

SYMBIOGENESIS AND REPRESENTATION:  
A HISTORY OF GRECO-TURKISH SONG TRANSLATION  
1908 – 2012

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SYMBIOGENESIS AND REPRESENTATION:  
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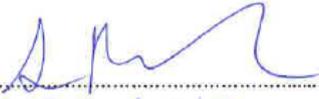
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2017

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## ABSTRACT

### Symbiogenesis and Representation: A History of Greco-Turkish Song Translation

1908 – 2012

The present study problematizes the alleged originality of songs that exist both in Greek and Turkish from the perspective of translation studies. Reviewing recent works on song translation, it points to a need for a historical method that integrates music and translation. Fusing Michel Foucault's notion of "descent" with the notion of "interculture", the study provides an understanding of the late Ottoman music scene, where musicians from different *millet*s in the Ottoman Empire engaged in translatorial performance activities highly dependent upon notions of "mobility", "orality" and "porosity". Underscoring the historical impossibility of defining any song dating back to the late Ottoman context as a "Greek" or "Turkish" original, the study proposes the term "symbiogenesis": the songs created by "anonymous contributors" not from nation-states, but from different *millet*s in the Ottoman context. Applying Michel Foucault's concepts of "emergence" and "masking" to the representations of the songs after the population exchange, the study demonstrates how "rewriting" practices at different levels can conceal the symbiogenetic nature of the songs at moments of political hostility or reveal the Greco-Turkish song symbiogenesis at moments of political rapprochement. With three case studies devoted to comparative analyses of song recordings from 1908 to 2012, the present study casts light on how a "genealogical" approach to interlingual and intralingual song translation can contribute to an "effective" understanding of ties between history and representation of songs at climactic moments.

## ÖZET

Symbiogenesis ve Sunuluşları:

Bir Yunan-Türk Şarkı Çevirisi Tarihi

1908 – 2012

Söz konusu çalışma hem Türkçe hem de Yunancası bulunan şarkıların sözde orijinalliğini çeviribilim bakış açısından sorunsallaştırıyor. Şarkı çevirisi alanında son zamanlarda yapılan çalışmalarda müzik ve çeviriyi iç içe geçirebilecek bir tarih yöntemine duyulan ihtiyaca dikkat çekiyor. Bu noktada Michel Foucault'nun “kuşak” kavramını bir çeviribilim terimi olan “örtüşük kültür” ile birleştirerek, farklı Osmanlı *millet*lerinden müzisyenlerin “hareketlilik”, “sözlü kültür” ve “geçirgenlik” temellerine dayanan çeviri-icra faaliyetlerine geç Osmanlı döneminde müzik bağlamında ele alıyor. Geç Osmanlı döneminde ortaya çıkan ortak hiçbir parçanın “Türk” ya da “Yunan” olarak tanımlanmasının tarihi açıdan mümkün olmayacağını vurgulayarak, “symbiogenesis” terimini öneriyor ve söz konusu şarkıların, tarihteki bağlamlarından koparılmadan, ulus-devletlerden değil, Osmanlı milletlerinden olan anonim müzisyenlerince yaratıldığını gösteriyor. Çalışma, şarkıların nüfus mübadelesinden sonraki farklı sunuluşlarını ise Michel Foucault'nun “ortaya çıkış” ve “maskeleye” kavramları ile açıklayarak, şarkıların farklı boyutlarındaki “yeniden yazma” uygulamalarıyla, siyasal düşmanlık zamanlarında Yunan-Türk ortak yaratımlarının nasıl yalnızca “Türk” ya da “Yunan” olarak gösterilebileceğini, siyasal uzlaşma zamanlarında ise nasıl ortak eserler olduklarının vurgulanabileceğini gösteriyor. 1908 ve 2012 yılları arasında yayınlanan çeşitli şarkı kayıtlarını da üç farklı konu başlığı altında karşılaştırmalı olarak inceleyen çalışma, dillerarası ve diliçi şarkı çevirisini ele alırken tarihi bakış açısının önemini vurguluyor.

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In loving memory of my grandfathers and my beloved cat,

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

A small, smoke-hazed tavern. The friendly waiter keeps rushing from one table to the other with *mezes* in hand. The two musicians in the corner keep on playing. I look at the portrait on the wall and ask my friend who he is. “Eleftherios Venizelos,” he says. The name sounds familiar, but I had never seen his picture before. He finishes his sentence: “But don’t worry, no one in this tavern is a nationalist!” We exchange smiles. Then the *bouzouki* player starts a song. Giorgos turns to me and says, “there, this song is yours, it is a Turkish song, *re!*” I try to spot the melody, and yes, it sounds somewhat familiar. It’s my time to return this favor now: “Giorgo mou, perhaps it’s not *ours*, but *yours* - a Greek song, how can we be sure?”

