailer in front of the church and facing the 'dance space', but the focus was on the 'dance space', and when the evening dancing started after dark the musicians joined the dancers in the centre of the groups of dancers within the 'dance space'. There was no audience seating or food/drink tables for the participants framing the 'dance space', so there were only active participants and standing audience. Costeiu village is in the Lugoj (local town) region and the dance cycle was similar to the mountain Banat ethnographic zone which is now widely popular: *Brâul* but danced as a mixed community dance rather than a men's dance, *Ardeleana* and *De doi* (different formations and interpretations by the different age groups).

Figure 2. Costeiu village

St. Peter and Paul *Ruga* in Dragșina village

Dragșina village is close to Timișoara, a once important village now a small rural community. At the village *Ruga*, on the day of St. Peter and Paul, the event space was delimited by drink stalls and audience seating that was set out in front of the Culture House, opposite the church (see Figure 2). The musicians were seated on one side of the 'dance

space' and the event focus was on the 'dance space'. The event had an enthusiastic participatory and seated audience, a community event with the full age range, and it was notable in the mixing of Romanians and Roma during the dancing. The dance repertoire was minimal with only basic circle forms of *Ardeleana* and *De doi.*

Figure 3. Drașina village

Discussion

We have attended some events where the active participation appears to be lower than expected, or any active participation appears to be locationally separated from the areas occupied by passive (seated) participants. In these cases we have observed that the physical framing does not fit the 'ideal' in terms of the typical well-attended event.

Our perception of 'not ideal' is where the allocated 'dance-space' is vast such as an echoing sports hall, or a concrete sports ground with the musicians located in the distance at the far end away from the eating and seating area, or a noisy funfair directly adjacent. We noticed at some events with a low attendance that a lack of additional attractions and no audience seating means that passive participants do not linger at the event for long, however this depends on the locations and cannot be taken as a necessity as there are many village events with high levels of active and passive participation and no additional attractions

There are two features of events where the roles of active and passive participants are affected or altered by either the loss of 'dance space' and/or the changing focus for the event.

Firstly, the trend towards large illuminated stages that become the 'focus' of the event. This is typical for urban events, and especially when there are invited popular/rock music artists. In these cases, and also at a few other events where the focus is on presentational song and dance performances, the passive participant seating is set out in advance in rows facing the raised stage[9] This shifts the focus onto the musicians and singers that perform on the semi-private raised stage so the event programme becomes 'performative', the locals no longer participate in dancing as the active participation area is lost both in space and time.

Secondly; when the event is arranged with a 'stage' situated distant from the focus of the event at the extremity of the area. On these occasions the focus shifts to the sales stalls, eating areas, promotional stands or funfair. This can lead to the event becoming more of a 'street fair' with the addition of a 'performance' stage at the end of the event space, and if, in addition, the programme is largely performative the concept of an active 'dance space' is lost.

Continuity, trends and changes (in place of conclusion)

These village community events have been subject to ongoing changes from year-to-year and decade-to-decade and some of our informants reflect sadly on these changes. However, we consider that these ongoing modifications have allowed these events to continue, so far, by embedding modern aspects and changing fashions within customary (traditional) celebrations rather than attempting to maintain events in an unchanged format that is not within the community's contemporary socialisation. As regards local dancing this enables a knowledge of local social dance skills (although a changing dance repertoire)[10] to be perpetuated and in recent years there is a trend for increased participation at events close to Timișoara by members of the local recreational dance groups.

Among other aspects these changes have resulted in variation in the use of space within the physical and temporal framing of the event. For some (larger) villages, as mentioned above, the trend is moving towards a mainly 'performative' event where the focus is directed towards the 'performance' stage. For these larger-scale events the programme for the event may include as the highlights of the evening non-local presentational 'artists' – pop or easy-listening singers, or even cabaret or comedy acts. The negative part that emerges from these larger scale events is the reduction in opportunities for active community participation which we consider is the most vital aspect of these festivals.

As a postscript – the fieldwork for this paper was mostly carried out before 2020. During the summer of 2020 village events did not take place due to the pandemic, and local mayors were prevented from using funds to support large events. In the latter part of summer 2021 many *Ruge* and village days did take place but as smaller (and more traditional) events.

Figure 4. Video example show during presentation https://youtu.be/6zpibl2LrIc

Endnotes

1. Nitsiakos refers to the direct relationship between the village festival and the community that is evident in the ethnographic data of the Balkans and the Mediterranean. He comments that "[w]hen asked how old the community religious festival is, one could answer how old the community is […] the worship of a common saint, to which the central church of the village is dedicated, [is] a central community symbol […] The very founding of the village as a spatial entity, corresponding to the social category of the community, is associated with the construction of the central church" [Nitsiakos 2010:241–244].

2. In the Banat mountain regions these days are also referred to as *hram*, or *nedeia* (spelt various ways.). Saints' days (*Ruge*) in Banat generally take place between easter and the beginning of November. The most common days are the second day of Easter, the 15th August (Sf. Maria Mare), 8th September (Sf. Maria Mic), 30th June (Sf. Peter and Paul) and 21st July (Sf. Ilie). In some cases the *Ruga* is also the *zilele*, with slightly different activities on the second or third days of the festival, in others the *zilele* are held on a different day maybe some months apart. For a more detailed discussion on *ruga* in Banat see [Mellish and Green 2020].

3. *Hora* is the community chain dance that is generally the first dance at traditional calendrical and life-cycle events.

4. Our video shown during our presentation gives an impression and explanation of *Ruga* in current Banat available at: <https://youtu.be/6zpibl2LrIc> see Figure 4 for QR code link.

5. Following the definition of place in the English Oxford Dictionary, see the online entry at <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/place_1>.

6. The entry for 'space' in the Oxford dictionary states "an amount of an area or of a place that is empty or that is available for use", see the online entry at <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/space_1>.

7. Such framing is similar for all community participatory events in Romanian Banat, and is also common to events throughout southeast Europe and beyond.

8. In Romania, as elsewhere in southeast Europe, fairs and festivals also take place on mountain tops, or meadows where there are no permanent constraints to the dance space. In general in Romanian such events have less participatory dancing.

9. This is not as fixed as is usual in western European events, as people move the seating (viewing and eating areas) to suit the weather conditions and socialising opportunities.

10. The popular cycle of dances on the Banat Plain has changed over time. The dances from the early 20th century are not played now, the mid-20th century once popular *Soroc* is still played but few know the dance, and now the repertoire has adopted some elements from the Banat mountain region. See <https://eliznik.org.uk/banat-plain-couple-dance-cycle/> for a discussion on the 'old' dance cycles.

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Slavuj piva… - contemporary scenic interpretation of the Croatian traditional music and dance

The staging of Croatian traditional music and dance in the form of short choreographic performances can be traced back to the first half of the 20th century, when the Peasant Union (*Seljačka Sloga*) and first folklore festivals were established. The establishment of the Lado professional folk dance ensemble in 1949 and the professionalization of the profession introduced the rules/laws and the various approaches of presenting the dance tradition on the stage. This paper chronologically examines the development and changes in the approaches to transmission and presentation of folk dancing tradition on the Croatian scene.

The modern way of life that replaced the traditional one has had consequences for the development of traditional village culture. A break in the tradition of "direct" learning has led to the almost complete disappearance of particular styles and genres such as 'ojkanje'. The original context of 'ojkanje' – vocal communication in open living spaces – has today been replaced with the practice of public performances, most often at local or regional festivals and social gatherings of local communities. Having in mind the multiplicity of possible intersecting and overlapping layers of music and spaces, a case study (*Harmonija disonance*) presents the contemporary ways, places and spaces for performance.

Keywords: Croatian traditional music, dance, stage, performance.

The scenic interpretations of traditional music and dance on stage in short choreographic forms in Croatia can be continuously followed since the first half of the 20th century and since the establishment of the first folklore festivals [Ceribašić 2003]. That is when the first rules regarding the ways of presenting tradition on stage were set – with various degrees of success – by the scholars, talented individuals and performers themselves. From the early period of stage performances, folklorists, musicologists, ethnologists and other scholars were already active in commenting on performances and advising talented individuals on how to improve their performances. That was one of the reasons why the amateur scene of the time rapidly grew in the number of festivals, newly established folklore groups and performances.

After stagnation during World War II, the amateur folklore dance scene emerged. Then in 1949, the best amateur dancers, led by Zvonimir Ljevaković and Ivan Ivančan, founded the professional folk ensemble Lado. That was the first attempt to professionalize amateur dancing and singing. Following the previous experiences with the amateur scene, the first professional attempt for stage rules was also applied to free interpretation of traditional music and dance. While the traditional performance venue was primarily an informal setting with the audience directly involved within the process of performing, the formal professional performance "concert" stage attended by a sitting audience become the exclusive space for professional dancers.

This is where our story of what to do, and how to work with tradition, of stylization and/or stage adaptation of the folk dances, begins; the story of what we have learned so far, which obstacles we have stumbled upon. Lado was founded by the decision of the Government of the Republic of Croatia with the task of "presenting the artistically interpreted folklore treasures of our peoples: folk dances, songs, music and customs" [Sremac 2009:93]. "Our peoples" referred to the then population of the Socialist Federal

Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY) and the presentation of their music and dance traditions, which Lado did with great success during the first 40 years of its existence. From its beginnings until today, Lado has promoted a recognizable performance style, characterized by a high level of professionalism set with a singular artistic gift by Zvonimir Ljevaković. In one of his rare articles on the stage application of folk dance and music, published in 1946, Ljevaković wrote:

> "It is not enough for a composer to listen passingly to a folk tune or for a choreographer to take a quick look at a folk dance – nothing has been achieved this way. The composer needs to experience a folk song or a gig, and the choreographer needs to experience a folk dance in its fullness. This can be only and accurately achieved in the specific "tonality" of peasant life, in an environment where singing, playing and dancing still live, firmly attached to their roots … Only then will the composers and choreographers be able to acquire the necessary knowledge of the material they want to process. If the creator is aware of that, then even the freest adaptation will come across as direct, truthful and in the folk spirit. It will not be bloodless and not folk-like" [Ljevaković 1946:365].

With the disintegration of the SFRY, the repertoire of the national ensemble, as well as of all other urban folk societies that performed the choreographed presentations of music and dance traditions of the peoples of the then Yugoslavia, changed fundamentally. After more than forty years, all Croatian folklore ensembles had a national repertoire again [Sremac 2010:390].

On the one hand, we can follow the changes in the repertoire from the classical presentation of tradition on stage to trips into related musical and dance forms. For the most part, such excursions did not go further than an experiment and did not remain a part of Lado's permanent repertoire. On the other hand, we can follow the relocation of performances from authentic locations (threshing floors, squares, courtyards or village festivities) to the stage, and then further from a small theatre stage to large stages, such as arenas, stadiums and large outdoor stages.

This paper focuses on the advantages and disadvantages which these relocations bring to the performances that consequently corresponded to the change in audiences.

When presenting tradition on stage, the first step is to design a choreography that will in its very few minutes present the most characteristic fragments of music and dance of a particular area, with the best examples of folk costumes of the region and the occasions that the choreography represents, respecting the rules of stage interpretation.

The first such choreographies or stage adaptations were for the needs of folklore festivals and they worked on their own. Each such choreography was performed by a different set of performers. By entering theatres with evening-long programmes, the door to new challenges in presenting tradition on stage was opened. These programmes were arranged thematically - they could present a particular region, annual customs, life customs or even be in honour of a certain choreographer, and so on. The aesthetic impression, performance dynamics and the number of performers on stage were carefully considered, with an instrumental or vocal intermezzo (performed by a smaller number of performers) or a choreography done by a smaller number of dancers often following after large-scale choreographies. The evening concerts often ended with large-scale, powerful choreographies. By entering theatres, they have become a part of theatrical art. They require a good sound system and lighting, full make-up, facial expressions, carefully planned looks

and smiles. While staging individual dances, the choreographers were aware of various important elements – of the way the performers were arranged on stage, the relationship between musicians and dancers, who occupied the most prominent and visible positions on the stage, the way the costumes were aesthetically arranged in choreographic positions by colours, of the amount of jewellery, headbands and so on.

During this period, folk art has come to feel at home in theatres, successfully overcoming most of the challenges posed to it by the 'little black box' of the theatre stage.

But here, too, it was necessary to move further and try the possibilities offered by modern technology, to make the tradition on stage more up-to-date. In addition to a discreet play with lightning, video projections were used, first as an introduction to a concert, and later as a regular part of scenography that accompanies each act. In the past, each choreography or musical intermezzo would be announced by the host, either visible on stage or as a voice from the first box next to the stage. Each act would end with a bow accompanied by thunderous applause from the audience, with an unpredictable possibility of going out for an encore and performing again the final part of the previous choreography. Later, the programmes started to be arranged in such a way that acts merged one into the other with no breaks for a bow except at the end of the first part of the programme and at the very end of the concert. The announcements were pre-recorded, projected as text on the video wall or even completely abandoned since all the necessary information could be found in a programme booklet. Abolishing the bow after each act resulted in a better interconnectedness between individual acts and created a sort of an uninterrupted experience. However, it deprived both performers and audience of the special charm of an encore. It also put an end to the evaluation of each act by the most honest critic – the audience.

Nowadays, programme booklets are made in advance for the entire season and include all the concert descriptions. They are richly equipped with text and professional photographs. A more modern approach can also be seen in the creation of the programme itself. Under the leadership of its former artistic director, the Lado ensemble gradually abandoned its long-standing anthology programme, introducing around ten new choreographies per season. With such an artistic approach, they aspired to larger stages and concert halls, leaving more intimate theatre spaces. By performing on large stages in sports halls, Lado set out to present itself to a wider audience that might not have followed its work until then, and it did that in a new way production-wise. The emphasis is no longer on national theatres as performance venues; instead, priority is given to arenas and large sports halls. The new programme asks for new venues and new audiences. Consequently, we no longer watch Lado performances wearing evening gowns or at least finer clothes, as a special artistic treat in the temple of culture (Croatian National Theatre), but with beer and popcorn at the sports hall, Arena (the new sports hall in Zagreb), as we would watch a big rock spectacle – which it definitely is not.

As early as after the first concert excursion to Arena, the many shortcomings of a small stage in a large space became apparent. The intimacy of a theatre has been lost, and the audience not only became disconnected from the performance and the performers, but they could not even see them anymore. In the theatre, we watch carefully every dance step and facial expression. Along with the choreographic images, the smiles and looks of the performers make an integral part of the choreographic artistic expression and very much influence the overall impression that the choreography has on the audience. We are impressed by the richness of detail and artistic aesthetics of each costume, in addition to hearing every ornament played and seeing every instrument playing on the stage. But in a space as large as Arena with the stage of approximately the same dimensions as the one in

the theatre, this is simply not possible. Arena is the largest sports hall in Zagreb, built in 2008, with a floor area of almost 30,000 square meters and 15,000 seats. For comparison, the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb, the central and oldest theatre institution in Croatia, was built at the very end of the 19th century, and has 800 seats. The audience at Arena can tell if a dancer on stage is wearing a male or a female costume, in other words, they can distinguish trousers from skirts, and can also see geometric choreographic arrangements alternating on stage.

However, not everything about Lado performing at Arena was bad. Quite the opposite: communication activities were carried out excellently, and new forms of communication were introduced, enabling – for the first time in Croatia – more than 7,000 people in the audience to follow the concert. The step forward in presenting tradition on stage was the continuation of the new approaches brought by the ensemble's new artistic managers. The progress was inevitable. Time will tell how it will hold up. Will it make tradition bloodless and not folk-like as Ljevaković once put it? Or will it by this modernization come closer and return to the people in all its fullness, communicating passionately from big stages? Unfortunately, the new approach of the Lado performances staging was the ensembles last activity before the coronavirus pandemic.

Physical distance as one of the main requirements in the age of the coronavirus pandemic has brought significant changes in the presentation, production and reception of all art formats that use the body for their presentation. According to Naila Ceribašić, an ethnomusicologist from Zagreb, the "distance practice and experience" is being introduced. And every performance requires both a performer and an audience as well as their interaction. Theatres and large concert halls all around the world have been closed, theatre artists cannot work on stage and in front of a full auditorium. Performing arts have found their space for survival in the wilds of the Internet. Stages both large and small are moving to computer monitors. The audience stays in the armchairs in their living rooms. Time will tell how professional national ensembles will survive the corona crisis, and we can talk about it at one of the next symposia.

Traditional vocal music on the stage

Over the last century, the staging of the performance of traditional vocal music has undergone significant changes. The modern way of life that replaced the traditional way of life has had consequences for the development of traditional village culture. A break in the tradition of "direct" learning has led to the almost complete disappearance of particular styles and genres such as '*ojkanje'*. The original context of '*ojkanje'* – vocal communication in open living spaces – has today been replaced with the practice of public performances, most often at local or regional festivals and social gatherings of local communities. Having in mind the multiplicity of possible intersecting and overlapping layers of music and spaces a case study will present the contemporary ways, places and spaces for performance. What we have learned to date, what obstacles we have stumbled upon and what the future of the tradition is on the stage are questions that we will try to present/answer and stimulate discussion.

Ojkanje is a common name for the oldest layer of archaic, traditional singing, which according to the ethnographic divisions belongs to the area of Dinaric mountains [Ćaleta 2010:33; 2012:178]. The specificity of this system, described in literature as a style of narrow intervals [Bezić 1981:33], untempered singing or the most primitive phase of Croatian music [Dobronić 1915:3,25], can be observed on diverse levels. In this case, I am interested in music practice, which comprehends music in both the performing and the social context. Music practice represents not only organized sound but also the level of the

music phenomenon as a system made up of the following components: the music model, the manner of performance, the context of the conception and use of music, performers, the context of music-making, and the mode of its reception and evaluation [Baumann 1989: 82]. Practice is a respective category whose "other pole is a global, abstract entity, most frequently referred to as a system" [Ceribašić 1998:7]. The modern understanding of the theory of practice is unified in acceptance of all three sides of the theoretical triangle: society is a system; the system is powerfully restrictive; and the system can be created and deconstructed by human action and interaction [Ortner 1994:402].

The basis of this musical system, that is the mechanisms on which this musical system is built, is unconventional (marginal) as compared to the musical systems based on West European musical tradition. Colour, texture, group performance (dominant in respect to individual), the stability of non-beat tonal relationships, the elements that form the basis of this system, are completely different from their counterparts in West European musical harmony. Musical characteristics of styles and genres are recognizable through the melodies with a small, limited number of tones. Intervals do not match the standard intervals either by their size or by their function. The melodies are based on limited, mostly chromatic, tonal scales, with intervals that do not match standard musical intervals. The majority of styles and genres have major second as a dominant interval, most of the time in the finale, the cadenza tone, is treated as a consonant interval.

The influence of 'Western' culture – civilization and the system of values – seems to prevent this musical tradition from living its full existence. Changes are obvious in the selection of the musical styles. The concept of a structured musical piece adopted from the West has resulted in the disappearance of the open-ended and improvisational genres, the concept of the organized singing group substitutes informal music-making as well as the disappearance of the solo singing genres. Not so long ago people used this type of singing as a means of everyday communication (calling out for someone by voice shaking) while doing their everyday jobs or travelling by horse in caravans, as entertainment around the open fire during long winter nights or as a way to pass time while watching overgrazing cattle.

The performance practice

The basic way in which this musical genre is presented and explained is the performance itself. The performance is the final result of the learning process – listening to and imitating their predecessors. The concept of performance does not entail a process of prior practice and coordination. Each performance has just that character and it can be adjudged as being good or inferior (*tanko* [too thin], *višje* [high], *ne slaže* [out of sync]). Performance requires a certain attitude, position and order among the singers, many of whom cover one ear with their hand as they sing. Both singers and listeners, who usually concur in their opinions of the performance, evaluate the performance. All of them aspire to a preconceived harmony, equally enjoying their particular functions - the singer is pleased to be able to enjoy his own singing, just like the listener does, who actively listens and evaluates the performance. One of the pre-conditions for a good performance is loud singing which requires certain physical effort, which is exceptionally pleasing to both singers and audience. Loud and often incomprehensible singing in high registers reminds the 'passive listener' of plain noise. Outsiders – 'passive listeners', usually describe the simultaneous performance of several vocal (instrumental) performances tolerated by both singers and listeners as "noise". The fact is that this singing invokes opposing reactions - from extremely pleasant to extremely unpleasant. To many urban-dwellers this singing is 'coarse' and 'discordant', reminiscent of 'shouting and yelling', and in many instances it is

not treated as music at all. Such an attitude towards this music creates (and is created by) a series of cultural stereotypes. The entrenched opinion is that everyone who lives or originates from this region knows how to sing in this way, that is, engages in this type of singing. The insults to which they are exposed because of their origins range from the verbal - with an imitation of howling - to the visual - covering the ear and part of the face with the palm, in this way imitating the typical performance pose of the singers from the Dinaric Hinterland. The overall stance of society was similar: it tried to neglect "these artefacts in order to replace them with 'more cultivated' patterns of interpretation of national music, composing new forms in an 'elaborated' way" [Petrović 1995:61].

