

**TURKISH WORLD MUSIC:
MULTIPLE FUSIONS AND AUTHENTICITIES**

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ABSTRACT

TURKISH WORLD MUSIC: MULTIPLE FUSIONS AND AUTHENTICITIES

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This dissertation investigates the case of world music in Turkey as an illustration of the discursive mechanisms involved in the production of a global cultural form from what the globality has defined as the 'local'. The study attempts to show the complicated nature of the process by examining how the musical forms and themes supposedly belonging to the 'local' are incorporated into and appropriated in the discourses associated with world music and into the corresponding strategies of the actors. The discursive compilations, articulations and dislocations taking place in the subspecies of the commercial category of world music in a particular locality are investigated by mapping the discursive topographies on the imaginary continuum from the global to the local. This study views locality as a space where a repertoire of discourses are contested and articulated in the production and consumption of global cultural commodities. In line with this understanding, this dissertation also investigates what is the local as it is produced through the particular brand of world music in Turkey. The study also aims to contribute to the theoretical discussions in the literature on the interaction between the global and the local by looking at the production of a global cultural form in a particular locality.

Keywords: World Music, Globalization, Local, Global, Culture, Discourse

ÖZ

TÜRK DÜNYA MÜZİĞİ: ÇOKKATLI SENTEZLER VE OTANTİSİTELER

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Bu tez Türkiye’de dünya müziği örneği aracılığıyla belirli bir küresel kültürel formun küresel olan tarafından yerel olarak tariflenen ve inşa edilen alanda hangi söylemsel mekanizmalar aracılığıyla üretildiğini incelemektedir. Yerele ait olduğu düşünülen farklı müzikal formların ve de temaların belirli bir dünya müziği kategorisi içerisinde nasıl eklemlendiği ve bu kaynaklara el konulduğu ve de aktörlerin farklı piyasa stratejileri incelenerek yerellikte küresel kültürel formların üretim süreçlerinin karmaşık yapısı anlaşılma çalışılmıştır. Küreselden yerele uzanan kurgusal süreklilikte konumlanan söylemsel topografyaların tespiti ile, bu ticari kategorinin belirli bir yerellikte ortaya çıkan farklı alt türlerindeki söylemsel derlemeler, eklemlenmeler ve de yerdeğiştirmelerin dinamikleri kavranmaya çalışılacaktır. Bu çalışma yerelliği, küresel kültürel metaların üretiminde belirli bir söylemler dizgesinin rekabet içinde olduğu ve eklemlendiği bir mekan olarak görmektedir. Bu anlayışla koşut olarak tez Türkiye’de dünya müziği kategorisi aracılığıyla üretilen yerelin ne olduğunu araştırmaktadır. Çalışma aynı zamanda belirli bir yerellikte bir küresel kültürel formun söylemsel üretim süreçlerini inceleyerek literatürdeki küresel yerel etkileşimine dair kuramsal tartışmalara katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Dünya Müziği, Küreselleşme, Yerel, Küresel, Kültür, Söylem

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The setting

Music markets on the avenue were throwing sounds into the air, blending them all so as to render individual ones indistinguishable. A clarinet *taksim* (improvisation) was giving way to a piece that began with a woman's voice heavily processed with a synthesizer and accompanied by a *ney* improvisation. This was followed by the rapping of the famous Turkish hip-hop artist, *Ceza*, in which the Sufi philosophy was praised. An *oyun havası* (dance tune) peculiar to weddings of the Roman community in Turkey gradually surpassed these sounds as I kept walking towards another music shop. I was strolling along İstiklal Avenue, located in the Pera (*Beyoğlu*) district of Istanbul, where important symbols of the city such as Galatasaray Square, *Çiçek Pasajı* (Flower Passage), *Balık Pazarı* (The Fish Market), *Tünel* (Tunnel), and several churches, synagogues and academic institutions are found. Just four or five years ago, it was rather unusual to hear such voices there; the inhabitants of the avenue used to listen to popular (Western) classical music pieces, French chansons or Hollywood soundtracks. Undoubtedly, the avenue, starting from around Galata Tower and leading up to Taksim square, has a cosmopolitan look, attracting about three million people on weekends. With its length of just three kilometers, İstiklal Avenue has three newly opened *Starbucks* cafés which are always full even on weekdays and off hours. While I was drinking Turkish coffee (served in traditional Turkish coffee cups imprinted with the *Starbucks* logo), a CD of Ibrahim Ferrer was playing. That was followed by several Latin American pieces. The posters on the

walls reminded me of the album covers of the world music label *Putumayo*. Suddenly I felt as if I was in an airport waiting for my connecting flight.

Gradually over the last decade in Turkey, there has been a revival or rediscovery of traditional and local musical cultures that have been incorporated into the commercial category of 'world music'. The incorporation of supposedly local and traditional musical forms, such as Roman, Sufi or Turkish folk music, into the world music category is a very recent phenomenon in Turkey. However, this is not to say there were no previous attempts at reviving those musical forms. Indeed, they date back to the early 1970s, but within the categories of ethnic jazz (*etnocaz*) or free jazz. Those attempts were generally the result of works by the expatriated musicians (such as Muvaffak Falay, alias Maffy, Okay Temiz, or Burhan Öçal), the Western musicians abroad who were highly interested in Turkish musical forms (such as Don Cherry), or some particular producers. The motivation behind those works largely reflected the general craze among Western musicians in the 1960-1970s to head towards the East and those works were mainly the outcome of these musicians' personal quests for alternative ways of making music. The end result of those attempts included performances within festivals, albums published in relatively small numbers, and projects with seriously limited financial and organizational inputs. Thus, those works were not promoted a great deal by the music market; they usually remained marginal, having gained a very limited niche market, if any. This situation has persisted in the later period as well. Seeman (2002, 326) is truly right to assert that: "In the 1990s, jazz terminology predominated among Turkish jazz, rock and Roman world music practitioners. What jazz means and what is possible under jazz, then, has been interpreted from a locally-grounded cosmopolitan tradition."

Seeman continues by explaining that a conflict emerged from such a 'locally-grounded understanding of jazz'; some Turkish practitioners of *etnocaz* generated a dichotomy between the Westernness intrinsic to jazz and Turkish identity. However, this 'locally-grounded cosmopolitan tradition', I believe, was still confined within the conceptual boundaries that were defined by the very term of jazz itself. Thus jazz

can be seen as having an intermediary function in the redefinition and relocation of those local and traditional musical forms within the world music category (that means they are firstly jazz or etnocaz whatever and then world music if they ever are). I see this as a symptom of the long-standing East-West dichotomy that is mostly embodied in the polyphony-monophony discussions in Turkish music.¹ What makes the transformation within the last decade distinct from the earlier period is that there is no need anymore first to define the emerging forms within the general classification of jazz to incorporate them into the category of world music.²

The statements of Okay Temiz, the most prominent jazz percussionist in Turkey and among the first to engage in experimenting with ethnic or folk jazz, are worth quoting to illustrate how world music as defined today differs from world music as ethnic music:

A musician should have a multicultural attitude. S/he should combine various different traditions of music on the stage. That proves the culture of the musician ... we used to call ourselves world musicians; we used to apply that talk of world music to such music and musicians. Before the emergence of world music, as we call it now, there were African folk, Brazilian folk, Turkish folk within the repertoire of the band Oriental Wind that I formed in Sweden [in 1974]. We were closely interested in India ... we have collaborated with the best musicians there; we have stayed in their adobe houses, eaten their foods, dressed in their clothes. We were really interested in them with a great deal of energy, with love. We internalized those musics ... we used to call that world music, folk jazz, or ethnic jazz ... one day I heard a world music talk. Where? In England. They had brought Nusrat Fateh, who performs sacred music from Pakistan, and a vocal band performing African music from Senegal ... These are musicians from different cultures; but they don't know anything about other cultures different from their own. Nusret Fateh doesn't know

¹ That discussion can hardly be understood without looking at the attempts in the founding years of the Turkish Republic (1923-1940s) to modernize (westernize) Turkish folk music and to characterize Ottoman classical music as a 'backward' form which was considered as not complying with the 'civilization' that Turkish people deserve. For further information see Tekelioğlu (2001), Aksoy (1999; 1986), and Değirmenci (2006). For a recent history of Turkish popular music see Tansuğ (1999), Stokes (1992).

² As a personal note, I have heard the word 'jazz' or 'ethnic jazz' on only a few occasions throughout my field work. A major exception was Okay Temiz which is discussed in detail above.

jazz; nor Turkish music ... these are fanatic musicians going on their own ways; you can't teach them anything.³

For Temiz, the category of world music is obviously closely associated with cosmopolitanism and is defined within the boundaries of jazz. Furthermore, in this discursive schema, performing any traditional or folk music alone without incorporating it in synthesis or fusion works (within Western musical structures) is not worth attention; it is falsely called world music. Indeed, such a perspective is still common among jazz musicians and it largely implies that jazz is the most proper genre in which to experiment with 'other' musical forms. This 'jazzy' perspective repudiates the category of world music as a totally commercial and degenerated phenomenon; it refuses to discuss the category in terms of aesthetics. It is safe to assert that what we call world music cannot be conceptualized within the (once) general category of jazz. This fact is true as much for the global music industry as for the music industry in Turkey. What has happened, especially during the last decade, is the complete annihilation of such a perspective of ethnic jazz in favor of the growing popularity of world music in the Turkish music industry.

Much more than being an independent category of its own, in Istanbul world music has increasingly become an umbrella term for not only the musical projects broadly defined as fusion or synthesis by musicians and the market, but also for local and traditional music.⁴ Moreover, the category is almost a 'black hole' in which even the most traditional or local musical forms have been imploded. For example, a successful Roman musician increasingly prefers to call himself a world musician, being well aware of the market's rewarding response to such a label. A decade ago, he would only perform at taverns, weddings or other special events in the community, but now he is a world musician in demand at Istanbul's most prestigious

³ Okay Temiz, interview by the author, Istanbul, Okay Temiz's studio, December 3, 2007.

⁴ As a personal note, in 2004, when I was in Northampton, MA, I was really surprised to see Erkan Oğur (probably the most famous contemporary Turkish folk musician) announced as a 'world musician' on BBC World Music station. Now, no one seems to be surprised upon hearing such a categorization, at least in Istanbul.

music halls such as *Babylon*⁵. Furthermore, the world music discourse extends into the ‘most popular’ cultural industries, such as Turkish pop music⁶ and the soundtracks of TV serials on the one hand, and to the realm of what has been conventionally defined as high culture, such as jazz or classical music, on the other.⁷ Although worth exploring, this point is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

Such a rediscovery of traditional and ‘local’ music forms and its implications for the Turkish music industry are conspicuous in Istanbul, the center of Turkey’s music industry. Istanbul has not been merely the place where multifarious musical traditions have combined historically; it also constitutes a space where the processes of contestation, positioning, resistance, and appropriation created by the particular processes of globalization can be clearly observed. That said, intensive discussions have centered around whether Istanbul is a global city. Using the definition of global cities as the controlling centers of capital and productive forces (Friedmann 1986; Sassen 1991), various studies have concluded that Istanbul is on the verge of being a global city (Keyder 1999, 1992; Keyder and Öncü 1997).⁸ Istanbul has witnessed tremendous growth in areas such as entertainment, international media, foreign investment, and communication technology. New service sectors have emerged, and

⁵ *Babylon* was founded by Pozitif Music Production which also owns Doublemoon record label, which will be discussed in detail. It was twice voted among the best 100 jazz clubs of the world (2002 and 2004) by the music magazine, Down Beat.

⁶ Here almost a distinct genre emerged especially after the late 1980s. Although it certainly exceeds the scope of this dissertation, the effects of the world music discourse can be clearly seen in the changes in the instruments used and the changes in the images of pop stars. For example, Tarkan represents (post)modern ‘oriental’ Turkishness with core cosmopolitan and multicultural characteristics.

⁷ I do not mean discourses specific to the category of world music or exclusively defined within terms of that commercial category. I refer to the set of discourses that the category of world music easily plays with or borrows from. This can be ‘new localism’, as Strassoldo (1992) calls it, or rediscovery of ethnic identities as Kurdish, Caucasian, or *Laz* identities (or national identities such as ‘Turkishness’), etc.

⁸ The literature on İstanbul as a global city presents various other conclusions. Fuat Ercan (1996), for example, makes a distinction between global and internationalized cities, in which the global cities function as commanding centers of the global flows while the internationalized cities serve to transfer those flows to the areas which have subordinate positions within global system.

transnational corporations have an increased presence in the city, making it a cultural and economic center, not only for Turkey but also for the rest of the world. A comprehensive discussion about the 'global city' is not within the scope of this dissertation. However, the fact that world music as a commercial category has gained popularity in Istanbul is closely related to the transformations taking place in the 'global city'. World music is part of the cultural (re)construction of the city, which indeed is a component of a more comprehensive cultural logic of a global system. Much of the theoretical works on world music have centered around the themes associated with the processes of globalization.

1.2. The obscure waters of globalization and the global/local talk

Globalization is a fuzzy term at best; it is, however, an ubiquitous concept in the academic world and discourse of the media. Furthermore, this ubiquity of the term itself easily leads one to equate the term with the other narratives, such as imperialism, colonization, internationalization, universalization, westernization, modernity, postmodernity, and so on and so forth. Thus, when thinking about globalization through globalization studies, oftentimes more questions emerge than satisfying answers. However, presuming that the complexity and ambiguity of the term globalization owes its existence to the attempts at categorizing the concept within academic loci is dangerously misleading. Fredric Jameson (1998, 75), after drawing out a series of paradoxes emerging from an analysis of the term within the communicational, economic and cultural realms, rightly asserts that the problem is inherent in the plain facts brought about by globalization itself. That is to say, globalization is ambiguous or paradoxical per se both in terms of an academic discourse and in terms of its material consequences.

It is safe to assert that the issue of globalization in a broader sense has earned an exclusive space in the recent literature and has almost replaced the other metanarratives, such as modernity and postmodernity, as an operative term in various accounts of the current developments and transformations. Nonetheless,

even a superficial reading of the literature on globalization is enough to conclude that globalization is a stock phrase that stands for a variety of mechanisms, processes or transformations that in many cases are contradictory. While, for example Anthony Giddens (1990) tends to equate globalization with modernity and sees it as a consequence of modernity, Roland Robertson (1992) defines it as a new presence of the world; and modernity has emerged through its corresponding structures.⁹ While some authors speak of a postmodern break that is primarily embodied in the new global configurations of transnational or late capitalism (Harvey 1989; Jameson 1991), some others claim that even a distinct notion of globalization in contemporary capitalism is in no way necessary (Hirst and Thompson 1996). They support this idea by claiming that the globalization in the heyday of colonialism was more extensive than that taking place today. In some economic approaches, though, globalization primarily refers to a new international division of labor in which new forms of domination have emerged (Broad 1995; Chase-Dunn 1989; Munck 1998). Being in a somewhat technological determinist camp, Manuel Castells (1996, 1997, and 1998) portrays the emergent global society as a ‘network society’ based on the new communications and information technology by stressing that power is no longer centered in institutions, organizations, or symbolic controllers, but is instead “diffused in global networks of wealth, power, information and images” (1997, 359). Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri (2000) also accentuate the emergent forms of power structure in their account of the new political constitution of global order, namely Empire. Finally, Baudrillard (1993) considers the technologies of information and the reproduction of social structures, such as

⁹ Although the intention here is not to discuss various accounts of globalization in detail, I think one point deserves mentioning at this moment. Anthony Giddens (1984) considers modernity as marking a historical discontinuity, the nature of which is primarily defined by the type of globalization corresponding to it. Having inherently globalizing nature, modernity “tears space away from place”, to use Giddens’ words (1990, 19). Here is the point where the definitions of globalization and modernity converge to the extent that they are almost inseparable from each other in Giddens. On the other hand, Robertson states that “globality or what Giddens calls globalization, is simply an enlargement of modernity, from society to the world” (1992, 142). For Robertson, what he sees as the ‘conflation of modernity and globality’ is a major problem that can be found here and there in Giddens’ works. This debate is a perfect example of how the term has become a part of jargon specific to some particular contexts of academic discussions and warns us to avoid using it as if it has a meaning of its own.

simulation, as bringing about a new society in which modern conceptions of reality have been left behind along with the modernity.

Many other accounts of globalization can be articulated in the present discussion, each of which stresses different aspects of the phenomenon and generates various definitions of globalization. Following Fredric Jameson (1984; 1991), I will argue that the problematic of globalization is preeminently cultural - globalization constitutes much of what can be called postmodernism, the emergent cultural logic of capitalism. The term 'consumer society' refers to the fact that many cultural activities and signifying practices take place within the consumption terrain and the practices of consumption not only involve material goods but also involve the signs and the images (Lash and Urry 1994). The point is globalization, or what is defined as a significant part of the cultural logic of late capitalism in these accounts, makes culture and economy inseparable. What is defined as economic is as much cultural and vice versa.

Although it is more than legitimate to assert that globalization brings forth new cultural terrains of domination, hegemony, and contestation, the crucial question is how those emergent forms arise and operate through the interlinked and complicated dynamics of the global system. Theoretical approaches that tend to equate globalization as a cultural system with westernization or Americanization remain mostly insufficient to explain the uneven patterns of power relations created

by the complicated mechanisms of transnational flows.¹⁰ Appadurai (2002, 49) aptly points out this issue by stating that the United States is “no longer the puppeteer of a world system of images but is only one node of a complex transnational construction of a world system of images” (2002, 49). Bauman (1998, 59) also echoes this perspective in another context: “the deepest meaning conveyed by the idea of globalization is that of the indeterminate, unruly and self-propelled character of world affairs, the absence of a centre, of a controlling desk, of a board of directors or of a managerial office”. These accounts primarily refute the idea of a controlling center for the production of media artefacts and cultural forms in general. Moreover, Appadurai (2002, 50) argues that “as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies, they tend to become indigenized in one or another way”. Unless the notion of indigenization conceives a locality defined in terms of its selfsame materiality, this statement is mostly true.

I will raise another intricacy of globalization, one that is closely related in a subtle way to the previous one. In their attempt to distinguish between the globality of the earlier periods and globalization, Shome and Hegde (2002, 175) persuasively propose that:

The colonial encounter(s) of territorial colonialisms may have been ‘global’ or ‘transnational’ but it was still contained within and enacted through a fixity of boundaries, where the here and there, the inside and the outside, the center and

¹⁰ The notion of globalization as westernization has been subject to hot debates and has largely lost its credit. Giddens (1994) for example, considers globalization to mark the decline of the West, by differentiating between what he calls the first phase of globalization (primarily meaning the expansion of the West) and its present form, which “can no longer be spoken of only as a matter of one-way imperialism” (1994, 96). Bauman (1995) also conceives of two kinds of modernity: modernity as universal and modernity as globality. In contrast to the universality of modernity, which had serious and proud projects such as the superiority of rationality or the rule of reason, globality represents primarily the idea that “everyone everywhere may feed on McDonald’s hamburgers and watch the latest made-for-TV docudrama” ... “Globality ... is a meek acquiescence to what is happening ‘out there’” (1995, 24). This transformation itself signifies the declining cultural self-image and self-confidence of the West. These two perspectives offer useful insights into a well-grounded critique of the notion of globalization as westernization. However, I think Bauman’s critique in particular, underestimates the power of the cultural forms distributed by the transnational media giants and the implications of those forms for every day social practices that are generally associated with ‘culture’ per se.

periphery were clearly discernible. Our current scenario of globalization(s) interrupts the fixity and format of such encounters.

They go even further to assert that colonialism does matter in the process of globalization; however, we should think of the two terms via different ‘vocabularies’ in globalization. Taylor (2007) also raises a similar point in his analysis of colonialism, imperialism and globalization and their corresponding musical manifestations. The earlier conceptions of difference have been reborn within the framework of globalization and multiculturalism; however, they have been reborn in different forms - the changing patterns of consumption and commodification of difference.

Globalization facilitates specific intercultural interaction or articulation patterns that operate on a continuum ranging from absolute manipulation to an abstract place of no control. This partly explains how the complex transnational flows of globalization create interplay between different hegemonic structures or ways of domination, and their corresponding patterns of power, seemingly belonging to different historical periods and social systems, such as imperialism, colonialism, late-capitalism, etc.

Furthermore, many of the complicated ways in which the global cultural economy channels cultural forms in the spaces of economic practice (causing new consumption patterns) take place mainly in urban landscapes. The cultural construction of a city, or in other words the ‘culturalization of a city’, is incremental with each stage of the reconstruction of the urban space. This includes such things as rediscovery and renovation of historic sites, marketing the ‘authenticity’ and uniqueness of local arts and crafts as being redefined in opposition to standardized goods in an age of mass production (selling the construction of local artisanship as a genuine form of artistic practice), or the so-called ‘ethnic’ food industry (re-labeled regional food for ‘local’ tourists). As discussed in the literature of contemporary urban space, these are embodiments of the larger process called ‘urban renaissance’, in which “mobilizing urban cultural resources for economic revitalization and

making money out of culture, consumption and spectacle” are central elements (Amin and Thrift 2007, 151). Thus, the city emerges as a center of economic activities in the global system and culture emerges as the ‘business of cities’ (Zukin 1995, 1). Furthermore, the geographical specificities have been increasingly emphasized within the logic of globalization, since “globalization enhances the possibilities of vertical disintegration, productive agglomeration, and specialization” (Scott 1997, 327).

Moreover, these processes are closely related to the deterritorializing effects of globalization (or modernity in some accounts) which, in this context, refer to the “loss of the ‘natural’ relation of culture to geographical and social territories” (Canclini 1995, 229). In this context, one might see culture and locality as companions, the boundaries of which are defined in relation to each other. Thus, while culture is being detached from the locality that offers the very possibility of its existence and definition, the locality can no longer be defined in terms of that particular (mostly constructed) culture. This leads to a ‘crisis of place’ attached to the crisis of culture. As Morley and Robins (1995, 87) persuasively state, places are “no longer the clear supports of our identity”. I will suggest that what was defined as the culturalization of cities refers to the process in which the once ‘organic’ relationship between place and culture, which globalization was thought to have eradicated, has been reestablished in urban spaces. Moreover, the fetishization or rediscovery of the ‘place’ within urban ‘space’ is truly related to the so-called localization process in which “cultural authenticity is constructed, reproduced, or maintained through a variety of practices” (Roudemetof 2003, 47).

What has emerged as the culturalization of cities implies a process in which places are constructed in a way that constitutes the ‘very locality’ of a particular city. However, the local within the local/global dichotomy is still conceived in terms of its selfsame materiality in contrast to the abstract (and sometimes artificial) space of the global. The absolute materiality of the local (or the very locality in this context) has always been an illusion but in the past it was less illusory than in our present

world. Locality has lost the ‘distance’ from its ‘opposite’ (the global, the west or the east, etc), the very existence of which determines its boundaries; locality also has been subject to commodification by global forces. This statement presumes that locality is not a fact, but a project that “has always had to be produced, maintained and nurtured deliberately” (Appadurai 1999, 231). Locality might refer to the imagined localities within any particular territory, or to a notion of locality that is the direct result of the ‘place-making’ processes of globalization.¹¹ Thus, ‘place’ means an intimate and “affective locality” whose pleasures “have now become unified with the structuring force of global space in contemporary cities” (Krimm 2007, 54). This means global forces demand that cultural products and practices be embedded with the symbolic content purportedly once belonging to the ‘place’. Thus, what is emerging is the relationship between localities constructed by globalization and the ‘very locality’ (a fictional discursive entity, but meaningful nevertheless) that has been called imaginary in this context, in the sense of Anderson’s (1991) ‘imagined communities’.

To apply the ideas discussed thus far to a music context, I will use Stokes’ (1999, 122) idea that the contemporary musical experience is a result of the contestation between the globalizing media cultures and creative ‘positioning’ as a response to globalization processes. Indeed, the music that is popularized or rediscovered during the process of culturalization is more than merely a cultural and ‘local’ tradition of music; rather a ‘constructed locality’ that has been produced by the local response to global forces. It broadly means that there is a contestation between ‘constructed

¹¹ In this conception, I carefully avoid Smith’s (1990, 179) categorical distinction between the cultural formations of the nation-building process and the cultural constructions of globality. On the basis of this distinction, he believes that global culture is essentially artificial, shapeless, ahistorical, and timeless. Moreover, the notion of culture of the global, global culture (in singular) in literature, mostly supports the cultural homogenization argument (such as Mattelart 1983; Schiller 1976). Tomlinson (1999, 80) speaks of two dystopian visions of global culture, one of which emerges from emphasis on the commodifying structures of global capitalism. What is referred to as global culture in this perspective is actually a culture of capitalism which mainly refers to the incorporation of national (or local) cultures into the commodifying structures of the global capitalist system. The second vision simply equates globalization with westernization or Americanization. What is defined as global here is meaningful only in its ability to construct ‘localities’ within the context outlined up to this point.

localities', that are products of globalization processes, and the allegedly 'real' or 'very' localities of music as conceived within 'imaginary' communities and as embodied through the discourses of the local within the local itself.

1.3 Chapter organization and outline

The case of world music perfectly exemplifies the perplexing ways in which the localities and places are discursively reconstructed and rediscovered; it also shows how the global system increasingly depends on the commodification and fetishization of the locality. World music first emerged as a marketing term in the West; while any piece having American folk or celtic characteristics is still generally considered to be folk or 'traditional' music and to occupy a separate category. Mbalax from Senegal, Rai from Algeria, Qawwali from Pakistan, Ragas from India, Mevlevi music or makam music from Turkey, Azerbaijan mugams and so on, are categorized into world music. It is a commercial category that has gradually created a global market of its own and shaped market strategies of the actors in the industry.

The associated world music market also had a particular impact on the music-making and music production patterns in the 'local' itself. To make this point more clear, a musician performing 'traditional' Turkish music has found alternative ways to position him/herself in the market as congruent with the category of world music, although no one would have defined him as a world musician a few decades ago. Similarly, the recording labels and producers have also searched for ways to participate in the growing arena of world music in both local and global markets. In the 'local', musicians do not need to use 'other' sounds in order to name themselves as world music artist; rather, what they have performed for years has become articulated into another discursive or aesthetic narrative. As such world music, both as a commercial term and a discursive structure, is preoccupied with the notion of locality, and represents and commodifies the locality itself. What is emerging here is a 'global' cultural form paradoxically claiming to represent the 'very' locality itself.

Moreover, the category of world music also implies multifarious discursive topographies in which the actors position themselves and their music between various poles, such as traditional/modern, authentic/fusion (modern), local/global, etc. Thus it is both a marketing term that operates through the commodification and reconstruction of ethnicity, spirituality, or the 'Traditions', and a 'cultural' space where the discursive construction of place and locality creates new resources for the music-making and music production on behalf of the musicians, producers and recording labels. As such, the category implies the rediscovery of place, locality, and the 'Tradition' through the lens of the global – a discursive space taking place on the fictional continuum from the local to the global.

Because of the implications summarized above, the topic of world music has attracted a particular interest from the literature on the transnationalization of cultural forms. These studies have more or less constructed forms of theoretical and imaginary opposites between the local and the global. Correspondingly, the patterns of articulation of the local and the global or the nature of the relationship between them have been investigated in these studies. The main assumption of this dissertation is that such an imaginary relationship between the local and the global is only meaningful to the extent that the former is defined in its materiality and investigated in its specificity. Thus the global cultural forms produced in what is regarded as the 'local' by the globality should be investigated with respect to the multifarious dynamics in that 'locality' itself. This assumption leads to the recognition that every 'locality' asserts different and distinctive sets of relationships with respect to the 'articulation between the local and the global', if one still wants to use that rather banal statement. Moreover, a generalized notion of locality or globality that is not based on a particular cultural form and the corresponding imageries of 'local/global' relationship is mostly useless and fictional.

Complicating the issue even further, a particular 'locality' has also some distinctive 'fields' where the production of global cultural forms take place. The production of global cultural forms is subject to different discursive mechanisms, various strategies

of the actors in the field, and the specifics of these fields with respect to what they signify in and for the locality. This dissertation investigates the formation of a global cultural form, world music, by looking at the specifics of the locality and its different fields. It also investigates how the category of world music is based on discourses of place and locality, how it commodifies them, and the ways in which actors in different fields of the locality use various discourses to incorporate the world music discourse into their music-making and music production processes. To address these and other issues, this dissertation analyzes the formation of world music in Turkey and critically investigates how the sounds, ethnic identities, and various spiritual themes are incorporated into a global discourse so as to produce a global cultural form that is to be sold in both local and the global markets.

The following chapters of the dissertation are devoted to particular topics. Chapter II, “World Music: Whose world is it?” attempts to map the global discourse of world music and investigates how the category has emerged and has come to represent a genre in the markets. In doing so, it also elaborates on how the Western and non-western ‘world’ musicians position themselves in the global markets and how world music has been discussed in the literature. The dissertation will analyze the findings of the fieldwork in the three consecutive chapters. Chapter III, “World Music, place and (in)authenticity”, discusses how Doublemoon and Kalan, the most prominent world music recording labels in Turkey, represent different patterns of world music production. In Doublemoon’s case, the discussion will show how a particular ‘İstanbul sound’ is produced under the label of world music or world fusion and how this imagery depends on the rather stereotypical identity of the city, as the meeting place of East and West, and cosmopolitanism allegedly inherent to İstanbul. Kalan constitutes a different pattern of world music production where authenticity, the themes of political resistance, and ethnic identity play significant roles. The case of Kalan also exemplifies how a particular form of music production depending on the discourses of ‘preserving the cultural heritage’, diversity or ‘cultural archival’ incorporate the discourses associated with the commercial category of world music into its production policies. In Chapter IV, “Local music from out there: Roman

music as world music” and Chapter V, “Sufi music as a spiritual journey”, the dissertation investigates how a particular world music discourse is formed on the basis of different mechanisms and strategies particular to these two different soundscapes. As will be shown in the respective chapters, particular discursive dynamics are taking place in the incorporation of world music discourse in these fields or soundscapes. I will attempt to show how the sounds, spiritual themes, ethnic identities, and ‘Traditions’ are commodified, reconstructed and incorporated in the emerging discourses of world music within and through what I will describe as the discursive dynamics of compilation, articulation, and dislocation.

1.4 Methodology

This study is based on ethnographic research conducted in Istanbul. The research lasted about three months. I carried out non-structured in-depth interviews with the musicians, representatives of recording labels, and some scholars of music. I also made short visits to the offices of the recording labels and some public and private music institutions. I talked informally with the influential figures in the Istanbul music scene and musicians performing outside the formal music industry, such as Roman musicians performing in the weddings and other special events. The research also involved attendance at the performances in the music halls like *Babylon* and also other concerts in other places.

Before going to the field, I had intended to confine my subject matter to the incorporation of Sufi music into world music. My main interest was how the Sufi themes and music were translated into something that is marketable under the name of world music and how this newly emerging field that is supposedly ‘global’ influences the musical practices and corresponding discourses of the musicians and the producers in the ‘local’. Honestly speaking, at the earlier stages of the research I was still thinking in terms of the banalized and already problematic duality established between the global and the local. Moreover, my understanding of world music depended on theoretical abstractions which entailed oversimplified patterns of

production and discursive schemas. In the field, however, I came to realize that investigation of the cultural forms in what is regarded and constructed as 'local' as a differentiated space requires a new understanding which maps multiple patterns of the production of (global) cultural forms and corresponding discursive fields. This realization led me to think not in terms of a duality between the local and the global or of the commodification of a particular tradition like Sufism in the production of world music but of the 'local' as a discursive field in which multiple strategies, identities, and aesthetic forms are intermingled. I found myself tracing constellation points of discourses in order to map out the assembly and disassembly lines of these in different fields and how seemingly different or identical sets of strategies or discourses overlap or dislocate within and across different fields.

At first it was really hard to get into the music scene since the persons that I wanted to talk with are famous musicians and were therefore difficult to reach. I had to find the key persons and institutions and to map out various networks that would help make my way to the 'right' persons. However, I gradually realized that the real difficulty was in the very category of world music itself. The term is not used formally to name particular genres in the Turkish music industry.¹² In line with my predictions before going to the field, the term primarily exists in the discursive field. The musicians and producers seemed to articulate and incorporate particular discourses and aesthetic distinctions belonging to the category of world music. Moreover, the ways that the musicians define or shape their musical works or that the companies promote these products appeared to have strong similarities with the patterns in the global world music industry. Although I had some hesitations whether world music had gained currency in Turkish music industry, during my fieldwork I observed that the musicians and producers use what I will call world

¹² The most prominent 'world music' recording labels, Kalan and Doublemoon, do not usually use the term world music in their promotional materials and liner notes to their albums. Doublemoon prefers the term 'world fusion' while Kalan almost never uses the term world music or a similar one. However, during interviews with the representatives of these companies, they use the category without any hesitation in order to name their products. This is true for the musicians as well.

music discourse to locate themselves in the music industry and to define their musical subjectivities.

Futhermore, the musicians that I interviewed generally stated that they are accustomed to media interviews, that is to say, reportages rather than interviews for academic purposes. They were well aware of the structural difference between them. The latter is generally regarded as more sophisticated and comprehensive than the former. The reportages have the primary aim of giving ‘information’ about the musician in a superficial way. In that process, the interviewer has to behave as if he or she is a fan of that musician; the information taken from the musician serves to satisfy the curiosity of the fans, but at the same time raises new points to foster curiosity about the life and future projects of the musician. As such, the position of the interviewer is the reverse of that of the ‘academic’ conducting in-depth interview: if the media interviewer is a fan, the academic is someone like the musician’s manager who is supposed to be well informed about the life and projects of the musician. The reportage seems to be a one-way process; the information comes directly from the musician. On the contrary, the scholar pursues ‘deeper meanings’ while conducting in-depth interviews. For the deeper meanings, he or she has to direct the course of the interview for the purposes of the future study and interpret the words.

Moreover, although the process seems to be a simple act of sharing/obtaining knowledge, it is indeed very complicated and can be very misleading. The interviewer might be easily ‘cheated’ and he or she might be prone to overinterpret or misinterpret the words of the musician who is well aware of the fact that the interview is conducted for academic purposes rather than for promotion of his or her works. The musician might exaggerate or distort his or her position or attempt to please the interviewer by giving ‘appropriate’ answers for scientific work. I was aware of these risks and attempted to test whether the musician forces himself or herself to remain within ‘my’ conceptual framework. Thus I realized that the

interviews or informal talks that I conducted could either hinder me from attaining the knowledge of the field or could provide the source of that knowledge.

The intricateness of the process of interviewing can be understood better by looking at the Turkish equivalent of the term, interview: *mülakat*. The etimological meaning of the term is ‘encounter’ as much as it is *telakki*, evaluation or to regard. That is to say, the process has two subjects, one of whom, however, has some preconceived assumptions or some conceptual framework that influences the interview. In line with these considerations, I kept the duration of the interviews longer (about two hours) and attempted to turn the academic ‘distance’ into intimacy as much as possible. I tried to test the significance of any concept raised by the interviewee by reiterating it in many different contexts. Moreover, I tried to maintain my communication with the interviewees over a period of time and to talk with them in different contexts.

It is useful to raise some points about the themes that I have focused on in the interviews. I was careful not to push the category of world music to the core of the interview. However, I came to realize that the category was already the main theme in most of the interviews; that is to say, it was a central discursive trope within which the musicians and producers locate themselves and define their works. Some other notions emerged as significant discursive categories during fieldwork. A good example is the concept of authenticity. As the succeeding chapters will discuss, the term is also a central category in the world music marketing which sometimes wears the mask of exoticity. The concept of authenticity was the most critical concept through which the musicians and producers defined their works and their musical subjectivities during the course of my fieldwork. The concept popped up here and there in the interviews and the promotional and other materials.

I focused on particular musicians in the dissertation since their positions in the music market and the ways that they locate themselves discursively helped me to construct the themes and theoretical assumptions in the dissertation. For example,

the Roman musicians that I discuss were selected according to the ways they articulate their Romanness discursively and use that in the formation of their musical subjectivities. Similarly, the figures in the discussion of Sufi music were selected according to the ways they use Sufism in the construction of spirituality and how they incorporate a particular Sufi tradition. Besides the significant differences among musicians with respect to the aims of this dissertation, I focused on these musicians because of the fact that they are internationally esteemed and well-known figures and/or their works have topped the European World Music Charts.

With regard to the selection of the recording labels, Kalan and Doublemoon are the most prominent world music labels in Turkey, the popularity of which cannot be compared to the other small recording labels. It is so much so that those small labels do not show any consistency with respect to the categorization and promotion of their products. Moreover these two major labels have strong international links and also represent major powers within the Turkish music industry - they both are the leading figures of MESAM (Musical works owners society of Turkey).

Besides in-depth interviews, other sources of information were also analyzed: short visits, and informal talks, album covers, artworks in the albums, and lyrics in Mercan Dede's case. Visual materials have significant functions in the promotion of albums by evoking a particular theme. The analysis of these visual materials was carried out in relation to the discursive elements that emerged from the interviews. This is not a musicology dissertation. Thus, the embodiment of a particular discursive element in the musical structure is not a central focus. However, I raise some points by analyzing the sounds, by benefiting from the responses of the musicians, and by analyzing the musical elements existing 'on the surface'. For example, I focus on the instrumentation, the sampling aesthetic in Mercan Dede's case, the use of Sufi music forms that are seen as authentic, the use of *koma* or the use of particular Roman music forms.

CHAPTER TWO

WORLD MUSIC: WHOSE WORLD IS IT?

2.1 The rise of world music

'Buena Vista' became the ultimate coffee-table album ... and this record has the same feel to me. It's not 'world music'. It's a record any rock'n'roll fan would enjoy.

Emmanuel de Buretel, president of EMI Continental Europe in 2005¹

The excerpt quoted above is taken from a conversation with De Buretel about the album, *Dimanche à Bamako*. In the album, guitarist Amadou Bagayoko and singer Mariam Doumbia collaborated with Manu Chao, a very popular musician who made 8 million sales internationally with his two solo albums according to the recording label.² The album met with great appreciation and became very successful in market terms. Although in some other occasions De Buretel would probably say that it is definitely a world music album, in this correspondence he deliberately excludes the album from the ranks of world music. As such, the category of world music is put directly against the category of popular music. Indeed, *Dimanche à Bamako* is just another crossover album combining West African roots music with Manu Chao's style that can easily be labeled as world music. He hesitates to put the album in the category of world music most probably in order not to annoy an average listener for whom world music requires a certain level of musical background to understand and

¹ Quoted in Williamson and Ferguson (2005).

² Ibid

to appreciate. He concludes by inferring that any rock'n'roll fan (man on the street?) who enjoys listening to 'coffee-table' music would appreciate this album too.

So, what is this thing called world music? The definition of the category seems to be very difficult considering the inconsistency in the categorization of genres in the music industry and the diverse meanings that the term has gained in various contexts. The category has been named differently: ethnic, international, ethnopop, tribal, ambient, trance, new age, foreign, etc. Such inconsistency has increased with further distinctions within the term itself. Feld (1996, 267), for example, mentions a distinction between world beat and world music. The category of world beat implied much more about fusion or synthesis than world music; the latter was considered to be more authentic or traditional and performed by non-western musicians.³ However, this distinction has gradually faded and the world music has become an umbrella category.⁴ Attempting to give a general definition of the term, Feld (1996: 266) states that world music "has come to refer to any commercially available music of nonwestern origin and circulation as well as the musics of dominated ethnic minorities within the Western world: music *of* the world to be sold *around* the world".

For some other authors, though, the term 'world music' does not refer to a musical genre but "a marketing term describing the products of musical cross-fertilization between the north - the US and Western Europe - and the South - primarily Africa and the Caribbean Basin, which began appearing on the popular music landscape in the early 1980s" (Pacini 1993, 48). Although it is almost impossible to describe all of the musics on the market considered to be world music with a single term, world music is a general commercial category which involves the traditional music of indigenous peoples or, to say in more precise terms, the 'traditional' music of any

³ Here, the commercial usage of world music is meant. Indeed, according to Feld (2000), the term world music dates back to the early 1960s in academia. The term was an alternative to the terms used by ethnomusicology in the mid-1950s as a more friendly and benign term.

⁴ For some authors, though, that distinction is still alive. While it is associated with 'traditional' music forms in the U.S. (and world beat is used for the musics created by Western musicians), in Britain the term covers all kinds of musics in contact with nonwestern music forms in one way or another. (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, 53).

locality (including western), and the fusion of multiple musical traditions (mostly the fusion between eastern and western sounds). This definition seems to be problematic since it has no special emphasis on the non-western music forms which have constituted much of the recent popular world music albums. Thus, if we want to modify the definition so as to cover those recent forms, the term can be defined as any music genre which falls outside the mainstream Western popular music or classical music traditions – music forms that originate from regions outside the Western Europe and the English speaking countries. These forms are not necessarily performed by non-western artists; on the contrary, the reverse is much more common.

The term ‘world music’ was adapted by eleven independent record companies in June 1987 in order to refer to what had previously been included commercially in the ranks of international pop (or non-western music). Since then, the music forms once bearing the quality of ‘international pop’ (or non-western music) have been called world music and the term has become more prevalent thereafter. Most probably, the decision taken in that meeting of the record companies was a result of the considerable increase in the sales of those respective music forms. In as early as 1991, Wentz (1991, 22) reported that the market share of world music reached that of classical music and jazz. Considering that some of the albums that could be considered in the category of world music were sold under different categories, this observation is very striking. Although the category was coined commercially in 1987,

just after few years later, its market share represented a considerable portion of the entire music industry.⁵

There are many reasons for the category of world music to have become a prevalent and accepted category for some time after all those ambiguous and confusing categorizations of the music market. Commodities are categorized and classified according to the market trends and the expectations of the consumers and cultural commodities are no exception. Music distributors or retailers finds it more profitable to categorize albums in a certain way. For example, although music pieces from less popular regions, such as the Far East or Middle East, can be counted in the world music category, Latin music has a shelf of its own. Or, although there is a great enthusiasm and acclaim for Celtic music, it is sometimes considered to be in the category of world music. Or, while some retailers prefer to put albums in wider and ambiguous categories, such as international or foreign⁶, some others categorize albums according to the geographical origins or the musical tradition that those forms belong to. However, the category of world music has gradually become a widely accepted category. As a fact marking the prevalence of the category, the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences (NARAS) decided to present Grammy Awards in the world music category in 1991. The category was even enriched in 2003 by dividing it into two subcategories: best contemporary world music album and best traditional world music album. As another development that

⁵ There is a problem finding statistical figures about the global sale of the world music albums and its percentage of the overall music market. The world music category is generally put in the category of 'Adult Alternative' next to many other subcategories. However, the giant recording labels' and distributors' eagerness to enter the world music market hints about how profitable the world music market is. Besides conventional markets, the digital market is growing rapidly for world music as well. As an example, the digital distributor Orchard company which established a partnership with Saregama, an Indian record company, reported that in the fourth-quarter 2004, the downloaded Saregama tracks reached over 1 million (Bruno 2005). The same source states that world music is profitable in mobile space as well. In United States, Cingular, Metro PCS, U.S. Cellular and Verizon Wireless offer an Indian-themed ringtone service. One representative says "I think there's absolutely an opportunity there with an artist like a Ravi Shankar". He even claims that a Shankar ringtone would be "the equivalent of a Rolling Stones hook".

⁶ For example, the famous online retailer, Amazon, does not have a world music category in 2007.

further consolidated the term's prevalence, the *Billboard* magazine introduced World Music charts in its May issue in 1990. It is noteworthy that these last two events closely followed the invention of the world music category by eleven independent record companies in 1987.

Investigation of the top charts for world music and the awards presented for the category of world music offers much more than the examination of the statistical figures about sales. The prominent music magazine *Billboard* publishes top charts for various music genres on the basis of sales. Taylor (1997, 7-10), put together the top world music charts and concluded that the western musicians strongly dominated in the charts from 1990 to 1996. The table below was compiled in a method similar to Taylor's using updated data of the *Billboard's* Top Charts (see Table 2.1). The updated chart again reveals that the western musicians predominate in the top charts. It is rather noteworthy that Celtic music sells most among the Western musics and others as well. As Suzanna Hannema, US product manager for Real World says "if it isn't Celtic or the Gypsy Kings, it's very hard to get on the *Billboard* World Music chart" (quoted in Wentz 1991, 23). Celtic music is also obviously far ahead in the Taylor's compilation.⁷

It is striking that a Chinese music band topped the chart in 2004; in Taylor's chart there is no musician from the Far East. *Twelve Girls Band* is comprised of twelve girls who are using traditional Chinese instruments to play both popular Western pieces and Chinese traditional songs. Such incorporation of the eastern musical instruments into world music is common in world music albums. They obviously utilize the contrast between the traditionality of the instruments and the popularity of the songs performed in order to catch the audience's attention. It is also noteworthy that no musician from the Middle East appears in the updated list of the top charts as in the Taylor's chart. One of the reasons might be the western audience finds Middle

⁷ His explanation for this craze for Celtic music is highly provocative. Although he thinks that the reason is not completely clear, he suggests a relationship between this huge demand for Celtic music and increasing awareness of ethnicity in contemporary America. He adds that "almost any white American could claim to have some Celtic ancestry" (Taylor 1997, 7).

Eastern music distant and unfamiliar. Indeed, the top albums almost all originate from the regions that have geographical proximity with the Americas.

Table 2.1- Top World Music Artists (2002-2004)

Artist	Years on <i>Billboard's</i> Top Chart	Artist's origin/Genre
The Chieftains	2004, 2003, 2002	Ireland/Celtic
Anthony Kearns	2004, 2002	Ireland/Celtic
Ronan Tynan	2004, 2002	Ireland/Celtic
Daniel O'Donnell	2003, 2004	Ireland/Celtic
Gipsy Kings	2004, 2002	France/Flamenco
Bebel Gilberto	2004, 2002	Brasil/Bossa Nova (Latin)
Baha Men	2003, 2002	Bahamas/Junkanoo(Bahamian folk music)
Israel Kamakawiwo'ole	2003, 2002	Hawai'i
Twelve Girls Band	2004	China
Keali'i Reichel	2004	Hawai'i
Finbar Wright	2004	Ireland/Celtic
Lila Downs	2004	Mexico/Latin
Cirque Du Soleil	2003	French-Canadian
Ry Cooder	2003	North America
Manuel Galban	2003	Cuba/Latin
Sinead O'Connor	2003	Ireland
Cesaria Evora	2003	Cape Verde
Pilar Montenegro	2002	Mexico/Latin
Angelique Kidjo	2002	Benin
David Visan	2002	France
Afro Celt Sound System	2002	England-Ireland-Africa/African-Celtic fusion
İbrahim Ferrer	2003	Cuba/Latin

Source: *Billboard* Music Magazine⁸

NARAS has also played a significant role in the emergence of world music as a prevalent and popular category. The history of Grammy Awards with respect to the categorization of 'traditional' music explains how 'world music' has appeared as a distinct category in the awards. From 1959 to 1969, the awards for traditional music were presented in 'Best Performance, Folk' or 'Best Folk Recording' categories. During this period, African musician Miriam Makeba was nominated for the award four times. He only won the award in 1965 in collaboration with Harry Belafonte, a western musician. In the same period Ravi Shankar was among the nominees for the

⁸ The data was compiled by using the data obtained from *Billboard's* corresponding issues found in EBSCO database.

award in 1966 with his album, *Sound of the Sitar*. From 1970 to 1985 the name of the category was changed to 'Best Ethnic or Traditional Recording'; there were few non-western nominees for the award, despite of the title 'ethnic'. No non-western musicians won the award in this period. In 1986, the category was changed to 'Best Traditional Folk Recording'. For the first time in 1987, the award went to non-western musicians with no collaboration with a western musician - Ladysmith Black Mambazo, an African choir, with their first solo album, *Shaka Zulu*.⁹ By 1991, the category of world music added under the name, Best World Music Album. Below is the list of the Grammy Awards winners in the category of 'World Music' from 1991 to 2006.

Although there is a great diversity among the nominees for the awards in terms of region and genre, particular regions and genres are over-represented among the award-winners. Furthermore, unlike the *Billboard* charts in which Celtic music dominates, Celtic music won Grammy Awards only once in this period. There are many Latin American musicians winning the Awards since they have already been in the Western music markets and their works have been familiar to the Western audience for a long time.¹⁰ Middle Eastern musicians were nominated in a few cases; none has won the award yet. The relative success of the African and Indian musicians can be explained by the West's constant interest in those cultures. Africa and India were colonized regions in the past; their cultures have always been subject to curiosity; and their cultural forms were incorporated into Western art.¹¹

⁹ This success can be explained by one of the bestsellers of the world music market, *Graceland* (1986) where they sang with Paul Simon.

¹⁰ Brazilian musicians have an overwhelming dominance in the Latin American musicians winning the award. This might be due to the popularity of Brazilian 'bossa nova' in the Western world and the deep-rooted music tradition of Brasil in Latin America.

¹¹ As an example of the West's early interest in the African music, Erlmann mentions the tours of South African Choir to England and North America in 1891-1894 (Erlmann 1994). He states that the critics and English public were discontented "by the apparent lack of 'exotic', 'indigenous' elements in shows" (Erlmann 1994, 171).

Table 2.2. Grammy Awards Winners- 'World Music' Category (1991-2006) ¹²

CATEGORY	YEAR	TITLE	PERFORMING ARTIST	REGION/GENRE
BTWMA*	2006	Blessed	Soweto Gospel Choir	South Africa/Gospel
BCWMA**	2006	Wonder Wheel - Lyrics by Woody Guthrie	The Klezmatics	North America/Klezmer
BTWMA	2005	In The Heart Of The Moon	Ali Farka Touré & Toumani Diabaté	Mali/Malian music, Blues
BCWMA	2005	Eletracústico	Gilberto Gil	Brasil/Latin
BTWMA	2004	Raise Your Spirit Higher	Ladysmith Black Mambazo	South Africa
BCWMA	2004	Egypt	Yousou N'Dour	Senegal
BTWMA	2003	Sacred Tibetan Chant	The Monks Of Sherab Ling Monastery	Tibet
BCWMA	2003	Voz D'Amor	Cesaria Evora	Cape Verde
BWMA***	2002	Mundo	Rubén Blades	Panama/Latin
BWMA	2001	Full Circle - Carnegie Hall 2000	Ravi Shankar	India
BWMA	2000	João Voz E Violão	João Gilberto	Brasil/Latin
BWMA	1999	Livro	Caetano Veloso	Brasil/Latin
BWMA	1998	Quanta Live	Gilberto Gil	Brasil/Latin
BWMA	1997	Nascimento	Milton Nascimento	Brasil/Latin
BWMA	1996	Santiago	The Chieftains	Ireland/Celtic
BWMA	1995	Boheme	Deep Forest	France
BWMA	1994	Talking Timbuktu	Ali Farka Toure & Ry Cooder	Mali-North America/Malian music, blues
BWMA	1993	A Meeting By The River	Ry Cooder & V.M. Bhatt	North America-India/Indian music-blues
BWMA	1992	Brasileiro	Sergio Mendes	Brasil/Latin
BWMA	1991	Planet Drum	Mickey Hart	North America

* Best Traditional World Music Album

** Best Contemporary World Music Album

*** Best World Music Album

The awards went usually to Western musicians performing music influenced from non-western musical traditions (such as Deep Forest in 1995 or Mickey Hart in 1991). In cases where the non-western musicians won the award, they usually collaborated with Western musicians (such as Ali Farka Toure and Ry Cooder in 1994 or Ry Cooder and V.M. Bhatt in 1993). In general, the *Billboard* top charts and the Grammy Awards maintain the binary between 'the west' and 'the rest'.

¹² Grammy, www.grammy.com (accessed March 2007).

The next section will discuss how world music is marketed by looking at the liner notes and the covers of some compilation albums. The aim of the section is to map some common themes and discursive elements in world music marketing rather than giving a general overview of various forms in the world music market.

2.2 Sonic tourism, authenticity, and exoticity.

Another excellent collection from the Bar de Lune label with music set in the Near East with the surprise of Native American track incorporated into the mix for a true mix of Indian cultures.

Punjabi Lounge (Bar de Lune, 2005)

The Pan-Arabic 'North African Groove' closes out with the multiculti Eastenders. On their song "On the Ride" the German and Turkish duo collaborate with singer Shady Sheha, a young Egyptian who lives in Wiesbaden, Germany. The songs says, "Get up and come with us / Let's play and see the world / Don't think about who you are / Or where you come from / We all share the same path / Which doesn't seem to have an end."¹³

North African Groove (Putumayo, 2005)

The compilation albums are excellent marketing tools for the producers and musicians. They include a diversity of artists and genres so that listeners have the opportunity to pick up what most suits them. Compilation albums also facilitate marketing research about which genres or musicians are profitable. In world music marketing, compilation albums also perform these same functions. What makes compilation albums significant in this context, however, is that the compilation albums are where the marketing strategies of world music are crystallized in their most obvious forms in terms of visual, textual and musical elements. Thus, the compilation albums are very popular in the world music market since not only are they usually more profitable than the albums of a single artist or a single music band but also they have overt references to the geographical places, ethnicity, a theme, a spiritual 'tradition', etc., which constitute the backbone of world music discourse.

¹³ www.putumayo.com/en/catalog_item.php?album_id=200

The liner notes and covers of the world music compilation albums usually have overt references to geographical places and some distinct 'localities'. The remote places with eccentric social and cultural practices are portrayed on the album covers and in the liner notes. If one of the desires of world music discourse is to make audiences feel that they are traveling across continents to some remote places, the other is to verify the authenticity of sounds. The liner notes to the compilation album *Arabic Café* (Dynamic/Bar de Lune, 2005) perfectly exemplifies how the elements of authenticity and exoticism are brought together in order to authenticate the 'originality' of the sounds:

The Souk is calling as the vibes of the Arabic Cafe waft out from beyond the medina. The beats unravel through the haze and swirling smoke from the casbah, the grooves melt in the air as the sunset progresses and dusk takes over. These three CD's (at a most reasonable price) present a wonderful musical taste of the Arabian peninsula to bring the atmosphere and ambience to wherever you might happen to be.

The liner notes describe the place where those sounds are supposed to originate. Bar de Lune released many other compilation albums where similar language can be found.¹⁴ Indeed, the description of the sounds as belonging to remote places, i.e. the idea of exoticism, sustains the idea of authenticity here. The more those places are distant and different from the West, the more authentic those sounds are considered to be for the audience.

Besides the liner notes, the covers of the compilation albums also evoke exoticism and utilize some stereotypical symbols in order to describe the geographical location where the concerned sounds originate (see Figure 2.1):

¹⁴ The followings are some examples of the compilation albums which use a very similar language in the liner notes: "The sun is setting over the Serengeti as the lush sounds envelope the scene and conjure up the real chilled soul of Africa from the wonder of table mountain to the deserts of the sahara and the lushness of the jungles." (*African Chill*, Bar de Lune, 2006); or "The samba vibe comes alive on 'Latin Cafe' as the sound of the carnival spirit rises up through the streets. Bar De Lune take you on the essential Latin journey through the streets of Rio and on to the heart of Havana." (*Latin Cafe*, Bar de Lune, 2005).

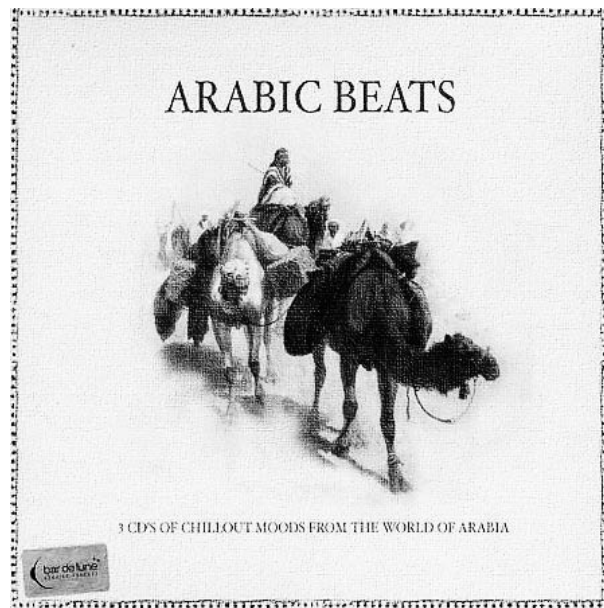


Figure 2.1. The album cover of *Arabic Beats* (Bar de Lune, 2004)

Some other covers display the cultural symbols of the region (see Figure 2.2). Indeed, showing eccentric and weird ‘cultural’ practices of the people living in remote and ‘untouched’ places contribute to interpretation of those sounds as pristine – being unspoiled from the Western ‘civilization’. In a way what is put against the Western civilization here is the primality or the allegedly primitive quality of the people and their sounds.

In the covers and the liner notes, the sounds are generally presented as having nothing to do with the commercialization, pristine (primitive?), and genuine. The expectations of a world music listener as described by Taylor (1997, 26) seems to be obvious in the marketing language of these compilation albums:

What is of concern to listeners is that the world music has some discernible connection to the timeless, the ancient, the primal, the pure, the chthonic; that is what they want to buy, since their own world is often conceived as ephemeral, new, artificial and corrupt.

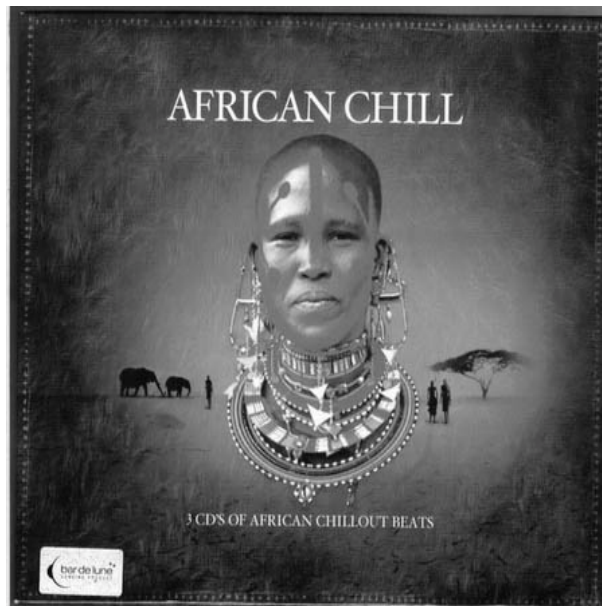


Figure 2.2 The album cover of *African Chill* (Bar de Lune, 2005)

In addition to the senses of authenticity and exoticism that these textual and visual elements evoke, the notion of travel seems to be another central discursive element in the compilation albums. The title of the albums released by the same label obviously connote travel: *Destination: Cape Town* (2007), *Destination: Tokyo* (2007), *Destination: Havana* (2006), *Destination: Marrakesh* (2006), *Destination: Istanbul* (2006), and so on. Interestingly, the ‘destination compilations’ generally refer to the cities. The albums that take the names of various countries as titles have the term ‘taste’ within the title: *Taste of Brazil* (2007), *Taste of China* (2007), *Taste of Cuba* (2007), etc. The word ‘taste’ somewhat identifies the listener as a tourist who tastes a piece from the music of a particular country. Ethnic references are also commonly found in the titles, such as *Punjabi Lounge* (2005), *Latino Lounge* (2004), *Afro Lounge* (2006) or *African Chill* (2006). Some other examples are difficult to categorize since either their geographical references are too ambiguous or they evoke a particular theme or spiritual tradition: *Oriental Lounge* (2006), *Buddha Beats* (2006), *Karma Lounge* (2005), etc.

The sense of travel is very common in the marketing language of the recording labels. Probably the most popular world music label, *Putumayo* (with the slogan “guaranteed to make you feel good”) also uses textual and visual elements in order to evoke a sense of travel. Especially its popular *Odyssey* series includes striking liner notes where the sounds are claimed to have the potential to move listeners to another place. The series includes the albums *Mediterranean Odyssey* (1999), *Gardens of Eden* (2001), and *A Native American Odyssey: Inuit to Inca* (1998) among others. The liner notes of *Gardens of Eden* claim that:

Since time immemorial, people have been on a quest for remote idyllic hideaways where life approaches perfection. The music of Gardens of Eden has an organic ambient quality that conjures up images of a magical, tropical paradise where humanity’s day to day stress disappears ... a musical journey to the world’s Shangri-La’s. *Be transported!* (Emphases are mine). (quoted in Connell and Gibson 2004b, 18).

The compilation is comprised of pieces from Papua New Guinea to Brazil, from India to New Zealand, Tibet, and so on. The language of the liner notes resembles that of touristic brochures; the liner notes use buzzwords such as magical, tropical, paradise, idyllic, remote, etc. It seems that the notion of travel or what can be called ‘sonic tourism’ in these compilations has been received accordingly by some listeners. One of the reviewers of the album in the online retailer’s, *amazon.com* website expresses her praise for the album by using exactly the jargon of the liner notes; the review is titled “It whisks you back”:

No matter what Garden of Eden you have in mind, this is the music *to take you there* ... The next day, when traveling through the misted mountain road, we were enthralled by the way the music somehow choreographed the scenery - *or was it the other way around?* All I know is that I will forever remember driving in the convertible, rounding each bend to music that swept away all of our cares and concerns. (Emphases are mine).¹⁵

¹⁵ Alicia M. Chillemi "Alicia" (Belleville, IL USA). Review date: October 22, 2001. see www.amazon.com/Gardens-Eden-Various-Artists/dp/B000059LDR (accessed May 18, 2007).

For her, *Gardens of Eden* not only makes her feel as though she is voyaging across continents but it is also capable of sweeping away her “cares and concerns”. The advertisement of another album, *Islands*, in the *Putumayo*’s website also offers a perfect example of ‘sonic tourism’:

Since you can't always get to them, we're taking you on a sonic world cruise, from the more familiar Puerto Rico and Hawaii to the mysterious Cape Verde and Madagascar and ports in between. For what defines a land more than its music - full of local colors, rhythms and language? So sit back and relax, let the exotic sounds of foreign voices and instruments wash over you, and take a trip with *Islands*.¹⁶

As such, the world music symbolized by these compilation albums offers a kind of ‘aural tourism’ (Cosgrove 1988, quoted in Connell and Gibson 2003, 155) or implies a “commercial aural travel-consumption” (Hutnyk 2000, 21). Hutnyk also asserts that the world music festival he investigated “with its collections of ‘representative’ musicians, assembled from ‘remote’ corners of the world, could be a reconstructed version of the Great Exhibitions of the nineteenth century” (2000, 21).

However, *Putumayo* attempts to distinguish itself from the other recording labels by including comprehensive information about the cultural backgrounds of the sounds and detailed biographies of the artists involved.¹⁷ As such, *Putumayo* perfectly illustrates Simon Frith’s (2000) differentiation between the marketing strategies of international pop as tourist music and international pop as world music. He states the latter is based on the claim that world music “depended from the start on a displayed expertise” that requires “ethnomusicological knowledge rather than tourist memories” (2000, 307). It is useful to look at online reviews of the albums to determine whether that implied ‘refined’ taste can be observed among the reviewers. The review titled “Authentic African Tunes with Western Production Values” claims that:

¹⁶ www.putumayo.com/en/catalog_item.php?album_id=106 (accessed April 30, 2007)

¹⁷ The liner notes of *Putumayo*’s albums are mostly written by prominent ethnomusicologists who sometimes contribute to the projects as producers. For example Jacob Edgar, a prominent ethnomusicologist, has written liner notes and contributed as the producer of the album *An Afro-Portuguese Odyssey* released in 2002.