Various songs sung in Turkish today are also sung in other languages such as English, French, Armenian, Russian, Bulgarian, and last but not least, Greek. Tunes which are known and sung along by almost anyone living in present-day Turkey such as “*Ada Sahillerinde Bekliyorum*” [Waiting on Island Shores] , “*Haydi Söyle*” [Tell Me Now], “*Her Şeyi Yak*” [Burn Everything Down], “*Senden Başka*” [No One But You], “*Olmasa Mektubun*” [If It Weren’t for Your Letter], “*Telli Turna*” [Demoiselle Crane], “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” [Poplars of İzmir], “*Telgrafın Telleri*” [Telegraph Wires], “*Cevriye Hanım*” [Madame Cevriye] and “*Yiğidim Arslanım Burada Yatıyor*” [Here Lies My Lionheart] are in fact songs also existing in Greek. When the individual histories of these songs are taken into consideration, it can be seen that some of them clearly acknowledge the fact that they were composed in Greek and re-lyricized in Turkish, or composed in Turkish and re-lyricized in Greek, constituting

typical examples of source song-target song pairs existing in both languages and cultures. The others, on the other hand, seem to differ in terms of representation in Greece and Turkey. Adopting an approach that lies at the crossroads of translation, history and music, the present study attempts to account for the anonymous songs that exist in both Greek and Turkish lyrics. Since such anonymous songs and their “masked” (Foucault, 1977) representations have hitherto constituted a “blank space” (Santoyo, 2006), the present study can be deemed fairly innovative in terms of its subject matter: problematizing Greco-Turkish shared songs from a translation studies perspective with an emphasis on the intersection of translation, music and history.

An example of shared songs would be a version of one of the songs enumerated above – a rather popular tune in Turkish: “*Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar*” [Do Birds Land on Telegraph Wires?], various rewritings of which are enlisted both in Appendix A and Appendix B. The song is registered under the Turkish State Radio and Television Institution as “anonymous” (TRT, 2006, p. 741, Kompotiati, 2005, p. 50).<sup>1</sup> Interestingly enough, another version of this song with Greek lyrics, is registered in Greece under Panagiotis Toundas’s name as “*Aeroplano Tha Paro*” [I am Taking the Plane] (Voulgaris and Vantarakis 2006, p. 257).

In the documentary *Chia e tazi pesen?* [Whose is This Song?] (Milovanovich, Powels & Peeva, 2003), Adela Peeva embarks upon a journey to discover the original version of a song which is known in Turkish as “*Üsküdar’a Gideriken*” [On My Way to Üsküdar]. As shown in the documentary, there are many different versions of this song in different languages, including Serbian, Bulgarian and Greek. Peeva (2003) goes to each specific country and talks to different people, and always

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B for different versions of this tune.

gets different answers as to whom and which nation-state the song in question “originally” belongs.

The issue of songs existing in more than one language and leading to questions of originality has also been problematized from the perspective of musicology. Risto Pekka Pennanen refers to songs existing in more than one language as follows:

I do not ask if a piece of music is national [...] This would only produce subjective judgements. Instead, it is more fruitful to ask in what way and in which context a piece is considered [as such]. (2004, pp. 14, 15)

I emphatically agree with Risto Pekka Pennanen on the importance of exploring “in what way and in which context” (2004, pp. 14,15) a song is, in his terms “considered” (2004, pp. 14,15), or in my terms, *represented* as Greek or Turkish. Still, before elaborating on such later versions of a particular song, tracking down its earliest version(s) in history may help provide a fuller picture. This way, the potential transformation(s) in representation might be clearer due to comparative contextual and musical analysis. At this point, the earliest known recordings of such shared songs can give an idea on the dates they were performed: the earliest known recordings of songs in Greek and Turkish such as “*Telgrafın Tellerine/Aeroplano Tha Paro*” [Telegraph Lines/Taking the Plane], “*İzmir’in Kavakları /Tsakitzi /Chakidjis*” [The Poplars of İzmir/Tsakitzi the Brave], “*Seni Gördükçe/Feretze Foro*” [The More I See You/Wearing a Veil], “*Xarıklaki/Darıldın mı Cicim Bana*” [Xarıklaki/Got Offended, Dear?] date back to the first decades of the twentieth century. The juxtaposition of these different but contemporary recordings reveals an important fact: the music is the same, while the languages used in versions of the