Performance is the symbol of life of certain genres. Those which are not performed are destined to oblivion not because there is no one who can perform them, but because they are not attractive enough for the audience. In this way, a number of genres of solo singing have disappeared. Some of the older genres, like *treskavica* in the region of Dalmatinska Zagora, are called *starovinski* (in old manner) which marks them as something that still exists but is no longer in the limelight; they are usually performed only by older people and therefore not attractive enough for the 'contemporary' performance, which will probably cause them to disappear in the near future. Today this practice is most commonly performed at different public events in the local communities. The carriers of this tradition are numerous newly established folklore groups.

Since the mid-1990s, after the Homeland War ended in Croatia, the atmosphere of national revival has yielded a significant increase in the number of organized folklore groups, especially in regions directly affected by the war. Singers and players in the local communities who participate in cultural activities, especially at various festivals, are organized in societies called Kulturno-Umjetnička Društva (cultural-artistic societies) [abbreviation - KUD]; there are hundreds of KUDs all over Croatia. A good example is the region of Ravni Kotari in Zadar County where there was not a single organized village KUD before the war, while today there are about seventy of them. Their agenda is to preserve and/or revive old repertoire and performing styles typical of their immediate community. However, it is important to mention that the tradition of amateur organizations presenting rural traditions is much older [Ćaleta 2005:510]. Among the "significant changes" which have marked European traditional musics since the 1950s, namely "festivalization, orientation toward public performance, professionalization, internationalization, institutionalization, and mediaization" [Ronström and Malm 2000:149], processes of festivalization and the related institutionalization of traditional musics and musicians have an unquestionable primacy in Croatia. Since the 1930s, the production of folklore festivals - the most important site for the application of ethnomusicological, ethnochoreological, folkloristic, and ethnological scholarship in Croatia – has played a major role in the canonization of traditional music, that is in configuring particular genres and styles as legitimate traditions, and in distinguishing particular performers as legitimate bearers of tradition. In Croatia, the beginnings of this tradition were linked to the first half of the 20th century and the period between the two World Wars. The Croatian Peasant Party, motivated by the contemporary disputes between the members of Croatian political intelligence founded a cultural, educational and charitable organization, the Peasant Union. In the period between the two World Wars, the Peasant Union organized folklore festivals at which, during the 1920s, and especially from the 1930s onwards, rural traditions (music, dance, folk costumes, playing traditional instruments) were presented. The above mentioned *ojkanje* singing genres were frequently performed in these first festivals because, already at this time, they were considered valuable examples of the old archaic culture which had to be preserved and emphasized in

every possible way. These organized groups, founded in many villages during this period have, in some regions, preserved their continuity up to the present day and today remain the main carriers of their rural tradition and identity, representing their villages at numerous folklore festivals in Croatia and around the world. In their local setting, in cooperation with the local tourist offices, those groups are the main initiators and organizers of village cultural life in general. Through KUD activities people socialize, use their free time meaningfully, and nurture social connections in the community. Safeguarding one's own (local) cultural identity is usually stated as the main purpose of the KUDs' existence. One of the common KUD activities is the production of audio and video recordings of their own repertoires. The production methods of these sound and visual recordings are interesting. Technicians from local radio stations are the most common sound recording engineers and producers. All of the material may be recorded in one session, while at other times it is compiled from different performances (for example, local radio, festivals). The resultant 'master' is usually multiplied on writable CDs, on the cover of which goes either a photograph of KUD members dressed in folk costume, a local church, or a characteristic local landscape. Photos, the name of the KUD, the name of the village and the list of tracks are often the only data on the CD. The older layers of the tradition, such as *ojkanje*, usually take just a marginal part of their recordings. The recorded repertoire varies from renditions of specific local traditions to renditions of popular traditional songs that members of KUDs typically sing at after-parties – informal social gatherings with other folklore friends after having completed an official stage performance. Very rarely do such releases manage to step out of their local bounds [Ceribašić and Ćaleta 2010:337].

The regular meetings/rehearsals where they practice their repertoire are usually associated with eating and drinking as forms of social exchange. Rehearsed programs are performed at numerous local, regional or state folklore festivals. Performing offers opportunities to visit new places, and in turn, KUDs frequently host groups from elsewhere, both of which inspire KUD members to participate regularly in activities. Contemporary KUDs usually make their own flags, informative leaflets and brochures about their locality, region and KUD activities, as well as occasional souvenirs. More and more, CDs and DVDs are among the products that KUDs give as gifts to their guests or offer for sale. Owing to the modes of public presentation of folklore heritage established at the beginning of the 20th century, the Croatian public managed to acquire a certain positive attitude towards archaic forms which presented the local tradition. As a result of those public performances, some forms of singing have managed to extend their life span.

Many festivals organized today at the local, regional or state level are trying to promote the same values in their programs. The most prestigious of all festivals is the International folklore festival in Zagreb with thematic concerts featuring traditional music and dance. This attempt to encourage folklore groups to participate in the festivals involves a number of experts. Through regular monitoring of the groups, conducting research and preparation of ever novel festival programs emphasizing the differences in the traditional heritage of respective villages, the prerequisites are created for the protection, preservation, revitalization and, if necessary, reconstruction of intangible heritage. In the past few years, the local tourist offices have also recognized the importance of intangible traditional culture and have themselves become initiators of some of the festivals of traditional singers, especially those targeted at foreign tourists.

Harmonija disonance

During the period mentioned there were not many attempts of public presentation of *ojkanje* singing by outsiders. In the last few decades, the situation has been slowly changing

as an increasing number of the younger, urban population turn to their musical roots, looking for their artistic inspiration in archaic ways of music-making. One of the more representative examples is the ensemble whose creation, development and activities that continue to this day, I witnessed - the ensemble *Harmonija disonance*.[1]

Ensemble *Harmonija disonance* is based on the eponymous project that started in October of 2016 at the Academy of Music in Zagreb. It was conceived by Mojca Piškor and Joško Ćaleta as a crossroads for the students of the Academy of Music and experienced singers of traditional music. Led by the idea of bridging the gap between the worlds of professionally trained and amateur musicians, artistic and traditional music, it opened a space for mutual learning, performing and creating music. The ensemble's repertoire was shaped through immediate contact with experts in traditional music singing, thanks to whom it is still a part of active performative practice. What was learned at the first workshops was presented at a concert performance (Vivat Academia cycle).[2] The project transformed into an ensemble which was an important step towards the affirmation of traditional music in the system of academic education of musicians and (ethno) musicologists, but also a definite answer to the question of whether the oldest layers of traditional music are relevant and inspiring for the youngest generation of Western European musicians. The mission of the ensemble does not stop at concert activity but at active research and presentation of traditional musical heritage.[3] In addition to numerous performances and workshops, members of the ensemble participated in field research throughout Croatia.[4] *Harmonija disonance* performed on numerous occasions, most notably in solo concerts as well as a group concert with the Zagreb Academy of Music Jazz Ensemble and concerts held with singers of traditional music.

Through their performance activity, the members of the ensemble present certain vocal traditional styles and genres, taking special care of the performative norms and ways of presentation. Singing in small groups, dialogue singing, solo singing, different staging in the concert space as well as throughout the audience space - these are some of the stage procedures that performers use when performing the program. The idea is to present traditional music that has existed in a completely different context in ways that will at least somewhat associate it with original performance situations. What makes the ensemble special is the free access to the use of the stage space. In their performances, there is no classic visual relationship between the audience and the performers. In many situations, the sound comes from different sources, thus recalling the original context of a traditional performance in a free, open space. Each performance adapts to a new performance space, which also gives a special feature to this way of performance staging. With their visual appearance, they often indicate (traditional hairstyles, traditional jewellery or parts of folk costumes) the region from which the specific vocal genres come. The procedures mentioned confirm their positive attitude towards the singing tradition as well as towards the bearers of that tradition, thus promoting the work of this ensemble as a prominent promoter of forgotten ways of traditional music in Croatia.

Endnotes

1. The ensemble *Harmonija disonance* <https://www.facebook.com/harmonija.disonance/>.

2. Concert performance programme for ensemble *Harmonija dissonance* in 2017 <https://www.lisinski.hr/media/publications/LISINSKI_2017_11_04_Harmonija_disonance_Prog_knjzica_05_y7DRF4e.pdf>.

3. A music-documentary film about the vocal ensemble of traditional music by ensemble *Harmonija dissonance* 2020 <https://mojtv.hr/m2/film.aspx?id=141705>.

4. For example ensemble *Harmonija dissonance* as part of the workshop "Folk Vocal Tradition of the Slunj Region" at the University of Slunj <https://www.slunj.hr/index.php/2000-koncert-ansambla-harmonija-disonance>.

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Levels of foreignness. Dancing Bulgarian folk dances in the welcoming culture of North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany

The article discusses ethnic foreignness and its role in self-identification, integration and inclusion in Germany. Three concepts arise from examples of dancing Bulgarian folk dances in the context of the welcoming culture of North Rhine Westphalia. German dancers comment on cosmopolitanism as "being foreign to ourselves", the free choice of "emotional home" and the current right-wing populism. The case of the Bulgarian dance group "*Dounav*" addresses the modelling of diaspora through folk dance and the self-made binary identity in the sense of integration. The example from the Communal Integration Center in Oberhausen deals with the development of German society after the refugee crisis in 2015 and shows the idea of the patchwork family as cultural inclusion. All three cases indicate the impact of strangeness on successful intercultural communication and acculturation and make us reflect on what multiculturality means today.

Keywords: multicultural tradition, integration, inclusion, diaspora, refugees.

Welcome is a word with positive connotations. However, it necessarily involves two different parties in communication and delineates dichotomy: on the one hand, a person or group who is at home and, on the other hand, people who have just arrived, are newcomers, strangers, outsiders. In this way, we address the issue of the foreign and the opposition insider-outsider, but an active process is promulgated from the beginning and a rapprochement is the aim. The concept of a welcoming culture is not new,[1] but it gained a huge new importance in Germany in response to the refugee crisis in 2015 and to the not always fully accepted politics of Chancellor Angela Merkel.[2] In Austria the term *Willkommenskultur* was even adopted in December 2015 as the "Word of the Year".

Long ago the performance of folk dances became a strategy in the tourism industry to promote the host culture and offer a welcoming message to visitors. Traditional dances were not a folklore art that could be taken home as a material souvenir but rather corporal experiences that left longstanding memories and organized new dynamic connections between the familiar and the foreign. However, German folk dances were instrumentalized by the Hitler Youth, and the traumatic legacy of the Second World War drastically changed the local interest in them and shaped a very critical reflexive view of them. It was only in Bavaria, Austria and regions in Switzerland that people did not completely distance themselves from their local dance traditions. My interlocutors from the Munich region call their home dances "Alpine dances" and diligently explain the difference of their historic lineage to German dances [Fritz 2021a]. In most other regions of Germany, we cannot observe the non-verbal intercultural communication and active preservation of local traditions that ethnic dance provides. So, German hosts do not use their own folk dances as their mother tongue and rarely recognize them as a symbol of the country and their cultural identity in front of visitors. Nevertheless, this does not preclude communication through ethnic dancing in general, because you can see folk dances of many other cultures in Germany. In this paper I would like to discuss "cultural strangeness" and its role in self-identification, integration and inclusion in the welcoming culture in Germany. Examples of dancing the Bulgarian way will illustrate these concepts.

"Foreign are we to ourselves" (Kristeva)

The focus is on the German federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia, which forms the geographical context of my current topic.

The industrialization of the Ruhr area in the 19th century put intercultural communication on a very broad social level when the population tripled due to interregional immigration. Immediately after Germans moved into the region from other parts of the country, miners were recruited from areas in Poland, who later formed the ethnic group of the so-called *Ruhr Poles* (*Ruhrpolen)*. World War II made the status of non-Germans in Germany uncertain, but many migrant workers survived and contributed to the modern capitalist image of North Rhine-Westphalia. Its early diversity was the basis of the social experience for the waves of guest workers (*Gastarbeiter*) from Turkey, Greece, Italy, Spain and Yugoslavia, who after the 1950s were more numerous and noticeable than in other federal states. The consistent policy of family reunification then formed a multicultural society in the industrial zone long before the whole of Germany began to recognize itself as a country of immigrants (*Einwanderungsland / Einwanderungsgesellschaft*[3]). The long-term intercultural experience distinguished North Rhine-Westphalia strongly from the society in eastern Germany, which due to its socialist past was "closed, self-contained and in no way prepared for globalization, cultural diversity and large groups of migrants" according to Steffen Mau [2020:226]. Thus, in the federal state with the largest foreign population in Germany,[4] ethnic identification through folk dancing was, and is, well known. Progressive liberal capitalism is welcoming more and more newcomers from countries with strong ethnic traditions, and globalization in its new adaptations did not extinguish interest in folk dancing, it even strengthened the attention paid to them.

If you look at the German population, you can see that the long-standing, above-average ethnic diversity in North Rhine-Westphalia has long favoured the emergence and spread of international folk dance for leisure activities based on the American model.[5] The phenomenon of dancing the Bulgarian way by German speaking people is a big part of it and represents a good example of artistic non-verbal intercultural communication and growing hospitality. In my analyses of this in the past, I defined three motivational complexes through which we can recognize different types of people and approaches to foreignness and reflect specific and general social developments [Panova-Tekath 2011:79–115]. With regard to these complexes, the following can be briefly summarized for North Rhine-Westphalia. The third motivational complex, which is connected with the so-called "sacred dance" for meditation and spiritual interpretations, can be found much less often in the industrial area of Germany than in the other regions. On the other hand, the first motivational complex that glorifies fitness and discovers a great physical challenge in Bulgarian irregular rhythms is particularly easy to find and seems crucial for maintaining the hobby today. Eventually, the second motivational complex became the most widespread, and therefore "the understanding of nations" - as my former student Lena Froemmel put it - is often cited as the major incentive for recreational folk dancing in North Rhine-Westphalia. Lena started to dance ethnic dances in my classes at the Folkwang University in Essen and continued with them in the Bulgarian groups in Düsseldorf, Vienna and Detmold. Today, she says: "without the dances I would have no connections to Bulgaria or other countries" [Froemmel 2021].

However, there is a lot of cosmopolitanism which we can observe amongst German dancers in North Rhine-Westphalia. "It was very strange!" for Hannah Elsner to see among her fellow students modern-day people who identify themselves with their home ethnic dances and with ethnicity in general. She explains: "I was brought up without any ties to religion or ethnicity, and I never had the feeling that I was missing anything" [Elsner 2021].

For another German student, Jan P., folk dances even "had a bitter taste" [Pollert 2020]. There are formal and historic reasons for the lack of interest in German folk dances by my young interlocutors. "I always had the feeling that 'German ethnicity' consists of not having one" writes Hannah Elsner. In my opinion, herewith the young woman unconsciously creates a wonderful allusion to the scientific debate on globalization, to Aleida Assmann's exploration of the European memory culture [Assmann 2018] and Julia Kristeva's psychological investigations of a new "paradoxical community". Using Freud's theory of the uncanny, Kristeva prophesied as early as 1988 a coming "community of strangers who accept each other to the extent that they recognize themselves as strangers" [Kristeva 1990:213]. My German interlocutors in North Rhine-Westphalia often describe their own ethnic dance tradition as "outdated" [Zierul 2021], "boring" [Pollert 2020], "clumsy and coarser than dances from other cultures" [Froemmel 2021]. Living in a strong multicultural context, they feel free to choose their folk dance repertoire and "emotional homeland" [Fritz 2021a]. Obviously, the development of society awards the term *home* a new openness and many dimensions. For many enthusiasts, recreational international folk dancing offers very similar experiences to those described by the free philosopher Wilhelm Schmid: "Far from home there was another home that I didn't even know how much I missed it" [Schmid 2021:9]. This creates a positive atmosphere, where the boundaries between what is strange and familiar blur, while dancing is enjoyed and mostly interpreted as successful intercultural communication. Thus, the logo of the Rhine's Working Group on Dance (*Rheinische Arbeitsgemeinschaft Ta*nz), which existed from 1949 to 2018 and offered many workshops with Bulgarian dances, stood for "common, connecting dancing across all borders".[6] Proud of the tradition of German expressive dance (*Ausdruckstanz),* the State Working Group on Dance (*Landesarbeitsgemeinschaft Tanz* – LAG Tanz) in Düsseldorf follows the wisdom of Rudolf von Laban that "every human is a dancer" [Laban 1920: 181].[7]

Meanwhile, a new development in the ideological framework of this cosmopolitanism emerges, as the president of LAG, Justo Moret informs me [Moret 2021]. The migrant crisis has awakened the right-wing populist scene also in North Rhine-Westphalia and slowly a dangerous manipulative interest in German dances is emerging. To counter it, liberal organizations are beginning to enrich multiculturalism with new research into German dance culture. For example, the performance dance group "*Kölner Klettenkette*", which was founded in 1985 for Balkan dances,[8] has decided to learn German couple dances as well. Together with their old Bulgarian repertoire, they presented them at the Christmas party of the Bulgarian group "*Dounav*" 2019 in Düsseldorf. This is an interesting change into the old role structures of intercultural communication through folk dances. And there are some additional developments, shifts and gaps in the binary relations of foreign-familiar, modern-traditional, global-local, cosmopolitan-national that the pandemic brought with it and that Ivan Krastev would call "paradoxes of Corona" [Krastev 2020:72–82].

Figure 1: Students at the Folkwang University in Essen, 2020. Photo: G. Panova-Tekath.

Cultural foreignness as a tool for integration

Until the fall of the so-called Iron Curtain in 1989, the Bulgarians were not a significant ethnic group in Germany. Even after Bulgaria's accession to the EU and the facilitations such as freedom of movement in 2007, they did not form a very large diaspora. Bulgarians divide themselves into old immigrants and newcomers, Roma workers and highly qualified specialists, permanently or temporarily residing (mostly students). The Group for Bulgarian Folk Dances "*Dounav*" is the best representative of the German-Bulgarian Cultural Society in Düsseldorf and a very good example for successful intra- and intercultural communication that supports the integration of migrants in the region. It was established in 2011 by the former dancer of the National Ensemble in Sofia, Irina Stefanova (born 1981) and her sister Desislava Stefanova (born 1986). Irina shares with me that she "couldn't live without Bulgarian folk dances" which always were for her "emotion, experience, joy, breathing and spiritual cleansing motion" and have become abroad "a transmission of tradition, culture, customs, character and style" [Stefanova 2021b]. Desislava, a legal economist, who obtained her degree in Germany, initially perceived the Bulgarian dances as extremely complicated and she only learned to dance them herself in "*Dounav*". As an audience member of the professional ensembles in Bulgaria, she was always moved to tears and had "great respect for the hard work, will and talent of the performers and choreographers" [Stefanova 2021a].

The sisters and their dancing Bulgarian friends have positive stories of migration without "civilizational clashes" (referring to Samuel P. Huntington's claims[9]) and are trying hard to develop a new, more homogeneous, stable and respectable national image of the Bulgarians in North Rhine-Westphalia. More than 40 adult enthusiasts meet at the beginner level of "*Dounav*", about 20 at the advanced level, and since 2012 there is a performing

ensemble of 30 members. Two weekly courses for four to six years old children and one for the age group 7–12 initially relate to participatory Bulgarian folk dances. According to one of the dancing enthusiasts, Mihail Georgiev (born 1985), the most important role of the dance group is "the building of a mini Bulgaria – just as we want it to be" [Georgiev 2021]. "*Dounav*" organizes many social events and represented Bulgaria on the Day of Europe in Duesseldorf. The leaders have tried to find solutions for dancing in the pandemic and also made an online film in May 2020 to participate in the relay dance initiative of Bulgarians from abroad.[10] During performances of "*Dounav*" outside of Germany, I have observed an interesting blending of representational images of Germany and Bulgaria, which would require a longer discussion to elucidate. The group travelled to London (2017), Vienna (2017), Lido di Jesolo in Italy (2018) and La Nucia in Spain (2019) to participate in Bulgarian festivals. With the double symbolism of self-staging in third countries, "*Dounav*" embodies self-made hybridity or binary identities. In German, this phenomenon could be referred to by some as "hyphenated identity" (*Bindestrich-Identität*) because its bearers unite two national affiliations at the same time.[11] Ulrich Beck's remarks regarding the risk society [Beck 1986] pertain to this, and I find it important to pursue the fine distinction between whether and when the dancers perceive themselves as Bulgarian-Germans or German-Bulgarians.

There are a few Bulgarian dance groups in Germany and in other countries that strive for national purity in their "cultural maintenance" [Berry/Sam 1997:296] and avoid local foreign influences and involvement in the host culture. These people who dance the Bulgarian way can sometimes exaggerate "modern patriotism" [Dimitrova 2021] and offer significant examples of segregation if we were to use John Berry's classification of acculturation.[12] "*Dounav*" tries to cultivate inclusiveness. In Duesseldorf, the group welcomes German participants in its events and courses and so far two German dancers have attended regularly. Lena Froemmel and Bernhard Meyer report from their experience with the "*Dounav*" dances that there is an exceptional positive attitude toward guests and constant assistance with translation.