The Putumayo production company has done what had previously seemed impossible: Allow African artists to play THEIR music, not westernize it into unrecognizability (ala Deep Forest), but expertly produce it with a quality and clarity not previously available in that continent. ... The music is a fine cross-section of African musicology. There's representation from literally every continental compass point ... These are authentic African groups (not afro-americans/europeans making music that attempts to SOUND african). That makes all the difference, as AFRICAN PLAYGROUND sounds decidedly nonwestern (those looking for a Lion King or Rugrats-like soundtrack are likely to be surprised but not for a second disappointed) ... (emphases are original)¹⁸

This review clearly shows signs of music knowledge. The review expresses a duality between western and non-western music by also raising the problem of appropriation of non-western sounds – in a way those sounds are ‘spoiled’ by the western sounds. However, while the reviewer congratulates *Putumayo* for its attempts to allow artists to play their own music, he also praises the production process of the album and attributes its quality to the Western production values. That means, in a sense, the quality and refined reproduction of the ‘authentic’ sounds was only made possible by the expertise of the Western music industry. For him the combination of authentic sounds with the Western production rationale makes all the ‘difference’. However, other reviews completely contrast with the excerpt quoted above in terms of the perception of the album:

Great for my baby girl! We received this as a gift, the 2nd Putumayo CD we'd received. I LOVE listening to this with my 3 month old. The songs are fun and upbeat and so much more interesting than most baby music! (emphases are original).¹⁹

Thus the distinction between international pop as tourist music and international pop as world music seem to be blurry when we look at how these pieces are perceived by listeners and what they mean to the listeners. It is safe to assert that the compilation albums generally offer a kind of non-western music that is presented as

¹⁸ P. Kingsriter "R.N. Guy" from USA. Review date: March 16, 2006. see www.amazon.com/gp/product/customer-reviews/B000087DRR/ref=cm_cr_dp_2_1/102-8082972-6342567?ie=UTF8&customer-reviews.sort%5Fby=-SubmissionDate&n=5174 (accessed April 17, 2007).

¹⁹ E. Oppenheimer "elizabeth-in-colorado". Review date: December 29, 2005. see the same web page in the previous footnote.

‘traditional’ and is claimed to represent the regions where it originates but is modified to be enjoyable to the Western ear. As such, it is ‘world music’ and is far from (an ethnomusicological) authenticity; it has a tamed and adjusted sound and has a profitable market.

The next section will discuss what world music means for the ‘world musicians’ and how they incorporate various elements into their music. In addition to giving more hints about what elements a global world music discourse involves, the section will also discuss the differences between western and non-western musicians in term of their understandings of world music.

2.3 “Bringing it all back home”: The ‘world musicians’

Ten years ago, I didn't even think about going to Europe! Much less a fusion with Western instruments! When I was invited to go to Belgium and then asked to teach Kora²⁰ in the conservatory, I asked myself, 'What's going on here?' Then they invited me to go to London for a music festival where I met this ensemble that was world music, techno and just incredible. ... As a musician, I feel a responsibility to capture my history and culture for the younger generation. With Afro-Celt, I have the opportunity to continue this work but to a new public. I can now present my culture to other cultures- the British, the Irish, etc.

From an interview with N'Faly Kouyate, a member of the band ‘Afro-Celt Sound System’, in 2001²¹.

Artists’ biographies sometimes tell the story better than their discographies could. Peter Gabriel, one of the most influential figures in the world music scene as an artist and a producer, was the founder of the famous band, *Genesis* which he left in 1975. He then continued his career with his solo works. During that period his interest in the musics of other cultures grew and peaked in the album, *Passion*, released in 1989. Although it is now considered in the category of world music, Gabriel won the Grammy Award in the category of Best New Age Performance

²⁰ The Kora is a 21-string lute specific to West Africa.

²¹ Taken from www.afropop.org/multi/feature/ID/49/Afro-Celt+Sound+System (accessed April 8, 2007)

with this album. The album is still a bestseller and was remastered recently. It was the outcome of Gabriel's collaboration with Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan, Youssou N'Dour, and Baaba Maal; the album takes its musical influence from Middle East and Africa.²² Gabriel's interest in world music was embodied in two projects. He was one of the driving forces behind the WOMAD (World of Music, Dance and Art) movement and he founded the Real World Studios to release world music albums. Indeed, his projects often involved finding musicians from other countries and introducing them to the Western audience. Gabriel explains his motivation behind his interest in other cultures' musics as follows:

With my only personal experience with globalisation - I think that has been a transforming experience - twenty years ago, a group of us were getting fascinated by music from other cultures, partly because I am a failed drummer and I was getting very bored with some of the rhythms that I was hearing, and it seemed to be a lot more interesting rhythms that were coming from other countries than what I was hearing on our radio. So, a group of us, we could only find some of this music in two record shops in London, so we started trying to put together a festival to promote music from many countries and we were told that it would be a disaster by all the music industry. Financially, they were right, but in every other way they were wrong, and we managed to keep it going. In that process, we would get groups of different musicians together, most of whom could barely communicate with each other through language, but when we sat down and started making noises together, you know, there was the initial animal process - sniffing each other out, and then we find ways to communicate.²³

Indeed, the excerpt quoted above raises two issues at the same time. First, it explains one of the major motivations behind Western musicians' interest in the musics of other cultures. As a 'failed drummer', Gabriel, confessing that he was "getting lost in

²² The album, *Passion*, begins with the track, "The Feeling Begins" which is mainly based on Armenian doudouk (a kind of double-reed instrument of Armenia and Georgia). Taylor's observation is very illuminating in some aspects. He states that the track is unmetered (*parlando-free*) at the start. However, after 22 bars, the percussion track turns it into an unchanging 4/4 meter, which, for him, is an outcome of the presence of the western drums. He concludes that "this repackaging of time marks one of the most salient impositions of western concepts on the musics of other cultures" (Taylor 1997, 41).

²³ Taken from the speech he made in Forum 2000 Conferences, the transcripts of which can be found at the website: www.forum2000.cz/en/projects/forum-2000-conferences/2000/transcripts. (accessed May 20, 2007).

the rhythm” of Senegalese music²⁴ in another correspondence, finds something different and ‘new’ in the musics of other cultures – a way for him to divert from the mainstream Western music. Secondly, the excerpt hints at what a category like world music had meant for the music industry once upon a time. It was seen as a marginal market that had no potential for profit. Although Gabriel admits that he thought financially they were right, he has proved that he was also a very foresighted person since the world music industry has gradually become a very profitable industry. In a way, when you manage to ‘communicate’ with the ‘other’ in a proper way, the market rewards it correspondingly.

Indeed, Gabriel’s search for something fresh and rejuvenating in music coincided with the problems in his personal life. For many authors, the album he made after *Passion, Us*, in 1992 was an expression of his personal problems. The boredom, lack of communication, and constant search for something rejuvenating in life were recurring themes in the album. In an interview, he admits that the album followed the breakup of a marriage and a five-year period of going to therapy.²⁵ Thus, his interest in non-western music forms, probably like that of many other musicians, not only stems from musical curiosity or making profit alone; it is also related to personal problems and the search for something new in their lives.

For some authors, such growing interest in non-western music forms is related to the ‘crisis’ of some other ‘alternative’ musics in the Western world. Taylor (1997, 20) explains this issue by pointing out the long standing duality between the intellect versus the body and the decreasing potential of rock and jazz to evoke the terrain of the former. For him, rock music has long lost its accentuated emphasis on the body (sex) and like jazz had been academicized and sterilized. For him the major reference to rhythm in non-western music forms is not accidental since it directly refers to the ‘body’. The sounds originating from non-western regions have still something to say

²⁴ For his experiences with Senegalese music and generally about his recent works, see www.jimdero.com/News2002/Nov1Gabriel.htm. (accessed May 23, 2007).

²⁵ Gardner, Elysa. “Peter Gabriel’s Us”. *Rolling Stone* 639 (17 September 1992), 27

about sex (the body).²⁶ Although Taylor mainly refers to sex with the term body, I think the bodily aspect of non-western music forms also refers to emotionality and 'primitivity' – an association that put those forms directly against the rationalism of western culture.

Although such diverse meanings non-western music has gained for the musicians directly imply their search for something alternative and rejuvenating, the issue is not merely musicians' personal styles and choices. The non-western musicians are generally blamed for their blunt appropriation of the non-western music forms. Deep Forest's overt eclecticism in their incorporation of those forms into their music constitutes a good example at this point. Deep Forest is one of the most contentious world music bands. It is a group of two musicians: the keyboard players Eric Mouquet and Michel Sanchez. They gather songs and phrases from all around the world and use them in their musics; they are known for primarily using pygmy themes. Eric Mouquet's remarks about their prospective album is worth quoting at this point:²⁷

Since it's not yet complete, so I only have a vague notion of the theme, but it will have various aspects from India, China, and Japan. And the album will also have Beverly Jo Scott, so it will have some gospel influences. I will also add Turkish music. Electronically I would like to add various newly engineered sounds to it.

In the same interview, he also gives some interesting information about their methods of sampling:

We gather songs that we don't know and when we find some interesting pieces, then we decide to go traveling. I have many friends who are musicologists and ethnomusicologist so we get their advice, before going journeying to gather music recordings.

²⁶ Taylor points out Feld's discussion that is similar to this point. Feld makes his analysis by highlighting the 'beat' part of 'world beat' (Feld 1996).

²⁷ www.deepforestmusic.com/dfpress_00-06-01ParisJWave.htm (accessed February 7, 2007).

Obviously in this process the sounds are completely decontextualized and have lost their 'original' meanings. Such appropriation methods and the associated overt eclecticism have generally been interpreted as exploitation of the non-western musicians. Frith (2000, 308-9) stated that similar concerns have been raised by people defending a kind of cultural imperialism approach. They have the suspicion that:

... what "world music" really describes is a double process of exploitation: Third World musicians being treated as raw materials to be processed into commodities for the West, and First World musicians... putting "new life into their own music by working with artists like Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Youssou N'Dour and Celia Cruz" (Frith 2000, 308-9)

Perhaps because of this common criticism of world music practitioners in the West, world music record labels and musicians often participate in charities or particular organizations that aim to improve the life standards of third world countries. For example, *Putumayo* donates part of its profit to charities and it also supports NGOs and non-profits to do "good work in regions where the music originates".²⁸ In a way, it is a kind of pay back to those regions - not only is it an expression of gratitude for those sounds but also the copyright issue has always been contentious in the compilations albums where anonymous pieces constitute a considerable part of the repertoires.

Paul Simon's highly acclaimed, Grammy Award winning album, *Graceland* (1986) resulted in a public discussion of the issues of appropriation and exploitation. A controversy emerged about whether the African musicians singing in the album, South African chorus Black Smith Mambazo, had also made a big profit from the album and whether the copyright issue had been completely resolved. Although there have been many controversial views, Simon remained 'suspect' after those

²⁸ www.putumayo.com/en/non-profit.php. The web address list the NGOs and non-profits that *Putumayo* supports and contributes. (accessed May 20, 2007)

discussions.²⁹ Indeed those discussion have reproduced the long-standing binary between western and non-western music in a new realm – the commercialization of the music forms and differences between those two forms of music with respect to this issue. Taylor (1997, 22), after quoting Simon’s defense against the criticisms - “Culture flows like water” ... “It isn’t something that can just be cut off” - makes a provocative statement:

... his ‘culture’ isn’t culture in this anthropological sense at all: it is civilization, intellectual property. So *his* culture *can* be cut off: he has copyrights, agents, lawyers, publishers, record company executives at his disposal ... Western culture is neither pure nor impure because it is owned.

Indeed, Simon’s defense quoted above is based on a universality discourse and means to say that every culture is a part of the cultural heritage of humanity; it is one of the common discourses used by western musicians to defend their positions against the criticisms of appropriation and exploitation.

However, there are differences among world music practitioners in the ways they respond such criticisms. Moreover, the world musicians seem to distinguish themselves from others generally on the basis of their attitudes towards the issue of exploitation. For example, Afro Celt Sound System is a music band comprised of eight musicians, two of which are from Senegal and Guinea. Their music is generally interpreted as a fusion of Celtic and African influences. One of the members of the band, Simon Emmerson, states that:

²⁹ For example Nexica (1997, 63) believes that although Simon made various speeches in order to defend his position and they made sense, it is a fact that the music was copyrighted in Simon’s name and he incorporated the South African music directly to his own. For a similar view see Taylor (1997). Nexica also discusses Gabriel’s album *Passion* in the same context. She states that “Passion’s twenty songs, while claiming to incorporate “traditional melodies” and “recordings of traditional music,” are all listed in the record’s accompanying material as composed by Gabriel (though two are cowritten), and all but those two give Gabriel sole publishing rights for Passion’s twenty song.” (1997, 66). She also adds the fact that the archival field tapes processed in Gabriel’s studio were also considered to be a collaboration.

World Music is used as a kind of backdrop for globalization. It's a very lovely notion of musical harmony that is used to promote globalization. What I'd say is that we are music for a global village but we are not music for globalizing the village. I think the difference between us and a band like Deep Forest is that we have musicians that are deeply rooted in their own traditions, and if we make money, it goes into N'Faly's pocket [one of the members of the band] and then it goes back and is used to supply electricity to his school. That's how direct it is. If that is Robin Hood, then fine. If we are stealing from the rich to give to the poor then I am happy to do that.³⁰

Thus, for him, besides their musical performance, what distinguishes them from, say Deep Forest, is their aims and intentions in making world music – music for a global village not globalizing the village. The distinction between these two actually implies a distinction between music that appropriates (exploits?) non-western music forms and music that involves well-intentioned utilization of those forms. Moreover, he makes a witty analogy, between them and Robin Hood – an analogy that is supported by the ‘direct’ transfer of their profits to the non-western regions. Furthermore, he directly affirms an identical relationship between N'Faly's interests and the interests of the region he comes from.

On the other hand, N'Faly's remarks quoted in the epigraph of this section exemplify a naïve defense of world music by a non-western musician. After expressing his surprise at being highly acclaimed by the Western audience and musicians (“What is going on here!”), he states he has a new audience now. Although he is well aware of the fact that he now performs for a different audience in a music market completely different from that in the ‘home’ market, he still claims to perform his own music - he legitimizes his position as a representative and a presenter of his culture in the West. This is the point where the issue of authenticity of the sounds in the world music market arises. As stated earlier, world music listeners are generally regarded as searching for genuine, emotional, spiritual, and allegedly non-commercialized sounds. However, as Taylor (1997, 23) aptly observes, the listeners' demand for

³⁰ Interview with the Afro Celt Sound System (7/27/2001). www.afropop.org/multi/feature/ID/49 (accessed May 23, 2007).

authenticity and associated discourses of anti-commercialism is more rigorous in the case of non-Western musicians:

By definition, world music musicians cannot be sellouts, since the structures of the music industry exclude virtually all world musicians from the venues, visibility, and profits that might make them appear to be sellouts to their fans. But listeners can construct these musicians as sellouts if their music seems to be too much like North American and U.K. popular musics: their betrayal is of music and place, not of anticommercial values.

Taylor adds that North American and British musicians are almost free from such limitations. They face the threat of being labeled sellouts only if they obviously make music only for commercial purposes. In a way, they do not have to verify the authenticity of the music they perform; it is clear to the audience that they take inspiration from non-Western music forms. In many cases the music they perform is a fusion of western and non-western forms – it is ‘hybrid’.

Non-western musicians have reacted to demands for authentic and genuine sounds in different ways. Their attitudes towards the perceived demand for the authenticity by the audience in turn shape their discourses of authenticity and how they articulate these discourses in their music. One of the most popular world music artists, Nigerian Femi Kuti states how funk elements particularly shaped his music and how his music profited from combination of various musical influences³¹:

Q: Your music is very funky, in the American sense. How influential has funk been on you?

Kuti: Very influential. I was four or five and we saw Diana Ross, the Temptations, and all our radio stations were playing funk. I knew my father's music, and then funk. I was lucky to have my father or I'd have playing been playing funk. My father's music brought me back home. He introduced me to jazz, I found salsa, calypso, then traditional music, reggae. So I said what did I want to do. I preferred my father's music, but on my own I could be a child of the world, not restricting myself. I'm not playing funk, but you can see the inspiration it's given me to be myself. Like jazz. I love jazz, but I could not see myself as a jazz musician. I don't want to lead that life. I love my style.

³¹ <http://www.globalvillageidiot.net/Fela1.html> (accessed April 17, 2007).

Kuti overtly expresses the huge influence of funk, and many other genres, on his music – an attitude that leads him to present himself as a cosmopolitan artist, “a child of the word”. However, the interviewer still insists on his search for authenticity in Kuti’s music:

Q: But still your music is classed as world music.

Kuti: That's why I like the term world music. What's music? If you say funk, isn't funk part of the world? So we're all headed in the same direction. Keep an open mind.

A bit reactionary at this point, Kuti further claims that music is a universal practice and he sees no need to define world music primarily in terms of non-Western music forms. He prefers not to position himself as primarily a non-Western musician in the world music market but as a world citizen who has the ‘right’ to perform or take inspiration from music forms that are regarded as peculiarly Western, namely funk, jazz, etc. His attitude seems to echo a popular approach to world music among ethnomusicologists - all kinds of musics are hybrids. For example, according to Stokes (2004, 60), “all music bears the mark of interactions and exchanges between as well as within groups, and to declare otherwise is absurd”.

Some other non-Western musicians also overtly acknowledge that their music is not authentic. This is inevitable since they have a very different audience in the world music market than that in the ‘home’ market and they have to adjust the music of their countries correspondingly. For example, another famous world music artist, Senegalese Youssou N’Dour, accounts for the obvious influence of western music on his music and why his music sounds so Western to the audience:

Q: You've continued to release cassettes in Senegal. Why do you feel the need to produce different work for home and abroad?

A: I think it's necessary because different people have a different understanding of my music. At home I use *mbalax*³², and people relate to that; it's what they want. But when I do something for the rest of the world, it has to be softer; they don't understand it the same way, and I have to win them over, make them my audience.³³

N'Dour does not seem to feel any requirement to be authentic; rather his overt distinction between *mbalax* performed for the 'home' and something 'softer' for the 'world' can be described as a deliberate inauthenticity – or what Taylor (1997) calls 'strategic inauthenticity'. Taylor states that in some cases non-Western musicians attempt to refuse both the demands and expectations of Western audience and media, and to undermine their images as authentic artists. For him, N'Dour and Angélique Kidjo, another prominent world music artist who is also regarded as sharing the same attitude:

... view Western demand for authenticity as concomitant with demands that they and their countries remain premodern, or modern, while the rest of the globe moves further towards a postindustrial, late capitalist, postmodern culture. N'Dour and Kidjo are concerned with becoming global citizens and do this by showing that their countries and their continent are neither backward nor premodern, that they can make cultural forms as (post)modern as the West's (1997, 143).

However, some other non-Western musicians seem to reproduce the long-standing association between authenticity and world music. For these musicians what they perform in the world music market has not been adjusted to suit the Western ear. This claim leads to another claim: one can be popular in world music market by playing his/her 'own' music – the music of his or her own culture. Malian singer and guitarist Ali İbrahim Farka Touré's perfectly exemplifies such attitude. The interviewer states that:

I ask him about the label of 'Malian blues' that he's been wearing for all these years, and all of a sudden, the serious old man of a minute ago has disappeared — he fires

³² Mbalax is a popular music genre in Senegal and Gambia. Although it is regarded as a traditional music, it incorporated some western music instruments and styles in recent decades.

³³ The same interview appeared in www.globalvillageidiot.net/NDour.html and www.sonicnet.com (accessed April 17, 2007).

up, slapping his hand on the leather sofa and says: “Oh it annoys me... when people say ‘You are the Blues Man’ it annoys me because I know that what I do is traditional to this culture and it’s, above all, the roots of this culture.”³⁴

Ali Farka not only claims that his music is authentic and traditional but also refuses the term ‘Malian Blues’ or even the term ‘Blues’ itself. For him ‘what he performs’ is authentic and uniquely Malian, traditional. He seems to undermine the image of Blues that existed in the Western music industry for decades and attempts to ‘reconsolidate’ its status as a non-Western and traditional form.

Touré has twice won a Grammy Award - in 1994 with his album, *Talking Timbuktu*, in collaboration with Ry Cooder (in the Best World Music Album category) and in 2005 (in the category of the Best Traditional World Music Album) with his album, *In the Heart of the Moon*, in collaboration with Toumani Diabeté. Ali Farka’s remarks about Ry Cooder’s participation in *Talking Timbuktu* shows that Farka is rigorous enough in his claims that his music is authentic. The same interviewer above states that:

Ali is clear — Ry Cooder’s “participation” (please note) wasn’t the highlight of Ali’s career, and didn’t influence his music in any way; “If there was anyone who benefited it is him, because he found something he hadn’t known before. I always knew what I was. This collaboration wasn’t the ‘top’ for me because, before the music, I am Ali.”³⁵

The emphasis on the word ‘participation’ implies that Touré did not collaborate with Cooder; Cooder only participated in the work that is still authentic despite his presence. Toure repeatedly claims such an authenticity during the course of the interview and seems to protect his music from various interpretations that claim a fusion with western sounds.

³⁴www.fly.co.uk/fly/archives/2006/03/ali_farka_toure_mr_mayor_the_legend.html. (accessed May 27, 2007). Indeed this perspective is shared by Martin Scorsese who claims that his music represented “the DNA of the blues” (www.fromefestival.co.uk/2007/news/vieuxfarkatoure_peewee_07.html, accessed April 22, 2007).

³⁵ Taken from the same interview: www.globalvillageidiot.net/NDour.html (accessed April 17, 2007)

Such a brief investigation of the discourses of nonwestern and western musicians with respect to the issue of authenticity reveals the fact these two groups react to the demand for authenticity in different ways. Western musicians seem to be aware of the fact that their music is regarded as 'hybrid' and they feel no need to verify their music as authentic. Non-Western musicians, though, have to 'respond' the demand for authenticity in different ways, either affirmative or negative.

2.4 Concluding remarks

Which culture is not then hybrid? The idea of 'hybridity', of intermixture, presupposes two anterior purities ... there isn't any purity; there isn't any anterior purity ... Cultural production is not like mixing cocktails. What people call 'hybridity', I used to call 'syncretism' ... I would prefer to stick with that- syncretism is the norm, but, that dry anthropological word does not have any poetic charge to it. There isn't any purity. Who the fuck wants purity? Where purity is called for, I get suspicious.

Paul Gilroy (1994, 54-55)

The category of world music and its sounds are, first of all, commodities as any other cultural goods. They have gradually constituted a world music industry that has its own variations and other dynamics related to the conditions in the market, profit strategies, and recording labels and distribution companies in control of the industry, etc. The category of world music has increasingly gained popularity and as a result has been adopted by the market and media. However, as stated earlier, the category has remained a risky category for not only the labels and distributors but also for the musicians, since it is still sometimes associated with niche markets where the sounds would be marginalized from the mainstream Western music and corresponding media circles. This concern was also valid for the early examples of world music that primarily depended on obsolete methods of evoking exoticism - the more the sounds and the places of origin seem distant and mysterious to the audience in the West, the more they will seem exotic and authentic. Such crude and blunt forms of world music discourse, still evident in the recent examples of compilation albums, have gradually been replaced with a discourse that involves both the so-called

traditional music forms and hybrid ones. Although the exchange between musicians and music forms has a long history, globalization has created new modes of articulation, contestation and appropriation among the Western and non-Western music forms. Thus in most cases the category of world music implies these new modes of interaction rather than a simple mixing or juxtaposition of the sounds. Therefore, it is becoming increasingly difficult to trace the 'origin' of the sounds and their discursive constituents.

Although the obsolete methods of marketing 'exotic' music have largely evolved into a more sophisticated discourse, the world music discourse is still primarily associated with elements of authenticity, exoticism, and spirituality. It also operates through strong references to geographical places, sometimes to the extent of using an obvious language of sonic tourism. As shown in this chapter, the elements of authenticity and exoticism have largely been intermingled in the marketing language of world music. Frith (2000, 308) aptly elaborates on this point by asserting an interplay between discourses of authenticity and exoticism as they constitute the marketing language of world music:

The very fact that ethnomusicological expertise was needed to guarantee the authenticity of what was being sold called into the question the notion of authenticity itself. It was soon clear, for example, that "the authentic" worked in retail terms as a redescription of the exotic (Frith 2000, 308).

However, beyond a "redescription of the exotic" in the market, authenticity also constitutes a central element by which the musicians define their music and position themselves in the world music arena. In other words, although the term authenticity by itself hardly means anything and has almost become a hollow concept because of its relativity and ubiquity, it is also "something that many musicians and listeners believe in *and* use as a discursive trope". As such it is a "real thing" (Taylor 1997, 22). I believe the twofold presence of authenticity both as a marketing tool and a 'discursive trope' for the musicians and listeners illustrates aptly the complexity of the world music phenomenon. While the category of world music has led to the rediscovery and marketing of a rather limp concept of authenticity, it, at the same

time, renders (in)authenticity as a central aesthetic criterion; musicians and producers feel the need to position themselves on the continuum from authenticity to inauthenticity. In a way, this also implies the twofold presence of the category of world music: The category involves “ethnicized difference” as “both a matter of symbolic creativity and political economy” (Dwyer and Crang 2002, 412).

Many early scholarly works on world music investigated how the non-Western and ‘indigenous’ music forms have become appropriated, packaged, and exploited in the name of world music and how this process exemplified a form of ‘cultural imperialism’ (e.g. Garofalo 1993). These perspectives have been criticized for the simplicity of the binaries of cultural imperialism thesis, such as local/authentic versus global/commodified. Moreover, for Mitchell (1996, 51), for example, the cultural imperialism perspectives were blind to the “complex interplays of intercultural cross-fertilizations”. Some other perspectives investigated how the difference and ‘musical other’ have been commodified, fetishized, and represented in world music (e.g. Erlmann 1993, 1994; Feld 1988, 1994, 1996; Guibault 1997). Erlmann (1994, 166), for example, directly relates the emergence of world music to the “aesthetic production of difference” which is further dependent on two aspects of global culture: “commodity production and the way in which differentiation is written in to the very structural logic of late capitalism”.

In contrast to these perspectives, Slobin (1992, 1993) sees no reason to believe in a hidden mechanism controlling the flow of culture in a global world. By giving more importance to the deterritorialization and redrawing of boundaries in a globalizing world, he investigates local projects in which the musicians and listeners formed micromusical scenes in global contexts. Different case studies and theoretical overviews (e.g. Keil and Feld 1994; Taylor 1997) have focused on the ways in which the production of non-Western music forms in world music was controlled by the West in terms of marketing, categorization, selection, and distribution. Taylor (1997, 14), for example, states that the commercial practices like world music point out “the limitless ways capitalism constructs centers and margins” and “how the

margins, no matter how diverse, are nonetheless undifferentiated almost beyond recognition”.

While many of the scholarly works on world music have discussed the processes of production and distribution, the power dynamics, and discursive formation of world music in the West, several studies have investigated how ‘local’ responded to this global phenomenon of world music (e.g. Bithell 1996; Langlois 1996; Dawe 1999; Gibson and Dunbar-Hall 2000). In a way, these studies aim to deal with what Appadurai (2002) calls the process of ‘indigenization’ in which the global discourses, forms, practices are indigenized in one way or another in the ‘local’.

Investigating the incorporation or indigenization of global discourses of world music in the local is a challenging task which requires both understanding the power of global discourses in the local and the specific features and particular conditions of the local. Mitchell (1996) competently discusses how the production of ‘global’ music forms in the local both manifests local specificity and character but at the same time inevitably takes place in the global market. The investigation of the local responses, first of all, entails the recognition that the present global system is “the most ramified, all-encompassing environment ever in the history of artistic production, independent of the continued creativity of individual artists” (Erlmann 1999, 473). Erlmann continues by explaining that the investigation of the local with respect to these dynamics requires a new understanding:

It is this tension between a total system and the various local cultural practices that opens up a space for ethnography. Thus, musical ethnographies will increasingly have to examine the choices performers worldwide make in moving about the spaces between the system and its multiple environments. Rather than casting these moves in binary terms such as choices between the West and the Rest, between participation and refusal, the politics of global musical production creates numerous, highly changeable ‘border-zone relations’ that allow performers to constantly evaluate their position within the system (1999, 474).

Thus, the present study will look at those ‘border-zone relations’ to understand how the global discourses are incorporated or indigenized in Turkey. It will also

investigate how the various patterns of incorporation in different terrains (those of discourses, soundscapes, or different fields in the market) result in the definition of 'local' as a site of differentiated space rather than a congruent entity.

CHAPTER THREE

WORLD MUSIC, PLACE AND (IN)AUTHENTICITY

When we think in respect to the trends within the music industry, the only place that has been remained virgin is here [Turkey] and they are all well aware of this fact ... all the other places have been ‘packaged’ ... well, what can I say, even the musics of the Middle East.

Ali Coşar, Managing Director of Pozitif Edisyon

There are Byzantium music CDs released in Greece but there is no genuine one. The most genuine Byzantium music can be compiled by people from İstanbul; ones in Greece are touristic ... since the center is here ... We have found the gramophone records of the masters. We will be the first to release them ... It will be awesome. Greece will be shocked. They will see what the genuine Byzantium music looks like in the next year, from us. I mean, *we are going down the roots, the genuine.*

Hasan Saltık, the owner of Kalan Music

3.1. Homegrown sounds of Istanbul¹: Doublemoon and the rediscovery of the city sounds.

Interestingly, the theoretical discussions on world music have largely failed to elaborate on the significance of music in respect to the construction of ‘places’. In his provocative and inspiring essay, Stokes (1997, 673) contends that in spite of the privileged position of the visual in social experience and the insistence of ethnographies to reproduce this fact:

... what we know about ourselves and others and the spaces we create for ourselves is also built out of sounds. We forget these sounds, or pretend they are not there, to our disadvantage. I start with the proposal that we consider sounds and points of view, voices and places, as connected social experiences.

¹ The title was inspired by the title of the album, ‘Homegrown Istanbul’ released by Pozitif Productions (2008).

Indeed, Stokes' statement echoes one of the most influential texts about music, Attali's *Noise: The political economy of music* in its assertion of the 'forgetfulness' of sound. In this work, the author claims that Western knowledge "has failed to understand that the world is not for the beholding" but "for the hearing" (2002, 3). Similar sentiments were raised in respect to human geography as well, either by pointing out the privileged position of the visual in geography (Smith 1997) or by raising the intimate relationship between music and geography and asserting that human geography has largely failed to consider the significance of music (Connell and Gibson 2004a). However, geographical scholarship has produced many works that discuss new geographical paradigms for the significance of music. These works are concerned with the issues of the production of place and space through musical performance (Morton 2005; Duffy 2005), musical practices, place, and the affective aspects (Anderson 2004; Cohen 1995), and music and politics (Leyshon et. al. 1998; Revill 2000). However, although the discourses of world music mainly operate through and within the notion of places, the issue remains largely untouched in the geographical perspective.

As discussed in detail already in the second chapter, it is not accidental that the major reference in liner notes and on album covers of most world music albums is to geographical places and to some spatial contexts in general. Distant (and thus exotic) places and their various mysterious traditions are portrayed on album covers and in liner notes, addressing mostly the Western audience. Exoticity goes hand in hand with authenticity as well. If one of the aims of world music discourse is to make audiences feel they are traveling to the place from which the sounds originate, the other is to evoke the authenticity of those sounds by means of the places constructed. Furthermore, the emergence of world music is associated with the "ethnicized commodities" (Dwyer and Crang 2002, 412) and the discursive usage of place is the most convenient way to provoke the notion of ethnicity. Thus, the increasing popularity of the category of world music "perfectly exemplifies the multiple ways in which places are constructed, commodified and contested." (Connell and Gibson 2004a, 342).

However, up to this point, the ‘place-making’ discourses of world music have been depicted as part of the strategy to strengthen the purported authenticity of the sounds in question. Indeed, the notion of place and authenticity are seen as components of each other. This is true for Connell and Gibson as well, which is of crucial importance in this context. They virtually stand alone in their analysis of world music with a particular reference to the construction of places. They associate what I define as place-making discourses of world music with “unchanging pasts” and “distant, exotic sites” which altogether recapitulates the centrality of the notion of authenticity within such discourses. The case of Doublemoon, the most prominent world music label in Turkey, is novel in this respect. It exhibits a new pattern of place construction through the discourses of world music which does not follow or claim any musical authenticity, as will be shown in this section. How Istanbul as a place operates through and within the construction of the ‘sounds of Istanbul’ according to Doublemoon will also be discussed in terms of the issues already outlined.

The role of Doublemoon in the emergence and increasing popularity of world music in Turkey cannot be exaggerated. Doublemoon was founded in 1998 as a subsidiary of Pozitif Music Productions. Pozitif Company was founded by brothers Ahmet and Mehmet Uluğ and their friends, Cem Yegül in 1989. In contrary to their fields of specialization as engineers having graduated from various universities in North America, they first founded an ‘alternative tourism’ company that was aimed to take people on trips to countries like Katmandu. However, they were not successful since at that time there was no such common demand from people in Turkey.² Being huge fans of *Sun Ra*, their dream was to bring *Sun Ra* to Turkey and they were successful in that. It was very difficult for them to find sponsors to materialize their goals at that time, that is to bring the rock and jazz musicians to whom they enjoyed to listen to Turkey for various concerts and music events. The first jazz concerts then have become institutionalized under Efes Pilsen Blues Festival (1990) and Akbank Jazz

² Hürriyet Cumartesi, 16-09-2000; interview by Yeşim Çobankent. The English version can be found at Pozitif’s website, www.pozitif.info.

Festival (1991), having become the biggest organizations of that kind since then. These were followed by Rock'n Coke İstanbul and Fuji Film World Music Days.³ The Pozitif company having started business in a small office in *Beyoğlu* and depending on personal correspondences with prominent people in various companies to do business just few decades ago, now is the biggest actor within the field and operates in five complementary fields of music industry: concerts and festival organizations, live music performances (*Babylon* venue), Pozitif Records/Record Label (Doublemoon), artist management (Pozitif Music Management), and protecting the copyrights of the Turkish and international artists (Pozitif Edisyon).

Mehmet Uluğ stated that “İstanbul was already an interesting touristic city with its history, but new cultural developments make it a top candidate to become a destination for those activities too”.⁴ He implicitly associates the development of the firm with the changes in İstanbul in respect to its articulation to the global cultural economy. He adds that when they founded Pozitif with his friends, only avant-garde jazz musicians were interested in İstanbul. But, “now every band wants to stop here on their concert tour.” From its early years of ‘exporting’ music in forms of concerts and festivals to the organizing projects among Turkish and foreign musicians and founding the label, Doublemoon later on in 1998 that was succeeded by Pozitif Edisyon in 2003, the company’s development reflects the growing significance of transnational links within the ‘local’ music industry.

Furthermore, being a member of the Board of MESAM (Musical Work Owner’s Society of Turkey), which is founded to protect the rights for music performing and mechanical reproduction, Pozitif Edisyon has a great deal of contact with the

³ Responding to the remark of the same interviewer above, “so you thought ‘let’s plan a festival’”, Cem Yegül states that “Our friend, Mehmet Garan, is Fuji Film’s owner anyway so, yeah. The idea of bringing musicians from the four corners of the world appealed to him as well, so when we got his support this festival came into being about five years ago. It’s easier to plan since it isn’t a tour. It’s a jam-packed two days. African music, world music, you can listen to standing up and really dance to.”

⁴ Interview by Pelin Turgut (2007).

musicians and the other actors in the music industry. Besides artist management, Pozitif Edisyon has the copyright of some popular hits⁵ at the same time even if that particular artist of those hits does not work with Pozitif. The company also offers consulting services for the various projects (including selecting the ‘right ‘repertoire of music for such as clubs, bars, even some large stores⁶) or producing music for the advertisements, TV serials or documentaries. It also provides stock music to be used in various projects from particular international companies, such as UK’s ‘Audio Network’. Although the company has many different subsidiaries, these different units work in cooperation with each other since their fields of operation mostly overlap. For example, the contacts established through the concerts and organizations are significant assets for the other commercial activities falling into the field of operation of another subsidiary, say artist management or record label. Thus, the company’s overall structure and fields of operation reflects the diversification within the music industry, the process in which music has been more and more with a signifier of a certain identity (not only of individuals but also of the companies as well) and a newly emerging transnational logic within the music industry.

The company intensively uses internet to establish links with the international music industry and to meet audiences around the world and to create new ones (such as *myspace*) in addition to other ways, such as being in good contact with the influential international music magazines, such as *Downbeat*, *Folk Roots*, etc, or participating in several international music festivals and fairs such as MIDEM (*Marché international de l’édition musicale* - international market of music publishing, the largest music industry trade fair) and WOMEX (The World Music Expo). The increasing multiplicity and sophistication of the music industry’s organizational structure have also emerged alternative fields of profit. As an interesting example, Ali Coşar states that “as a

⁵ To give examples, some hits by worldly known Sezen Aksu, İbrahim Tatlıses or some others belonging to the artists who are not alive, such as Zeki Müren, Fikret Kızılok, etc.

⁶ Ali Coşar, the managing director of Pozitif Edisyon, states that they offer consulting service for a store chain which has 50 branches all around Turkey at the time the interview takes place “in order to find out the right music to capture the target audience of the store” (interview by the author, Istanbul, Pozitif Music Productions, December 11, 2007).

trend in music industry for about the last seven years, revenues coming from the sales of mobile phone ringtones have surpassed that from the copyrights of albums”. The success of a hit by Cem Yıldız, *İmkansız Aşk*⁷ (*Impossible Love*) as a mobile phone ringtone, whose copyright is owned by Pozitif, is a perfect example. “It was downloaded for over a million in a year”, says Ali Coşar, and “only one piece has provided profits more than a complete album would do”. This example does not only point out the new emerging areas of profit for the companies and their new strategies to flourish in the music industry. It also, more importantly, reveals the multiple strategic ways in which musicians locate themselves within the music industry in parallel with the increasing permeability and flexibility of the categories of music and fields of commercial activities. To make the latter point clearer, besides his solo works, Cem Yıldız is a member of a prominent world music group Orient Expressions⁸, which also works with Pozitif. He is playing *bağlama*, *cümbüş* and *ud*. The title *İmkansız Aşk* is an acoustic one having somewhat the flavor of Turkish art music, the effect of which is strengthened by the extensive use of *ud* throughout the piece. The track obviously targets a widespread ‘local’ audience in contrast to the majority of works by Orient Expressions. Cem Yıldız’s musical performance contributes to varying forms of world music discourses in different releases, each of which target different audiences, overlapping to a certain degree yet. It shows how the discourses of ‘local sounds’ operate through various categories of music, not being solely specific to the boundaries of world music. Moreover, such discourses which are most evident within the case of world music exist in varying forms and degrees in other categories as well, some of which even fall within the de facto ‘pop’ music.

⁷ The title owes this great commercial success to being the soundtrack of a very popular TV serial at the time, “Hırsız Polis”.

⁸ Orient Expressions defines itself as combining “electroponic sensibilities with Turkish Folk/Alevi song and instrumental forms to render a well-integrated sound that moves through polyharmonic, jazzy vibes with darbuka and traditional percussion-laden grooves” (www.myspace.com/orientexpressions). They appeared in various compilation albums released by Doublemoon as well, besides their solo albums, such as *East 2 West- İstanbul Strait Up* and *East 2 West Crossing Continents*.

Doublemoon record label was founded by Pozitif in order to release recordings of jazz performances in *Babylon*.⁹ However, it became a record label dedicated to releasing world music albums. Such a transformation reflects the evolution of Pozitif from a producer of jazz to a producer of world music. On its Web site, the company states:

Pozitif has established local and international projects and partnerships, continuing to start up new ventures connecting East to West, the familiar to the new and unexpected. With music as both its journey and destination, Pozitif has managed to create its own dedicated audience who is always eager to cross boundaries.¹⁰

This mission statement echoes the typical discourse used in world music marketing. Besides buzzwords such as East, West, boundary, and crossing, the statement evokes the idea of travel that is also a common theme in world music marketing. One could find the most embodied form of this discourse at Doublemoon. Although Doublemoon has released a little over forty albums up to now, the label has been more than able to capture the interest of international audiences; indeed it has succeeded in becoming one of the most prominent independent world music labels in the world. Doublemoon was given the Top Label award by WOMEX and WMCE (World Music Charts Europe) and was ranked eighth among the twenty top labels in the world in 2007. The label had two chart-topping releases as shown in the award winners' list: *Breath* by Mercan Dede (1st in July 2006) and *Trakya Dance Party* by Burhan Öçal and Trakya All Stars.¹¹ It is worth noting that by March-April 2008 at the time this text is being written, the label has two albums among the top 20 albums in the WMCE charts: *800* by Mercan Dede being ranked as the 1st in April and *Taksim Trio* by Taksim Trio (comprised of Hüsni Şenlendirici, İsmail Tunçbilek, and Aytaç Doğan), as the 14th (number 4 in February 2008).¹² The label has

⁹ I owe this information to Ali Coşar.

¹⁰ Pozitif Music Productions, www.pozitif.info/2004/en/pozitif/pozitif.asp (accessed March 18, 2008).

¹¹ The World Music Expo, www.womex.com/realwomex/main.php?id_headings=48&id_realwomex=9&subheading=40 (accessed March 24, 2008).

¹² World Music Charts Europe, www.wmce.de (accessed, April 4, 2008).

agreements with the most prominent international labels and distributors in the global music industry, such as Atlantic Records, BMG Germany, and Musidisc. It is the first Turkish record label and its catalog has appeared in digital music stores such as Apple's iTunes and Napster.

However, the fact that the increasing transnational strategies of the company matured within the two decades have gradually been more rewarded by the global music industry cannot be seen as a one-dimensional process. It was after the category of world music gained currency and prominence in the global music industry that those strategies has begun to work out and to be transformed in a way to make more sense for the global music industry. Such strategic moves within the 'local' music industry are indeed related with some particular characteristics of the global world music industry, which will become clear by looking at Coşar's statements when he explains the strategies of the company:

Doublemoon has never adopted the attitude of *Unkapam*¹³ that is making a big haul immediately. It has relations everywhere; for example, Mercan Dede's albums are distributed to every country or released there. It reaches to the market in any case. It has come to this point gradually ... in ten years. Mercan Dede has always been among nominees in BBC awards for world music. In the top world music charts there has been at least one release from Doublemoon ... in world music arena, the popularity of those releases have been similar to, say Sezen Aksu's albums. Upon realizing this fact, Doublemoon has started to develop new projects, the last example of which is Taksim Trio, Hüsni Şenlendirici's project. Hüsni has a major role in the popularization of clarinet. I mean that addresses a defined target group.

There is one thing worth mentioning in Coşar's statement quoted above besides the strategies of the company. The 'projects' of the company have reached to the popularity of a figure like Sezen Aksu in international world music industry, whose popularity in the local music industry cannot be compared to any other artist. This fact encouraged the company to create new projects, like Taksim Trio (placed on number 4 in February 2008 in WMCE charts as mentioned before). Being another

¹³ *Unkapam* is actually a neighborhood in İstanbul. Here *Unkapam* refers to the music production companies in İstanbul, since almost all of them locate in there. Indeed, Doublemoon locates in Pozitif's building in *Cihangir*, another neighborhood in İstanbul, as an exception. It can be seen as an indicator of such a positioning that Mr. Coşar expresses in this statement.

noteworthy fact among others, Doublemoon has reached an unexpected success with some particular albums in the local music industry as well. According to the data provided by Seyhan Music which is one of the biggest producers and distributors in Turkey, Mercan Dede's album, *800*, released by Doublemoon has been on 16th place in the top selling album charts.¹⁴

I will argue that the firm owes this international esteem to its successful attempts at (re)inventing the 'sounds of Istanbul' and to promote the city as a brand. The ways the record label defines itself and its mission on its Web site is striking:

Doublemoon Records is an independent pioneering label based in Istanbul, Turkey dedicated to spreading *the cultural tapestry that is the city's sound* around the world. Doublemoon has made a name for itself that is synonymous with world fusion where global souls bring together jazz & world, acoustic & electronic, and occidental & oriental music ... Doublemoon's artists spread the sound of Istanbul around the world by playing the world's biggest festivals ... through gracing the covers of magazines like *Global Rhythm* ... in receiving nominations for the *BBC Radio 3 world music awards* [emphases added].¹⁵

The construction of the 'sounds of Istanbul' is a steady project for Doublemoon that can be observed throughout its releases. The *East 2 West* series perfectly exemplifies the textual and visual ways in which Istanbul as a place is embedded in the label's releases. In the liner notes of the series' first album, *Global Departures from Istanbul* (2003), Doublemoon announces the aim of these compilations:

'East 2 West' is a compilation that brings together the tracks from the Doublemoon catalogue offering some of the most daring and bold statements out of Istanbul ... 'A brand new sound' has been our vision from the beginning; from sufi-electronica to groove alla turca, from jazz to gypsy funk from oriental hip-hop to Anatolian blues.

The series continued with *Ethno-Electronic Tales from Istanbul* (2003) which defines its purpose in the liner notes as revealing "beautiful sonic rainbows of the crossroads of

¹⁴ www.sozmuzik.com/modules.php?op=modload&name=SozMuzik&file=top20 (accessed March 25, 2008).

¹⁵ Doublemoon Record Label, www.doublemoon.com.tr/english/Hakkimizda.aspx (accessed March 4, 2008).

civilizations” and *Istanbul Strait Up* (2005) that “aims to remove from the map the whole borderline of the probable realm between the East and the West”. Finally, *Crossing Continents* (2006) represents “where the enchantingly strange and eerily familiar sounds of Istanbul are sent out into the Universe”. The album covers of the series are designed accordingly. Apart from the cover of *Crossing Continents*, which depicts different panoramas and important symbols of the city, *Istanbul Strait Up* constitutes an interesting example in the way it elicits the ‘authenticity’ of the place. The cover shows images of the Fish market, an important symbol of the city:



Figure 3.1: The cover of the album, *East 2 West: Istanbul Strait Up*, by various artists
(Doublemoon, 2005)

The various images of the same place are combined together with images representing a typical Turkish dinner table at which people drink *rakı* (the unofficial ‘national’ alcoholic beverage). The cover calls forth an association between fish and *rakı*, that indeed means to say “*rakı* goes best with fish”, a cultural saying. The inside of the album also depicts a glass of *rakı*, not immediately recognizable, which strengthens this theme. The design of the images exaggeratedly provokes cultural authenticity in contrast to the overt ‘inauthenticity’ of the tracks on the album, which

range from what Doublemoon calls ‘sufi-electronica’ to ‘gypsy funk’, from hip-hop to ‘oriental dub’. Other album covers in the series establish various relationships between the repertoire and the places represented on the covers. For example, the album cover of *Global Departures from Istanbul* combines visual details of ferries (similar to the cover of *Istanbul Strait Up*) which are also significant symbols of the city (Figure 3.2).



Figure 3.2: The cover of the album, *East 2 West: Global Departures from Istanbul* (Doublemoon, 2007).

Despite the nostalgia and authenticity that such imagery evokes, the repertoire again is inauthentic, ranging from ‘sufi-electronica’ to ‘oriental hip-hop’ (the exception is the Laço Tayfa and Hüsnü Şenlendirici’s performance of an ‘authentic’ piece of Roman music). What is invoked is a part of the cultural history of the city.

The visual representation of Istanbul on the releases was in a way designed to complement the emotions evoked by music. Moreover, almost all the artists of Doublemoon are defined in relation to Istanbul in one way or another. In the case of Baba Zula for example, the Web site states that the group’s album, *Kökler* (2007)

(literally *Roots*), “is full of fun, excitement, vigor, eccentricities, oddities and tradition...just like Istanbul, Baba Zula’s hometown”.¹⁶ The album *Wonderland* (2002) is described as the “reflection and expression” of İlhan Erşahin’s ties to Istanbul.¹⁷ Moreover, some artists have produced new collaborations, the names of which directly connote Istanbul. An example is the Taksim Trio, formed in 2007. The Doublemoon Web site describes them as “making music inspired by the heart of Istanbul”.¹⁸ The name *taksim* means improvisation in Turkish and is also the name of Istanbul’s most famous neighborhood. It is also the ‘heart of Istanbul’ in spatial terms, where Pera (*Beyoğlu*) and many other important symbols of the city are located. What the company defines as ‘world fusion’ takes its most interesting form in the album *Istanbul* (2003) by Craig Harris and the Nation of Imagination. The album consists of tracks that can hardly be called hybrids, but rather eclectic juxtapositions of traditional Turkish music themes with jazz motifs, or as the liner notes assert, “gypsy music, soul, rap, reggae, hard rock, folk music, you name it”.

The embedding of the imagery of Istanbul in and on music albums takes an extreme form in the compilation, *Istanbul Twilight* (2007). This is an audio-visual project consisting of “music, videos and photographs from a big, crazy, sleepless city”, as stated on the album cover. The vagueness of Istanbul constitutes the main theme, as the title infers, and it also perfectly exemplifies the personification of Istanbul, another pattern of the affective construction of Istanbul as a place. In the notes to the photograph album, such personification of Istanbul is evident:

The story of an unpredictable city ... Safe and risky, Joyful and sad... A friend? An enemy? You love it, you hate it ... Sometimes dark, sometimes light. Never innocent... And yet ... unidentified. Does she really care? This is Istanbul Twilight.

¹⁶ Doublemoon, www.doublemoon.com.tr/English/KatalogDetay.aspx?Katalog=71 (accessed, March 4, 2008).

¹⁷ www.doublemoon.com.tr/English/KatalogDetay.aspx?Katalog=9 (accessed, March 4, 2008).

¹⁸ www.doublemoon.com.tr/English/KatalogDetay.aspx?Katalog=72 (accessed, March 7, 2008).

The photographs depict the people of Istanbul, the homeless, soldiers, rockers, crowds, lovers, a man in a Turkish bath (*hamam*), etc. The repertoire strengthens the idea of vagueness with the metaphor of twilight - the pieces are almost impossible to categorize without using Doublemoon's preferred term, 'world fusion'. The video, *Istanbul*, praises the city, portraying it as undergoing a transformation. The soundtrack is a 'sufi-electronica' piece, *Engenal*, by Mercan Dede.

Despite the 'inauthenticity' of the Doublemoon repertoire, particular cultural or religious Turkish traditions are repeatedly thematized in visual or textual materials in direct relationship to the city, which invokes cultural authenticity. However, this cultural authenticity that primarily is seen through city images occurs in ambivalent ways. A perfect example is Mercan Dede's album, *800* (2007), dedicated to Mevlana Rumi in celebration of his 800th birthday. Mercan Dede relates the main theme of flying in the visual narrative of the album (Figure 3.3) with the Sufi philosophy. His statements emphasize the ambivalent character of the 'creatures' in their relation to Istanbul:

Flying means to rise above the reality of this material world. You see seagulls flying. But humans are supposed not to have wings like sea gulls. Indeed they have. For example, I remember, while I was performing in a concert, a person came and told me 'you made us fly'. What he said is so important: the feeling of flying ... that is why there are flying creatures in the pictures of the album cover; they only look like the whirling dervishes. However, some of them have skirts different from the whirling dervishes' in respect to their colors. They are above Istanbul; it is not certain whether they are landing or rising to the sky. One is faceless; a faceless whirling dervish! Another is more traditional.¹⁹

¹⁹ Mercan Dede, interview by the author, Istanbul, artist's house, December 28, 2007.



Figure 3.3: The front and back cover of the album, *800*, by Mercan Dede (Doublemoon, 2007)

Needless to say, whirling dervishes have always been the most well-known images of Sufism in the West. The ambivalency of Istanbul contributes to the ambivalency of the whirling dervishes (indeed they are almost uncanny since they are ‘faceless’ whirling dervishes). The discursive structure here actually constructs a similar Mevlevi image as to the ambivalency of the genre of sufi-electronica. In contrast to the philosophical connotations of the tracks in general, the track entitled Istanbul exhibits the most overt form of commodification of the city. It is a rearrangement of

a famous traditional Istanbul song, *Üsküdar'a Giderken* (translated generally as 'While going to Üsküdar', a famous historical district) with an electronic background. The ending lyrics almost resemble the jargon of tourism in the ways it describes the city: "Istanbul ... incredibly romantic ... there is everything here, there is beautiful arts and culture and music, and beautiful markets and beautiful food and lots of energy". The piece perfectly exemplifies the ways in which the city is commodified within a setting of religious and spatial authenticity.

The theme of 'Bosporus Bridge' is worth specific attention since it is the most common metaphor to express the idea of 'bridging East and West', 'crossing continents' and hybridity or fusion in general terms. Apart from the album covers and liner notes using the bridge to evoke those notions and an album titled *Bosporus Bridge* by Orientation (2001), it is meaningful that musicians use the symbol discursively to locate themselves in respect to their aesthetic positions. As a remarkable example, Doublemoon's Roman clarinet virtuoso Hüsni Şenlendirici, one of the most popular musicians in Turkey, states that:

Nobody could force you to play in this or that way if you define yourself as performing world music. I mean you are free to do something with different instruments and arrangements. I am neither a Westerner nor an Easterner, but in-between. I mean this Bridge does not exist in vain here, joining Asia and Europe. So, we are very lucky to be here in Istanbul as musicians.²⁰

The in-betweenness or liminality (and indeed the very materiality) that the Bridge invokes is a recurring theme in both visual and textual materials. Fatih Akın's award-winning film, *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* (2005) constitutes an interesting example of how Istanbul with its geographical features is used in order to create a conception of the 'sound of Istanbul'. Doublemoon (thus Pozitif) contributed a great deal to the project by serving as music advisor and with the founders of Pozitif and their musicians taking major roles in the documentary. The soundtrack of the film was also released by Doublemoon in Turkey (2005). The cover of the

²⁰ Hüsni Şenlendirici, interview by the author, Istanbul, artist's studio, December 26, 2007.

international release of the film (Figure 3.4) actually makes a parody of the orientalist image of Turkishness, which is generally symbolized by a belly dancer. The parody is evident from the belly dancer wearing sunglasses and carrying an excessively ornamented *elektro bağlama* (electric *bağlama*) with a kitschy strap. She is portrayed in front of a red (flamy) background that purportedly invokes eroticism and her image is pastiched in the background image of the Bridge in an amateurish way deliberately. The idea is to make fun of the exotic and orientalist images of Istanbul, and thus Turkey, which is fostered by the contrast between what the movie depicts as culture (sound) of Istanbul and those images explained below.

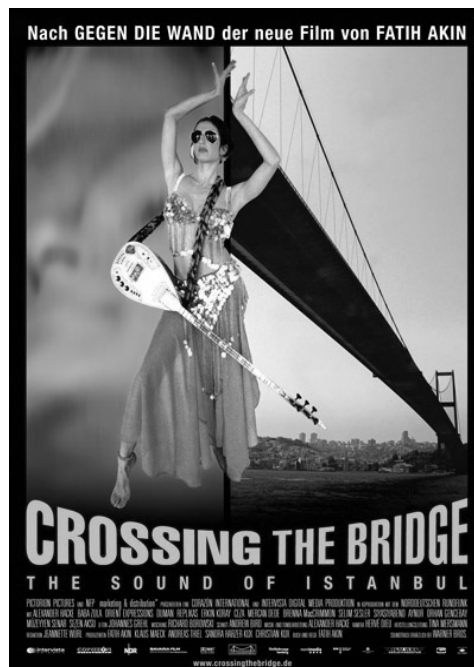


Figure 3.4. The cover of the DVD, *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* (2005) by Fatih Akin (international release).

Before making a succinct analysis of the movie, as an interesting note, the cover of the local release (Figure 3.5) naively depicts musicians taking roles in the documentary while retaining the metaphor of the Bridge as with the international release. The name is slightly changed; ‘the Sound of Istanbul’ is replaced with ‘İstanbul Hatırası’ (Memory of Istanbul). The letters, ‘N’ and ‘R’ are written in their mirror images, reminding of a familiar scene to the ‘local’ audiences in which the

old-time photographers pose the people of Istanbul in front of a cloth having the same phrase with the same reversed letters. The album cover of the soundtrack released by Doublemoon, however, is almost the same with the cover of the DVD of the international release rather than that of which is distributed to the local market. That alone shows that the label's target is the international markets with this release.



Figure 3.5. The cover of the DVD, *İstanbul Hatırası: Köprüyü Geçmek* (Memory of Istanbul: Crossing the Bridge, 2005) by Fatih Akin (local release).

The film journeys through the soundscape of Istanbul through the eyes of *Einstürzende Neubauten* bassist Alexander Hacke coming to Istanbul to capture the sounds of the city. He states that for him, the city itself is a mystery and he hopes to unfold Istanbul's secrets by capturing its sounds. The film continues with sequences showing the protagonist listening to the everyday sounds of Istanbul, calls to prayer, car horns, the hum of the crowds on the streets, car alarms, the voices of the street vendors coming in through the windows of the *Grand Hotel de Londres* where he stays (which building is another important symbol of the city). Those everyday sounds merge with the music (of Doublemoon artists in many cases) in the film and are

accompanied by sequences showing Istanbul street scenes and helicopter shots focusing on the bridge to invoke the feeling of liminality. The first group, Baba Zula performs 'oriental dub' in a boat journeying across the Strait of Bosphorus, which again conjures up the notion of in-betweenness in both musical and spatial terms. The voices coming from the *meyhanes* (taverns), the Fish Market, and from people sitting on their balconies are followed by images and sometimes sounds from the streets, regional restaurants, people dancing in clubs, transvestites on the streets, and homeless people. The protagonist discovers Pera (*Beyoğlu*) in particular: the dark backstreets and the peoples there, clubs, discos and underground bars. The musicians often interrupt their musical performance by explaining different aspects of the city, the bridge and also the Western and Eastern elements in their music by giving some technical information. It is also remarkable that the founders of Pozitif appear at the very start of the film and reappears again several times in order to explain this Istanbul's in-betweenness in both spatial and musical terms. The notion of transgressing and decomposing the geographical and cultural boundaries specific to Fatih Akin's films, previously thematized in the film *Gegen Die Wand* (*Head-On*, 2004) is also a recurring theme in the film. The film thus goes beyond the simple idea of the meeting of West and East symbolized by the bridge. It aims at invoking a complicated and an ambivalent notion of the 'sound of Istanbul' which is seen as a product of the very nature of globalization and postmodernity.

Having discussed in the previous chapter, the exoticity of place, within the marketing of world music, mostly operates through purportedly authentic sounds and is indeed being used to reinforce the notion of authenticity. Thus, the Western producer or musician exploring the authentic sounds of any particular locality also discovers or constructs a place; an imaginary one for both touristic and aesthetic purposes depending on the context where such conception of place is used. The commodification of Istanbul within the discourse of world music, however, does not aim at exoticity in the sense of making the city distant, eccentric, or pristine for a Western audience. Being neither familiar nor strange, Istanbul stands for in-betweenness in the world music discourse of Doublemoon, where even cultural and

spatial authenticity is constructed in ambivalent terms, the consequence of the logic of fusion or amalgamation that forms the core of musical inauthenticity. The imagery of cultural and spatial symbols of Istanbul accompanied by discovery of the 'sound of Istanbul' works to promote the city as a brand. The city, in such a discourse, becomes an entity in itself, operating almost independently from the geographical space it occupies in cultural and economic terms.

Doublemoon perfectly exemplifies the perplexed ways in which Istanbul is constructed and commodified as a place through and within the contestation and combination of musical inauthenticity with an 'ambivalent' authenticity of the culture and geography. What is defined as the sound of Istanbul by Doublemoon is actually more than the outcome of diverse musical traditions, such as Roman, Kurdish, Sufi, Balkan, and Greek music, pulled out from various 'localities'. The sound of Istanbul is rather what the record label prefers to call 'world fusion'. The construction of the 'sound of Istanbul' primarily involves a notion of 'locality' that makes Istanbul a place spreading its 'own' sounds to the world. Furthermore, the concept of fusion here does not entail the intermingling of West and East in musical terms, although the duality surrounds almost every textual and visual material produced by the company. Rather, the notion of fusion here refers to the idea of playing with the *roots* or revitalizing the *sources* on a ground that primarily implies amalgamation or hybridity, which does not necessarily mean the combination of western and eastern music forms. Various other formulations of hybridity exist within the repertoire of Doublemoon that do not necessitate the inclusion of western music. Such a 'localization' of music standing for the musical imagery of Istanbul (rather making the sounds city's own) and constructed mostly by reference to particular 'geographies' of the city does not work through the notion of authenticity in musical terms.

In contrast to the discourse of Doublemoon in which the interplay between musical inauthenticity and an ambivalent cultural authenticity plays major roles and a constructed image of Istanbul constitutes a central discursive element, Kalan Music,

another prominent world music label, exemplifies a pattern of marketing world music in which musical authenticity and a cultural authenticity based on ethnic identities are central elements.

3.2 ‘The rose used to have fragrance’ or the sound which remains: Kalan Music and the nostalgia for the never-existed

The title of this chapter refers to the title of a Kalan release, *Gülin Kokusu Vardı* (1998), by Erkan Oğur and İsmail Demircioğlu. The mournful title aims to invoke melancholia for the ‘disappearance’ or ‘absence’ of, and nostalgia for, what is being metaphorized by the ‘fragrance’ of the rose. Erkan Oğur²¹, in the liner notes of the album, implicitly declares the album’s repertoire to be authentic:

All *türküs* are beautiful. They are nature and life itself; they are not only the music, but also the tangible treasures of this country. People consuming them in rough manner will lose at the end. This work provides a collective remembrance.

I have made some arrangements since I could not control my *nefs*. But the intention is good, sincere and full of love...

The title suggests that the rose has lost its fragrance at some time in the past and, more importantly, the album consists of the sounds of mourning after what is lost. In this context, the act of mourning itself threatens the authenticity of the sounds in question as will be discussed and, furthermore, puts in doubt the very possibility of remembering what was once lost. Oğur is a very famous public figure, who almost epitomizes authenticity. His statements indeed reveal the paradoxical nature of authenticity:

²¹ Erkan Oğur is undoubtedly the most outstanding Kalan artist and the most famous contemporary Turkish folk music performer. In addition to playing a variety of *bağlamas* and guitars with a great deal of virtuosity, he is also known to have invented some musical instruments, such as the fretless guitar (in 1976) or ‘*oğur sazı*’ (kind of *bağlama* developed by himself for his own performing style). Oğur, in several instances, appeared as a very popular figure in every sense of the term (such as, being arranger of the soundtrack of the film, *Eşkiya* (1996), that broke the box office records), a situation that he did not maintained deliberately.

I am not ‘authentic’, but a person who is missing it. I can envision the possible appearances it can take. Today, there is no authenticity, since that era passed over; there are only degenerated ‘extensions’. I understand ‘authenticity’ to mean the pure form deriving from the source. That is not possible today. But there are remnants of the authentic forms. When you feel that those remnants, I mean that purity and refinement they possess, it makes you feel somewhat excited ... then you realize that the oldest musical forms are the newest while the newest ones are the oldest. Authenticism is important in that respect.²²



Figure 3.6. Erkan Oğur in Kalan Music (photograph by the author).

Thus, the pursuit of authenticity actually derives from the somewhat painful pleasure of conceiving, but never attaining, the supposedly ultimate sublimity of ‘authentic’ forms. He adds that “music has long lost its purity” but “it is a bitter fact that will never change that people seek for pure music all the time”. Indeed, for him, the ‘remnants’ are just appearances of authenticity surfacing once in a while. Oğur’s conception of authenticity indeed follows the movement of a pendulum between a doubtful (and timid) claim of authenticity as exemplified in the album and a fierce longing for it. The latter claim indeed implies that authenticity is a never-existed terrain. This view in turn fosters the (conceivable) sublimity of authenticity. Thus, the mournful title works properly not only because it hints about the perfection of

²² Erkan Oğur, interview by the author, Istanbul, Kalan Music, December 12, 2007.

authenticity by evoking ‘remnants’ of it, but also we have no idea what the ‘genuine’ fragrance of the rose is like. I will propose that such a dichotomy between a timid claim of authenticity and the nostalgia for the never- existed correspond respectively to the products of the world music labels based on authenticity and the (supposed) expectations of the audiences (e.g. the market). Kalan²³ Music perfectly exemplifies such a discursive dynamic which, for Oğur, strives “to archive the music having a state of authenticity in it”. In addition, Kalan Music is an outstanding and a very popular recording label that stands for authenticity for both musicians and audiences, like its renowned artist, Erkan Oğur.

Despite having been founded by Hasan Saltık with a budget of only about 600 dollars in 1991, Kalan Music is now valued at millions of dollars and claims to be one of the biggest five record labels in Turkey.²⁴ I was told that before founding the label Kalan he was doing errands in his relative’s small music production company located in *Unkapam* by a representative of another company in *Unkapam*. He first ‘dared’ to release the album of certainly the most prominent protest music band in Turkey, Grup Yorum, and this brought him a very big market success. His overt engagement with the Left and being from a region where the Zaza people constitutes the main population²⁵, Tunceli, determined the company’s policy in the first years. Hasan Saltık points out both this political engagement and the concerns behind the subsequent changes within the company’s policy later on:

²³ Kalan literally means ‘that which remains’. However, Kalan was also the name of the provincial capital of Tunceli, Hasan Saltık’s hometown; the name was changed by the state to match with the name of the city. It seems that the company’s name primarily expresses Saltık’s ties with his ethnic identity and his hometown.