same tune differ. Moreover, the languages are not limited to Greek and Turkish only. The earliest known recording of the still-popular song “*Darıldın mı Cicim Bana?*” [Offended With Me Dear?], for example, dates back to the early 1920s (*Dareldime Tzitzim Bana*, 1922). Interestingly enough, this recording was soon followed by “*Hokvon Siretsi*” (1928), another recording of the same tune in Armenian, which was released by M. Douzjian within the same decade. Another example of such linguistic diversity would be a still-popular song “*Ada Sahillerinde Bekliyorum/Matia Mou*” [Waiting on Island Shores/My Eyes] which exists in not only Greek and Turkish but also Arabic (Theodorelis-Rigas 2011). “*Seni Gördükçe*” [The More I See You] (1908) and “*Feretze Foro*” [Wearing a Face Veil] (1908) are also worth mentioning: they were released within the same year as two separate recordings, in Greek and Turkish, which can even be considered a Greco-Turkish twin vinyl release on grounds that the music and the arrangement were exactly the same and the only difference was the language used in the lyrics.

Another fact I would like to underline as to these song recordings is the heterogeneity of performers. The example I cited above, “*Darıldın mı Cicim Bana*” [Got Offended with Me, Dear?], was sung by a Madame Mary Steele (1922). In addition to her name as indicated on the vinyl, the way she sings the song in Turkish with a heavy accent also gives the impression that the language is not her mother tongue. Similarly, Haim Efendi, who performs “*Chakidji*” [A Nickname for the Folk Hero] (1908), was an Ottoman-Jew (Öztuna, 1990). Panagiotis Toundas, who produced “*Aeroplano Tha Paro*” [Taking the Plane] (1933) in Greece and in Greek, was a Smyrni-born Anatolian Christian, who had to leave İzmir/Smyrni due to the

Population Exchange in the early 1920s (Tambouris, 2008, p. 92).<sup>2</sup> All this heterogeneity, of both the song versions and their performers, makes it necessary to study the late Ottoman context, where these songs were first performed in different languages by individuals of such diverse backgrounds.

The Ottoman government system divided its subjects into four main groups on the basis of religion. In hierarchical order, these groups were the Muslims, the Greeks, the Armenians and the Jews (B. Lewis, 1995, p. 322). These different groups should not be thought of as, among other things, linguistically and ethnically homogeneous within themselves. The Muslims were made up of speakers of such languages as Greek, Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, Albanian and several Balkan and Caucasian languages (B. Lewis, 1995, p. 322). The Greeks, in Bernard Lewis's terms, were "equally diverse" (1995, p. 322): not only ethnic Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Romanians and Albanians, but also speakers of Arabic and Turkish constituted them (B. Lewis, 1995, p. 322). This varied and mixed use of languages was also reflected in recordings by Ottoman-Greek singers, which contained a mixture of languages, usually Greek and Turkish (Pennanen, 2004, p. 17). There were even vinyls performed in Turkish on the one side, and in Greek on the other (Pennanen, 2004, p. 17). An example of such a bilingual vinyl is "*O Giatros/Aman Doktor*" [Oh, Doctor!] performed by Amalia Bakas (Pennanen, 2004, p. 21). Another example is the already-mentioned "*Seni Gördükçe/Feretze Foro*" [The More I See You/Wearing a Face Veil] performed by Haim Efendi on one recording (1908) and Gülistan Hanım and Arab Mehmet on another (1908).

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<sup>2</sup> The population exchange, elaborated further on in Chapter 3 below, refers to the exchange of the Ottoman-Orthodox population living within the boundaries of the Turkish Republic with the Muslim population living within the boundaries of the Hellenic Republic in 1922 (Clark 2006; Emery 2000; Lewis 1961; Mazower 2004; and Tambouris 2008).

From today's perspective, it is possible to see the early 20th century Ottoman non-instrumental music production context as a mixed culture consisting *inter alia* of Greek and Turkish languages. The diversity, as briefly demonstrated above, also suggests that even merely looking at the language of a given song cannot reveal the source thereof. The fact that a given song was written in Turkish does not mean it was written by the Ottoman Muslims, who continued to be defined as Turkish citizens after the declaration of the Turkish Republic. The highly heterogeneous nature of the four main groups in the Ottoman social classification system makes it impossible to look at the recording of a particular song and determine which of these divided groups composed the song in question.