Nevertheless, Lena suspects that Bulgarians regularly meet to learn and dance Bulgarian folk dances in Germany "because the traditions from home convey a sense of security and belonging" [Froemmel 2021]. Thus, in the end, it is not a matter of simple communication processes of trans-culturalism by the immigrants while dancing the Bulgarian way. The boundaries of their newly created cultural entity should not be blurred. For example, in the course of their social events, some of my Bulgarian interlocutors took exception when some German dancers arrived at a dance and interrupted to make corrections. Local people who are experienced in recreational folk dancing often justify their absence from Bulgarian diaspora dance groups and events because of the "different mentality of the Southeast Europeans and their way of celebrating and being communal, which is quite unusual for Germans" [Fritz 2021b]. However, I more often hear such statements from German-speaking dancers from other parts of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Clearly, the sharing of culture is a complicated blend of respecting and blurring ethnic boundaries.

My impression is that Irina and Desislava and their successful group in North Rhine-Westphalia are creating a cultural community without building the dangerous wall of pathological ethnocentrism. Through their participatory and performative Bulgarian dances, they strive to promote meaningful integration. Following Julia Kristeva, this differs from what typically happens in the USA which enables newcomers to retain their particularity [Kristeva 1990:212]. The status of the dancing Bulgarians in Germany as both

strangers and insiders does not destroy the symbolic neighbourhood within the host country, but rather helps it and themselves to evolve.

Figure 2: "Dounav" in La Nucia, Spain, 2019. Photo: D. Stefanova

Cultural foreignness as a tool for inclusion

I have experienced the greatest adventures in dancing Bulgarian and other folk dances with refugees in Germany from many different countries. I have been organizing and leading projects and courses for this at the Communal Integrational Centre of Oberhausen since 2016. It could be defined as a new model for the phenomenon of urban dancing the Bulgarian way that I would call the Mediative model. However, it still is difficult to conduct multiple and serious interviews devoted to it because most of the Kurds, Syrians, Iranians, Iraqis and Eritreans among the dancing participants do not yet have sufficient German language skills. What is sure, is that the circle form of the Bulgarian traditional dances and the separation of male and female groups and styles are familiar to the refugees, and this helps them to enjoy group dancing in Germany. Some of them associatively remember steps and tunes from their past in their home countries and are happy when I invite them to share their traditional dances and music with the group. There are German participants as well, who never danced Bulgarian dances before. All of them state that the concept of foreignness makes them immediately curious. Inge Meyerhoff quotes Martin Buber's sentence "All real life is an encounter" as a guiding principle in her life. She continues:

> "Folk dance connects people regardless of origin, age or gender. […] Meeting people, learning from one another, respecting one another, reduces fears (prejudices) towards the 'stranger' ... the unknown, promotes acceptance and connects people for a peaceful co-existence" [Meyerhoff 2021].

Elfi (almost 70 years old) admits that she never had any interest in folk dances, yet after trying my course one time she was "surprised how much fun folk dances can be". Now she is enthusiastic about the energy and solidarity of folk dancing and the "communication in our group without many words" [Fleisch-Akila 2021]. Elfi's comments consider interculturality as transculturality and refer to the possibilities of inclusion rather than integration according to the most common understanding of these terms in Germany.[13] So, there is an affirmative attitude towards the merging of borders. In contrast to the Bulgarians, cultural fusion is a salvation for the refugees from possible marginalization or even exclusion from the dominant culture. Another major reason for the difference between "*Dounav*" and the dancing newcomers from the Middle East and Africa is probably the multitude (and diversity) of ethnicities and cultures among the refugees. Therefore, a kind of singularity is evident: In this new dancing community I never witnessed more than two participants who shared a previous connection and belonging (a married couple, mother and daughter or roommate). Thus, Elfi explains that through the fusion of ethnic dance repertoire: "The word 'foreigner' gets lost in such a group, because so many countries come together, each one can contribute something and enrich the group" [Fleisch-Akila 2021]. According to Max Peter Baumann, one of the outcomes of transculturality in the field of music could be transformation [Baumann 1995:18]. And it is possible that the previous contours of ethnicity lose importance and are even endangered, when people express their feelings through foreign dance patterns whose background and constructive meanings they do not understand. But the multi-ethnic group I initiated focuses on cultural issues when dancing foreign traditional dances together, and ideally creates a kind of patchwork family connection for the diverse group of folks involved.

Figure 3: Participants in the folk dance course at the Communal Integrational Center in Oberhausen, 2019. Photo: T. Kaysar.

In conclusion, I believe that the above examples of dancing the Bulgarian way in North Rhine-Westphalia explore different levels of otherness and contribute in a positive way to the intercultural communication recommended by Bernhard Waldenfels in his "Phenomenology of Foreignness" [Waldenfels 2006]. With the exception of Irina Stefanova, my interlocutors – the German students of all ages, the new Bulgarian immigrants in "*Dounav*" and the refugees – learned and embodied Bulgarian ethnic dances for the first time in Germany. It is the joyful and unadulterated nature of these encounters

and the conscious decision to embrace the cultural strangeness that makes the phenomenon a special "adventure of interculturalism, which means more than multicultural coexistence or fusion" [Waldenfels 2006:12]. None of the intercultural exchanges I have described means mere appropriation. Therefore - if we think of the metaphorical extracting of "the sting from the foreign" [Waldenfels 1990], we would find that the foreignness has not been deprived of its strength and unique colour by any of the cases. Only the discomfort that one might feel about strange things has disappeared when dancing. So, the people dancing the Bulgarian way cross borders without breaking them down, discover the positive power of foreignness and develop the long tradition of cultural diversity of North Rhine-Westphalia.

Dancing the Bulgarian way in all its forms and models is very often described by the dancers as building a bridge. In my opinion, it builds a bridge not only between different cultures but also in the midst of foreignness as a phenomenon. Very likely this dancing is able to connect foreign people with the stranger in yourself, to create acceptance and to guarantee the so important tolerance and interest in each other. Undoubtedly, moving in a new foreign or previously established cultural tradition develops your personality and helps you to make a difference in life.

Being Bulgarian in Germany was never a topic that could be compared with the topics of war refugees, Jews, black people or Asians. But my examples of dancing the Bulgarian way in North Rhine-Westphalia could help people to believe in multiple homelands that broaden their horizons without robbing them. I would therefore like to dedicate my paper on foreignness to Daniel Delibashev (born 1981), who in the last two years successfully supports orphans in Uganda and Ghana to do Bulgarian folk dances "in order to give them hope and a future" [Delibashev 2021].

Endnotes

1. There are links to the tourism industry originally created decades ago. According to the French daily Liberation "welcome culture" would also be a Germanisation of the technical term *Hospitality Management* [Liberation 2015].

2. This concept was widely celebrated, but at the same time caused divisions in public opinion as well as serious domestic and foreign policy problems, which manifested themselves in the activation of right-wing extremist positions in Germany and in foreign fears of the increasing spheres of German influence. The New York Times discussed the rehabilitation of the German image and claimed that Chancellor Angela Merkel was laying the foundation for new "hyphenated German" groups ("the Syrian-Germans, Iraqi-Germans, Afghan-Germans") alluding to the phenomenon of hyphenated American identities [The New York Times 2015].

3. In 2019 Germany had 21,246 million "citizens with a migration background" (Statista Research Department, August 27, 2021). Of these, 11.43 million were defined as "foreigners" at the end of 2020 – that is 12.7 per cent of all residents (SRD, 01/04/2021).

4. According to the Federal Statistical Office, the number of foreigners in North Rhine-Westphalia was 2,753,530 at the end of 2020 (https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie). The people with a migration background are over 5.3 million and there are cities in the federal state where they make up more than 40% of the population (https://www.statistik.lwl.org/de/zahlen/migration).

5. Please note my elaboration of different models, for example in Panova-Tekath [2020].

6. See [http://www.rag-tanz.de]

7. This belief became emblematic of modern dance in the early 20th century and linked its philosophy to Nietzsche's ideas focusing on "everyone and nobody" [Nietzsche 1893-1891].

8. As part of the model that I defined as American.

9. According to Samuel P. Huntington's distinction between the major civilizations in the world, the Western and Orthodox cultures would be addressed here [Huntington 1996].

10. The relay initiative was created and started by the Bulgarian dance group "*Nashentsi*" from Verona. The name "*Puskam puskam kurpichka*" refers to an old dance game with passing a small handkerchief.

11. See more in Scheer [2014].

12. See Berry [1970; 1997].

13. Today, these two terms are rarely distinguished in the sense of Berry's acculturation theory and equate integration with segregation which would be the case of some Bulgarian dance groups. Inclusion then enables the merge of boundaries and represents Berry's idea of integration or even assimilation.

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(Serbia)

Field recording and constructing performance place: A case study of two female solo vocal performances on Pešter, Serbia

As field researchers, ethnomusicologists are constantly interacting with their informants through the recording media. Sometimes, especially in the rural environments, there is a kind of 'stage fright' or jitters when it comes to performing (singing, playing, dancing) for the recording (audio, visual or audiovisual). Often, women are the ones who need more time to relax and indulge in showing what they know. In this case study the focus is on the common construction of the performance place through both the researcher's intervention and the solo performances of the interlocutors. Special attention will be directed to the individual female performances as the most intimate fieldwork experience. By giving examples from the field I will assign the roles of the performer/audience to the informant/researcher and observe the fieldwork interview and recording as a unique performance, as the pre-defined event with the specific context and function. The songs chosen for this specific case-study will be observed in comparison with the dominant, traditional singing expression of the Pešter plateau but also in comparison to each other, with the possibility of perceiving gender similarities and differences through the way of performance.

Key words: Serbia-Pešter, fieldwork, female, space, place.

After my extensive research and fieldwork in the area of the Pešter plateau[1] in Southwestern Serbia, which I have been conducting for more than a decade, the question of the particularity of both Pešter space and place was raised. That question intrigued me more once I realized that, unfortunately, in the actual area of the Pešter plateau there are almost no more authentic situations and opportunities for performing traditional music, more precisely for practicing traditional singing.

The focus of this paper is a question regarding how place and space are being specifically constructed during the fieldwork recording process and reflected in the sound recording itself through the female performances in the strongly patriarchal environment. How are they building up their own narratives through fieldwork performance? What can be read from them?

A presumption that prevails in my research is that there is no purely objective field recording because there is no purely authentic and objective fieldwork either. As has been emphasized many times in ethnomusicological literature (see for example Barz and Cooley [2008]); there always are inscriptions of both researcher and informants, in specific performance and contextual situation(s), whose presence shapes the final product/s – field recording and the latter scholarly processing and presentation of the conclusions. Being: "[…] the observational and the experiential portion of the ethnographic process […]" [Cooley and Barz 2008:4], fieldwork remains the territory of negotiations, creativity and sharing.

Both distinctions and similarities between space and place (as simple terms and as culturally conceptualized phenomena) have been investigated in geographical, ethnological, anthropological and ethno/musicological literature [see Seeger 1958; Hood 1960; Stokes 1997; Rice 2003; Solis 2004; Feld 2005; Seeger 2008:271–288; Stone and Stone-McDonald 2013; Wong 2014; Meizel and Daughtry 2019:176–203]. The one thing underlying and connecting both of these terms is – sound. As Brandon LaBelle interestingly

puts it: " […] sound opens up a field of interaction, to become a channel, a fluid, a flux of voice and urgency, of play and drama, of mutuality and sharing, to ultimately carve out a micro-geography of the moment, while always already disappearing, as a distributive and sensitive propagation" [LaBelle 2010:xvii]. What we are doing in the field, among other things such as conversations and interviews, is asking from our interlocutors to *perform* (a song, a piece of music…). Then, we are recording that specific performance(s) and they are becoming a basis for our future work. So, that 'micro-geography of the moment' captured in one sound and/or video recording was a trigger for me to ask myself about the importance of individual performances and the identification matrixes, and musically encoded heritage conveyed through their performance in the moment of the field recording.

That specific moment of recording during the fieldwork and performances of songs *sung for the purposes of ethnomusicological field recording* are creating a particular performance place and space. Both place and space are understood, in this paper, in two ways:

1. as purely, geographically and spatially determined words; place as the spot and space as the territory where something is happening,

and, in the broader and more specific terms:

2. as acoustically, socially and situation-specific concepts.

Notions of *space* and *place* are used in everyday speech and, as geographer Yi-Fu Tuan says: "In experience, the meaning of space often merges with that of place. 'Space' is more abstract than 'place' […] the ideas 'space' and 'place 'requires each other for definition" [Tuan 1977: 6]

In ethnomusicology, fieldwork has always been considered as an irreplaceable and basic tool and method for finding 'right' answers about the music in the researched environment and specific sociocultural practices. What is happening during the fieldwork is that the performance place, in the moment of field recording, is constructed from out of a wide range of auditory/sound space. Sound space or a soundscape, is understood here as "any acoustic field of study" [Schaffer 1969] implying different modus of its appearance and processes, underlying it as the driving forces – *auditory regimes, sonic campaigns and acoustic territories* [Meizel and Daughtry 2019:179] So, from the general basin of the culturally inherited auditory knowledge, from their soundscape or the sound space, informants are sharing with us the concretization in the essence embodied in one single or multiple performances *on the spot* in *that specific* performance place. What is also inscribed in their performance is the peculiar local knowledge of (in) music, emotions and sensibilities as well as "collectively defined meanings and significance on space" [Whiteley, Bennet and Hawkings 2004:3]

As my focus in researching the traditional vocal practice of Serbs from Pešter was, to discover primary foundational principles and articulation particularities behind the dominant vocal expression – group singing [Živčić 2012], the individual performances which I encountered and often recorded stayed 'under the radar'. It was interesting to observe how male and female informants in the field *behave* during their solo performances and how their awareness of themselves, as well as of themselves as representatives and members of the certain local community, shapes their individual musical (vocal) narratives. During such interviews I noticed that there are differences in the male and female solo performances, that are not reflected through the musical structure of the songs but rather through the manner of singing and construction of that specific fieldwork situation. Since the beginning of my field research in 2008. traditional Serbian group singing on Pešter

persisted only within the male or, less often, mixed 'ad hoc' ensembles. Mass migrations of people to the more urban areas in Serbia or abroad have left their mark – Serbian villages on Pešter are almost empty. Often I was interviewing older people who had sung earlier and who could still sing and also speak about the authentic singing contexts in the past.

Basic characteristic of the typical group Serbian singing on Pešter is that one singer usually starts the song and others join after several syllables have been sung. Secunda 'splits', which are key to the recognizable quality of heterophonic performance, are happening on the places of melodic and/or textual caesuras in the mello-stanza. According to the available data from the field interviews and relevant literature from the previous ethnomusicological research of the vocal musical tradition of Pešter [Vukosavljević 1989; Živčić 2012], there were not so many calendrical cycle rituals, nor were the songs dominantly determined by the performance occasion. There is, generally, a great corpus of a kind of 'everyday songs' which were performed on almost any occasion; opportunities for singing were during any gatherings (celebrations of Slava – a family saint patron's day, weddings, or songs while working). There were no specific differences in the musical realization between male and female singing groups; musically-structural and stylistic components of the performances were similar, clearly showing their belonging to one musical tradition.

As Pešter has unified and homogeneous local musical expressions manifested through group, heterophonic singing, it was interesting to observe how solistic performances refract and depict the social structure of this area, providing an additional insight into the gender relations.

The following link to one typical group performance of the male group, Stavlalj, from the same-named village, is given here in order to illustrate the most common manner of the traditional vocal performance of Serbs on Pešter. The name of the song is *Oj, Србијо, врело гвожђе (Oh, Serbia, the hot iron)* (Musical example 1).[2] Another example is a female group performance of the song *Шетала сам једног дана (I was walking one day)* which belongs to the same melodic model (Musical example 2).[3]

The patriarchal structure of the public life and social order is still quite strong and visible in almost every aspect of life in Pešter, and more obviously in the villages. Through the behaviour of my female informants during our fieldwork interviews I began to realize that, for them, our conversation, and their singing within, are a kind of public performance. The level of preparation is different than with the male performers. Nowadays, mostly male singing groups are more vital than the female singers and there are number of reasons for such conditions – mass migrations to the bigger cities, change of the original performance context (in the past, female singing was connected with the some kind of specific activity in the family, private space – working in the field, weaving, embroidery, spinning, household chores and handicrafts, which are not a part of their everyday life any more). They can sing with the man (on the occasion of a wedding or *Slava* for example, but they rarely have leading role in the song)

Women are more shy, careful, harder to make relaxed and so show the full potential of their singing abilities. (this was noticed earlier by Serbian ethnomusicologists [see Golemović 2005:117–134; Nenić 2019]. My impression is that what at some point of their 'active' signing period was a private performance space now, when they have to sing for me, for the recording, becomes a public space, even though the performance place is their own living room. At the beginning of the field interview women seem to be ashamed of their voices, they think it is bad, or even funny. During the interviews, they are minimising their knowledge, skills and other relevant issues within their experience with local musical

folklore. As the interview goes along they are becoming more relaxed…more open, downing their 'guard' and even sharing quite intimate details of their private lives.

Two ladies I interviewed in the village of Boljare on the Pešter plateau are Budimirka Kuč (interviewed in summer 2016 and 2020), an eighty years old retired teacher and sixty five years old Mirka Kuč (interviewed in summer 2016), and they both sang to me. Each interview (and performance/s within) was taken inside my informants houses. Although both women are familiar to me, they are even my cousins, in the situation of the fieldwork recording and interviewing process they were a bit more official, as the occasion itself was something special, not part of the everyday routine. The attitude they both took, was as if it was the real, stage performance, and is confirmed by their comments like: "oh, please, do not film (or take photos) of me, I do not look appropriate, I am in my usual clothes," or: "please, dear do not record this I am not sure if I can remember, or how do I sound, I haven't sung in years"' or: "are you sure that you can use this for your 'science' ".[4]

From my female informants side, singing for the recording, for me, not as Ana whom they know but as Ana who is a researcher, is something quite new and extraordinary and, consequently, a proper situation of the singing performance. For me, on the other hand, at the moment they start to sing, I became the audience, as well as the other members of their families who also were present at that moment and for whom the singing of their grandmothers and wives was something new and extraordinary, something they are not used to. What is also inscribed both in the very moment of their performance *in the field, in the spot* – as the specific place, and in their sonic realizations in every subsequent playback of the recording as a *sound space* and/or a new performance space, is specific, *local acoustic knowledge*. That knowledge is inseparable from the local cultural and social structure, from the patriarchal heritage of the community and all of that places both them and me on a different type of the 'social stage'.

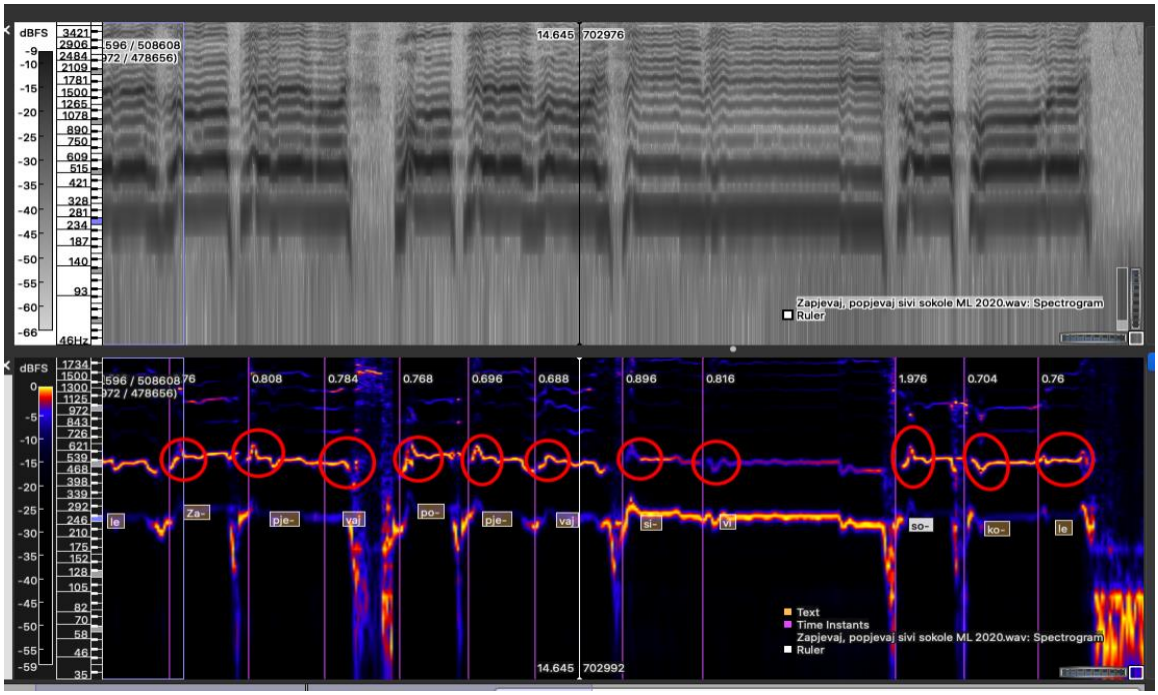
Although it was emphasized earlier that in the level of melo-poetic structure of the songs performed solo and used in this case-study and melo-poetic structures of the other songs performed by the group (the song of Mrs Budimirka Kuč and the one performed by the group of male singers at the beginning even belong to the same melodic model) there are no fundamental differences. They are audible and noticeable in the manner of performance, a concrete *muzicalization* moment [Zemtsovsky 1996:9] in which the local acoustical knowledge is being articulated and shaped by a single member of the community.