²⁴ Hasan Saltık, interview by the author, Istanbul, Kalan Music, December 7, 2007. Indeed, according to the data published by MÜ-YAP, Kalan Music is tenth among the 100 biggest music producers in Turkey in 2007 according to the number of banderols taken by recording labels. For figures see Turkish Phonographic Industry Society, www.mu-yap.org/upload/eylul2007/ilkl100firma.xls (accessed March 19, 2008). Undoubtedly, with its over 400 releases, Kalan has a considerable share in the local music production in Turkey.

²⁵ Zaza people are generally considered as being within the Kurdish population especially outside the province of Tunceli. However, the issue remains complicated especially in respect to the differences between the Zaza and other Kurdish dialects.

We have produced protest, leftist, and dissident kinds of albums in our founding years. Later on, in a period when the *arabesk* music, ‘fantasy’ or what we call tavern music was so popular, we realized that Anatolian music is not only *aşık müziği* (minstrel music) or Sufi music. The nation-state in the founding years of the Turkish Republic had pursued a policy of turkification in which there was no room for the music of the minorities. Thus, among the first attempts of collecting Anatolian music, there was no field work on the music of the Kurds, Zazas, Anatolian Armenians, Lazs or Greeks.

However, he also mentions an event that for him marked a turning point for the policy of the company:

Indeed, the company has come to its present form by chance. Our interest in cultures is partially the result of my being from Dersim, Tunceli ... the turning point was my visit to Germany in 1992. In a music market there, I saw the albums of Tanburi Cemil Bey, Udi Hrant, and many other Turkish masters, the recordings of whom were reproduced from the gramophone records by an American label, Saturn. We asked ourselves why not we should do such things. I am not a specialist in that field; so we immediately looked for specialists. We said okay, Kalan Music should continue to release protest music in order not to lose its personality, however, we also had to put forth the cultural wealth of this country.

Thus Kalan, he states, “started to pursue the last remnants of the tradition once belonging to the ‘lost’ generations” due to the oppressing cultural politics of the early Republican period. Saltık tends to see the leftist orientation (personality) of the company and multiculturalist attitude as two different things. However, in the earlier years of such an engagement with the ‘cultures’, these two ideas have always complemented each other particularly in respect to Kurdish music.²⁶ Although the company had been subject to political pressures a decade ago due to the releases of “music of the minorities”, he contends that the state’s attitude towards Kalan fundamentally changed; the tables turned: “Now, the state use the releases of Kalan

²⁶ As a fact supporting this claim, Saltık was prosecuted for releasing the first Kurdish album of the company, *Umut Yüklü Bahar*, in 1992.

for the advertisement of Turkey and Ministry of Foreign Affairs offers our CDs as gifts to official delegations abroad”.²⁷

Although Kalan’s catalog has a considerable amount of ‘fusion’ works, the overwhelming majority of its catalog is constituted by what he calls ‘archive’ series classified into different genres such as ‘classical Turkish music’, ‘folk music’ and ‘Turkish ethnic music’.²⁸ Indeed, Kalan’s image is generally an image of ‘archiver’ in the eyes of the musicians, other producers and audiences whom I have interviewed. The way Kalan Music defines itself in its web site also supports this image. The company summarizes its goals as “gathering the cultures and music kinds not known widely as an archive and setting up an open market to this accumulation”.²⁹ Furthermore, as the statement continues, “the different location of Kalan Music in music market is just because of this difference in the goal”. As Doublemoon separates itself from the music business in *Unkapam* by its transnational strategies, as discussed in the previous section, Kalan separates itself by publicizing its goal. Kalan Music is also known to release the music of the ethnic groups (minorities in his own words). The reputation of the company has also brought some international awards to Hasan Saltık. He was described as ‘hate buster’ and ‘the anthropologist of folk music’ by *Time Europe* in 2004 and awarded the Heroes of Europe.³⁰ He was introduced as a record producer that “helps ethnic minorities preserve their endangered musical heritage”.

²⁷ As a very recent development, Kalan Music and state-owned TRT (Turkish Radio Television) has reached an agreement in July 2008 that TRT archives will be brought to light after decades and they will be released under the label, Kalan. The archive involves thousands of visual and audio recordings, including field recordings from remote regions. This also shows the changing status of Kalan. For the details of this agreement see Arpa (2008).

²⁸ Kalan Music, www.kalan.com/english/scripts (accessed March 27, 2008). As a remarkable point, Turkish ethnic music primarily is comprised of Kurdish, Armenian, Roman, Balkan and Laz music.

²⁹ Kalan Music, www.kalan.com/english/scripts/Dergi/kalanmuzik.asp (accessed March 31, 2008).

³⁰ Time Europe Magazine, www.time.com/time/europe/hero2004/saltik.html (accessed March 27, 2008). Saltık won the Prince Claus Award in 2003 as well. See Prince Claus Fund for Culture and Development, www.princeclausfund.org (accessed March 25, 2008).

Although Kalan is generally associated with the revival of ethnicity in the musical terrain, I will assert that Kalan's releases are based on a notion of authenticity which is not necessarily constructed on ethnic identities. Kalan's category of Classical Turkish Music and folk music is primarily constituted by 'archive' releases that do not have connotations of ethnicity; this category includes over 200 releases, representing more than half of the total Kalan's releases. The category of Turkish ethnic music, however, only comprises about 60 releases and some of them were loosely put in that category. Although 'ethnic music' falls much behind the 'archive' series in terms of the number of releases, I will assert that, the ethnic identity fosters the notion of authenticity. The emphasis on ethnic identity also evokes a theme of political resistance that will be discussed later by examining the releases of the label.

Although authenticity itself seems not to be so appealing for the audiences, except for the cases discussed in detail in the previous chapter in which the labels "simultaneously fuse discourses of the exotic with those of tradition and authenticity" (Théberge 1997, 202), Kalan exemplifies the multiple ways in which the notion of authenticity itself is invoked by visual and textual materials associated with the albums. Almost all of the releases in the 'archive' series include informative and authoritative photographs and liner notes (some are added 'books') written by 'specialists'; these materials were "brought to light for the first time by Kalan", in Saltık's words. Saltık frequently emphasizes the involvement of academicians and specialists (ethnomusicologists and musicologists) to the 'projects'. For example, a recent release from Kalan, *Aşkın Gözyaşları (Tears of Love)* by Hafız Burhan (2007) perfectly illustrates the 'authentication' of authenticity by use of exhaustive visual and textual materials (Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.7. The cover of the album, *Aşkın Gözyaşları*, by Hafız Burhan (Kalan, 2007)

The cover indicates that the release is sold as ‘Book + CD’. The inclusion of English text can be seen as an indicator that the release targets international audiences as well as Turkish audiences. The feeling of authenticity is fostered by the vintage look of the cover and by a statement in Turkish explaining that the pieces in the series are reproduced from gramophone records. The accompanying book has 71 pages that consists of a biography of Hafız Burhan, an interview with his daughter, several photographs showing him and his family, and comprehensive analyses and stories about the pieces in the album. The international acclaim for his artistry is evidenced by Columbia’s image on the cover; Columbia had earlier released Burhan’s recordings as gramophone records.

The album features *gazels* and *şarkıs*, and a brief historical background that makes the ‘authenticity’ of these forms ambivalent. As Feldman (2002b, 121) states, in seventeenth century Turkey, both vocal and instrumental music were conceptualized within the genre *taksim*; the term *gazel* replaced the term for the local variant genres in the nineteenth century. More interestingly, the *gazel* genre was developed in nightclubs (*gazino*) by *Hafızs*. *Hafız* is actually a term used for Qur’anic cantors in

Islamic tradition who have totally memorized the Qur'an.³¹ He also contends that *tanbur* and cello virtuoso Mes'ut Cemil (1902-1963), excluded the forms of *gazel* from classical *fasıl* in his radio program because they were "no longer considered appropriate for the classical *fasıl*" (2002b, 117).³² *Şarkı* was also a relatively recent form developed in the early twentieth century. Although Hacı Arif Bey (d. 1885) and Şevki Bey (d.1891) are considered 'classics' today, these figures were major representatives of this recent form (and Şevki Bey primarily composed *şarkı* pieces for the nightclubs) (2002b, 116).

Undoubtedly, the aim here is not determining whether the music content of the release is 'really' authentic or not; that is evident from the fact that the album features a tango (*Aşkım Gözyaşları*) taken from the soundtrack of the 1935 Egyptian film, *Doummou Elbob*. The authenticity invoked by the accompanying visual and textual materials facilitates the rediscovery of a music form that has almost become extinct, thus evoking the feeling of nostalgia. In the book, Hafız Burhan is presented as a 'legendary artist', whose talent is evidenced by some rumors such as the difficulty that the sound technicians had with recording his voice: "their microphones could not handle his voice" (accompanying book, 9). Thus the textual material evokes the sublimity of a master of a genre that has almost died out and portrays his artistry so as if it were never again attainable. Kalan has produced many other releases of the 'masters' of different genres, most of whom are not alive. Examples of such releases include *Alh Turnam* by Hacı Taşan (1999) and *Başımda Altın Tacım* by Muharrem Ertuş (2000) who were minstrels; *Hiç'in 'Azab-ı Mukaddes' i* by Neyzen Tevfik (2001), one of the most prominent *neyzen*s; an anniversary album for Hamamizade İsmail Dede Efendi (2000), a master of Turkish classical music

³¹ Memorization was an indispensable part of Turkish classical music tradition. It was so important that a person who lacked perfect ability to memorize was not regarded as a good musician (Behar 1998, 58).

³² For the genres within Turkish classical music and their historical development see Reinhard (2002); Behar (2005). For an introduction to the Turkish makam music and musical analysis of the forms see Signell (1977).

(1778-1846) among many others. Almost all of these ‘masters’ series have a similar feeling as the feeling of the Hafız Burhan series.

In addition to releases in which the notion of authenticity is evoked by the sublimity of ‘masters’ and their music, some emphasize music of particular regions to produce the notion of authenticity. Examples include ‘*Arguvan’ Deyişleri* by Muharrem Temiz (2000) and *Eybok: Traditional Music of Hakkari* (2004). In the website and the liner notes to the album, *Eybok*, exhaustive information on Hakkari, a province of Turkey where the Kurdish people constitutes the main population, its geographical characteristics, its religious and ethnic communities and tribal structure are given. The website and the liner notes introduce the album as a result of field work carried out in the region:

We first began researching and collecting the music of the Hakkari region in 2001, starting in Hakkari town; later we were able to extend our work to the provinces. We also made several recordings of people who had migrated to Istanbul in recent years. Along with these, private collections and archives that were provided to us comprise an important part of this work. Throughout the work, oral sources had a major impact on the preparation of the information in this booklet and creation of this archive.³³

The liner notes offer exhaustive information on Hakkari’s traditional music including: its melodic formulas and rhythms, lyrical structure and differences from the Ottoman *makam* music. The cultural authenticity plays a major role in evoking the authenticity of the sounds. In addition to textual materials that offer ‘technical’ and ‘scientific’ information that has seemingly nothing to do with touristic purposes, visual materials also evoke the authenticity of the sounds under concern. The cover of the album portrays a ‘typical’ (traditional) Hakkari woman with some traditional (and authentic) ornaments in her local dress (Figure 3.8). The general design and the title of the album resemble traditional figures of the region.

³³ Kalan Music, www.kalan.com/scripts/Dergi/Dergi.asp?t=3&yid=9979 (accessed March 31, 2008).

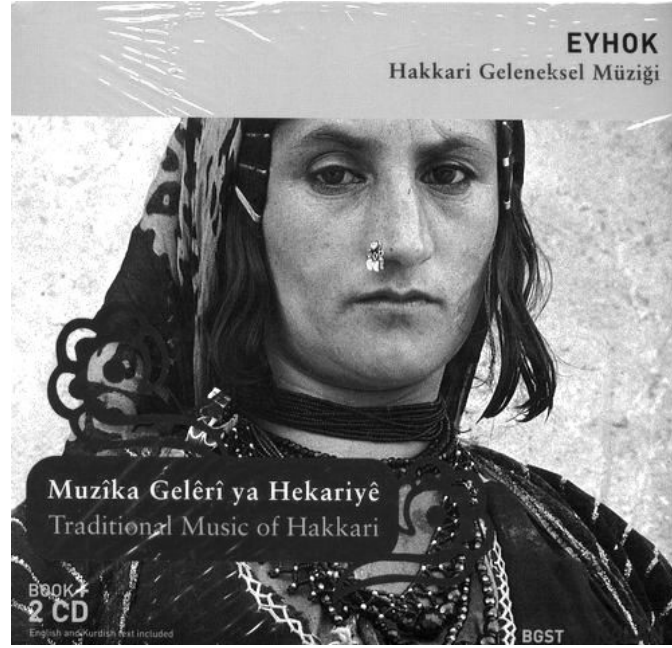


Figure 3.8. The cover of the album, *Traditional Music of Hakkari* (Kalan, 2004)

The cover indicates that English and Kurdish texts are included; the album is again sold as Book+CD. The notion of authenticity is created by the visual and textual materials and the exhaustive ethnomusicological information that serves as the authentication of the authenticity of the sounds in question. In such releases specifically defined places, such as cities, towns or any particular locality, play a significant role- the cultural traditions (and authenticity) and musical forms in particular are mainly associated with the notion of place and locality.

While such releases focus on specific places and localities, some others feature particular performing styles peculiar to a specific region. An interesting example is *Music and the Throat Playing of the Yörük in Anatolia* (1998).³⁴ The album cover (Figure 3.9) portrays people and pastoral life in Taurus Mountains and again evokes the authenticity and simplicity of a rural life distinctive to the region.

³⁴ The term *yörük* describes pastoral and nomadic people concentrated in the Taurus Mountains in Turkey.

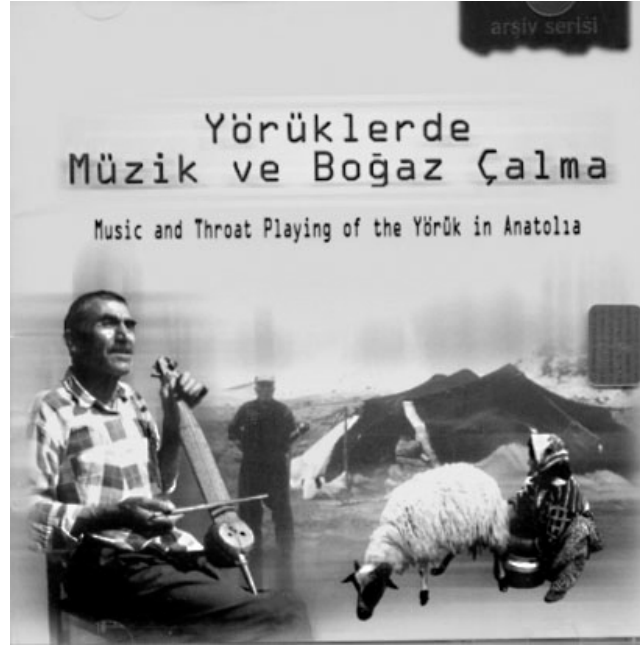


Figure 3.9. The cover of the album, *Music and Throat Playing of the Yörük in Anatolia* (Kalan, 1998).

The liner notes, again, offer detailed information about the life of *yörüks*, their nomadic life, their musical cultures (specifically throat playing style³⁵), musical instruments and the stories of the tunes written by ‘specialists’. The liner notes again emphasize that the album is a result of field work carried out in the region:

The present CD contains recordings from fieldwork conducted between May 1996 and February 1998 among the Yörük of the Taurus Mountains. It is not intended to represent the whole soundscape of the Yörük throughout the country, but instead, to focus on throat playing as a particular vocal practice, including some of the instrumental renderings on it. Other types of the Yörük music are also present on this CD. Selection of the examples of throat playing has been made on the basis of melodic structure so that each example displays a different melody. Since most of the throat players are elderly people, performance quality was also a factor in selection.

³⁵ Throat playing is a performing style in which the fingers are used to change the note of the voice by pressing the throat. The release was also featured in the most prominent guide on world music: Broughton et. al. (2000, 406). Similarities between this release and the world music albums of Tuvianian singers from Central Asia (who have also throat singing style) is interesting. Tuvianian singers have received special attention in literature on world music. For example, see *Tuvianian Musicians: Throat Singing from the Center of Asia* (Network Germany, 1995) among others.

The archive series has generally been the result of field research and has been accompanied by textual and visual materials that reflect the world music discourse of Kalan Music. To further elaborate on this point, consider Frith's (2000, 307) distinction between 'international pop' and 'world music', discussed in detail in the second chapter. To repeat parts of the theme in this context, he problematically asserts that appreciation of world music requires a certain level of ethnomusicology background (or, let's say, curiosity at least) while international pop achieves its effect by evoking 'touristic memories'. A similar distinction (rather a set of distinctions) is revealed by the interviews with the musicians, producers and audiences in my fieldwork but in a way that creates different perceptions of world music rather than different perceptions of what can be loosely called world music and 'international pop'. What makes an (world music) album *piyasa* (a term used to imply that a particular album is produced only for marketing purposes) for Kalan is obviously its distance from what is considered authentic. The way Saltık distinguishes his company from the others perfectly illustrates such a distinction among various projects that are broadly categorized as world music in the Turkish music industry:

Some other companies also release world music albums but these albums are actually club music or the kind of world music that has become a trend among young people- you know, the albums played in discos. Our CDs are also bought by ethnomusicologists; they are really ethnomusicology works. One of our releases is in the curriculum of the conservatories in North Africa ... I mean they are subject to scientific research, they are in the libraries of the universities ... our company has also been the subject of special issues in various newspapers, Libération, Le Figaro, Time Magazine, etc ... some international TV channels have produced documentaries about Kalan. We do not accept any comparison with other companies; I mean we are in a different class ... people doing research on Turkish music first come to our company before going to conservatories or to other state institutions.

Kalan's preoccupation with authenticity and corresponding assertion of being scientific contrasts sharply with the strategies of Doublemoon in which international success, such as hitting the top charts of world music, is the major goal. This point can be illustrated by the ways in which these two companies incorporate Sufi music forms into their releases. As discussed in the previous section, Doublemoon's releases perfectly illustrate the characteristics of a genre of fusion in which an overt

expression of musical inauthenticity plays a crucial role. When it comes to Sufi music, the strategies of Doublemoon are evident. Ali Coşar, the managing director of Pozitif Edisyon, explains the ways in which Doublemoon takes up the tradition of Sufi music:

Sufi music has gained popularity in recent years. However, what is being marked as Sufi music in Turkey is indeed ‘electronic background music’- I mean the marketing of ethno-electronic music. Otherwise, Sufi music alone does not work in the world music markets; Kudsi Erguner has been performing it for years ... if you look at the music industry, electronic background music has been very popular. Peter Gabriel owes his fame to it. Like Gotan Project or Manu Chao. The interest in Sufi music is also related to this fact.

Doublemoon’s perspective is perfectly embodied in the newly emerging genre of sufi-electronica, the most prominent representative of which is Mercan Dede as mentioned in the previous section. Kalan has also produced new ‘experimental’ releases of Sufi music. However, Saltık implies that the music is still authentic. Hasan Saltık, in his response to the question “why did not you consider working with Mercan Dede?” implies that the releases of the new forms of Sufi music by Kalan are still authentic:

We did not, since we have neyzen Şenol Filiz. Why should we work with Mercan Dede while having an authentic *neyzen* like Şenol Filiz? Besides, he does not fit into Kalan Music’s perspective; he is a bit softer. I mean there are qualitative differences between the releases of Doublemoon and ours.

Although Şenol Filiz’s group *Yansımalar* is in the category of ‘Turkish Fusion’ of Kalan, it is still considered as authentic by Saltık. This also reveals the fact that the notion of authenticity not only implies the notion of ancientness but also genuineness or ‘originality’. Such a concept of authenticity as being more of an aesthetic category rather than a normative one (although it is almost always constructed as normative) is a recurring element in the world music discourses of the musicians and producers whom I interviewed. Moreover, Kalan has also released ‘authentic’ Sufi (Mevlevi) music albums that exhibit similar characteristics with the archive series in terms of the visual and textual materials accompanying them. One

example is *Ferahnak Mevlevi Ayini* by İstanbul Otantik Müzik Topluluğu (Istanbul Authentic Music Ensemble). The album cover portrays a ‘whirling dervish’ with the Mevlevi musicians in the background (Figure 3.10).



Figure 3.10. The cover of the album, *Ferahnak Mevlevi Ayini* by İstanbul Otantik Müzik Topluluğu (Kalan, 2003).

The album is accompanied by a booklet written by Bülent Aksoy, a leading Turkish classical music historian. The booklet gives detailed information about how a Mevlevi *ayin* (ceremonial and liturgical practice peculiar to the Mevlevi orders) is performed and includes photographs of a typical Mevlevi ayin. The fact that the piece is being performed for the first time is frequently emphasized in the booklet (and on the cover too but in Turkish). Aksoy states in the booklet that “a French musicologist, P. J. Thibaut first published this ayin” in 1902 and the album features “the original version written by the composer himself”, Rıfat Bey (1820-1988). Interestingly, the notion of authenticity is invoked further by giving the musical notations of the *taksim* itself, the original version as it was written by Rıfat Bey.

One might doubt the market success of such releases by Kalan and that is justified to some degree. Although there is no exact data about the sales of the ‘authentic’ releases of Kalan, it is reasonable to assert that some of them hold really marginal interest. However, the point is that Kalan Music has defined its identity and created a corresponding public image with such releases rather than expecting a really big market success from them. In contrast, the fact that those releases include textual and visual materials can be seen as a marketing strategy as well. Saltık states:

Now the music industry is in a big crisis. But our company will survive for a long time. Most of our albums have accompanying books. You can’t get pleasure from the albums if you listen to them as *mp3*. People should buy the album- I mean the overall feeling, information and photographs in the albums, and archive them in their libraries. It does not make any sense to convert Kalan’s releases to *mp3*. People convert our albums to *mp3* too, that is true. But in the end, they will buy the albums. Our audiences view themselves as owners of Kalan. A person who is used to copying the other company’s releases would probably buy the albums of Kalan.

The releases discussed up to now might give the impression that Kalan owes its considerable share of the local music industry and its international esteem to solely such releases. However, that is not true; the company also produces soundtracks for popular TV serials. It is also a member of MESAM as Doublemoon, thus being in the business of protecting the copyright of the music and the musicians. Saltık, for example, asserts that the soundtrack of a TV serial they produced, *Hatırla Sevgili*, has remained number one in the lists for six months, “a situation that happened for the first time in Turkish history”. He also mentions the artists, such as Erkan Oğur, Aynur Doğan, and Kardeş Türküler, whose albums have been very successful in market terms in both local and international markets.

Among those artists, Aynur Doğan’s rising international popularity is an interesting example of how the persistent aim of Kalan, evident from its first years, to release “the music of the minorities” has come to intersect with the demands of the international world music industry. Aynur came to Istanbul with her family in 1992 from Tunceli, which is also Saltık’s hometown. She first tried her luck with a small company in *Unkapam*. It is contentious whether the album really came onto market

or not.³⁶ The album is a typical one, hundreds of which can still be found on the showcases of the music companies in *Unkapani*. The way that the covers of such albums portray the singers makes one think the singer just came from his or her village directly to *Unkapani* and was immediately taken to the studio after some amateurish make up and dressing (see Figure 3.11).



Figure 3.11. The cover of the album, *Ateş Yanmayınca* by Aynur Doğan (Piya Music, 1995).

More importantly, there was no Kurdish song in this album like her second album, *Seyir* (2002). Both of them were considered as unsuccessful by her. The cover and the repertoire do not give any hint about her ethnic identity. Moreover, these two albums were not mentioned in the discography section of her official web site.³⁷

In her response to the question “why did she disregard those two albums?” she describes her early days in *Unkapani* and claims her career began with the first album that she could sing in Kurdish, *Keçe Kurdan* (2004):

³⁶ She asserts the album was not put on the market but the cover of the album can be found as shown above. The influential world music magazine *Folk Roots* also mentions the album in her discography (*Folk Roots*, 257, November 2004).

³⁷ Aynur Doğan’s official website, www.aynurdogan.net/albumler.asp (accessed April 5, 2008).

The album, *Seyir*, was not counted there since my first album in my native tongue was *Keçe Kurdan*. I had an attempt even before *Seyir* but it was not launched to the market; it was a perfect example of ‘köyden indim şehire’ [*I went down to the city from village*, an idiom in Turkish]. You know, you don’t have any other chance; you are coming from a village. I couldn’t even dream my present success in those days ... Now I can’t stand listening to it; I was like a girl crying stridently ... I was still singing in Kurdish in concerts at the time those two albums were produced. Indeed, the music companies forced me to sing in Turkish. And also in those days, you were afraid of expressing your identity; I mean in the 1990s, that is, the darkest period of Turkey. I consider *Keçe Kurdan* to be my first album where I expressed myself, my culture, my tradition and the soul that shaped me; I mean I was Aynur in that album.³⁸

Keçe Kurdan (*Kurdish Girl* in Kurdish) brought her immense popularity and raised her profile internationally as well.³⁹ She was featured in two very popular movies, Yavuz Turgul’s *Gönül Yarası* (2005) and Fatih Akın’s *Crossing the Bridge: The sound of Istanbul* (2005). The album made it to the WMCE top charts in January 2007.⁴⁰ She appeared on the cover of a supplement to the London Times.⁴¹ One of the most prominent world music magazines, *Folk Roots*, featured the album in its issue 257 and introduced her as “Kurdish music’s new star” (Figure 3.12).

The contrast between the image of Aynur in her first album and the one on the cover of the magazine is striking. Aynur is portrayed in this context as both a ‘Kurdish girl’ (*Keçe Kurdan*) with the overt symbols of her ethnic identity and a beautiful young woman capable of meeting the audiences’ expectations for a rising star of Kurdish music. The magazine devotes an article to Aynur, titled *A Kurd on the way* written by Chris Williams. What is emphasized all over the text is Kurdish identity of Aynur and the oppressing politics of the state towards Kurdish culture and people, especially in the 1990s. Such a narrative is only one example among

³⁸ Aynur Doğan, interview by the author, a café in Istanbul, January 28, 2008.

³⁹ It is worth noting that the provincial court of Diyarbakır made a decision that banned the selling of the album a year after the album was released. The court interpreted the track within the album *Keçe Kurdan* as encouraging girls to go into the mountains and join the PKK. The decision was annulled by a higher court in September 2005.

⁴⁰ World Music Charts Europe, www.wmce.de/_/wmce/index_jsp/key=613703.html (accessed April 5, 2008).

⁴¹ The London Times, The cultural wealth of Turkey, 21 March 2005.

many others. The Kurdish identity of Aynur has always been prominent in the international media. Aynur Doğan is aware of the major role of her ethnic identity in this international acclaim but she mainly relates the international popularity of her music to the increasing awareness of the political situation for the Kurds.

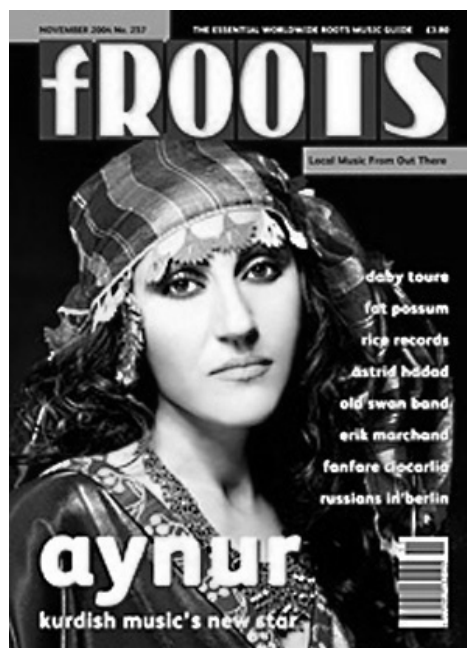


Figure 3.12. ‘Aynur’ in the cover of the *Folk Roots* magazine, 2004 (257).

Although ethnicity is a very ambiguous concept, it has also been one of the most used concepts in literature.⁴² Several ethnomusicologists point out that the purported association between a particular ethnic group and a music form is no longer obvious. Guibault (1997) asserts that in ethnomusicology and many other fields of social research there is a tendency to believe that a musical genre could symbolize the identity of a particular ‘ethnic group’. For her, the problem is not the fact that particular music forms are associated with particular groups but that “only *one* given music is used to define an ethnic group and its identity” (1997, 33). Although people

⁴² In as early as the 1920s, Weber stated that “the whole conception of ethnic groups is so complex and so vague that it might be good to abandon it altogether” (1978, 389). The fact that the concept has been gradually more and more ambiguous relates to a common confusion between nationality and ethnicity and a purportedly inevitable association between state and nation, thus citizenship and nationality (Oommen 1997).

are “less mono-ethnic and much more complicated musically, historically, culturally than we think” (Keil 1994, 176), the ‘essentialization’ of a certain ethnic identity and the reification of *the* culture supposedly peculiar to that particular ‘ethnic group’ are common discursive strategies of world music marketing. The case of Aynur Doğan perfectly exemplifies the ways in which the ethnic identities are commodified and essentialized through the discourses of world music. Moreover, the notion of ethnicity is worked through in a way that implies political resistance of the oppressed ethnic groups. Moreover, the incorporation of ethnic identities into broader political contexts runs through the common strategies of world music marketing discussed in detail in the previous chapter.

As an example of the commodification of ethnic identity, while the reviews frequently emphasize the Kurdish question in Turkey, they also present Aynur’s ethnic identity in a way that evokes exoticism that is sometimes associated with the geographical references, such as describing her music as ‘Blues from the Mountains’.⁴³ The liner notes of her latest album, *Nupel* (2005), also make an implicit association between her music and the geographical features of the southeastern part of Turkey: “Aynur’s extraordinary voice, carrying in it the smoky mountains, the gushing rivers, and the heavenly scent of the earth, is as moving as nature itself”.⁴⁴ Thus, the language here that portrays Aynur’s voice with repeated reference to nature (of the region that she is from) also operates through the notion of authenticity. What is evoked here by the broader and more ambiguous category of authenticity is the theme of political resistance and the cultural authenticity specific to a particular ethnic group. Kalan’s claim of being ‘scientific’ or of ‘ethnomusicological’ cannot be observed in these releases. Although, the albums discussed before have accompanying visual and textual materials that tend to differentiate and specify each of the musical and cultural traditions existing together

⁴³ Dialogue with the Islamic world (Kurdish Music), www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-310/_nr-278/i.html (accessed April 6, 2008).

⁴⁴ Kalan Music, www.kalan.com/scripts/Dergi/Dergi.asp?t=3&yid=10491 (accessed April 7, 2008)

and overlapping to some degree in a particular region, the strategy here is, however, essentializing the music and culture of a particular ethnic identity and its ‘corresponding’ culture that purportedly stands for the ethnic group in concern.⁴⁵ The album that was discussed, *Traditional Music of Hakkari* (see Figure 3.6), is a good example here. Various music forms of the region are specifically defined in terms of the parts within the region. While the emphasis in that album is the ‘difference’ evident upon the investigation of those multifarious forms, in Aynur’s case it is the sameness that invokes a particular ethnic ‘identity’.

3.3. Concluding Remarks:

Thus far, I have examined how various patterns of world music have been intertwined with each other to contribute to what I have broadly and loosely called world music discourse in the Turkish music industry. Kalan Music incorporates several elements such as originality, genuineness, primality or ancientness, etc. to define what has emerged as the motto of the company, authenticity. Such aesthetic and normative strands of authenticity discourse are embodied in the company’s claim of being distant from *piyasa*. In contrast to Kalan, for which the authenticity discourse is an essential and constitutive element in company’s identity and image, Doublemoon mainly operates through the notion of world fusion in which the musical inauthenticity plays a major role as has been discussed in detail. This divergence is mostly evident from the fact that the emerging soundscapes in these two cases correspond to two different patterns of place imagery. While Doublemoon is a perfect example in which Istanbul is commodified by the rediscovery of its sounds and the city is presented as ambivalent and postmodern as its sounds (‘world fusion’), Kalan’s soundscapes create a concept of Anatolia in which multiculturalism is central. This Anatolia imagery is based on the ethnic diversity and (authentic) cultural traditions that represent, to say in a rather clichéd way, the cultural mosaic of Anatolia.

⁴⁵ For example, there are some songs in Zaza language in Aynur’s albums which remain unspecified and fused into the broader category of Kurdish music.

However, concluding that Kalan's strategies are different from the global world music marketing strategies of Doublemoon is a misinterpretation. As has been clear from Aynur's case, Kalan tends to adopt the language of global world music marketing in cases in which it targets the international audiences rather than its main operational field of local music industry. However, the strategy here again differs from Doublemoon's strategy, in which authenticity is still central but is established with exoticizing and naturalizing discourses. To view Doublemoon's strategies as totally based on inauthenticity is also misleading. As we will touch upon in the next chapter in the case of Roman music, imaginary localities play a crucial role in the company's strategies which share similar strands with the authenticity discourse.

Furthermore, two common features that can be observed in these two companies, international acclaim and global market's increasing interest, seem to authenticate the originality and the significance of the music and musicians. This somewhat contrasts with what Taylor (1997) calls 'authenticity of positionality'. For him, world music audiences demand "anything real, rather than the produced". Thus, if the musicians performing world music "depart from their assumed origins they run the risk of being labeled as sellout and/or losing their world music audience" (1997, 22). However, for Doublemoon, crossing boundaries (or bridges) and being an object of international (western) acclaim is of major significance. This is true for Kalan as well, but is achieved by different means- by achieving 'universality' without losing one's own identity and authenticity. It is useful to refer to another concept of Taylor (1997) to understand Doublemoon's position here. The concept he uses to describe the positions of two world music stars, Youssou N'Dour and Angélique Kidjo, namely 'strategic inauthenticity', refers to the fact that they "are concerned with becoming global citizens and do this by showing that their countries and their continent are neither backward nor premodern, that they can make cultural forms as (post)modern as the west's" (1997, 143). As shown by the visual and textual analysis of the materials associated with Doublemoon and Pozitif and the 'world fusion' of the company that ranges from "sufi-electronica to groove alla turca, from jazz to gypsy funk, from oriental hip-hop to Anatolian blues" (see the related section), it

seems that Doublemoon considers such an overt musical inauthenticity as a strategy to develop a sound of Istanbul. The city implies a global city and a brand within those discourses.

The term 'archive' is the keyword to define the earlier attempts of Kalan to release the 'music of the minorities' and to preserve the last remnants of the cultural traditions of Anatolia. Although such attempts are seen as political per se, the motivation behind them has then intersected with the demands of the global music industry. That point alone explains how the 'local' practices are a response to the changes within the international music industry, the rise of world music particularly. Pozitif, however, was founded in the earlier period from the perspective of ethnic jazz or jazz predominant. The later strategies of the company reflect a global world music discourse and marketing strategy. It has adopted a strategy corresponding to its earlier perspective of developing a world music discourse of its own, that is, synthesis or fusion. How these two firms position themselves against the changes in the global music industry, and the ways in which they react to the global forces, reveals the fact that different cultural capitals in Bourdieu's (1986) sense create different strategies and react in different ways to global forces. The resulting cultural products can be seen as the outcome of the responses of these different forms of cultural capital to the changes in the music industry. Kalan defines itself not as only as a record label but also as an actor whose main aim is to preserve cultural traditions and help 'minorities' to sound their own voices. However, Pozitif is known mainly by its transnational attitude and its attempts to concentrate on expanding the ways in which the music forms and musicians cross national and territorial boundaries. The next chapter continues to locate various languages associated with world music within different soundscapes while focusing more on the discursive strategies of the actors within these different soundscapes in respect to the points touched upon above.

CHAPTER FOUR

‘LOCAL MUSIC FROM OUT THERE’¹: ROMAN MUSIC AS WORLD MUSIC

4.1. ‘Gentrification’ of *gırnata*:

I thought my İstanbul visits would make a good opportunity to buy a clarinet from *Tünel*; the district which is known to have the best deals in the city on decent quality musical instruments. The instruments were sold in small music shops dispersed here and there in the street. As an amateur clarinet player, for months I had been in a craze to play G (sol) ‘Turkish’ clarinet (*gırnata*) instead of Bb ‘Western’ clarinet (as people call it in Turkey). I was surprised to see that the instruments used in Turkish music and the others, loosely called ethnic instruments, filled the front of the showcases of the most shops (even the ones which were supplied on demand once), instead of electric guitars, pianos or drums. There were *kudüms*, *neys*, various types of *tanburs*, *kemençes*, *bendirs*, beautifully ornamented *darbukas*, *tars*, *cümbüşs*, innumerable types of *bağlamas*, *uds*, *kavals*, *kabak kemanes*, *kanuns*, etc. I was even more surprised to see that Chinese people quickly recognized the craze for the ‘Turkish’ clarinet and produced several brands of G clarinets sold for decent prices - good alternatives for people who cannot afford the ebony or rosewood clarinets with really high price tags. I returned with a Chinese clarinet branded as ‘Boston USA’.

¹ That is the slogan of probably the most influential world music magazine, *Folk Roots*.

The popularization of traditional musical instruments and their demand in the markets can be seen as an indicator of the revival of the traditional music forms mentioned before. Among them, the case of *girnata*, I think, requires further elaboration. The popularization of *girnata* has almost become a symbol for the rediscovery of roman music in the form of world music and more popular music forms. Furthermore, the changing status and meanings of *girnata* in recent years shows the various ways in which the incorporation of Roman music in world music takes place. Thus, the transformation of *girnata* is used here as a metaphor to explicate the dynamics within the musical realm in respect to both the transformation of Roman music in the emerging forms and world music discourse in general. Before looking at the specific features of *girnata* and its transformation with respect to implications for the world music discourse, it is useful to discuss Roman music very briefly.

In many historical records, Gypsies (Roma) have always been associated with music in one way or another such as singer, instrumentalist, or dancer. While the earliest historical accounts record the characteristic trades of gypsies as palmistry or smith craft, beginning from fifteenth century, music started to be considered an exclusive profession of Gypsy communities in what is now Hungary (Sarosi 1970, 9-10).² Having been considered as ‘entertainers’ in weddings or special events, some gypsy musicians then became extremely popular and famous in eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe. They succeeded in overcoming their inferior status in society by gaining acclaim from nobility and famous musicians such as Liszt and by being recruited to perform in palaces (Fraser 1995, 200-4)³. One of the main occupations of the gypsies listed in historical records of the Ottoman period was music-making

² Sarosi’s work offers a very detailed summary of the historical records about Gypsy communities and their relation to music in Hungary. He also asserts that for a town dweller and a foreigner in the nineteenth century in Hungary, the term gypsy had almost the same meaning as gypsy musician. This was not the case in the sixteenth century (Sarosi 1970, 10).

³ Fraser’s work includes several paintings dating from the 19th century that portray gypsies in their nomadic lives in poverty on the one hand and as musicians in their own communities or in organized orchestras performing to audiences of higher status on the other.

in addition to smith craft, basket weaving, entertainment such as puppeting, dancing (*köçeklik* and *çengilik*), acting, acrobatics, training animals, fortune telling, flower selling, etc. (Gökbilgen 1963; Seeman 2002).⁴ A detailed historical account of the characteristic occupations of Rom communities in Turkey is of course beyond the scope of this discussion. However, a point deserving particular attention is that music has generally been listed among the other activities of amusement, which makes the practice of music-making closer to, say, acrobatics or puppeting in terms of the meanings attributed to it and its apparent functions.⁵ Thus, in various accounts of the association between gypsies and music, there has been an overt distinction between musical performance as an artistic practice and musicianship as entertainment, with the latter generally taking place in weddings, special events and other ceremonial activities that can be described as artisanship at best. Especially in institutional and scholarly fields of music, the musical ascendancies of gypsies are generally explicated within the terms of artisanship. Such an understanding of the musical identities of gypsies cannot be separated from their inferior status in social and economic terms, or from the pejorative terms used to describe gypsy communities.⁶

⁴ The terms used to name Roman communities in Turkey in some cases reflect such an association between Roman communities and music. For example, the term *mutrip* was used especially in the southeastern region to describe gypsy people; the term means musician in Arabic (Oprışan 2002, 163).

⁵ Although it is merely based on speculation, that might be the reason why gypsy musicians have generally been described primarily by their extraordinary (and sometimes ‘superhuman’) virtuosity on their musical instruments.

⁶ As an example, Oprışan (2002, 165) states, in the earlier census records of the Turkish Republic, *çingene* communities were generally associated with illiteracy and lack of religiosity. Moreover, pejorative meaning of *çingene* is obvious in various expressions in daily language such as *çingene kavgası* (‘gypsy fight’ depicting extremely violent fights), *çingene borcu* (‘gypsy debt’ which is never paid and increased with other debts), *çingene pazarlığı* (‘gypsy bargaining’ expressing a very persistent type of bargaining), *çingenelik etmek* (‘behave like a gypsy’ that depicts a negative attitude of a person), etc. The very term of *çingene* (gypsy) was found to be pejorative by the Roman communities in Turkey and they preferred the term ‘Roman’. Duygulu (1998, 35) states that the term *çingene* was generally preferred by the settled Roman communities to depict nomadic gypsies in a pejorative way. In that sense, the term was first used by the settled Roman communities to describe themselves.

One of the earliest Turkish musicologists of the Republic, Ragıp Gazimihal (1900-1961), presented an earlier approach toward gypsy music in Turkey that nonetheless remained dominant for a long time. His essay, *Çingene Çalgıcılar (Gypsy Musicians)*, written in 1953 is important to understand how the artistry of gypsy musicians has been defined in opposition to or in relation to the scholarly perspectives in Turkish music. While Gazimihal regards the musical performance of the Turkish gypsies as being completely shaped by the demands of the market, thus remaining barren in terms of musical quality, he, on the other hand, tends to praise gypsy orchestras in the West. Thus, this problem of so-called inferiority in quality is seen specific to the music of the Turkish gypsies. For Gazimihal, some negative social features of gypsies make it hardly possible for them to found “a disciplined gypsy (*cigan*) orchestra which deserves being presented in respectable taverns” (1953, 9). Although he seems to differentiate between gypsy music in Turkey and abroad in terms of quality, his negative attitude towards musical performance of the gypsies indeed applies to both of them. He views the (allegedly) decreasing demand for gypsy music in Central Europe at the time as a result of a gradual increase in the quality of music produced and the refinement of musical taste. He continues by making a provocative assertion that gypsies in general are not capable of being ‘artists’ in a real sense because of their lack of discipline and lack of desire for education.

The most crucial point in the essay is his assertion that the gypsy musicians adapt every musical form to their ‘own’ style. Thus there is no genuine Rom(an) music at all. Although it is true to a considerable degree, the issue is far from incontestable. On the basis of Seeman’s (1998) study on the Macedonian and Turkish Romans, it is safe to assert that Turkish Romans consider a particular repertoire to represent their musical identity rather than a defined musical form or tradition. This repertoire interestingly ranges from very popular forms such as arabesk or tavern music to some ‘local’ types with rhythmic patterns common to ‘Roman’ music, such as 9/8 or 2/4 beats. In respect to the question whether any exclusive ‘Roman’ music exists or not, Shapiro (2002) enumerates several controversial positions which seem to be

legitimate in their own terms and conceptual frameworks: The first position defines a ‘real’ Rom music that is sung in Romani and performed within and for the communities themselves. The second position sees ‘Roman’ music (if any) as an adaptation of various musical forms; thus it actually validates the first position. And finally the third position, while seeming to remain exempt from the essentialism of the first, raises the possibility of finding patterns of musical styles common to Rom players. It is possible to trace the lines of these different approaches towards Roman music among the contemporary Roman and non-Roman music performers in Turkey. These different positions also hint at clues about how the representatives of these diverse approaches position themselves within the scene of Roman music as world music and how they interpret and incorporate their ethnic, educational, social, or cultural backgrounds into the world music discourse in Turkey. An example to one of those different perspectives, the clarinet player Serkan Çağrı’s views towards Roman music resemble very much Gazimihal’s approach in its differentiation between Roman music in Turkey and abroad. He states:

Some gypsy musicians and bands in the Balkans have been inspired by Balkan music and have succeeded in incorporating these forms into something unique to their own style. Unfortunately, in Turkey the situation is not like that; I mean there is no characteristic Roman music. That said, you can hardly find any music bands in Turkey performing genuine Roman music - I mean an exclusive roman repertoire that is comprised of at least ten pieces ... I have heard about some Roman musicians going to gypsy festivals abroad. People there asked them whether they know Romani or whether they could play something specific to their own community and repertoire. Nobody had spoken even a word from Romani nor had they played a piece in their native tongue. People there had told them “you don’t belong to our community”.⁷

Having been born in a Thracian town, Keşan, but not coming from a Roman family, Çağrı’s position very much represents a reaction against the increasing popularity of Roman musicians. He is a scholar in Turkish classical music and teaches courses in universities; but at the same time he is a *gırnata* virtuoso competing with mainly the Roman *gırnata* players in the market. Çağrı’s popularity cannot be compared to that of some other *gırnata* players such as Selim Sesler and Hüsnü Şenlendirici; his

⁷ Serkan Çağrı, interview by the author, artist’s music school, Istanbul, December 12, 2007.

reaction against the Roman musicians in Turkey partly results from his lacking the advantage of being Roman which is almost a requirement to be successful in the respective markets. While he refuses the existence of a 'genuine' Roman music in Turkey, he, at the same time, attempts to develop an attitude corresponding to his academic background and classicist perspectives towards music forms mostly associated with Roman music. His efforts to 'academize' *gırmata* and to incorporate the music forms considered as exclusively Roman music into the broad category of Turkish music are evident during the interview. He expects rewards for his academic background and classicist attitude, an anticipation which remained largely unanswered due to the demands of the markets from a (Roman) musician playing *gırmata*.

Interestingly, Roman musicians that I interviewed were not so much concerned with the question whether any 'genuine' Roman music exists or not. Although it seems strange, they do not search for or claim any particular music form that exclusively belongs to their community. One of the most popular Roman *gırmata* players, Selim Sesler, for example, defines the difference between Roman music and Turkish music in very superficial terms; for him only the performing style matters and makes a form exclusively Roman. His remarks are very controversial in respect to whether any Roman music exists or not:

Roman music is something like Turkish music; actually it indeed is. They are the same in terms of motifs but different when you play them. Roman music is playful (*oynak*) ... I mean in classical Turkish music or art music there is a definite line. You cannot divert from that line. However, you can invent new things in Roman music as you like by using melodies or tunes in Turkish music. I mean, you are improvising. That is Roman music; you play it as you like but necessarily with your soul and with your talent as well.⁸

His remarks indeed support the commonly accepted idea that Roman music is an adaptation of the musical tradition belonging to any particular place where they live in. Indeed, it also shows the impossibility of discussing any preexisting musical

⁸ Selim Sesler, interview by the author, Feraye café, Istanbul, December 12, 2007.

tradition or culture before the settlement of the Roman communities and the impossibility of discussing ‘intervention’ of them to the so-called ‘authentic’ music forms. Moreover, for Sesler himself, Turkish classical music differs from Roman music in respect to the performance style; his remarks sometimes imply that he views Turkish classical music as more ‘serious’ than Roman music:

I am also a classicist. I am playing in Turkish classical music concerts organized by various *musiki* associations. We are playing pieces from, say, Dede Efendi, Selim the First or Selahattin Pinar. There you can’t do any tricks. It is not proper. You play the piece as it is - like a gentleman.

Although the performing style of the Romans is called as ‘tricks’ in this context, Roman musicians seem to be happy with their image of ‘modifier’, ‘interpreter’ or ‘performer’.⁹ During my fieldwork, I encountered various positive and negative attitudes towards such a ‘modifier’ status of Roman musicians. To use the musicians’ own categorization, in the ‘classicists’ camp, some musicians oppose the ‘heavy’ and ‘extreme’ interpretations of the pieces which, for them, would spoil the ‘authentic’ forms themselves. They see musical education, at least being able to read sheet music, as a must for any performer of Turkish music. Okay Temiz’s remarks are worth quoting here; his remarks perfectly illustrate such a position. Temiz is a jazz musician who has collaborated with many Roman musicians as a leading figure of what was called ethnic jazz (*etnocaz*) in the previous chapter. For him, gypsy musicians:

... have narrower perspectives but they perform very well. They play, say, fifty pieces; you can’t teach them the fifty-first one. I have some gypsy musicians. I can’t teach them any piece. They play like ‘putty’ (*macun*). These are deeply entrenched cultures; you can’t change them ... I know the gypsies are very talented but only to a certain extent. When you put them behind a classical Turkish music orchestra, the

⁹ Hüsnü Şenlendirici also did not put much emphasis on the issue. Although his remarks make his position resemble the third view mentioned before, his overall remarks also define Roman music as an adaptation or modification of the already existing forms (‘Turkish Roman music’, in his own words). Some of his remarks are worth quoting here: “It is possible to mention a Roman music. There are some common patterns in Balkans and Turkey, like 9/8, 2/4, or 7/8 beats etc. ... but everyone adapts to the place where he or she lives. They are assimilated musically as well. I don’t know how to explain that. I mean you are born into it”.

result would be ruination. All the modulations would be removed; they would become all *macun*; the microtones (*komalar*)¹⁰ would be changed. Nobody is aware of this fact. It is a very recent situation. That results from the fact that a gypsy plays like a gypsy. They don't play Turkish music as it should be. I can't make a gypsy play folklore pieces. They play the most basic folklore piece like *macun* ... but *koma* has a taste and a balance. They don't have a sense of *koma*. It is worse than *arabesk*. The gypsies' style is awful but very difficult since they play by sliding the frets.

Indeed, what Temiz describes as *macun* ('gypsy's playing like a gypsy' in his own terms) or what some others might call 'taffy' (*ağdali*) style, refers to the performing style generally associated with gypsies. Such a relative lack of constraint in the use of the *komas* constitutes a distinctive aspect of Roman performing style as much as the 9/8 Roman dance tunes form the core of what can be loosely called the repertoire of Roman music. However, among classicists like Temiz *macun* results in spoilage of 'authentic' forms or 'recklessness' in performance that can most easily be observed in the use of *komas*. While this (relative) freedom in playing *komas* is pejoratively called *macun* by classicists, it actually constitutes the core of the creativity and talent of Roman musicians in world music discourse and in the realm of other more popular genres. The pejorative meanings sometimes attributed to a *macun* style turn out to be richness in Hüsni Şenlendirici's perspective:

This style is called *macun* by the people performing classical western music, classical Turkish music or folk music. They don't allow students to play in this style and they condemn any person who plays like that in a rehearsal. But it is richness not only for us, the players, but all the people, listeners ... I mean some people might like different interpretations of an old tune while some others might find it ruined in that way. This is a relative situation. But I think any musician proves his or her uniqueness with that interpretation. Otherwise, all musicians are the same.

The relative freedom in the use of the *komas* and what Şenlendirici describes as the richness of interpretation are mostly embodied in *gırnata*. *Gırnata* is a dominant solo instrument and an indispensable part of the musical tradition of the Roman communities. Masterful articulation of the *koma* notes with the clarinet, which was

¹⁰ Microtones (*koma*- singular and *komalar*- plural) represent intervals of less than equally spaced semitones. Western music has twelve equal intervals which form an octave. In Turkish music, like many forms of Middle Eastern music, there are nine microtones between each whole tone.

not designed for¹¹ the scales of eastern music, has generally been associated with Roman musicians.¹² Voicing sounds that are not thought to normally be produced by a clarinet has generally been seen as the business of the Roman virtuosos.¹³ Although the main difference between what is regarded as the Western clarinet (Bb-pitched) and the *gırnata* (G-pitched) is the tune (and the G clarinet's using Albert fingering system), the difference is generally defined in terms of the purported properness of *gırnata* to play Turkish music and the convenience of sounding *komas* with it.¹⁴ Indeed sounding *komas* has nothing to do with the main body of the *gırnata*, an ability which is indeed provided with using the proper mouthpieces (*beke*) and the true lip positions. The mouthpieces can also be easily attached to the 'Western' clarinet. It is safe to assert that *gırnata*'s popular image as being suitable for Turkish music has largely been the consequence of the performance styles of the Roman musicians.

¹¹ It is not possible to give an exact history of the invention of the clarinet like the other musical instruments that appeared in various primitive forms and evolved into their present form. The clarinet was developed from a Baroque instrument, *chalumeau*, in the eighteenth century. The clarinet was employed in many works in that century in classical Western music and its importance grew rapidly after its invention as it evolved from an accompanying instrument to a solo instrument (Lawson 2000, 11-4; Pino 1998, 193-230).

¹² Indeed, the association of *gırnata* with professional Roman musicians dates back to the nineteenth century in Turkey (Seeman 2002, 144).

¹³ I corresponded with the owner of a music shop in Ankara, who is a musician himself and who has worked in a military band. He told me his memory of how the performance of the famous Roman *gırnata* player, Bülent Altınbaş, alias *Kırpi Bülent*, baffled the commanding officer of the garrison where Altınbaş fulfilled his military service. The commander, who was a (western) clarinet player, asked him with bewilderment how he could sound those voices and how he could articulate those sounds. Altınbaş responded that he was just doing it without knowing how to do it; he told him he even didn't remember when he started playing clarinet.

¹⁴ Although *gırnata* is seen proper for the performance of Turkish music due to the suitability of its pitch to the makams of Turkish music, some clarinet virtuosos, such as Göksun Çavdar, use mainly the 'western' clarinet for playing Turkish music. This provides evidence that although the tune is important it is not a requirement for the performance of Turkish music.

Furthermore, Roman musicians, especially Hüsni Şenlendirici, have played decisive roles in the popularization of *gırnata*.¹⁵ I corresponded with the owners of music schools and people giving private lessons in Ankara and Istanbul; they stated that in especially the last five years there has been an increasing demand for *gırnata* in contrast to the earlier period when there was almost no ‘academic’ interest in *gırnata*. For example, Erkan who gives both saxophone and clarinet lessons in Ankara (from whom I also took *gırnata* lessons stated that although he graduated from a Western music conservatory, he decided to learn *gırnata* playing technique as a consequence of this increasing demand for *gırnata*. Another example of the popularization and changing status of *gırnata* is the emergence of companies that manufacture *gırnata*. About a decade ago *gırnata* was produced mainly by local manufacturers (mostly individuals), usually by using metal parts. Today new companies have emerged based on standardized production and using valuable woods such as granadilla, ebony or rose wood. Probably the most proper example of such companies is *Gırnata* Company. By taking the name of the instrument as the company’s name, the company strives to make its brand prestigious. The company uses standard measurements in the production of the clarinets instead of the older artisanship methods. The prices of the *Gırnata* products are correspondingly high. This is a perfect example of how the name *gırnata* has acquired a prestigious status that signifies a refined artistry, in stark contrast to its former pejorative meaning associated with artisanship at best.

¹⁵ His contribution to the popularization of *gırnata* cannot be exaggerated as will be elaborated in detail later on. I have realized the importance of this contribution more while chatting with some Roman musicians playing in weddings, other special events and *gazinos*. For example, Mesut, who is a *gırnata* player working in various occasions such as weddings and *gazinos*, even interpreted my scholarly interest in *gırnata* as a result of Hüsni’s contribution to the popularization of *gırnata*. He stated that in recent years his business has rapidly improved and even non-Roman (wealthy) people asked him to play in their weddings and other special events. Other Roman musicians have also described similar experiences and attributed the popularization of *gırnata* mainly to the popularization of the works by ‘Hüsni’.

On the other hand, such a ‘gentrification’ of *gırnata* has affected the local manufacturers as well. I spoke by telephone with the grandson of one of the most famous local clarinet producers, Ahmet Özdemir¹⁶ from Ordu. He stated that the demand for *gırnata* has rapidly increased in recent years. More importantly, in contrast to the earlier period when their customers were almost only Roman musicians, they are now producing clarinets for non-Roman musicians. *Gırnata* and associated performance styles (flexible use of the *koma* notes and a kind of tongue slapping technique specific to Balkan music, for example) have become parts of a ‘real’ artistic practice mostly shaped by the world music discourse in contrast to its earlier derogatory meanings in which the performance was mostly associated with entertainment and was defined in terms of artisanship. The major role of the world music discourse in this transformation cannot be exaggerated.

Indeed, the incorporation of Roman music into world music in Turkey and the increasing popularity of the genre is far from specific to Turkey. Indeed, Rom(an) or gypsy music has a distinctive place in the global world music market. In Turkey, such a potentiality of Roman music was realized by the music producers and record labels at an early period. As was discussed briefly in the previous chapter, Roman music was of special importance for the musicians searching for the synthesis of Turkish and Western musical forms, which were mostly relegated to the category of ethnic jazz. Which characteristics of Roman music give it such potential? Or how do the discourses of world music incorporate Roman music and identity to achieve a desired synthesis? These are crucial questions not only to understanding Turkish Roman music as it is incorporated into the world music, but also to understanding the dynamics of the particular characteristics of different ‘soundscapes’ in the world music scene in Turkey.

¹⁶ Ahmet Özdemir’s fame among clarinet players has increased with the clarinet he produced for Woody Allen. One of his clarinets is also used by the famous pop singer Bon Jovi.

The previous chapter discussed how the major world music labels define various soundscapes on the basis of their discourses of world music. The chapter also attempted to show how their different strategies in the market and the ways in which they incorporate those soundscapes into world music reflect different discursive fields and different forms of ‘positioning’ in the market. However, the formation of these discursive fields and their interaction with global forces mostly depends on the multifarious strategies and backgrounds (cultural, educational, ethnic, class, etc.) of musicians. The rest of this chapter will discuss the two most popular musicians in Roman music as world music in respect to these issues.

4.2. Selim Sesler’s sounds from the ‘local’

Interestingly, for the ‘local spaces’ like Turkey, a musician does not need ‘other’ musics or musical motifs to be labeled a world musician in the global - and most surprisingly - in the ‘local’ markets. As discussed previously, this is where the so-called locality of world music becomes completely transparent. Therefore, the culture of the ‘very’ locality is a global culture for the local as well. Undoubtedly one of the most famous Roman musicians in Turkey who is closely associated with what has been defined as the ‘local’ is Selim Sesler. He was born in 1957 into a Roman musician family (professional *zurna* performers¹⁷) in the Thracian town, Keşan, where Roman communities constituted the core population. Having performed in local weddings and events for a long time, he eventually came to Istanbul in the 1980s to search for new opportunities for his career. He is now one of the most popular Roman clarinetists in Turkey and has been involved in many international

¹⁷ For a long time the *zurna* instead of the clarinet was the wind instrument most characteristic of Roman musicians in Turkey. This fact can be easily observed by looking at the biography of Roman clarinetists whose previous generations were generally professional *zurna* players. Duygulu (2006, 121) states that for about the last sixty-seventy years the clarinet has mostly replaced the *zurna*. Indeed, I observed during my interviews that many Roman clarinet players presently in their middle ages learnt to play the clarinet as adolescents. The clarinet was the most popular instrument of ensembles known as *ince çalgı* (the ensemble that is generally comprised of *violin*, *cümbüş*, *kanun*, *darbuka*, *davul* etc., and clarinet). That also provides evidence for the transition from *zurna* to clarinet. Selim Sesler also exemplifies such a trend among Roman musicians who learnt to play the clarinet in the 1960-70s.

projects as well. His international recognition was fostered by an article that appeared in the U.K. newspaper, the *Guardian*. The article described him as one of the greatest clarinetists in the world and even called him “The Coltrane of the Clarinet” (Gibbons 2006).¹⁸



Figure 4.1. Selim Sesler in Feraye café (photograph by the author).

The story of the beginning of Sesler’s career as a world musician illustrates a common pattern that can be observed among other cases of world musicians (‘local’ musicians, to call it loosely) in the global markets: being discovered by a western musician or an ethnomusicologist while playing in a small music hall. Meeting with Brenna McCrimmon meant a turning point for his career. McCrimmon was a singer from Canada, who had traveled to many different regions of the world, learnt their languages and musical traditions, and collaborated with local musicians:

I was playing in a music hall [a restaurant where the regular program consists of fasıl nights] at that time ... Brenna McCrimmon and her friends were there by chance that night when a French band was scheduled to perform but the band was missing one musician. Some administrator women there told me to accompany the French

¹⁸ The article was mentioned several times by the artist and the representatives of his record label (Doublemoon) in the interviews. Such acclaim from the Western media helps the musicians to legitimize their position as world music ‘artists’ thereby authenticating that the music of their communities is ‘art’ to the extent of being subject to ethnomusicological studies and art criticism.

band. I told them we hadn't rehearsed with the group, so what could we do? They seemed so sure that I could manage. Well ... with God's permission, I can invent tunes upon hearing music ... I just staged and played what God gives me – improvisations I mean. Of course, you should adapt yourself to the band without spoiling it. That turned out to be a great concert. It seems that Brenna McCrimmon was there that night ... then she went to her friends, one of whom was American Sonia Tamar Seeman. Seeman now works as a music teacher in a big university in Austin; she is a musicologist who wrote for my album *Keşan'a Giden Yollar* [*be meant liner notes*]. Brenna McCrimmon told her friends she had found Selim Sesler. They had already been searching for me. On the following day, they came in a group of six or seven people. Much later, Sonia Tamar Seeman also took clarinet courses from me. We have become very good friends, our families too; we visited each other several times ... well, they invited me to their table after *fasıl*. We both gave our business cards to each other. Then they called me and wanted to visit me in my house ... in their visit Brenna told me about her album project and asked me to work with her ... then the album was released, *Grup Karşılama*. We went to Canada with the album ... then a year later we made the second album, *Keşan'a Giden Yollar*.

His first album, *Grup Karşılama* (*Group Greeting*) in collaboration with McCrimmon was first released in Canada, and then released by Kalan Music in Turkey. The second album, *Keşan'a Giden Yollar* (*Roads to Keşan*) was released by Kalan too in 1999, a year after the release of the first album. The album cover of *Keşan'a Giden Yollar* (Figure 4.2) portrays Sesler playing *gırnata* with his fellow musicians in the roads to Keşan, Sesler's hometown, and probably the hometown of his fellow musicians. The cover evokes the sense of intimacy and warmth that comes with the idea of locality.

With their joyful manners and their somewhat borrowed suits, these fellows foster the idea of intimacy and honesty of the locality for an 'outsider'. Locality, with its simplicity and emotionality is defined in this context by its opposition to the alienation brought about by modernization. The short English statement under the title, "Regional (*local?*) and Roman (*Gypsy*) Music from Thrace" (emphases are mine), is clearly intended for the international audience. The photograph was taken in a way to give the impression of a snapshot - depicting them as if they were on the road to a wedding in Keşan to jam some Roman tunes.



Figure 4.2. The cover of the album, *Keşan'a Giden Yollar*, by Selim Sesler (Kalan, 1999)

An early conversation between the owner of Kalan and Sesler about the content of the album is worth quoting at this point since it offers insights into what kind of expectations the music industry has in order for a 'local' musician to sound 'fit' to the taste of the listeners of world music or, to call it loosely, traditional music:

He told me "Selim, do something in your style ... I mean what people in your hometown dance with, what people play in Thrace ... just some tunes, just please yourself." Then I played what people dance with in villages, what Romans dance with- for example we have Romans from Koloz who are blacksmiths, forging iron- I just played what those people dance with. I mean tunes coming from the hometown again. That means absolutely local, universal, authentic music.

It is conspicuous that Roman music in such discursive contexts is almost always associated with (and even identified with) dance¹⁹; an intrinsically bodily form that connotes the primal or even primitive emotions.²⁰ Just as African music is usually associated with uncontrollable ecstatic movements, Roman music in this context implies ecstatic (and primitive) emotionality - an indispensable part of the local defined primarily in terms of its organicity and purity. Ironically, this point is perfectly illustrated in Sesler's description of Roman music quoted above: "completely local, universal, authentic music". These elements came together through the course of the interview probably because of confusion or poor wording. However, it ironically explicates well the situation here. It is local because it is considered to belong uniquely to the Roman communities. It is universal since the emotions that it arouses can be understood by a person who is completely foreign to this community or even people not from Turkey (that is why it is 'world music'). And finally it is authentic because it is primal or primitive in the sense of bearing the characteristic of the very locality in itself.