Moreover, just as it is not possible to denote to which nation the song belongs, finding out who composed the song is problematic. This is because the name on the first known recording is most probably the performer of the song, not the composer and/or the lyricist (Ünlü, 2004, p. 136). Looking at the first recording of the song "*Chakidji Turkusu*" [The Chakidji Song] (1908), which is known today as "*İzmir'in Kavakları*" [The Poplars of İzmir], and seeing the name Haim Efendi, who belonged, as his biography reveals, to the Jewish community in the Ottoman Empire, by no means indicates that the song in question was composed by the Ottoman-Jews or Haim Efendi. He was merely one of the many performers of the song who happened to have made the first recording by coincidence. When recording technologies were first used in the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the twentieth century, the first recordings were coincidentally made - coincidental as to who might have first recorded the songs that kept being orally transmitted until that time (Gauntlett 1985, p. 54, Ünlü 2004, p. 136). Therefore, many songs must have spread from one performer to the other until they finally ended up being recorded by one of

them for the very first time in history, as in the case of “*Chakidji Turkusu*” [The Chakidji Song] performed by Haim Efendi in 1908 for the very first time in history. Therefore, the non-existence of a composer on vinyls released within the first decades of the twentieth century can be acknowledged as indicative of the heterogeneous Ottoman social and cultural context and symbiotic song creation.

The rise of nationalism changed these conditions drastically. When Turkey emerged as a nation state after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the subsequent population exchange, the songs assumed a new identity from the perspective of both “nations” and the people who began to see themselves as belonging to either of these nations. In another article, Risto Pekka Pennanen (1995) demonstrates how representations of the Ottoman past as well as the Turkish language disappeared from early Rebetika releases in Greece in the 1920s. Instead of referring to a song in Turkish originating from the Ottoman past, the term “Arabic-Persian” was used (Pennanen, 1995, p. 140). Commenting on a song performed by Rosa Eskenazi, a Jewish-Greek singer born in Istanbul, he argues, “whether a translation from Turkish or not, this song is a direct transplant from Ottoman Istanbul,” suggesting that songs dating back to the Ottoman context were represented in a way that ignored the Ottoman past and regarded them as part of the Greek nation and culture (Pennanen, 1995, p. 141). In the history of the Turkish Republic, shared songs belonging to the heterogeneous Ottoman past have also been rewritten in a way the non-Turkish elements were omitted and represented as Turkish creations (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 150).

The acknowledgement of a shared Greco-Turkish past has been brought into the forefront only recently. After the earthquakes in both Greece and Turkey in 1999 and the Greek and Turkish Cooperation Agreement in 2000, the two countries began to

foster a greater cooperation in the area of the performing arts, showing an interest in what was regarded as the “other nation” after the declaration of the Turkish Republic (Ker-Lindsay, 2000, p. 215). Gradually, more and more musicians began to visit the other country and make albums together such as Hüsni Şenlendirici and Trio Chios’s album *Ege’nin İki Yanı* [Two Sides of the Aegean] (2010). In fact, despite the “Cyprus Peace Operation” of 1974 and the prolonged political crisis between the two countries as early as in the 1980s, the Turkish band Yeni Türkü had already started borrowing songs from the Greek musicians Manos Louizos and Haris Alexiou.<sup>3</sup> Maria Farantouri, a Greek singer, had also started borrowing songs such as “Yiğidim Aslanım” from Zülfü Livaneli, a Turkish song writer (1982). Nevertheless, these were among rare examples of Greco-Turkish song borrowing, and especially after the reciprocal political hostility of the 1970’s, the songs dating back to the heterogeneous context of Ottoman music creation would not be represented and sung in a way revealing the shared past until the 2000s. Candan Erçetin’s album *Aman Doktor* (2005) can be considered one of the first albums made up of 13 shared songs dating back to the Ottoman context, sung in both Greek and Turkish, representing a shared past.