Each musical example chosen for this paper (out of three solo performances – two females and one male) belongs to one of the typical melodic models of the Serbian Pešter vocal tradition but also illustrates individual creation of the performance place (out of the existing, typical, Serbian-Pešter musical folklore as a sound space). Female performers are more shy, unconvincing (and, by the end, unconvinced in the quality and authenticity of their performance). Nuanced levels of displaying the social and cultural structure of the local society with the strong gender segregation of daily life could not be depicted through the dominant music expression within the group. It is the 'standing alone' before the audio recorder and/or camera, which makes interlocutors who are singing solo more alert and involved and, to some extent, more isolated and lonely. In such a situation, when they are exposed, and without the possibility to share the moment with a fellow-singer(s) it is possible to notice how individual characteristics appear. On the other hand, what I found interesting are visible and audible differences between male and female solo performances. One short performance of Budimirka Kuč (Musical example 3)[5] and one of Mirka Kuč (Musical example 4)[6] are provided in order to illustrate how they are constructing their local narrative, gender and ethnic identities through the performance of traditional songs from Pešter. My female informants did not want to be video recorded or even taken pictures

of (Mrs. Budimirka said that she would take pictures only if it was with me and later accepted to be video recorded briefly) and Mirka, for example, wanted to sing but not outside the house, only indoors. On the male performance video there is Mr Mile Luković singing in front of his house in Dolićе village on Pešter.[7]

In this particular showcase of the individual vocal musical performances, locally and socially conditioned gender differences stand out. After analysing these performances and, more, after analysing a large corpus of the field recordings and dialogues with informants, it could be said that the patriarchal social structure among Serbs from Pešter actually increases the awareness of informants about "themselves as gendered individuals" [Sugerman 2019:89].

Musical and identification indicators of change are evident in the performances analysed and are visible also in reviewing spectral sound features. The male performance has been characterized by the greater stability of the tone and the variety of ornaments. In the syllabic, distributive metrical organization of the melo-stanza he manages to 'decorate' the beginning of almost every sung syllable, as it can be seen on Picture 1.

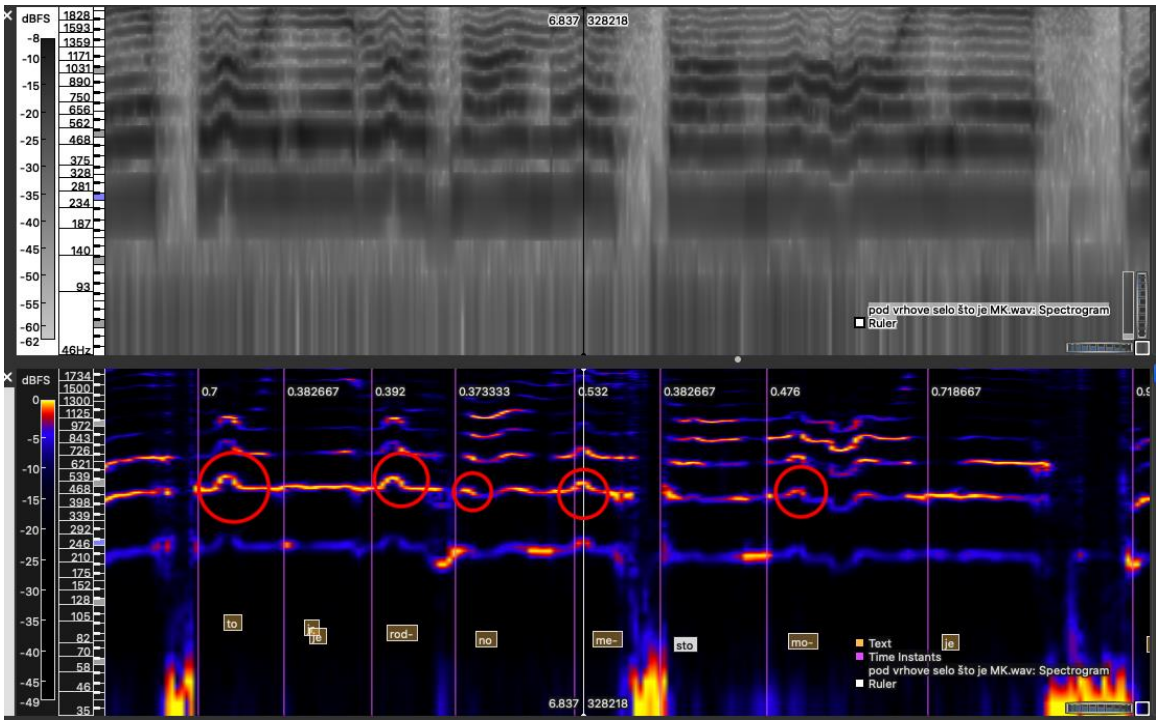


Picture 1: Performance of Mile Luković. In the picture is the section of the melo-stanza (the repeated verse) with the marked moments of the ornament performing at the beginning of every sung syllable. This image should be considered parallel with listening to Musical example 4.

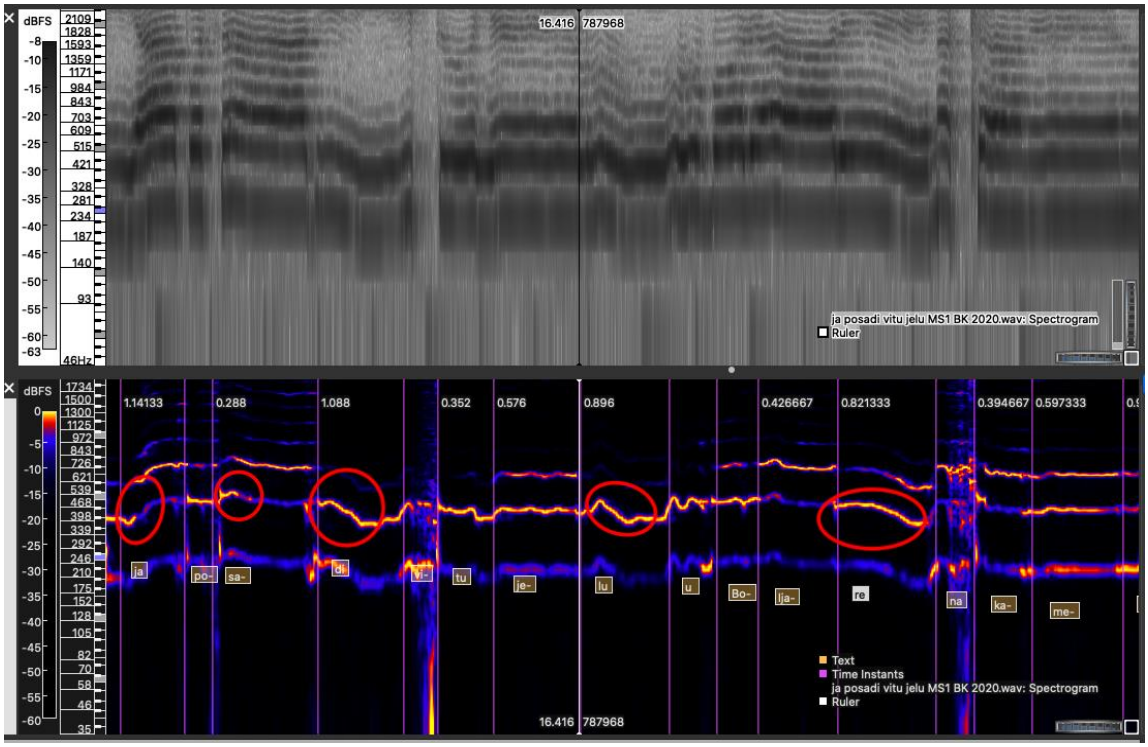
The video recording of Mr Mile Luković also shows that his attitude (see Musical example 5), the way that he is sitting is more relaxed and unofficial than the performance attitude of Ms Budimirka Kuč (see Musical example 3).

The female performance of Mirka Kuč (a younger woman) is richer in ornaments and faster in tempo than Budimirka's. The primary assumption is that the slight differences between the two female solo performances are caused by the age difference. In Budimirka's performance there is a sense of an older female voice. In the spot where ornament should be performed Budimirka sings a flat tone or uses glissando because it makes it easier for her to sing like that. On the other hand it seems that Mirka, the younger woman, tries to

overcome the issue of not having fellow-singers next to her by singing faster than usual for the syllabic vocal forms like this (see Pictures 2 and 3):



Picture 2: Performance of Mirka Kuč. The section on the picture is the second sung verse within the two-verses melo-stanza. Places where the ornaments are made are indicated in red. This image should be considered parallel with listening to the Musical example 3.



Picture 3: A screenshot of the performance of Budimirka Kuč is shown here (both 1st and 2nd sung verse within the melo-stanza). Sections marked in red circles are representing the glissando spots. This image should be considered parallel with listening to the Musical example 2.

Although the goal here is not to analyse entire performances and compare them according to the spectral parameters, spectral display is useful to see also how the sound image is changed in line with the performance differences elaborated above. In the situation of, in a way, extorted soloist performances there is a chance that the very moment of the 'artificiality' and isolation of the performance makes significant influences onto the final product – the performed (and recorded) song.

Such a finding corresponds with the point that was made by Whiteley, Bennet and Hawkings [2004] in the *Music Space and Place – Popular Music and Cultural Identity,* which was that each *authoring of space* produces not one but a series of competing local narratives. Applied to this case-study: the 'competing' (perhaps it would be better to say 'parallel' or 'co-existent') vocal musical expressions in solistic performances are part of the same musical narration but showcased through different performance behaviours. These two women are sharing similar identification matrices (females, Serbs, Pešter inhabitants) and they are also sharing the mechanism of representation of all of these in the form of *requested performance*. Their auditory narrative is pretty much the same. The male performance has the same identification positions (except of the gender) depicted through musical performance but his *authoring of space* was rather different. The male song was also sung upon my request, so only for the purpose of the field recording but he performs it with a strong, possessive attitude. His house, village, identities, what he is representing *belongs to him;* space, place and time are all his and he does not have such contemplation and caution in performance, as if seeking someone's approval and/or permission, like women do. This kind of space-authoring leads to place-authoring as well. Every soloistic performance showcased here was recorded in the same locality – Pešter plateau, in two different villages. But, on the level of individual performance, and individual musical realization, the different manners and levels of spacing are noticeable. That is, to say, from within a pre-constructed performance space, a re-constructed performance place is made by each individual performance. The construction of the performance place is happening due to the initial impulse given by the researcher during the field recording process, to disturb the everyday life, to ask specific and different things from the interlocutors (for example to perform solo a song which should be performed by the group). The responses to that impulse in the case of the individual performances are different on multiple levels: male/female and solistic/group performance. The question arises what would have happened if the songs analyzed had not been performed for the field recording but in a different, perhaps more natural context? Would the same differences be noticeable or would new ones emerge?

The goal of this short discussion was to emphasize the significance of fieldwork and field recordings in the musicalization of everyday life and creation. Shaping and sharing the special social and cultural meanings, inter-social gender relations, its contribution to determining different identificational positions, both of interlocutors and the researcher is immense. Fieldwork performance and fieldwork recordings as well as the importance of the understanding of their concepts of place and space in their interpretation through the *authoring positions* of everyone involved, seems inevitable in what Tom Western calls "the art of field production" [Western 2018:7]. Moreover, in the process of pre/re-construction of the performance place for the purposes of the ethnomusicological field recording, there is an entire fund of the intrinsic links between sound, space and place that we should, even to the least extent, be aware of. This paper represents one modest step in that direction.

Endnotes

1. Pešter plateau is a part of a spacious, Dinaric mountain massif, which today is administratively divided by the borders of the states of the former SFRY (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, Northern Macedonia) and it stretches across the entire hinterland of the Adriatic coast from Slovenia in the northwest all the way to Albania in the southeast. It is a limestone plateau at an altitude of between 900 and 1200 meters. It includes in the southwest of Serbia the area of Raška and the Starovlaški region towards the border with Montenegro. It is limited by the municipalities of Novi Pazar and Tutin in the east, the Montenegrin border in the south, Zlatar in the west and Golija in the north.

2. Musical example 1: "Oj, Србијо, врело гвожђе" [Oh, Serbia, the hot iron] is available for listening at https://youtu.be/JsI_NQcXc28.

3. Musical example 2: "Шетала сам једног дана" [I was walking one day] is available for listening within https://youtu.be/LrE9W35yM48.

4. Sentences like this and more of the explanation why they should avoid singing for the recording are available on my field recordings and notes. First fieldwork interview with Budimirka Kuč and Mirka Kuč was done on 23rd July 2016, and second field interview with Budimirka was done on 28th August 2020.

5. Musical example 3: short performance by Budimirka Kuč (video) is available at https://youtu.be/Rdj9iZ57AWA.

6. Musical example 4: Mirka Kuč (audio) is available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9lF3fCOuBZQ.

7. Musical example 5: Mr Mile Luković singing in front of his house in Dolića village on Pešter available at https://youtu.be/ANliCzl18_4.

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Pirin Folk stage – contemporary performance space for Bulgarian pop-folk music

This paper examines the *Pirin Folk* music festival that is held each year in Sandanski, Bulgaria. One of the goals of the festival as a complex cultural phenomenon is to raise the status of newly created folk songs and to transform them into dominant forms. The paper is divided into three parts. The first part gives a brief history of the *Pirin Folk* festival scene and presents the main participants – personalities who have made special contributions to the festival. The second part tries to show the main features of Pirin folk music – one characteristic regional genre associated with Macedonia. The final section focuses on one of the main lines of confrontation, clearly outlined in festival-related discursive practices over the years: between the festival authorities and the festival people.

Keywords: festival, *Pirin Folk* music, Bulgaria

This research specifically looks into the historical development and some characteristics of the *Pirin Folk* festival. One of the key questions I seek to answer in this paper is one of festival-related narratives to music production and the power relations in the festival social space.

Defining the festival

The idea for creating a festival for folk-based songs in the Pirin Macedonia region came from a group of Bulgarian musicians and intellectuals gathered around Nikola Vaklinov (violinist, composer) and his brother Hristo Vaklinov (journalist, guitarist) and other like-minded people, working at Radio Blagoevgrad. The realization of this idea has been based on the belief that a festival space in the Pirin Macedonia region could be a scene for cultivation and popularization of some sort of new "folk songs" in a modern neo-traditional form, named *avtorski pesni na folklorna osnova* (authored songs on folklore basis).

The *Pirin Folk* festival started in 1992 as *Pirin fest*. *Pirin Folk* was established in 1993 by the Municipality of Sandanski and the Radio and Television Center in Blagoevgrad and is held in the town of Sandanski, in Southwestern Bulgaria (Pirin Macedonia region).

The festival is organized annually on three consecutive days during the summer season (usually at the end of August or at the beginning of September).

In 2020, it was the 28th edition of the festival. The dominant musical genre, which was presented on the festival stage, was *avtorski pesni v naroden duh* (authored songs in folk spirit) [Peycheva 2019]. The festival is ritually opened with one *avtorska pesen v naroden duh* regulated as the anthem of *Pirin Folk – Dobre doshli v Sandanski, priyateli* (Welcome to Sandanski, friends) whose authors are the composer, Dimitar Dinev and lyricist, Katya Ermenkova.

The audience of the festival's musical evenings on the stage of the Summer Theatre in Sandanski is small, due to the capacity of the venue (there are seats for about 1800 people in the theatre), but the festival audience is not limited to the specific city. The media audience of *Pirin Folk* is comprised of many thousands because the festival is broadcast live on several media channels.

During and outside the festival season, the festival uses various forms of promotion and communication with the public at the national and international level (newspapers, television, radio, new media technologies – from the Internet to smartphone applications, and so on).

According to the official Rules of the Festival for 2020 (Art. 2) "The main goal of the Festival is to preserve and enrich the folklore tradition of the Pirin region and the cultural and historical heritage of the town of Sandanski and the region!" [Pirin folk Sandanski 2020].

Part one: a brief history of the *Pirin Folk* festival

The development of the festival is a mix of personal and collective history. What is the path of the *Pirin Folk* Festival in the cultural history of modern Bulgaria? How has the festival changed over the years?

The history of *Pirin Folk* is easily split into several periods (stages), which show how the appearance of the festival changed over the years, reflecting the specific trends of the times in each period. These periods differ in the management and administrative structure of the festival and in the dimensions of the choice of program and repertoire policy as follows:

1) 1992-1993: Early years of 'festival folk'

Pirin Folk was founded in Sandanski in the early years of festival folk in Bulgaria. Ivan Georgiev defines the beginning of *Pirin Folk* with the expression "One wellspring and two starts – in 1992 and 1993" [Georgiev 2012:14]. The first festival edition named *Pirin fest* was organized in July 1992 in Sandanski. *Pirin fest* was initiated by the ideologist and founder of "festival folk" in Bulgaria, Nikola Vaklinov, who led the vocal formation and orchestra of the folk group "Pirina", several performers – his supporters, and the publishing house *Unison RTM*, later – *RTM*. In the beginning, the main organizer was Radio Blagoevgrad. The Television Center in Blagoevgrad and Sandanski Municipality were the co-founders and key festival co-organizers; the repertoire was – "original songs based on folklore, typical of the Pirin region"; "original songs based on folklore with Pirin sound" [Georgiev 2012:7,13]. Katya Kiryanova, one of the festival longest-serving lyricists, asserted that "[i]n fact, for the first *Pirin Fest*, Kolyo (Nikola Vaklinov) had 9 song compositions and I had 9 song texts. And one or two other authors appeared. Then at the second festival, I had 14 songs" [Peycheva 2017]. What is important to emphasize here is that festival's second edition named *Pirin Folk* was organised in September 1993 in Sandanski. Registration of the *Pirin Folk* festival as intellectual and institutional property of the municipality of Sandanski was made at the Republic of Bulgaria's Patent Office in 1993 [Georgiev 2012:7,15].

Pirin Folk promotes songs with strong pop elements, but a festival production is open to folklore with a Pirin-Macedonian sound. Songs based on folklore or "folklore basis" of songs are ideological and aesthetic constructions of the festival-related pioneers and some of the festival participants. They claim that the "folklore basis" of the newly composed original songs for the *Pirin folk* festival scene can be thought of only in connection with traditional Macedonian song. According to Katya Kiryanova: "Macedonian is a rich music that reflects the life, love and patriotism of this region, and the turbulent times with the *comitadjii* (revolutionists), with the *voivodi* (leaders). The richness of Macedonian song is in theme, in sound, in rhythm. It is the wealth that this area is truly a paradise. (...) The Macedonian songs are wonderful" [Peycheva 2017].

2) 1994-2000: 'Totalitarian period in the management of the festival'

The period 1994-2000 is defined by critical commentators as a 'totalitarian period in the management of the festival' and is related to the process of institutionalization of the *Pirin Folk* festival. The organization was fully taken over by the company *Simex*, and Pavel Krondev was the appointed director of the festival [Georgiev 2012:16]. About this period, Ivan Georgiev wrote that, "Gradually the idea of the regulation for Macedonian style of the songs began to change, and the pop style began to prevail, despite the fact that the stars of pop music themselves no longer participated as actively as in 1994" [Georgiev, 2012: 20].

3) 2001-2008: "Period of festival pop-folk flamboyance and extravagance"

After 2001 the *Pirin Folk* changed its policies to become more commercial. For some critics this period is designated as a "period of festival pop-folk flamboyance and extravagance" [Georgiev, 2012: 23], "oriental flamboyance", or "*chalga* fest" [Baltadzhiev, 2012]. There was a split in the festival in 2001, when two editions of *Pirin Folk* were held: "*Pirin Folk* – the original" in Sandanski and *Pirin Folk* in Blagoevgrad. The key festival organizers were *MSAT TV* from Varna, Sandanski Municipality, and the production companies, *Payner* and *Ara*. During this period, new criteria were added for the choice of repertoire and arrangement of the festival programs: "In terms of style, two opposites began to "fight" more and more clearly – tradition and modernity. This applied both to the songs and to the image of the performers" [Georgiev 2012:23].

Donna Buchanan notes that some of the artists who performed in the *Pirin Folk* festival scene, "were sponsored by wealthy, powerful local businesses or entrepreneurs, some of whom were also connected with regional political organizations" [Buchanan 2006:443]. Folk-pop stars in Bulgaria are often associated with the stratum of the representatives of the criminal business and the shadow economy, which was developed in Bulgaria during the period under review. One of the singers in the genre commented: "If you don't have a *mutra* (representative of the new and affluent upper class of *mafiosi* [Buchanan, 2006:442]) behind your back, you can't sing" [Peycheva 2019:363].

4) 2009-2015: Festival's Balkanization

2009-2015 is a period of the festival's Balkanization, related to the processes of the festival's internationalization. The profile of the festival began to change when participants from Balkan countries began to enter the *Pirin Folk* official stage. *Pirin Folk* was called "the Balkan festival of authored songs with ethnic elements from the Balkans" (according to the regulations of the festival, as insisted by Valentin Penzov at the press conference after the festival in 2013 [Peycheva 2013]). The organizer was the Municipality of Sandanski, the festival director was Valentin Penzov. Fans of the festival claim that in the festival music programs there was an absence of widely recognizable names, and the appearance of "unknown singers from the world and our country" [Baltadzhiev 2012]. In various public *Pirin Folk*-related comments about this period of the festival's history, there was sharp criticism regarding the festival production: "From pop stars, through pop-folk girlies we have reached unknown singers from around the world and our country. Established Bulgarian artists in this genre have again been neglected. As the saying goes: "still the old song, but in a new voice". This time the old song was sung by the new director of the festival Valentin Penzov" [Baltadzhiev 2012].