Moreover, like many other albums released by Kalan Music discussed in detail in the previous chapter, the album *Roads to Keşan*, is again presented as almost a 'by-product' of an ethnographic study carried out in the Keşan region (by ethnomusicologist, Sonia Tamar Seeman). The album is accompanied by a book on the daily lives, customs, ceremonies of the Roman people living in Keşan, and the essential roles of music in their social practices. The book even includes an excerpt from the ethnographic notes by Seeman that describe a typical entertainment activity (*Dağlık*) of the Roman people in the area. There is exhaustive information on the musical instruments, various music forms unique to the area, and rhythmic and

¹⁹ Indeed, the most common stereotype of Gypsies or Roman people in popular culture in Turkey, the TV serials or music videos, is a cheerful man or woman who can't help dancing upon hearing a (Roman) tune even in the saddest situation, who talks too much and does not worry about anything.

²⁰ See the excerpts from the interview with Sesler quoted in the previous section. There, he defines Roman music specifically by its 'playfulness' (*oynaklık*) which again refers broadly to dance and body movements.

melodic patterns of every individual piece in the album repertoire. Almost all the pieces in the repertoire of the album were selected from the Keşan region and surrounding villages and included a few tunes specific to the immigrants from Greece and people from Thrace in general. The album with its accompanying book not only invokes the feeling of authenticity in the sense of its claim to present an accurate portrait of the musical forms of the Roman communities in the region, but also it is designed to evoke the intimacy and warmth of a 'locality' by careful use of ethnographic notes, photographs and album cover. This point is not only evident from the text and the repertoire of the album but also from the technical process. Seeman (1999, 33) states that "in order to preserve the warmth and energy of the live group performances, we preferred to use one-inch analog band". She also adds that the 'project' is not a mere technical process for them but a consequence of the deep friendship established with the musicians and the local people.

Sesler, after making two albums for Kalan Music, decided to work with Doublemoon. Fatih Akin played a major role in this decision. The German-Turkish director Fatih Akin wanted Sesler to play for his films, *Gegen Die Wand* (2004) and *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* (2005) and Akin persuaded him to make an album for Doublemoon later on. The interviews with the musicians and representatives of Doublemoon revealed that Fatih Akin's films have contributed much to the international recognition of the artists and, correspondingly, encouraged their enthusiasm and efforts to take part in the world music arena. Sesler himself told me that he viewed himself as a world music artist only after the 2000s, even though he already had two albums released from Kalan Music before that period. In a way, Fatih Akin acted as intermediary between the global music industry and the Turkish music industry.²¹ Thus Germany has become an interlocutor for the transnational links established with the global music industry.

²¹ Recall the discussion on the film, *Crossing the bridge: The sound of Istanbul*, directed by Akin in the previous chapter. Many of the artists featured in the film were Doublemoon artists. After the film had gained international acclaim, the international popularity of the other artists featured in the film was also increased.

The change in Sesler's status from a 'local' artist to a world music artist can be observed by looking at the projects and discourses associated with them. For example, in his remarks on Doublemoon's success in introducing artists to the global music industry and audience, Ali Coşar seems to undervalue the international recognizability of Sesler's first two albums released by Kalan. He regards Sesler's previous albums as being marginal because they address a limited (Turkish) audience:

Doublemoon has produced many projects ... Suddenly, people realized that there is a musician, Selim Sesler, and he has become popular. He already has had an album released from Kalan with Brenna McCrimmon years ago [he was not counting the first one]. While we were talking with Selim abi about an album project we decided that the album would have a concept - a wedding concept. That is, we should express the sadness and joyfulness of a wedding. As can be seen from the album cover, the album was produced by the two most prominent producers in the world music arena.

The album mentioned above, *Oğlan Bizim Kız Bizim* (released as *Anatolian Wedding* in international markets²²) was released in 2006 by Doublemoon. The front cover of the album (Figure 4.3) portrays a situation just before a wedding. Sesler is again on the front with his musician buddies in their suits specially designed for the wedding. After examining some details in the photograph (the mirrors on the walls, some guys in the background adorning themselves, a towel, etc), we realize that this is a barber salon in which the ceremonial practice of shaving the groom probably takes place. This is also evident from the back cover of the album showing a container for the shaving brush.

²² The Turkish title (that can be translated as "the boy is ours, the girl too") is indeed a folk song that is generally sung by the relatives of the groom (called *oğlan tarafı*- the boy's side) in *kına gecesi* (henna night) - a special gathering for the females of both families before the wedding. The concept of wedding implied in other albums becomes the most salient here as shown by the title of this album.



Figure 4.3. The cover of the album, *Oğlan Bizim Kız Bizim* by Selim Sesler (Doublemoon, 2006)

Once again, the immediacy of music²³, its indispensability in the ceremonial and celebratory practices of the Roman community, and the overall intimacy evoked by the snapshot style of shooting that moment are conspicuous. All of these are particular characteristics of this scene called local. A musician is represented by only some parts of his body since the scene mainly emphasizes the sameness (as clear from their identical suits), being from the same community, and substitutability, the last of which, of course, does not apply to Sesler who is, indeed, the main figure. The album cover is designed in a way to strengthen Sesler's identity as a local musician.

However, the contrast between his earlier albums and this one is striking. Although the first albums of Sesler released by Kalan were mostly presented as ethnographic (and ethnomusicological) projects with an explicit assertion of being records of historical and 'technical' accuracy (thus authenticity), Doublemoon has never found

²³ It was stated on many occasions that the album was recorded in just 5 days. This information is also used as an evidence for the immediacy of music.

it marketable or reasonable to claim such authenticity. Although Sesler's first albums utilized the notion of locality and the senses it evokes in a way to foster the idea of (ethnomusicological) authenticity, in Doublemoon's case what primarily matters is the album's capability to evoke the emotions associated with the 'locality' of the Roman communities. The repertoire selected for the first albums by Kalan uniquely belonged to the region and the Roman communities. In contrast, the pieces in the album, *Oğlan Bizim Kız Bizim*, belong to a diversity of regions that range from Azerbaijan to Black Sea region, from the Southeastern part of Turkey to the Aegean region. These are not necessarily the pieces associated with Roman communities. The album was produced by two prominent figures in the international world music industry, Ben Mandelson and Rob Keyloch. According to the liner notes of the album, the musicians reach the pleasure of "discovering the *türküs*" and we, as listeners, are "reintroduced with the pieces that we have been heard for years". The liner notes claim that the listeners would be "lost within the world of the *türküs* that have reached from the local to the universal".

What Ali Coşar called 'the concept of wedding' in the interview quoted above underlies the album's repertoire defines its theme, and actually coincides with one of the common ways in which global world music marketing incorporates Rom(an) music. 'Wedding music' has become almost a distinct genre in the global world music market and is mostly associated with Klezmer, Scottish, or Roman(i) music. The Rom type is generally considered to have Bulgarian roots (mostly called Bulgarian wedding music); famous representatives are (G) clarinet player Ivo Papasov and Yuri Yunakov (saxophonist).²⁴ One could hardly find hints of 'authenticity' in the musical form associated with this genre which mostly depends on eclecticism. The so-called 'locality' (or authenticity) of this genre is derived from its organic functions within the Rom communities themselves - its indispensability within the rituals and ceremonial practices of the communities. Moreover, gypsies

²⁴ The contribution of the famous director, Emir Kusturica to the popularity of 'wedding music' cannot be exaggerated. As an example, *Crna Macka, Beli Macor* (*Black Cat, White Cat*, 1998) features Balkan 'wedding music'. In addition, Romani was spoken frequently in the movie.

are regarded as having a strong sense of community. This sense of community is partly reflected by social and spatial phenomena such as *mahalle* endogamy (Mischek 2002, 159) or residential segregation of gypsies. Such characteristics of Roman communities foster the long-established ‘outsider’ status of the gypsies, a situation which makes the gypsy music as exotic as, say African music even for the people living in the same city with the Roman communities (thus making it perfectly ‘local’ for audiences at home and abroad). That strong sense of belonging and community attachment of the gypsies are evident from the fact that their identities are being formed on the basis of mahalle (such as *Topkapı* or *Sulukule* gypsies) or on the basis of a city or a region (Istanbul or Thracian gypsies respectively, for example). Besides performance styles and repertoire, even the musical terminology among gypsy musicians varies according to different regions and is shaped by the corresponding community cultures.²⁵

What is most striking at this point is that many Roman musicians had seen Roman wedding music as a symbol of Roman parochialism, backwardness and a strong pan-Roman identity in the 1990s and headed towards syntheses with pop or Western mainstream music in order to reach international markets (Seeman 2002, 363-4). In Selim Sesler’s case, however, the wedding concept itself is seen as a key for the same aim and it succeeded to a considerable degree. This point is where the duality between evocation of authenticity and locality established by Kalan’s and Doublemoon’s becomes contentious in this context. It is safe to assert that authenticity as historical accurateness (or ‘ethnomusicological’ authenticity) in Selim Sesler’s earlier works has been transformed to an authenticity, the primary aim of

²⁵ Duygulu (2006, 138-141) offers an interesting overview of the musical terminology common to gypsy musicians with respect to this issue.

which is to evoke the sense of locality and belonging.²⁶ What is of concern in the second form of authenticity is how the pieces in any album repertoire sound to the audience. That is to say, the ‘right’ repertoire selection, the right instrumentation and the evocations of place and community (mostly by means of accompanying visual and textual materials) that are essential to the constructions of authenticity in ‘classical’ terms, give way to a ‘local’ music per se, which should sound non-western and evoke the ‘senses’ of locality. However, there are also some Roman musicians in the world music arena opposing to such appropriation of Rom(an)ness as ethnic color in the world music industry, that is, utilizing the (purportedly) most evident symbol of Roman musical identity- Roman wedding music. But these musicians also use other forms of incorporation of Roman music into world music. The music of Hüsnü Şenlendirici exemplifies such a position. A discussion of his position gives insight into various contestations and contradictory positions about various ways in which Roman music is constructed as world music.

4.3 Hüsnü Şenlendirici: On the threshold between the local and the global

While Roman music is incorporated into the category of world music in a way to stand for the musical embodiment of the ‘local’ and ‘Romanness’ as ethnic color, it has also been considered to be the most proper form for fusion or synthesis works. Thus it is both possible and quite reasonable to have Roman musicians in, say, various arrangements of jazz, funk, or world (fusion) music, while ‘local’ music of Rom(an) communities like ‘wedding music’ works out as well in the market. Various features of Roman musicians strengthen their perceived status of perfect interlocutors between various musical forms with different traditions and origins. Roman musicians have a very flexible repertoire that includes diversity of pieces

²⁶ It is suggestive that Selim Sesler is portrayed in his hometown as (still) a local musician in Fatih Akın’s film, *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul*, discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Although all the other musicians are associated with and perform in Istanbul as the title infers, Sesler is shown in a bus on the way to his hometown, Keşan, to jam with his other musician buddies. The performance takes place in a pub in town with quaint Roman figures showing their musical capabilities by playing solo motifs (mostly performing styles, such as flamenco, which, for them, seem to foster their gypsy identity).

ranging from the most ‘classical’ ones to the most popular; their musical adaptability has no boundaries. They are capable of making amalgams of even the most distant genres; and finally the skills of Roman musicians are almost always defined in terms of their superior improvisational capabilities - a prerequisite for fusion or synthesis works. Moreover, the Roman musicians who have enough musical education to read sheet music and who are available to work as studio musicians are especially preferred for collaboration in fusion or synthesis works. Indeed, their identity has always been divided somewhere between evokers of ethnic essentialism and a sense of community belonging on the one hand, and artists with cosmopolitan attitudes who work in collaboration with the musicians coming from other traditions, ideally, in search of alternative sounds.

However, these seemingly contrasting poles have never been defined in opposition to each other by the market; belonging to a Roman community and being both *alaylı* and *okullu*²⁷ contribute to Romans’ perceived ability at what has been defined as fusion works. Thus, some of the Roman musicians attempt to find a middle ground between being associated with a commodified and essentialist Roman identity (and corresponding forms of parochialism) and having freedom to take part in various projects as ‘relatively’ independent from such an identity, though to a very limited degree. This also implies a tension between a certain degree of cosmopolitanism required for fusion works and a sense of community belonging required in order to produce ‘local’ music of the Roman communities.

²⁷ While *alaylı* refers to a person who has not been formally educated but learnt how to play music from his or her master as a part of master-apprentice relations, *okullu* refers to the musician who has been formally educated in music. The difference is very important to understanding how being *alaylı* has brought many advantages to the Roman musicians in the music industry, as will be discussed later on. Now it suffices to say that, although being *okullu* itself does not mean a disadvantage, being both *okullu* and *alaylı* brings certain advantages due to the implicit connotations of coming from a musician family and at the same time being more capable of playing behind famous singers in the market. As Duygulu (2006, 140) shows, musicians not coming from musician families are called *kapma* or *yamanma* – terms which have certainly derogatory meanings.

Seeman (2002, 362-365) gives an example that perfectly shows how such a tension is embodied and coped with in real life. Hüsni Şenlendirici was involved in an album project in 1998 with an ensemble comprised of European and US artists (Brooklyn Funk Essentials). Hüsni at first refused to incorporate Roman wedding music into the project in order to avoid a kind of Roman parochialism that the form is certainly eager to evoke: “Any one can pick up a clarinet, violin, drum and cümbüş and play music like that. That is not ME”. (emphasis original; quoted in Seeman 2002, 363).²⁸ After all, Hüsni had decided to add two Roman *oyun havası*, a decision which Seeman, as an advisor to the project, agreed with, or rather encouraged. She believes that a duality emerges within Hüsni’s musical understanding and its embodiment throughout the project. While Şenlendirici arranged the main melody in a Turkish pop style, on the other hand, he incorporated Roman wedding music by mixing solo clarinet sessions over percussion specific to Roman wedding music. Thus, while avoiding a possible Roman parochialism echoing within musical performance in this way, he attempted to perform “a musical statement of being Roman in the place world of Roman neighborhoods” and also expressed “a belonging that extends beyond Turkish borders” (Seeman 2002, 364).²⁹ Although the main idea was to address the Western audience, Seeman states that the recording proved to be a failure commercially. On the basis of the information coming from the U.S. retailers, she states that the album just sounded too Western for the U.S. audience.

²⁸ Şenlendirici’s words, I believe, can also be interpreted as a reaction to (or ironically confirmation of, to some degree) the implicit status of Roman music-making as artisanship rather than artistry in the real sense of the term, a duality that was discussed in the previous sections.

²⁹ As a point confirming such a perspective, the album, *In the Buzşah* (1998), is portrayed as a project bridging two metropolises, New York and Istanbul (“seeming different but resembling to each other”) in the official website of Şenlendirici. Thus, according to the website, two ensembles (Brooklyn Funk Essentials and Laço Tayfa that Şenlendirici leads) “discovers the depthness of the two different cultures and make a synthesis of the Brooklyn funk, gypsy funk, acid-jazz, funk-jazz, reggae and dub”. See Hüsni Şenlendirici’s official website: www.husnusenlendirici.com/albumler.html (accessed, May 19, 2008).



Figure 4.4. Hüsnü Şenlendirici in his studio (photograph by the author)

Hüsnü Şenlendirici was born into a professional Roman musician family in an Aegean town, Bergama, in 1976. He started playing the clarinet at an early age, about five years old. One of his grandfathers was also a clarinetist while his other grandfather and his father were trumpet players. Unlike many other examples like Selim Sesler, Hüsnü's main instrument has always been *gırnata* because he was born several years after the *ince çalgı* ensembles had gained popularity among Roman communities. One other thing that differentiates his career from most of the other professional Roman clarinet players is worth noting here: his vision has always been to perform for an international audience. His father, Ergün Şenlendirici, was involved in many international projects within the Okay Temiz's Magnetic Band and Hüsnü also started to play within the band during early adolescence. He also registered at İTÜ (Istanbul Technical University) Conservatory which he attended for four years before leaving without obtaining his degree.

His remarks about his musical development at the beginning of his career reveal how a particular musical culture inherited from a Roman community on the one hand, and an international perspective (and also being *okullu*) from the very beginning, on the other, have contributed to his present success:

My biggest advantage was growing up in Bergama and starting music as *alaylı* playing in the weddings ... When I was in Bergama I was listening to my father's orchestra performing jazz standards and playing in the weddings as well. I mean, I grew up by seeing both the *ethnic* and the *Western* side of the matter. My other advantage was starting to perform in the international festivals abroad either in collaboration with my father or Okay Temiz at an early age ... We have always tried to make our own music; I aimed to perform it in a way to give it interesting tastes - different colors. I have travelled to almost three-fourths of the world before going to military service (emphases added).

Thus, the tension between the cosmopolitan values (western?) and that of belonging to a community (ethnic?) have been evident since his early adolescence. Besides cosmopolitanism, one might define his position primarily in relation to his efforts to transcend the boundaries of his community or to break the parochialism associated with belonging to that particular community. Moreover, Şenlendirici associates the rise of world music with cosmopolitanism and defines his position in terms of his openness to different ideas and musical traditions. Thus, for him, the incorporation of Roman music into world music is another indicator of not only the rising awareness among people towards their values and cultural traditions but also their openness to the new ideas and alternative sounds. While celebrating the increasing currency of world music, he, at the same time, tends to associate himself with the category of world music and to define the progressive role of world music exclusively in terms of its cosmopolitan implications:

World music has been a really positive development since it breaks the monotony ... moreover, for example when I go to the U.S. to the cultural concerts there, you will see that my ensemble is comprised of people from diverse cultures and traditions: I have a Greek bassist who is a doctoral student at Berkeley, a drummer from Canada who also attends Berkeley, a clarinetist from Macedonia who is of Turkish descent, a Turkish *kanuni*, and finally a Macedonian percussionist. I collaborate with people coming from different places and having different colors and different cultures ... I make music for my friends first of all since they are also worldians [*dünyalı*] like me: They are open to everything.

He states the need for a conservatory dedicated to ‘world music (or ethnic music) education’ in Turkey. For him, what has been a chronic problem in the Turkish music scene for years is the gap between the classicists of Turkish music and Western music. Thus, world music, for him, serves as a bridge between these seemingly disparate traditions, the consequence of which is obviously a kind of cosmopolitanism, at least considering his own music. Although Hüsni’s international vision was evident from the very beginning of his career and his primary emphasis on cosmopolitanism (being echoed with his own term, ‘being a worldian’) seem to contrast with any notion of Romanness as invoking an essentialist Roman identity, the situation is rather ambiguous. The tension between cosmopolitanism and belonging to a particular community leads to what I will call the subtle appearances of his ethnic identity and his sense of community belonging throughout his works. In a way, Hüsni has never wanted to be freed from such an identity; it has always emerged through his performance style (‘playing like a gypsy’), appearance and life style. However, he has deliberately avoided the associated parochialism with evocations of Romanness or an overt commodification of that identity.³⁰

Such a subtle or careful evocation of Romanness is illustrated by the albums he produced with the ensemble Laço Tayfa, which was founded by Hüsni Şenlendirici during his collaboration with Brooklyn Funk Essentials: *Hicaz Dolap* (2002) and

³⁰ The reader might find this assertion contradictory to Hüsni’s image in popular media such as TV shows or serials. Indeed, his hesitation to invoke a notion of Romanness in his albums and other music projects is in striking contrast to his reaction to his image in the popular media. Şenlendirici seems far from being uncomfortable with the overt commodification of his ethnic identity in popular TV programs. A recent example is a music contest, *İlle de Roman Olsun* broadcasted on *Show TV*, one of the most popular TV channels in Turkey. Hüsni Şenlendirici appears as a member of the jury in the contest. This program seems to be the Roman version of the other preceding TV music contests, namely *Popstar* or *Popstar Alaturka*, although the producers are different. The producers of these programs responded *İlle de Roman Olsun* with a music contest, the name of which evidently reveals that it is a continuation of the generic version (*Popstar*), namely *Romanstar*, broadcasted on *Fox TV* by bringing Kibariye, another Roman idol, to the jury of the contest.

Bergama Gaydası (2000)³¹. In these albums, one could hardly find overt marks of Roman identity neither in visual nor textual terms. Moreover, the selection of the repertoire does not suggest any exclusive emphasis on Roman identity. For example, despite the use of the name of a particular locality (his hometown) in the title of the album, ‘*Bergama*’ *Gaydası*, the repertoire, besides some Roman tunes, ranges from *zeybek* to Azeri tunes, from Istanbul to Central Anatolian songs. Hüsnü owes his increasing popularity to the success of his solo album released in 2005, *Hüsn-ü Klarnet* (*The joy of the Clarinet*) with which he was able to win MÜYAP’s Golden Record Award in 2007 (see Figure 4.5).



Figure 4.5. The cover of the album, *Hüsn-ü Klarnet* by Hüsnü Şenlendirici (Doublemoon, 2005)

The album, *Hüsn-ü Klarnet* does not directly evoke Romanness through the visual and textual materials in contrast to the other usual examples by Roman musicians in world music in which Romanness is called forth overtly. Moreover, the selection of album repertoire does not show any sign of preoccupation with Roman identity. In addition to a composition by Şenlendirici himself, the album includes

³¹ Both albums were released by Doublemoon. However, *Bergama Gaydası* was also released by the American world music label, Traditional Crossroads with the name of *Çiftetelli* (2000).

rearrangements of popular pieces, folk songs and a piece from Turkish classical music.³² The liner notes to the album describe a process in which the ‘music of the backstreets’ is displaced so that it is no longer defined in terms of the place of its origin:

Şenlendirici opens new horizons to the music that we are accustomed to listening to in backstreet places ... by displacing it from the place where it belongs ... and making it a world tune. He plays for the hundreds of people in the main streets of the world ... Being a worldly known clarinetist, he gives the audience not only his breath but also his heart to with the pieces in this album which combine emotionality and playfulness in a masterful manner³³

The quotation and the rest of the liner notes not only describe a process in which the ‘music of the backstreets’ was transformed into a ‘world tune’ but also they highlight sincerity or intimacy as the main motivation behind such a transformation. This is where one might speculatively claim the appearance of another authenticity, the authenticity of sincerity or honesty. As Taylor (1994, 30-1) suggests “being true to myself” refers to a notion exclusively belonging to the modern consciousness and closely associated with “being true to my own originality”. This sense of sincerity and a claim of deeper individuality also goes with “doing your own thing” or “finding your own fulfillment” (Taylor 1991, 29). This was a repetitive theme during the course of the interview with Şenlendirici as well. He frequently emphasized the importance of artists realizing their ‘own’ styles through means which express their originality and individuality. Moreover, while he seems to regard cosmopolitanism as a means to reach a desired level of originality that would express his personality and individual artistry, he tends to put forward Romanness or belonging to a particular

³² It is worth noting that the piece in the album, *İstanbul İstanbul Olah*, which was composed by one of the most popular singers in Turkey, Sezen Aksu, especially contributed much to Hüsni’s growing popularity. At the time the album was released, he had appeared on most of the TV channels to perform the piece. As another interesting note, one of the private clarinet instructors that I interviewed told me that some people are asking for private lessons for only to be able to play the piece with clarinet.

³³ Beşer, Murat. Liner notes to the album, *Hüsni Klarnet*, by Hüsni Şenlendirici (Doublemoon, 2005).

community as authenticating his sincerity or honesty that, nonetheless, excludes any parochialism or conservatism.

Indeed, discourses of authenticity as sincerity are commonly used in a way to express popular opposition against commercialism or commodification in music industry. Such discourses simply mean to say that (though it seems very naïve) an alternative way to express things in music terms is possible without falling into traps of the commercial music industry. A recent project, Taksim Trio, that Hüsnü Şenlendirici, his beloved friend, İsmail Tunçbilek, and Aytaç Doğan organized, perfectly exemplifies the embodiment of the discourse of authenticity as sincerity in the ways mentioned above. Their album, which has the same title as the band, seems to illustrate the concept of collective performance based on improvisation, including sessions in which the musicians came together in a studio (indeed Hüsnü's own studio in which our interview took place) and performed what they wanted to play without any rehearsal. The liner notes to the album, indeed, explain well what Hüsnü told me repetitively during our interview: this is a performance the logic of which directly contrasts with that of the 'commodity production' in the Turkish music industry:

We are in a factory of *bits* in Istanbul in which typical 90s' Turkish pop songs (with 45 second dance intros poured from the fresh lips of the flamboyantly dressed ladies and of the perfectly educated vocals) are produced in a way similar to the production of cars in banded conveyors. But now, there is no sign of pressure to make the production in time. Rather, we are witnessing a peaceful chat among four men (three musicians in the recording studio and their sound engineer friend) assessing a song that they just finished. We pretend to understand and enjoy the company of friends while they are laughing but indeed we are just deceiving ourselves. We then found that this chat took place in a language of Orwellian "someone is watching us" manner. Then everything seems to be clear already: this is the language of communication among studio musicians who once gave life to the Turkish popular music industry. It is a style that they developed among themselves in order not to call attention to the nervous singers, producers and other unnecessary *personas* during the main recording or performance ... While biting from his pizza, Aytaç says "from now on the studio works will never be the way

they used to be” (emphases added and the excerpt is translated from the liner notes in the Turkish release).³⁴

The album, *Taksim Trio*, was ranked fourth in the WMCE charts in February 2008. This success alone shows what opportunities the rise of world music gives to the invisible figures behind stars, studio musicians. In a way, the changing status of the studio musicians has significant implications for the Roman musicians in particular. In both the experiments of ethnic jazz in the 1970s by Okay Temiz, Burhan Öçal and some other Western jazz musicians and the more popular music forms in the 1990s (especially Turkish pop music besides some ‘local’ Roman music productions), Roman musicians have mostly remained anonymous at least for the listeners, mostly remaining studio musicians. Especially in the more popular examples, they have more or less lived on per diems and usually had no claim to the copyright on the final work.³⁵ Although being not necessarily among those studio musicians, Taksim Trio members and this project show how such an anonymous status of Roman musicians (or studio musicians) has turned out to be the reverse at least in their case: they are now internationally acclaimed musicians who do not need to collaborate with famous figures.

Returning to the issue of sincerity and purported anti-commercialism in the discourses associated with the album, what renders this project sincere and honest, as suggested in the liner notes and the visual materials, is its being a collective performance, the enchanting atmosphere of which owes much to the truthful friendship among musicians. The personal relationships between musicians are in a way transferred symbolically to the musical interaction taking place throughout the course of the performance. Şenlendirici himself reveals this point: “making music is something similar to love or even having sex ... watch *Taksim Trio* DVD for

³⁴ Hazar, Nedim. Liner notes to the *Taksim Trio* by Taksim Trio (Doublemoon, 2007).

³⁵ For a very interesting interview with the famous clarinetist Deli Selim, a very important figure for Roman musicians, see Aral (1998). Selim’s memories show how such important figures have played for almost nothing in different (Roman music) albums released by *Unkapam* firms. He died in 1995.

example ... it was not necessarily the terrific performance that would enchant the audience but the ‘language’ among us - that friendship, that mood”. In a way, Şenlendirici’s sense of belonging to his Roman community paradoxically fosters his perceived notion of cosmopolitanism. He almost always chooses to collaborate with his Roman friends, a major example of which is the appearance of İsmail Tunçbilek his later two works. Şenlendirici seems to believe that it is the only way to express the sincerity and intimacy of the music that they perform. As illustrated by the quote above, the album was released as DVD+CD so that the mood of the performance is ‘displayed’ in audiovisual terms. The album cover depicts musicians as if they are in their daily rehearsal sessions, which, in a way, fosters the idea of sincerity or honesty and shows their intimate relationships among each other (Figure 4.6).



Figure 4.6. The cover the album, *Taksim Trio* by Taksim Trio (Doublemoon, 2007)

However, a striking contrast to this image of simplicity and obviousness, the liner notes to the DVD version present the album in a very enigmatic way. The title on the back cover “A super-ambient journey deep into your soul” continues as follows:

Bonded to their instruments, committed to their friendship, Taksim Trio is a sublime example of what happens when three like-minded souls mix, mingle and merge into one ... Dancing between different musical styles such as traditional,

arabesque, jazz and avant-garde the musicians emerge with their very own sound. Some of the works on the album include phrases of music that will sound familiar and yet different, as the musicians update melodies they have picked up on their journeys to reflect their own musical identities ... This honest and compelling album conveys the undeniable fact that for these musicians music is sacred. Taksim Trio is a super-ambient album meant to seep into the listener's mind and unravel over time.

The reader will immediately realize that the statement above describes the album almost as if it were a ritualistic practice; it uses terms such as unraveling over time, sacredness, or becoming one rather than simply introducing the music and musicians. In a way, through the performance's purported rituality and its 'unique existence' (displayed through the accompanying DVD) the work reclaims its aura, though obviously in a very suspicious way.³⁶ This sense of pseudo irreproducibility is actually fostered by the ostensibly evoked sincerity and an overemphasis on the nature of the musical performance itself, namely improvisational sessions.

4.4. Concluding remarks:

It is striking to see that the authenticity as invoking the intimacy and other senses of locality and authenticity as "cultural/ethnographic accuracy" (Taylor 1997, 21) appeared respectively in Sesler's earlier and later works discussed in detail in this chapter. Such discourses of authenticity give way to authenticity with a peculiar emphasis on originality and sincerity in the case of Şenlendirici. The symbolic and discursive uses of Romanness in the world music arena also changes accordingly in these three different discourses of authenticity. While the first two rely upon an essentialist (and mostly idealized) Roman identity in order to 'authenticate' their respective authenticities (or senses of 'locality'), the latter evokes a certain level of Romanness as means to reach a desired level of originality and sincerity at the same

³⁶ As implied by the terms used, the point directly refers to Benjamin's renowned essay written in 1935, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1968). There, Benjamin announces the death of aura of the artwork by declaring that "the technique of reproduction detaches the reproduced object from the domain of tradition. By making many copies it substitutes a plurality of copies for a unique existence" (1968, 223). The aura used in the main text is used in a very limited sense to refer to the repeated discourse associated with the album emphasizing its uniqueness (in terms of the moment the performance took place) and the unrepeatability since it is mainly based on improvisational sessions.

time. The perceived features of a Roman musician mentioned before, such as a flexible repertoire, higher improvisational skills, etc., also play a major role in the ability to shift from primary emphasis on belonging to emphasis on cosmopolitanism. In a sense, Roman identity is Janus-faced in its functions: on the one hand, Roman music implies a strong sense of community belonging, making it one of the most proper music forms to be incorporated as 'local' music in the world music discourse. On the other hand, it also signifies a certain level of cosmopolitanism in the symbolic language associated with music, a notion which is usually evidenced by the perceived musical skills of the Roman musicians mentioned before. Furthermore, as discussed in Şenlendirici's case, an accentuated notion of sincerity and "being true to one's own originality" usually leads to a discourse of anti-commercialism that presents the work as an immediate expression of originality, world-view or creativity of the artists concerned. Such purported distance from the commodifying logic of the music industry signifies a very similar position to what Taylor (1997, 22-3) described with the term 'authenticity of positionality'. In this context authenticity claims the work represents "real rather than the produced". As discussed above, such alleged notions of sincerity and transparency were evident in the case of Taksim Trio, a band which claims to be in the pursuit of anything 'real' rather than 'productions' in the 'factory of hits'.

Moreover, the incorporation of Roman music into world music and the corresponding marketing strategies are discursively based on the notions of ethnicity and locality. While some of the works conceived as Roman music as world music appropriate and commodify Roman identity as an ethnic 'timbre', in a close association with that, they also utilize the senses of locality seen as inherent in the Roman music. I will argue that although these two notions, the senses of ethnicity and locality, are mostly overlapped so as to make it difficult to separate one from the other in the discourses of Roman music as world music, the sense of locality is more important and easier to evoke in Roman music as world music in Turkey. Thus, the case of Roman music, as it is incorporated into the world music discourse, perfectly exemplifies the construction of 'locality' based on an idealized and commodified

notion of Romanness through the modification or incorporation of the global discourse of world music within the 'local'. In contrast to the common global pattern of the incorporation of gypsy music in which a strong Roma identity comes into prominence as a marker of a particular ethnic origin, in Turkish case, however, ethnicity mostly deserves limited space although there are noisy evocations of community belonging and the senses of locality in (especially in the recent examples). Such a relative retrojection of the concerns of ethnic identity partly starts to make sense considering the fact that the Roman communities in Turkey are generally regarded as lacking a certain level of ethnic awareness and are criticized for this reason by some Roma activists in Europe (Strand 2002).³⁷ Moreover, although they seem profitable for the global markets, the cultural goods with a glaring ethnic label are not so much appealing and viable in Turkey; they mostly remain marginal outside the ethnic community they address.³⁸ Moreover, the popular image of Romanness in Turkey never makes such a commodification of ethnic identity more profitable and reasonable than the commodification (and construction) of a particular Roman 'locality'. Thus ethnicity can be seen as one of the (mollified)

³⁷ Strand states that the main difference between Romans in Turkey and Roma in Europe lies in ethnic 'awareness'. For her, "a muslim Roman identifies himself/herself more with a Turkish Muslim (albeit he/she is *gadjo*), and less with a foreign (Christian), *yabancı* Rom." (2002, 101). She adds that some Roma activists in Europe think that gypsies in Turkey need to be "awakened". Similar perspectives are raised in Mischek (2002) as well. The Roman communities in *Tophane* have generally three levels of identity construction, one of which implies nationhood, being a Turk.

³⁸ The case with Aynur discussed in the previous chapter is illuminating here. Due to obvious evocations of Kurdishness, her works remained largely peripheral outside the Kurdish audience and (some) leftist circles for a long time. Her works started to be acclaimed by a wider audience only after the mollification of such an ethnic identity in a popular film featuring Aynur and other musicians, *Gönül Yarası* (directed by Yavuz Turgul, 2005). However, Aynur's image in the global world music arena is totally associated with an overt Kurdish identity (see the relevant discussion in section 3.4). Thus, in the global markets, the promotion of her works has largely depended on an intense commodification of her Kurdishness. It is also worth noting that the music works seen as expressions of particular political resistance movements are more likely to be popularized in the global world music industry, because the audience tends to view such works as being outside the mainstream Western music industry although they indeed are and therefore exhibit a particular characteristic of the popular works as defined by the world music discourse (Inti Illimani, a Chilean protest group, *Seize the Day*, an expression of anti-war movement, and Asian Dub Foundation, with aggressive political messages are some prominent examples). Thus, besides being an expression of Kurdish identity, her works are also marketed as the sounds of a political resistance movement based on that particular ethnic identity.

components of the construction of Roman community and locality within the discourse of the Roman music as world music.

Thus the commodification of Romanness seems to occur more on the basis of a notion of locality that is constructed via senses of community belonging rather than via senses of ethnic identity.³⁹ This belonging might express various levels of attachment to place, namely *mahalle*, town or village or other spatial locations (such as, *Sulukule*, Keşan, and Istanbul respectively). Moreover, this sense of attachment or belonging is further fostered by the life-style and musical tradition that characterizes that particular place. However, Romanness as signifier of a particular locality rarely implies a particular place and its respective forms of community belonging but instead implies a popular image of being Roman (as in Şenlendirici's case) that emphasizes musical qualities and attitudes. However, it is also worth noting that recently there is a tendency to represent Romanness as an ethnic identity in international festivals, probably due to the interaction with the other Rom musicians coming from different regions to the festivals.⁴⁰

In order to understand the specific dynamics of various music forms incorporated into the world music discourse and how these forms are responded to and are shaped by the global markets, one should focus on the interplay between the cultural capitals of the actors and the demands of the global markets. However, the forms of cultural capital are not predefined; they are formed and redefined (mostly modified) according to the forms of cultural capitals that are seen as valid and 'rewardable' by the global discourse of world music. Those 'valid' forms of cultural capital are

³⁹ A recent case mentioned before is an interesting example. A music contest titled *Romanstar* is possible and quite profitable as an expression of a particular locality and culture. However, a music contest, say 'Kurdstar', is even unthinkable as a part of popular culture since the Kurdish identity is totally constructed on the basis of ethnic essentialism and directly connotes Kurdish nationalist political movements.

⁴⁰ At this point it is useful to remember one of the quotes in section 4.1. The non-Roman clarinetist, Serkan Çağrı's criticized Roman musicians in Turkey as lacking the 'necessary' ethnic awareness to represent Romanness in Turkey in international festivals. Although it is a mere speculation, Çağrı's statements might reflect the feelings of Roman musicians in international festivals.

defined in terms of familial, class, ethnic, academic, etc. backgrounds, which in turn appear as authenticity, locality, emotionality, anti-commercialism, sincerity etc., in marketing discourses. These ascribed or achieved forms of capital are always subject to redefinition and reappropriation in relation to the ways in which the market demands or responds to those sources of cultural capital. These relationships, remaining extremely abstract up to now, can be observed in the case of Roman music as it is incorporated into world music in their concrete forms. Being from the Roman community or not, being *alaylı* or *okullu* within the community, or being born into a musician family, for example, are all significant components of ‘valid’ forms of cultural capital. These various forms of cultural capital are embodied in the performance styles of the musical instruments and the different forms of Roman music as world music. For example, being *alaylı* is mostly associated with virtuosity on *gırnata*; it is mostly viewed as a skill that could not be gained only through academic musical education. Thus the perceived distance between being *alaylı* and having formal education (without also being *alaylı*) defines one of the main components of the valid forms of cultural capital in the field of Roman music as world music.

However, the ways in which the actors position themselves according to the rewarded forms of capital are very complicated. This intricateness partly results from the diversity of strategies the actors choose in relation to the global world music discourse and the material constraints of a particular ‘locality’. That said various actors that utilize Romanness in one way or another choose multifarious strategies to join the field of Roman music as world music, thus articulating and redefining the discourses of a global discourse of world music. For example, Selim Sesler is mostly identified with closeness to what is constructed as local; thus his Romanness is mostly defined by its association with the ‘local’. On the other hand, Şenlendirici utilizes Romanness as means to extend beyond boundaries - the boundaries of his community and nationhood. Thus for him, Romanness is an element that brings him the ‘virtues’ of cosmopolitanism. As a non-Roman musician competing with the Roman musicians in a field in which the valid forms of cultural capital are totally

associated with being Roman, Serkan Çağrı depends mostly on his institutionalized cultural capital, his academic background - he tries to 'academize' *gırmata* and incorporate Roman music forms into the tradition of Classical Turkish Music. He also attempts to gain popularity in popular culture; however, he seems to be destined to fail in a field where being Roman is key. The case of Çağrı partly explains how an advanced virtuosity on *gırmata* is a required but not a sufficient skill for a clarinetist to be popular in Roman music as world music. It is safe to assert that in a field where the rewards are given upon being Roman, Şenlendirici, for example, has to decorate the purported cosmopolitanism with a certain level of belonging to a Roman community, and even use his Romanness discursively as means to maintain such cosmopolitan attitudes. This fact alone explains the contradiction between the subtle evocation of Romanness in his musical works; and his apparent eagerness (or need) to exhibit his Romanness in various forms of popular culture (music contests, TV serials, etc.) in very overt ways.

It is not possible to assert a similarity between various soundscapes in terms of the strategies of the actors and the 'valid' cultural capitals specific to them. For example, if we attempt to propose a similarity between Sufi music and Roman music as they are incorporated into a world music discourse, then coming from a *Neyzen* family is anticipated to constitute the keystone of the valid forms of cultural capital in the respective field, which is not the case at all as will be shown in the next chapter. As another example, ney is supposed to be used as a metaphor in explaining Sufi music like *gırmata* in Roman music within and through which some particular familial, ethnic, and class characteristics are embodied. This point would imply that having a formal education and coming from a Sufi tradition are backbones of the valid capitals in that field. However, an investigation into the specific dynamics of Sufi music as world music will prove such assumptions and assertions to be either contentious or totally wrong. The next chapter will explore how Sufi music is redefined and appropriated within the discourses of world music to discover the operative dynamics in that respective field and how a notion of locality and spirituality is constructed within the discourses of Sufi music as world music.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUFI MUSIC AS A SPIRITUAL JOURNEY

5.1. Sufi music and the constructions of spirituality in the global markets

... the reason that it [*The Rhythm of the Saints*] wasn't as big a hit was because there's no drum kit on the whole record - it's just percussion. It's just not as simple a beat - you've got 9/8 time signatures in there, minor key songs, much less familiar sounds than you heard in *Graceland*. Now with *Graceland* the South African rhythm comes from a drum kit; they're in 4-4 and they're heavily influenced by English-speaking music because the English live there. But the West African stuff is much more inclined towards 6/8 or 9/8. It's more complex patterns, and it's harder to hear the patterns that the guitarist plays. But that's what it was about, it was about rhythms - it was about the *Rhythm of the Saints*, that why it was called that and that's what it was about. I never thought it was going to be as big a hit as *Graceland* which was a very easy-to-grasp record. And, I don't know, *Graceland* was just one of those records that happens very seldomly in a career. Everything seemed to be right, so right...

Paul Simon (quoted in Levitin, 1997)

Paul Simon, in the quoted interview above, implicitly gives clues about what an average world music listener expects from a world music record that is bounded up with notions of spirituality. What makes *Graceland* one of the biggest hits among world music albums up to present is that it was 'easy-to-grasp' and 'so right' even though it was primarily aimed to evoke emotionality and spirituality. Although the category of world music was not incorporated into the Grammy Awards at the time that *Graceland* won the Record of the Year Award in 1987, the album has been one of the most quoted ones in academic discussions on world music. The success of the record owes much not only to its comprehensibility by the Western audience but to its thick evocation of spirituality as well.

However, it would be misleading to say that the success of a particular record totally depends on its comprehensibility by the Western audience. On the contrary, the earlier world music albums in particular used to be charged with a rough (and mostly banal) exoticism in which the notion of spirituality was established through the obscurity of the musical forms to the Western audience. Thus, the sounds owed their purported spirituality to being cryptic (or even nonsensical) to an average Western audience, even though the sounds mostly remained dull for the place from which those sounds originated. That is to say, for a Western audience who is bored with mainstream Western music and who is searching for 'alternative' sounds, the more those sounds were strange and vague, the more spiritual and exotic they seemed to the audience. Moreover, while there is an obvious association between sacredness and spirituality, it is hard to say that the construction of spirituality necessarily relies on 'sacred sounds'. On the contrary, many of the prominent examples in the world music arena employ the notion of spirituality without depending upon sounds of the sacred. For example, Tuvan throat singers, who are primarily known for evoking spirituality rather than creating a sense of authenticity, do not have a repertoire of sacred sounds.¹ This fact alone explains how the various elements of world music discourse, including spirituality, are interwoven with each other so as to be individually indistinguishable - they constitute a seemingly monolithic discursive notion, such as authenticity, exoticity, etc.

Obviously, the constructions of spirituality have constituted a significant part of world music discourse. It is so much so that the albums categorized as world music later on were initially categorized as new age, which was heavily associated with the

¹ While, for example, Kalan's release *Music and Throat Playing of the Yörük in Anatolia* has a strong connotation of authenticity as discussed in a previous chapter, Tuvan throat singers have become famous for their eccentric sounds, strangeness, and corresponding spirituality.

notions of religiosity and spirituality.² Thus the distinction between the categories of new age and world music has remained fuzzy for some time and what renders such a distinction obscure was probably the fact that both of these genres establish their distinctive position within the music industry by primarily evoking a sense of spirituality. The popularity of the New Age movement peaked in the 1980s. However, its corresponding art forms, including new age music, prepared an appropriate ground for world music to gain popularity under the label of 'spiritual' or 'ambient'. More than having been an artistic reflection of the New Age movement, which is defined as spiritual, religious, philosophical, and eclectic (Kyle, 1995), New Age music has promised to remain outside of what has been defined as mainstream Western music, another point besides the evoking of spirituality where the categories of New Age and world music overlapped. Moreover, the New Age movement was based on political ideas that claim "ultimate cultural evolution of human societies through the transformation of individuals" (Schreiner 2004 quoted in King 2005, 8) with a primary emphasis on the importance of inner awareness, personal development and personal experience. It seems that the discursive constructions of spirituality in world music appropriated the latter without an overt articulation of the former, as we will see in this chapter. I will argue that the discursive centering of the Other in the world music not only renders it different from the New Age but also makes the constructions of spirituality more viable and convincing than those in new age music. As Taylor (1997, 24) suggests, "listeners' demands for *authentic* spirituality apply to Others, whose perceived enigmatic qualities are often interpreted as spiritual" (emphasis is mine). Thus, the sounds gain a purported authenticity in discourses of world music while they also evoke a notion of spirituality, a combination which results in a so-called 'more real' spirituality. Like the other music traditions that are labeled as sacred, the incorporation of the Sufi music into world music has mostly been based on the discursive constructions of

² Taylor (1997, 5-6) states that the category of world music was juxtaposed with the New Age chart in 1990 - the same person organizes both these charts. Regarding the New Age movement, the coalescence with an eclectic notion of religiosity is apparent. The New Age movement is almost a quasi-religion and it implies a combination of diverse religious traditions including eastern traditions, Christianity and occult practices.

spirituality. Before delving into how Sufi music is incorporated into world music in Turkey, I will briefly give some information about the musical practices of the Sufi orders and how ‘music’ can be located within the symbolic universe of Sufi orders (*tariqas*) with respect to its functions and meanings.

First, the term ‘Sufi music’ itself is quite problematic since the practices framed within the term music in Western literature are called *sama*³ in Islamic literature and are associated with the practices of worship. Moreover, the term Sufi music refers to a genre as if it has some particular elements that are the same for every ‘Sufi music’. It is quite obvious that the term turns out to be a genre because of the common (mis)conception that its functions and significance are almost the same in every Sufi order. However, the diversity of Sufisms in ritual practices and interpretations of the Qur’an make such a conception totally wrong. What is conceived as music and whether ‘music’ is permissible in Islam would shed light on this issue. Most of the debates on music in Islamic literature have revolved around the question of whether music is legitimate or illegitimate, even if it is used for religious purposes as in the rituals of Sufi orders. The debates show a diverse range of approaches that vary from the complete rejection of the legitimacy of music to the affirmation of the legitimacy of all forms of it, including forms associated with bodily movements.⁴ The debates, rather than solely expressing various perspectives on the properness of music, represent different Islamic schools as well. As Gritbetz (1991:52) contends, the different opinions regarding the *sama* in Islamic world “can be viewed as part of a larger controversy which exists between the Sufis and the legalists, namely the Sufi support of the Neoplatonic ‘eros’ doctrine, and the Hanbalite-orthodox support of

³ *Sama* literally means audition or listening in Arabic. Thus, in a way, listening to the recitation of the Qur’an can be called *sama* as well. Here it denotes the worship practices involving voices and/or sounds and sometimes involving bodily movements.

⁴ While the term, dance, is generally preferred in literature, I use the term ‘movement’ in order to avoid some connotations of the term, dance, such as performance as a conscious and an organized activity, and obvious implication of eurocentrism. Thus, the movement here denotes something done unconsciously or, more precisely, the bodily responses to the psychic experiences during *sama*. In this way, the movement here fundamentally sets these experiences apart from the public performances of *Sama* for the purposes of art and entertainment, such as the ‘whirling dervishes’ of Mevlevi tradition.

the ‘nomos’ doctrine.” Although this perspective bears the danger of offering a generalized account of otherwise diverse Sufisms, in line with this perspective, the side of the debate in favor of music has been usually Sufi thinkers. Some Sufi thinkers defend music not only as a permissible (*halal*) but a necessary (*wajib*) practice (Lewisohn 1997, 2).⁵ One of the most prominent Sufi thinkers, Al-Ghazali, devoted a significant part of his monumental book, ‘The Revival of the Religious Sciences’ (*Ihya ulum al-din*), to the defense of *sama* (quoted in Lewisohn 1997, 1):

There is no way of extracting such hidden things save by the flint and steel of audition to poetry and music (*sama*), and there is no entrance to the heart save by the ante chamber of the ears. So musical tones, measured and pleasing, bring forth what is in it and make evident its beauties and defects.

However, although this work is probably the most referenced by the people defending the virtues of *sama*, as Shiloah (1997, 143-4) aptly notes, literary works distinguish between *ghina* (cantus), which refers to secular art music, performance and music-making that mainly takes place in the urban sphere, and *sama* which is conceived as ‘non-music’. Moreover, *ghina* was usually banished by most of the authors.⁶ Thus, in those debates what music or *sama* connotes is the use of music in worship practices rather than music per se. In a sense, *sama* involves listening “the same as that in hearing God’s word, as opposed to music with a secular focus” (Waugh 2005, 143).

⁵ This is not to say that all Sufi orders affirm the virtue of music or even accept that it is legitimate in terms of Islamic rules. An extreme example is the Naqshabandiyya order which refuses legitimacy of music in the rituals, almost condemning music totally. However, even among Naqshabandis some exceptions can be found such as the Naqshabandis in Khorasan who use frame drums (*def*) or long-necked lutes (*tanbur* or *diitar*) in their *zikr* (Blum 2002, 825).

⁶ Some Islamic thinkers condemned almost all activities that can be associated with music. People defending such a perspective generally refer to the works of Ibn Abi’l-Dunya (823-894). Dunya, in his treatise *Dhamm al-malahi*, Condemnation of Malahi (derives from lahw- diversion), condemned almost all activities of recreation and amusement, including almost all kinds of music as distracting muslims from fulfilling their religious duties. According to the treatise, “upon hearing it, the Prophet plugged his ears and called it *mizmar al-shaitan* (the devil's mizmar)” (Shiloah 1997, 147). Shiloah also mentions another hadith appeared in the treatise: “When a man rides a beast without mentioning *Allah*, the devil rides behind him and says to him: ‘Sing’; then, if he does not do it well, he says to him, ‘Do obeisance’” (ibid, 147).

Furthermore, the voices, sounds and bodily movements have functions corresponding to the symbolic universe and doctrine of any Sufi order (*tariqa*). However diverse the Sufism(s) might be, particular elements within the doctrines of those religious congregations allow us to label all of them as Sufi for theoretical purposes.⁷ The underlying assertion or belief in almost all *tariqas* is the predominance of the esoteric or inward (*batin*) aspects of Islam or Qur'an over the exoteric or external (*ẓahir*) in search of the *Haqiqa* (the Truth) or the spiritual union with the *Haqq* (the God, Allah). The interpretation of Qur'an (*tafsir*) based on primarily the Qur'an, the hadith, the reports of the *Sahabas* (companions of the Muhammad) and those who learned or heard from them constitutes a significant part of Islamic knowledge (*ilm*) and aims at revealing the *batin* dimensions of Qur'an. However, Sufism claims to have a direct knowledge of the *Haqiqa* through *batin* which sets them apart from the formal/juristic Islam in terms of the significance of *batin*. Rituals as sources of communal and personal experience form a significant part of the esoteric or *batin* aspect of the *tariqa* (as constituent of the transcendental), a knowledge that can only be attained by self transformation and that indeed constitutes the distinctive character of the *tariqas* or *tasawwuf* from the juristic Islam. *Batin* is conceived as the exclusive space in which attaining the knowledge of the Truth takes place by means of direct experience and various states (*hal*). Therefore, rituals including the ones associated with *sama* constitute a significant part of the notion of experience that constitutes the core of the realm of *batin*.

⁷ Berkey's (2002) survey of especially the extremist Sufi orders might give an idea how Sufi orders differ from each other in terms of their understanding of Islam and their practices. While Shadhiliyya was very temperate, Rifa'iyya, on the other hand, had very extreme practices such as "fire-walking and fire-swallowing and their 'howling' type of dhikr" (2002, 238-9). Qalandariyya, known as being antinomian, overtly disregarded religious law. They were acting against sunna by engaging in practices such as dressing in rags or nothing, shaving almost all hair on their bodies, or disregarding prayer. They used hashish and other types of intoxicants and pierced parts of their bodies including genitals (2002, 245).

The term *hadra*, an Arabic term that literally means ‘presence’⁸, constitutes the main collective ritual practice of the *tariqas*. It basically includes the recitation of the devotional texts particular to that order and various forms of *zikr* (often translated as invocation, remembrance, or sometimes as recollection or mentioning). Despite the diversity of liturgical practices among various orders, *zikr* exists in every Sufi order in one form or another, which alone explains its importance as an indispensable element of rituals and worship practices of the *tariqas*.⁹ *Zikr* consists of the repetition of the names of *Allah*, or some derivatives of those names or their syllables, and some sacred formulas, such as *Allah Hu* (He is God) or *Hayy Hu* (He is the Living one).¹⁰ Communal or collective *zikr* creates a “corporate ecstasy” (Waugh 1989, 196-7) and enables devotees to internalize the worship practices as part of their collective identity. Personal *zikr* leads the devotees “to experience the Sufi path as part of their own existential self” and “a collective arena where Sufi identities are constructed and displayed as expressions of the mystical self of the participants” (Pinto 2002, 293-

⁸ Trimmingham (1998, 204) suggests that the term ‘presence’ here does not denote the presence of God (like “*al-hadrat ar-Rububiya*”) since God is seen as omnipresent, but the presence of the Prophet.

⁹ For a classical Islamic text which sees *zikr* as the most virtuous worshipping practice, see Al-Jilani’s (1077-1166) *Sirr al-Asrar* (English translation, *The Secret of Secrets*, published in 1992). He establishes a hierarchy among different levels or modes of *zikr* that indicates the closeness of the devotee to the Haqq. It is striking to see that the hierarchy starts from the vocal *zikr* (*dhikr jali*) in which the names of *Allah* are pronounced in words. It then continues with silent remembrance and remembrance of the heart. At the final level, there is ‘*dhikr khafi*’, in which the voice is totally excluded and the devotee is supposed to reach to a state of annihilation of self (*fana*) and union with the *Haqq*, the Truth, the God (1992, 45). As another example, Al-Ghazali directly associates the practice of *zikr* with “the science of unveiling” (quoted in Sonneborn 1995, 51-2) which means lifting the curtain that hides the truth from the servants.

¹⁰ The Encyclopedia of Islam’s description of *zikr* is relevant at this point: “The parallelism between the repetition of the divine names and Islamic theology is significant; in Ashari theology the divine names are the attributes of God and are the faculties through which the divine essence interacts with the created world. Recitation of divine names thus reinforced the Islamic cosmology of Sufism” (Martin 2004, 688).

4).¹¹ It is rather difficult to distinguish *sama* from *zikr* since the two forms overlap and intermingle. During (1992, 281) places particular emphasis on this question and states that *zikr* “lies at the border between speech and music”. As During (1992, 282) suggests, when these two forms exist together they tend to fuse into each other:

... in collective performances the verbal dhikr sometimes serves as an ostinato background for a melody which can lead to the superimposition of the verbal upon a melody, or to the incorporation of a dhikr in a chorus, i.e., chanted dhikr. In some cases a song gradually takes the form of a dhikr by reducing its melodic range and by repeating a verbal formula. Finally there are melodies devoid of verbal support but whose rhythms suggest to the initiated listener a verbal or silent dhikr communicating the ‘objective Sufic quality’... In such cases the structure of both the melody and rhythm are inspired by common dhikr formulas.

Thus, beyond the idea of these two forms complementing each other in Sufi rituals, it should be noted that the boundary between them sometimes ceases to exist. This point is very critical for our purposes. An extreme example of an intermingled type of *zikr-sama* ritual is Mevlevi *ayin* (sema), which is known particularly in Turkish tradition. Indeed, During is criticized for his inaccurate assertion that Mevlevi sema (*sama*) is not equal to *zikr* ritual conceptually (Vicente 2007, 198). Indeed, Mevlevi sema is simply a version of Sufi *zikr* (Vicente 2007; Pinto 2002). Thus the categorical

¹¹ *Zikr*’s significance cannot be exaggerated in *tariqa*’s ritual practices. The Path (*tariqa*) of Sufism involves an order of stations (*maqamat*) in which a Sufi strives to advance to a further stage (*maqam*) to unionize with the *Haqq*. The ultimate stage is generally defined as the stage of Love and Gnosis (*ma’rifah*) that leads to the Vision of God and Union with the Divine (Smith 1995, 170-4) or the ‘way of knowledge’, *ma’rifah* (Glasse 2003, 437). *Zikr* is almost the sole method to create a gradual transformation within the self and even the body of the devotee to prepare oneself for the higher *maqam*. A graduate student who was a part of the Naqshbandiyya order for about two years in Turkey described the virtue of *zikr* in a way that confirms the centrality of *zikr* in *tariqas*’ ritual practices. It is useful to quote from the interview to illustrate how powerful the practice of *zikr* is for the *tariqas* - so much as to create a transformation in the body and the soul of the murids. “After the initiation, murids receive permission from the *shaykh* to begin silent *zikr* which is generally five thousand times a day at the beginning. This can be a hundred and one thousand times a day maximum. Only very few people can manage this. Indeed, they rarely permit more than five thousand for the beginners since it is dangerous. It is so because with personal *zikr* the curtains are gradually lifted. And if you are not prepared for this it is dangerous for you ... During this silent *zikr*, you cannot control yourself and you lose yourself totally sometimes. They encourage this state ... During silent *zikr* you hit chakras in order to kill your *nafs*. You suffer from intolerable pain after hitting chakras for some time. Your purpose here is to kill your *nafs* and this alone creates a big pain in your body and soul”. (Interview by the author, Ankara, August 23, 2007).

distinction made between *dhikr* and *sama* on the basis of the possession of melody used by During is very problematic. *Sama* can be seen as a part of *zikr* ceremony, if one needs a distinction for theoretical purposes. In this conception, verbal invocation or repetition of some sacred texts only constitutes a part of the *zikr* ritual, which consists of ‘*zikr* proper’, *sama* and some other practices that are difficult to categorically define. *Sama* is much more important in some Sufi orders, even to the extent of excluding ‘*zikr* proper’. In those contexts *sama* takes a form of *zikr* that does not necessarily involve vocal repetition, a situation which leads participants to mentally recite various *zikr* formulas. The altered states of consciousness emerging during *zikr* and *sama* are generally seen as a required element of the state of *fana* or passing beyond existence in order to lose oneself in the love of Allah.¹² The state of *fana*, a temporary state that prepares individuals to live in a state of *baqa*, that permanence, inevitably includes a state of trance (*wajd*). For Glasse (2003, 117) trance is created as the supposed replacement of self with *Allah* in the practice of *dhikr*, or to say it in a more striking manner, the presence of *Allah* as both the *dhakir* and *madhkur* at the same time. Similarly, Rouget (1985, 26) states that in the communal trance “the relationship between divinity and subject is seen as an encounter, which, depending upon the individual, is experienced as a communion, a revelation, or an illumination”.¹³ It is obvious that the *sama* ritual follows the pattern of ‘*zikr* proper’ in its redundancy and the instruments are behaving as *zakir* (Jairazbhoy 1984, 34):

¹² Sonneborn (1995, 48) states that the state of *fana* is followed by the state of *baqa* which is defined as “that which remains”. In Arabic it literally means ‘permanence’ and in tasawwuf it refers to live with God in all means, that is, being full of His existence. These are the steps preceding the ultimate goal of Sufism, that is union with the *Haqq* or *ma’rifah*. Several other authors define *sama* in terms of its power to transform individuals spiritually. As an example Caton (2002, 133) suggests that, as a common understanding in Sufism, music (in fact *sama*) is believed to be capable of transforming the audience through the altered states of consciousness (*hal*) “to a more spiritual condition and then return him to the everyday world, cleansed and purified.” Thus it serves as a “bridge or an arcway of change”.

¹³ There is an emphasis on the power and significance of the trance or *wajd* among contemporary Sufi thinkers as well. As a popular example, Khan (1973, 61) states that “all revelation follows the ecstasy; all knowledge that a book can never contain, that a language can never express, nor a teacher teach, comes to him of itself.”

While all communication involves some measure of redundancy, in terms of the arts, especially music, redundancy plays a very special role. It is the principal element in setting and sustaining a hypnotic mood. An extreme instance of this is in the creation of trance to a repeated drum rhythm, a drone, or a continuously repeated phrase. An example of the last would be the *zikir* where Sufi novices repeat *La illaha illalla* over and over again in order to achieve a state of ecstasy.

However, although the trance (*wajd*) emerging from *zikir* or *sama* is permitted, rather encouraged in order to attain the state of *fana*, the perceived liminality of the state of *wajd* caused concern among Sufi thinkers. Not only can trance induce carnal desires and worldly passions, but also it can lead the devotee to transgress the boundaries established by the authority of a particular *tariqa*.¹⁴ Thus the main function music, creating a trance that should lead the devotee to experience a state of *fana*, might turn out to be a threat as well.¹⁵

Indeed, the practice of *sama* has particular functions in the symbolic universe and doctrine of a particular *tariqa*. Besides the fact that it is hardly possible to make a distinction between *zikir* and *sama*, what can be categorized as *sama* has primarily served to foster the effects of the *zikir* ritual. While the music forms associated with various Sufi orders have been incorporated into the realm of world music, the music forms have lost the meanings and significance that they used to have in their religious contexts. As a result of a complicated interaction between global discourses of world music and (what is believed or supposed to be) local forms, these forms have been decontextualized and deritualized so that they gain totally new meanings.

¹⁴ Al-Ghazali carefully warns against abandonment to the emotional disturbance caused by trance (quoted in Sonneborn 1995, 38); he praises self-control and discipline in order to be able to ‘manage’ such experiences. As another example, Dhu n-Hun al-Misri (d. 859) states that *sama* can lead to the Truth (*al-haqq*) if it is listened to in a truthful manner; however, “he who listens to it with lower soul (*al-nafs*) will become a heretic” (quoted in Sonneborn 1995, 28).

¹⁵ The dangers of *sama* is a repetitive theme in Islamic literature. There is generally reference to demonic forces especially in the forms of *sama* that are not properly realized. As During (2002a, 180) states, such references to demonic forces are simply expressions of the dangerously beguiling effect of music. He adds that this creates a confusion between *sama* and animist practices in which the ecstasy is achieved through possession by spirits. In another work (During 2002b, 884) he quotes from a Gwati musician to make a definitive distinction between two types of intoxication: one arising by possession (*jinni masti*) and the other by spiritual love (*eshqi masti*). Obviously the Sufis’ intoxication seems to belong to the latter category.

Although Sufi music does not imply a genre as if it has some particular elements that are the same for every ‘Sufi music’, two popular music forms supposedly represent Sufi music as genre in world music: the Indo-Pakistani qawwali form (which gained an international acclaim by the works of Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan) and the Mevlevi form which is known particularly for its Turkish origin.

It is useful to note that for centuries the Mevlevi order had been one of the few Sufi forms that corresponded to the popular conception of Sufism in the Western world. Feldman (2002a, 107) states that even in Ottoman times participating in the *ayin* (ceremony) of the ‘whirling dervishes’, (a buzzword which is still used to depict Mevlevis), and visiting the Mevlevi cloisters (*mevlevihane*) in Istanbul were musts for tourists. This popularity was indeed related to the role of the Mevlevi musicians in the Ottoman Empire. As Hammarlund (2001, 1) states, the members of the Mevlevi order have assumed the roles of intellectual and artistic elite; the secular court music borrowed and shared many compositional forms with the repertoire of the Mevlevi *ayin-i şerif*¹⁶, such as *peşrev* and *saz semai*. Thus, for him, the development of art music (*musike*) has largely arisen from the Mevlevi sema. Considering the popularity and significance of the Mevlevi form, it is not surprising that the incorporation of Sufi music into world music in Turkey has mostly included the appropriation of the Mevlevi form both in terms of the musical structure and the religious and philosophical themes associated with the Mevlevi order.

The following sections will discuss how the discourses of spirituality are constructed through and within the appropriation of the Sufi (Mevlevi) music and how actors utilize their cultural and social resources in order to be successful in Turkey in the arena of Sufi music as world music. The operative strategies of the actors and the valid forms of cultural and social capital are largely determined by the ways in which particular ‘local’ traditions and associated music forms are articulated and

¹⁶ *Ayin-i şerif* refers to the musical performance during the Mevlevi *mukabala* which is the whole ceremony including the recitation of Qur’an and the *Mesnevi-i Ma’nevi of Mevlana* (Binbaş 2001, 67).

appropriated within the discourses of world music. In the previous chapter we have seen how the notions of authenticity, sincerity, (Roman) locality and senses of community belonging have been contested, combined, and incorporated in various ways in discourses of Roman music as world music. Similarly, the case of Sufi music, as it has been incorporated into the discourses of world music in Turkey, exemplifies how the construction of spirituality is a multilevel process in which there are diverse discursive layers in a complicated interaction with each other. That is to say, the discourse of spirituality is an amalgamation that combines various discursive elements. Furthermore, the construction of spirituality on the basis of the cultural and religious resources of a particular 'locality' also reveals the fact that discourses of spirituality of the global world music market are reshaped, contested and appropriated according to the particular characteristics of the cultural and religious traditions of the so-called locality.