In the light of all the above-mentioned frameworks, I will explore in the present study (1) what the elements of a shared culture and history in songs belonging to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ottoman context were, (2) how such songs were torn away from the intercultural space that created their heterogeneous nature and came to be represented as products of a single monolithic culture only, and (3) whether such nationalistic discourse and appropriation can still be observed

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<sup>3</sup> One such song Yeni Türkü performed in Turkish was “*Telli Telli*” [Striped Bird/Demoiselle Crane] (1982). It was in fact a rewriting of “*Teli Teli*” [String by String], composed by Manos Louizos and performed by Haris Alexiou in Greek (1979). Just like many other words the two languages have in common, “telli” in Turkish and “teli” in Greek have the same meaning: “string, stripe, chord”.

today in the representation of these songs. In other words, this study is an attempt to take up a hitherto-neglected part of song translation history: the unique creation of Greco-Turkish songs in the late Ottoman context and the way they have been represented and *rerepresented* over and over again in different “masks” ever since.

In Chapter 2, I set out to devise a theoretical framework to retell an effective history of late Ottoman song creation and republican representations thereof. Discussing the current perspectives on song translation, I suggest that song translations which are not content-focused should also be made part of translation studies as Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva (2008), Klaus Kaindl (2005), Senem Öner (2005) and Johan Franzon (2008) rightfully argue. Adopting a holistic approach to song translation and thus expanding the scope of the field, the contribution of these scholars to song translation studies is groundbreaking in that they open a path that allow researchers to see the fuller picture. However, even such a holistic approach falls short of accounting for the heterogeneous Ottoman context, in which music was created by members of different groups. The non-existence of an accessible and ultimate source song comes into the forefront as an aspect which has not been taken up by previous translation studies scholars writing on song translation. Accounting for the late Ottoman song creation requires problematizing a concept yet to be dealt with from the perspective of song translation studies: “originality”. Asking questions such as “who is the author of this song?”, or “what is the original song and what is the target song?” falls short of elucidating the complexity and heterogeneity of late Ottoman song creation. In a way, such questions are not much different from those posed by internet users, who are keen to label shared songs as “Greek” or “Turkish”, which I exemplify in Chapter 2. Reviewing an example of such an internet debate to demonstrate how anonymous songs can trigger discussions of originality, I

underscore the need to introduce an innovative perspective to this phenomenon which is not only musical and translatorial but also historical and ideological. At this point, I benefit from Michel Foucault's (1977) genealogical approach to reformulate questions regarding originality. Rather than getting obsessed with the origin of the song, such reformulation allows for focusing on the peculiar aspects of the context in question: what were the historical conditions that led to a category of songs that have been claimed by members of different nations today? Michel Foucault's (1977) notions of "descent" and "emergence" as opposed to "origin" and "continuity" contribute to an "effective" as opposed to "traditional" viewing of history. In other words, what I aim for is a Foucauldian "unmasked" (1977) retelling of the history of "masked" representations of Greco-Turkish song translation history. This chapter also revisits the concept of "interculture" in translation studies and acknowledges the fact that the conceptualization of originality is not entirely new to the field. Applying the concept of "interculture" (Toury, 1995; Pym, 1998; Paker, 2002, 2011) to the late Ottoman context can help account for the "descent" (Foucault, 1977) of songs in history. In addition to "interculture", I apply the notions of "porosity", "orality" and "mobility" to refer to how songs are passed on through performances of highly mobile musicians. This, I believe, contributes to a better understanding of the Ottoman Greco-Turkish song creation, which I will refer to as "sybiogenesis", that is, the act of creating songs together. This makes it much easier to see how and in what contexts "masked" representations of sybiogenesis took place after the "emergence" of Greek and Turkish nation-states in the aftermath of the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire.

In Chapter 3, to provide a general view of how songs were created in the late Ottoman context, I elaborate on the *millet* system and the complexity and

heterogeneity of the languages spoken. Making use of the terms and notions in the theoretical framework devised in the previous chapter, I then present a genealogy of the Ottoman intercultural by way of quoting from Greek as well as Turkish musicologists and historians to replace the “traditional history” of songs and “origins” with one that is “effective” (Foucault, 1977). I then review the rise of Turkish nationalism and the subsequent population exchange, which would lead the songs of symbiogenesis to be represented in different “masks” in the years to come.

Chapter 4 is devoted to elaborating on how songs of symbiogenesis were presented as homogeneous creations in Greece and in Turkey. I then move on to how the emergence of *rembetiko* and *türkü* genres helped recategorize songs of symbiogenesis as national belongings as well as how the *bouzouki* and the *bağlama* as their designated instruments contributed to homogenizing these two genres in terms of performance and image, underscoring the difference in the way songs of symbiogenesis were Greekified in Greece and Turkified in Turkey.