5) 2016 until today: Focus on roots and traditions

Starting in 2016 and continuing until today – a statement has been made for a new profile of the festival with a focus on roots and traditions. The organizers claim that "*Pirin*

Folk has a new face, a youthful face". The informational and marketing campaigns emphasize that the "return to the roots" will be the new festival spirit seen on the stage. The organizers are the Municipality of Sandanski and *DNK Media Group Ltd*. – the owner of music television channels, *Fan Folk TV* and *BG Music Channel*. The efforts of the organizers are to develop the festival into a neo-traditional music event that has resulted in a return to its original idea – that the festival program and Pirin folk songs as a pop music phenomenon provide the necessary emphasis on continuity and folklore tradition of the Bulgarian people from the Macedonian region.

The year 2017 marked the beginning of the *Detski Pirin Folk* (Children's *Pirin Folk)*. The role of this children's festival is that it provides an organic connection from generation to generation with the *Pirin Folk* festival.

In fact, the *Pirin Folk* Festival has gone through a number of difficulties over the years, has had its ups and downs, has overcome various contradictions and crises of organizational, financial and artistic nature, but continues to develop nevertheless to become a tradition and establish itself as an influential scene for presentation and popularization of contemporary *avtorski pesni v naroden duh* (author's songs in folk spirit).

Today *Pirin Folk* is a festival with a well-established name and popularity. It is an established model for presenting and promoting various creative and artistic ideas and projects; for sustainable development strategies for the festival, including cooperation with artists from different Balkan countries.

Part two: main characteristics of Pirin folk music – a characteristic regional genre related to Pirin Macedonia

Along with history, the other important variable that determines the appearance of the *Pirin Folk* festival is the festival's music genres. The festival was created to promote the composition of new songs in the folk spirit, related to the region of Macedonian folk-musical dialect.

What is the musical repertoire included on the *Pirin Folk* stage? The dominant song genres, which are presented on the festival stage in Sandanski, can be classified in the following conditional categories: 1) old folk songs in new arrangements; 2) newly composed folk-pop and pop-folk songs.

Pirin folk music is a typical Bulgarian regional genre associated with Macedonia. The goals of the producers and organizers of the *Pirin Folk* Festival, as Svetoslav Baltakov notes, are "to make the music of Blagoevgrad and Skopje sound the same" [quote according to Buchanan 2006:454]. The *Pirin Folk* Festival is a space for the cultivation of songs by authors/composers with a folklore basis, typical for the Pirin region. The name of this genre is established among the musicians, singers, composers, and producers who are engaged in it in several forms: "author's song based on folklore"; "author's song based on Macedonian music"; "folk songs on an author's basis" [Dimov 2001:13]; "author's song based on folklore with Pirin sound"; "author's songs on a Macedonian basis" [Georgiev 2012:7,18]; "author's Macedonian folklore", "author's Macedonian song" [Buchanan 2006:438]. The names listed reveal the strong connection of this song genre with the Macedonian element in Bulgarian traditional and neo-traditional music [Peycheva 2019:357-358].

The main source of inspiration for the development of *Pirin Folk* festival programs is primarily traditional music from the Macedonian ethnographic region, as well as in some cases (the singer's performing art competition within the festival context) – traditional music and dialect repertoires from other ethnographic regions of Bulgaria (Shopluk,

Miziya, Dobrudja, Thrace, Rhodopes, Strandzha). In addition to these sources over the years, the various festival directors and numerous participants with their original individual artistic projects seek to interpret various popular musical styles.

The developmental changes that accompanied the music produced and presented on the festival stage at *Pirin Folk* over the years, led to the accumulation of positive and negative experiences, sometimes associated with successes and achievements, sometimes – with failures and stagnation.

Part three: discussions on festival music production

The *Pirin Folk* festival is organized as an event with different hierarchical levels and a vertical management structure. Over the years, various topics related to the hierarchical relations that structure the production of *Pirin Folk* have been critically discussed. At a discursive level, various topics have been problematized over time: the lasting contradictions between the name of the festival and the selection of the festival repertoire; discrepancies between the evaluations of the jury on one hand and evaluations of the artists-participants in the competition program and the audience, on the other hand; the tensions between the pop and folk singers who take part in the festival; disputes between the festival authorities and the festival people, and so on.

This text traces one of the main lines of confrontation, clearly outlined in festival-related discursive practices over the years: between the festival authorities and the festival people. The introduction of the technical terms 'festival authorities' and 'festival people' aims to show the polarization of opinions between them. The category 'festival authorities' includes various social actors (the festival director, municipal authorities, patrons, sponsors, journalists and so on) who organize, finance, manage and popularize the festival. The social actors in the category 'festival people' are creative teams from the festival stage, audience, fans, Facebook groups and other online forums and so on.

The main focus for discussion is the power relations in the festival social space and the changes that the *Pirin folk* festival has undergone since its foundation during the different stages of its development. Some of these changes have been met with resistance among the festival people and instead of gaining popularity, the festival has aroused sharp criticism among fans of the *Pirin Folk* movement.

It can be assumed that for the festival people *Pirin Folk* is a popular (non-economic) forum for sharing common values and experiences, where the object of creative transformation is the local folk music traditions from the Pirin ethnographic region (this is coded in the name of the festival). Artists and journalists look critically at and problematize the nature of the festival, raising the question of its 'folklore basis'. As an abstraction, the construct 'folklore basis' has been the discursive frame within which different tensions are played out in the history of the festival. How the 'folklore basis' is perceived and interpreted in connection with *Pirin Folk*-related production?

'Folklore basis' is a complex phenomenon in relation to music and festival practices. The ideas of what constitutes the 'folklore basis' of songs have been shaped through festival-related discourses. The cultural base of the discursive construction 'folklore basis' in the *Pirin Folk* festival is associated with folk music which served as the link to folk traditions related to the Macedonian ethnographic and geographical region. The discourse of the 'folklore basis' is an object of struggle where different persons or groups strive for hegemony.

Festival-related discourses for the 'folklore basis' of *Pirin Folk* festival production, in all varieties of their forms, create discursive constructions of competing opinions concerning ideological and aesthetic evaluation. The journalist Kalina Nikolova from *Radio Romantica* emotionally states her subjective position for the 'folklore basis':

> "This festival has been on my heart for five years now. […] The festival is called *Pirin Folk*. These are the songs of Pirina. [...] Let everything be adapted on a folklore basis, not just let the folklore basis disappear […] This festival must remain on a folklore basis. This is fundamentally important. Apart from the music that you present here on a folklore basis, it is extremely important for the performer to sing on a folklore basis" [Peycheva 2013].

It can be assumed that for the festival authorities *Pirin Folk* is a politico-ideological instrument for pursuing cultural policies, a practice for specific social engagement, a communication strategy for development, implemented through a commercial and profitable project. In this context, folk music turns out to be a resource that becomes an economic product. The music production from the festival stage attracts the city people who are fans of *Pirin folk* music and stimulates emotions and experiences among the audience. Local, national and supranational musical styles are commercialized and popularized through the festival stage.

The power struggle, for instance, in articulations concerning the question of the 'folklore basis' of the festival production is echoed in each of the stages outlined in the history of *Pirin Folk*. The constant talk about the overall policy related to the roots and the 'folklore basis' of the festival repertoire is presented as the responsibility of the festival authorities, who impose their interests and understandings on the festival programs in order to promote different musical styles. Indeed, the first two, and the last five, festival editions impose the folk-pop genres related to the 'folklore basis' characteristic of the Macedonian ethnographic and geographical area. Contrary to this in the stages when the festival was managed by the festival directors, Pavel Krondev and Valentin Penzov, the festival authorities actively valued and promoted pop-folk genres and singers from the pop scene.

The tendency to establish the Balkan and ethno-pop sound, manifested during the management of the festival by *MSAT TV* and the music companies *Payner* and *Ara* (from 2001 until 2008), continued to develop in the years when the festival director was Valentin Penzov (from 2009 until 2015). This was not well received by fans of the *Pirin Folk* movement and they strongly criticized the change in the nature of the festival's production. It is no coincidence that at the press conference in the town of Sandanski after the festival in 2013, sharply critical questions were raised about the festival program dedicated to the promotion of pop instead of folk music, and the nature and the framework of the festival. During this public discussion, two confrontational positions emerged, shared respectively by the festival authorities and by the festival people.

One important question, critically expressed by Sashko Velkovski, a musician from the Republic of Northern Macedonia, is associated with the very character of the festival. Comparing *Pirin Folk* with festivals in Vardar Macedonia, Velkovski insists that the festival repertoire should correspond to the nature of the festival so as not to create chaos and confusion among the participants. He raises a key question about the unclear essence of the *Pirin Folk* festival: "What is the character of your festival? […] Many elements are included here, this confuses us and we do not know what to do, what songs to bring to the festival" [Peycheva 2013].

He received an answer from Valentin Penzov, the festival director, who explained that the regulations of the festival reflect that "our festival is the Balkan Festival of author's song with ethno elements from the Balkans. […] The expression 'ethno elements from the Balkans' shows that it must correspond to a folklore basis from other, neighbouring countries" [Peycheva, 2013].

Such an understanding for changing the 'folklore basis' of *Pirin Folk* production is seen in the freedom with which individuals participate in the festival practice and is shared by some of the performers (for example singer Willie Rai) who took part in this discussion:

> "I love experiments, even if you criticize me. […] Music is eclectic. Everyone has their point of view, but let there be room for everyone and the organizers have regulated it. With ethno elements. Will it be in the rhythm – this ethno-element, will it be in the melody, will it be in the way of singing, in the singer, will it be an element in the arrangement […]. The frame, which is put, is absolutely inappropriate, in my opinion. Because worldwide people are trying to unite" [Peycheva 2013].

In addition, the chairman of the festival jury (Stefan Dragostinov) clearly declares what his understanding is for the limits and framework of the festival as a request for Balkan identity:

> "The question […] 'what are the limits' of the festival – is terribly interesting. I will tell you what the framework is – this is our Balkan culture. And we have stepped deeply on it – this huge, terribly interesting 'Balkan ethnic group'. […] So, we have the border of our spiritual, multilingual, long-standing ethnic group and the border of our modern Europe. There we are inside" [Peycheva 2013].

The topics about the nature of the festival, its framework and the 'folklore basis' of the festival repertoire are among the main motives for criticism of the policy imposed by the festival authorities regarding the musical production, *Pirin Folk*. Participants in the relentless debates have varied over the years, the motives behind their discursively constructed rhetoric are indeed various, but in the ongoing discussions over the years the disconnection with Macedonian-Pirin traditions and the missing 'folklore basis' are identified as one of the most serious shortcomings in the management of the festival music production.

Conclusion

The current study of the *Pirin Folk* Festival is conducted in a national context and focuses in principle on Bulgaria. It would be interesting for it to continue, to transcend national borders and to develop in a comparative way with the study of similar festival models, and the manifestation of cultural policies, in other Balkan countries as well. This would provide an opportunity for interesting observations, comparisons and summaries on the contemporary music festival landscape in Southeast Europe and as Velika Stojkova-Serafimovska remarks, the comparative research of the folk festivals "provokes a discussion on the institutionalization of folklore" [Stojkova-Serafimovska 2017:195]. These case-specific investigations would seek answers to a number of current issues related to the perspective of music festivals in a regional Balkan context: what role do music festivals play in public cultural policies of various Balkan countries; how shared values, separated by political and state borders, are identified and interpreted today; is it possible

for a future strategic partnership between similar music festivals in different Balkan countries to achieve synergistic connections between them, which would lead to better management of festivals and higher artistic standards.

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A birthplace of Turkish Arabesk music: Abdullah Nail Bayşu's house

This paper aims to contribute to the literature on Turkish *arabesk* music history; particularly providing a narrative and discussion about Abdullah Nail Bayşu and his house. Bayşu, with no formal music training, served in multiple professions of musicking; he was credited as song writer, lyricist, composer, and producer in the marketplace during the 1960s and 1970s. His house was a hub in the network of interrelated music and film businesses where auditions for singers, composers, and musicians were organised. It was also a gathering place where they would eat, drink, and gamble. The services the house offered tell us that the residence was multifaceted; one can label the house as club, office, conservatory, agency, or even *dergah* [dervish lodge]. Bayşu as an agent, and his house as both public and private sphere, possess a significant share in the cultivation of *arabesk* music.

Keywords: *arabesk*, Bayşu, Turkey, popular, culture.

Introduction

With an over-generalized view, the literature on the history of the Turkish *arabesk* music features a few arguably overlapping approaches; a critical approach, which evaluates the music as an undesirable social outcome of Turkey's urbanization [for example see Güngör 1990; Erol Işık 2017]; interpretations on the phenomenon in more liberal perspectives [for example see Tekelioğlu 1996; Özbek 1991; Yarar 2007; Küçükkaplan 2013]; and ethnography based interpretations on the *arabesk* music scene and its labourers [see for example Stokes 1992b; Seeman 2002; Akgül 2009].

Actors in the *arabesk* scene have been subjects for researchers in some publications. For instance, Özbek focuses on Orhan Gencebay's unique position in popular culture in Turkey. She interprets *arabesk* music as a response of Turkish society to post 1950 modernization process and Orhan Gencebay as a modern *aşık* [Özbek 1991]. Also, Stokes attempts to narrate the cultural history of Turkey since 1950 through stories of prominent figures of popular music, namely Zeki Müren, Orhan Gencebay, and Sezen Aksu [Stokes 2010]. Other actors of *arabesk* music also have been subject of investigation in several writings, such as Müslüm Gürses [Erol Işık 2017], and İbrahim Tatlıses [Ok 2000]. However, stories of others, including Abdullah Nail Bayşu, which are overshadowed by the stars, still remain untold and are likely to bring new perspectives to our knowledge on the history of Turkish *arabesk* music.

Abdullah Nail Bayşu has been credited as one of the prominent figures of the market place during the 1960s and 1970s in several writings. Uğur Küçükkaplan defines him as "an active composer in the first period of *arabesk* music" [Küçükkaplan 2013:204] in his investigation on the "social and musical analysis of *arabesk*". Meral Özbek mentions about the relationship between Orhan Gencebay and Abdullah Nail Bayşu and Bayşu's house in her analysis of "popular culture and Orhan Gencebay's arabesk" [Özbek 1991:164–5]. However, certain aspects of his life, acts, profession, and especially his impact on the field remain hidden and elusive. In my introductory narrative, relying on narratives from the field and his legacy, I will interpret Abdullah Nail Bayşu's portrait and depict his house(s)[1] as a social environment, which significantly served the cultivation of Turkish *arabesk* music as well as other domains of the Turkish music and film industries.

Abdullah Nail Bayşu's Portrait

The roots of the Bayşu family belong to Erzurum and Van. They moved to Urfa, due to Abdullah Nail Bayşu's father's appointment as a state officer. The family settled in the southeastern Anatolian town, Birecik of Urfa[2] after a while, where Abdullah Nail grew up. Then he migrated to İstanbul during the 1950s with his own family. He was active in the Turkish Music Industry during the 1960s and 1970s. He lost his health in the early 1980s and died in 1983 [Şener 2016].

Owing to his talent for folk poetry, Bayşu wrote numerous lyrics for folk and pop songs in the music industry. He has been credited as a songwriter, producer, manager, music director, and film music director in various products. However, Bayşu was not a music practitioner in a professional manner; as far as we know, he neither had any formal music education nor played any musical instrument or had the voice of a singer [Şener 2013; 2014a]. Yet, he wrote songs and directed musical productions for both music and film industries. Furthermore, he is credited as a very influential actor in other domains of the industry by significant informants from the field. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that Bayşu's role in the musical scene exceeded his musical capacity through his participation in professions that normally would require technical prominence to handle. So, how could a lyricist manage to, or ended up, with multiple virtues of the music business and how could he position himself in the centre of the marketplace? Apparently, his personality played an important role in this. According to descriptions and narratives of my informants, Bayşu was a brain of commerce and had a talent for managing people, besides his generosity and hospitality. He helped promising musicians by hosting and acting as their patron. In return, he consolidated his place in the music industry by benefitting from the talent and labour of young musicians and also took part in the productions as a lyricist, music director, or composer. Both ends of this relationship took advantage of the other. However, collective productions led to ambiguous ownerships of the products that would cause conflicts and a legal case between Orhan Gencebay and the Bayşu family in the future [Şener 2013; 2014a; 2014b].

Bayşu had a strong influence on young musicians. An informant suggested that "when Bayşu's fatherly attitude was understood, he became like a *şık"* [shaik] [Şener 2016]. Another one also described his house as a *dergah* [dervish convent] [Şener 2013; 2014b]. In the light of those perspectives, one can interpret the relationship between Bayşu and the young musicians through Islamic codes, although the lifestyle in the house was distant from them.

The Islamic elements in Arabesk music and the Turkish musical scene has been discussed by Martin Stokes. For example, he pointed out the potential of the topic by stating that:

> "In Turkey, the dominant and competing discourses of nationalist Turkism on the one hand and Islam on the other have framed the terms in which Turkish social and political history has been seen in and outside Turkey. The popular music known as arabesk apparently defies both of these ideologies and provides a useful case-study of the way in which they operate 'on the ground', shaping the identities and strategies around which people organise their social existence." [Stokes 1992a:213]

Stokes developed his projection in his subsequent investigations on "The Arabesk Debate" and "Islamic Popular Music Aesthetics in Turkey" and elaborated underlying

philosophic, social, and historical elements in music, which have been in dialog with the Islamic culture [see Stokes 1992b; 2016].

It is possible to search for Islamic themes in *arabesk* music in the text (such as in the lyrics, shape of melodies, and *makam* structure) or performance (such as the arrangement, ornamentation, timbre or style in general) and on the other hand, it is possible to question how the society shapes, rejects, or embraces the sound through those codes. In the case of the relationship between Bayşu and the young musicians surrounding him, we can extend the view towards the relationship between musicians and the way they shape the space and network in the music industry. Islamic codes or themes did not define the lifestyle in the house or the personal lives of individuals, but their labelling of the temporary hierarchies they established that emerged from such a vocabulary.

Bayşu's House

Abdullah Nail Bayşu opened his house to guest musicians, music and film producers, actors, and other agents in the business in the 1960s. Instead of having his private life and business separate, he used his house for both. Having multiple purposes, the house was the residence of the Bayşu Family and guest musicians. Orhan Gencebay, Vedat Yıldırımbora, Arif Sağ, Orhan Akdeniz, and several others, stayed in Bayşu's house in their twenties. Vedat Yıldırımbora and Orhan Gencebay settled in the house in 1966. Arif Sağ and Orhan Akdeniz joined them later. Orhan Gencebay was the first one who left the house two years later. Indeed, collaboration between Bayşu and Gencebay is limited to several songs, such as *Sevemedim Karagözlüm* [I couldn't love you enough my black-eyed] and *Gönül* [Affection], which played an important role in Gencebay's popularity but was limited to a small period of time. Gencebay continued his career independently afterwards.

The house provided an environment, which amplified mentality for collective music production. Resident musicians from different musical backgrounds had the chance to share their knowledge and vision. They trained each other, when institutions for traditional music-s were not available[3] or were remote from commercial music[4] [Şener 2016]. They also used commercial opportunities that the house and Bayşu provided. The house operated similarly to an agency, in which album and film contracts, casting, or film music were made. It is possible to see the house as the predecessor of *Unkapanı Plakçılar Çarşısı*[5] (Bazaar for music companies in Unkapanı neighborhood of Istanbul), where a horde of singers tried their chances in front of record companies; as potential singers were presenting themselves to the producers in Bayşu's house. A tape recorder would roll to record their songs. While promoting some of those musicians, he also used catchy melodies from the recordings. It was "like a factory" [Şener 2017], where musicians compose music to the freshly written lyrics of Bayşu and teach it to a singer already available. The production was huge; it was not exceptional to produce and record thirty songs daily [Şener 2013; 2014b; 2016; 2017]. Residents of the house were living a "fast" and music centred life; the house was also like a club where film artists, such as Yılmaz Güney and Fikret Hakan, and film or music producers could eat –especially *çiğ köfte*[6]–, drink, gamble, and socialize.

The most productive years of Bayşu's house were from the late 1960s to the mid-1970s. During this period, Bayşu guided to production of dozens of albums and movies and the cultivation of *arabesk* music, which has been one of the most popular academic fields in Turkish popular music history. The house started to lose its centrality in the market place as one by one these musicians drew their own routes.

Bayşu's Legacy

Bayşu took part in at least 25 movie productions as music director between 1960 and 1973. These movies are generally based on Anatolian folk stories, which were ornamented with folk songs suitable for the scenes. He benefited from the labour of musicians nearby him for film sound productions. *Bağlama* was the leading instrument together with some other folk instruments, such as *kaval*, clarinet, and percussion in the accompaniments. Action scenes were filled with symphonic music, which is generally borrowed from the Hollywood film music or 20th Century classical music repertory which was a common habit in the Turkish Film Industry for decades.