5.2. Ney's intrinsic spirituality: The music of Neyzen Süleyman Erguner

Seeman's (2002, 344) account of the attempts of the Pozitif company to bring musicians at home and abroad together for creating a fusion between Turkish music and Western is thought provocative in many respects. In 1993, as part of a jazz festival, the company brought together Lawrence Butch Morris' David Murray Big Band and the neyzen Süleyman Erguner. Although the audience did not seem to be pleased with the idea, the company continued to search for a viable fusion or synthesis - a synthesis with the Roman music as the previous chapter showed in detail. Let's listen to Erguner to see how he interpreted this project with the Big Band. His experience was contradictory to the observations of Cem Yegül, one of the founders of the Pozitif company:¹⁷

Mehmet [he refers to Mehmet Uluğ, one of the founders of Pozitif] asked me if I wanted to collaborate with the American jazz musician, Butch Morris. I was surprised with the idea: Electric guitars, trumpets, and ney? I said no at first. But it

¹⁷Cem Yegül told Seeman that "audience members left after the first twenty minutes" (Seeman 2002, 344).

was an excellent project. I told him I can do that, but I need some time to decide. I was wanting to do that but I had hesitations. I had hesitations because I had another Süleyman in myself. He was hindering me, indeed I mean the culture, my memories ... I had struggled for months with myself, couldn't sleep for nights. At the end I decided to participate in the project. I was afraid of people's reactions during the concert. An idyllic tune on the one hand coming from the ney, and a loud and fast one coming from the band on the other. I couldn't help myself but adopt them. At that moment the authentic Süleyman has gone and the ney has become a ney in that ensemble. At that moment, all of my memories, Süleyman, *ayins* and my neyzen father, Ulvi, have gone aside. I mean I felt just like falling into the sea and trying to swim. Suddenly, I heard "boo" coming from the seats at the back of the concert hall: just one man crying "boo" among thousands of others listening to the concert and enjoying it. I felt so happy, believe me. I felt as if that man were Süleyman trying to ask what I did; how dare I play with them. But that man probably enjoys listening to ney with guitar today. Thanks to God I have seen *tekkes* and *dergahs*; my childhood passed in there. But I have also seen events like this ... At the end of the day the authentic Süleyman was very happy. I felt as though I were paying back to the masters with the recording of the concert released as CD.¹⁸

The contrast between Erguner's account of the event and that of Yegül is striking. For Erguner, this project and his decision to take part in it probably heralded a turning point in his career, although it seems that the Pozitif Company had come to find the 'true' synthesis to be the one with the Roman musicians as discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Nobody can be absolutely sure if his memory deceives him about the relative success of the concert. This should have been a difficult decision for Erguner considering his familial, social, and cultural background.

Having been born in 1957 into a family with a tradition of two generations of ney playing¹⁹, Süleyman Erguner started to play ney during his early childhood. His father, Ulvi Erguner, and his grandfather, Süleyman Erguner, were also acclaimed neyzens. At a very young age Süleyman began to play in Mevlevi rituals in Konya and in various assemblies performing classical Turkish music. The family's close relationship with various *tekkes* and *dergahs* at the time of his childhood seems to

¹⁸ Süleyman Erguner, interview by the author, İstanbul, artist's music school, December 24, 2007.

¹⁹ It is worth noting that the great grand father of Erguner was the muezzin of Yavuz Sultan Selim Mosque in the late 19th century. Muezzins and the people practicing Qur'anic chanting had important roles in the articulation of sacred texts into a 'musical' formula based on ornamentation improvisation subject to particularly rigid and strict rules for pronunciation and flexibility.

have played a major role in the musical development of Süleyman Erguner and his brother Kudsi Erguner (whose name more often appears in the international music markets). Many passages in Kudsi Erguner's book (2002) show how the *tekkes* and *dergahs* in İstanbul in the 1960s provided a rich musical milieu and how they became meeting centers for the most renowned musical personalities of classical Turkish music at the time. The book also describes how the 'Sufi music' ensembles were popular among some Sufi orders founded abroad. It was common for those ensembles to go abroad and give concerts in mostly private settings such as homes or small music halls. Süleyman Erguner graduated from The State Conservatory of Turkish Music and also from the Marmara University Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences. He also pursued an academic career and worked as a professor in the İstanbul Technical University Turkish Music Conservatory.



Figure 5.1 Süleyman Erguner in his music school (photograph by the author)

The album project was not Erguner's first attempt at targeting an international audience, although the quoted excerpt from the interview might suggest so. In collaboration with his brother Kudsi Erguner, he participated in two album projects, *Sufi Music of Turkey* (released by German CMP records in 1990) and the lesser known *The Mystic Flutes of Sufi: Preludes to Ceremonies of the Whirling Dervishes* made for the JVC

World Sounds, Japanese label, in 1988 (they were credited as Erguner Brothers).²⁰ What made this project new and, more importantly, a challenging attempt for Erguner, was that he was asked to play ney in a totally different musical context. He attempted to incorporate ney into a jazz ensemble; the result seemed an eclectic one in which the ney *taksim*s remained somewhat artificial. Indeed, Yegül's account of the concert seems to be true since such an album project was Erguner's first and last.

In his later works, Erguner preferred not to digress musically from the context that he thought suitable for the ney. Targeting an international audience always remained a significant concern as shown by the addition of English titles to the albums and the use of Mevlana Rumi's image both textually and visually. *Mevlevi Töreni (Ceremony of the Whirling Dervishes)* is a good example in which the performance of ney is primarily associated with the Mevlevi *mukabala* or *ayin* (Figure 5.2).

The album follows the repertoire of a typical Mevlevi *Ayin-i Şerif* including recitation of the Qur'an. The visual and textual explanations in the booklet that accompanies the album are twofold. While the Turkish text includes information on Mevlevi *mukabala* and the Mevlevi order in a somewhat detailed manner, in the English text, the author of the booklet (Süleyman Erguner) seems to be contented with reproducing the most popular verses of Rumi. Erguner explains the most obvious symbols of the ceremony together with a very brief biography of Rumi embellished

²⁰ None of these albums nor the recording of the project with Butch Morris (Conduction 25-26, New World Records) appear in the discography of Süleyman Erguner in his website: www.erguner.com (accessed May 15, 2008). I am hesitant to refer to a controversy between Kudsi Erguner and Süleyman Erguner on some details of their family's history since each explains the historical details from their own perspective and there is no way to decide who tells the truth. The controversy centers on when Süleyman Erguner started to play ney and whom he learnt to play it from. It continues with several other details about the musical career of Süleyman Erguner. I acknowledged this controversy before interviewing Süleyman Erguner and he told me some more details about it. (For some of the details, see the note sent by Süleyman Erguner himself to the very popular forum, *eksisozluk*: [http://sozluk.sourtimes.org/show .asp?id=6104396](http://sozluk.sourtimes.org/show.asp?id=6104396).) In order to protect the privacy of both parties and since I did not talk with Kudsi Erguner, I decided not to discuss the issue any further. Otherwise, it is a very critical point since the dispute seems to arise after Süleyman Erguner attempted to gain recognition in the international music markets much after his older brother. Kudsi Erguner moved to Paris in the 1970s and he has become an internationally acclaimed neyzen although his popularity cannot be compared with some other figures that we will discuss in the world music markets

with the stereotypical images of him and the whirling dervishes (also appear in the cover).²¹



Figure 5.2. The cover of the album, *Mevlevi Töreni* (*Ceremony of the Whirling Dervishes*, Erguner Müzik, 2004)

Throughout his later works, including *Anadolu Nefesi* (translated as *Anatolian Sufi Music*, Sera Production, 2003) and *Ney Improvisations*, “*Şah Ney*”: *Sufi Music of Türkiye* (Mega Müzik, 1994), the performances obviously evoke a particular notion of musical authenticity instead of the ‘synthesis’ that he severely criticized several times during the course of the interview.²² The preference of *Şah Ney* can also be seen as

²¹ Probably the most cited verse of Rumi is included in the booklet as a “statement of tolerance”: “Come, again, and again!/Come again, whoever you may be/Whether an unbeliever, a fire-worshipper or a Pagan /No matter whether you have broken your vows a hundred times/Ours is not a door of despair/Just come as you are”. The text includes explanations of some of the symbols of the ceremony such as the movement of whirling (“as the world and the planets revolve around the sun and around themselves”) or the posture of the dervishes (“his right hand is opened to the heavens ... and his left hand is turned downwards towards the earth” to state “taking from the heavens and giving to the people with nothing belonging to the individual: I am an instrument and nothing more”).

²² In the liner notes to the *Anatolian Sufi Music*, what is meant as a Turkish version of Sufism is praised. For Erguner, the Anatolian (or Turkish?) Sufism avoided Persian language and literature, a reaction that was mostly embodied through the art forms of Bektashi orders. Although the liner notes explain that *Nefes* (Breath) means poems of the Bektashi orders, the Turkish title was translated as *Anatolian Sufi Music*.

an obvious expression of authenticity. *Şah Ney* has the second lowest pitch in the *ney* family after *Davud ney*, both of which are very hard to play. In order to explain the required mastery for playing the *Şah ney*, it is enough to show how the media announced the concert *Tende Canım* on 17th January 2008. The Zaman newspaper described the concert as “the first *Şah ney* concert after fifty years”²³. The text continues to say that the *Şah ney* has not been used for fifty years in classical Turkish music because it is very long and difficult to ‘breath’. Erguner himself relates his interest in *Şah ney* to his devotion to the ‘Tradition’. What makes *Şah ney* significant in this context is not only its connotation of musical authenticity but also its association with Sufi music as practiced in *mevlevihanes* in the past. Erguner states that until the 19th century, only *Şah ney* was played in the *mevlevihanes*; playing a smaller *ney* that required less virtuosity was seen as improper. His interest in *Şah ney* not only implies his tonal or stylistic preferences with respect to the musical performance but also the way in which he positions himself in the music industry. He explicitly states that “since I argue for the proper use of *ney* in *Tasavvuf* music, I will attempt to make a revival of *Şah ney*”.²⁴ For Erguner, *ney* already includes spirituality in itself even if it is not played for the performance of sacred music:

Well, sometimes you are playing a tune with *ney* which probably bears the quality of a sophisticated music like jazz, but the audience listens to it in the same manner without being disturbed - I mean in a state of *vecd* [appeared as *wajd* before]. Spirituality, authenticity and ethnic characters are combined together in *tasavvuf* music; I mean in the one that I performed ... Even if you breathe *ney* without performing any historical repertoire of *tasavvuf* music, a spiritual dimension emerges there, like in my *Şah Ney* album ... Even when you play nothing with *ney*, it is there. *Tasavvuf* music has spirituality, sacredness and authenticity in itself; it has become world music with these characteristics.

²³ Zaman Newspaper, www.zaman.com.tr/haber.do?haberno=638305 (accessed, March 18, 2008).

²⁴ Yedig, Serkan. 1997. Tasavvufun standart enstrümanı şah neydi, zorluğu nedeniyle unutuldu (An interview with Serkan Yedig), Aktüel, June 1997. He also adds that the recent Mevlevi *ayins* are ‘tourist attractions’ and he claims that he deliberately avoids such appropriations in the same interview.

The ney is intrinsically spiritual and authentic for him; so much so that even if the emerging sound does not refer to any sacred repertoire, the ney itself creates a feeling of spirituality and authenticity. The embedded notions of spirituality and authenticity and the mystification of ney become obvious when he mentions his experimental works:

I have always been regarded as an authentic musician ... look at *Ayins*, my books and my researches. I have pursued doctoral and master degrees on subjects that I had no information about for ten years. But I also did the reverse. In the Bursa music festival in 1997, I played Mozart's concerto in re minor. People even asked if it was ney in the symphony orchestra. But do you know why I did that? To teach a lesson to some people. It is not a big deal to make synthesis, computer music, guitar-ney, or some other stuff like that. If you can dare to make something like I did, I mean entering into another world with your ney ... Ney is a world instrument that can be used to perform all the music of the world. But those works for me are only experimental works at best. The other ones such as Anatolian Sufi music are much more meaningful for me. Moreover, for me, this is a matter of serious musical politics, you know. I attempted to address those people belonging to another culture or people enjoying that culture with my ney while performing their music. Most probably they had heard ney as an ethnic instrument before that. Two kinds of issues are emerging here: Firstly I put ney into another world. Second, the audience is surprised by the sounds that emerge from such a simple reed. They mean to say look at the ney, not at the man playing it. I am a mediator; the ney fulfills the real task.

In this context, the embodiment of Sufi musical culture through the ney somewhat fosters the purported authenticity of his sounds. For him, even when the ney is articulated into a totally different musical setting than that of sacredness or the 'Tradition', the ney makes that setting its own - it brings spirituality or sacredness to the new context. Thus, for him, rather than being appropriated in that setting, the ney is capable of incorporating that setting into its own 'world'. Thus his aim in participating in and creating the experimental works can be seen as a way to prove this potentiality of ney. For Erguner, his authentic sounds have never been changed; but what has changed is the reception of those sounds by the audience. In his own words, the sounds that were once regarded as ethnic are now considered as world music:

I saw myself as an ethnic musician until sometime. For example, I went to Poland in 1975, my first international experience, then to France in 1978, and Germany later on ... I was ethnic at that time; people were looking at ney and saying how interesting it was. There was such a rich culture and music flowing in the concerts that they were asking if we were really from Turkey. I think after the 1990s the world music gained currency. What does that mean? For example, I went to Paris two months ago. There were posters advertising my concert everywhere ... Tickets were sold out six months in advance of the concert ... A friend came after the concert and asked me to meet with the audience to sign albums ... I thought they would not have the albums but I was surprised to see that almost all the people there had the albums, even the ones that I don't have. There was such a crowd. I mean you were a world musician there. People there were no longer asking what kind of instrument the ney was. It was a commodity in the market and they were buying it. I can say that I realized this two months ago. You are a world musician while the ney is a world instrument.

Erguner's claims of authenticity and his explicit contempt for 'experimental works' reflect his belief that it is possible to survive or even to be popular in the world music market by making 'authentic' Sufi music. Furthermore, in Erguner's case the purported authenticity of the sounds are produced by either musical performance (as in the *Mevlevi Töreni*, the repertoire of which follows a typical Mevlevi *Ayin*) or the conceptual themes that the sounds evoke (as in the *Anatolian Sufi music*). However, such a position is much like his earlier (failed) strategy to gain popularity in international markets either with the form of synthesis or experimental works or other forms that evoke a mystified and exoticized Mevlevi or Sufi notion. Despite his claim to be a renowned world musician and his view of the changing reception of his works from ethnic to world music, Erguner is far from being successful in international markets, at least in terms of the world music top charts or the influential world music magazines. His albums were not released by prominent world music labels but by the small recording labels that have limited marketing capacities.

The boundary between Sufi music and Turkish classical music are blurred by two historical events - the prominent roles of the Mevlevi orders in the development of secular court music mentioned previously (see Feldman 2002a; 2002b and Hammarlund 2001) and *tekkes*' contribution to the survival of the Turkish classical art music after the establishment of Turkish Republic (see Tekelioğlu 1999).

Boundaries are also blurred by overlapping repertoires. In line with these observations, in Erguner's case, the mystification and authenticity of ney is partially a result of being associated with a high culture of a particular 'Tradition' that implies both the *tekke* and Turkish classical art music.²⁵ However, in contrast to the clarinet acquiring the status of an artistic practice as Roman music was incorporated into world music, the ney had already been associated with a particular high culture. Thus, the promotion of ney and Sufi music as parts of a high culture (an amalgamation of *tekke* and Turkish classical music traditions) in Erguner's case does not seem to produce successful results in the international music markets. The stereotypical images of Sufi tradition and thematically loaded albums do not seem to help much either. They remain mostly obsolete and they do not seem to successfully produce a form of spirituality construction. It can be concluded that Erguner's case is an example of a particular form of spirituality construction failing to meet the demands of international music markets.

The next section will explore another form of spirituality construction and corresponding form of music-making as exemplified by Mercan Dede and the use of the Mevlevi tradition. The discussion will provide insight into how an internationally acclaimed world music artist establishes his aesthetic and discursive forms through and within the appropriation of Sufi music in the world music.

²⁵ Süleyman Erguner frequently refers to the performance styles of ney as they have been developed in the *tekke* tradition in order to criticize some recent performance styles. For him the *tekke* tradition is the major referent to define an authentic and proper style of ney playing. For example, while I was discussing Niyazi Sayın, an acclaimed neyzen who employs a particular style of lip vibrato, Erguner suddenly denies the existence of such a style as a proper performance of ney. For him, the proper form should be diaphragm vibrato. He even sees what he calls the Erguner school as the closest form to the performance style that is common in the *tekkes* - thus it is the authentic one. These points alone show how the traditions of *tekke* and Turkish classical art music become almost the same thing when it comes to the meaning of ney and its performance. His remarks are also useful to understand how the performance of ney is standardized in a manner that is common in instruments associated with a particular high culture.

5.3. Mercan Dede's 'Universal' Sounds

Rather like his country - Turkey - Mercan Dede is a gateway, a dervish, between East and West. He has two separate artistic personas: as Mercan he is a highly rated spiritual sufi and master of the bendir (frame drum) and ney (reed flute); his alter ego is Arkin Allen, the hardcore techno DJ. Sufis believe that music is a means of uplifting and enlightening the soul, and Mercan finds a reflection of this in the rave and club cultures of the West. This belief has helped him bring together soulful Eastern Sufism, ambient sounds and techno beats to create his sound-scapes, capturing ancient and modern, secular and sacred.

From the liner notes to the album, BBC Radio 3 Awards for World Music 2006 (Manteca, 2006)

Continuing in familiar vein, Mercan Dede presents a further, and final, installment of his trippy, loopy-Sufi musical calling card. This one marks both the 800 anniversary of the birth of Sufi mystic Jalalladin Rumi and the final audio album from Mercan Dede. Following a 15-year musical career, he is returning to the visual arts, he says, or else to gardening or cookery. This is indeed a splendid way to go – no enormous deviation from his previous outings, but a labour of love, featuring ethereal soundscapes shot through with some unexpected left turns – vocoders, viola solos, spoken voice, cascading water – and of course *ney* flute. Marvelous stuff.

Martin Gordon on Dede's latest album, *800* (Doublemoon, 2007).²⁶

Arkın Ilıcalı (1966-), alias Mercan Dede, is probably the most prominent and best-known Turkish figure in the international world music markets. His prominence and fame seem to owe much to the success of his recent albums *Su* (2004) and *800* (2007), both having remained at the top of the World Music Charts Europe for two months, and *Nefes* (*Breath*, 2006), having been stayed in the number two spot in the WMCE's top 150 albums of 2006.²⁷ Mercan Dede's significance for the present analysis cannot be explained solely by his renowned status in the international markets; indeed, his significance makes more sense considering the apparent success of the ways in which he incorporates Mevlevi music and philosophy. He has been able to extend the popularity of the Mevlevi 'concept' to Western ethnic or world

²⁶ World Music Charts Europe, http://www.wmce.de/_/wmce/charttitle_jsp/key=657928.html (accessed July 14, 2008)

²⁷ The album *800* topped the WMCE in April and May 2008. The album, *Su*, also stayed at number 1 spot on the chart for two months, November and December 2004.

music markets, including markets in the US and Canada; before Mercan Dede, Mevlevi music had only limited popularity at best in Europe as shown by marginal audiences.



Figure 5.3 Arkın Ilıcalı alias Mercan Dede in his balcony (photograph by the author)

‘A dervish of the modern world’, ‘a genuine Sufi adherent’, ‘a Sufi traveler’, ‘Sufi musician’, ‘one of Turkey’s legendary dervishes’, ‘digital dervish’, and ‘trance DJ’ - these are the diverse attributes used by the international media critics to introduce him to the audience. Mercan Dede’s music also appears to have its share of such vacuous descriptions: ‘Whirling dervish sounds’, ‘eastern-inflected dance fusion’, ‘sufi-electronica’, ‘sufitronica’, etc. Indeed, Ilıcalı’s biography and career history somewhat encourage such portrayals.

According to Mercan Dede’s official website²⁸, he started in music by playing a ney that he made from a length of plastic plumbing pipe. At the same time, he was also attending *ebri* classes given by Niyazi Sayın and taking ney lessons from acclaimed neyzen, Ömer Erdoğan. Dede moved to Canada in 1998 and pursued his bachelor

²⁸ Mercan Dede’s official website, www.mercandede.com (accessed March 22, 2008).

and master's degree in fine arts. While he was a student he deejayed in various clubs under the name, Arkin Allen, which he adopted from his wife. He made his first album, *Sufi Dreams*, in 1995 for Golden Horn Records under the pseudonym, Mercan Dede, which he had taken from the name of a character in a novel by İhsan Oktay Anar, *Kitab-ul Hiyel*.²⁹

Some details of his biography quoted above have created controversy among ney circles; the controversy reflects the tension between people defending a classical ney tradition (and also a kind of 'authentic' and 'classical' Sufism) and Mercan Dede. On various occasions Mercan Dede repeatedly mentions the role of Niyazi Sayın (highly respectful neyzen with skills in many traditional arts, such as *ebru*, prayer beads making, *tespih sanatı*, etc.) in his musical development and he claims to have learnt *ebru* from him. However, Niyazi Sayın totally denies such a relationship. Although there is no easy way (and no need) to verify whether there was really a contact between them in a way he claims, his overemphasis on the supposed role of one of the most acclaimed classical neyzen in his career is meaningful. Although having distanced himself quite far from such classicist and conservative attitudes so far, Mercan Dede seems to give the impression that he has also grown up with the manners of the Tradition. Niyazi Sayın even uses some sarcastic remarks while denying such a relationship:

People say there is a child, Mercan Dede, who is supposed to be a very famous neyzen. They say I happened to be his master once. Some people know me well; no way for me to raise such a person. People run after him; people get whatever you will offer them ... I am a fuddy-duddy [*yoba*] who is also a fuddy-duddy in music, who would not give lessons to him. I am a classical person; I do not like 'street music'.³⁰ (emphasis is mine)

²⁹ He states that he did not identify himself with this character but chose it because he loved the name. The term Dede is significant in this context. It means both grandfather and *Alevi* or *Bektashi* religious leader in Turkish at the same time. The reference to religious tradition is obvious.

³⁰ Sema Özbek, interview with Niyazi Sayın, *Zeck Dergisi*, 16, <http://www.sevkefza.com/zeck-dergisi-roportaji>, accessed in June 30, 2008.

Dede has never been a street musician. The bizarre description of his music as street music is suggestive of a distinction between *tasavvuf* music as it has been practiced within *mevlevihanes* and *dergahs* and a kind of ‘degenerated’ music performed for the common people. More than implying a clear cut distinction between high and low culture with regard to performing ney, the description establishes such a distinction in spatial terms. Although the reader might find this argument overinterpretative, where the performance of ney should take place is a major issue in the polemics about Mercan Dede’s music. The indirect controversy between Mercan Dede and Kudsi Erguner also involves the issue of the ‘proper’ place for playing ney and performing Mevlevi music, in addition to the issue of what a genuine Mevlevi music repertoire is or whether there is such a thing as authentic Mevlevi music.³¹ As a person who seems to have classicist attitudes but also has made some pioneering experimental works, Kudsi Erguner implicitly refers to Mercan Dede’s works when he claims that a contrived music has been promoted as Mevlevi music and that music has been associated with some ‘pretended mystic movements’. Moreover, he claims there are some places proper to perform *tasavvuf* music (and ney) in order to call it as such. In contrast, Mercan Dede states he has no claim to *tasavvuf* music and people are free to name what he is performing as they like. He also implicitly refers to people who have purist attitudes towards *tasavvuf* music in his criticism of the ‘light sellers’ (light being the metaphor of Truth) when ‘light’ is distributed free to everyone. For him, those ‘light sellers’ categorize people into useless crowd (*kurru kalabalık*) and elite masses. It seems that Mercan Dede’s starting point was to oppose eliticism and puristic attitudes wrapped around Mevlevi music, especially the performance of ney, while striving to dislocate *tasavvuf* philosophy and practices from its purportedly authentic (musical) context.

³¹ For the publicized aspects of this polemic, see the Turkish daily Yeni Şafak’s corresponding article: Ney nereye yakıştır?, <http://yenisafak.com.tr/arsiv/2002/OCAK/26/kultur.html>, accessed June 20, 2008.

However, this is no easy task. What is common in all his albums and performances is his deliberate and obvious attempt to combine extremely loaded Mevlevi images and ideas with an aesthetic attitude which excludes altogether the notion of (ethnomusicological or ‘real’) authenticity and avoids a kind of exoticism that would distance the sounds from the Western audience. His attitude towards authenticity is congruent with such an aesthetic move. Mercan Dede denies the existence of authenticity by refusing both the attribution of authenticity to ney and the common proposition that Mevlevi music and associated practices derive from a particular authentic Tradition:

There is nothing authentic in any stage of life. What is authentic? ... Do they think that ney just emerged some time as we know it today with its perfect structure and marvelous *başpare* (mouthpiece)? Indeed it is an unbelievable process of evolution. Today’s ney has nothing to do with the authentic; it is indeed a computer, the intonation of which is perfectly adjusted. No musical concept and no musical instrument pops up like mushrooms. There has always been an evolution ... For example, what is *sema*? What is traditional *sema*? People turn within some white garments; there is a Sultan Veled period, there is a *shaykh*, there are *semaçens* and *semaçenbaşı*, etc., which altogether constitute a particular form. What they call authentic, I mean this form, is a deviation in itself. Mevlana has never practiced such a thing. What is being called authentic was made up after hundreds of years after the Mevlana period. We have prepared dresses, composed music and then created some other structures for the performance of these forms ... I mean that is a timeless thing. Mevlana says that anything that has beginning and end will eventually cease to exist. Look at this saying which itself refuses altogether our definitions of classical and authentic.³²

This attitude is certainly related to his deejaying career and his background in electronic music, although he also states that he was interested in traditional arts and was taught by the figures that were spokesmen for ney’s authenticity. However, maybe more important than his career history, Mercan Dede’s attitude towards authenticity is shaped by a kind of anti-authenticity rather than by inauthenticity in which authenticity totally ceases to exist as a concept. In a way, what Charlie Gillett (quoted in Chaney 2002, 197) sees as almost a destiny for popular music seems to be inevitable in Mercan Dede’s case: Anything popular music “develops or changes has

³² Arkin Ilıcalı, a.k.a. Mercan Dede, interview by the author, Istanbul, artist’s house, December 28, 2007

to be anti-authentic. How could it be otherwise?”. What makes such a positionality inevitable for popular music is the perceived absence of the origin or of the authentic in terms of genuineness or the existence of a ‘grand tradition’. In contrast, in Mevlevi music, it is the very or ‘extreme’ presence of authenticity as a discursive trope in Taylor’s (1997, 22) sense to render anti-authenticity as the only alternative discursive route. *Tasavvuf* or Mevlevi music is infused with authenticity so much so that the only way to avoid authenticity is to deny the existence of such a concept rather than being inauthentic, a term still bears the weight of authenticity.

Such an attitude towards authenticity is a major challenge considering the heavy evocations of sacredness and authenticity of Mevlevi music and practices. What matters and what is challenging for this discussion, however, is the question of how such an anti-authentic aesthetic with regard to musical form is established through and within a discourse that is extremely loaded with Mevlevi images and concepts, paradoxically (also inevitably) invoking authenticity thematically. Indeed, it is fruitless to search for a parallelism between the thematic appropriation of Mevlevi tradition and the forms of musical aesthetics in Mercan Dede’s case. Mercan Dede deliberately excludes particular elements of Mevlevi musical tradition that can easily be conceived as an authentic form; examples include various forms of *taksim* or Qur’anic verses that are parts of a typical *Mevlevi Ayin-i Şerif*. Rather, he creates a collage form that brings many diverse musical traditions together. His logic of juxtaposition does not apply only to the various musical traditions but also to the musical instruments as well. In his latest album, *800*, the co-presence and overlapping of *santur* and *bağlama* in various contexts (in its most evident form in the piece, *The sun rises in the East*) or of *ney* and *trombone* (for example in the piece, *Captive*); or long *bağlama* improvisations that sound like the *sitar* solos in Indian *ragas*, are apparent examples of such a juxtaposition, rather a kind of hybridization overlapping the forms on to each other so as to be individually unrecognizable. Although he would probably oppose the following categorization, such a ‘postmodern audio collage’ bears an embodiment of the Mevlevi philosophy and doctrines:

I do not superimpose, say, an Indian instrument on some other instruments to create something eccentric. I do think that all those instruments exhibit unity in their expression of meanings in their own worlds. Thus, they do not look campy combined together to me. They don't constitute a collage that is simply a paste-up. They are combined in a way not to give any hint of being stitched, like being produced by a skillful tailor. That is so because they coexist in their essence, in their origin. If you apply this idea to some other contexts, such as albums or concert performances, you mean to talk about a cultural, ideological and geographical travel in which everyone tells the same thing by their own worlds. This is the idea of *tevhid* [*tawhid* in Arabic; unity, oneness].

In especially his recent albums, such as *Su* (2004), *Nefes* (2006) and *800* (2007), not only the instruments but also the various musical forms are amalgamated into each other in a way to constitute a whole - an entity which can be loosely called as hybrid. This is also an act of supersession, expressing the purported substitutability of the instruments or the 'diverse' musical forms regardless of the origins or the traditions they derive from. Such logic of 'juxtaposition' is proclaimed to be an embodiment of one of the backbone principles of *tasavvuf*, the notion of *tevhid*. The concept does not only tell the uniqueness or oneness of God, it also refers to the unification with God (*ma'rifa*) that is supposed to follow the annihilation of self within the divine being (*fana*), as the first section of this chapter discussed in detail. In a way, like the musical instruments telling the same thing in their own languages, people also repeat the same thing in their own worlds. The notion of *tevhid* here directly relates to the more familiar universality discourse in a way to praise cultural difference on the basis of the oneness of the goals of the humanity.

However, this does not mean that Sufism is embedded within Mercan Dede's music only through such thematic dislocations and embodiments; indeed, especially in his earlier albums, such as *Journeys of a Dervish* made for Golden Horn in 1999, some particular forms that are directly associated with typical Sufi ceremonies are used: *zikir* as an ostinato³³ pattern, long ney *taksim*s, hymns, etc. These forms were also clearly distinguishable from other musical motifs and patterns. As an interesting example, in the piece *Healing Prayers*, in the aforementioned album, *zikir* was used as

³³ Ostinato is a repetitive motif or phrase in a musical piece. It can be a regular rhythmic pattern or a melodic formula.

ostinato for what sounds like a Celtic song superimposed upon a ney improvisation in the background. They seem to sound from different channels; they are clearly separable from each other unlike his later works discussed before. Although *zîker* has persisted to be an ostinato pattern all through his works, the other elements have almost turned out to be ‘sounds’ or ‘samples’ rather than a musical coherency and entity on their own. The musical elements’ transformation from a particular melodic formula to a sound is striking mostly in ney. While the ney was used intensively to create a coherent melodic formula embodied through long ney *taksim*s in his earlier works, it has gradually become almost a sample with some exceptions in which it was used not usually as a solo instrument but also as an accompanying one.³⁴ In the album *800*, for example, some particular instruments such as *bağlama*, *santur*, clarinet, kemençe, etc, carry the main melodic formula; ney is far from claiming a privileged position. Indeed, it is sometimes used as a sample in the very sense of the word. Thus, the construction of spirituality and evocation of Sufism with regard to musical structure has been more implicit in his later works by means of the embodiments of the Mevlevi thought through aesthetic structure of the musical arrangements rather than the direct appropriation of particular corpus of music conceived as authentic Mevlevi music.

Such a musical aesthetic and its corresponding elements of substitutability, unity and oneness seem to have roots in his discourse of sampling and background in electronic music. Mercan Dede’s remarks about the significance of sounds over melody (or music) hints about how such an aesthetic understanding serves to embody Sufism through particular musical arrangements. He states, “what makes sound superior to music” is its power to be “multilayered, being capable to be interpreted in diverse ways”. Though it seems to be controversial at first sight with his music’s claims of the unity or oneness, indeed diversity in this context implies

³⁴ I do not use the term ‘sample’ or ‘sound’ here in order to refer the literal meaning of the terms. Rather, I want to show the changes in their roles to evoke a ‘Sufi sound’. That said, in his earlier works, the musical reference to Sufism mostly depends on the clearly indistinguishable and prevailing existence of those motifs, in contrary to his later works.

sound's capability to address different people who are on different levels of personal and spiritual transformation. In order to understand how he processes sounds on the basis of a particular form of spirituality construction, it is useful to give a brief account on the sampling and its relevance to this point.

Sampling is simply taking a sound from a particular context and using it in another context by means of digital or analog samplers. Sampling can include reproducing musical instruments' or any other sounds by processing the sounds digitally and looping or programming to 'play' them in any other means such as keyboards or sequencers. In this sense sampling is an "art of appropriation", especially in the world music sampling where "the suppliers of prerecorded samples infuse the material with cultural significance and authenticity" (Théberge 2003, 102). Producing and selling sounds has become a giant industry in the last few decades - the sounds are commodified, fragmented and decontextualized in order for musicians to use them in their own records (for a detailed account of the process see Théberge 1997; 2003 and Taylor 2003). The companies release large sample libraries generally on CD-ROMs and the samples are also available online. In world music sampling the cost of the sampling is naturally higher since the collection of sample libraries largely depends on the 'discovery' of sounds from the remote corners of the world. They are not necessarily the sounds of musical instruments; they can also be sounds that evoke exoticity or authenticity of the region or the theme under consideration. For example, one of the sample producers, Spectrasonics, puts an explanatory note to its *Heart of Africa* sample collection to make a distinction between instrument samples (multisamples) and phrase samples; while the former helps artists to create their "own melodies, harmonies and rhythms", the phrases enable them "to infuse and incorporate authentic live performances" into their own music (quoted in Théberge 2003, 100). Moreover, Théberge adds that in the world music sampling, samples are supposed to have some "primal powers" that can create some special effects on the listeners. Thus, the act of appropriation that is generally understood as the incorporation of particular music corpus is proved to be a more complicated process in the context of sampling. In some cases, very short samples even milliseconds long

are incorporated into music after being processed through samplers. In this context the sound itself is commodified so as to bear a particular cultural significance and authenticity.

Mercan Dede prefers a sampling method which seems to be based on a discursive opposition to the defragmentation and commodification of sound briefly described above. Other than some exceptional cases, he does not use sample libraries open to everybody. During the pre-production process of the albums, he records a diverse range of sounds, which, he states, have ‘character’ of its own, such as “a single drum beat”, the sound of “hitting the table” or even the sound of “hitting the cushion”. Having been of central importance in his works, he himself chants the *zikir* samples. For him, “creating your own sound means creating a private world of your own”. When he uses a sound from sample libraries, he adds, he also attempts to make it his own. He gives an example of his sampling method in the pre-production process of the album, *800*. He selected a sound of African horn which takes about a second from thousands of sounds in a sample collection. He not only processed the sound to incorporate it into his music but also “blended it with ney’s sound in order to create a hybrid sound”. Beyond the technical or commercial aspects of the matter, the ‘abstract’ character of sound in his own words makes it a proper field through which diversity of discursive elements seemingly indifferent to each other are combined, such as forms of new age and Mevlevi spirituality or the musical discourses corresponding respectively to his neyzen and DJ identities; in a way, in this context, the sound as a discursive field resembles what Laclau (1996) defines as the ‘empty signifier’. It turns out to be a field in which multifarious discourses are blended to evoke a particular form of spirituality with a special reference to Mevlevi thought and philosophy. Furthermore, sound seems to be the most proper terrain where he could create the various musical forms on the basis of his anti-authentic aesthetic by embedding particular Mevlevi notions into those forms. Thus, sound makes it possible to evoke Mevlevi or Sufi themes and the senses of spirituality without appropriation of a particular music corpus belonging to Mevlevi tradition -

Mercan Dede incorporates various sounds that he personally recorded, processed and hybridized.

I have thus far discussed how Mercan Dede describes his musical aesthetics as an embodiment of some particular themes of Mevlevi thought and how such discourse of musical aesthetics operates through an implicit incorporation of Sufi music rather than direct appropriation of a particular music corpus generally associated with authenticity. However, one might legitimately argue the adequacy of such obscure references to Mevlevi philosophy and musical practices for constructing a particular form of spirituality - a strong and obvious association with themes of Sufism that makes his music internationally acclaimed and popular as Sufi music as world music. I will argue that adequate reference to Sufism and corresponding spirituality discourses are provided within the albums and performances of Mercan Dede by means of visual, textual and performance elements. This is also the point where the implicit discursive elements in the musical aesthetics are complemented with some other direct and obvious ways of constructing a particular discourse of spirituality.

Mercan Dede's 'unfinished' four album series of *Anasır-ı Erbaa* (The Four Elements) perfectly exemplifies the ways in which a sense of spirituality is created by blending various discursive elements. The series started with the album *Nar* (Fire) and then continued with *Su* (Water), and *Nefes* (Breath). Everyone expected him to complete the series with the album, *Toprak* (Earth) but he has not released the album even though the recording of the album was almost completed. He directly relates such a decision with the centrality of the notion of sincerity in his works:

My music could be appreciated or not by the people; it can be named in this or that way: it might be called ambient music in UK or world music in another country. These are okay. The only thing that I can say about my music is it is sincere. My definition of the sincerity is that you have to behave as you believe who you are and to express yourself in the way you live. My music tells my life; there is nothing in it that I have not experienced. I feel great excitement when I do something about which I have never experienced anything. But in that case they are not sincere. That is the reason that the album, *Toprak*, has not released. The album was good but it was only music. My friends really enjoyed it; I mean my 'world music' was good in the album. However, it was not me.

It is obvious that Mercan Dede preferred a cosmological concept of the four elements that appears in various religious and philosophical traditions including Ancient Greek philosophy, Hinduism, and Buddhism. Moreover, the concept of the Four Elements has also has a significant place in Islamic cosmology. Thus, while the concept facilitates his universality discourse that invokes the oneness of humanity, it also portrays Mercan Dede's albums as following a thematical integrity.

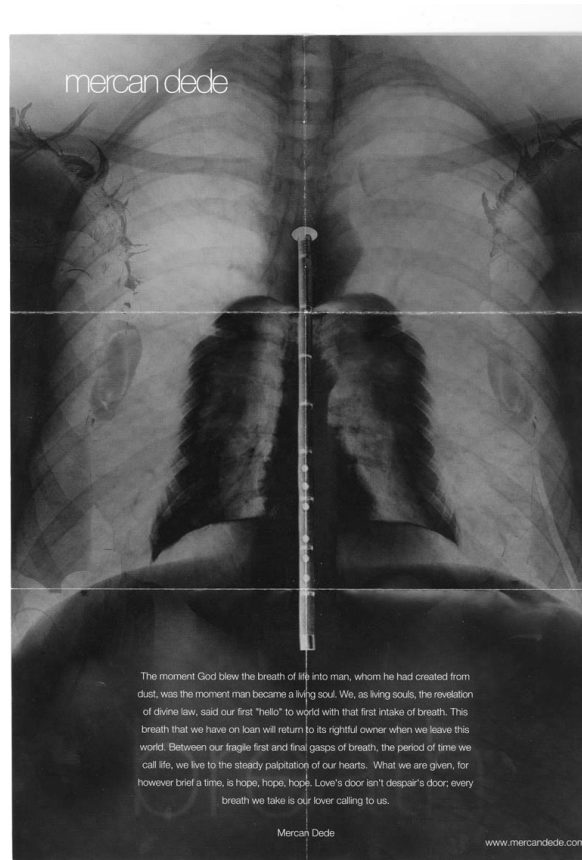


Figure 5.4. The accompanying sheet to the album, *Nefes* by Mercan Dede(Doublemoon, 2007; international release)³⁵

³⁵ The text written below the figure is as follows: “The moment God blew the breath of life into man, whom he had created from dust, was the moment man became a living soul. We, as living souls, the revelation of divine law, said our first ‘hello’ to world with that first intake of breath. This breath that we have on loan will return to its rightful owner when we leave this world. Between our fragile first and final gasps of breath, the period of time we call life, we live to the steady palpitation of our hearts. What we are given, for however brief a time, is hope, hope, hope. Love’s door isn’t despair’s door; every breath we take is our lover calling to us. Mercan Dede”.

The album *Nefes (Breath)* of the series is a good example where the mystical connotations of ney, *tasavvuf* cosmology and the idea that Mercan Dede's music is a reflection of his spiritual personal journey are combined together. The accompanying sheet to the album creates such an association through artwork (see figure 5.4), the significance of which is evident from Mercan Dede's remarks:

Even if the lungs x-ray in the Nefes album were an image that I found on the internet, to me, it would still be a good cover. But in that way it would be insincere. It is important that the lungs shown there be my own lungs. The sincerity results from that. The ney shown there is the first ney of mine that I made from a length of plastic plumbing pipe; that is also important. These are things that cannot be found in the album notes. This is a kind of glazing (*sırlamak*) since this information does not need to be there. Indeed, what lies at the core of the notion of secret (*sır*) is hiding the real. That is why it is called *sır*. However, what I try to say with *sır* in this context has nothing to do with that. What I call *sır* is the essence of the real which is very evident but which we cannot see because of the illusions of the matrix. It can be seen but you have to look for it. This is a perspective related to the *tasavvuf* thought.

The liner notes to the album and the text written below the figure support the mystical mood and the spirituality created in the artwork. The text given in the footnote is beyond a narrative of a Sufi cosmology; it also implicitly refers to the introductory part of Mevlana's *Dar-Al-Masnavi*, *The Song of the Reed*, where Mevlana tells the grief of the ney after it separated from its reed-bed; it is a symbol of the soul's sorrow as it was parted from the divine being. The allegory of breath in this context establishes a relation between Sufi philosophy and ney. The mystification of ney that is already evident from the *tasavvuf* literature is reconstructed, however this time by incorporating into the narrative Mercan Dede's personal journey by using the image of his first ney.

"Traveling the world following the song of his soul", according to the liner notes to the album, Nefes, Mercan Dede "delivers us a deeply personal album recounting the wonderlands he has taken in, day by day, breath by breath". The claim of sincerity seems to lie at the core of the spirituality of Mercan Dede's music; sincerity has been evoked in one way or another all through his albums and projects by visual and/or textual means. Moreover, the idea that his music is a direct reflection of his personal

spiritual journey is closely related to the discourses of sincerity and they together constitute two basic elements that translate the Mevlevi or Sufi philosophy into down to earth discourses in his music. Moreover, the liner notes claim the sounds in the album not only to be a product of his personal spiritual journey but also to be a result of the mixing of his different musical personalities: “Turkish-born, Montreal-based DJ, producer and musician Mercan Dede elevates contemporary western electronic music to a spiritual level by layering hypnotic beats with Sufi sounds and canorous Eastern rhythms”.

However, for the most obvious reference to Mevlevi philosophy, one should look at the album *800* (2007), dedicated to Mevlana Rumi in celebration of his 800th birthday. An envelope containing a letter to Mevlana is attached inside the album’s booklet (Figure 5.5):

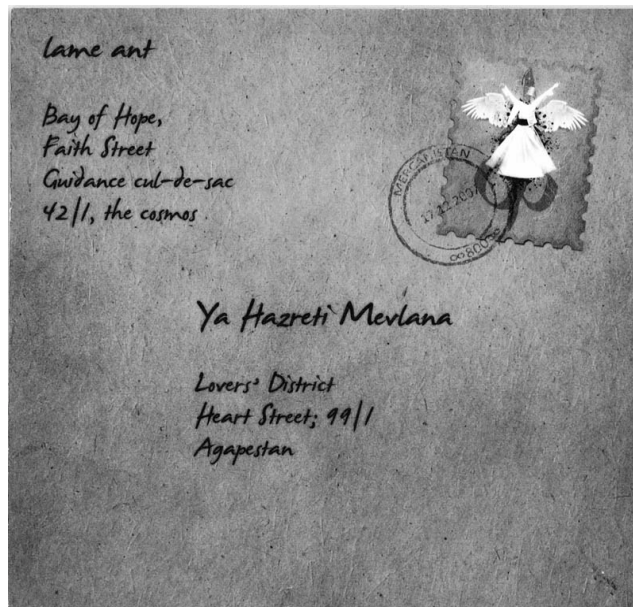


Figure 5.5. The letter to Mevlana attached inside the album, *800* by Mercan Dede (Doublemoon, 2007)

The sender is the 'Lame Ant' and the receiver is 'Ya Hazreti Mevlana'. The stamp on the envelope shows that the letter is sent from an imaginary land called *Mercanistan*, the land of Mercan. The name 'Lame Ant' shows the source of inspiration of such a letter concept: Mevlana portrays a lame ant on the path of Love in his *Masnavi*. Obviously Mercan Dede makes an analogy between that Lame Ant and himself trying to say that he also pursues the Truth or the Love in quite an arduous journey. He directly addresses Mevlana in the letter, expressing his longing for him. The letter is signed by Arkin, more accurately "The Likeness of ark'ın". In the album booklet the notes on the piece in the album, *Mercanistan*, yet make that imaginary land more obscure: "The song is dedicated to those who have become citizens of the heartland from its founding to the present. Over time our family has multiplied to reach every corner of the earth...". The notes continue by claiming that the people, 'citizens' of *Mercanistan*, "share the same sounds and vocabulary"; and "together we are at home". While the letter's naivety and almost childishness aims at strengthening the 'sincerity' of Mercan Dede in his spiritual journey to the Truth or the Love, the notion of imaginary land, *Mercanistan*, cannot help portraying a *tariqa* (Sufi order) in which the same aims and 'vocabularies' bind the devotees together. This imaginary land is also named in a naïve way, a preference that seems congruent with the naivety of the letter concept, thus fostering the claims of sincerity in a quirky way. Such simplistic and almost childish concepts seem to aim to mollify the complexity of the Sufi philosophy and make it approachable for his audience.

What distinguishes the album, *800*, from his previous albums is that most of the pieces in the albums have lyrics. The ways in which the lyrics are embedded within the pieces resemble the method he uses for processing sounds: the words are sometimes fading; they overlap each other, sometimes so much so that it is hardly possible to understand the meaning. The first piece, *800*, have lyrics sung and written by the famous rapper Ceza:

Uçan bir kuş, bazen kaybolan bir
kumum,
Koskoca alemde yalnız bir kulum,
Kolkola gezmek her can ile suç mu,
Tamam o zaman, benim bu alemde
en suçlu.

I'm a flying bird, sometimes an invisible
grain of sand,
I'm a servant all alone in this temporary
land, Is it a crime to walk with all creation
hand in hand?
All right; then I'm the biggest criminal on
Earth.³⁶

The verses quoted above are only a small part of the lyrics sung by Ceza. The whole lyrics center upon the theme of loneliness and the theme of love felt towards all the universe and its creatures. It is obvious that the discursive structure of the lyrics is greatly influenced by the themes and notions of Sufi literature, especially Mevlana's verses. The singing style and the poetry itself reflect the rapping aesthetic which is characterized by rhymed lyrics, wordplay, and repetitive and syncopated accompaniment. This is an interesting example in which Mercan Dede totally decontextualized the Sufi themes and forms in order to incorporate them into a form of music, Rap, that has nothing to do with Sufi music forms. At the end of the piece the language of some phrases is hard to determine. All these languages gradually fuse into each other so as to form a single entity, a sampling method which seems to evoke cosmopolitanism or universalism (the theme of oneness in Sufism as well) adding to the themes of love and loneliness emphasized in the lyrics.

In another piece in the album, *Captive*, Mercan Dede incorporates Sufi themes and concepts into forms of Turkish pop music (or vice versa) by collaborating with one of the most famous pop music singers in Turkey, Yıldız Tilbe. Although the music was composed by Mercan Dede, it has parts that completely look like the musical structure of a typical Yıldız Tilbe song. She seemed to be encouraged by Mercan Dede to sing in her own style since she uses her own singing style in a bit of an exaggerated way. After the rapping of Ceza again where he states somewhere "the

³⁶ English translation of the verses by Ceza and Yıldız Tilbe in the following excerpts are taken from Pektaş (2007). Most of the verses chanted by Ceza are almost non-translatable since the meaning of the verses is completely based on rhymes and wordplays. Some of these are added to the Appendix B for the Turkish speaking readers.

world is completely dark, the light is in another place” (*bu dünya kapkaranlık, ılık başka yerde*), Tilbe continues with a verse which seems to be a motto about love:

Başka seveceksin, başka türlü
Başka şekilde, başka biçimde

Güneşten sıcak,
Sudan çıplak
Martıların kanadı gibi, tutsak.

You have to love in a different way
In a different form, in a different
way
Warmer than the sun
More naked than the water
As captive³⁷ as the wing of a seagull.

Again, the entire lyrics center around the theme of love, however this time by integrating statements that emphasize the theme of alienation which can be best exemplified in the closing words of Tilbe: “We want ‘live’ happiness, ‘live’ tranquility, ‘live’ affection. Why do we exist?” (*Naklen mutluluk istiyoruz, Naklen huzur istiyoruz, Naklen sevgi istiyoruz. Niye varız?*). The word ‘live’ (*naklen* in Turkish) is used in an ironic way to criticize the media’s predominance in our lives and it is followed by a common (almost banal) question on human existence. It is striking to see that such political connotations are rare in Mercan Dede’s music and he chooses to express that attitude by using celebrities at the very core of popular culture.³⁸

The album also has lyrics chanted in different languages, such as French or English. In the track *Book of Wings*, the French lyrics also depend on the theme of love but this time with an emphasis on an account of a personal way of life.³⁹

³⁷ In the original translation by Pektaş (2007) the word ‘attached’ is used in place of the word ‘captive’. Since the piece appears as *Captive* in the international release and the Turkish word *tutsak* literally means captive, the word captive is used instead of ‘attached’.

³⁸ The piece, *Captive*, includes verses chanted by Ceza in addition to the lyrics sung by Tilbe. Ceza’s verses state that the world seems to be hopeless and humanity is in a despair. He explicitly asserts the salvation is possible – “don’t believe the only choice is desperation ... the world is completely dark, the light is in another place” (*tek seçimse çaresizlik, buna inanma ... bu dünya kapkaranlık ılık başka yerde*).

³⁹ The translation of the French lyrics was made by a friend of mine who is a native French speaker.

...	...
Le ciel est privé de nuages	Sky is cloudless
Je vis mon avenir à chaque instant	I live my future in every moment
Je n'ai pas envie de courir mais	I don't want to run
de marcher lentement avec légèreté	but to walk slowly, lightly
le temps d'apprécier ...	to have the time to enjoy...
Je ne suis pas fatiguée mon amour	I'm not exhausted my love
Mais épanouie	But fulfilled [or blossomed]

Besides textual elements and lyrics in the album, *800*, visual elements also play significant roles, in evoking a particular conception of spirituality and Mevlevi themes. The visual elements are formed with a similar method of bricolage that he uses for the creation of sounds. That said, the images are products of a process of personalization and hybridization; they are somewhat multilayered images comprised of various visual symbols that are signifiers of different themes and belonging to different contexts. Thus, Mercan Dede attempts to make images his own as he does with the sounds. For example, what resembles 'whirling dervishes' (*semazen*) on the album cover (see figure 3.3 in the corresponding chapter) is so much hybridized or modified that he himself calls them 'creatures'. The dresses of some of the '*semazen*' turn out to be red; the figure that most resembles a *semazen* is faceless. They have wings and are surrounded by what look like scattered moths - an obvious reference to the well-known Sufi metaphor of 'moth and flame'. The moth's desire for the flame or light and its annihilation by the flame are generally an analogy for the Sufi devotee in the 'path' who desires annihilation into the Truth or the Divine Being.⁴⁰ There is certainly an analogy between the whirling of the moths and that of *semazens* as well. Some elements of the images are so abstract that it is almost impossible to determine what they represent. The textual discourse that seems to reproduce a particular Mevlevi tradition on the basis of metaphors and analogies combines with a visual discourse that creates abstract, personalized and hybridized images by using a postmodern collage technique. The resultant images are different from the (mostly banal and stereotypical) touristic Mevlevi images that are common in many Sufi music albums supposedly targeting an international audience.

⁴⁰ A similar metaphor can also be found in Qur'an (El-Karia, 4).

The metaphor of ‘wings’ that can be found here and there in the album is of great significance. The whirling dervishes have wings; the images of the sound waves are transformed into wings visually (Figure 5.6)⁴¹. The metaphor of ‘wings’ not only predominates among the visual elements: the title of the fourth track of the album is *Book of Wings*. Mercan Dede’s remarks about the meaning of music for him hints about why the concept of wing is so central in the album:

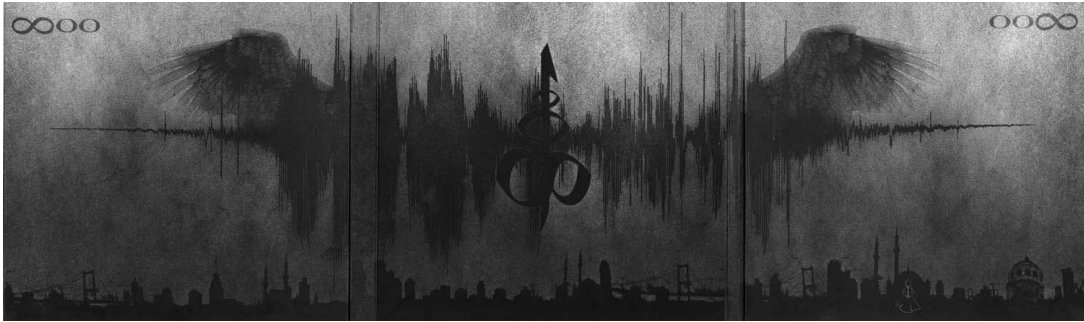


Figure 5.6. The inside cover of the album, *800* by Mercan Dede (Doublemoon, 2007).

When I hear music, it makes me feel like I am flying from this world called matrix; I feel I am existing and I am living. This is music and I believe it is a very important realm. That feeling is what I can express as the feeling of flying. It means ascending from the materiality of this world. That is why there are flying creatures in this album. There are the wings and the sound waves.

The metaphor of wings and the idea that the music creates a feeling of flying (and ‘ascending from the materiality of this world’) asserts a direct relationship between the notion of *vecd* in Sufi music and that of trance in electronic music (‘hypnotic beats’). Mercan Dede seems to maintain his anti-authentic music-making attitude in his understanding of the functions and meanings of Sufi music. For him, classicist and authenticist attitudes and their long-standing distinction between so-called high

⁴¹ Mercan Dede states that the image of the sound wave (Figure 5.4) is indeed a statement about the album. However, that statement cannot be found anywhere in the album. For him, this has a similar meaning as in the album, *Nefes*, which is glazing (*sırlama*). The listener can realize one day that there is such an image or not; he can search for what that statement is or not. At the end, he has to find a meaning that makes sense for him or her. That is his or her truth. The mystification and the act of making obscure in this context is striking. This, in a way, fosters spirituality by creating a sense of curiosity and occult elements.

and low cultures (and the corresponding practices and feelings) inevitably result in contempt of 'ordinary' people and their practices.⁴² Moreover, for him, such attitudes tend to enclose Sufi music and practices within particular spaces and contexts. Mercan Dede makes a provocative argument that questions the conventional meanings of the feeling of trance in clubbing cultures, an assertion leading to a discursive dislocation of the meanings and functions of Sufi music and practices:

I think 'art' sometimes underestimates ordinary people. Intellectualist attitude is a bit arrogant. I have never made such an underestimation. My experiences led me to behave in such a way. I know well that unexpected things occur in clubs where people drink, and electronic music is played. These clubs are generally regarded as places for the 'bad boys and girls'. For example, I happened to see model-like blonde girls whom people are accustomed to seeing in the tabloid media and who are generally seen as 'stupid blondes' weep upon hearing electronic music with ney. The emotional link between those girls and the ney is no way more or less important than that between the dervish in *Galata Mevlevihanesi* (Galata Cloister) and the ney. The basic theme of the music is that *vecd* [trance, ecstasy].

In this context, Mercan Dede claims that not only the Sufi music but also the music itself is capable to make people ascend from the materiality of this world and cross to another world. This is a discourse central in electronic music and in deejaying. Furthermore, as stated in Theberge (2003), in especially the incorporation of the African rhythms into electronic music or world music, the alleged power of these rhythms to create altered states of consciousness and their hypnotic effects are

⁴² His opposition to the distinction between high and low culture and the contempt for forms of popular culture is mostly embodied in the album, *800*, where he collaborates with some figures staying at the core of popular music, such as the famous rapper Ceza or Turkish pop music star Yıldız Tilbe. His remarks about such collaborations is noteworthy since he also relates this issue with his understanding of *tasavvuf* or Mevlevi philosophy: "*Tasavvuf* is a fabric for me. The *tarikas* [Sufi orders] are various dresses made from this fabric. I am looking for the fabric itself not the dresses; searching for the essence of that fabric ... I can do everything with anybody. The only thing important for me is to feel my heart beating when I hear a voice. That is the only criterion for me. It should be sincere as well and there should be no intellectual concerns that would cover the surface of that heart. What I am looking for in art is that heart beating. For example I worked with Özcan Deniz [a very famous figure in popular music] in *Su*. Many people have asked: what's he got to do with it? I am looking for the cloth there, the voice of Özcan. Everybody is looking for the dress, buying his albums ... I am searching for the potential in that fabric itself."

central discursive elements. Similarly, the incorporation of Sufi music and practices into world music is also fed with the long-standing Western images of Sufis as being in trancelike states or associated with dionysiac rituals; Sufi music, thus, is regarded as one of the main sources of those altered states of consciousness. In that context, the notion of *vecd* in Sufi music is directly associated with the trance in electronic music and club culture. This is one of the major discursive dislocations in the process of incorporation of Sufi music into world music.

5.4. Concluding remarks:

The incorporation of Mevlevi music and philosophy into world music requires thematic modifications and transformation of the so-called local and authentic musical forms in order to fit the taste of the international audience. Especially for sacred musics (like Sufi music) which are bounded up with notions of spirituality directly associated with particular religious traditions, the process of incorporation is more complicated and tricky. In this process, what had seemed to the international audiences to be absolutely unfamiliar and ‘other’ has to be ‘translated’ into comprehensible forms that make sense to them. The discursive elements and themes which are familiar to the international (Western?) audience play significant roles in this incorporation. However, what makes this process complicated and tricky is the fact that the resultant forms should be neither absolutely familiar, which makes them sound too Western, nor completely incomprehensible and distant, that obviously means a complete detachment from those forms on behalf of the international audience.

As this chapter has attempted to show, new age spirituality and philosophy are operative in the discourses of spirituality of world music, a fact which could be the result of the significant place of Christian mystic elements in new age spirituality and the considerable popularity of new age before the rise of world music in the Western world.. Moreover, the central discursive elements of new age spirituality, such as a special emphasis on personal transformation, a notion of individuality based on

spiritual journey, or the enigmatic understanding of self as a yet-to-be discovered thing, seem to be among those elements that make the 'sacred' musics 'spiritual', an operation that prevents the resultant forms from being incomprehensible and distant for the international audience. Rather than incorporating Sufi themes and music so as to evoke strong Islamic connotations, the successful constructions of spirituality prefer discourses that translate Sufi elements into approachable and expressive themes for the respective audience.

In Mercan Dede's case, another operative and central discursive element that makes such translations possible is a particular cosmological narrative which suggests common themes and motifs that are purportedly 'universal' (as in the Four elements series). Such a construction of spirituality is based on notions of cosmopolitanism and humanism which are floaty elements in the general discursive schema in a way to signify different themes depending on the context. Those familiar and comprehensible notions then are discursively dislocated to evoke (or even to be equated with) a central theme in Sufism, the oneness or unity (of humans and the universe). For example, the notion of *vecd* having significant functions in the symbolic universe of the Sufi orders turns out to be a 'hybrid' version of 'trance' without any overt association with a particular sacredness. The main function of that notion of trance is to make people pass beyond the materiality of this mundane world (the metaphor of 'flying' symbolized with the image of wings in 800).

These dislocations which make the modified Sufi spirituality and philosophy approachable and expressive for the Western audience suggest that there are some aspects of Sufi music as world music that make it different from some other world music forms in respect to the ways in which Sufi themes are incorporated into world music. The forms of spirituality were mainly constructed through the purported authenticity and exoticity of the sounds in the early years of the emergence of world music and those alleged characteristics of the sounds owe their credibility (if any) to their perceived distance from the audience. That is to say, the more those sounds were strange and vague, the more spiritual and exotic they were supposed to be to

the audience. Erguner's case perfectly exemplifies such forms of incorporation. However, such constructions of spirituality proved not to be efficient discourses in the incorporation of Sufi music into world music. In those discourses, mystification of the sounds and the musical instruments and the evocations of the Sufi themes and philosophy take place by establishing a particular intimacy with the audience in which the audience associates the emergent forms with their own 'spiritual journeys' and selves, rather than creating a distance which would make those forms 'exotic' in the very sense of the word. However, such a process suggests a universality in which the meanings of the emergent forms cannot be confined to the subjectivity of the 'author', a claim which would make those forms everybody's own, that is, expressive of their own experience and journey. For example, although musical, textual and visual elements seem to be reflections of Arkin Ilcali's subjectivity, the meanings of these elements are supposed to be inferred by the audiences themselves as Mercan Dede repeatedly states. Ironically, such an alleged 'death of author' also facilitates the 'closeness' or the sincerity of the sounds and thematical forms.

Then comes another central question: what kind of spirituality does the successful incorporation of Sufi music suggest? In other words, how is a particular form of spirituality constituted from the approachable or comprehensible themes created by the discursive dislocations mentioned above? I will argue that, in this context, Mercan Dede's case exemplifies a successful incorporation of Sufi music into world music using discourses of spirituality that resemble discourses of what some authors call 'postmodern spirituality'. While the term postmodern spirituality assumes the significance of a 'living cosmology' in the constitution of corresponding discourses, it also signifies a distinction between religiosity and spirituality. Pointing out the importance of a particular conception of cosmology, Fox (1990, 19-20) mentions a move from "the Quest for the Historical Jesus to the Quest for the Cosmic Christ" in theological terms. Although Fox formulates such a concept particularly with reference to Christianity, such a rediscovery of cosmology in the discourses of spirituality, I believe, further implies a distinction between religiosity and spirituality in general. As Benedikter (2005) contends, postmodern spirituality mostly depends

on the quest for a ‘new essentialism’. It largely expresses individualistic experiences and the desire for transcendence without the moral or ethical obligations associated with a particular religious tradition. Thus, postmodern spirituality refers to forms of spirituality allegedly free from religiosity - a way to be spiritual without being religious.

In Mercan Dede’s case the Mevlevi images bounded up with the so-called universal ancient cosmologies are associated with the notions of personal spiritual journey and the significance of individual path. I will argue that such associations, which are further decorated with the discourses of cosmopolitanism and universalism, lead to a form of postmodern spirituality that is free from religiosity on the surface. The resultant form of spirituality in its ‘new’ context is a tamed spirituality at best, since the themes and forms have been completely decontextualized and discursively dislocated so as to be detached from its ‘core’ religious connotations. Interestingly, the basic elements of the resultant form of spirituality, cosmopolitanism, universality or humanism, can also be seen as congruent with the basic Sufi themes such as oneness or unity. Thus, the ‘discursive compilation’ of various elements that seem to be indifferent to each other also play a major role besides discursive dislocation. Furthermore, the Mevlana image and Mevlevi themes appear to be efficient and operational elements since the popular images of them allow and facilitate such dislocations, compilations and forms of decontextualization (and a tamed spirituality). In a world characterized by hostility against fundamentalist Islam, the surprising rising popularity of spiritual forms supposedly bounded up with Islamic themes can only be explained by the appeal of forms of spirituality devoid of core religious connotations.