In Chapter 5, I carry out a comparative analysis of three different versions of the tune “*İzmir’in Kavakları/Tsakitzis*” [The Poplars of İzmir]. The first of these, released in 1910, was recorded at a time when the folk hero *Çakıcı/Tsakitzis*, for whom the song was sung, was still alive and living in the mountains as a brigand band leader. The lyrics of this version simply praised him. While commenting on the lyricizing level, I frequently refer to Yaşar Kemal’s *Çakırcalı Efe* (1964), a biography of *Çakıcı/Tsakitzis*. I then move on to a rerecording of the same tune (1976) sung by Hasan Mutlucan and released in the aftermath of the Cyprus Conflict – perhaps the greatest political crisis between the two governments resulting in a military operation. I analyze the representation of this symbiogenetic song in terms of re-lyricizing, reperforming as well as redressing to offer a holistic evaluation of

how the song was masked as a result of the ongoing political hostility in Turkey. Finally, I carry out an analysis of the 2005 version by Candan Erçetin, which is featured on an album made up of different examples of songs of symbiogenesis as bilingual Greek and Turkish songs, seen as a representation reflecting the thaw in relations between the two countries.

In Chapter 6, I explore how a recently composed song by a Turkish writer - Turkish “monogenesis” – was represented as Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis in Greece. This is in fact a case study on how a song composed by Zülfü Livaneli to a poem originally dedicated to the renowned Turkish poet Nâzım Hikmet was represented in a masked way for the sake of Greek-Turkish friendship in music: the song version with the Greek lyrics, written by Lefteris Papadopoulos upon Zülfü Livaneli’s request, was represented as if they were the original lyrics of the song.

Chapter 7 is devoted to a song represented as monogenetic in Greece but as symbiogenetic in Turkish. “*Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar*” [Do Birds Land On Telegraph Wires?] first recorded in the Ottoman song interculturalism in 1908, is registered in Greece as belonging to Panagiotis Toundas, a population exchangee. The song version is registered by the Turkish Radio and Television Institution as anonymous, a direct result of the compiling practices of the Early Republican Period. The latest version I analyze is the bilingual recording released by the Greco-Turkish band Café Aman Istanbul (2012), reflecting the heterogeneity of creation of songs in the late Ottoman context, a century after the release of the first recording of the song at a time when the rapprochement period between the two governments gained momentum.

The overall aim of this thesis is to offer a detailed translatorial, historical and musical explanation of how Greco-Turkish songs belonging to the highly heterogeneous late Ottoman context were created and have been represented at different contexts in history under different masks reflecting political trends. Regarding songs of symbiogenesis not as constructs that exclusively belong to a particular nation-state but as belongings of all the musicians in the Ottoman song interculture suggests a unique mode of creation. Yet, such a mode of creation needs to be accounted for satisfactorily in a way that combines music, history and translation. Intending to fill this gap, the study aims to make an innovative contribution to the study of song translations, with particular focus on the Greek and Turkish (Greco-Turkish) songs.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

As stated in the introduction, my aim in this dissertation is to explore (1) what the elements of a shared culture and history in songs belonging to the late Ottoman context were, (2) how such songs have been torn away from the intercultural space that created their ‘hybrid’ nature and come to be represented as products of a single monolithic culture only (3) whether such nationalistic discourse and appropriation can still be observed today in the representation of these songs. In line with these research questions, this chapter briefly outlines the current approaches to song translation and sets out to present a theoretical framework that moves away from essentialist questions such as “who is the author of this song?”, or “which one is the original song?”, which fall short of accounting for the history of songs that date back to the late Ottoman “interculture”. Instead, it adopts a genealogical approach to song translation based on Foucault’s critical theoretical thinking, thereby shifting the focus to the context that paved the way for symbiogenesis and hybridity, and the historical conditions that led to a category of songs being claimed in the name of different nations.

#### 2.1 Thinking in terms of traditional dichotomies: a critical review of the literature on song translation

Different versions of a particular song which date back to more than a century ago can contribute to translation studies by expanding our understanding of (1) the

transfer of content versus form and (2) originality.<sup>4</sup> To explore how song translations have been dealt with so far, I will first review current approaches to the transfer of content versus form by scholars of song translation, then move on to how these views can be related to the notion of originality within the context of song translation in the past.

### 2.1.1 Transfer of content over form

Similar to discussions on translating the “content” versus “form” in literary works, scholars in the field of song translation have long discussed the rendering of the “meaning of the lyrics as opposed to the “melody” when translating songs from one language to the other.