The historical importance of Bayşu's house is closely related to the emergence of *arabesk* music and the maturation of musicians who shaped it. Actors from different professions could communicate and collaborate in this environment. Bayşu supported and encouraged musicians to reveal their potentials. Young musicians, who were living in the house, were already seeking relatively new ways of composition, arrangements, and performance of traditional music-s. They had the opportunity of sharing musical ideas, performance techniques, musical styles, and their own musical knowledge with others. They were learning about what others were listening to and became familiar with music-s of Mohamed Abd-al Wahab, Umm Kulthum, Farid Atrash, Abd-al Halem Hafez, Fairuz and the Rahbani Brothers, Warda al-Jazaira and many others, with which they developed empathy.

Abdullah Nail Bayşu was not the only member of his family who participated in the music business. Due to his central position and reputation in the marketplace, his children grew up in the network of the musical scene. His older son, Osman Bayşu became a prominent music producer, director, singer, and *bağlama* player. Unfortunately, he passed away at a relatively young age. Later, Abdullah Nail Bayşu's record company, Bayşu Plak, was revived by his younger son Naci Bayşu during the 1990s under the name of Bay Müzik. Like his father and older brother, Naci Bayşu established a successful career and became an accomplished producer. Bayşu's daughter Yıldız, who passed away in 2016, was married to Arif Sağ, who was a resident of the Bayşu house. Sağ became one of the most influential figures in the Turkish musical scene for decades. Therefore, it is possible to suggest that Bayşu bonded his family with the music business. This reflects how important it is in the music industries to have a critical position in the network through family connections.[7] Of course, this should never lead us to underestimate personal potentials and achievements of those actors. In short, one should consider Abdullah Nail Bayşu's contribution to the Turkish Music Industry in a wider context in order to understand his legacy.

Conclusion

Bayşu's house played an important role in the creation of *arabesk* music and the development of the professional folk music scene in the marketplace. The relatively older generation of musicians remember, and give credit for, the significance of Bayşu's house even though most of them never experienced it physically. Although it is not possible to point Bayşu's house as 'the birthplace of *arabesk* music', since other spheres, such as musician cafes, gazino-s, clubs, recording studios, and houses of other influential musicians, were involved; it is possible to label it as 'a birthplace of *arabesk* music'.

As a neglected area of Turkish music, knowledge about Bayşu and his legacy has not been elaborated on in academic sources; rather it is mainly written about by anonymous writers in newspapers, magazines, album covers and booklets, websites, and social media.

It is difficult to rely on and develop a discourse on the issue with unconfirmed data in this introductory paper. Therefore, there is a need for further investigations in order to illuminate Bayşu's legacy and understand various aspects of his contribution to the music and film industries of Turkey on a larger scale.

Endnotes

1. According to informants, the Bayşu family moved to different addresses. Firstly, they were located in Edirnekapı, then, they moved to the Aksaray neighborhood of İstanbul [Şener 2017]. Their last, and commonly known place, was in Kuloğlu-Beyoğlu in the same building as the Yenimelek Cinema [Şener 2015; 2017].

2. Informants stated that the family took on Urfa culture in terms of their culinary preferences.

3. The first traditional music conservatory was established in 1975 under the name of *Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuarı* [Turkish Music State Conservatory] and was followed by others in the 1980s.

4. State-supported music ensembles, such as those at the national radio and television, ideologically tended to put up a wall between the traditional and commercial circles until the 2000s.

5. *Unkapanı Plakçılar Çarşısı* (Bazaar for music companies in Unkapanı neighborhood of Istanbul) was established in the 1970s. It has served as a major marketplace for local music companies. Although the place lost its centrality in the music business after the decline of the global music industry in the digital age, it still is the only physical space, which hosts offices of surviving companies [see Yazıcı 2011].

6. A special meal (made of raw meat, wheat, onion, hot sauce, and various spices) that originated from Southeastern Turkey, where the Bayşu familiy culturally belongs.

7. It was crucially important for Romani musician families to integrate with the existing network in the Turkish music industry when a significant amount of them migrated from Anatolian towns to İstanbul for better opportunities.

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Theme 3 – Music and dance in the cultural basin of the Black Sea

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Re-thinking Black Sea music: Micro and macro perspectives

Although there have been many ethnic and cultural intersections in the Black Sea basin and many communities have interacted with each other across different regions in the Black Sea hinterlands, there have been relatively few studies undertaken of the region as a whole in the field of music, and almost no publications on the subject until today. Existing studies have usually been limited to specific regions or to areas of interaction in their local environments. For this reason, I propose to invoke both micro and macro perspectives to enable future generalizations about this multicultural and multinational territory. In other words, I engage with specific localities around the Black Sea, but I also make some attempts to effectively address musical dimensions of a wider *circum mare* culture as a new field of study.

Keywords: Black Sea cultural basin; Black Sea countries; Black Sea music; micro perspective; macro perspective.

The Black Sea is an inland sea that includes port cities between which trade routes have preserved their geopolitical and economical importance in the historical process, and valleys and mountain settlements in the interiors reached with various connections. Therefore, the Black Sea cultural basin is wider than the sea's geographical location and it can be defined as a very large area that unites the Balkan, Crimea, Azov, Caspian, Caucasian, and Anatolian geographies historically, politically, economically, and so culturally.

Throughout history, dozens of states have been established in these geographies, and communities from many different roots have lived in them. Undoubtedly, this situation has led to the formation of an infinite number of cross-cultural interactions, and various processes of change and transformation. On the other hand, the Black Sea can also be described as a region that is the scene of long-term domination of different colonial hegemonies and empires. That is why it consists of many deep cultural layers, which can be generalized as Greek Colonies (8th – 6th centuries BC), Roman Empire (1st century BC – 4th century AD), Byzantine Empire (5th – 11th centuries AD), and Ottoman Empire (15th – 19th centuries AD). In addition to these, the Tsarist Russian and Soviet periods can be thought of as an isolated domination in the region since the second half of the 19th century.

The Black Sea is generally defined as a competitive field with numerous conflicts in its history [Aydın 2020:12], although there exists many historical and cultural layers and some existing common traditions in its hinterlands. Because of this preconception, it is still difficult to make joint activities in many fields about the Black Sea. However, in the post-Soviet period, a number of associations and organizations were set up to enable cooperation in particular in the fields of economy and security.[1] This situation was reflected in other fields during this period, and the potential for cooperation in energy, transportation, tourism, ecological protection, and academic institutions; including social sciences, was strengthened [Hacısalihoğlu 2020]. Nevertheless, there have been relatively few studies undertaken of the region as a whole in the field of music, and almost no cooperation has taken place among the ethnomusicologists. But it is clear that we need to study together if we would like to talk about the music of the "Black Sea". Until now existing studies have usually been limited to specific regions or to areas of interaction in their local environments.

Consequently, scholars define "Black Sea Music" in many different ways from their micro perspectives according to their limited viewpoints.

For this situation, I would like to give an example from my side as one of the Turkish scholars who is studying Black Sea music. I have been carrying out fieldwork in the Black Sea hinterlands since 2002, involving participant observation and interviews with native people, including, amateur and professional musicians and colleagues. In addition to this, I am working on the literature on the history and socio-cultural life of the region and I continue to produce different types of publications on "Black Sea Music". These works can be seen as similar to the work done on the Black Sea music since the first appearance of folk music compilations by official institutions in Turkey, and they can even be considered largely a continuation of them.[2] Their main purposes are to understand, tell, collect and transfer "Black Sea Folk Song" and later on "Black Sea Music" in similar ways to their predecessors and to studies conducted by music researchers in other countries on the Black Sea under the title of "Black Sea Music".[3]

After this introduction, my questions are: why have Black Sea music studies not been associated to others, studied together, compared, or discussed by the music circles and academics until today? Also, can we define the Black Sea music and discuss common characteristics of the music around the Black Sea?

For the first question there can be tens of answers. However, in my paper, I will focus on an answer which is very basic. In my opinion, considering the beginning of comparative musicology studies and the history of the region simultaneously would be a good starting point and it can give us an opportunity to refresh our minds. That is to say, from the late 19th century until the 1990s there was a very isolated structure in the region, especially during the Soviet period and the Cold War. In this period, leaving aside the joint work, it was even not possible to travel in and out of many areas. Thus, political boundaries and hegemonic structures have rendered the region virtually uncommunicative, at least in the last century, and research opportunities were also negatively affected by this.

In the Post-Soviet era, the geopolitics of the region developed on a very complex basis. First, in the 1990s, relations started to improve, especially with the steps of economic cooperation. However, this was a very well-intentioned venture and did not last long. After September 11, the United States tried to change the balances in the region and this caused the relations of the Black Sea countries to become strained. While Bulgaria and Romania's EU membership in 2007 created a positive atmosphere in the region, Russia's attempts to redesign the region quickly dissipated this. Russia made its first move in Georgia in 2008 and then announced that it annexed Crimea in 2014. That same year, NATO recognized Russia as a threat for the first time since the Cold War. Also unfortunately, since 2014, a big competition in investment has been taking place in order to increase the navies and military forces in the Black Sea. Today, the waters continue to warm in the Black Sea with a new conflict between Ukraine (so NATO and EU) and Russia with this situation showing us the importance of joint works that can also support peace in the Black Sea once again. Otherwise, the region could be faced with a similar risk as it was in the last century, being uncommunicative.

On the other hand, the existence of many frozen conflicts in the region from the past could not be resolved in the post-Soviet period, and new ones were added to them. Then the economic problems of the countries in the region and the stagnation and development problems in this area were added to all these, so the political borders in the region were never overcome. However, in the Black Sea where cultural boundaries and political boundaries can be defined in quite different ways, a large amount of material has been

collected in the field of music during the last 30 years compared to the period before 1991.[4] So now there are at least more favourable conditions for our reflection on the second question than in the past. It can even be seen that some pioneer steps have already been taken; such as doing new archival projects and publishing macro-level publications.[5]

Despite some positive movements on this issue, the approaches of the countries in the Black Sea cultural basin still seem to be quite problematic. For instance, Turkey's approach to this region is relatively stable and unitary with this approach generally reflected in the publications of Turkish scholars in which they discuss the Black Sea as a part of Anatolia on a national basis. Also especially the studies directed towards the east of the region are within the axis of minority issues or nationalist understandings. A similar picture is seen in many other countries on the Black Sea coast where hegemonic, nation-oriented approaches shaped the cultural studies. I mean they only see the cultural elements of the Black Sea coastal areas through their own windows and try to integrate the differences into the inner regions or dominant identities in every respect. For this reason, coastal areas are considered as a part of Anatolian, Caucasian, and Balkan culture; however, it is not considered that the reality of the Black Sea existed in any of these geographies and that the sea formed a great cultural basin. Therefore, the Black Sea which is a wider *circum mare* culture is seen as an additional, secondary, or sub-element of these regions. However, on the contrary, the Black Sea should be thought of as one of the main elements of these geographies and this issue should be taken into consideration, especially in cultural studies. In my opinion, music studies in the Black Sea cultural basin have tended to be partial and inadequately contextualized, at least until relatively recently. So consequently, existing studies have usually been limited to specific regions or to areas of interaction in their local environments. Even more, in almost all publications, scholars have only attempted to look into micro levels within their own regions. Doing fieldwork in border countries or the other parts of the sea and making any comparisons were accepted as unusual and non-essential activities, especially for the native scholars, whereas we ethnomusicologists should make more effort to understand each other and to put forward macro perspectives by mutually addressing the microstructures around the Black Sea.

The importance of archiving studies and new fieldwork

Since the early phonograph recordings, the materials collected in the studies carried out around the Black Sea seem to be a part of unilateral action, because these historical collections were created by Europeans mostly to research their own cultural evolution in this geography. So, through these historical sources, no one has attempted to develop a point of view on a macro-level around the Black Sea. Not only this but also some others take the nation-oriented approaches of their countries which I mentioned above that affected the researchers during the last century and they usually turned to micro-level materials related to their local area.[6]

Although comparative studies in music have not been undertaken until recently, there are many comprehensive studies in the other fields of social sciences, especially on the history and social relations of the Balkan-Caucasus and the economic productivity of the Black Sea. So, today’s ethnomusicologists need to refresh their minds and take a new look at the historical sources and the field.

At this point, I would like to stress the importance of archival studies first. Because, if historical materials on the Black Sea and its environs and their data about the cultural context can be reconsidered, perhaps a more valuable ground and field of study may be revealed in the name of music research than in the past. I believe that this can only be possible by establishing new archives within the regional scope or creating networks and

strengthening cooperation among the available local/national archives around the Black Sea. Accordingly, it will be important to carry out focused archiving strategies and to support the existing collections with new fieldwork.

In this context, I established a regional music archive named after *Karadeniz* (in Turkish, meaning the Black Sea) Music Archive (KARMA) within the body of Karadeniz Technical University in Trabzon, in 2011.[7] It was not an easy task to collect historical sources from such a wide geographical area, organize new fieldwork and find and extract audio-visual materials from the foreign archives some of which have existed for more than 100 years. However, despite all the difficulties, one of the important ways that we can see and make sense of Black Sea music from a broad perspective is to identify and compare micro-levels of local music studies in the Black Sea cultural basin and to bring together their knowledge today. According to this aim, the archive has made an effort to open up and improve its collections with international bilateral cooperation. Together with joint activities and projects, the KARMA archive has performed digitization, fieldwork, exhibitions, and other events; such as symposiums, panels, workshops, Black Sea Music and Dance Days, and so on. In brief, thanks to 'new' but actually 'old' historical audio-visual materials obtained from different foreign sources and with joint actions, KARMA has grown steadily and its scope has been greatly expanded with old and new archival materials. Therefore, it can be said that the archive has been able to support scholars to develop new approaches to music of the Black Sea cultural basin from different perspectives.

Considering the size of the geographical area, I have to say that KARMA is at the very beginning of the road. But there is no doubt that a step taken in this sense is better than not taking steps towards shifting away from old ideas and developing new perspectives. So, today this focused archiving strategy gives us an opportunity to find new links within the old recordings. So, it is time to focus on the new in the old! I mean, it is necessary to explore new studies with the pleasure of discovering the new links in the past of Black Sea music, which the archives are starting to provide us, and with this understanding, it is time for re-thinking Black Sea music.

What can be done in the future?

Although it seems to be a huge and multi-dimensional question, I will share my idea very briefly and invite the relevant scholars to discuss the potential answers as one of the purposes of this paper.

Since the existing studies carried out in the Black Sea cultural basin, and the related audio-visual materials, have been rather scattered due to a variety of reasons: geopolitical, social, and economic, the historical sources may fulfil an important mission today if they are gathered and compared by researchers. In addition, the materials which were collected at micro-levels for locations around the Black Sea both by locals and European and other foreign counterparts, are giving us an opportunity not only to bring them together but also to recognize the pieces of a big puzzle. I mean, the historical audio-visual sources related to the Black Sea cultural basin can tell us what Black Sea music is.

As I identified in the archive collections, there are various sources that can give us some pointers regarding the ethnomusicological past of the Black Sea through the melodies that were forgotten or are not used in the same areas today. Also, some of these materials enable analyses concerning the cultural transformation processes of communities in the past of the respective regions. Even though there are numerous special characteristic features region by region, there are also important similarities regarding instruments played, melody

sentences, motifs, rhythm structures, and language features in the Black Sea cultural basin. In fact, it can be seen that the same melodies have been spread with the same/different names, sometimes with the same/different subjects or contents, in the whole geographical area.

In this context, I strongly propose once again to look at the Black Sea music from a broad perspective as well as micro-levels. Also, I believe one of the important ways to make sense of Black Sea music is to think of both micro and macro levels together with every element of old and new knowledge. As for the future, I would like to propose a definition with a macro perspective.

> Black Sea music, apart from the meaning attributed to it in the past and today, is not only the music of small or certain areas, but also of the Black Sea, as it is named after, and of a large hinterland within its sphere of influence. The Caucasus, the Crimea, the Danube, the northern Anatolia, and the Rumelia music are coastal brothers, and they all are shaped certainly by a *circum mare* culture [Akat 2020:151].

As it can be understood, this is an attempt to define Black Sea music in its cultural basin, and it needs to be discussed deeply and new definitions developed.

Consequently, Black Sea music should not only be evaluated with a micro perspective in its immediate surroundings, as it has been in the ongoing studies until today but should also be considered with a macro perspective as a part of the Black Sea cultural basin. The importance of the Black Sea should be recognized for its environment, as an intermediary contributing to cultural transmission and intercultural interactions. Therefore, archival studies like KARMA that will bring together, preserve, and transfer the audio-visual cultural heritage of the region for the future should be supported. Cultural, scientific and artistic activities that will contribute to the development of researchers, increase cooperation in international circles and create an infrastructure for the production of joint projects should be planned. A comprehensive database of the music of the countries in the Black Sea cultural basin should be prepared and this basic resource should be turned into a digital platform that is mutually accessible. Together with providing a database, social movements, values, changes, and interactions will be observed and contributions will be made to many other disciplines as well as ethnomusicology. This will also pave the way for long-term and more extensive new field studies that are needed to study the everyday practices of communities living around the Black Sea and contribute to multicultural interdisciplinary inquiries.

In fact, in the last few years, the multi-participant and macro-level studies of the Trabzon University State Conservatory for international cooperation have started to accelerate this field. In this context, after I presented my paper at the symposium, which was held in Trabzon virtually due to the pandemic situation, the members of the Study Group encouraged me to propose establishing a Sub-Study Group. They also suggested to add dance issues to the title and shaped my idea deeply. Thus, it has been launched a new Sub-Study Group named “Music and Dance in the Black Sea Cultural Basin” within the body of the ICTM Study Group on Music and Dance in Southeastern Europe. This sub-study group aims to develop mutual studies and activities with new partnerships and to create a new academic platform in this field. So, I can say that this paper seems to have reached its aim and I hope the Sub-Study Group will also be successful in the future with your contributions. I kindly invite you all to re-think the music and dance in the Black Sea Cultural basin together.

Endnotes

1. Some examples of these organizations are: Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation – BSEC (1992); The Commission on the Protection of the Black Sea Against Pollution – the Black Sea Commission BSC (1992); Transport Corridor Europe-Caucasus-Asia – TRACECA (1993); Black Sea Littoral States Border/Coast Guard Agencies Cooperation Forum – BSCF (2000); EU Black Sea Cross Border Cooperation – Black Sea Basin Program (2007).

2. The compilation works were started with a survey in 1922 in Turkey by *Dârülelhan* (today Istanbul University State Conservatory). Then, the first recordings from the eastern Black Sea Region were made in 1929. The 4th compilation tour was conducted by Istanbul Conservatory (formerly *Dârülelhan*,). The famous Turkish musicologist Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, who took part in this compilation tour, published his observations and field notes in the same year together with important documentation; *Şarki Anadolu Türküleri ve Oyunları* [Eastern Anatolian Folk Songs and Dances] [Gazimihal 1929]. Then, in 1937 and 1943, the Ankara Conservatory conducted compilation tours and recorded many folk songs from the region. Halil Bedii Yönetken published his notes concerning this fieldwork on 1 and 17 May 1946 in *Ülke Gazetesi* (a newspaper published in Sivas) and all his notes about this fieldwork (between 1937–1952) were gathered and republished by Panayot Abacı in 1966 [Yönetken 1966] under the title *Derleme Notları-I* [Collecting Notes-I].

In 1937, Adnan Saygun carried out fieldwork on the eastern Black Sea coast and Georgian borders (formerly USSR), he published a book in the same year called *Rize, Artvin ve Kars Havalisi Türkü, Saz ve Oyunları Hakkında Bazı Malumat* [Some information on the folk songs, instruments, and dances of Rize, Artvin, and Kars Regions] [Saygun 1937]. These works were only the pioneers, and of course, these have been continued with new fieldwork by tens of Turkish researchers in the entire Eastern Black Sea until today.

3. In fact, it should be said that in micro studies around the Black Sea, illustrations are used based on the music of cities or local regions rather than Black Sea music. For instance, the music of Adjara, one that has the obvious characteristics of Black Sea music, is not defined as Black Sea music in Georgia. Also, the music of the *Yalıboyu* (a Crimean Tatar word used for the coastal areas of the Crimea) has been defined as only Crimean Tatar music. So, in this case, can we really talk about Black Sea music? Even, is there a Black Sea region? Jim Samson states this situation as "betwixt and between" in the introduction of his book *Black Sea Sketches* [Samson 2021:1]. Additionally, this issue had been discussed in depth by historians and regional specialists during the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s [for example see David A. Lake and Patrick M. Morgan 1997; Mustafa Aydın 2004; Panagiota Manoli 2007].

4. For instance, in Georgia, many well-organized activities have been organised in the field of traditional polyphony, folk and church music; such as the International Symposium on Traditional Polyphony which was held first in 2002, and after one year in 2003, the International Research Centre for Traditional Polyphony – IRCTP was established with the support of UNESCO. Since that time, many historical sources have been collected and many of them have also been published by IRCTP. Also, Tbilisi State Conservatory, the Folklore State Centre of Georgia, and regional centres/universities of Georgia, in particular in Batumi, have undertaken important international scholarly and artistic works.