Besides the visual and textual elements, the translation or the processing of Sufi music is very important in the construction of spirituality. Ali Coşar’s statement quoted in the previous chapter is very much applicable in Erguner’s context. For Coşar, ‘Sufi music alone’ does not work in the world music markets, unlike the Roman music. What Coşar terms as ‘Sufi music alone’ implies music forms that are

associated with what is regarded as authentic or 'local' Sufi music. It is legitimate to doubt whether Sufi music as it is performed in Erguner's case makes much sense for an average world music listener, a suspicion which is confirmed to a degree by the fact that he is very far from having a prominent position in world music markets. The incorporation of Sufi music in Erguner's case mostly depends on an obsolete form of Sufi music in which the sounds are expressed in a way to create the impression of exoticism -- a sense of distance from the audience. In cases where that expression is characterized as fusion or synthesis, the result is much more of an eclectic one. On the contrary, in Mercan Dede's case, the musical aesthetic along with the textual and visual elements are designed in order to evoke forms of spirituality mentioned above. Obviously, such forms of incorporation were a result of his music career and his personal history as a musician. Mercan Dede benefited much from his background in deejaying and electronic music in his incorporation of the Sufi concept to his musical discourses. This point directly relates to the issue of how actors in the field of Sufi music as world music utilize their social and cultural capitals and how these resources affect their strategies. The global discourse of world music also plays a significant role in determining which resources and capitals are valid, desirable and effective on the basis of the demands of the so-called local and global markets and the expectations of the audiences.

As illustrated in the chapter on Roman music, being Roman (the embodiment of that ethnic belonging in musical terms) and corresponding images of Romanness are almost preconditions for competing in the market. Obviously in Sufi music, marketing such an ethnic belonging is irrelevant. In a similar manner, one might assert the importance of coming from a Sufi tradition (whether it be in terms of familial tradition, educational background, or engagement in any Sufi orders) in an actor's position and success in the markets. However, as shown in Erguner's case, coming directly from a Sufi tradition does not make a difference on its own. Although Mercan Dede has little claim to a Sufi tradition (and deep-rooted new tradition with his familial or social backgrounds), he has been successful enough to be known as 'dervish' in the international media. That fact alone shows us that the

incorporation of Sufi music into world music does not necessarily depend on coming from a Sufi tradition as an indispensable cultural capital. Although coming from a Roman community or its embodiments in musical terms (such as being *alaylı* or playing like a gypsy) are almost prerequisite for competing in the field of Roman music as world music, having a Sufi tradition or associated musical characteristics do not guarantee success in Sufi music as world music; they are even hampering at times.

Such a distinction between Roman music and Sufi music is also valid with respect to the musical forms. While the forms of music that are seen as manifestations of a particular locality and corresponding authenticity (such as Selim Sesler's music) can be popular in Roman music, these forms are only capable of creating marginal or niche markets in Sufi music. Such a comparison can be made in the following way: while the 'local' and 'authentic' forms of Roman music have the potential both to attract ethnomusicological interest and to be very popular in the world music markets, similar forms of Sufi music are only capable of the former. Another distinction can be observed by looking at the musical instruments and their performance. In Roman music, performing on the clarinet like a real Gypsy (or 'playing *gırnata* like *gırnata*' as Roman musicians call it) is significant and almost prerequisite for success in the markets. This is true not only for 'local' artists like Selim Sesler but also for musicians like Hüsni Şenlendirici, who searches for fusion or synthesis sounds. Thus, 'Romanness' should be evoked in every moment of the musical performance. However, in Sufi music as world music, 'authentic' ney performance does not seem to be related to success in the markets. (In this context, authentic refers to *tekeke* style or what Erguner calls 'Erguner school' which is seen by him to be closest to the authentic performance). In Mercan Dede's case, such authentic conceptions of ney completely lose their meanings and connotations; in his case, the ney is even sometimes found to be a noise or a sample. While performance on the clarinet is a major indicator of a particular Roman locality and belonging, the performance of ney and its distance from what is regarded as authentic has little to do with the evocation of Sufi themes or the mystification of ney.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Son onbeş yıl içerisinde oldu Roman müziğinin dünya müziği olması. Çok dinlenir oldu, çok dünyaya açıldı. Ve burada da öyle oldu; Türkiye’de Roman müziği çok ön plana çıktı. Neden diye soracak olursanız Roman müziği hem eğlenceli hem de herşey var içinde ... ağlatıcı müzik de var hem de çaldığın zaman millet duramıyor yerinde. Zıplıyorlar, oynuyorlar.¹

Selim Sesler (interview by the author, Feraye café, İstanbul, December 12, 2007)

During the early stages of this study, when it was only an idea, some of my friends and my colleagues expressed doubts whether the case of world music in Turkey is a worthwhile area of inquiry, considering the time and effort required for a dissertation study. Frankly speaking, they were quite successful at times at infusing me with similar doubts and this caused a delay in realization of such a study. Such well-intentioned but discouraging reactions were based upon particular concerns. For some, the world music phenomenon was particularly of interest for the West; the market share of world music produced in Turkey was not significant neither in Turkish nor in the global markets. Thus, the considerable amount of literature on the world music phenomenon was relevant only in the West. On the other hand, some other colleagues thought world music was a contrived and an artificial category which was not capable of accounting for social, economic or cultural patterns worthy of inquiry. Finally, another perspective regarded world music as a ‘perfectly

¹ “Roman music has become a world music in the last fifteen years. It has become a music listened to very much; it was opened to the world. It happened here as well; it gained prominence in Turkey too. If you ask why, Roman music is entertaining and also it has everything in it ... it also has tear-jerking tunes. When you play it people are full of beans. They jump up and down; they dance.”

commodified' thing, the codes of which are already deciphered. In line with their belief in the cultural imperialism thesis, people sharing that perspective thought such a study would only show those deciphered codes in Turkish case; thus it would almost mean losing time on matters which are obvious.

Although such reactions discouraged me, they also had a positive influence on the process - they made me think again and again about the significance of such a study and whether it would have the potential to make a real contribution to scholarship on globalization and culture. First, I have gradually realized that most of the literature on world music has focused on the cultural forms produced in and for Western Europe and North America, whether the producers of those forms be 'Westerners' or not. Since the sounds in these cultural forms have almost solely been products of global discourses of world music, there is no way to examine the articulation of the so-called local and global elements or to map the discursive topographies in the 'local'. Thus the production of allegedly global cultural forms in the local spaces and the competition of these forms in the global market have attracted less interest.

Secondly, I have become increasingly opposed to the idea that the impact of the demands of the market on the formation of cultural commodities is insignificant if market shares are below some presumed levels. This assumption is totally misleading in a world where the cultural logic of contemporary capitalism operates through disseminations, dislocations, and articulations. My observations during fieldwork indicated that the discourses associated with world music are not particular to that field; they do not only exist in world music, rather they infuse other fields of commodity cultures. In other words, a world music discourse per se is misleading. The musicians, producers, and labels mentioned in this study are not actors in a marginal or niche market; they have significant influence in various fields of cultural production besides music-making and in the production of the popular culture and music. Thus, perspectives based on market share or deterministic approaches are mostly blind to the significance of the processes of flow, dislocation, and articulation

of the cultural forms and associated discourses. The rhizomic logic of contemporary capitalism renders such approaches infeasible and useless.

World music is, first of all, a commercial marketing category. In that sense it is a category which impacts market strategies of particular actors in the music industry and provides them with opportunities to create alternative corresponding positions to compete in both local and global markets. However, as shown in details in this study, world music also refers to a variable discursive repertoire through which actors situate their musical subjectivity between opposite poles of traditional and modern, authentic and fusion, local and global, etc. Thus it is both a commercial phenomenon that commodifies ethnicity, spiritual or sacred themes, and 'traditions' and it is also a discursive construction of place and locality that opens new resources of creativity for the musicians, producers and recording labels. Moreover, the category of world music implies the rediscovery of place and locality through the lens of the global; it implies contestation of the discourses that are located on the fictional continuum from the local to the global.

This study attempts to map discursive topographies situated between the imaginary continuum from the global to the local. What I call 'discursive topographies' involves the processes of compilation, dislocation, and appropriation of various discourses and hints about the nature of allegedly local-global binaries created in different moments of cultural productions. The main assumption throughout the study is that the production of global cultural forms operates through a kind of discovery of local(ities) and communities, a process that leads to marketing and commodification of localities and places. As such, locality is a space where a repertoire of discourses are contested and articulated in the production and consumption of global cultural commodities. This assumption does not entail pursuit of a non-commodified 'pure' locality - a vain effort in the context of the production of commodity cultures. Rather, it should lead to the awareness that the production of 'global' cultural forms depends on marketing discourses of the local and the global and the actors' corresponding strategies in the production process.

This dissertation argues that there are two existing and competing types of world music in the Turkish case: 'non-Western' musical traditions and cosmopolitan music that fuses various musical forms to create new sounds. While Doublemoon is opting for the latter, Kalan seems to operate through the discourses of the former. In the case of Doublemoon, the argument follows the theoretical relationship between world music and the production of place. Doublemoon manufactures an Istanbul sound that supposedly symbolizes Istanbul. The question is, what is the 'Istanbul' that is produced through the particular brand of world music in Turkey? Doublemoon's "world music" is already hybrid; its hybridity identifies it as world music that is particularly of Istanbul. One might safely argue that what was defined as inauthentic in Doublemoon's case can also be defined as authentic. The possibility of such a reversal proves the flexibility of discursive elements associated with the so-called local and the global. The reversal operates as follows: The cosmopolitan fusion sound is being billed as authentic to Istanbul - in that Istanbul is 'authentically' a place of fusion, hybridity, bridging, etc. While cover images capitalize on 'authentic' and immediately recognizable scenes from Istanbul, the liner notes as well as the music underscore stylistic 'fusion', reproducing Istanbul's stereotypical portrayal as the meeting place or the bridge between East and West. This 'world fusion' corresponds to the ambivalent position Istanbul occupies - this city's spatial and cultural in-betweenness. The 'Istanbul' that is produced by this music seems to be a cosmopolitan Istanbul, the meeting place of East and West as the cliché goes. Moreover, Doublemoon's world music is somewhat different from that in the U.S. and Western Europe in the sense that it is much more about fusion than authenticity - through the process of this fusion local and traditional sounds are reinvented and made palatable to a wider urban middle class audience. In a similar manner, the Fatih Akın's film, *Crossing the Bridge: The Sound of Istanbul* (in which Doublemoon's artists took major roles) also creates an image of Istanbul as an in-between and cosmopolitan city. This cosmopolitanism and in-betweenness mostly depend on essentialized and ethnicized notions of East and West.

On the contrary, Kalan's notion of world music is based on ethnic diversity, cultural wealth of İstanbul and Anatolia, and a perceived nostalgia for the authentic forms. Thus, like Doublemoon, Kalan also operates through a production of place in which the ethnic and cultural diversity constitute the main discursive elements. What emerges is, to say in a clichéd way, the cultural mosaic of Anatolia. Although the keyword in Doublemoon is fusion, Kalan depends on a perceived nostalgia for the authentic forms. However, Kalan also exemplifies the ways in which the notions of political resistance and ethnic identity intersect with the demands of the global world music market. Although Kalan operates through a discourse of ethnomusicological authenticity, Doublemoon attempts to create imagery of İstanbul sounds that is grounded in the historically cosmopolitan image of İstanbul. That cosmopolitanism can be defined both as authentic and inauthentic depending on the context as the previous paragraph suggests. Overall, these two cases are somewhat different from the '*Putumayo* style' world music: a category of non-Western music that is supposed to be 'traditional' and representative of the places it comes from but is to important degrees adjusted to be enjoyable to the Western ear. As such, 'world music' is far from (a 'real') authenticity; it has a certain manufactured and tamed sound, and of course, a large and profitable market.

The cases of Doublemoon and Kalan show how the locality and place is commodified through the world music and how various cultural or spatial symbols (including ethnic identity and political attitudes) are incorporated and rediscovered through the discourses of world music. The discussion also shows how the idea of authenticity or inauthenticity remains a major criterion for the producers in the formation of their musical subjectivities and development of their marketing strategies. Although authenticity seems to have already been an obsolete and a well-worn concept, it still occupies a significant discursive trope in the symbolic universe of the musicians and producers. It is a major reference for them in the constitution of their musical subjectivities and corresponding strategies in the market. In a sense, as Timothy Taylor (1997) suggests, authenticity is a 'real thing'. In the global discourses of world music, various positions in the market wear the mask of

authenticity. For example, the so-called anti-commercialist stand promises to produce sounds outside the commodification of music industry; the sincerity (or originality) discourse claims that spirituality, emotionality and a sense of political resistance are inherent in the considered sounds.

As discussed in the second chapter, a general overview of the world music literature reveals that the world music discourse is constituted by elements of authenticity, spirituality or exoticity. However, these elements have become vacuous descriptions unless they are considered in a particular 'locality' in respect to their discursive formation. They gain meanings and become operative marketing terms through the compilation, articulation and contestation of various discursive elements in the locality, an imaginary space conceived in theoretical opposition to globality. The relevant chapters discussed these discursive mechanisms. I will summarize the themes and theoretical findings of those chapters below.

In the chapter "Local Music from out there: Roman Music as World Music" I discussed how the gypsiness and the associated notion of Roman community are being commodified and incorporated into the world music in Turkey. The gypsiness wears various masks that symbolize different conceptions in different contexts such as Romanness as an ethnic identity, the sense of community belonging and associated life styles or cosmopolitanism that is confirmed by the musical polyglottism of gypsies. In various market strategies and the formation of musical subjectivities, these notions are combined in different ways while putting different emphases on each of them. The Roman imagery here is seen as resulting from an imaginary and constructed Roman locality. Thus the case is a good example of how the category of world music operates through the construction and commodification of different localities. The incorporation of Roman music into world music perfectly exemplifies the process of constructing and marketing a locality. On the basis of the imagery of a Roman locality, various themes, such as ethnic identity, Romanness as a way of life or more popular Roman images, are compiled or dislocated from their contexts.

Furthermore, the incorporation of Roman music into world music involves a transformation of the interpretation of the musical practices associated with gypsies. I have tried to illustrate this point by using *gırnata* as a metaphor for the changing status of the practice of Roman music-making from almost an artisanship to a real artistry. Especially in classicists' views and scholarly studies, Roman music practices had generally been explicated in terms of artisanship: it was a practice solely for the purposes of entertainment. This transformation from artisanship to artistry was illustrated by the changing status of *gırnata* from an instrument produced by only local manufacturers and demanded only by the Roman musicians to an instrument now made of valuable woods and produced by standardized methods in large factories. The performing style of Roman musicians, such as relative lack of constraint in the use of *koma* notes, had been seen as *macun* or *ağdalı* style and had been seen as spoiling the authenticity of the music forms. Although such critics accept that this and the similar styles are very hard to play, they see the styles associated with Romans as degenerated forms. The superhuman virtuosity of Romans on their instruments contribute to the image of their music-making practices as a type of acrobatics or puppeting which are also characteristic trades of the gypsies. However, while Roman music is incorporated into world music, the performing styles and various music forms seen as distinctive to Romans are redefined as a real artistry. International media critics also confirm and promote this conclusion as the respective chapter shows in detail.

I have also argued that authenticity is wrapped around various discursive elements in the Turkish case. In Selim Sesler's case, for example, authenticity is associated with characteristics of an imaginary Roman community and locality, senses of belonging, way of life, and some particular emotional attributes of Romanness such as playfulness, friendliness, etc. In the same soundscape, in Hüsni Şenlendirici's case, authenticity has been defined primarily in terms of creativity, originality and anti-commercialism. Paradoxically the latter depends on the cosmopolitanism so-called inherent to the Romanness and Romans' musical polyglottism. In a sense, Roman identity is Janus faced with respect to the functions it plays in the formation of

actors' musical subjectivities and of their strategies in the music markets. On the one hand, Roman music implies a strong sense of community belonging, making it one of the most proper music forms to be incorporated as 'local' music in the world music discourse. On the other hand, it also signifies a certain level of cosmopolitanism in the symbolic language associated with music. Thus the construction of Roman locality also changes with regard to different meanings attributed to the Romanness. Sometimes it is associated with the warmth or affectiveness of Roman community and the strong sense of community belonging; sometimes it is associated with being open to many sources and being able to perform diverse music forms. In a way the latter makes Roman musicians the best alternative for the fusion works while the former makes them the best performers of so-called local or community music.

Therefore, the interplay between ethnicity and locality (or the sense of community) plays a significant role in the incorporation of Roman music into world music. However, it was also evident that the sense of locality is more important and easier to evoke in this process. In contrast to the common global pattern of gypsy music as world music in which a strong Roma identity plays a significant role, in Turkey cultural goods with a glaring ethnic label are not so much appealing and viable. This is also related to the point that the Turkish Roman communities are criticized for lacking awareness of their ethnic identity by the Roma activists in Europe. Thus in Turkey, ethnicity can only be seen as one of the mollified components of the construction of Roman community and locality in the incorporation of Roman music into world music. The resultant Roman image or the essentialized Roman community largely depends on the popular image of being Roman. The construction of Roman locality in the Turkish case does not depend on Romanness as an ethnic identity as the respective chapter showed in detail; rather it is based on the popular image of Romanness as claimed to be reflected in every moment of the musical and mundane practices of Roman communities.

The case of Roman music illustrates that the forms of cultural capital are not predefined; they are shaped by the global world music industry. They are modified and redefined according to the demands of the global world music markets. Being from the Roman community or not, being *alaylı* or *okullu* within the community, or being born into a musician family, for example, are all significant determinants of 'valid' *forms* of cultural capital. These various forms of cultural capital are embodied in the performance styles of the musical instruments and the different forms of Roman music as world music. The musicians that I investigated utilize Romanness in their discourses as signifier of different capabilities and musical subjectivities ranging from almost a kind of Roman parochialism to a kind of cosmopolitanism. They in a way articulate, modify and redefine a global world music discourse on the basis of the understanding and modification of their Romanness. In a field where the rewards are given upon being Roman, Hüsnü, for example, has to decorate the purported cosmopolitanism with a certain level of belonging to a Roman community, and he even uses his Romanness discursively as a means to authenticate such cosmopolitan attitudes.

In the last chapter of the case study, "Sufi music as a spiritual journey" I explained how Sufi music is incorporated into world music and the discursive compilations and dislocations that make Sufi music work in international markets. In market terms a successful incorporation of Sufi music requires a subtle degree of comprehensibility by the international audience. If the resultant forms and evoked themes are totally comprehensible and familiar the music would sound too western. If on the other hand they are totally incomprehensible and distant they would be completely detached from the respective audience. I examined two cases, Süleyman Erguner and Mercan Dede, which exemplify two different forms of incorporation of Mevlevi music and themes and two different forms of spirituality construction. In the case of Mercan Dede, for example, the construction of spirituality relies on the notions of cosmopolitanism and humanism (which are floaty discursive elements in a way) to signify different themes depending on the context. These notions are discursively dislocated to evoke a central theme in Sufism, the oneness or unity of

humans and the universe, the idea of *tevhid*. This idea is embodied in the musical structure and discourse as well, as Mercan Dede's case suggests. For example the notion of *vecd* central to the Sufi thought turns out to be trance or ecstasy without an overt association with a particular religious tradition. The main function of that notion of trance is to pass beyond the materiality of this world. This notion of trance resembles the notion of ecstasy in club cultures, with which Mercan Dede is quite familiar as a result of his career in deejaying. On the other hand, Erguner's incorporation of Sufi music and themes very much exemplifies the noisy exoticity which was common in the earlier examples of world music. According to this logic, the more the sounds were strange and vague, the more spiritual and exotic they were supposed to be to the audience. It is contentious whether Sufi music as it is performed in Erguner's case makes much sense for an average world music listener. His music mostly depends on an obsolete form of Sufi music in which the sounds create the impression of exoticism - a sense of distance from the audience.

On the contrary, as a component of the successful incorporation of Sufi music, Mercan Dede's spirituality is based on personal transformation - a notion of individuality based on spiritual journey, or the enigmatic understanding of self as a yet-to-be discovered thing. I asserted a distinction between religiosity and spirituality at this point. What some authors call postmodern spirituality refers to a new essentialism and desire for transcendence without the moral or ethical obligations associated with a particular religious tradition. This notion perfectly fits the spirituality evoked by Mercan Dede's music. Mevlevi images bounded up with the so-called universal ancient cosmologies (for example, the notion of Four Elements in his series) are then associated with the notions of personal spiritual journey and the significance of individual path. These notions are then decorated with the discourses of cosmopolitanism and universalism that are further dislocated to harmonize with the Sufi themes such as *tevhid*. The resultant form of spirituality is a tamed spirituality at best since the themes and forms have been totally decontextualized and discursively dislocated so as to be detached from their core religious connotations. Spirituality is constructed in such a way that it does not bear

strong connotations of Islamic tradition – a way to create spirituality without religiosity. In a way, Sufi music forms and themes have to be translated both in musical and thematic terms into something that has a subtle degree of comprehensibility by the international audience. Although what is regarded as local or authentic Roman music is successful in the world music market, the respective forms of Sufi music create an obsolete form of exoticism and remain quite distant and incomprehensible for the international audience.

Hence the case of Sufi music again shows how the appropriation and incorporation of so-called local resources and the articulation of global discourse of world music varies according to a particular field in what the globality imagines as the local. It also shows how different soundscapes exemplify different discursive mechanisms and musical aesthetics and how various forms and themes are modified and articulated into a global world music discourse.

Although coming from a Roman tradition was key for success in Roman music as world music, the situation is not so in the Sufi music. Despite Mercan Dede's relative lack of a Sufi tradition, he has been successful enough to be known as dervish in international media. Coming from a particular tradition also gains significance in the musical performance. In Roman music, playing like a real gypsy and virtuosity on *gırnata* are almost prerequisites for success in the global markets; in Sufi music virtuosity on *ney* or any engagement with the Sufi orders remain almost insignificant. The performance on *ney* has become so insignificant that the *ney* sounds have almost become samples or motifs in Mercan Dede's music. Whereas what is billed as authentic in Roman music is identified with a notion of locality, in Sufi music, it is defined with respect to the proximity or loyalty to a particular sacred tradition and corresponding music practice – on the basis of a distinction between contrived or genuine forms. However, such a notion of authenticity seems not to have significance in the incorporation of Sufi music as world music; it does not sell well. Various discursive positions are formed with the articulation and contestation

of various discursive elements that are generally defined by their position on the fictional continuum of the local and the global.

Up to now the investigation of what has been defined as the discursive dislocations, contestations and articulations of various elements hints at the construction of particular localities. Thus the absolute reality of or even existence of the locality has always been an illusion; but in the case of world music, it is much more illusory than ever. The case of world music in Turkey thoroughly illustrates how the local and place imageries are constructed and commodified in relation to the global. These imaginary spaces of the local and the global are embodied in the discourses associated with the cultural forms and are shaped in a dialectical relationship to each other. In a way, the local and the global “derive their meanings from each other” (Dirlik 1998, 8) and one might regard them as “prisms for looking at the same thing” (Hall 1997, 61). The production of global cultural forms primarily involves the ways in which the local and the global elements are marketed and the corresponding strategies of the actors in the respective fields. The discourses producing global cultural forms (that are paradoxically claimed to represent particular localities) constitute the abstract notion of globality and its constitutive discourses – globality never constitutes a whole. More specifically, the global discourses or the abstract notion of globality are aggregates of various discursive amalgamations taking place in different ‘localities’; these discourses are results of the discursive mechanisms of articulation, compilation and dislocation. In this process, the cultural elements seemingly coming from the ‘core’ of the local are marketed according to discourses and strategies that are shaped by the rules of this local/global (fuzzy) space. Although these elements are neither local nor global, the local turns out to be global to the extent of being a space where its resources are rediscovered and redefined discursively to be marketed in ‘global’ markets. This process also leads to questioning of some elements supposedly belonging to the local, such as traditionality or authenticity. As I discussed throughout this dissertation, these notions constitute sources of various strategies that correspond to different discursive elements depending on the context. In some instances, for example,

musical forms that overtly represent fusion forms are associated with authentic themes or vice versa. Or, discursive elements that imply a particular ethnic identity or forms of community sometimes become sources of a notion of very locality (or parochialism) and sometimes become sources of cosmopolitanism. More interestingly, different fields involve different forms of musical subjectivities such as traditionality, originality, and synthesis in different ways. Thus authenticity, for example, is defined in different ways and through different discursive mechanisms in the respective fields.

This study also elaborated on the interplay between the cultural capitals of the actors and the demands of the global world music industry. The cultural capitals are defined by the actors' various backgrounds - familial, ethnic, and academic, etc. These are regarded as the main sources of the actors' positioning themselves in the market by means of various discourses, such as authenticity, locality, emotionality, spirituality, sincerity, etc. The forms of cultural capital are not predefined and fixed; they are constantly reformulated and redefined depending on the actors' strategies in the market and the ways in which the world music market defines cultural capitals as 'valid' or 'rewardable'. However, it is also possible to trace some aspects of the 'valid' cultural capitals in different soundscapes. The respective chapters showed how the valid forms of cultural capitals have been defined in Roman music and Sufi music, and how the actors define and modify their personal assets and shape corresponding discourses according to the ways in which those soundscapes are incorporated into world music.

In summary, the incorporation and the appropriation of the 'local' resources and the indigenization of the elements of global world music discourses vary according to the various fields within the space that has been defined as the local by the globality. These fields are defined primarily in terms of various elements such as religious traditions, community characteristics, particular musical forms, ethnic identity, popular images, etc. Different discursive mechanisms appropriate the elements supposedly belonging to the fictional and imaginary category of the local.. These

mechanisms, in turn, are shaped with respect to the nature of the 'local' resources and the ways in which these resources are incorporated within the category of world music. As discussed in detail in the respective chapters, the market strategies of the actors largely depend on the discursive formation of their musical subjectivities and their 'valid' cultural capitals primarily defined with respect to the local resources. However, these strategies are shaped according to the rules and the dynamics of various fields. For example, in Roman music where being Roman or not is the major criterion, ethnic identity and community belonging determine the rules of the game. In Sufi music, however, the rules of the game mostly depend on the experience of the respective actors and the musical tradition they come from in the field.

Furthermore, the emerging world music category has many subspecies in the 'local'. These subspecies involve various actors that incorporate themes and music forms into world music. These subspecies also have various subfields that are defined with respect to the ways in which different local sources are articulated and appropriated discursively. That said, the discursive mechanisms and strategies of the actors vary across different fields of the same subspecies as well. Different 'identities' and strategies emerge from various discursive mechanisms in each respective field: bringing a lost past and its forms to light, that is 'archiving' authentic and 'original' forms, or rediscovery of the local which is based on a particular ethnic identity or community belonging, etc. Moreover, the actors in the production of world music are not limited to the musicians and producers. The actors include musicologists, technicians, entrepreneurs, studio musicians, graphic artists and painters, instrument makers, authors of liner notes to the albums, etc. These actors constitute a network wherein relationships and different strategies influence each other. Thus the broad category of world music actually involves various subspecies and corresponding networks, the rules and dynamics of which are shaped according to the specific features of the respective fields.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Excerpts from the Interviews in Turkish

Interview with Selim Sesler (Istanbul, Feraye Café, December 10, 2007)

“Ondan [Grup Karşılama] önce ufak kasetlerim vardı Unkapanı’ndan çıkan. Zaten onlar ben çok ön plana çıkınca isimden yararlanarak bunlar o albümleri izinsiz çıkardılar bir sürü hikayeler. Brenna’yla tanışmamız ... o zaman ben Andon’da çalışıyorum işte 95-96 yılları orasını zaten biz açtık böyle fasıl masıl davası. Onlar tesadüfen geldiler oraya o gece de Fransa dan bir grup geldi oraya eksik elemanları. Orada işletmeci bayanlar dedi ki Selim abi bu elemanların dediler elemanları eksik sen bunlara eşlik et. Dedim ki ya provamız yok nasıl olacak. Onlar eminler yani sen yaparsın abi dediler sen çalarsın.. Öyle mi? Zaten müziği duydu mu uydururuz Allah ın izniyle. Bunlar çıktılar çalarken hadi bakalım Selim abi siz de çıkın. Çıktım Allah ne verdiyse tabi orada kaptırdım. Doğaçlamalar. Onlara tabi uyacaksın yani. Onları bozmadan da... Güzel bir konser oldu o gece. Meğerse Brenna McCrimmon da oradaymış o gece. Tesadüfen. Kulağı çınlasın. Ondan sonra bu gidiyor onun arkadaşları var Amerikalı benim Keşan’a Giden Yollar’ı yazan Sonia Tamar Seeman şimdi Austin de çok büyük bir üniversitede müzik hocalığı yapıyor yani müzikolog. Orada çalışıyor şu an. Gidiyor koştura koştura oraya Selim Sesler i buldum. Meğerse onlar beni arıyorlarmış zaten. İşte bir akşam sonra tekrar geldi bunlar bi grupla altı yedi kişilik bir grup. Bu müzikolog sonra benden klarnet dersi de aldı. Çok dostluğumuz oldu bize geldiler biz onlara gittik falan böyle ailece bir dostluk kurduk. İyi insanlar ailece. Tabi biz de iyi olmasak herhalde onlar da iyi olmazdı. Biz de iyiyiz demek ki. Neyse bunlar geldiler ertesi günü çıktılar fasıl yaptığım yere. Oturdular.

Faslı bitirdik beni masaya davet ettiler. Tanıştık. Kartlar verildi. Sonra beni aradı bunlar evinize gelebilirmiyiz ziyaret etmek istiyoruz. Geldiler oturduk muhabbet sohbet çay kahve derken o zaman işte Brenna albümünü bana söyledi işte böyle bir projem var dedi Selim bey acaba mümkünmü benimle çalışırmısın. Ne demek dedim zevkle. Ondan sonra albüm çıktı işte. Grup Karşılama diye. Onunla gittik Kanada da dolaştık bir ay çok keyifli hep güzel otellerde yedik içtik hem ziyaret hem ticaret yani. Geldik ardından bir sene sonra Keşan’a Giden Yollar’ı yaptık.”

“Kalan’dan iki albümüm çıktı benim. Bir Brenna McCrimmon’la, Kanadalı bayanla. Karşılama isimli bir albüm çok iddialı hala şurada ileride çalışıyor. Halen gidiyor. Bir sene sonra ... o albümle zaten bir ay Kanada’yı dolaştık biz. Festivaller yaptık. Kulağı çınlasın Brenna hanımla. Bir sene sonra Kalan çağırdı beni. Selim dedi bize bir de senin tarz birşey yap dedi yani senin orada ne oynanıyor Trakya’da ne yapılıyor orada onları yap ezgiler yap kafana göre birşey yap. O zaman ben mesela köylerde neler oynanıyor romanlar neler oynuyor- mesela Kolozlu Romanları var bizde Kolozlular bunlar demirciler demir döverler onların oynadığı havalar yine memleketten gelme havalar. Onları çaldım falan derken roman ezgiler.. bu parçaları yaptım ben yani tam yöresel, evrensel, otantik bir müzik. İlk olarak Kalan’dan Grup Karşılama çıktı dediğim albüm. Ama onu ilk olarak Brenna burada kalıbı yaptık gitti ilk Kanada’da çıkardı onu festivallerle beraber Kanada’da çıktı. Sonra Kalan’dan çıktı.”

“Farklı melodiler yapıyorum ben. Yani dünya müzikleri. Şimdi ben konserlerimde Balkanlardan da çalışıyorum zaten bizim atalarımız Balkanlardan gelme. Selanik muhaciriyiz biz oradan gelmeyiz. Ben o tarafa da yatkınım yani. Balkan müziği de yapıyorum konserlerimde Roman müziği de yapıyorum. Kendime has naçizane enstrümantal bestelerim var. Türkiye’nin dört bir coğrafyasından parçalar çalışıyorum türküler çalışıyorum. Böyle bir repertuar gelişti. Zaten bizim asıl müziğimiz Türk müziği Türk Sanat Müziği. Saz eserleri falan yapıyoruz programlarımızda. Böyle bir repertuar.”

“Roman müziği de bir Türk müziği gibidir aslında, Türk müziğidir yani. Zaten motifsel olarak hep aynıdır fark etmez ama Roman çaldığın zaman oynaktır ... Şimdi klasik müzikte Türk sanat müziğinde tamamen çizilmiş bir yol vardır. O yolun dışına çıkamazsın. Ama Roman müziğinde öyle değil istediğin gibi Türk müziğinden melodiler, nağmeler içinden geldiği gibi karıştırıyorsun. Yani doğaçlama yapıyorsun. Böyle bir şey yani Roman müziği budur istediğin gibi çalarsın ruhundan tabi ama kabiliyetinle de.”

“Zaten ben de klasikçiyim. Ben mesela konserlere gidiyorum musiki derneklerinin düzenlediği. Dede Efendi’den, Birinci Selim’den falan işte Selahattin Pınar’dan eserler çalınıyor. Orada artık numara yapamazsın. Uygun düşmez. Neyse parça efendi gibi çalarsın.”

“Fatih Akın gündeme geldi Grup Karşılama’dan sonra. O zaman Fatih Akın tabi tanınmıyor Hamburg’da yaşıyor. Bu albümü almış o Hamburg’da. Tabi sonradan anlatıyor bunu bana. ‘Abi aldım’ diyor ‘akşam eve gittiğim zaman’ diyor ‘koyuyor dinliyorum içesim geliyor’ diyor. ‘Koyuyorum rakımı içiyorum’ diyor. ‘Sonra günler geçti benim bu proje meydana çıktı’ diye anlatıyor, Duvara Karşı projesi yani filmi. O demiş ben mutlaka Selim abiye bu filmde çaldıracağım. Yani ne olursa olsun gönül koymuş yani. Geliyor buraya beni buluyor telefon ediyor. The Marmara’da o zaman. Çağırıyor beni oturduk, anlaştık, konuştuk derken filmi yaptık, çaldık parçalarımızı, stüdyolara girdik falan filan. O tabi çok büyük bir beğeni kazandı bütün dünyada Duvara Karşı. Altın ödül falan aldı Berlin’de. Sonra bir sene sonra İstanbul Hatırası’nı çekti. Yine bana çaldırdı o filmde. O da tabi çok büyük bir kariyer dünyada. Japonya’da bile yani Uzakdoğu’da, bütün Avrupa’da seyredildi zevkle, çok beğendiler. Oradan da uluslararası bir isim oldu, yani tanıdılar beni tüm dünyada.”

“Geleneksel müziklere, dünya müziklerine ilgi artıyor. Bu ilgi çok iyi. Çok hoşuma gidiyor yani. Biz nasıl yani memnunsak onlar da memnun. Geliyor mesela Amerikalı Babylon’da konser veriyor şimdi. Mesela atıyorum zenciler geliyor konser veriyor. Yani Afrika’dan geliyor konser veriyor bu çok güzel bir şey. Eskiden böyle bir şey

yoktu. On beş yirmi sene öncesine kadar. Bizler de oraya gidiyoruz mesela oradaki kitle Amerikalılar mesela atıyorum Kanadalılar veyahut Avrupalılar gidiyoruz oranın insanın ilgisini çekiyoruz dinliyorlar. Orada gidiyorsun konser anında öyle bir dinliyorlar ki yani sanki insanlar nefes almıyorlar çıt yok bak böyle. Bitirdin parçayı bir alkış kopuyor ayakta alkışlıyorlar.”

“Ben yola çıktığımda Roman müziği bu yerlerde değildi. Bizler Roman müzisyenlerini değiştirdik biraz. Bizim gibi müzisyenler biraz böyle ön plana çıkınca işte Selim abi böyle nasıl oldu da biz de olalım gibi. Ama bu gökten zembille iner gibi inmez, insanlar da inmez yani. Ne prangalardan geçtik yani affedersin buraya geldim ben aşağı yukarı 28 senedir İstanbul’dayım ben. Ben askerden geldim orada durmadım. Geldim buraya pavyonlarda da çaldım, efendim kulüplerde çaldım, meyhanelerde çaldım her yerde çaldım ben. Öyle öyle yani... Kendimiz tırnaklarımızla kaza kaza... Tabi insanlarda bir cevher de olması şart öyle haybeden isim vermezler yani. Müzikte bilhassa. Müzik öyle bir iş ki torpil müzikte yoktur. Oğluna bile torpil geçemezsin. Yok amcamın oğlu falan filan olmaz öyle şeyler. Adam yıllarını verir radyoya veyahut devlet korolarına oğlunu alamaz sokamaz. Çünkü o onu kıvıramıyor o işi beceremiyor nasıl sokacak. Böyle işler yani.”

“Benim Kalan’dan Doublemoon’a geçmem şöyle oldu. Kalan da tabi yok yok. Kalan dünyaca bir isim. Tamam, bunlar da öyle Doublemoon da Pozitif de öyle. Şöyle oldu. Duvara Karşı filminde ve İstanbul Hatırası’nda o zaman Fatih Akın kulağı çınlasın ‘telif hakları var ya abi’ dedi ‘Mesam’a üye olmazsan buradan sen yararlanamazsın bir pay alamazsın’ dedi. Tamam, film için üç beş bir şey aldık ama buradan da dedi yani buradan da alırsın oraya kayıt olacaksın Mesam’a. Tamam dedim o zaman bunların şeyi de var biliyorsun Doublemoon’un müzisyenlerin haklarını da koruyorlar yani. Mecburen oraya kayıt olduk biz, aynı zamanda Mesam üyesiyim ben. Ondan sonra tabi biz oraya üye olunca bizim edisyon haklarımız onlarda hep onlar koruyorlar. Sonra tabi bu işte albüm meydana geldi. Onlar dedi ki ya Selim abi bize bir albüm yapsan mademki buradasın bize de bir albüm yap. E yapalım dedik. Ben gittim Kalan’a böyle böyle ne diyorsun. Hiç fark etmez dedi yani ha bize yapmışsın, ha

oraya yapmışın. Bizim aramızda dedi fark etmez kardeş şirket. Sen oraya yap dedi daha iyi olur dedi Kalan kendisi söyledi. İyi dedim o zaman bak sizden izin alıyorum. Tamam dedi. Ondan sonra işte şeyi yaptık Oğlan Bizim Kız Bizim o da iddialı bir şekilde çıktı. Onu yaptıktan sonra işte benim 20 sene önce çalmış olduğum albümleri aşağıda Unkapanı'ndan isim vermeyeceğim biri benim ismimden yararlanarak iki albümünü üstümüze çıkardı. İşte Roman bilmem ne kapak da internetten indirmiş. Benim ismimi yazmış. Bütün *freeshop*lara dağıttı. Bunlarla toplantı yaptık falan. Pozitifle Doublemoon'la. Onlar araştırdı işte biz dediler mahkemeye gidemeyiz icrasının dediler sen yap. Ben nasıl uğraşacağım ben öyle işle uğraşamam ki. Mümkün değil. Öyle gitti yani.”

“Yabancı şirketlerden de teklif tabi oluyor da şimdi ben sıcak bakmadım. Bizim burada kendi insanımız varken burada elimizin altında. Orada ben gidip şimdi albüm yapsam mesela *bridge* mi diyorlar ne bir şirket var Amerika'da. Ermeni onların sahipleri. Ben en son gittiğimde işte New York'a, Chicago'ya festivallere gittiğimde bu yazın başında gitmişim o adam şirket sahibi geldi işte kartını verdi, 'bize ne zaman istersen gel' dedi 'karar ver verdiğin an bizi ara' dedi tabi tercüme edenler var İngilizce konuşamıyorum ben. Dediler işte Selim Bey ne zaman karar verirsen bizi ara bize albüm yap. Ama olmaz ki. Olmaz. Buradan olması daha iyi mesela Doublemoon'dan çıkması daha iyi. Bunlar da mesela dünyaca ünlü. Bunların da her tarafta bağlantıları var.”

“Son on beş yıl içerisinde oldu Roman müziğinin dünya müziği olması. Çok dinlenir oldu, çok dünyaya açıldı. Ve burada da öyle oldu; Türkiye'de Roman müziği çok ön plana çıktı. Neden diye soracak olursanız Roman müziği hem eğlenceli hem de her şey var içinde ... ağlatıcı müzik de var hem de çaldığın zaman millet duramıyor yerinde. Zıplıyorlar, oynuyorlar.”

Interview with Ali Coşar (Istanbul, Pozitif Music, December 11, 2007)

“Dünyadaki müzik sektöründeki eğilimlere baktığımızda el değmemiş tek yer burası kaldı. Ve herkes de bunun farkında. Diğerleri bir şekilde paketlenildi. Yani ne bileyim Orta doğu müzikleri bile.”

“Müzik sektörü için enteresan olan şey cep melodileri albüm çoğaltımından doğan telifi geçmiş durumda. Son yedi yılın eğilimi bu. Mesela geçen sene bizim çok genç sanatçımız Cem Yıldız, ‘Aşk İmkansız’ projesi. Bir milyonun üzerinde cep telefonu melodisi sağladı. Ödül aldı. Bir şarkı bir albümün ürettiği değerin çok çok üstünde bir değer üretti. Çok ciddi bestecilere para kazandırdı.”

“Doublemoon Womex yani World Music Expo’nun doğal jüri üyesi belirleyicilerden birisi o network çok önemli o yüzden. Bir de Doublemoon hiçbir zaman Unkapanı’nın ‘hemen parayı götürelim’ mantığıyla hareket etmedi. Her ülkede bir muhatabın vardır. Her ülkede Mercan Dede’nin albümü ya dağıtılır ya çoğaltılır. Yani mutlaka pazara ulaşır. İşte yavaş yavaş, işte onuncu yılı gelecek, üstüste koya koya bu noktaya gelmiş durumda. Son iki yıldır BBC World Music dalında mutlaka Mercan Dede adaylar arasındadır. World music listelerinde mutlaka Türkiye’den Doublemoondan bir albüm vardır. İlk ondadır birdir onsekizdir ama ilk ellinin içinde mutlaka vardır. Yani Sezen Aksu’nun popülerliğiyle paralel gitmeye başladı orada albümler. Doublemoon bunun üzerine yeni projeler üretmeye başladı. Taksim Trio bunun son örneği. Hüsnü Şenlendirici ve ekibi. Hüsnü klarnetin çok popüler olması onda da çok etkili. Yani hedef kitleye yönelik birşey.”

“Pozitifin yaklaşık 20 yıllık bir tarihi var Pozitif Prodüksiyon’la başlıyor, uluslararası festivaller organize etmeye başlıyorlar Türkiye’deki tabi daha çok alternatif müzik ve world music alanında. ... Dolayısıyla burada gelen konuklara baktığımızda world music ya da alternatif müzik alanında farklı yerlere sahip sanatçılar. Bu uluslararası ‘network’ ü yaratıyor aynı zamanda. Sonrasında Babylon kuruluyor performans merkezi olarak, son iki yılda dünyanın en iyi yüz caz kulübü arasında gösteriliyor.

Orası zaten bambaşka tamamen bir network. Yani 'Türkiye'ye kim gelip çalmak isterse iyi bilinen müzisyenler world music alanında onlar gelip Babylon'da performans yapıyorlar. Canlı müzik performans alanında faaliyet gösterirken bunların kaydı tabii ki ihtiyacı oluşuyor sonra Doublemoon kuruluyor o da aslında Pozitif Müzik Yapım. Doublemoon kurulduktan sonra ilk etapta işte o dönemde caz müzik alanındaki işte Brooklyn Funk Essentials örneğin çok farklı bir deneyim çok farklı ülkelerden sanatçıları bir araya getiren bir ilk aslında o anlamda çok başarılı. Hala da Türkiye'de satan bir albümdür. Sonrasında işte Burhan Öçal, İlhan Erşahin, Mercan Dede başlıyor. Böyle devam edip gidiyor Hüsnü Şenlendirici, Taksim Trio işte daha çok proje bazlı.”

“2003 yılında da Pozitif Edisyon kuruldu ben de daha önce beş yıl Mesam'daydım zaten. Buraya geldik beraber işte sıfırdan bir şirket kurduk. Şu anda 200 e yakın besteci ve söz yazarını bünyesinde bulunduran bir şirket Pozitif Edisyon. Ana fonksiyonu bu insanların haklarını korumak telif haklarını korumak bunun yanı sıra onların mevcut eserlerinin reklamlara, filmlere, dizilere pazarlanması, albümlerde *coverlanması* ya da yine reklam dizi ve filmlere özgün müzik üretilmesi. Ya da albümlere yeni beste yapıp satılması gibi fonksiyonu var. Ya da danışmanlık yapıyor atıyorum bir x mekânında hangi müziklerin çalınması gerekiyor. Şu anda mesela bir mağaza zincirine danışmanlık yapıyoruz elli tane mağazası var Türkiye çapında oradaki hedef kitleyi en iyi yakalayan müzik ne olabilir bunu yapıyoruz. Pozitif edisyon RNI gibi çalışıyor işte repertuar danışmanı hangi parça seçilir neler yapılır falan ve *soundtrackler* basılıyor.”

“Şimdi baktığımız zaman en enteresan olanı Fatih Akın'ın filmleri mesela tüm müzik danışmanlığını burası yaptı işte Duvara Karşı ile başladık senaryo üzerine çalışmaya başladık ilk etapta sonra neler yer alabilir dedik işte Selim Sesler oradan birden popüler oldu. Bir mekânda Selim Sesler'i izlerken fikir oluştu filmin yapımcısı tarafından. Sonrasında İstanbul Hatırası. İstanbul ve müziği anlatan bir şey; çok yeterli mi değil bazı eksiklikleri var biz müdahale edebildiğimiz kadar müdahale ettik. Çoğu da bizim sanatçımız ama biraz daha yelpaze genişleyebilirdi bazı eksikliklileri

var. Buradaki müziği yurtdışı ile buluşturma hedefi vardı ve gerçekten Japonya’da Baba Zula çok popüler şu anda. Sürekli Japonya’dan konser teklifi geliyor. Birazcık hani oryantalist bakış açısı geçerli gerçi oryantalist bakış açısı orada olmaz ama albüm kapaklarında her zaman Baba Zula’nın bir dansöz vardır o çok ilgisini çekti Japonların. Ve takibinde sürekli konser talebi gelmeye başladı.”

“Bizim vitrinimiz Almanya. Almanya’da da pazarlama teknikleri çok sınırlı zaten başka sorunlar var. Almanya’daki üçüncü nesil belki bu konuda bize yardımcı olabilir. Yani bu albümü mesela tamamen bu amaçla yaptık. Yani hedef buydu. Sabahat Akkiraz ve Orient Expressions. Orient Expressions İstanbul Hatırası ile çok popüler olan yurtdışında bilinen bir grup. İkisi sokakta yan yana gelemez ama ikisi de Edisyon sanatçısı olduğu için, yani aslında Orient Expressions Doublemoon’un artisti ama Sabahat Akkiraz başka bir plak şirketinden, onları bir araya getirip yani iki farklı kesime ulaşmak ve çok başarılı oldu.”

“Sufi müzik son yıllarda popülerite kazandı. Ancak, Sufi müzik diye Türkiye’de pazarlanan şey elektronik altyapılı müzik. Yani etno-elektronik müzik pazarlaması. Sufi müzik tek başına birşey yapmıyor, Kudsi Erguner yıllardır yapıyor ... müzik sektörüne bakarsanız gerçekten elektronik altyapılı müzikler çok popüler dünyada Peter Gabriel de aynı şekilde popüler oldu. Gotan Project de. Manu Chao’yu da koyabilirsin. Sufi müziğe de ilgi biraz bununla ilintili.”

“Doublemoon birçok proje üretti. Birden Selim Sesler diye birisi olduğu fark edildi, popüler oldu. Yıllar önce Kalan’dan bir albümü vardı mesela Brenna McCrimmon’la zaten. Selim abiyle muhabbet ederken ya bir şey yapalım albüm yapalım ama albüm bir *konsept* üzerine olsun, düşün *konsepti* üzerine bir albüm yapalım. Yani düşünüyü hüznü ve neşesiyle yansıtalım. Sonrasında albümün kapağında da var albümü world music camiasındaki en önemli iki yapımcı yaptı.”

“Yani en baştan ‘world music’ sektörün pazarlama paketleme buluşu aslında. Bir şekilde sektör içerisinde albümleri ve müziği kategorize ettiğinde tıkanıklık olduğunu hissettiğinde ya da yeni bir pazar alanı açmak istediğinde hegemonik olanın dışındaki her şeyi world music diye paketlemişler. Ve ciddi bir dönüm noktası vardır orada. İşte yine Gabriel’in Passion albümü Güney Afrika’da kaydetmesi. Aslında o tepki için kaydediyor orada ‘major label’ lara karşı bir rekabet içerisinde ve iyi yapıyor şu an dünya müziği içinde en popüler adamdır ödül de aldı yine. Bunun algılanması zaten Batı dışında yapılan şey ‘world music’ tir. Öyle paketlenip gidiyor. Bu birazda dışarıya bırakılmışın içeriye alınması aslında. Potansiyel tehlikenin kontrol altına alınması. Bunu da şey kullanıyor bizim gibi ülkelerdeki yerel müzik endüstrileri kullanıyor çünkü kendilerine batıya ulaşmak için bir araç olarak kullanıyorlar bunu. Ama bunu en fazla besleyen nedir? Putumayo nedir mesela hediyelik eşya satan bir yer; hatta ta başında bizim yönetim kurulu üyelerimiz New York’ta yaşarken gidip geldikleri bir tane dükkân hediyelik eşya satan bir dükkân. Yerel giysiler satan. Yerel giysilerle beraber zamanla oradan bir tane müzik gelmeye başlıyor. Öyle başlıyor. Putumayo’nun ilk dağıtıcısı da Pozitif’tir Türkiye’deki dağıtıcısı. Yıllar önce yardımcı olmak için. ‘World music’ in hem kavram olarak hem de kategori olarak hem de pazar olarak gelişmesinde iki temel unsur var. Bir tanesi bu ‘compilationlar’ Buda Bar serisini düşünelim. ‘Compilationlar’ bir şekilde farklı bölgelerden derlenenlerin bir vitrine çıkarılıp alıcıya sunulması biraz pazar araştırması nerede eğilim var biraz o eğilime göre davranmak. Yani hazır paket. Bunun ciddi bir etkisi var. İkincisi yani Cezayir Rai müziği Fransa bilmem ne o tip biraz önce bahsettiğimiz hani bu bölge biraz el değmemiş bölge dedik ya bir şekilde ‘world music’ in kategorileşmesinde göçmenlerin ciddi etkisi var. Sokak bir şekilde gittiğinde kendi kültürünü nasıl götürüyor müziğini de götürmeye başlıyor. Önce bu müzik hep bir ‘event’ olarak devam ederken hani hüznün neşe etkinlik olarak devam ederken sokakta kendi mahallesinde evde sonra yavaş yavaş bu kaydedilen bir malzeme haline geliyor. Türkiye’nin talihsizliği ne? Almanya’da mesela alıp müziği mesela döner satıyor dönerin yanına iki tane kaset koyuyor. Ya da bir bakkal var yanında iki tane kaset. Tamamen Türklerin elinde. Üretim burada. Orada üretilse listelere girme şansı var. Orada üretilmediği için telif çıkmıyor orada.”

Interview with Hasan Saltık (Istanbul, Kalan Music, December 7, 2007)

“Mesela Yunanistan’da Bizans müziği CD’leri vardır ama gerçek Bizans müziği yoktur. Gerçek Bizans müziğini İstanbullular yapar çünkü Atina’da yapılanlar turistik kalıyor çünkü merkez burası. Buradaki okuma tarzı üslubu atinalılar gelse ne kadar burada eğitim görseler de olmuyor en iyi sizin gördüğünüz çocuktı. Şimdi bu işlerin ustalarının taş plak kayıtlarını bulduk şimdi onlarda geliyor onları ilk biz yayınlayacağız bir de buradaki koroyu ilk defa stüdyoya sokucuz muhteşem bir albüm yapıcaz Yunanistan’da şaşırarak. Yani gerçek Bizans müziği nedir öğrenecekler şimdi bir yıl sonra bizden. Demek istediğim biz aslına köküne iniyoruz işin.”

“Bizim ilk başta kuruluşumuzda daha çok protest, sol, muhalif o tarz albümler yapıyorduk. Sonra sonra, hani bizim girdiğimiz dönemde ‘Türkiye’de müzik piyasasında arabesk, fantezi, bu taverna müziği diyebileceğimiz furyaların olduğu bir dönem. Biz ilk önce şuna baktık Anadolu’nun müziği salt bu değil; aşık müziği veya sufi müzik değil. Türkiye’de ulus-devlet yani Cumhuriyet’in kurulmasıyla beraber bir türkleştirme politikası politikası gelmiş; bir müzik politikası var devletin bu politikanın içerisinde azınlık müziğine yer yok. Böyle de olunca ilk Anadolu derlemeleri yapıldığında Kürtlerle, Zazalarla, Anadolu Ermenileriyle ilgili, Lazlarla Rumlarla bunlarla ilgili doğru dürüst alan çalışmaları yapılmamış.”

“Bizim bu noktada gelişimiz aslında biraz tesadüfi. Bizdeki bu kültürlere olan ilgi biraz da Dersim’li Tunceli’li olmamdan kaynaklı ... Bizim bahsettiğimiz kültürlere yönelik çalışmalar yapmamızdaki dönüm noktası benim birgün Almanya ziyaretimle başlıyor. Almanya’da ben bir CD dükkanında Saturn diye Tanburi Cemil Bey’i, Udi Hrant’ı, bu tarz Türk üstadlarını Amerikalı bir şirketin taş plaklardan temizleyip çıkardığını görünce (sene 1992 falan) Allah Allah dedik elin Amerikalısı yapıyor biz niye yapmıyoruz. Sonra bu konuyla ilgili hemen dedik ki geçmişte kim var ne var ben de bu konuda uzman değilim. Bu konudaki uzmanları hemen bulduk. Biz dedik ki yani Kalan Müzik tamam protest müziğini yapsın kişiliğinden ödün vermesin ama bu ülkenin kültürel zenginliğini bir şekilde ortaya çıkarmamız lazım dedik.”

“Yani ilk önce gelmişler ellerinde çok büyük bir silah var TRT gibi yıllarca bir şekilde bunun propagandasını yapmışlar. Kürtçeleri Türkçeye çevirmişler, Lazcaları Türkçeye çevirmişler. Binlerce türkü de belki de derlenmediği için zenginlik olarak görülmemiş devlet politikası olarak. Halbuki bunlar derlenmemiş Belki de biz çok geç başladık, o dönemde bu derleme yapılsaydı belki de şu anda repertuar zenginliği açısından belki bir onbin yirmi bin daha fazla olacaktı. Kaç kuşak kayboldu bu arada ve biz bunları son kalıntılar ne olabilir diye ufak ufak çalışmaya başladık. Bunların örneklerini çıkarmaya başlayınca ilk başta millet bi şaşırdı ne oluyor diye. Hatta bize manyakmıdır bu -müzik sektörü açısından söylüyorum- delimidir diyenler de oldu. Hani bunları nereye kime satacak. Benim o dönemki röportajlarımda bizim yaptığımız şeyler sürekli satacak dedim. Benim örneğin bi onyıl önceki onbeş yıl önceki röportajımda şey olur yani şu andaki popüler dinlediğiniz hiçbir şarkıyı bir yıl sonra dinlemeyeceksiniz ama bu CD 50 yıl sonra da satacak demiştim. Nitekim benim dediklerim de hep doğru çıkmıştır. Biz son sekiz yıldır türkiyedeki müzik sektöründeki en büyük beş şirketten bir tanesiyiz satış olarak da ciro olarak da öyle.”

“Bizi satın almak isteyen çok şirket var uluslararası. Çok büyük şirketlerden bahsediyorum yani yıllardır sürekli ciddi paralarla teklifler ediliyor. Biz kendi halinde bağımsız bir şirkettiz. Ve hiçbir şekilde yaptığı hiçbir işte hiç kimseden yardım almamıştır. Mesela 5 yıl önce devlet bizim şirketimizi kapatmıştır büyük skandal çıktı dünya çapında becerememiştir mesela. Yani Sanayi Ticaret Bakanlığı bizim hakkımızda dava açmıştır Türkiye tarihinde ilktir bu kapatamayınca Kültür Bakanlığı lisansımızı almıştır onların da gücü yetmemiştir aynı zamanda. Yani yirmi günlük bir iptalden sonra geri teslim etmek zorunda kaldı. O kadar bir kamuyou basın medya baskı uyguladı ki altından kalkamadı bakanlık özür dileyerek geri verdiler. Bu çok ciddi bir örnek Türkiye tarihinde böyle birşey yok. yani o dönemde bu azınlık müzikleri ile ilgili müzikler yaptığımızda çok ciddi baskılar da görmüştür şirket. Şimdi tam tersine işliyor iş. Artık bizim CD’leri devlet kendi tanıtımı için kullanıyor Dışişleri bizim CD’leri satın alıp özellikle yabancı heyetlere hediye olarak gönderiyor.”

“Diğer firmalar da dünya müziği yapıyorlar ama onlarınki hani yeni bir akım var gençlikte dünya müziği club müzik diskolarda çalınan oralarda rağbet gören. Bizimkisi ise ya kardeşim etnomüzikologlar bile alıyor bizim CD’leri; bizimkiler gerçekten etnomüzikolojik çalışmalar. Şu an mesela bir albümümüz Kuzey Afrika’daki bütün konservatuarlarda ders olarak okutuluyor. Yani araştırma konusu; bütün üniversitelerin kütüphanelerine girebiliyorsa bizim yaptığımız CD’ler anlatabiliyormuyum ... inceleme konusu oluyor ... Time dergisinden tut Liberation, Le Figaro dünyada ne bileyim bütün gazeteleri çıkarayım ben size Kalan üzerine özel yazılar... İsrail gazetelerinde Japonya’da Kalan üzerine özel yazılar var... başka bir şirket yoktur türkiyede böyle üzerine inceleme yazısı yazılan biyografisi yazılan... kalanla ilgili belgesel yapan televizyonlar var. O durumuyla biz burada kıyas kabul etmiyoruz diğer şirketlerle farklı bir sınıftayız. ... türkiye müziği üzerine bir araştırma yapan ilk Kalan’ın kapısını çalıyorsa, ki bir konservatuarın kapısını çalmadan devlet kapısı çalmadan ilk buraya geliyorsa ... ”

“Mercan Dede’nin daha önce iki albümü Amerika’da yayınlandı ondan sonra geldi firma aradı, biz yapmadık. Çünkü bizde neyzen zaten Şenol Filiz vardı yani otantığı varken neden Mercan Dede olsun. Ayrıca biraz Kalan müziğe uymuyor biraz hafif kalıyor. Yani biraz baktığımda Doublemoon’un yaptığı albümler ile bizim yaptığımız albümler arasında niteliksel farklar var.”

“Şu anda müzik sektörü batmak üzere ... biz daha uzun bir süre alt edilemeyiz. Bir de bizim albümlerin çoğu kitaplı, bunu sen mp3 olarak dinlediğinde bir zevk alamazsın ki. Albümdeki hissiyat bilgi fotoğraflar ... yani bunu da satın alacak yani ilgiliyse meraklıysa bunu alacak kütüphanesinde duracak. Yani onu mp3 yapsan ne olur yapmasan ne olur bir esprisi yok kalan ürünlerini mp3 yapmanın. Yapılmıyor mu yapılıyor ama en sonunda satın alır. Yani bir de sahiplenme duygusu var Kalan müziğin dinleyicilerinde. Başka şeyi aynı adam kopyalıyordur bizimkini satın alıyordur.”

Interview with Okay Temiz (Istanbul, Artist's Studio, December 3, 2007)

“Bir müzisyen dediğin zaman multikültürlü, çok kültürlü bir müzisyen olmalı; sahneye çıktığı zaman farkına varmadan bunları uygulamalı. O zaman müzisyenin kültürü ortaya çıkıyor biz dünya müzisyeni diye ona diyorduk. World Orchestra kurulduğu zaman da biz düşündük ki dünya orkestrası yani bunların hepsinin de aynı ölçüde olması lazım. Birbiriyle hiç alakasız müzisyen almayız biz böyle insanlarla çalışmadık. Buna gönül verenler özel kişiler özel müzisyenler böyle orkestra kurar. Bir sürü şehirde böyle orkestralar kurduk fantastik çok güzel şeyler çıktı. Biz kendimizi dünya müzisyeni olarak kabul ediyoruz tabi world music. Ben world music lafını buna uyguluyordum anlatabiliyormuyum; yani world music lafı çıkmadan evvel benim Oriental Wind ile bilhassa isveçte kurduğum grupta Afrika folku, Brezilya folku, Türk folku her zaman içerisinde vardı zaten onu ben getirdim. Hindistanla çok uğraştık, dokuz kere gittik geldik, en iyileriyle çalıştık oralarda kaldık kerpiç evlerde onların yemeklerini yedik giysilerini giydik büyük bir arkasında enerji ve zaman harcama ve enterest var enterese olduk aşkla gidiyorduk. Onlar bizim içimize girdi artık o müzikler. Biz oriental Wind’de Afrikayı çok kullandık, Afrikalı basçı geldi herşeyimiz değişti. Zenci tropmpetçi Don Cherry geldi afrikayı çok iyi biliyordu, kıızılderili müziğini biliyor, cazı bilen bir adam modern. Felaket bir adam senelerce bizle çaldı bir sürü şey öğrendik daha world music yoktu. Biz işte world music ona diyorduk. Ona folk jazz falan diyorduk. Etnik jazz derdik. Sonra bir baktık world music lafı bi baktık nerde, İngilterede. Nusrat Fateh Khan’ı getirmişler dini müzikleri yapan bir adam pakistanlı; onun yanında başka bir grup tamamen Afrika müzikleri yapıyor. Senegalli. Güney afrikadan vokal grubu falan. Bunlar şimdi değişik kültürler. Ama başka bir kültür bilmezler. Bugün Nusrat Fateh Khan cazı bilmez. Türk müziğini de bilmez duymamıştır. Afrika müziği duymuştur enterese olmamıştır bizim gibi kulağı açık aman müziğimi zenginleştireyim bunu da jazzı uygulayım bir form yapayım birşeyler öğreneyim değil. Fanatik müzisyenler bunlar bildiklerini okurlar birşey öğretemezsin.”

“Çingenelerin dar bir perspektifi var ancak çaldıklarını çok iyi çalan insanlar. Elli parça var çaldıkları elli birinciye öğretemezsin. Benim çingene müzisyenim var bir parçayı öğretemiyorum çalıyor macun gibi. Bunlar yerleşmiş kültürler bozamıyorsun bunları ... çingenelerin çok kabiliyetli olduğunu biliyorum ama bir yere kadar. Bunları bir klasik türk müziği orkestrasının arkasına koyduğun zaman mahvoldu hadise. Hepsi macun oldu, ara nağmeler macun oldu, komalar değişti. Bunun kimse farkında değil çok modern bir hadise. Çingenenin çingene gibi çalışından. Türk müziği gibi çalmıyor. Çingeneye folklor çaldıramıyorum. En basit folklor şarkısını macun gibi çalıyor ... Komanın lezzeti var dozajı var. Bunlarda koma mevhumu kalmamış. Arabesken de beter. Bu çingenelerin çaldığı korkunç birşey. Ama çok zor çünkü perde kaydırarak... Zenci arkadaşlarım var cazcı geliyor görüyor, dünyanın en iyi saksafoncuları hayret ettiler Okay nasıl ne güzel diyor nasıl oluyor diyor. Ama her zaman yapılmaz kardeşim nota mevhumu kalmadı. Bu şekilde Türk müziğine giren bu hadise yanlış. Bu benim kanıma dokunuyor. Benim annem ud çalıyordu. Paşa kızı bomba gibi. Türk sanat müziği annemin karnında duydum ben. Kızıyorum. Çingene çalamaz kardeşim Türk klasik müziği.”

“Türk müziğindeki folkloru kullanıyorsan, Mevlevi müziğini kullanıyorsan, klasik müziği kullanıyorsan - pek kullanan yok ben kullandım köçekçeleri – bunların ustalar tarafından çok iyi çalınmış şekilleri var bizde. Senin en az onlar kadar çalman lazım ki iyi bir şey yapabilesin. Ben İsveç’te orkestrama Saffet Gündeğer’i getirdim Türkiye’nin bir numaralı klarnetçisi, Müzeyyen Senar’ın Zeki Müren’in vokal hocası. Ardından Aka Gündüz geldi. Salih Baysal geldi dünya dördüncüsü seçildi kemanda bodrumlu şarapçılara keman çalan kemancı. Lokantada çalıyor. Türkiye’de kimse bilmiyor. Bu herifleri taşıdık biz. Niye? Otantik esasını bildiği, çaldığı için. Ama cazcılarla birleştirdik bunları, hata olmasın diye doğu müziği olsun diye İsveçliye de çaldırabilirdim. Veya buradan klarnetçiyi alırdım macun gibi çalardı Türk müziğini.”