Peter Low, for instance, has advocated the view that the transfer of the “sense” in songs is crucial. He has even gone so far to argue that song translations failing to transfer the “sense” of a song have no place in the discussions of translation:

[The] matter of sense still deserves high ranking, however, simply because we are talking about translation – interlingual translating. I note in passing that some people ignore sense altogether: they take a foreign song-tune and devise for it a set of TL words which match the music very well but bear no semantic relation with the ST. While this may at times be good and appropriate, it is not translating, because none of the original verbal meaning is transmitted. Such practices have no place in discussions of translation. (Low 2005: 194)

Peter Low suggests that translators of songs should produce lyrics similar to the source lyrics, although such translators’ main concern is singability/performability.

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<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of the transfer of content/form dichotomy in song translation where I did not problematize originality, see Pesen, 2010.

In other words, to his mind, producing a singable target song should not lead a translator to ignore the sense of the songs altogether. I have no opposition to choices Peter Low makes as a translator, for every composer, lyricist, and translator, including those who translate songs, have their own style. Nevertheless, his approach favoring sense over singability to the point of excluding non-content-focused song translations from the field of translation studies misses out a number of target songs who have nothing in common with the source song except for the meter of the lyrics and the melody of the source song. Turning our back to these target songs, and not asking the question “why might the translator of this song have opted for bearing no relation whatsoever to the content of the source lyrics?” might prevent us, researchers in (song) translation studies, from discovering different ways of and/or motives for translating in different cultural, social, historical and linguistic contexts. In fact, I agree wholeheartedly with Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva in that if we discard target lyrics failing to render content, “we will be missing out a great deal of data for research” (2008, p. 89). Alternatively, song translation scholars can prefer to include such target lyrics in discussions and also seek to account for the elements they might or might not share with the source lyrics. Because a song is a combination of both the lyrics and the melody, deciding on whether it is a translation or not based merely on the lyrics, which is just one of the aspects constituting a song, ends up reducing it to a verbal text only.

These ideas also overlap with the views of other writers who comment on song translation, one of whom is Johan Franzon. Preferring a holistic approach, he defines a song as “a piece of music and lyrics – in which one has been adapted to the other, or both to one another – designed for a singing performance” (2008, p. 376).

To put it differently, a song is composed of music, lyrics and the harmony between the two.

While Peter Low attaches major importance on the semantic level and argues that the target text cannot be regarded as a translation in the absence of semantic equivalence, Johan Franzon is of the opinion that singability can be achieved through;

- Writing new lyrics to the original music with no overt relation to the original lyrics;
- Translating the lyrics and adapting the music accordingly – sometimes to the extent that a brand new composition is deemed necessary;
- Adapting the translation to the original music. (2008, p. 376)

Here, Franzon's first choice implies that even though the TT and the ST do not have semantic elements in common, he still regards such a practice as translation. This is in fact in congruence with the view that a song consists of various levels. Song translation, then, is a midway: "a singable song translation is inevitably a compromise between fidelity to the music, lyrics and performance" (Franzon, 2008, p. 377). In fact, it would not be going too far to presume that in Johan Franzon's (2008) way of thinking, the cases of song translation which Peter Low (2005) deems "translation" would be rare:

A song translation that strives to be semantically accurate can hardly be sung to the music written for the original lyrics, and a song translation that follows the original music must sacrifice optimal verbal fidelity. (Franzon, 2008, p. 377)

### 2.1.2 A more holistic approach to song translation

Senem Öner favors a more holistic perspective to song translation: "translation cannot be perceived as a mere linguistic act" (2005, p. 18). In doing so, not only does

she see a song as made up of music and lyrics, but also underscores the significance of context in which such a song is composed – “the contextual dimension heavily affects the textual dimension” (2005, p. 27). Analyzing the “the Turkish translations of Kurdish folk songs [...] produced and received in certain historical, cultural and socio-political context(s)”, she brings to the fore a song category that has not hitherto been taken up from the perspective of translation studies (2005, p. 18). What Senem Öner does, is in fact, rare and by all means a valuable contribution to (song) translation studies. Nonetheless, even though she carries out a thorough analysis of the lyrics and their translations, her analysis of the musical level remains rather superficial - she settles for comments such as “[...] the translators made certain changes in the place or number of refrains and quatrains, without changing the music” (2005, p. 74), “[...] but again the music is not changed” (2005, p. 74) and “[the] music is nearly identical” (2005, p. 74). If a holistic perspective is to be adopted in song translation, treating the different aspects of it, namely lyrics and music, in equal detail in the analysis can make the arguments better-proved, hence, stronger. In addition to the verbal language used to display and analyze the lyrics, registering the source and target melodies in musical notation, that is, using the musical language, can shed more light on the transformation the melody might potentially undergo. As in any other case of translation, and as discussed above in relation to Johan Franzon, the musical level is also prone to change or compromise. In the absence of the language of music, such differences are not easy to account for.