5. Jim Samson did fieldwork in various locations around the Black Sea and has tried to narrate the music of the Black Sea hinterlands in the first time in a comprehensive way [Samson 2021]. Additionally, it is possible to mention some other pioneer studies that inspired different perspectives. *Doğu Karadeniz Bölgesi ile Kırım Arasındaki Sosyal ve Kültürel Etkileşimler* [Social and Cultural Interactions Between Eastern Black Sea Region and Crimea] [Akat 2012]; *Karadeniz Havzasında Müzik Çalışmaları ve Kültürel İşbirliği Potansiyeli* [Music Studies and the Potential of Cultural Cooperation in the Black Sea Basin] [Akat 2020]; Ancient Theatre and Performance Culture Around the Black Sea [eds. David Braund, Edith Hall and Rosie Wyles 2019]. Also, it is important to have newly established audio-visual archives and projects in the region; such as, Karadeniz Music Archive 2011, OLKAS Project: "From the Aegean to the Black Sea – medieval Ports in the Maritime Routes of the East." 2012–2013, Polyphony Project – Unknown Ukraine (An online archive of musical folklore) 2018, Academy of Music, Theatre and Fine Arts, Moldova – The Musical Heritage of the Republic of Moldova (Folklore and Composition): Update, Systematization, Digitization Project 2015–2019.

6. The first ethnographic works with audio-visual recordings on music and dance studies around the Black Sea were carried out by scientists from countries such as Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Russia at the beginning of the 20th century. Also, significant historical sources were collected in the Black Sea countries subsequetly and especially after World War II compiling ethnographic materials from some fields of the region became an regular activity for Europeans. Nevertheless, the most important criteria were working in the fields that were free of Soviet domination. However, especially in the post-Soviet period, the number of materials collected has increased gradually and the types held in local/national archives have diversified relatively until today.

7. Since a reorganization of the universities in Turkey in 2018, Karadeniz Music Archive – KARMA has been transferred from Trabzon University State Conservatory.

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(İzmir, Turkey)

The relationship between *horon* and space in social integration after the Lausanne exchange

Different ethnic groups who had lived together in the Eastern Black Sea coast of Anatolia over the centuries, have undergone a process of separation, which focused on religion, during the foundation process of the Turkish Republic. This separation necessitated the integration of people from the same religion but from different cultures into their new places. After the Lausanne Exchange, the Pontiacs of the Black Sea settled in various parts of Greece and carried the tradition of dancing *horon* with them. A similar example is seen in the Balkan Turks who carried their dance tradition to the Black Sea where they settled. This research uses methods of short-term participant observation and literature reviews made in Turkey and Greece to investigate the variables that influence the selection of the places and contexts where the *horon* is performed in the two countries.

Keywords: *horon*, Lausanne, Kavala, Giresun, Trabzon.

The Lausanne Exchange took place between 1922 and 1924. It was based on religion so approximately 1,200,000 Christians and 500,000 Muslims were affected. As a result of the agreement, forced migrations took place between Greece and Turkey followed by a process of social integration [Tevfik 2014:51–56]. While new places were effective in shaping new lives during the migration process, they also provided the re-formation of dance culture. During the research process, the dances performed with the same name were not identified in the written sources. However, it was observed during fieldwork in Turkey and Greece that the same dances are performed with different names and at the same tunes are accompanied by different dances. This study, which was carried out with funding from Izmir Tourism Folklore Association, examines the function of the dances following the exchange and their role in social integration depending on the place.

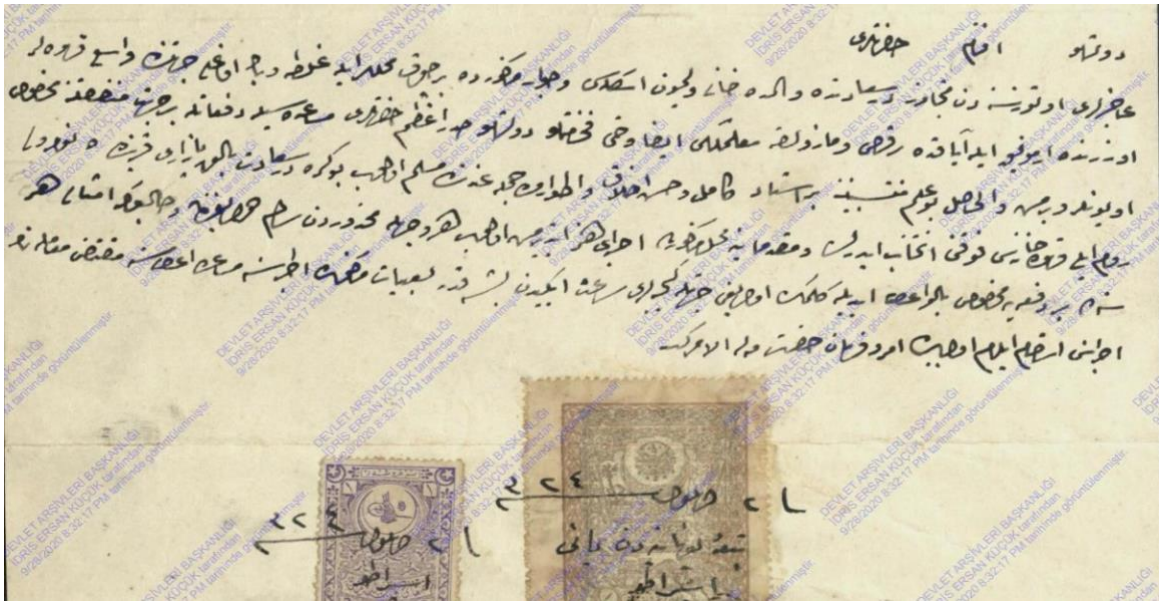
Social integration is the situation in which ethnic and/or religious groups live together without a sense of otherness by being included in the larger group through national identity and citizenship [Doğan 2011:114–119]. It is observed that the religious and ethnic groups mentioned are generally immigrants. Migration requires living at the intersections of time and memories, belonging to both the place of departure and the destination. Iain Chamber[1] considers this situation as heterotopic[2] [Chambers 2014:19]. As a result of the Lausanne exchange, there were population movements from various parts of Anatolia and the Western Thrace region into Greece, but the scope of this study only includes the Black Sea region exchanges. Research in this context was carried out in Giresun in 2013, Trabzon in 2014, Samsun in 2015 and Kavala in 2018. Participant observation was also made during limited time intervals as part of the research and the data obtained were compared with the netnographic findings. The dance and living spaces of the exchanged people in both countries were examined and information was gathered with the motivation of being a curious guest.

Before mentioning the relationship between *horon* and space in the research, it would be useful to briefly touch on the concept of space. Space can be perceived as a way of being, following Heidegger,[3] or it can be regarded as human, social and existentially ordered occupied space [Gönen 2019:14]). It has been established that the informants in the regions researched consider the houses which belonged to different inhabitants before the exchange

as places that have witnessed an important cultural memory. For this reason, the natural living environments in which the *horon* is performed constitute an integral feature in the human dance and space triangle. If we list the natural locations of the *horon*, first, the tradition of *Yayla*, the tradition of *İmece*, weddings, circumcision celebrations depending on Islam, national holidays, local festivals, occasionally funerals, concert halls, open-air theatres, public spaces in city life and experimental spaces that include performance art, may be considered. Picture 1 shows the performance environment for a *horon*, which is thought to belong to Trabzon Tonya before the population exchange.

Picture 1. Personal Archive of Dr. Orhan Durgun.

Picture 2 shows a document about city life that draws attention to an interesting dance venue. According to the records of the Presidency of State Archives of Turkey, in the document dated 23.09.1908, Yanni Esperato, a traveling dance instructor, requests permission from the official authorities to teach dance in the fish market!



Picture 2. Presidency of State Archives of Turkey Place No:1300–49

As seen above, although there are exceptional places where dance is performed, the widely accepted natural habitat for *horon* is the *Yayla* tradition and related festivals. *Yayla* places are high plateaus where people climb for the purpose of grazing animals in summer and mowing meadows for winter [Öztürk 2005:1176]. It can be said that the folk festivals held in the *Yayla* places are the natural habitat of the *horon*. According to some *horon* and *kemençe* masters, showing the *horon* teams on stage at the *yayla* festivals has been likened to drinking water from a plastic bottle at the fountain [Gündoğdu 2016:78]. There are opinions that consider that the changes in the *yayla* tradition, especially after 2000, also affected the *horon*. For example, it is stated that the stages set up in the *yayla* change the sense of traditional instruments with digital audio devices. In addition, it is thought that these stages were occupied by the local administrators with long-lasting political speeches and interfered with the natural environment of the *yayla* festivals. For this reason, to keep the old tradition alive, some families or small groups of friends prefer to dance *horon* to a *kemençe* that is not connected to digital devices. These observations were made in Giresun Eynesil Dizgine *Yayla* in 2013. While there is a general view of the *yayla* in QR Code-1, the *horon* performances of the family of Utku Hüseyin Durmuş, one of the *horon* masters of Ören, can be watched accompanied by the *kemençe* in QR Code 2.

QR Code 1 **QR Code 2**

It has been observed that the *horon* is performed not only in wide open areas but also indoors especially in winter months. In addition, weddings or henna nights are important performance environments for traditional dances in Black Sea. A good example is the footage from Uğur Çakın's family, who was the informant for our research in Şebinkarahisar in 2013, from his own wedding, recorded in 1990. The footage of the *fingil* dance performed at the wedding can be viewed in QR code 3, and the images of the same

dance in the open-air theatre where Giresun Aksu Festival was held in 2013 can be viewed in QR code 4.

QR Code 3 **QR Code 4**

At this point, the question of whether the *fingil* dance is a *horon* can be raised. Likewise, many dance researchers have not noted down *fingil* as a *horon*. However, when the information that a very similar version of the melody accompanying this dance is performed in Kavala under the name *Khunihton Omal Karasari* dance, the subject of this article becomes understandable. QR code 5 clearly shows that the dance I experienced by dancing in the circle at the Iskuria Festival is similar to the Giresun *horon*s in terms of arm and shoulder movements.

QR Code 5

The third generation immigrants, Apostolis Ntallis and his family, who were the informants for our research in Kavala, came from Şebinkarahisar during the population exchange and settled in the village of Elaiochori. A similar dance, called *Omal*, was performed by the Ntallis family and me in their hall where a *kemençe* hung on the wall of their house. It is possible to trace the *Khunihton* and *Omal* dances from Melpo Merlia's research records made before 1930 in Black Sea. According to the reports, 11 of these 104 songs are songs that accompany the dance [Küçük 2015:12–13]. The data obtained is inspiring for more in-depth dance and music research between Greece and Turkey. The first dance, the Maçka *sera horon* that can be watched in QR Code 6, exists in Turkey with another melody and is named the '*atlama horon'* and the *tik horon* performed later exists under the names of "*Rum*[4] *Diki*" or "*Şebin Diki*" in Şebinkarahisar. In QR code 7, it is observed how the *sera horon*, which was transported from Maçka with the population exchange, became a feature of national representation by being performed at the Olympic opening ceremony in 2004.

QR Code 6 **QR Code 7**

Conclusion

As a result, it has been observed that the *horon* spaces belonging to the pre-exchange population were maintained in a similar way in the destinations where they were relocated. According to Maria Diamantidou, a third-generation immigrant, her grandfathers who migrated from Maçka decided to cross the Iskuria river and settle in the village of Kechrokambos. Inspired by this river, they continued the tradition of *yayla* festival in the Black Sea region they came from, in their new village and named the event organized every year as Iskuria Festival. It is seen that the organization of the stage equipped with digital devices observed in Eynesil Dizgine Yayla is not different in Kechrokambos village. The village square took the place of the Yayla plain as the place of *horon*. According to the statements of the couple Şerife-Zafiris Esthimiadis, who were our informants for this research, emigrants from Maçka, Giresun and Samsun Bafra participate in this event. The immigrants, who settled in high mountain villages close to forests, that were geographically most similar to the *yayla* landscape in the Black Sea, prefer the village square while performing *horon*. The people who migrated from the Black Sea have defined themselves as Pontiaka. The Pontiaka society, which remembers the exchange with its negative aspects also built a monument in the village square. Moreover, the immigrants of Maçka built a chapel in the village where they settled that was similar to the one in the village they came from. As can be understood from these behaviours, it is not difficult to predict how *horons* move to new places with people, depending on the relationship of cultural memory with places. According to many sources, the exchanged people experienced adaptation problems in both countries. Although nearly a century has passed since the exchange, the continuity of *horons* in the social practices of the exchanged people is clearly seen. So much so that it would not be wrong to say that the members of the Pontiaka society, who had a feeling of otherness in the first years of the exchange, have become one of the main ethnic elements of Greece today. As can be seen especially in the *sera* dance example, the traditional dances they perform in new places as the representation of their places of origin have been a complementary feature of their social integration.

Dance researchers in Turkey are generally inclined to approaches that cannot be criticized, such as associations with Central Asia and references to shamanistic features that do not go beyond the official state ideology. However, when examining the dance culture of Anatolia, looking at the dance history of neighbouring countries can provide more valuable information [Küçük 2021:21]. Therefore, it is expected that this study will be one of the steps that will minimize the ongoing debates regarding *horon* space and identity.

Endnotes

1. A theorist and Professor of the Sociology of Cultural Processes at the Oriental University in Naples, the member of Birmingham University Culture Research Ecole.
2. When something is in a different place from where it should live normally.
3. Martin Heidegger, Philosopher, one of the pioneers of Existential Philosophy.
4. '*Rum'* means Greek in Turkish.

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Hamraz Lotfi Korul has had a grasp of art since early childhood, starting with playing piano and in the following years she has been able to build an academic contribution to her already fondness for art, by studying Musicology in Turkey since 2013. Her research interests are the relationship between art and a wide spectrum of culture, ethnicity and gender. She is currently studying for her MA on Turkish Music at Ege University in Turkey.

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Abstracts

Abstracts for presenters at the 7th Symposium who did not submit papers.

Ardian AHMEDAJA

Stage performances of traditional music and dance as a parallel reality to the local practice : Female ballads accompanied by *fyell* (local flute) in Albania

Stage performances of traditional music and dance became a central issue in Albania after World War II, following models from other socialist countries in Eastern Europe. The intensity and the firm selection process caused standardisation in all components of contents and contexts of the performances. In spite of many changes since the early 1990s the long-term standardisation process remains very strong and has also caused the creation of new representative types of local music and dance. In this paper female ballads performed alone in everyday practice will be focused on.

In the National Folklore Festival of 1978 a female singer was accompanied by a male *fyell* player. *Fyell* improvisations are often based on song melodies from the respective areas. In this case the *fyell* introduction and interludes were based on the ballad's melody, while the singer performed each stanza alone. Therefore almost nothing sounded new. The cast was nevertheless a surprise, because there was no instrumental accompaniment during the performance of these ballads in local practice. Additionally, the cast made of a woman and a man is unusual due to the social separation of men and women, particularly in the countryside where this kind of music originates. Also it should be a man, because in local practice women do not play this instrument. All the same such stage performances are still common and make the differences to the everyday practice more and more striking. In a ballad performance in the Festival of 1995 the *fyell* player was performing also during the singing and at the end both performers sang together. Such continuous transformations have made the *fyell* accompaniment of female ballads into one of the symbols for the differences between stage performances and everyday practice of local music and dance in Albania.

Panayiota ANDRIANOPOULOU

Back to the traditional: traditional dance practices in Athens during the crisis period

During the last decade Greece has been severely marked by the economic, political and moral crisis and the resulting austerity measures. Not by chance, Athens, where half of the population of Greece is concerntrated, became an open-lab of political experimentation. The social movements that emerged through the 2009-2011 massive protests have invented various forms of alternative political expressions, recalling often the notions of "tradition" and "popular", interpreted (or even mis-interpreted) mostly in terms of living culture and resistance heritage. Contemporary political ideals such as social solidarity, the circular and troc economy, mutual social aid, bottom-up participation in deciding and acting are perceived as springing from the traditional, pre-modern community and its social tissue.

Traditional dance is thought to crystalize all those values, as an alternative embodied protest and practice of resistance. Often one could listen to popular folk instruments and music during the crowded protests of the Occupy Square movements in 2011, whereas

every time a public space (square, park, building) was threatened by privatisation traditional feasts were organized at the closing of inhabitants' assemblies and discussions.

Apart from the regular and countable population of the institutionalized folk dance groups both at the national (Lyceum Club of Greek Women, Dora Stratou Dance Theater) and ethno-local scale functioning in Athens, since 2011 we witness an outburst of traditional dancing courses in unexpected places, such as workers' associations, anti-authoritarian squats, and unofficial neighborhood cultural centers. An undefined but still important number of unexpected-to-do-so people frequent these latter courses, where dance became the pretext of meeting, socializing and even feasting assimilation. The persons in charge of these courses are not professional dance teachers, but mostly dancers of institutionalized folk groups willing to give their own interpretation of traditional dancing, and they prefer organizing open air, spontaneous *glentia* (feasts) in public spaces than performances in theaters or concert halls.

In this paper I intend to focus on the dancing courses run from 2011 until nowadays in two specific places in Athens: a suburban anti-authoritarian center, also discussing through political texts tradition and traditional dance, and an unofficial cultural center of a central neighborhood, aiming to investigate the perception of "tradition" through dancing, the transmission/teaching process, the different interpretation of the dancing practice in a crisis urban framework. Methodologically, I will use ethnographic interviewing with "in charge persons" (as they are self-defined - the teachers) and participants, the textual analysis of leaflets and posters, as well as Facebook events, and finally the participatory fieldwork I have carried out during the last ten years. All of this can be also discussed through visual material from public feasts of the abovementioned centers.

Sevi BAYRAKTAR

"Five men in a boat: Gazimihal in search of *Horon* in the national hinterland"

A popular dance genre rooted in the eastern Black Sea, *horon*, was choreographed for the stage in the early 1970s to represent the region in Turkey's national repertoire of folk dance and music. This paper looks at how *horon* was collected and codified, and hence conceived as a folk genre, for the first time by leading ethnomusicologist Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal in the early twentieth century. By using Gazimihal's field notes and notations produced during his trip to the Black Sea in the summer of 1929, I suggest the critical importance of this ethnographic research in the institutionalization of folk dance and music in Turkey.

In his field notes, Gazimihal claims that the Black Sea expedition was the first attempt of Turkish ethnomusicologists to collect folk dance as an object of knowledge. State agents and associations helped him gather materials from the cities, villages, and prisons, and invited locals to perform for the researcher. At the same time, in participating in Gazimihal's research, the participants were also actively shaping what would be considered Turkish dance and music. The technologies of the time such as passenger ship lines and cameras facilitated the collection and recording, whereas, time limitations and accidents of fortune defined the scope of the material collected.

This paper asks: How was the research process organized? What were the political, social, and economic infrastructures that both enabled and constrained the researchers? What kinds of knowledge categories were produced to examine the folk dance genres? Through these questions, the paper aims to critically reconstruct this historical moment in the study of folk dance and music in Turkey and also demonstrate how this research trip created

categories of authenticity and mobilized discourses of integration and separation regarding the Turkish national imperatives.

Maja BJELICA

The plurality of roles of the music of the Turkish Alevi

For the Turkish Alevis, the largest religious minority in Turkey, but not officially acknowledged by the Turkish government as such, music plays a central role in their religious practices: it constitutes the central element of their main ritual called *cem*. The paper will provide an insight into the various roles that music plays, their plurality and meanings for the Turkish Alevi communities. For them, music can represent an environment that provides safety, a medium of expression, an element of identification and also a means of preserving their culture and beliefs. Also, it is a space for the fluidity of identity and a diversion from nationality, the voice of a persecuted minority and the sound of the uprising of the oppressed. Moreover, Alevis' public performance of their ritual whirling practices, called *semah*, that are always accompanied by music, will be presented as a possible agent of integration, that allowed the Alevi communities a certain amount of public recognition.

The examination of the plurality of the roles of music in the Alevi communities will be based on the presentation of visual and audio material, gathered during ethnographic research executed at the Gaziosmanpaşa Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Cem Evi Inanç ve Kültür Derneği (the religious and cultural association of the Gaziosmanpaşa district, named Hoca Ahmet Yesevi Cem house) in Istanbul, Turkey. In the data provided by the method of participant observation and field work recording, specific usages of music and its various forms will be analyzed to compile an account on the importance of the Alevi music as the core part of the Alevi identity.

Dilek CANTEKIN ELYAĞUTU

Re-determination of Kafkas folk dances performed in Turkey by defining “old and new” dances : sample of Kars and Iğdir

Folk dances present sophisticated material for researchers forexamining the cultural content. They contain archaeological data on the society they are included in, both as a social, physical and artistic phenomenon. For this reason, the aim of a researcher of folk dances is to develop a sophisticated perspective suitable for dance analysis and to examine a dance in terms of all its aspects. Culture is a living phenomenon and it is inevitable that the cultural products change within time. The periods of change we have experienced especially after 20th century have made it necessary that the studies based on performance should be conducted in terms of the dynamism of folk. Turkish folk dance research should also be conducted by taking the changing and dynamic structures into account.