“Bak cazcılar Türk müziğinden Makedon müziğinden falan bir şeyler alıp caz çalmaktan bıktılar artık caza bir şekil renk vermek için uğraştılar, halen uğraşıyorlar. Ben Stockholm’e gittiğim zaman yıllar evvel aman ne güzel dediler cazı bıraktık Türk

müziği çalmaya başladık. Niye? Herkeste bir arayış var. Şimdi aynı şekilde genç müzisyenler de 'orient' ten gelen seslere bir ilgi bir hoş geliyor onlara o popüler oluyor haliyle ama o işin doğrusu demek değil. Popüler olabilir. Demin dinledim mesela bir örnek. Neyle bir açılış yaptılar çok güzel şahane ondan sonra bir girdiler orkestrayla beş para etmez kardeşim. Demek ki yarım kültür. Yozlaşmış. Türk müziği çalsın tamam. Oyun havaları çalsın, çingene çalsın bu öyle bir karmaşık ki Türk müziği gibi ama sadece gibi. Öyle bir şey ki çok kötü yani hepsi birbirine girmiş. Her yerde bir sakatlık, bilgisizlik var. Bunlar popüler oluyor ... bak şimdi otantığı biraz alıp değiştirebilirsin ama otantığı değiştirdiğin zaman yine otantik devam edip gitmen lazım. Elektronik de katarsın ben yaptım ama yani onu hakikaten bilmek lazım.”

“Zikir albümünü Aka Gündüz’le yaptım. Aka neyzenler içinde en yırtık neyle başka şeyler çalmak isteyen bir müzisyendi. Don Cherry vardı bunu çok beğendi. O da yoga yapıyor, tasavvufçu, Budist oldu böyle araştırmacı bir adam her türlü olaya girdi çıktı. Niye yaptık? Aka’dan evvel benim Hindistan müziği ile çok şeyim oldu sevdim çok müziklerini. Sonra Aka’yı da bulunca Türkiye’de yapar mıyız çalışmalar yaptık. Bu denemeleri yaptık ama plak yapalım diye değil. Aka da çalıyor her neyzen çalamaz folkloru çalabiliyor. Emprovize yapabiliyor. Neyini hızla çalabiliyor. Hatta dergâhtan öldükten sonra dediler ki Okay’la caz çaldı da ondan öldü falan. Onu illa Sufi müziğine âşık falan diye değerlendirmemek lazım öyle bir şeyim yok. Sufizmle ilgim yok ben müzik adamıyım. Mesela bak Coltrane de Hindistan’a gitti sonra saksafonu değişik çalmaya başladı. John McLaughlin gitti aylarca kaldı bir geldi hepten değişti. Boşluk öğreniyorlar. Ne var biliyor musun Sufi müzikte benim en çok sevdiğim mesela mevlüte bak adam okuduğu zaman bir sırayı cümleyi boşluk bırakır o yankı yapar, o anda öksürük falan duyarsın birileri Allah diye bağırır o boşluk ikinci cümleyi hazırlar. Düşünce şansını sağlar. Arka arkaya söylese Allah’ı düşüneceksen sana fırsat sağlanmaz. O hem kendisi için bırakır, hem de müzik için, hem de öyle ister bırakır tavır öyledir. Bunu işte müzisyenler bilmiyor neyzenler biliyor birazcık. Buradaki müzisyenler üst üste çalışıyorlar kardeşim durmak yok bir cümle yapıyorsun bir cümle daha ne demek istediği belli değil. Hep üst üste geliyor ‘bigmac’ gibi böyle üst üste, ondan sonra ısıramıyorsun. Bakıyorsun teknik sadece. Ne kadar çok tekniğin varsa

gençlik o kadar çok alkışlıyor. Gençlik yazık bir şeyden haberi yok. Tersini çalarsan o gençlik ya kalkar gider ya uyur. Çünkü o kadar kötü örnekler verildi ki senelerce bu ülkede düzeltmek çok zor.”

“Bak perküsyon gibi zikirde de tekrar tekrar ettikçe kafayı buluyorsun anlatabiliyor muyum? Ama küçük küçük değişiklikler vardır onu herkes fark edemez. Onu zikreden de fark edemez belki ama ben onu biliyorum. Folklordan biliyorum, folklor hep tekrardır çoğu. Ama tekrar derken çok küçük nüanslarla usta folklorcularla çalıştım ben çok Afrikalılarla. Zurnacım vardı mesela öldü beraber çaldığım buradan; cahil bir heriftir kaba falan ama zurnayı aldığı zaman aynısını çalıyor gibi çalar ama değildir. Adam genel kültür olarak cahil ama orda ‘genius’. Bu tekrardaki nüans Afrika’da hep var, Hindistan’da hep var. Türkiye’de bu çok az usta müzisyenlerin çok azında var, ben bunu Afrika’dan öğrendim. Onun için bu tekrar olayı zikir çok önemli.”

Interview with Mercan Dede (Istanbul, Artist’s House, December 28, 2007)

“Uçmak aslında bu dünyanın hani o ‘material’ dünyanın gerçekliğinden yükselmek anlamına geliyor. Çünkü hani martıyı görüyorsun uçuyorlar ama insanda öyle bir kanat yok uçmuyorsun. Halbuki öyle bir kanat var o yüzden mesela konsere gitmiştim bir çocuk geldi ‘abi bizi fena uçurdun’ dedi. Çok önemli söylediği şey uçuş duyusunu var. O yüzden bu albümde uçan yaratıklar var ama onlar yine semazenlere de benziyorlar ama etekleri semazenlerden farklı renkleri farklı. İstanbul üstündeler; yere mi iniyorlar yukarı mı çıkıyorlar belli değil. Bir tanesinin yüzü yok. Yüzsüz bir semazen var orada! O da ellerini açmış bir tanesi daha geleneksel.”

“Örneğin bir Hint sazını diğer bir sazın üzerine ilginçlik olsun diye getirmiyorum. O sazların her birinin kendi dünyalarında ifade ettikleri anlamlarının bir bütünlüğünün olduğunu düşünüyorum. O yüzden bana sorarsan bunlar bir araya geldiğinde sırtmıyorlar. Bir kolaj gibi değil aslında kolaj basitçe bir yapıştırma. Bunlara baktığın zaman bu sazlar çok usta bir terzinin elinden çıkmış gibi birleştiriliyorlar;

hiçbir dikiş izi yok. Dikiş izinin olmamasının sebebi özünde bunların bir arada olması zaten başlangıç olarak. Ve bu noktayı bir albümün yapılması, bir konserin icrası bazında alırsan aslında bu gerçek bir coğrafi, kültürel, ideolojik seyahat ama o seyahatte herkesin kendi dünyasıyla söylediği aynı şeyden bahsediyoruz. Bu nokta işte *tevhid* kavramı.”

“Hayatın hiçbir aşamasında otantik denilen şey yoktur. Nedir otantik olan? ... Hani neyi zannediyorlar mı ki, bir gün bu mükemmel yapısı ve harika başparesi ile ortaya çıktı. Bu inanılmaz bir gelişim süreci. E elimizdeki neyin bu anlamda otantikle hiçbir ilgisi yok modern bir ‘computer’ çaldığımız bütün entonasyonlar mükemmel bir biçimde ayarlanmış. Hiçbir müzik kavramı hiçbir saz mantar gibi bir yerden çıkmıyor. Her şey birbirinin üzerine bir ‘evolution’ var ... Sema. Nedir? Nedir geleneksel sema? Beyaz öğelerle insanlar dönerler işte Sultan Veled dönemi vardır, şeyh vardır, semazenler, semazen başı vardır vesaire ... yani belli bir form ... Şimdi bu otantik dedikleri şey bu form sapma. Çünkü Mevlana hiç öyle bir şey yapmadı ... Otantik dediğimiz şey Mevlana’dan yüzyıllarca zaman sonra. Elbiseler hazırladık, müzik hazırladık ‘composition’. Sonra bunun icrası için belli yapılar hazırladık... O zamansız bir şey. Bir başlangıcı ve sonu yok. Mevlana başlangıcı ve sonu olan her şey biter diyor. Bak Mevlana’nın söylediği bu söz bile başlı başına bizim bütün otantik ve klasik tanımlarımızı bir anda elinin tersiyle iten bir kavram.”

“Yani ben müziğim için şunu diyorum iyi olabilir kötü olabilir millet beğenebilir beğenmeyebilir o ismi verir bu ismi verir İngiltere’de ‘ambient’ bölümündedir başka ülkede dünya müziği. Bunların hepsi tamam. Benim müziğimle ilgili söyleyebileceğim tek şey samimi oldukları. Samimi derken yine konuştuğumuz konu; referans noktam samimiyyetin inandığın gibi olmak, yaşadığın gibi kendini göstermek. Benim hayatımı anlatıyorlar yaşamadığım şeyler yok içerisinde. Yaşamadığım alanlarda çok şey yapmak istiyorum çoğu zaman beni heyecanlandırıyor. Fakat böyle şeyler yaptığımda hiç samimi olmadığına inanıyorum. Mesela Toprak albümünün çıkmamasının ana nedeni bu. Çünkü başladığımda güzel şeyler çıktı ama müzikti onlar; güzel müzikler, world müziğim iyiydi. Hatta arkadaşlar çok beğendi falan. Ama ben değildim.”

“Yani Nefes albümündeki akciğer röntgeni benim internetten tarayıp bulduğum bir akciğer röntgeni olsaydı yine bence güzel bir albüm kapağı olurdu ama benim için samimiyetsiz bir albüm kapağı olurdu. Oradaki akciğerin benim akciğerim olması önemli. Orada söylemeye çalıştığım bahsettiğim samimiyet ondan kaynaklanıyor. Oradaki neyin benim ilk neyim, işte benim yaptığım plastik su borusundan ney olması önemli. Bu bilgiler orada değil mesela. Sırlamak dediğimiz şeyler bunlar çünkü bu bilgilerin orada olması gerekli değil ... Hâlbuki sır kavramının özünde bir bilgiyi kapatmak var. O yüzden adı sır. Benim bahsettiğim sır onunla ilgili değil. Benim bahsettiğim sır çok aslında apayan açık olan ama işte ‘Matrix’in illüzyonundan dolayı göremediğimiz bir gerçeğin özü. Ha görülebilir talip olmak gerekiyor. Bu tasavvufla ilgili bir bakış.”

“Müziği duyduğum zaman beni bu dünyadan işte ‘Matrix’ diyoruz ona yükseltip yaşadığımı hissettiriyorlar varolduğumu hissediyorum. Müzik bu ve çok önemli olduğuna inandığım bir dünya. Ve o duygu insanlara ifade edebileceğim uçmak duygusu. Bu dünyanın hani o ‘material’ dünyanın aslında gerçekliğinden yükselmek anlamına geliyor. O yüzden bu albümde uçan yaratıklar var. Orada kanatlar var, ses dalgaları var.”

“Sanatın bazen insanları özellikle sıradan insan dediğimiz insanları ‘underestimate’ ettiğini düşünüyorum. Çünkü entelektüel tavrın biraz böyle hafif burnu büyük bir boyutu var. Ben onu hiçbir zaman ‘underestimate’ etmiyorum. Çünkü yaşadığım tecrübeler yine aynı şekilde bana öyle yapmamam gerektiğini söyledi. ... Ben gayet iyi biliyorum ki işte elektronik müzik çalınan, içki içilen, birçok kişinin kötü çocuklar dediği kişilerin gittiği kulüplerde umulmadık şeyler olabiliyor. Elektronik müziğin üzerine ney müziğinde hiç ummadığın işte sarışın saçlı model gibi gördüğün hani birazcık magazin basınından alıştığımız kafası çok çalışmayan kız tiplerindeki kızların gerçekten ağlayabildiğini biliyorum. O kız orada ağlarken neyle arasındaki bağlantı Galata Mevlevihanesi’ndeki bir dervişin bağlantısından daha az ya da çok önemli değil. Müziğin ana teması o vecd.”

“Ama burada benim dikkat ettiğim bir alan var o alanda tasavvufu bir kumaş düşün senin ilgini çeken bir kumaş. Kişisel sebepten bazen gider dokunursan ya bir masa örtüsü olabilir ya da bir tişört giyersin. Tasavvuf bir kumaş. Tarikatlar bu kumaşla yapılmış değişik elbiseler. Ben bütün bunları bir yana bırakıp sadece kumaşın özünü bulmaya çalışıyorum. Ama benim ilgilendiğim kumaş; kesilmiş, yapılmış, biçilmiş ne hale geldiği çok ilginç bir konu ama benim için ilginçlik sadece benim kumaşın özüne ait hissettiklerimi etkileyen şeyler. O yüzden belki müziğim daha ‘ambient’, ‘abstract’, enstrümantal müziğe vokal bir müzikten ya da daha didaktik bir müzikten daha yakın. O yüzden yani tutup hakikaten içerisinde çok net bir biçimde aşk hikâyesi ya da bir tasavvuf ya da bir postmodern feminist teoriyi anlatan sözler yok. Onun yerine en çok yerde söz kullandığım albüm 800 onun içinde bile sürekli olarak gidip gelen değişik dillerde yok olan var olan sözler var. Onların içerisinde senin talip olduğun şey karşına çıkacaktır.”

“Herkesle her şey yapılabilir. Sadece benim için önemli olan hani bir sesi duyduğunda kalbinin çarpması vardır ya bu öncelikli. Bir de yapılacak şeyin samimi olmak lazım. Ben olmalıyım. ... Üçüncüsü de yapılırken hiçbir entelektüel akademik kaygının olmaması lazım. Çünkü benim sanatta istediğim o kalp. Entelektüel bakışlar o kalbin üzerinin kaplanmasını sağlıyor. Bu üç şey. Yoksa Özcan Deniz’le de örneğin Su albümünde yaptığımız birçok şey var; birçok kişi Özcan Deniz ne alaka diyor. Ne alaka değil. Özcan’ın o sesinde hani o kumaş dediğimiz şey var elbise değil; herkes Özcan Deniz’i elbise olarak dinliyor albümlerini alıyor.”

“Tasavvuf benim için önemli. Tasavvufun metodolojisinin çok pragmatik bir o kadar da çok sağlam temellere dayandığını düşünüyorum. Gerçekten pragmatik olarak denenip uygulanıp bir felsefe aslında. Benim tecrübemde bu anlamda tasavvuf kırk iki yıllık hayatımda hayatı anlatmaya çalışan bakışlardan, perspektiflerden kendime en yakın bulduğum. Anlattıkları şeyler bana sadece mantıklı gelmekle kalmayıp, bu yamuk yumuk şeyleri düzeltiyor; hani garip üç boyutlu filmler vardır ‘off’ tur onlar gözlüğü taktığınız anda bir anda derinlik kazanır. Sadece netlik kazanmaz aynı zamanda derinlik kazanır. Bu benim yaşadığım hayat tecrübelerim, algıladıklarım,

gördüklerim, ya da gördüğümü sandıklarım, duyduğumu sandıklarım, ya da inandıklarım da tasavvufun kişisel gözlüğünü taktığım anda birçok alandaki bulanıklık tam tersine kendisini inanılmaz bir netliğe, netlikten de öte bana asıl heyecan veren ve o gözlüğü takmamı sağlayan inanılmaz büyüleyici bir zaman mekân ve hayat deneyimlerine sebep olan bir unsur. O yüzden hayatımın bir parçası olduğunu düşünüyorum.”

“DJ kimliğinin bana öğrettiği önemli iki şey var bir tanesi DJlik vasıtasıyla elektronik müziğin genelinde özünde de aslında da ses dediğimiz kavramı düşünmek; yani bu frekanslar nasıl, niye bas var, niye tiz var, niye ‘high’ var. Bir bu boyutu ilk defa öğrenmeye başladım önce bilmiyordum. Ve çoğu geleneksel formatta kalan sanatçı bilmez. Hâlbuki orada çok ilginç bir dünya var. O dünyayı öğrendiğinde müziği bir ifade tarzı olarak kullanıyorsan ifadene çok destek olabilecek bir dünya var. Bir o kısmı var. Bir de gözlemlene. DJliğin en ilginç yanı hala bana heyecan veren yanı insanları seyretmek. Ben hayattaki ilhamını insanlardan alan bir insanım. Ve insanlar derken çoğu zaman bizim sıradan dediğimiz insanlar. Hani çok büyük figürler falan değil de... 20 yıldır DJlikte seyretmek insanları, müziğe verdikleri tepki aralarındaki ilişkiler. Kopuk kopuk gruplar var o gruplar arasında genel bir sinerjinin olduğu başka bir dünya var. Sadece onları seyretmek bu çok heyecanlı.”

“800’de bahsettiğin kanatlar var, orada ses dalgaları da var. Bak o benim sesim. Bu yine önemli çünkü o benim sesim olmasaydı farklı bir şeyden konuşuyor olurduk. Ve o sesle ben bir şey söylüyorum. O söylediğim şey albümün içeriği ile ilgili. O şey sır. Onu söylemiş olduğumun işareti var. Çünkü o şeyin ne olduğu önemli değil sadece o şeyin bir sır olduğu o işaretin herkes için kendisinin bulabileceği hissedeceği şeyin işareti olması lazım. Onun direk işareti her parçanın üzerindeki yine sesler. Onlar belli ki o parçaların adları o kadar komplike değil. Mercanistan, mercanistan tabi ki. Hani onları oraya hadi ses dalgaları da koyalım İstanbul’un üzerine ‘cool’ görünen bir şey. Bahsettiğim şey, hiç öyle bir şey değil. Benim yaşadığım şeyler mikrofona ‘Mercanistan’ dediğimde ‘computer’ ün önünde farklı bir dünyanın boyutunda onun yarattığı resim beni ilgilendiriyor. Onu elinde tutan insan albümü sevmiştir

sevmemiştir, eğer zaman içerisinde tekrar tekrar ya da yılda bir kere bakarsa içinde bulunduğu gerçekliğe göre farklı şeyler keşfetmeye başlar ... ‘ya ben bunu ilk defa görüyorum acaba nerden almış’. O şey yaşayan bir şey, o zamanda o insanla senin aranda organik olarak büyüyen gelişen bir şey var. Sanatın güçlerinden birisinin organik olması olduğuna inanıyorum, yaşıyor. Mesnevi’nin bence çok okunmasının sebeplerinden bir tanesinin o olduğuna inanıyorum. ‘Multilayer’. İnanılmaz bir katmanlar dizisi var girebildiğin kadar o katmanların arasına girebiliyorsun. Ve onların arasına girdiğinde apayrı bir dünya açılıyor. O yüzden eskimeyen kitaplar. Çünkü orada sanatçı gerçekten çarpan bir gönül kalp koymayı başarıyor. Sen o ruhu hissediyorsun. O yüzden albümlerin içerisinde seslerin içerisinde sırlanmış dediğimiz yaşayan varolan belki keşfedilmeyi bekleyen görüntülerin seslerin olması bana çok heyecan verici geliyor.”

Interview with Hüsnü Şenlendirici (İstanbul, Artist’s Studio, December 26, 2007)

“Dünya müziği yapıyorum farklı enstrümanlar, farklı aranjeler şeklinde takılıyorsan zaten özgürsün; dünya müziği yaptığın zaman kimse seni bağlamıyor ortadasın. Yani ben ne Batıcıyım ne Doğucuyum, ortadayım abi ben. Yani bu köprü boşuna mı var burada Asya’yla Avrupa’yı birleştirmiş bilmem ne. Biz o kadar şanslıyız ki müzisyenler olarak ben bunu gezdim ve gördüğüm için biliyorum çok şansımız var İstanbul’da olmakla. Benim hele Bergama’da yetişmem şansımı ona yirmiye katladı. Çünkü direk düğünlerle başladım abi ben. Yani o zeybekler var ya hepsi büyük besteler kadar kıymetli zeybeklerimiz var. Ben her albümde bir tane - bak Harmandalı vardı bu albümde de dört zeybeği karıştırıp birbirine çaldım. Bu tamamen icracının ve orkestranın kafasıyla alakalı bir şey. Biz özgür çalışıyoruz kafamıza göre Laço Tayfa’da da öyleydi burada da öyle.”

“Bir Roman müziğinden bahsetmek mümkün aslında. Balkanlarda ve Türkiye’de birbirine benzeyen şeyler var, 9/8’likler 2/4’lükler, 7/8’likler falan. İşte o aynı çerçevenin içinde olduğumuz için birbirimize çok yakınız ve etkilenmişiz yani ... ama

herkes kendi bulunduđu yařadığı  lkeye ayak uydurmuř. M zikal olarak da asimile olmuřlar.       oraya dođuyorsun nasıl anlatabilirim onu. “

“Mesela klasik Batı m ziđi, klasik t rk m ziđi ya da halk m ziđi  alan insanlar macun derler bu tarza.  aldırmazlar  đrencilere, bir provada adam  yle  alayım dese ayıplarlar. Halbuki bizim i in deđil sadece b t n insanlar i in zenginlik. Yani  alan i in de dinleyen i in de zenginlik ... yani kimi insanın hořuna gidiyor eski bir řarkının farklı bir tarzda yorumlanması, kimi insan da vay řarkıyı mahvetmiřler diyor. Bu g receli bir durum. Ama bence m zisyen bir insan kendi yorumunu kattığı zaman zaten farkı ortaya  ıkar. Yoksa herkes aynı  alıyor.”

“Benim en b y k řansım Bergama’da dođmak, ilk  nce alaylı olarak bařlamak ve d đ nlerde  almak oldu ... Yani Bergama’dayken babamların orkestraları vardı caz standartları falan da  alıyorlardı onları da dinliyordum hem d đ nlere katılıyordum yani iřin hem etnik hem batı tarafını b yle koklayarak b y d m. Diđer řansım  ok ufak yařlarda yurtdıřına festivallere gitmeye bařladım gerek babamla gerek Okay Temiz’le. Ve hep kendi m ziđimizi yapmaya  alıřtık ama onu farklı renklere boyayıp farklı tatlar ekleyip o řekilde sunmayı ama  edindim ben hep. Askere gidene kadar neredeyse d nyanın d rtte    n  dolařtım.”

“Hep b yle d nya m ziđi, etnik m zik festivallerine katıldım  ocuk yařlardan beri, y zlerce festivale katıldık. Ve orada bir ok m zisyenle gerek birlikte bir řeyler yaptık, gerek oturdum dinledim canlı performanslarında, provalarında bulundum. Bu benim d nya m ziđine bakıřımı veya fıkrımı her řeyimi daha da arttırdı ve tecr be olarak hep kaldı bunlar farklı farklı m zikleri dinleyip. Ortak bir řey var ki biz mesela T rkiye’de yařayan Romanların m ziđine Roman M ziđi deniyor ama T rkiye’deki m zik yapan Romanların tarzları aslında tamamen T rk m ziđinin ritimlerine ve makamlarına dayalı. Yani T rk m ziđini sadece onlar biraz daha renkli hale getirip  alıyorlar. Belki de T rk Roman M ziđi demek lazım.       nasıl İřpanya’da İřpanyollar veyahut atıyorum d nyanın  ok farklı yerlerine yerleřmiř Romanlar  ođu aslında asimile olmuřlar ve bulundukları  lkeye ayak uydurmuřlar... Hem sosyal

olarak hem her anlamda ve müzikleri de bulundukları ülkenin müziğini aslında temel olarak alıyor ve onu biraz daha farklı çalışıyorlar. Görüntüleri gibi ruhları da biraz farklı olduğu için hissediyorsun onun Roman olduğunu.”

“Dünya müziği çok iyi bir gelişme tekdüzelikten kurtarıyor her şeyi bir defa ... Ayrıca, mesela Amerika’ya kültürel konserlere gittiğimde görebilirsin. Orkestram farklı kültürlerden ve geleneklerden gelen insanlardan oluşur: Berkeley’de doktora yapan bir Yunanlı basçım var, Kanada’dan yine Berkeley’de okuyan bir bateristim, Türk asıllı Makedonya’dan bir klarnetçi, bir Türk kanuncu ve bir Makedonyalı perküsyoncudan ibaret orkestra. Dünyanın farklı farklı yerlerinden gelmiş farklı renklerde, farklı kültürlerde insanlarla çalışıyorum ... Yani en başta kendi arkadaşlarım için müzik yapıyorum ben çünkü benim arkadaşlarım da dünyalı. Her şeye açıklar.”

“Ben her gün yeni bir şeyler yapma çabasıdayım bir sürü albüm dinliyorum. Bir sürü farklı şeyler çalışıyoruz. En önemlisi gerçek arkadaş. İyi bir müzisyenin yanında en az onun kadar iyi müzisyen arkadaşları olmalı ki birbirini kamçılasın. Müzik yapmak aşk, hatta seks gibi bir şey yani. Mesela Taksim Trio’nun DVD’sini izleyin. Bakın orada mesela insanları büyüleyen mutlaka müzikal anlamda müthiş bir şeyler yapılmış değil, aramızdaki dostluk, dil, ortaya çıkan hava”.

“Eskiden icra konusu daha katıydı abiciğim. Mesela TRT nasıl eskiden bazı sanatçıları TV’ye çıkarmıyordu. Ve kendi içinde de yaptıkları programda dikkat ediyorlardı çalanlar da dikkat ediyorlardı notaya sadık kalmaya. Daha köşeliydi. Ama zamanla bu değişti. Yani en çok bu şeylere uyan Kültür Bakanlığı Devlet Koroları var ya da Tasavvuf Musikisi olayı Kültür Bakanlığı’na bağlı. Ama radyolar biraz daha geliştirmek zorunda kaldı kendine TRT TV Radyo falan filan. Konumuz yine Romanlara geliyor konumuz Romanlar değil ama. Güzel aranje edilirse güzel sunulursa ya da şarkının formunu bozmadan ufak tefek ve hoş şeyler eklenirse genelde bu tür şeylere karşı çıkılmıyor. Ama çok da yorum katınca bazen haklı oluyor hocalarımız bazen. Farklı bir yere gidebiliyor bazen. Mesela bir parça vardı çok istiyordum çalmak bestecisi vermedi bana mesela bir hocamız çok değerli müzik

adamı. Vermedi zorluk çıkardı. Sonradan anladım ki duydum bu konularda dikkatli ve titiz. Gerçi ben macun yapmıyorum macun derken... Bence bir müzisyen önüne koyulan notayı adam gibi çalmak hariç yani özellikle söylersen yani bir tarzdır bir şeydir dümdüz çalın notayı çalın denir. Ama bir şarkıdır ya da herhangi bir şeyi kendinden bir yorum kattığı zaman zaten o müzisyenin farkı ortaya çıkar. Yoksa bütün klasikçiler en çok saygıyı onlara duyuyorum - bende bir ara Klasik Batı Müziği çaldım Klasik Türk Müziği de çalışıyorum- zaten hep aynı çalışıyorlar yıllardır. Hep aynı çalışıyorlar. Bakıyorsun yurtdışında mesela büyük orkestralara senfoni orkestralarına bakıyorsun dünya müziği tınlarını aramaya başladılar ve solist olarak farklı farklı müzisyenleri alıyorlar ve değişik çalışmalar yapıyorlar. Neden. Çünkü hep aynı şeyler çalınıyor hep kaç yüzyıl önce yapılmış parçalar tabi ki onları çalmak büyük zevk büyük keyif ama onlar bile hafif hafif o şeyi kırdılar yani o duvarları o buzları. Ve biz o kadar şanslıyız o kadar büyük bir gelenek var ki.”

“Selim abi [Selim Sesler] bizden önceki jenerasyonun yani benim yaştlarımın ve benim tarzımda çalan adamların jenerasyonunun bir önceki jenerasyonu ve onu tatmak dinlemek çok güzel çünkü bende o tarzda çalışıyorum bazen. Çünkü asıl klarneti klarnet gibi çalmak hani böyle tonuyla o hareketliliğiyle duygusuyla falan filan. Onun tarzı o, ona o yakışıyor mesela. Kimi de mesela alıp tamamen elektronik altyapılar üzerine bir çalışma yapıyor mesela Kırpi Bülent öyle bir çalışma yaptı. Bülent Türkiye’nin en iyi klarnetçilerinden birisi. Serkan Çağrı da öyle. Serkan çağrı daha akustik, daha etnik bir çalışma yaptı mesela. Denemeler ve çalışmalar var abi. Müzisyenler çalışıyor. Çalışan insanlar ortalıkta görünüyor. Ha, çalışan insanlar en iyisini mi yapıyor belki en iyisini yapmıyorlar ama emek harcıyorlar. Aralarda çok iyi müzisyenler var. Belki de benden daha iyi klarnetçiler var ya da tanınan müzisyenlerden daha iyi müzisyenler var. Ama onlar işte stüdyoda çalıp ya da bir sanatçının arkasında çalıp işine gücüne bakıp evine gitmeyi tercih eden insanlar. Ama o insanın tercihi ve yaşama bakışıyla alakalı birşey. Onlar dünya müzisyeni olmuyorlar zaten.”

Interview with Erkan Oğur (Istanbul, Kalan Music, December 12, 2007)

“Ben otantik değilim ama onu özleyen birisiyim. Onun olabileceği şekli tasarlıyabiliyorum. Çünkü o devir geçti bugün otantizm yok sadece yozlaşmış bir takım uzantılar var. Otantizm diyince ben kaynaktan üreyen saf şekli anlıyorum. O da mümkün değil yani bugün öyle birşey yok. Ama kalıntıları var onu hissettiğin zaman o kalıntıyı bir yerde o heyecanlandırıyor insanı o saflığı ve yüksek düzeyi.. hem müzik açısından hem dil açısından hem söylem açısından bir sürü unsur çıkıyor karşımıza. Eski müziklerin daha yeni olduğunu en yeni müziğin en eski müzik olduğunu görüyorsunuz. O açıdan önemli otantizm.”

“Müziğin otantikliğini yitirmesi toplumun genel yaşantının neticesinde oluşan birşey. Bir yere yol gittiği zaman artık otantizm bitiyor. Sırf müzik adına konuşuyorum yani. Yani yolu olmayan bir köye yol yapıldığı zaman müzik gidiyor, yani bitiyor, değişiyor başka müzik geliyor. Bu gidiyor orada başka bir dile dönüyor başka bir olay yaşanıyor. Sapiyor yani oradaki orijinalite kayboluyor. Ben yol diyorum artık ne yolu olursa radyo anla, tv anla, bilgisayar anla. Adam dağın başında açıyor laptopını gökyüzüne karşı Japon müziğini dinleyebiliyor mesela acayip birşey var burada. Müziğin saflığını yitirdiğini söyleyebiliriz belli ölçülerde. Yani çok ticari meta halinde şu anda hatta yüksek dönemini geçirdi bile artık ticari meta bile değil. Batıyor müzik şirketleri, müzisyenler organizasyonlar vesaire. İşler kötü gidiyor yani o denli kendini tüketmiş bir vaziyette bu konu. Ama müzik saf müzik her zaman insanın peşinde olacağı birşey o acı gerçektir hiçbir zaman değişmez. Çünkü bir enerji biçimi yok olmaz sadece dönüşür. Her zaman vardır.”

“Oğur sazı olsun, perdesiz gitar olsun, perdesizlik köken gibi birşey, insan sesi gibi, rüzgarın sesi gibi, çarpma sesi, düşme, gökgürültüsü gibi ne varsa ses; hayvan sesi, kuş sesi. Perdesizlik öyle birşey o yüzden total otantik yani. Yani en eski. Ve orijinal, saf, ne yaparsan yap sonsuz orada çünkü; sonsuz birşey. Ama otantizm bitti artık yok öyle birşey. Yani düşünsel olarak belki bir özlem olabilir müzikler o özlemin dürüstlüğüyle ölçüsünde hareket edebilir, öyle müzikler üreyebilir, birisi yapabilir.

Ama mümkün değil o, sadece özlem, hayal yani. Oğur sazı ise tamamen şey bir ihtiyaç ben bağlamanın içinden gelen armoniyi biraz daha kendi geliştirdiğim bir çalma tekniğiyle duyabilmek için deneysel ... bir çeşit labaratuvar gibi birşey yani o müzik aleti. İhtiyaçtan üremiş birşey yani otantik değil yani. Ama otantik birşeyi onun üzerinde tınlatmayı tınlatabilmeyi daha doğrusu çok isterim tabi ki.”

“Sufi müziğin popülerleşmesi üzerine öyle pek de düşünmüyorum yani. İnsanlar ilgi duyabilir o ilgi çerçevesinde dürüstçe yaklaşp yani çok seviyordur heyecanlanır öyle bir şey üretmiş olabilir ama tam tersi de olabilir. Yani bu gidişat böyle bir meyil var bende bu arpadan alıyım biraz diyenler de olabilir mesela. Mevlevilik çok uzun zamandır Kuzey Amerika’da ilgi görüyor ama müziğinin bir takım insanlar tarafından yapılması işte buradan bir takım kişilerin götürölüp turistik bir takım gösterilerin yapılması bunlar gelip geçici şeyler. Ne Mesnevi’yle alakası var, ne mevleviyle, ne tasavvufla, ne onun düşüncesiyle. Bugünkü halini görmüş olsaydım ve ben Mevlana olsaydım Mesnevi’yi bile yazmazdım veya dönmezdim.”

“Müzik aleti devamlı değişen bir şey yani bizim otantik dediğimiz şey aslında belli bir ölçüdeki zaman diliminin bize uzantısı. Ama müzik aletleri daha önce de vardı başka şekillerdeydi bilmem ne oldu o şekli aldı, sonra başka bir şey oldu o şekli aldı. Bugüne kadar geldi sürekli değişiyor müzik aletleri, o yani teorik manada müzik aletinin otantizmi yok. Ama ses aralığı yani bizim duyabildiğimiz işitme sınırlarımız içindeki ses aralığındaki ses yığını o perdesiz olan 44 hertz den bilmem kaç bin hertze kadar ne duyabiliyorsak o aralıktaki şey otantik. Perdesizlik sonsuzluk yani o otantik. Sonra lisanlar kültürler coğrafyalar filan onlara şekil veriyor oradan onu seçiyor bunu seçiyor biri ağaç koyuyor biri deri koyuyor biri kıl takıyor biri çelik bakır takıyor naylon takıyor.”

“Ziya Gökalp müzikçi olsaydı Türk müziğinin batılılaştırılması-çoksesleştirilmesi gibi bir gayret içine girmezdi. O tamamen galiba teorisyen bir yaklaşımla değerlendirdi. Çünkü zaten tek seslilik diye bir şey yok, doğaya aykırı bir şey. Bir ses ortaya çıktımı onunla ilgili binlerce hatta sonsuz armonik oluşmakta teorik olarak

insanlar birkaçını duyuyorlar işte. Dolayısıyla Türk Halk müziği çoksesleştirilmelidir gibi bir düşünce oluşmazdı yani böyle bir şey bilinseydi zaten kendi çok sesliliği var. Ama bunun kurallarının konması veya okullaştırılması veya Ziya Gökalp'ın etkilendiği o Rus Beşlilerinin işte Türk Beşlileri olarak adapte edilmesi işte oradaki halk müziklerinin batı müziği sistemleri ile birleştirilip büyük eserler ortaya çıkarılması düşüncesinin safıyane olduğunu düşünüyorum. Belki Rus halk müzikleri tamperemana çok yakın olduğu için pentatonik çıkışlı bir şeyler olduğu ve batı müziği ses sistemi ile çok yakın ilişkisi olduğu için Rus müziği oluşmuş, klasik manada hani o yüksek düzeyde müzik dedikleri müzik oluşmuş olabilir ona benzetmeye çalışmışlar. Ama burada görünmeyen şey bizim ses sistemimizin çok farklı olduğu. Bugün bile hala onun farkında değiller yani. Dolayısıyla kendi içinden gelen bir armoni oluşturmak zorundayız kendi içinden gelen çok sesliliğini keşfetmek zorundayız bununla uğraşmıyor kimse. Bu zor bir şey.”

“Dünyada şu şu tür müzikler var diye bir kapı açıyor insanlara bu dünya müziği kategorisi. Eğer doğru değerlendirilirse. Mesela Kanada'daki bir adam Arguvan deyişini bulabiliyor. Veya biz işte Afrikanın ücra bir köşesindeki müzik cinsini ayırıp bulabiliyoruz. Böyle birşey var yani doyumsuzluğu gideren bir tarafı var dünya müziğinin. Ama bu geri tepecektir. Böyle bir tüketim sonra bunların birbirine karışması tek tip bir müzik global hani dedikleri hikaye korkutucu ürkütücü birşey yani inşallah öyle birşey olmaz. Yani herşey kendi yerinde olsa ve orada filizlense orada değerlendirilirse orasının değeri olarak bu taraftan da değerlendirilse o zaman kıymetini kaybetmeyecektir. Ama buradan alıp şuraya götürdüğünde mesela Mevlana'yı burdan aldın Amerika'da falan üniversitede döndürdün bunları çaldın falan sonra çıktın sokakta panayırda falan döndürdün. Ordan gittin San Fransico'da döndürdün New York'ta döndürdün. Sonra geldin. Böyle birşey onu ucuzlatır yok eder değersiz kılar. Mevlana'yı merak eden gelsin. Öyle demiş zaten gel demiş. Gelsin gelmesine de gerek yok zaten artık bugün gerek yok.”

Interview with Aynur Doğan (Istanbul, a café, January 28, 2008)

“Seyir’i saymadım çünkü benim kendi anadilimde ilk albümüm Keçe Kurdan. Hatta Seyir’den önce de bir deneme yapmıştım ama o çıkmadı piyasaya. O tamamen köyden indim şehire misali. Köyden geliyorsun işte gidiyorsun başka şansın yok. Orada saz çalmayı öğrendim. Yani bugünkü başarıyı düşlemezdim bile. Unkapanı’nda beni hemen bir stüdyoya soktular. Dinleyemiyorum şimdi ciyak ciyak bağırان bir kız yani. 16-17 yaşlarındaydım. Ben bu ilk iki albümü yaparken konserlerde yine Kürtçe söyledim. Yani Türkçe biraz zorla söylettirildi şirketler tarafından. Hem de Türkiye ortamında biraz kendi kimliğini saklıyorsun korkuyorsun çünkü 90’ lı yıllar Türkiye’nin en karanlık dönemlerinden birisi. Ondan sonra Keçe Kurdan’ı yaptığımda ilk saydım onu kendim için. Kendimi daha rahat ifade ediyordum, kendi anadilim, kültürüm, geleneklerim var, şekillendiğim ruh var orada. Yani ben Aynur’dum orada.”

“Ben böyle hani dünya müziği gibi bir kategoriye çok da katılmıyorum. Yani bizimkisi etnik olduğu yöresel olduğu içinse biz kendimizi etnik ya da o geleneksel durumdan zar zor çıkarıp dünyaya mal olmuşuz. Burada sadece fark birileri dünyanın birçok kesimine ulaşabiliyor birileri daha yöresel kalıyor ... bu uluslararası kapının açılmasındaki en büyük etkenlerden birisi Fatih Akın’ın filmiydi. Birçok yere gittik filminden dolayı, Singapur’a, Malezya’ya, Amerika’ya ... demek ki ulaşma kanallarımız sağlam olursa birçok sınırı zorlayabiliriz. Özel olan birşey yapmadım özel olan şey benim durumumdur ve de reklamdır. Aynı zamanda açılma kanallarıdır. Türkiye’de çok iyi müzisyenler var yani onlar dünya müziği yapmıyor mu. İyi pazarlamak lazım öyle olursa Türkiye’de birçok insan o dediğiniz kategoriye dünya müziği kategorisine girer yani.”

“Keçe Kurdan (Kürt kızı) ismi tabi bir kimlik oluştu onunla bana rahatsızlık vermiyor ama orada bir ayrımcılık oluştuğu için rahatsızlık duyuyorum ... önce bir insan herşeyden önce ve bir kadın ... milyonlarca kürt kızı var bi ben değilim bu anlamda biraz rahatsızlık olabilir .. ama ben bir Kürdüm yani atam Kürt ama tabi bir

de bireysel bir kimliğim var orada. O birey kimliğimin ön plana çıkmasından daha memnun olurum tabiki ... tabi ki Kürt olmamın yurtdışındaki ünüme bir katkısı vardır. Malum Türkiye'deki Kürt sorunu Kürt durumunun Avrupa'ya dünyaya yansması ve tüm dünyanın bir şekilde Kürtleri tanıması bilmesi. Kürtlerin yaşadığı bir coğrafya olduğunu artık dünya biliyor. Tabiki onlara bir de yeni birşey olarak görüldüğü için bir ilgi odağı oluyor. Ama mesela neden özellikle ben. Birçok iyi müzik yapan Kürt sanatçısı var. Ben mesela gidemediklerime önerdim Kürt temalı festivallere kabul etmediler.”

Interview with Serkan Çağrı (Istanbul, artist's music school, December 12, 2007)

“Balkanlarda Balkan müziğinin formundan yola çıkmış ve kendine has üsluplarına bu formları güzel uygulamış müzisyenler var. Ama Türkiye'de durum böyle değil. Yani, maalesef karakteristik bir Roman müziği oluşamamış. Bugün Türkiye'de öz bir şekilde roman müziği yapan bir grup bulmanız çok zor. Yani sadece roman repertuarından oluşan ve kendilerine ait sergileyebilecekleri on tane parça bulamazsınız ... Türkiye'den bazı festivallere giden arkadaşlar olmuş duyumlar alıyorum ‘gypsy’ festivalleri yapılıyor dünyada biliyorsunuz. Orada bizim buradan giden müzisyenlere siz Romanca biliyor musunuz kendi müziğinizden bir şey çalar mısınız demişler. Kimse tek kelime Çingenece konuşamıyor Çingenece bir parça yok anadilde okunan. Siz bizden değilsiniz demişler bu arkadaşlara.”

“Dünya müziği diyince ticari olan müzik mi yoksa gerçekten gerçek manada tüm dünyayı saran müzik mi. Şimdi bunu ayırtırmak lazım. Şimdi bir taraftan dünya pazarını ele avuca almak isteyen büyük yapımcılar var bunlar için sürekli alt tabandan proje üreten bir takımları kadroları var. Bunun için dünya müziği demek hangi kıstaslara göre dünya müziği denilebilir. O tartışılabilir bir konu çok geniş bir konu çünkü. Bugün dünyanın dünya müziği denilen türlerinin hepsini bir araya toplarsak belki de bunların yüzde ellisi gider. Gerçek manada dünya müziği kategorisine girebilecek pek çok yapıt var. Mesela bugün Buda Bar'ın albüm serisine Türkiye'den

bir parça girdiği zaman bu Buda Bar'ın kendi tercihi ya da dünyanın çok sevdiği için olmayabilir bir takım edisyonların veya bir takım firmaların çalışmaları ile de orada yer alabiliyor. O firmaların kontakları ve orayla olan ilişkileri çok iyi ve düzgünse sizin yapıtlarınız orada çok rahat yer alabilir. Yani bugün Buda Bar serisine baktığım zaman gerçek manada dünya müziği olmayıp da o seride yer alan pek çok isim var. Yani hayretlere düştüğüm isimler bile var. Bu da bana şey geliyor biraz doğal ve doğru bir şey olarak gelmiyor. Yani buna dünya müziğini yansıtan bir albüm serisi mesela diyemem ben. Ama bir yandan tüm dünyanın kabul ettiği ve hayranlıkla takip ettiği insanlar var mesela dünya üzerinde. Dolayısıyla öbür dünya müziğini gerçek müzisyenler savunabilir.”

“Klarnet sadece bizim eğlenceli yüzümüzü eğlenceyi temsil eden bir enstrüman değil, pek çok duygunun pek çok yaşanmışlığın aktarılabilceği ortak bir dili olan bir enstrüman. Yani benim buradaki söylediğim zaman zaman yanlış anlaşılıyor. İşte önüme Mustafa Kandıralı örneği konuluyor. İşte Mustafa Kandıralı halka neşe vermiştir. Tabii ki neşe vermiştir bu enstrüman aracılığıyla insanları mutlu etmiştir. Ama ben diyorum ki sadece bu yüzü yok klarnetin. Sadece eğlenceyi temsil eden bir yüzü yok, ya da sadece belli bir ırkı temsil eden bir başucu enstrümanı değil bu. Yani bugün şimdi bizim bağlamaya Alevi sazı dememiz ne kadar doğru olur? Klarnete de aynı şekilde Roman sazı dememiz o kadar doğru olur. Enstrümanlar kimlik içine sokma çabası yanlıştır yani bence enstrümanların kimliği yoktur. Buna belki birçok insan karşı çıkabilir bu alanda işte araştırmalar yapan değerli hocalar var. Enstrümanların kimliği olmaz değişimin sebebi, enstrümanlara kimlik yakıştırması yapılarak belli bir tarafa çekilerek bundan bir fayda sağlanamayacağını bildiğim için söylüyorum bunu.”

“Şöyle bir şey var: Türk müziği nazariyatı çalışan çok az müzisyen var. Yani şimdi toplam temelde 13 tane makam dizisini bilmekle Türk müziğini bilmek olmuyor aslında. En bildik ana makamları seslendiren müzisyenler Türk müzikçiyim diye dolanıyorlar ortalıkta. Oysaki böyle bir şey yok. Ve dinlediğinizde sağda solda kendi ırkına ve kendi mahallesine ait duygularla Türk müziği edasını bozan kişilerin

yaptığına da Türk müziği denilemez. Türk müziğinin gerçek manada korunduğu ve temsil edildiği kurum TRT'dir. TRT'de de bu konuda sıkıntılar var. Yani TRT'nin bugünkü Türk müziği icra anlayışı ile bundan daha önceki dönemlere ait anlayışı arasında da farklar var. Şimdi dönemle de biraz alakası var. Bir kuşak öncesindeki anlayış daha klasik, daha itinalı daha özenli bir sekizlik bir onaltılık esin notanın kaçırılmaması titizliğini gösteren bir jenerasyon. Ya da bir koma aralığının pesleşeceği oranı bilen, tam olarak o oranın ne ölçüde basılabileceğini hangi makamda şekil olarak aynı olup da duygu olarak farklı hissedilebileceğini bilen bir kuşak var. Bu dönemde komada tabi ki bu orantısızlıklar söz konusu. Şimdi bizim komşularımızdan da etkileşimimiz çok önemli. Arap dünyasında da örneğin koma aralığı çok kullanılan bir sestir. Onların anlayışı mesela bize göre değişiyor. Mesela onlarda daha pesleştirerek çalınırken bizde biraz daha makamın yapısına uygun daha dik duyulabilir. Ama bizim Türkiye'deki yaşayan birçok dışarıda serbest çalışan müzisyenimizin bu anlayışı kabul etmesiyle bizim komalarımızın da değişmesi söz konusu oldu. İşte bugün stüdyoda çalan müzisyenlerin 'Arap koması gibi çalalım bunu' demesi mesela açık açık bunu hani böyle terim var Arap koması gibi uşak koması böyle tabirler vardır. Şekil aynıdır kullanılan koma işareti aynıdır ama duygusu farklıdır. Bugün Türk müziğinde en çok dengeyi bozan unsurlardan bir tanesi budur.”

“Koma unsurunu en iyi oturtabilmek için aslında birlikte hareket edilebilecek geleneksel enstrümanlar vardır mesela bir tamburun koma aralıkları, değeri bellidir. Orada çünkü komanın bir üç beş veya sekize kadar uzanan bütün perde aralıkları sabittir. Oradaki duyumla klarnetçi üflendiğinde bir farklılık doğacaktır ortada. Bunun böyle testini yaparsak bir farklılık oluştuğu görülecektir. Şimdi birde düşünün ki toplu halde yirmi kişi çalışıyor herkes farklı bir hisle o komayı değerlendirip çaldığında ortaya acayip bir şey çıkmış oluyor. Yani çok uzaklaşmıyor bu duyum birbirinden, ama bir ölçeğe sokacaksak bir frekans değerlendirmesine sokacaksak bir facia doğabilir orada. Bununla ilgili bir çalışma yapıldı Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi'nde. Pek çok müzisyeni stüdyoda kaydedip onların koma değeri frekansları çıkarıldı. İşte benim de klarnetimden alınmıştı. İşte bilmem kimin koma ölçeği işte Ahmet'in koma

ölçeği frekans değeri veya eşitsizlikler ortaya konuldu. İşte uşak makamı dizisindeki komanın ortalama frekans değeri şu çıkmıştır gibi değerler alındı. Orada işte böyle güzel titiz bir çalışma yapıldı. Koma değerleri çok önemli, icra biçimleri de çok önemli. Dışarıda duyduğumuz Türk müziği diyemeyeceğimiz pek çok müzik var ve müzisyen var Türk müziğini gerektiği icra etmeyen. Çingene müziği ile Türk müziğini birbirine karıştırıyorlar işte.”

Interview with Süleyman Erguner (Istanbul, artist’s music school, December 24, 2007)

“Mehmet [Mehmet Uluğ], ‘hoca dedi ne olur gel Butch Morris’le beraber’ ünlü Amerikalı cazcıyla ‘konser yap’. Ana! Elektrogitar, trompet ve ney? ‘Yok’ dedim. Muhteşem proje aslında. ‘Evet, yaparım’ dedim Mehmet. ‘Biliyorsun’. ‘Ama bana biraz müsaade et karar vermem için’. Hem yapmak istiyorum hem çekiniyorum. Ama kendimden çekiniyorum. Benim içimde başka bir Süleyman var. Beni bağlıyor, yani anılar o kültür... Kendimle aylarca mücadele ettim, geceleri uyuyamadım. Sonunda tamam ya dedim yapıyorum çok düşündüm çok gittim geldim. Yapıyorum. Konserde hep korktum insanlar nasıl karşılayacak diye. Şimdi bir dingin bir nağme neyden, ama adam bir müzik yapıyor hızlı gürültülü; Allah, duramıyorum ve çalışıyorum onlara cevap veriyorum. O anda artık otantik Süleyman gitti ve ney o orkestranın içinde bir ney oldu artık o. Bir anda artık bütün tarih, Süleyman, ayinler, neyzen Ulvi baba her şey gitti bir tarafa. Yani düştüm denize yüzmeye çalışıyorum böyle bir durum var ortada. İnanır mısın koca salon binlerce insan dinliyor keyifle, bir yerden yuh sesi duydum. Öyle hoşuma gitti ki inanır mısın; o Süleyman’dı o. Karar veremeyen Süleyman’dı. Ulan ne yaptın sen diyip... Veyahut da bunlarla çalınır mı ney diyip. Ama şimdi muhtemelen o yuh diyen adam gitarla ney dinliyor. Allah’a şükür tekke gördüm, dergâh gördüm; çocukluğum dergâhlarda geçti ... işte bunları da gördük. İşte o otantik Süleyman o gün çok mutluydu. Çıktı o gün konserin CD’si sanki kendimi bir borç ödemiş gibi hissettim o üstatlara karşı.”

“İşte otantiklik etniklik ve işte a! ‘orient’. İşte uluslararası izleyici için işte bunlar tasavvuf müziği böyle bir kapsam içinde gidince bunu buluyor insanlar. Ruhani olan var zaten Sufi boyutu onun yanındakiler bunlar. Orada yapılan müzikle ilgili bir şey bu onu söylemek istiyorum. Bir aktiviteyi tercih ediyorum ben müzik yaparken çünkü bizim müziğimiz ruhaniyetin içinde ayrı bir aktivite taşıyor o sadece dinginlik anlamında değil. Yani bir nağme yaparsın belki o çok ileri bir müzik, belki bir caz karakteri taşıyabilecek bir nağmedir o ama izleyici ondan hiç rahatsız olmaz yine aynı şekilde dinler onu. Vecd halinde yani. Maneviyat, otantiklik, etnik karakterler tasavvuf müziği içinde birleşiyor yani benim yaptığım müzikte bilmiyorum başka arkadaşların yaptığı müzikte nasıl ama. Al üfle neyi hiçbir eser çalma yani orada tarihe dayalı repertuar anlamında diyorum hiçbir eser icra etme bir manevi boyut oluşuyor. Ne bir semai çalıyorsun, ne Osman Dede’nin ayinini çalıyorsun hiçbir şey yapmıyorsun. Hiçbir şey çalmasan üflesen bile maneviyat orada, bir manevi boyut oluşuyor. Yani maneviyat içeriyor dini içerik var otantiklik ve işte dünya müziği olarak karşımıza çıkıyor bu karakterlerle.”

“İşte ben hep otantik olarak addedildim ... işte ayinler, kitaplarım, işte bilmediğim konular hakkında oturdum on sene doktora mastır yaptım. Ama bunun tersini de yaptım ben. Belki hiçbir neyzen benim yaptığım yumurtanın kabuğunu delme olayını yapamamıştır. Bursa festivali 97 oturdum Mozart’ın re majör konçertosunu çaldım. İnsanlar dediler ki bu ney mi senfoni orkestrasındaki... Ama niye yaptım biliyor musun onları, birileri ders alsın diye. Öyle sentez mentez bir şey işte bilgisayar müziği, gitar mitar gelin kardeşim bunu yapın o zaman. Siz başka bir dünyanın içine girin neyinizle. O dünyayı da o bildiği eserini o neyinle gir. Çok ciddi bir yumurtanın kabuğunu delmedir bu bunu da yaptım. Ney dünya enstrümanıdır, ney dünyanın bütün müziklerini yapabilir. Ama hayır onlar benim için deneysel çalışmalardır her zaman. Benim için diğerleri örneğin Anadolu Nefesi çok daha anlamlı bir çalışmadır. Ve de burada bir müzikal siyaset var biliyorsun. Ben neyimle başka bir kültüre ya da o müzik kültürünü seven insanlara da neyimle onların eserlerini çalarak seslenebilirsem... Çünkü neyi belki sadece etnik duyuyordu. Bundan benim iki türlü şeyim var. Bir neyi alıp o dünyanın içine koyuyorum. İkincisi adam şaşırıyor şu

kamıştan çıkardığı seslere bak. Adama bak değil neye bak. Ben arasındayım işin ney yapıyor bunu.”

“Bir zamanlara kadar etnik müzisyen olarak görüyordum kendimi. Mesela ilk 75’de yurtdışına gittim Polonya’ya. Polonya zaten kapalı bir ülkeydi o tarihte komünizm ağırları içerisinde. Ama çok ilgi al falan. Sonra 78’de Paris’e gitmiştim Almanya seyahatlerim oldu. O zaman etniktim vay be ne enteresan enstrüman falan. ... 80’lerden itibaren yine bir etnik şey var işte ya bu ne ya işte siz Türk müsünüz filan diyorlardı; yani öyle bir kültür öyle bir müzik akıyor ki ortaya hakikaten Türk müsünüz diye konsere gelenlerin samimi soruları vardı. 90’lardan sonra falan başladı bence dünya müziği. Nereye gelindi? İşte Paris’e gittim iki ay önceki hadise. Metrodan iniyorum herhangi bir bölgesinden duvarlarda bu kocaman afiş ve dört tanesini yan yana düşün. Koca bir Süleyman ortalıkta Allah Allah filan yani ben kendimden rahatsız oldum açık söyleyeyim. Konsere gittik altı ay öncesinden biletler satılmış memnunsun güzel sanatçı olarak. Üç kişi gittik çaldık söyledik. Bana işte arkadaş geldi organizasyonla ilgili. Erguner dedi haydi imza için CD imzalamaya. Bende çantama beş on tane CD koymuştum burada dedim en az 800 kişi var kavga çıkar. Dedim ki atalım kim kaparsa hesabı. Hediye etmek için getirmiştim. Hayret onların elinde CD’leri vardı. Çok önemli bir şeydi bu. Gittim masa kurmuşlar ve kuyruk. Şunu demek istiyorum. Bende bile yoktu yapmış olduğum bireysel Süleyman olarak yapmış olduğum CD’lerim adamların ellerinde almışlar bana imzaya getiriyorlar. Artık dünya müzisyenisin. Adam artık ne bu ney demiyor yani. Bir mal var ortada gidiyor marketten bunu alıyor. Bende bunun iki ay önce farkına vardım. ... Şimdi artık sen dünya müzisyenisin, ney dünya enstrümanı.”

“Bizim müziğimiz genel olarak Türk müziğidir. Ön Osmanlı diyorlar arka Osmanlı diyorlar bunlar da yanlış bence. Neden? O zaman Selçukluyu bulsak o zaman bunlar neydi. Türk tarihine bakıyorsunuz Orta Asya’dan kalkıp buralara gelmişler yerleşen insanlar ta bugüne kadar bizi getirdiler. Bence bu bir Türk başlığı altında incelenmeli. İran İran’dır, Fars Farstır, Türk Türk’tür, Arap Arap’tır yani. Bizde Türk’üz. Bugün tampere müziği kullanan bir sürü ülke var biliyorsun Avrupa ülkelerine bakarsak.

Ama bakarsın Fransız ‘les France’ der Alman ‘Deutsche musik’ der hâlbuki ikisi de aynı senfonide aynı eserleri yazar. Şimdi bu adamlar bile bu kadar kendi milli müziklerini koruyor, hâlbuki hiçbir farkı yok aynı müzikler sistem olarak aynı malum. O zaman ben de Türk müziği lafını çok rahat kullanmalıyım. İşte yanlış şurada yapıldı. İşte bugün türküler dinleyeceksiniz Türk halk müziği dinleyeceksiniz. Çok büyük bir yanlış. Yani ben neyimi üflerken insanlara konserler verirken ben halkın adamı değil miyim? Sosyolojik açıdan bunun vurgulanması lazım. Veyahut da ben bağlamayla aynı eseri çalamaz mıyım? Çaldım da; oturdum Arif [Sağ] ile televizyon programında hadi gel bir değişiklik yapalım seninle. İşte bunu efendim saray müziği işte Osmanlı müziği, şehir müziği tekke müziği falan... Yok arkadaş. Halkın müziği.”

“Aslında Mevlevi müziği diye bir olay yok. Mesela Mevlana zamanında Mevlevi müziği var mıydı? Müzik vardı, enstrümanlar vardı. Bugün anladığımız anlamda bir sema töreni, bugün şovları yapılan örnekleri yapılan bir tür ayin var mıydı? Yoktu. Bunlar sonradan ortaya çıkmış hadiselerdir. Daha doğrusu 18. yüzyıldan itibaren kendisini göstermeye başlamıştır. Bu bakımdan müzik var, işte enstrümanlar var, biri ney üflüyor diğeri sema ediyor. Hamza Dede var neyzen Mevlana’nın neyzeni - Ahmet Eflaki de geçer- Ariflerin Menkıbeleri adlı eserinde. Orada da yazar ki Hamza dede ney üfledi 40 gün 40 gece sema yapıldı diyor mesela... O dönemde sadece sema var dervişlerin sema ı diye geçiyor müzik duymasına da gerek yok aşk içinde olduğu zaman sema ediyor. Veyahut da neyin sesini duyuyor sema ediyor. Törenselle anlamda işler on sekizinci yüzyıldan sonra bugüne geliyor. Son darbeyi de cumhuriyet döneminden sonraki 60’lı yıllardaki olaylarda yiyor. Şu anda yapılan sema törenleri Mevlevi tarih kitaplarına, el yazmalarına bakılırsa bunlar yok son dönemlerin uydurmaları bunlar. Semazenbaşı ortalıkta dolaşıyor böyle bu yok. Bir adam trafik polisi gibi ortalıkta dolaşıyor yok böyle bir şey. Hani ‘hal’di bu. Neyi düzenliyorsun? O dönemin resimlerinde ressamalar gelmiş Pera’da sadece semazenler var ve şeyh var. 1670 de mesela hatırladığım bir resim var. Tasavvuf müziği de sonradan yayın dünyasında çıkan bir isim. ‘Biz bu müziği yapacağız, bunun adı ne olsun?’ dediler ‘tasavvufun müziği olsun’ dediler ve tasavvuf müziği denilen bir form - hatta Türk Tasavvuf müziği diye de bir şey uyduruldu. Sanki tüm dünyada tasavvuf müziği

olarak geçiyordu da sonradan Türk Tasavvuf müziği adı konuldu. Sufi müzik adı da son dönemde çıktı dünyada. ‘Sufi music of Turkey’ mesela. Bu da 80’lerden sonra falan çıkmıştır. Dervişler diye geçerdi ciddi ciddi 60’lı yıllarda; işte Konya’da dönen dervişler falan filan. Sonra işte bir ‘Sufi’ adı çıktı. Bir de onun karşılığı olarak o tasavvuf tam oturdu ve tasavvuf müziği denilen bir formla karşı karşıyayız şu anda. Asıl tasavvuf müziği diye bir form yok Türk müziğinde. Türk müziği var, nefes var, türkü var, ayın var, şarkı var, ilahi var.”

“Tekke neyi veyahut da güya modern ney... Hani dudak oynatarak yapılan bir ney çalışması diye bir durum ortaya çıktı. Bu yanlış maalesef internette sürüp gidiyor böyle şeyler. Ney neydir ya. Bunun tekkesi falan yok ki. Radyoda çalan neyde o tekke neyi. Her yerde aynıdır. Süleyman Erguner senfoniye çalarken de o neydir. Dudak oynatarak vibrato yapmak... Ben çok neyzen gördüm ve çok okudum. Hiçbir neyzende böyle bir şey yok bu bir. Çocukluğum çok neyzen dinleyerek geçti hiçbirinde böyle bir şey yok iki. ... Peki, soruyorum ney üflemeli bir sazdır vibratoyu yapan flütçüler dudak mı sallıyorlar? Klarnetçiler böyle dudaklarını mı titretiyorlar? Bana birileri bunu söylesin. Vibrato diyaframla yapılan, nefesle yapılan bir hadisedir. Bazıları da neyi sallıyor mesela. Bazıları kafa sallıyor. Sadece dudak vibratosu değildir burada. Yani dudak vibratosu yapmak neyde bir modernlik anlamında tekke müziği karşısında bir olay gibi anlaşılmaya başlandı buna katılmıyorum. Çünkü o biri ya da birilerinin tercihidir. Hocasından öyle görmüştür ayrı bir şeydir... Bu kişinin tercihidir kafasını sallıyor neyi sallıyor. Bu beni ilgilendirmez ama hiçbir zaman neyde bir tavır olarak ortaya konulmamalıdır bir. İki, neyde modernlik getirmek kesinlikle böyle bir şey değildir. Kişinin tercihidir. Öteki de kafa sallıyor mesela rahmetli Aka Gündüz kafa sallardı. Peki, Süleyman Erguner icra ederken vibrato yapıyor mu? İşte bütün yaptığım ortada zaten. Demek ki bunun legato denilen olayın nasıl dünya nefesli sazlarını icra etmede nasıl yapıyorsa bizde o şekilde yapıyoruz. Tabi ki dudak çok önemlidir, neyzende ney dudağına terk edilmiştir diyoruz ya. Ama dudak hareketleri hiçbir zaman ne bir neyde modernliği ya da neye katkıyı getirmez. Neyle ilgili araştırmalarımda, hiçbirinde böyle bir şey yok. Peki, neyde tavır nedir. Mesela neyde alıp bir sesi şimdi ben mesela [inişli çıkışlı bir ses taklidi yaparak] bu modernlikse,

arkadaşım ben mesela bir konçertoyu çaldım bir sekizli aralıktan bahsediyorsun ne yapacağız şimdi. Eğer neye modernlik getirdim diyorsun gel benle dünya müziklerini çalalım sana neye modernliği göstereyim veyahut da yapabilen birisi göstereyim. Yani bir nağme tercihi ya da aralıkları Türk müziğinin o yanaşık düzendeki aralıklarına biraz zorlayarak icra etmek ayrı bir tavır değildir. Neyi herkes kendine güzel üflüyor. Benimde beğendiğim tavırlar var o başka bir mevzu.”