Changes have also been observed in the population of Caucasian Folk Dances and the dances performed in the locations where this culture has reached through migration. For these reasons, we consider that defining the processes such as cultural osmosis, diffusion, interaction and reformation with a new perspective in populations of Turkey, the Caucasus and Transcaucaisa and determining the current performances in the area without decreasing their value by authentic conservatism will be important in terms of also protecting the present culture.

This study was conducted on the data found as a result of the research named "Caucasian Folk Dances: Determining and Defining the Facts - Research and Caucasian Folk Dances Performed in Turkey" presented at the 3rd International Music and Dance Congress. 27 findings have been defined as a result of the research. One of these findings is the terms of "Old and New Dances". It has been observed in the research that especially Azerbaijan-origin ancient dances that have reached the present day but their performance is very rare. It has been determined that "written dances" are performed more in these regions compared to the other regions. The use of the definition of old and new dances and the performance of these dances are quite common compared to the other regions.

This paper will include the dances performed in Kars, Iğdır provinces within the scope of Caucasian Folk Dances. The methodology of the study is based on field research, interviews, and observation methods. The old and new dances will be compared by Kinetography Laban.

Marija DUMNIĆ VILOTIJEVIĆ

Popular folk music live performances in Serbia: case of taverns

This paper deals with the tavern, a context familiar all over Serbia for popular folk music performances. Taverns were the first places for concert-like presentations of music performances, but they developed into places for chamber interactive, i.e. participatory music performances for entertainment of members of the audience, where the professional role of the musician (with his/her band) is crucial. In Belgrade today, taverns (*kafane*) are flourishing as popular folk music performance places and most of them rely on "authentic tavern" acoustic performances of popular folk music from the 20th century. Nevertheless, some of them become similar to night clubs (*klubovi*), so several types of tavern according to performed music can be singled out.

After previous considerations of the commodified role of a nostalgic musical genre (*starogradska muzika*) in the taverns important for Belgrade's soundscape (the tourist quarter Skadarlija), as well as musical preferences of the audience in the taverns (especially from theoretical perspectives of communication and affect) and types of orchestra, this paper enlightens the construction of the tavern as a place and even institution for popular folk music performances in Serbia. Here will be highlighted the history of music performances in taverns in Serbia, the dynamics of music performance, but also types of very heterogeneous repertoires in contemporary Serbian taverns.

Tanja HALUŽAN

"Are you here to listen?": On the importance of place and audience through the prism of the contemporary singer-songwriter scene in Zagreb

Developing since the mid-2000s, a new singer-songwriter scene in Zagreb is characterised by a continually growing group of people who make, perform, and consume music in a specific way. Through an exploration of the social and musical practices involved, I have conducted research relying on the concept of scene established by Will Straw, which comprehends musical practices in a particular local context with the awareness of its articulations within the broader cultural and economic systems. By taking an ethnographic approach, this research has shown that the singer-songwriter scene in Zagreb is quite specific, and few essential conventions have arisen. One of them relates to performance places and spaces in which this (stylistically diverse) music, and then the scene itself, exists in its main form: a live performance. In this context, the focus is also

directed towards the role of the audience and their listening behaviour which is directly influenced by the performance place. This is also a prerequisite for unmediated connecting with musicians in the sense of interaction and intimacy, while at the same time authenticity functions in a way as an criteria of evaluation and aesthetics. Within the scene-concept, whose theoretical imperative is recognition of a place as a component of the materiality of music, I discuss the significance that certain places may have in creating and performing specific types of music and vice versa, as well as the impact they have on maintaining intense social interactions, thus opening a way to understanding the material and physical contexts for performing music.

Pinar KASAPOGLU AKYOL

Dance and music in the museum

Museums, known as memory spaces, have been focusing on the preservation of collections with an object and space-oriented perspective since the early days of the concept of museology. Nowadays, with the adoption of contemporary approaches to museology, museums have become places where not only the tangible heritage is preserved but also the intangible cultural heritage is safeguarded.

Museums and museology are important approaches of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) which was ratified by UNESCO, in 2003. Later on, in 2007, the International Council of Museums (ICOM) added the concept of intangible cultural heritage to the new definition of museum. With this movement, ICOM aims to preserve the tangible heritage and to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage in a unified and contextual context.

Literature has been accessed aiming to review for these types of new examples of ICH museum practices, Based on that knowledge, it looks like there was no consensus or clear way of application about how museums should exhibit and safeguard the intangible cultural heritage like performing arts which is one of the domains of the ICH Convention. For this reason, different forms of implementation lacking in the field of performing arts is one of the most deficient issues in ICH museums.

However, with the understanding of museology that has changed over time, unlike traditional places and spaces of performance, the museum has become a new stage for the practitioners to perform. Moreover, these new cultural perspectives in the contemporary processes of transition and dissemination of the traditional music and dance heritage allows practitioners, bearers, culture professionals, researchers and the visitors to interact with each other in its living context.

Considering the increasing number of ICH museums, this paper will discuss about their display forms and how folk dances should be exhibited in these newly established ICH museums such as Fandango's Living Museum (Brasil), three of the MIST Museums (Trondheim- Norway), ICH Museum (Ankara-Turkey) and Mardin Museum (Mardin-Turkey).

Marko KÖLBL

Resounding Croatian-ness: Burgenland Croats and popular music from Croatia

For nearly 500 years, the ties between the Croatian minority in Burgenland/Austria and its former homeland Croatia have been relatively loose. Especially language and music point to Burgenland Croats' rather autonomous cultural development, displaying strong

transcultural influences from their Hungarian and German neighbours. Ethnomusicological research on this minority thus focused on distinctive local features of music and dance, indicating an independent musical history and a rich musical heritage strongly tied to notions of homeland, identity and place.

In everyday life, however, the music that Burgenland Croats hear, play, sing and dance to is mainly popular music from Croatia. From the 1960ies onwards, Croatian pop songs gained extreme popularity. The, then thriving, Tamburica groups of Burgenland included Croatian popular music into their repertoire; local bands introduced cover versions; composers created new songs copying characteristic features of Dalmatian Schlager songs. Nowadays, a wide repertoire of songs from mainly the 1970ies to the 1990ies forms an oral tradition shared by minority members – a sound that meets notions of modernity and at the same time satisfies ethnic self-perception and creates Croatian-ness.

This paper intends to shed light on the importance of Croatian popular music for both, the self-understanding and the outward presentation of the Burgenland Croatian minority. Given the legal oppression and individual discrimination that minority members faced half a century ago, this paper traces back to the initial dynamics of importing popular music from Croatia in a time, when this music seemed to manage to replace social and ethnic difference with a pleasingly sounding, non-threatening "otherness". The paper finally examines today's situation, in which the import of new songs from Croatia follows the rules of online availability and global connectedness.

The paper is based on archival field material and original fieldwork as well as an analysis of Burgenland Croatian media outlets.

Irene LOUTZAKI

Theatrical stage vs. village square. Artistic creation vs. traditional dance

The purpose of this study is to record and analyze the views of amateur artists in order to explore the technical paths through which they form their artistic identity, as well as their perceptions of the value and role of their cultural production. The research questions that were attempted to be answered are the following:

By what procedures does the amateur artist reach the subject of his art?

What value does the amateur artist give to the product of his creation?

What role (social, educational, aesthetic, political etc.) does an amateur artist consider that he or she generally performs in amateur artistic activity?

The research followed a qualitative approach and semi-structured interviews were used to collect the data. The sample consisted of several amateur dancers with different characteristics (artistic object, years of employment, educational background, age, place, theatrical production), active in the city of Athens.

The findings of the research reveal the amateur artist's commitment to the subject of his art, to which he is emotionally connected, not so much for the result as for the social aspect of learning, which he perceives as a long learning process. His artistic path is based on relational, experiential and established learning, sometimes self-directed and sometimes symptomatic and silent. New technologies contribute to this artistic activity, while its presence contributes to the cultural empowerment of its place.

Irene MARKOFF

The fate of traditional Bulgarian performance practice in the Canadian multicultural diaspora: a self-reflexive, auto-ethnographic perspective

This paper will address the current status of musical ensembles and artists in the Bulgarian community of Toronto with respect to the nature of performance spaces and repertoire within the community, and strategies for gaining access to the network systems that can facilitate the showcasing of Bulgarian musical culture to a broader Canadian audience. As a Bulgarian-Canadian ethnomusicologist, performer, and director of several Bulgarian and Bulgarian-oriented folk music collectives, my methodology will be self-reflexive in the sense of auto-ethnographic (Ellis and Bochner, 2000; Bartleet and Ellis, 2009) in order to reveal my positionality (Lichterman, 2015) regarding methods of musical transmission, the delicate nature of evaluating the aesthetic preferences of ensemble members with respect to the choice and presentation of repertoire for ever-expanding opportunities for performances geared towards the mainstream Canadian public as well as Bulgarian. I will begin with a case study of the all-Bulgarian female folk music choir, Ot Izvora, that I have directed for seven years. Ot Izvora came into being following Toronto Arts Council funding for a workshop devoted to traditional singing for Bulgarians in Toronto. In performing more and more for major Canadian festivals the choir has learned to rethink which repertoire is appropriate for these new contexts and how to introduce it. Anton Apostolov, the second case example, is a virtuoso guitarist and *tambura* (plucked lute) player whose Canada Council-funded album "Balkania After the Rain", an intercultural collaboration, features original compositions drawing from Bulgarian musical elements and musicians of diverse ethnic heritage. The third case example features individual artists of high caliber who continue the tradition of Bulgarian wedding music bands geared towards dancing with solo female vocalists accompanied by accordion, keyboards, and sometimes *kaval* (wooden flute) and *gaida* (bagpipe). These music specialists perform mainly at the Bulgarian Orthodox cathedrals in Toronto and environs.

Andreea PASCARU

Performance and meaning of a female mountain repertoire: songs and the creation of spatial and cultural identity among the Romeyka speakers of the Pontic Alps

The mountains behind the southern shores of the Black Sea are home to some ethnolinguistic groups such as the Greek dialect speaking Muslims, the Laz and the Hemshin people who share a closely related musical repertoire along with a rich cultural environment and the human values that define them.

As a distinctive group, the so-called *romeyka* speakers (also known as Pontic Greek speakers), and especially the female ones who will be the subject of this paper, have not only developed a separate dialect of the Greek language but also preserved, through their life in the mountains, some of the regional characteristics within their musical repertoire and within their world views and thinking structures.

Besides the "culture-environment" relationship being reflected in their musical repertoires, the nostalgia for the beloved ones also seems to play a crucial role in the everyday life of women in the Pontic *yaylas* (alpine pastures) that they inhabit. This paper will explore the two interrelated themes of songs and space at a local level. The *moiroloï* along with other regional narratives, carry within them historical witness to their individual or collective memory and they often represent the result of a human reaction to some extreme experiences and sorrow, often repeating through the performance of the song or being hidden in the deepest corners of one's memory.

The *rum* cultural movement in the last two decades has sought to reclaim Pontic identity by revitalising the traditional culture, language and music but despite all of this, the musical repertoire of the *yayla* women that has never been accompanied by an instrument, is rapidly vanishing. This paper will bring together fieldwork material recorded between 2016-2019 and a theoretical framework with the aim of identifying musical patterns and mediating between the roots of these regional determinants and the meaning of this endangered musical tradition.

Selena RAKOCEVIC

Traditional dances as expressive medium for both ethnic integration and separation. The case of dance practice of the Danube Gorge in Romania in post-socialist era

This paper looks at dance practice of Romanian and Serbian villages along the Danube Gorge as the border area between southern Banat in Romania and northeastern Serbia. The comunal dancing in the Danube Gorge is still a very important segment of social life and opportunities for dancing in all villages are frequent especially during summertime. Since two main ethnicities, Romanians and Serbians live in this region and mixed marriages are common, the vernacular dance repertoire, which I already discussed elsewhere, reflects processes of both socialization and othering, of constructing and maintaining at the same time the sense of cohesiveness and difference. This time I would like to focus on the structural and performing qualities of particular dances – *brâul*, considered as Romanian, and *kolo* as Serbian – as expressive mediums for conveying both integration and separation in this border area of post-socialist Romania.

The following questions will be raised: Could structural and performing features of particular dances contribute to the construction of the idea of establishing post-socialist Romanian society as a part of the New Europe? At the same time, which structural and performing qualities recognized both by insiders (villagers) and outsiders (scholars and performers from the regions outside the Gorge) perpetuate the notion of ethnically specific dancing? Finally, how does the concept of ethnic dance (Romanian and/or Serbian) corresponds to new social and political context of contemporary Romanian society?

Carol SILVERMAN

Cultural politics of Bulgarian wedding music: Reconsidering resistance through five decades

This presentation explores the politics of Bulgarian wedding music "*svatbarska muzika*" via the performative relationship among folk music, the market, and the state. In the 1970s a fusion of folk, rock, jazz and eastern elements catapulted to fame in Bulgaria. Labeled "kitsch" and "corrupt" by purists, wedding music was prohibited by the socialist government and was excluded from the category "folk" and from state-sponsored media, schools, and festivals. Fundamentally a grassroots youth movement, wedding music resisted censorship and became a mass underground countercultural phenomenon. The fact that Roma were prime innovators in the scene fueled the controversy. I analyze the socialist period in terms of how resistance was strategically employed, noting that resistance is always selective and paired with collaboration. In the early postsocialist period wedding music achieved success in the West via tours, but declined in popularity in Bulgaria as *chalga* (folk/pop) arose. Musicians faced many challenges vis-a-vis unbridled capitalism. As the state withdrew, wedding musicians

failed to find a secure a commercial vantage point with private profit-making companies. But they continued to perform in village contexts via weddings, *sabori* (Saints day gatherings) and small festivals. Wedding music began to be seen in contrast to, and resisting, chalga, and it has now been reconfigured as folk music. Recently, fatigue with chalga and the rise of nationalistic heritage ideologies are revitalizing wedding music. Mega-companies such as Payner invest in both chalga and wedding music. Wedding music thus interrogates the changing roles of the state and the market and the challenges of professional musicians during socialism and postscialism. It also raises cultural and political questions, such what is Bulgarian folk music, what is authenticity, and what is Romani music, and what is resistance. Fieldwork took place 1979–2018 in Bulgaria and on several tours in North America.

Urša ŠIVIC

Music of ethnic minority communities and individuals as an element of intertwining or differentiation

In my paper, I will present the findings of fieldwork as a part of a research project on minority music in Slovenia, which, as a relatively open and accessible country, has become the site of many ethnic cultures and, consequently, the space of presentation of individual musical cultures and their fusions. Since I am dealing with the period after Slovenia gained independence in 1991, I will represent the period when new relationships between the majority and the minority as well as among the minorities themselves were created; these changes are also reflected in the musical and dance expression of individuals and groups.

A part of the aforementioned ethnomusicological research is based on discussions with musicians that are defined by their minority background and by orientations to different genre; these include performers of traditional music, classical music, jazz, or ethno. From these conversations, I will extract statements that respond to two topics: music as a separation and a place of differentiation from others, and music as a social element and an element of entering the identification of individuals in a new, shared minority identity. In addition to answers that confirm the thesis about music as a strong and integrative emotional element of ethnic identification, I am also interested in those individual musicians who reject ethnic belonging or even use this rejection in their music as an element of resistance, denial and transcultural action.

Velika STOJKOVA-SERAFIMOVSKA

The soundscapes of the Macedonian Resistance (2015 – 2019)

Following the separation from the SFR Yugoslavia in 1991 Macedonian society and its citizens went into a 28 years transitional period with different political, economic and historical processes that affected the people’s lives and the future development of the country. For the last four years, since 2015 and still continuing, the aspiration of the Macedonian citizens for joining the European Union brought up radical political changes from one to another political party and ideologies, but also radical changes in the main pillars of one state, such as the Constitution, the history and, most recently, the name of the country itself. These processes deeply affected the society which responded in two completely opposed major movements, each with its own political and historical background and different cultural markers, creating a division and separation of the

society and of specific groups that were generally divided into pro Macedonian - "nationalists" and pro European - "democrats".

Responding to the first Symposium topic, "Music and Dance as a Resistance, Integration and Separation", the proposed paper will offer a diachronical and synchronical overview of the role of the traditional music in different events and contexts that took place in the recent history of Macedonian. Examples describing the soundscape of single movements and/or events will elaborate how a single folk song, bearer of an important cultural memory, can be a motive of integration and a separation at a same time, but also a tool for labeling an individual, a group, a community or a political party; the use and the abuse of the traditional music by politics; and the role and the perception of the music performers in different political and societal contexts. Using field recordings with applied and comparative methodology, the paper will elaborate that in a case of a political resistance, one folk song can be a powerful soundscape marker becoming a people's voice as a response to different societal changes and movements.

Muzaffer SÜMBÜL

Dance and music as resisitance, integration and separation in Cukurova region Balkan emigrants

In this study, dance and music cultures of Balkan immigrant communities settled in Çukurova region will be discussed in terms of concepts of adaptation, separation and resistance.

Çukurova region covers Mersin, Adana, Osmaniye and Hatay provinces geographically. These geographic boundaries have historically been an immense migration zone. Especially during the last period of the Ottoman Empire and the founding of the Republic of Turkey the migration from Balkan countries has influenced the formation of the cultural structure in the region. Settlement, both voluntary and forced migrations, shaped the ethnic and cultural structure of Çukurova region.

The social and cultural lives of these groups in Çukurova region, which they experience and reconstruct with migration, will be discussed in the context of dance and music culture.

This study draws on ethnographic research with Balkan immigrants living in the region. During the field research, the answers to these three questions will be explored within the context of immigrant music and dance culture.

1. What role do Balkan immigrants play in adaptation, resistance and segregation in the life of the Çukurova region?

2. How does music and dance feature in the social life of Balkan immigrants?

3. How is dance and music used as a sign of identity by the Chukrovan Balkans as a means of identifying themselves?

The answers to the three questions in this Çukurova regional survey will be analysed ethnochorologically. The results will be interpreted in the context of Resisitance, Integration and Separation.

Spiros TH. DELEGOS

Musico-cultural trajectories within Southeastern Europe and Anatolia as factors in the formulation of Rebetiko

The case of Ioannis Eitzirides or Yovan Tsaous from the Black Sea The current paper addresses the contribution of musico-cultural trajectories to the formulation of a particularly popular Greek musical genre called 'Rebetiko'; the space and time coordinates are mainly within the powerful and cosmopolitan urban network of Southeastern Europe and Anatolia prior to and during the interwar period. Focusing on the case of Ioannis Eitzirides from a historical ethnomusicology perspective, I trace those musico-cultural intersections and transformation processes dealing mostly with the deterritorialization of the Anatolian musical culture due to the Greek refugee movement after the Greco-Turkish War (1919-22). The study attempts to reveal historical and cultural affinities in Rebetiko between two areas: the Black Sea in the broader context of Anatolia and the Greek mainland.

During the interwar period, Rebetiko was a renowned musical genre of Greek urban popular music. The latter, as an umbrella term, embraces a plethora of instrumental tunes and songs of mixed origin and rich in style and morphology from the 19th century onwards. Nonetheless, it should be clarified that 'Rebetiko' is quite a broad and vague term; this is so, not just from an academic perspective, but from the several different views in everyday life regarding its content and the unclear time of its birth and demise, too.

Ioannis Eitzirides or Yovan Tsaous (1893-1942), born in Kastamonu near the Anatolian Black Sea coast, is a peculiar case of a musician with multiple cultural identities, whose style manages to introduce a 'musical heterotopia' within the Rebetiko context, in spite of his limited number of recordings in discography. He is considered to be an expert on makam compositions and especially on makam improvisations performing with a bouzouki-like instrument called 'tambouri', which resembles the Ottoman 'saz'.

An understanding of Eitzirides' trajectory in combination with an indicative repertoire analysis within the socio-cultural context of that period highlight considerable ethno-musicological aspects in terms of mobility, flows, intertextuality, cosmopolitanism, musical syncretism, etc., shedding light on the phenomenon in question.

Teja TURK

The influence of mass media on the construction of traditional music in the 20th century in Slovenia

The 20th century was marked by the development of mass media, which became established with the emergence of new technologies. The new media influenced the image of traditional music, which was conditioned by new aesthetics and a new function as it was broadcast to a wider audience. The public image of traditional music, which was disseminated and co-created by the mass media and which people identified as traditional, was accessible to all who could access it through new technologies, including those who had not had any direct contact with traditional music before.

In my research I highlight gramophone recordings and radio as media on which Slovenian traditional music and artistic performances of Slovenian traditional music can be heard. Traditional music played on gramophone or radio was the construction of the presentation of traditional music for a different space than traditional music was intended for before. This music is an example of the transmission and popularization of traditional music, and the media could promote the flourishing of a particular genre or band. Musicians whose music was played on the radio, or was recorded, have adapted their artistic interpretation of traditional music to the taste of the audience in order to ensure success. As a result,

they incorporated changes into traditional music that have become popular with listeners. The recorded music covers both vocal and instrumental music, but there are also recordings of vocal-instrumental music, which was not typical of Slovenian traditional music at that time and developed as an independent popular music genre only later.

Using examples I will present changes in traditional music that have arisen as a result of the new aesthetic criteria in the function of played music. The construct of what is national or regional music that was developed through mass media can be still observed today.