Appendix B: Discography

Chapter III:

East 2 West: Istanbul Strait Up, by various artists (Doublemoon, 2005)

Album tracks:

1. Mercan Dede / Ab- 1 Hayat (Radio Edit)
2. Ceza / Rapstar
3. Baba Zula / Zaniye Oyun Havası (Previously Unreleased)
4. Orient Expressions / Dünya
5. Cay Taylan / Çiftetelli
6. 6.Burhan Öçal & The Trakya All Stars feat. Smadj
7. Douod / For Nedim
8. Arkin Allen / Kıtırmir (Short Version)
9. Burhan Öçal & Pete Namlook / Nereden Geliyorsun Part VI
10. Bonus Remixes
11. Burhan Öçal & The Trakya All Stars feat. Smadj / Melike (DK3 Re-worked)
12. Orient Expressions / Ehmedo (Pressure Drop Remix) (Previously Unreleased)
13. Dj Awal / O Divanın Üstündeki Baygın Bakışın (Baba Zula Restructure) (Previously Unreleased)

East 2 West: Global Departures from Istanbul (Doublemoon, 2007).

Album tracks:

1. Mercan Dede - Vefaname
2. Brooklyn Funk Essentials feat. Laço Tayfa - By And Bye
3. Aziza A.- Hayat
4. Wax Poetic - Angels
5. Sultana - Kuşu Kalkmaz
6. Orientation - Theme From Bosphorus Bridge
7. Burhan Öçal & Jamaladeen Tacuma feat. Natacha Atlas - Habibi
8. Baba Zula - Anam
9. Craig Harris & The Nation Of Imagination feat. Barbaros Erköse - Dijiribludu
10. İlhan Erşahin - Jungle
11. Aydın Esen - Essence
12. İstanbul Blues Kumpanyası - Sair Zamanlar
13. Hüsnü Şenlendirici & Laço Tayfa - Bergama Gaydası

**İstanbul Hatırası/Crossing the Bridge- Soundtrack by various artists
(Doublemoon, 2005)**

Album tracks:

1. Music, Sertab Erener
2. Tavus Havası, Baba Zula
3. İstanbul 1:26 A.M., Orient Expressions
4. İstanbul, Duman
5. Şahar Dağı, Replikas
6. Holocaust, Ceza
7. Ab-ı Hayat, Mercan Dede
8. Kürdili Hicazkar Longa, Selim Sesler
9. Penceresi Yola Karşı, Selim Sesler & Brenna Maccrimmon
10. Wedding Song, The Wedding Sound System
11. Böyle Olur Mu, Nur Ceylan
12. Hayyam, Siyasiyabend
13. Ehmedo, Aynur Doğan
14. Hatasız Kul Olmaz, Orhan Gencebay
15. Haydar Haydar, Müzeyyen Senar
16. İstanbul Hatırası, Sezen Aksu
17. Cecom, Baba Zula
18. Music (Radyo Versiyonu), Sertab Erener

Gülün Kokusu vardı by Erkan Oğur and İsmail Demircioğlu (Kalan, 1998)

Album tracks:

1. Pencereden Kar Geliyor
2. Ey Zahit Şaraba Eyle İhtiram
3. Zeynep
4. Dağlar
5. Divane Aşık Gibi
6. Kerpiç Kerpiç Üstüne
7. Mecnunum Leylamı Gördüm
8. Bugün Ben Bir Güzel Gördüm
9. Kaleden İniş mi olur?
10. Derdim Çoktur Hangisine Yanayım
11. Ben Seni Sevdugumi Dünyalara Bildurdum

Aşkın Gözyaşları by Hafız Burhan (Kalan, 2007)

Album tracks

1. Gönlümü Aşka Salan
2. Bir Gönülde İki Sevda Olamaz
3. Makber (Her Yer Karanlık)
4. Bilmiyordum Sevgiyi
5. Busen Ne Alevdi Dile Yüz Bir Yare Açtı
6. Sevdası Henüz Sinede Göynüm Gibi Sağdı

7. Sabrımı Gamzelerin Sihriyle
8. Sevdama İnan Kalbime Bir Lahzada Aktın
9. Söyleyin Güneşe Bugün Doğmasın
10. Ben Yemenimi Al İsterim
11. Aşkın Gözyaşları
12. İmdidad-ı Aşkima Çeşmi Siyahındır Sebep
13. Yüzüm Şen Hatıram Şen
14. Nar-ı Hasret Yaktı Mahvetti
15. Evvelce Hudayı Tanımış Olmasa Gönlüm
16. Gittin Bu Gece
17. Yine Kalbim Taşar Ağlar
18. Memo

Eyhok: Hakkari Geleneksel Müziği (Traditional Music of Hakkari) by various artists (Kalan, 2004)

Album tracks

CD 1

1. Hey Lo Lo Mîro (Hey Mîr'im) Form: Stranên Dawatê
2. Serşo 1 Form: Serşo
3. Serşo 2 Form: Serşo
4. Narînk 1 Form: Narînk
5. Narînk 2 Form: Narînk
6. Narînk 3 Form: Narînk
7. Elo Dîno 1 (Deli Ali 1) Form: Stranên Dawatê
8. Elo Dîno 2 (Deli Ali 2) Form: Stranên Dawatê
9. Elo Dîno 3 (Deli Ali 3) Form: Stranên Dawatê
10. Hespê Begzadê 1 (Beyzadenin Atı 1) Form: Stranên Dawatê
11. Hespê Begzadê 2 (Beyzadenin Atı 2) Form: Stranên Dawatê
12. Elî Entaren 1 Form: Stranên Dawatê
13. Elî Entaren 2 Form: Stranên Dawatê
14. Edîşo Form: Stranên Dawatê
15. Şin û Şeblax Form: Stranên Dawatê
16. Heyran Dê Rabe (Hayran Haydi Kalk) Form: Stranên Dawatê
17. Teymez Form: Stranên Dawatê
18. Xelef Form: Stranên Dawatê
19. Wernê Wernê (Gelin Gelin) Form: Stranên Dawatê
20. Zeynel Beg / Bedirxan Beg (Zeynel Bey / Bedirhan Bey) Form: Stranên Dawatê
21. Şêx Barzan (Barzan Şeyhi) Form: Stranên Dawatê
22. Êzdîn Form: Stranên Dawatê
23. Gulokê Form: Stranên Dawatê
24. Mêrgê Form: Stranên Dawatê
25. Befrokê Form: Stranên Dawatê
26. Banê Mizgevtê 1 (Cami Damı 1) Form: Stranên Dawatê
27. Banê Mizgevtê 2 (Cami Damı 2) Form: Stranên Dawatê
28. Ev Şev (Bu Gece) Form: Stranên Dawatê
29. Mala Me (Evimiz) Form: Stranên Dawatê
30. Stranên Dawatê
31. Nêriyo (Teke) Form: Stranên Dawatê
32. Tew Xan Form: Stranên Dawatê
33. Temê Bazokî Form: Stranên Dawatê
34. Xena (Kına) Form: Stranên Dawatê
35. Xerîb (Yabancı) Form: Stranên Dawatê
36. Kew Derî (Keklikler) Form: Stranên Dawatê

37. Ezo Birîndarim (Yaralıyım) Form: Stranên Dawatê
38. Heseno Form: Stranên Dawatê
39. Kuriko (Çocuk) Form: Stranên Dawatê
40. Dêbila Bêto (Haydi Aksın) Form: Stranên Dawatê
41. Sosin (Çiğdem) Form: Stranên Dawatê
42. Hey Canê (Hey Güzel) Form: Lawje
43. Bedirxan Beg (Bedirhan Bey) Form: Lawje
44. Seydik 1 Lawje
45. Seydik 2 Form: Lawje
46. Rayê Form: Lawje

CD2

1. Rave (Sarhoş) Form: Heyranok
2. Heyran Jaro (Hayran Olduğum) Form: Heyranok
3. Keçikê (Kız) Form: Heyranok
4. Lawkê Tuxûbî (Tuxûb'lu Delikanlı) Form: Heyranok
5. Nêribel (Benekli Teke) Form: Heyranok
6. Dêra Hînê Form: Pîrepayîzok
7. Pîrepayîzok 1 Form: Pîrepayîzok
8. Pîrepayîzok 2 Form: Pîrepayîzok
9. Pîrepayîzok 3 Form: Pîrepayîzok
10. Meşkê (Yayık) Form: Stranên Meşkê
11. Hey Malikê Vê Alemê (Ey Bu Alemin Yaraticısı) Form: Medîha
12. Rabe (Kalk) Form: Medîha
13. Qiyametê (Kıyamet) Form: Medîha
14. Mewlûd (Mevlî) Form: Mewlûd
15. Kela Dimdimê 1 (Dımdım Kalesi 1) Form: Destan
16. Kela Dimdimê 2 (Dımdım Kalesi 2) Form: Destan
17. Kela Dimdimê 3 (Dımdım Kalesi 3) Form: Destan
18. Kela Dimdimê 4 (Dımdım Kalesi 4) Form: Destan
19. Kela Dimdimê 5 (Dımdım Kalesi 5) Form: Destan
20. Kela Dimdimê 6 (Dımdım Kalesi 6) Form: Destan
21. Kela Dimdimê 7 (Dımdım Kalesi 7) Form: Destan
22. Sînem Xan 1 (Sînem Han 1) Form: Destan
23. Sînem Xan 2 (Sînem Han 2)
24. Sînem Xan 3 (Sînem Han 3)
25. Lavi (Oğlum) Form: Şeşbendi
26. Hayoni Tela Şorsete Sîlela (Gökten Bir Güvercin İndi) Form: Şeşbendi
27. Gulxendan Form: Şeşbendi
28. Narînê (Narin) Form: Şeşbendi
29. Gulê Form: Şeşbendi
30. Kanik (Pınarbaşı) Şeşbendi
31. Hey Barkin (Yükleyin) Form: Bêrîte
32. Hoy Şenge 1 (Şendir 1) Form: Bêrîte
33. Hoy Şenge 2 (Şendir 2) Form: Bêrîte
34. Piştî Kîrorî (Kîror'un Ardı) Form: Bêrîte
35. Şemlê Form: Bêrîte
36. Şehmêranê (Şahmeran) Form: Bêrîte
37. Xalid Axa (Halid Ağa) Form: Bêrîte

Yörüklerde Müzik ve Boğaz Çalma (Music and Throat Playing of the Yörük in Anatolia) by various artists (Kalan, 1998)

Album tracks:

1. Acış
2. Kemane Boğaz Havası (Kemane)
3. Ses Boğaz Havası (Kemane)
4. Ses Boğaz Havası
5. 2 Boğaz Havası (Üçtelli)
6. Ses Boğaz Havası
7. Ses Boğaz Havası
8. Açış Ve Zortlatma (Kaval)
9. Dayanak Havası (Kaval)
10. Yayık Soğudan (Kaval)
11. Çömlek Kırdıran (Kaval)
12. Karakoyun Efsanesi (Kaval)
13. Hasiçi Boğazı (Kaval)
14. Ağit (Kaval)
15. İki Hada (Ses)
16. Gurbet Havası ve Oyun Havası (Sipsi)
17. Göç Öyküsü
18. Değiş
19. Boğaz Havası (Kemane)
20. Boğaz Havası (Kemane)
21. Boğaz Havası (Ses)
22. Boğaz Havası (Ses)
23. Teke Oyun Havası (Kemane ve Sipsi)
24. Cezayir (Kemane ve Sipsi)
25. Hada (Kemik Düdük)
26. Karinom (Kemik Düdük)
27. Holu (Ses)
28. Holu (Ses)
29. Hada (Kaval)
30. Konyalı (Kaval)

Ferahnak Mevlevi ayini by İstanbul Otantik Müzik Topluluğu (Kalan, 2003)

Album tracks

1. Rast Makamında Naat-I Mevlana
2. Ferahnak Makamında Bes Taksim
3. Zincir Usûlünde Ferahnak Pesrev
4. Ferahnak Ayin-I Serifi (1, 2, 3, Selamlar)
5. Zâkir'in Eviç Pesrevi (Son Pesrev); Ferahnak Son Yürük Semai
6. Kanun Taksimi
7. Niyaz Ilahiler
8. Kemençe Taksimi (Son Taksim)
9. Kur'an-ı Kerim
10. Dua

Chapter IV

Keşan'a Giden Yollar by Selim Sesler and Grup Trakya (Kalan, 1999)

Album tracks:

1. Kiremit Bacaları / Nasti Usava
2. Düğün Havaları: Kına Havası / Gelin Alma Havası
3. Bir Sarı Yılan
4. Ali Paşa
5. Biber Yedim
6. Acı Meleke
7. Babo
8. Köy Potpurisi: Istifalka / Gelserek / Arzu ile Kamber
9. Tulum
10. Patrona. Samiotisa
11. Hanım Ayşe
12. Sarı Gülüm Var Benim / Mahmutköy Karşılması
13. Nikriz Sirto
14. Alay Bey

Oğlan Bizim Kız Bizim by Selim Sesler (Doublemoon, 2006)

Album tracks:

1. Dağlar Kızı Reyhan
2. Gözyaşı
3. Yüksek Yüksek Tepeler
4. Kasap Havası
5. Yağcılar Zeybeği (Koca Arap)
6. Topal Oyun Havası & Maçka Yolları Taşlı
7. Melodik Sesler
8. Meşk Havası
9. Roman Ağıtı
10. Şu Köyceğiz Yolları
11. Pazarda Bal Var Gelinim
12. Koloz Havası
13. Kara Üzüm Habbesi

Hüsn-ü Klarnet by Hüsnü Şenlendirici (Doublemoon, 2005)

Album tracks:

1. Oyun Havası
2. Çığ
3. Fla-Mango
4. İstanbul İstanbul Olalı
5. Şina Nari
6. Leylim Ley
7. Bülbülüm Altın Kafeste

8. Kumsalda
9. Kimseye Etmem Şikayet
10. Tatlı Dillim
11. Dört Zeybek

Taksim Trio by Taksim Trio (Doublemoon, 2007)

Album tracks:

1. Biçare
2. Gözüm
3. Bağlama Solo
4. Derdin Ne
5. Güle Yel Değdi
6. Klarnet Solo
7. Gitti de Gitti
8. Kanun Solo
9. Belalım
10. Uşşak Oyun Havası
11. Muhayyer Kürdi Saz Semaisi

Chapter V

Mevlevi Töreni (Ceremony of the Whirling Dervishes) by Süleyman Erguner (Erguner Müzik, 2004)

Album tracks:

1. Çerağ
2. Kurân -ı Kerîm
3. Na' t -ı Mevlânâ
4. Ney Taksimi
5. Ney Taksimi
6. Hüseyini İlâhi
7. Kemençe Taksimi
8. Kurân -ı Kerîm / Gülbank

Nefes (Breath) by Mercan Dede (Doublemoon, 2006)

Album tracks:

1. Hininga
2. Dem
3. Ginhawa
4. Samana
5. Huo
6. Zefir
7. Napas
8. Engewal
9. Breath

10. Huxi
11. Halitus
12. Souffle
13. Atman
14. Behin
15. Moya Alitu

800 by Mercan Dede (Doublemoon, 2007)

Album tracks (Local vs International release)

- | | |
|------------------------------------|--|
| 1. 800 | 1. 800 |
| 2. Yol Geçen Hanı | 2. Everyone's place |
| 3. Mercanistan | 3. Mercanistan |
| 4. Kanatlar Kitabı | 4. Book of wings |
| 5. Güneş Doğudan Doğar | 5. The sun rises in the east |
| 6. Bilinmezın Elçileri | 6. Messengers from mystery |
| 7. Tutsak | 7. Captive |
| 8. Pamuk Prenses ve Yedi Cüceler, | 8. Cotton princess and seven midgets vs. |
| Ali Baba ve Kırk Haramiler'e Karşı | alibaba and the forty eskimos |
| 9. İstanbul | 9. Istanbul |
| 10. Denizkızı İlahisi | 10. Lullyby for a sweet, chubby, lonely |
| 11. Neredesin? | mermaid |
| | 11. Where are you? |

Excerpts from the lyrics in the album, *800*, by Mercan Dede chanted by Ceza in Turkish

800

Introductory verses by Tuğçe Şenoğul

aşk geldi, damarlardaki kanım gibi oldu
varlık boşalıp, her tarafım dost eliyle doldu
zapteyledi bütün ensai vücudumu.
kaldı kâvi bir namı bana, baki

şu koskoca alemde yalnız bir kulum [chanted by Ceza]
aşk olmasa hiçbir işe gelmezdi gün ışığı

aşk geldi, damarlardaki kanım gibi oldu
varlık boşalıp, her tarafım dost eliyle doldu
zapteyledi bütün ensai vücudumu.
kaldı kâvi bir namı bana, baki

Ceza Part

ya sana varmak ya bana varman
ya bana gitmeden yanıma kalman
yasını tutmasam, yaşına varsam
karanlık doğmadan, ışığa kalsam
hayal hiç ölçülmez, ne boyu ne de eni
kaya kürür, gönül yakar hep, koru benim
hayata seninle dayanırım her nefes diken
diken ne derttir gülüm, canın sağ olsun da
senin
aşkın yok nispeti, bir anda bağlanır kismetin
her düğüm çözülür, çek hasreti
havadaki kasvet birazcık benden
karadaki ben değil, havadaki bazen
uçan bir kuş, bazen kaybolan bir kumum
koskoca alemde yalnız bir kulum
kolkola gezmek her can ile suç mu
tamam o zaman, benim bu alemde en suçlu

baktım göğşe masmavi, bastığım yer hâki
gördüğüm diyar çok, görmediğimse gani gani
nefes alıp veren bu can da çaresiz kalınca
özlemim büyük, yolum uzun, ben de bir karınca
yanan gönül akan suda, o yolun en sonunda
dostum bende solur, eğer dostum benle kalırsa
dostun senle yaşar, dostun eğer senle ölürse
bir çiçek olup açar belki tekrardan doğunca
her açan senin gülün, hergünse benim günüm
gözyaşı insan külüyse, her yakan insan sözü
kıvılcım sözün özüyse, ayrılık yakar gözü
tek gören gönül gözüyse, kelimim gönül sözüm
yalnızlıktan galip çıkmaktır ırfan hiç olmadan
ırfan çıktığın her seferden dönmek hasret
ekmeden
ektiysen de ders almaktır hasret filizlenmeden
ekmediysen gönül almaktır seferin bitmeden

Tutsak (Captive)

denizde vardı oltam
bir balık tuttum zannettim, baktım hepsi rüyaymış, mekanım yanmış bir orman
ve tek seçimse çaresizlik, buna inanma
göz gördüğünden korkmaz, eski bensem bir çiçek olsam da solmam
anlatsın bilen kimse, hep çeken bilir demişler
çekense susmuş hep konuşmuş çekmeyen kim varsa
anlatsın derdi çeken, hüznün kaplı yüzlerinde kırışmakta dertler
bir de ellerinde kürek kazma
ve der ki şeytan yazma, ben olursam neyle anlatırım
neyle anlarım ben anlatmazsam hangi sazla
mürekkebibim dilimde, kağıdım aynam,
gönlü saydam olan anlar anca işte sayfam
hergün intihar eşikte ve umutlar beşikte
bu dünya kapkaranlık, ılık başka yerde
herkes peşimde, herkes sandığım kadar iyi olsaydı keşe
en azından ay beklerdi üstümde yalnız gecede

Appendix C: Turkish Summary

TÜRK DÜNYA MÜZİĞİ: ÇOKKATLI SENTEZLER VE OTANTİSİTELER

Bu tez Türkiye’de dünya müziğinin ortaya çıkışını ve söylemsel üretim süreçlerini tartışmaktadır. Dünya müziği hem bir ticari kategori hem de belirli bir söylemsel oluşum olarak küresel kültürel ekonominin belirli yerellik ve otantisite kavramları temelinde işleyişine dair önemli ipuçları sunmaktadır. Aslında dünya müziği paradoksal olarak ‘yerelliğin kendisi’ ile oluştuğu iddia edilen ‘küresel’ bir kültürel formdur. Çalışmanın temel öngörüsü kuramsal olarak aralarında yapay bir ikilik kurulan yerel ve küresel kavramlarının bir kültürel formun belirli bir yerellikte üretim süreçleri incelenmeden herhangi bir şey ifade etmediği iddiasıdır. Yerellik, küresel olduğu düşünülen kültürel metaların üretim ve tüketim süreçlerinde birbiriyle yer yer rekabet yer yer de eklemlenme ilişkisi içinde olan bir söylemler dizgesinin varolduğu bir mekândır.

Araştırmanın başlangıcında hala küresel ve yerel arasında kurulan ve artık hayli banalleşmiş ve de problematik olan ikiliğin terimleriyle düşünmekteydim. Bununla da ilişkili olarak dünya müziğine dair anlayışım fazlaca basitleştirilmiş bir takım üretim örüntülerine ve de söylemsel şemalara dayanan bir kuramsal soyutlamaya dayanmaktaydı. Ancak alanın içerisinde zamanla yerel olarak kurgulanan düzlemde kültürel metaların üretimine yönelik herhangi bir araştırmanın bu kültürel formların üretim süreçlerine ve bunlara tekabül eden söylemsel alanlara dair çokkatlı örüntüleri ortaya çıkarabilecek yeni bir anlayışı gerektirdiğini kavradım. Bu farkındalık artık yerel ve küresel arasında kurulan bir ikiliğin terimleriyle ya da temel olarak belirli bir ‘yerel’ geleneğin dünya müziği içerisinde nasıl metalaştırıldığını ya da o söylemsel dizgede nasıl eklemlendiğini bulmayı amaçlayan bir tartışmadan vazgeçmemi sağladı. Benim için esas düzlem farklı stratejilerin, kimliklerin ve estetik formların bir araya geldiği,

eklemlendiği ve birbiriyle kapıştığı bir söylemsel alan olarak yerel halini almıştı. Burada temel amaç dünya müziği söylemi ile oluştuğunu varsaydığım farklı alanlar içerisinde farklı söylemsel unsurların izinde gitmek ve de bu unsurların farklı alanlar içinde veya bunlar arasında üst üste bindiği veya tamamen yer değiştirdiği bir tür söylemler topografyası çıkarmaktı. Daha açık biçimde ifade etmek gerekirse küresel ve yerel olarak alanlar arasındaki hayali süreklilik çizgisinde söylemsel bir topografyanın izini sürmek ve de bu süreçte oluşan ‘yerelliğin’ oluşumunu ve bu yerellik alanında kurgulanan bir küresel kültürel formun söylemsel üretim süreçlerini incelemek tezin temel amacıdır. Bir anlamda bu çaba küresel aracılığıyla yerelin nasıl kurulduğunu, hangi biçimlerde yeniden üretildiğini ve de bu süreçte küresel unsurların yerelde oluşumunu incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Dünya müziği 1980’lerin sonunda bazı bağımsız plak şirketleri tarafından bulunmuş ticari bir terimdir. Daha önce yabancı müzik ya da pop veya Doğu müziği adı altında kategorize edilen müzik türleri giderek yaygınlık kazanan bu terimle adlandırılmaya başlanmıştır. Kategori özellikle ilk çıktığı dönemlerde beğenilmesi için belirli bir müzikal bilgi birikimi gerektirdiği gibi bir yargı yüzünden plak şirketleri ve de müzisyenler için riskli bir kategori olmuştur. Dolayısıyla popüler müzik endüstrisi ile dünya müziğinin yarattığı varsayılan niche pazar (bu gayet sorunlu bir kategorileştirme olsa da) arasında her zaman belirli bir mesafe olmuştur. Dünya müziğinin ilk örneklerinde günümüzde çok fazla işlemeyen bir egzotiklik söylemi hakimdir. Bu örneklerde sesler ve bu seslerin çıktığı coğrafi mekanlar ne kadar uzak ve de anlaşılmaz (mistik) görünürse, bu unsurların o kadar otantik ve de egzotik olacağı varsayılmaktadır. Bu tür kaba bir egzotiklik söylemi halen bazı toplama albümlerde varolmaktaysa da yerini ‘yerel’ ve de hibrid formları içeren daha karmaşık formlara bırakmıştır. Burada bahsedilen formlar basitçe seslere dair bir etkileşim ya da seslerin yanyana gelmesi değildir. Giderek hem müzikal hem de tematik anlamda bu formların söylemsel bileşenlerinin izini sürmek güçleşmektedir.

Dünya müziği öncelikle bir ticari kategoridir. Ancak çalışmada da gösterildiği gibi aslında terim aktörlerin kendi müzikal öznelliklerini konumlandıkları ve bu öznelliklerini ve müziklerini geleneksel/modern, otantik/sentez, yerel/küresel gibi kutuplarda tanımladıkları değişken bir söylemsel repertuarı ifade etmektedir. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde küresel bir form olarak dünya müziğinin oluşumunda bir takım söylemsel unsurların öne çıktığı gözlenmektedir: otantisite, egzotiklik, ruhanilik veya turistik imgelere dayanan bir tür yolculuk kavramı gibi. Aslında terim 'Batı olmayan' kavramı üzerinde kurulan farklılık ve ötekilik unsurlarının metalaştırılmasına ve de fetişleştirilmesine dayanmaktadır. Dünya müziği üzerine ilk dönem araştırmalar Batılı olmayan müzik formlarına nasıl el konulduğunu bu formların dünya müziği adı altında nasıl paketlenip pazara sürüldüğünü tartışırken büyük oranda belirli bir kültürel emperyalizm tezini yeniden üretmektedir. Bu perspektifler kültürel emperyalizm tezine içkin görünen bir takım ikiliklerin, örneğin yerel/otantik karşısında küresel/metalaşmış gibi, basitliği ve sorunsallığı yüzünden eleştirilmiştir. Bu eleştirilere göre, bu tür bir yaklaşım ortaya çıkan kültürel formlardaki karmaşık karşılıklı etkileşim örüntülerini anlamaktan uzaktır. Bir anlamda ikinci dalga olarak adlandırabileceğimiz sonraki dönem dünya müziği literatüründe ise farkın ve de ötekinin dünya müziği kategorisi içinde nasıl metalaştırıldığı, fetişleştirildiği ve de farklı biçimlerde temsil edildiği tartışılmıştır (örneğin Erlmann 1993, 1994; Feld 1988, 1994, 1996; Guibault 1997). Erlmann (1994, 166) dünya müziğinin ortaya çıkışını doğrudan 'farkın estetik üretimi' ile ilişkilendirmiştir. Buna karşılık farklı bakış açıları (örneğin Slobin 1992, 1993) küresel bir dünyada kültürün akışını belirleyen bir gizli mekanizma fikrine karşı çıkmış ve de kuramsal düşüncelerini daha çok küreselleşen bir dünyada yersiz yurtsuzlaşma ve de sınırların yeniden çizilmesi gibi temalar üzerine odaklamışlardır. Bu kuramsal ve de sınırlı sayıda da olsa alan araştırmalarından beslenen anlatıları bir yandan pazar anlamında Batı'nın dünya müziğinin üretim süreçlerindeki hegemonyası bir yandan da farklı yerelliklerde dünya müziğinin nasıl kurulduğunu gösteren çalışmalar takip etmiştir. (örneğin Keil and Feld 1994; Taylor 1997; Bithell 1996; Langlois 1996; Dawe 1999; Gibson ve Dunbar-Hall 2000). Örneğin Taylor (1997, 14) dünya müziğine dair ticari pratiklerin kapitalizmin merkez ve çevre yaratma biçimlerinin sınırsız çeşitliliğine dair

önemli ipuçları barındırdığını belirtmiştir. Dünya müziğinin farklı ‘yerelliklerde’ nasıl oluştuğunu inceleyen araştırmalar, sınırlı da olsa, bu bağlamlarda dünya müziğinin oluşumuna dair önemli bir takım dinamikleri ortaya çıkarmışlardır. Dünya müziğini küresel tarafından tahayyülü ve mevcudiyeti mümkün kılınan belirli bir yerellikte incelemek bir yandan küresel söylemlerin o yerellikteki etkisini anlamaya çalışmayı, bir yandan da yerelin kendi dinamiklerini ve bu söylemleri kendinin kılma pratiklerini incelemeyi gerektirmektedir. Bu tür bir çaba ise öncelikle yereli önceden belirlenmiş bir bütünlük olarak değil bir tür karmaşık ve de farklılaşmış bir alan olarak görmeyi gerektirmektedir.

Dünya müziği terimi İstanbul’da sadece sentez ya da füzyon olarak adlandırılan çalışmalar için değil giderek yerel ya da geleneksel olan müzik türlerini de kapsayacak bir terim haline gelmektedir. Aslında Roman müziği, tasavvuf müziği, türkü gibi yerellekle tanımlanan müzik formlarının başka formlar içerisine eklemlenmesi yeni bir süreç değildir. 1970’lerde daha çok etnik caz (etnocaz) ya da *free* caz gibi bir takım türler içerisinde adlandırılan çalışmalar mevcuttu. Bu çalışmalar belli açılardan Batı’da o dönemlerdeki Doğu formlarına yönelişleri ve de müzisyenlerin yeni arayışları ile koşutluk göstermektedir. Aslında Türkiye müzik piyasası içinde giderek daha da görünür hale gelen bu süreç dünya müzik piyasasında dünya müziği kategorisinin giderek daha fazla yaygınlık kazanmaya başlaması ile paralel gelişen bir süreçtir. Bu dönemde yapılan çalışmalar festivallerdeki performanslar, kısıtlı sayıda basılan albümler, mali ve organizasyonel açıdan mütevazı projelerle izleyicilerle buluşmuştur.

Bu çalışmaların müzik piyasası tarafından kârlı olarak görülmediği kesindir; bu çalışmalar *niche* pazar olarak bile tanımlanamayacak düzeyde marjinal bir izleyici kitlesine ulaşabilmiştir. Seeman’ın (2002, 326) belirttiği gibi 1990’larda da belirli bir caz perspektifi ve terminolojisi müzisyenler ve prodüktörler arasında yaygındır. Cazın tanımı ve bu tanım içerisinde neyin yapılabilir olduğu ‘yerelden temellenen kozmopolitan bir gelenek’ içerisinde belirlenmektedir. Seeman bazı etnik caz müzisyenlerinin caza içkin olan bir Batılılık ile Türk kimliği arasında bir tür karşıtlığı kavramsal olarak ürettiklerini belirtmektedir. Ancak kanımca bahsedilen bu ‘yerelden

temellenen kozmopolitan gelenek' hala caz ile belirlenen bir kavramsal sınıra hapsolmuş durumdadır. Caz bu yerel ve geleneksel müzik formlarının ileride yaygınlaşacak olan dünya müziği kategorisine eklemlenmesi ve o alan içerisinde konumlandırılmasında aracı bir işlev edinmektedir (yani bu formlar öncelikle caz ya da etnocaz içerisinde tanımlanmakta, sonrasında, eğer mümkünse, dünya müziği kategorisine dahil edilmektedir). Bu aslında Türk müziği üzerine tartışmaların merkezinde olan ve belirli süreçlerin temel belirleyenlerinden olan Doğu-Batı karşıtlığı (ve tabi ki tekseslilik-çokseslilik sorunu) ile ilişkili bir durumdur. Özellikle son on yıldır temel dönüşümlerden birisi yerel ya da geleneksel formların eklemlendiği formları öncelikle caz kategorisi içine dahil etme yönünde bir gereksinimin kalmamasıdır. Bu formlar cazın aracılığı olmadan dünya müziği kategorisine konulabilmektedir. Bugün dünya müziği olarak adlandırılan kategori artık bir zamanlar bu formlar için genel bir kategori olan caz içerisinde kavramsallaştırılmamaktadır. Daha da ötesi caz perspektifi içinde üretilen müzik formlarının giderek farklı bir takım özellikler kazandığını ve de örneğin armonizasyon veya enstrümantasyon gibi özellikler açısından bir takım yeni dönüşümleri temsil ettiklerini gözlemek mümkündür. Bu süreç Türkiye müzik piyasası için olduğu kadar dünya müzik piyasası için de geçerli bir süreçtir. Özellikle son onyıldır, müzik piyasasında yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi kapsayıcı ve de yaygınlık kazanmış bir etnik caz perspektifi tamamen yokolmaya yüz tutmuş dünya müziği bu formlar için geçerli bir kategori olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Dünya müziği kategorisinin yereldeki müzik pratiklerine ve de aktörlerin kendilerini stratejik olarak bu pratiklere karşılık gelen piyasalarda konumlayış biçimlerine etkileri incelenmeye değerdir. Örneğin pazar anlamında başarılı bir Roman müzisyen pazarın bu tür bir kategoriye verdiği ödüllendirici etkiyi farkederek kendisini bir dünya müzisyeni olarak adlandırmaya başlamıştır. Belki bir on yıl önce müziğini gazinolarda, düğünlerde veya diğer bazı özel günlerde icra ederken bugün Babylon gibi İstanbul'un en prestijli müzik kulüplerinde bir dünya müzisyeni olarak sahne alabilmektedir.

Çalışma üçüncü bölümde Türkiye'nin en önde gelen dünya müziği firmalarından Kalan ve Doublemoon aracılığıyla dünya müziği ve belirli bir mekan üretimi arasındaki ilişkiyi incelemektedir. İstanbul imgesinin merkezi bir tema olduğu Doublemoon örneğinde temel soru bu firmanın ortaya çıkardığı dünya müziği üretim süreçlerindeki İstanbul'un ne olduğu sorusudur. Doublemoon İstanbul'u simgelediği düşünülen bir İstanbul sesi üretmeye çalışmaktadır. Bu haliyle ortaya çıkan İstanbul sesi halihazırda melezdir. Bu sesin melezliği Doublemoon'un ortaya koyduğu 'dünya sentezi' türünün kendisini İstanbul ya da İstanbullu kılmaktadır. İstanbul'a içkin görülen ya da onu sembolize ettiği düşünülen bu seslerin promosyonunda kullanılan albüm kapakları İstanbul'dan tanıdık manzaralar ya da simgeleri gösterirken albüm notları ve müzik bir tür biçimsel sentezi vurgulamakta ve üretmektedir. Örneğin *East 2 West* toplama albümüne yazılan notlarda albüm repertuarının 'sufi-electronica' dan 'groove alla turca', 'jazz' dan 'gypsy funk' a, 'oriental hip hop' dan 'Anatolian Blues' a bir yelpaze içerdiği belirtilmektedir. Firmanın adlandırdığı haliyle bu 'dünya sentezi' (world fusion) İstanbul'un Doğu ve Batı arasında bir köprü vazifesi gören bir anlamda klişeleşmiş imgesini tekrar üretmektedir. Daha da ötesi, bu dünya sentezi söylemsel olarak İstanbul'un o belirsiz konumuna yani şehrin mekansal ve kültürel aradılığına tekabül etmektedir. Diğer yandan, Doublemoon'un dünya müziği Kuzey Amerika ve Batı Avrupa'daki dünya müziği örneklerinden farklıdır. Ortaya konulan otantiklikten çok müzikal anlamda açık bir şekilde ortaya konulan bir tür sentez düşüncesidir. Bu sentez aracılığıyla yerel ve geleneksel olduğu düşünülen müzik formları bir anlamda yeniden keşfedilmekte ve şehrin yaygın bir orta sınıf izleyicisine sunulmaktadır. Benzer bir şekilde Doublemoon sanatçılarının merkezi roller aldıkları ve Doublemoon'un sahibi olan Pozitif müzik firmasının müzik danışmanlığını yaptığı Fatih Akın'ın *İstanbul Hatırası: Köprüyü Geçmek* filmi de İstanbul'u aradılığı ve de kozmopolitanlığı ile resmetmektedir. Bu kozmopolitanizm ve aradalık hali genelde özcü ve de etnikleştirilmiş Doğu ve Batı kavramlarıyla üretilmektedir.

Diğer önemli dünya müziği şirketi Kalan da söylemsel anlamda belirli bir yerellik üretimi ile işlemekte ve etnik ve kültürel farklılığı temel söylemsel unsurlar olarak kullanmaktadır. Bir anlamda ortaya çıkan sesler, klişeleşmiş bir şekilde söylenirse,

Anadolu'nun kültürel mozağini temsil etmektedirler. Doublemoon'da temel kavram sentez iken Kalan'ın ürettiği dünya müziği otantik formlara dönük açık bir nostalji fikri üzerinde temellenmektedir. Kalan aynı zamanda politik direniş ve etnik kimlik temalarının küresel bir dünya müziği marketinin talepleri ile kesişmesine güzel bir örnektir. Bu nokta Aynur Doğan örneğinde açık bir şekilde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Aynur'un Kürtlüğü bir yandan belirli bir çeşitlilik ve farklılık söylemiyle beslenirken aynı zamanda politik direniş temasıyla da güçlendirilmektedir. Bu bir anlamda ortaya çıkan sesleri üretilmiş ya da 'sentetik' olmaktan ziyade 'gerçek' kılmaktadır. Örneğin küresel dünya müziği marketinde çok önemli bir yeri olan *Folk Roots* müzik dergisinde Aynur Kürt müziğinin yeni yıldızı olarak adlandırılmış ve de çalışmada yer verilen diğer bazı uluslararası yayın organlarında da Aynur'un Kürtlüğü Güneydoğu'yu tarifleyen bir takım egzotik manzaralarla süslenerek öne çıkarılmıştır. Sanatçının sesi dağlardan gelen blues ya da puslu dağların, coşkun nehirlerin bir ifadesi olarak gösterilmiştir. Benzer bir şekilde Hasan Saltık bir zamanlar Kalan'ın albümleri yasaklanırken bugün yabancı heyetlere hediye olarak verildiğini belirtmiştir. Bu da Kalan'ın başlangıcından beri yayın politikasını belirleyen etnik farklılık ve politik direniş temalarının market anlamında nasıl bir değişikliğe uğradığının bir göstergesidir. Bu değişiklikte dünya müziği kategorisinin payı büyüktür.

Bu iki müzik firması dünya müziği aracılığı ile belirli bir yerelliğin ve de geleneksel formların metalaştırılmasına ve farklı kültürel ve mekansal sembollerin ve de etnik kimlik ya da politik tutumların belirli bir dünya müziği söylemine eklenmesine güzel bir örnek teşkil etmektedirler. Tartışma aynı zamanda otantisite kavramının prodüktörler açısından kendi müzikal öznelliklerini ve de firmaların pazar stratejilerini belirlemek açısından ne denli önemli olduğunu göstermektedir. Otantisite kavramı uzun bir süredir inandırıcılığını yitirmiş ve de problematik bir kavram gibi gözüксе de Taylor'ın (1997, 22) belirttiği gibi aslında aktörlerin söylemsel evreninde merkezi bir konumda bulunan bir söylemsel alanı teşkil etmekte ve bu haliyle 'gerçek' bir olguyu ifade etmektedir.

Roman müziği üzerine odaklanan dördüncü bölümde çingeneliğin ve de buna tekabül eden Roman topluluğu imgelerinin Türkiye’de belirli bir dünya müziği söylemine nasıl eklemlendiğini ve bu kavramların nasıl metalaştırıldığı tartışılmaktadır. Bu süreçte Romanlık farklı bağlamlarda farklı maskelere bürünmektedir: bir etnik kimlik olarak Romanlık, belirli bir topluluğa aidiyeti ya da bu topluluklara içkin kılınan yaşam tarzlarını benimsemeyi belirten bir imge olarak Romanlık, ya da birçok müzik formunu çalabilme yeteneği (*musical polyglottism*) ve bununla ilişkilendirilen kozmopolitanlığın belirtici olarak Romanlık gibi. Aktörlerin farklı piyasa stratejilerinde ya da müzikal öznelliklerini oluşturma biçimlerinde bu kavramlar farklı biçimlerde söylemsel olarak bir araya gelmekte ya da birbirlerini dışlamaktadırlar. Belirli bir Romanlık tahayyülü, hayali ve de kurgulanmış bir Roman yerelliği üzerine inşa edilmektedir. Roman müziği örneği dünya müziğinin belirli bir yerelliği inşa etme ve metalaştırma formlarına güzel bir örnek sunmaktadır.

Daha da ötesi, Roman müziğinin dünya müziğine eklemlenmesi Çingenelerle ilişkilendirilmiş müzikal pratiklerin anlamında da bir dönüşüme işaret etmektedir. Bu nokta çalışmada gırnata metaforu ile tartışılmaktadır. Gırnatanın bir müzik aleti olarak prestijindeki artış ve anlamsal dönüşümü, Roman müzik icra etme pratiklerinin neredeyse bir zanaattan gerçek anlamda bir sanata dönüşümüne tekabül etmektedir. Örneğin ünlü Roman klarnetçi Selim Sesler İngiliz Guardian gazetesi tarafından ‘Klarnetin Coltrane’i’ olarak tanıtılmaktadır. Bu uluslararası beğenilerin, Roman müzisyenlerin kendi pozisyonlarını dünya müziği sanatçısı olarak meşru bir biçimde tanımlamalarına ve de kendi topluluklarının müziğini ciddi sanat eleştirilerine ve de etnomüzikolojik çalışmalara mazhar olan gerçek sanat formları olarak görmelerine katkısı büyüktür.

Ancak özellikle klasikçiler arasında ve akademik çalışmaların birçoğunda Roman müzik icra biçimleri genellikle zanaat terimleriyle tanımlanmaktaydı. Bu müzik formları merkezi amacı eğlence olan kültürel formlar, ‘eğlencelik’, olarak tariflenmekteydi. Zanaattan sanata doğru algılama biçimlerindeki bu dönüşümde dünya müziğinin önemli bir payı vardır ve bu dönüşüm gırnatanın değişen statüsü ile

açıklanmaktadır. Önceden yerel üreticiler tarafından ve genellikle metalden üretilen ve büyük oranda Roman müzisyenler tarafından talep edilen gırnata giderek değerli ağaçlardan ve malzemedan yapılan ve standartlaşmış üretim biçimleri ile üretilen bir enstrümana dönüşmektedir. Aynı şekilde genelde Roman müzisyenlerle ilişkilendirilen icra tarzları (aynı biçimde gırnataya da yüklenmiş olan bu tarzlar) örneğin koma (Batı müziğinde iki notayı eşit olarak bölen sesler arasındaki tonlar) kullanımındaki göreceli serbestlik önceden müzik formlarının otantisitesini ve de 'özünü' bozan biçimler olarak görülmekte ve aşağılayıcı anlamda macun ya da ağdalı çalma biçimi olarak görülmekteydi. Hala yaygın olan bu anlayışa göre bu icra biçimleri Türk müziğinin icrasında kabul edilemez ve de müzik formlarının 'aslını' bozan biçimler olarak görülmektedir. Çalışmada ayrıntısıyla gösterildiği gibi birtakım yorumculara göre bu icra biçimleri gerçekleştirilmesi üstün virtüözite gerektiren ancak aynı zamanda bir tür yozlaşmaya neden olan icra biçimleridir. Bir anlamda Romanların enstrümanları üzerindeki insanüstü virtüöziteleri Romanların diğer geleneksel mesleklerindeki, akrobatlık ya da kuklacılık gibi, şaşırtma unsurunun bir parçası olarak tariflenmektedir. Ancak Roman müziği dünya müziğine eklemlendikçe Romanlara özgü icra biçimleri ve müzik formları 'gerçek' sanat formları olarak yeniden tariflenmiştir. Örneğin çalışmada gösterildiği gibi Hüsnü Şenlendirici yaratıcı yorumuna yol açan belirli icra biçimlerinin, hatta 'macun' un, icrada gevşeklik ya da bozulma değil bilakis zenginlik olduğunu ve de müzisyenin farkını ortaya koyduğunu ifade etmektedir.

Roman müziği üzerine odaklanan bu bölümdeki farklı örnekler aynı zamanda otantisitenin müzisyenlerin müzikal özelliklerini oluşturmakta ve de kendilerini müzik endüstrisi içinde konumlandırma biçimlerinde temel önemde olduğunu göstermektedir. Kültürel (etnomüzikolojik) otantisiteden, samimiyet veya belirli bir topluluğa ait olduğu düşünülen bir tür duygulanımın tezahürü olarak otantisiteye geçiş Selim Sesler'in zaman içinde albümlerindeki değişime bakılarak görülebilir. Bu iki farklı otantisite formunun Roman topluluğuna aidiyet ve de belirli bir Roman yerelliğini belirten duygulara yaslanarak nasıl oluştuğu tartışılmıştır. Bu otantisite formları Hüsnü Şenlendirici örneğinde bir tür orijinallik ya da içtenlik otantisitesine

dönüşmüştür. Ancak bu örnekte de bu formlar Romanlığa içkin görülen ve de Romanların birçok müzik formunu icra etme yetenekleri ile birleşen bir tür kozmopolitanlık ile beslenmektedir. Bu anlamda Roman kimliği aktörlerin stratejilerindeki işlevi ve de kendilerini piyasa içinde konumlama biçimleri açısından Janus yüzlü bir biçime dönüşmüştür. Roman kimliği ve bunun müzikteki somutlaşmış biçimleri bir yandan belirli bir topluluk aidiyetini çağrıştırmakta ve bu biçimleri dünya müziği söyleminde ‘yerel müzik’ olarak kodlayacak en uygun söylemsel unsurların kaynağıdır. Diğer yandan ise Romanlık müzikle ilişkilendirilmiş olan sembolik dilde belirli bir kozmopolitanlığı ortaya çıkaracak halleri söylemsel olarak üretmektedir. Dolayısıyla bir Roman yerelliğinin inşası Romanlığa atfedilen farklı anlamların karşılıklı etkileşimin sonucudur. Bazen Romanlık, Roman topluluklarının ‘sıcaklığı’ ve duygusu ve de bununla beraber işleyen topluluk aidiyeti ile, bazen de farklı müzikal kaynaklara açıklık ve bununla birlikte gelen müzikal olarak çok farklı formları bir arada icra etme yetisi (*musical polyglottism*), dolayısıyla kozmopolitanlık ile tanımlanmaktadır. Bir anlamda ikinci tanımlama biçimi Roman müzisyenleri sentez çalışmaları için biçilmiş kaftan yaparken, ilki yerel ya da topluluk için(de) çalınan müziğin en uygun icracıları olarak Roman müzisyenleri göstermektedir.

Roman müziğin dünya müziğine eklemlenme sürecinde etnisite ve yerellik (ya da topluluk aidiyeti) arasındaki karşılıklı etkileşim merkezi önemdedir. Ancak yerellik düşüncesi bu süreçte daha önemli ve de uyandırılması daha kolay bir unsurdur. Küresel dünya müziği piyasasında Çingenelerle ilişkilendirilen müzik formlarında Roma kimliği baskın bir unsur olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Türkiye’de ise etnik kimliğe doğrudan vurgu yapan kültürel formların popüler müzik piyasasında çok da makul ve uygulanabilir olmadığını gözlüyoruz. Roman müziği için bu durum aynı zamanda Türkiye’deki Romanların etnik kimlik algısı ile de ilgilidir. Roman toplulukları Avrupa’daki Roma aktivistleri tarafından etnik bilinç yokluğu yüzünden sıkça eleştirilmektedir. Türkiye’de Roman etnisitesi, Roman müziğin dünya müziğine eklemlenme süreçlerinde Roman topluluk aidiyetinin ve yerellik duygusunun inşasında hayli uysallaştırılmış ve de pazarlanabilir bir ‘renge’ dönüştürülmüş bir

formda varolmaktadır. Ortaya çıkan Roman imajı veya özcü bir Roman topluluğu fikri Romanlığa dair popüler bir takım imajlara dayanmaktadır.

Roman müziği örneği aynı zamanda kültürel sermaye formlarının önceden tanımlanmış formlar olmadığını küresel dünya müzik endüstrisi tarafından belirlendiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu formlar dünya müziği piyasalarının taleplerine göre yerel mekânda uyarlanmakta ve yeniden tanımlanmaktadırlar. Roman bir topluluktan gelmek ya da gelmemek, alaylı ya da okullu olmak veya müzisyen bir aileden gelmek ya da gelmemek gibi birçok unsur ‘geçerli’ kültürel sermaye formlarını belirleyen temel unsurlardandır. Bu farklı kültürel sermaye formları müzik enstrümanlarının ve dünya müziğine dâhil edilen Roman müziği formlarının icra biçimlerinde somutlaşmaktadır. Örneğin alaylı olma çoklukla gırnatadaki virtüözite ile ilişkilenmekte ve de sadece akademik müzik eğitimi ile kazanılamayacak bir beceri olarak kavramsallaştırılmaktadır. Dolayısıyla, alaylı olma ve de resmi bir müzik eğitimi alma (alaylı olmaksızın) arasındaki fark dünya müziği olarak kodlanan Roman müziği alanındaki geçerli kültürel sermaye formlarını tanımlamakta merkezi önemdedir. Dahası, tartışmanın konusu olan müzisyenler müzikal söylemlerine Romanlığı farklı beceriler ve müzikal öznelliklere tekabül edecek şekillerde eklemlenmektedir. Bu eklemlenme biçimleri bir tür Roman parokyalizminden belirli bir kozmopolitanizme kadar uzanan bir çizgide meydana gelmektedir. Müzisyenler küresel bir dünya müziği söylemini kendi Romanlıklarını anlama ve yorumlama biçimleri temelinde uyarlamakta ve yeniden tanımlamaktadırlar. Ödüllerin Roman olma kriterine göre dağıtıldığı bir alanda örneğin Hüsnü Şenlendirici belirli bir kozmopolitanizmi Roman topluluğuna aidiyet ile süslemek zorundadır. Hatta Romanlığını söylemsel olarak bu kozmopolitan tutumları doğrulamak ve desteklemek için kullanmaktadır.

Alan araştırmasının bulgularını tartıştığım son bölümde, Sufi müziğin dünya müziğine nasıl eklemlendiğini ve bu süreçte Sufi müziği uluslararası piyasalarda ‘işler’ hale getiren söylemsel derlemeleri ve yerdeğiştirmeleri tartıştım. Piyasa terimlerine göre başarılı sayılacak bir Sufi müzik eklemlemesi uluslararası izleyici tarafından

anlaşılabilirliği açısından ince bir denge temelinde oluşmaktadır. Eğer ortaya çıkan formlar ve uyandırılan temalar tamamen anlaşılır ve de tanıdık olursa bu formlar fazlaca Batılı tınlayacaktır. Diğer yandan eğer bu formlar tamamen anlaşılmaz ve mesafeli kılınırsa müstakbel izleyiciden tamamen kopuk bir düzleme yerleşecektir. Bu bölümde tartışılan temel iki müzisyen olan Süleyman Erguner ve Mercan Dede aslında Mevlevi müzik formlarının dünya müziğine eklemlenmesi açısından iki farklı biçimi ve buna tekabül eden farklı ruhanilik inşalarını örneklemektedir. Örneğin Mercan Dede’de ruhanilik inşası farklı bağlamlarda farklı temaları uyandıracak olan yüzergezer söylemsel elementlere, örneğin kozmopolitanizm ve hümanizm kavramlarına, dayanmaktadır. Bu kavramlar söylemsel olarak Sufizmde temel bir temayı yani insanların ve evrenin birliği- tevhid düşüncesini- gösterecek şekilde yer değiştirmekte ve eklemlenmektedirler. Bu süreç müzikal yapı ve söylemde de kristalleşmektedir. Mercan Dede basitçe yan yana gelme şeklinde tanımlanamayacak olan dikişleri belirsizleşen bir ‘bir arada olma’ hali estetiğini müzikal enstrümanları kullanımı açısından benimsediğini belirtmektedir. Bu bir arada bulunma hali bu enstrümanların anlamsal evreninin aslında başlangıçta bir olması ve de aynı şeyleri ifade ettikleri inancında temellenmektedir. Bu durum Mercan Dede’ye göre aynı zamanda insanların hangi kökenden gelirlerse gelsinler aynı şeyi söyledikleri ve aynı yere ‘yolculuk ettikleri’ varsayımı ile birleşerek evrenin ve insanların birliği yani tevhid inancını yansıtan bir estetik söylem haline gelmektedir.

Mercan Dede’nin *sampling* yöntemi de bu kavramların estetik anlamda cisimleşmesi olarak görülebilir ve temelde teknik olarak yaptakçılığa (*bricolage*) dayanmaktadır. Örneğin Sufi düşüncesinde merkezi bir tema olan vecd fikri belirli bir dinsel geleneğe doğrudan gönderme yapmayan bir trans ya da ekstazi halini alır. Bu trans kavramının temel işlevi insanları bu dünyanın materyallüğinden uzaklaştırmaktır. Bu fikir 800 albümündeki kanat imgeleri ile sembolize edilmektedir. Mercan Dede DJ geleneğinden geldiği için kulüp kültürlerindeki bu trans kavramı hâlihazırda kendisi için hayli tanıdık bir düşünceyi ifade eder. Diğer yandan Erguner’in Sufi müzik formlarını ve temalarını eklemleme biçimleri özellikle dünya müziğinin ilk dönemlerinde yaygın olan açık ve doğrudan bir egzotikliği örneklemektedir. Bu

mantık içerisinde ortaya çıkan sesler uluslararası bir izleyici kitlesi için ne kadar garip ve belirsiz olursa bu seslerin o kitle tarafından o kadar ruhani ve de egzotik görüleceği şeklinde bir varsayım gizli ya da açık bir şekilde varolmaktadır. Sıradan bir dünya müziği dinleyicisi için Erguner örneğindeki formların ne kadar anlamlı olduğu tartışma götürmektedir. Bahsi geçen formlar seslerin bir egzotiklik etkisi yaratacak ya da olası izleyici kitlesi ile arasına mesafe koyacak bir tür ekleme biçiminin ürünleridirler. Bu sonucun müzisyenin ‘niyetleri’ ile ilgisi sınırlıdır. Belirli bir yerellikteki izleyici algıları ile uluslararası izleyici kitlesinin algısı arasında bir takım farklar vardır. Dolayısıyla müzisyenin niyetlerinden ve amaçlarından farklı olarak bu formların hitap ettiği izleyici kitlesi tarafından nasıl alındığı ve nasıl yorumlandığı daha çok önem kazanmaktadır.

Diğer yandan, Sufi müzik formlarının piyasa anlamında başarılı sonuçlar doğurduğu görülen eklemlenme biçiminin örneği olarak Mercan Dede’de ruhanilik, kişisel dönüşüm, ruhani yolculuk fikrine dayanan bir bireysellik ve de henüz keşfedilmemiş bir şey olarak kurulan mistik (*enigmatic*) benlik fikrine dayanmaktadır. Bu noktada bu ruhanilik inşasını anlamak için dinsel ve ruhanilik arasında bir ikilik kurmaktayım. Tartışmada bazı yazarlara referansla postmodern ruhanilik olarak adlandırdığım biçimler yeni bir tür özcülüğe ve de aşkınlığa yönelen arzu ile temellenmektedir. Bu biçimler belirli bir dinsel gelenekle ilişkilenen ahlaki ya da etik zorunluluklardan bağımsız gibi görünmektedirler. Bu kavram Mercan Dede müziği ile inşa edilen ruhanilik biçimlerine uymaktadır. Antik evrensel kozmolojilerle, albüm serisinin üzerine dayandığı Dört Element kozmolojisi gibi, sarmalanmış olan Mevlevi imajları kişisel ruhani yolculuk ve bireysel yol fikri ile söylemsel olarak birleştirilmektedir. Bu kavramlar sonra kozmopolitanlık ve evrenselcilik gibi söylemlerle bezenmekte ve de bu alarım örneğın tevhid gibi Sufi temaları ile uyumlu hale gelecek biçimlerde yer değıştirmekte ve bir araya gelmektedirler. Ortaya çıkan ruhanilik biçimi tabiri caizse bir tür ehlileştirilmiş ya da yumuşatılmış bir ruhanilik biçimidir. Çünkü ortaya çıkan formlar ve temalar önceden sahip oldukları merkezi dinsel yan anlamları tamamen kendilerinden kopacak şekilde söylemsel olarak yer değıştirmeye tabi tutulmuşlar ve bağlamsızlaştırılmışlardır.

Çalışmanın başlarında alıntılanan Ali Coşar'ın ifadesi doğru gibi görünmektedir. Sufi müzik “tek başına” bir şey yapmamaktadır. Bu formlar müzikal ve tematik açıdan tercüme edilmek zorundadır. Roman müziğin otantik ve yerel olarak tanımlanan biçimleri dünya müzik piyasası terimleriyle başarılı örnekler oluşturabilme potansiyeli taşıırken bu tür Sufi müzik formları ancak uluslararası izleyiciye anlaşılabilir gelen ve onlarla arasına mesafe koyan bir tür egzotiklik yaratabilmektedirler.

Örneğin bir Roman geleneğinden gelme dünya müziğine dâhil edilen Roman müziği alanında başarı için anahtar iken durum Sufi müzik için böyle değildir. Mercan Dede'nin belirli bir Sufi geleneğinden gelme yönünde (ailesel ya da tekke bağlantısı anlamında) belirgin bir iddiası olmamasına rağmen uluslararası medyada derviş olarak anılmakta hayli başarılı olmuştur. Roman müzikte belirli bir Roman geleneğinden gelme müzikal icra anlamında da önemli etkileri olduğu düşünülen bir unsurdur. Gerçek bir Roman gibi çalma ya da gırnatada virtüözite küresel piyasalarda başarı için bir önşarttır. Sufi müzikte ise ney icrasındaki virtüözite veya belirli bir tarikatla olan bağlantı (ya da belirli bir Sufi gelenekten gelme) piyasalarda başarı ile zorunlu olarak ilişkili olmayan unsurlar olarak görülmektedirler. Ney icrasındaki düzey o denli ilgisiz görünmektedir ki ney sesi Mercan Dede'nin müziğinde kimi zaman *sample* ya da motif olarak bile varolabilmektedir.

‘Yerel’ kaynakların eklemlenmesi ve kendine mal etme biçimleri ve küresel dünya müziği söyleminin uyarlanması küresel tarafından yerel olarak tariflenen mekândaki farklı alanlarda değişkenlik göstermektedir. Farklı müzik formlarına tekabül eden farklı alanlar farklı söylemsel mekanizmaları ve müzikal estetik biçimlerini içermekte ve farklı formlar ve temalar küresel bir dünya müziği söylemini uyarlamakta ve eklemlenmekte kullanılmaktadırlar. Kurgusal ve de hayali bir yerelliğe ait olduğu düşünülen unsurlar ile küresel kültürel formlara ait olduğu düşünülen söylemler arasındaki söylemsel topografyalar belirli dinamikler ile işlemektedir. Çalışma boyunca söylemsel derlemeler, yerdeğıştirmeler ve eklemlenmeler olarak tariflenen ve örneklenen bu mekanizmalar aynı zamanda kültürel üretimde yerel-küresel arasında kurulan ikiliğin doğası üzerine belirli ipuçları sunmaktadır. Bu çalışmadaki temel

varsayım bu küresel kültürel üretim biçimlerinin belirli yerellikleri ve toplulukların yeniden keşfine ve inşasına dayanmakta olduğudur. Bu varsayım metalaşmamış ‘saf’ bir yerellik olgusunun peşine düşmenin beyhude bir uğraş olduğu noktasını önvarsaymaktadır.

Küresel kültürel formların üretimi yerelin ve küreselin piyasada ticarileştirilme söylemlerine ve aktörlerin üretim sürecindeki buna karşılık gelen stratejilerine bağlıdır. Bu süreçte yerelin kendisi küresel olmaktadır. Paradoksal olarak belirli bir yerelliği temsil ettiği düşünülen bir küresel formun o ‘yereldeki’ üretim süreçlerindeki söylemler aslında hiçbir zaman tümel hale gelmemiş bir küreselliğin (*globality*) parçalarını oluşturmaktadır. Aslında kültürel formların üretim süreçlerinde açıklaştığı üzere küresellik söylemleri, farklı yerellikteki küresel formların üretim süreçlerindeki eklemlenmeler, yerdeğiştirmeler ve derlemeler aracılığıyla oluşan söylemsel alışımaların bir toplamını ifade etmektedir. Bu süreçte görünürde ne kadar geleneksel veya ‘yerel’ görünürlerse görünsünler kültürel formlar bu küresellik parçalarından seçilen söylemsel unsurlarla etkileşim halinde üretilen piyasa söylemleriyle satılmakta ve de bu süreç bu formları artık ‘küresel’ kılmaktadır. Yerelin küresel olması şeklinde bazı banalleşmiş yaklaşımlara benzeyeceği düşüncesiyle tereddütle tarifleyeceğim bu süreç, aynı zamanda yerele içkin gibi görünen otantisite veya geleneksellik gibi bazı kavramları tekrar düşünmemize yol açmaktadır. Araştırmada ayrıntılı olarak gösterildiği gibi bu kavramlar birçok farklı bağlamda bambaşka söylemsel unsurları ifade eden söylemsel stratejilerin kaynakları olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bazı bağlamlarda açıkça sentez fikrini ifade eden müzikal formlar otantisiteyi duyuran tematik unsurlarla birleşmekte ya da tam tersi durumlar ortaya çıkabilmektedir. Ya da belirli bir etnisiteye ya da topluluk aidiyetine gönderme yapan söylemsel alanlar yer yer tam bir parokyalizme yer yer de kozmopolitanizme kaynaklık etmektedir. Daha ilginç bu iki farklı alanın yerellik, geleneksellik, orijinalite, sentez gibi bambaşka müzikal öznellik formlarını aynı anda bambaşka örtülerle duyurabilmesidir.

Ortaya çıkan dünya müziği kategorisi yerel olarak tariflenen alanda birçok alt tür barındırmaktadır. Bu farklı türlerin üretim biçimlerine tekabül eden farklı alanlarda değişik söylemsel unsurları eklemlleyen, bunları belirli bir dünya müziği söylemine çeviren birçok farklı aktör bulunmaktadır. Bu süreçte bu alt türler içerisinde de alt alanlar oluşmakta ve bu alt alanlarda da söylemsel eklemlenmeler ve derlemeler değişkenlik göstermektedir. Aktörlerin değişen piyasa stratejileri bu söylemsel mekanizmalar tarafından belirlenmektedir. Bu alanlar içerisinde yerele ait bir takım özellikler dünya müziğinin üretimi sürecinde belirli bir arzu nesnesine dönüştürülmektedirler. Bu unsurlar arasında geleneksel olan, üretilmiş olanın karşısında gerçek olan (ya da ‘politik’ olan), otantik olan, mistik ya da ruhani olan gibi birçok biçim bulunmakta bunlar ilgili alana özgü söylemsel mekanizmalarla oluşturulmaktadır. Bu mekanizmalar aynı zamanda müzik üretim biçimlerine dair farklı kimlik ve stratejiler üretmektedir. Örneğin kaybolan bir geçmişi günışığına çıkarma yani otantik olduğu düşünülen ‘başlangıç’ formlarının ‘arşivi’ ya da belirli bir etnik kimlik ya da topluluk aidiyeti üzerinden kurulmaya çalışılan bir yerellik ve bu yerelliğe ait olduğu düşünülen duyguların ve de yaşama halinin yeniden üretilmesi, vb. Dahası, söylemsel mekanizmaları işleten aktörler müzisyenler ve prodüktörler ile sınırlı değildir: müzikologlar, teknisyenler, girişimciler, stüdyo müzisyenleri, grafikerler ve ressam, enstrüman yapımcıları, albüm notlarını yazan insanlar gibi. Burada hem farklı aktörlerle işleyen ve de bu aktörlerin ilişki biçimlerinin diğer aktörleri etkilediği bir ağ oluşmaktadır.

Dünya müziği olgusunun incelenmesi göstermektedir ki belirli bir kültürel formun üretimi söylemsel olarak çok karmaşık bir takım mekanizmalara dayanmaktadır. Farklı alanlarda farklı bir takım ‘yerel’ kaynakların kullanımı ile oluşan söylemsel unsurlar bu alanlar arasında yerdeğıştirmekte, üstüste binmekte veya bağlamsızlaştırılmaktadır. Aslında küresel bir kültürel form olarak görülen dünya müziğinin alt türleri ve bu alt türler içerisindeki farklı alanlar ve farklı söylemsel mekanizmalar belirli bir kültürel formun oluşumunda aktörlerin piyasa stratejilerinin ve de buna bağlı olarak gelişen söylemsel alanların süreci ne kadar karmaşılaştığını göstermektedir. Aynı kategori içerisinde birçok farklı mücadele alanı ve de söylemsel

dinamik işlemektedir. Bu farklı türler bir dünya müziği kategorisinde birleştirilseler ve belirli bir takım söylemsel özellikleri paylaşıyorlar da aslında birbirinden farklı kuralların ve de stratejilerin rol oynadığı farklı alanları oluşturuyor gibi gözükmektedirler.

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