Like Öner, Klaus Kaindl draws on how time and context affect individual translations themselves, and argues that song translation cannot be limited to re-lyricizing: it should also take the cultural contexts and the melody into account (Kaindl, 2005, p. 243). According to him; however, song translation scholars usually

fail to acknowledge the melody, and even if they do not, there is still a tendency to focus on the musical constraints on the lyrics:

Despite some remarks on the role of non-verbal elements and the cultural dimension of translation, the emphasis on language in most of the studies on [...] song translation forecloses a broader engagement with the socio-semiotic context in which popular songs are situated. Quite often, the relationship between text and music is not even acknowledged, and the focus is only on linguistic aspects such as metaphor, changes in style, and content. But even when the non-verbal dimension is mentioned [...], it is normally reduced to the structural constraints of the music on the verbal text. (Kaindl, 2005, p. 238)

In other words, while studies on song translation have emphasized the importance of a holistic approach, having failed to fully integrate the different levels, they have generally fallen short of practicing what they preach. This is because they still see a song, and therefore song translations as written objects. As Kaindl (2005) notes, “[Songs] cannot be treated as scored or notated objects” (p. 240). They are written to be performed, played, sung, recorded, listened to and even sung along. Their utmost function, therefore, is auditory. The song duration and the instrumental and non-instrumental parts; the singer, the way s/he sings the said song, her/his accent, her/his mood, the choice of instruments, the instrument players and the way they play; and last but not least, the way the recording is presented on the album cover (if any/if accessible), the back cover as well as the album inserts all affect the (translated) song as an end-product. All these have to do with (re)arranging, (re)performing and (re)dressing respectively, which urge to be explored and analyzed if a holistic approach is aimed at. A holistic approach that addresses these different levels, therefore, requires knowledge of music in addition to translation. Only then can an analysis in song translation help see the fuller picture. Nevertheless, regarding

the Ottoman context of song creation and translation, even such a holistic approach that has been postulated by Klaus Kaindl (2005) needs to be expanded.

Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva (2006, 2015) is another scholar writing on Greco-Turkish song translation. While Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva and I are the only researchers in the field of (song) translation studies studying histories of Greco-Turkish song translation, we cast light on different periods. In her latest book, she limits her research to the Greco-Turkish rapprochement period (2004 to 2014) and adopts a holistic approach in focusing on song translations made from Greek into Turkish (Susam-Sarajeva, 2015, p. 10). The present study, on the other hand, elaborates on the co-creation of songs in the late Ottoman context, which dates back to some hundred years before the rapprochement period. While Susam-Sarajeva (2015) problematizes how “rembetiko songs” were represented in Turkey during the rapprochement period, the present study redefines “rembetiko” (and “türkü”) as concealed representations of the co-composed late Ottoman songs drawing on the political and cultural history behind the representation of Ottoman anonymous songs as essentially Greek/Turkish compositions.<sup>5</sup> With their foci on different periods in the history of Greco-Turkish song translation, the two studies can by all means be regarded and read as mutually complementary to one another.

All in all, although the holistic methodologies proposed by scholars such as Klaus Kaindl (2005), Senem Öner (2005), Johan Franzon (2008), Alaz Pesen (2010) and Şebnem Susam Sarajeva (2008, 2015) contribute to an innovative approach in song translation studies, accounting for the late Ottoman songs existing in different languages needs a wider perspective, which I problematize in the section that follows.

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<sup>5</sup> For a critical history of *rembetiko* and *türkü*, see Chapter 4.

## 2.2 Thinking of song translation history in new terms: Michel Foucault's genealogy

Commenting on why translation scholars find it difficult to treat popular song

translation, Klaus Kaindl (2005) asks three questions:

- 1- Who is (considered to be) the *author* of a song?
- 2- What is the *original* and what is the translation?
- 3- How can substantial changes of the verbal as well as musical text be explained? (p. 236, emphasis mine)

In this article, as I discussed above, Kaindl addresses the third question, but he does not problematize the first and the second questions, which do not always have clearcut answers. In fact, addressing, and more importantly, reformulating these first two questions is key to understanding song creation in the late Ottoman context.

### 2.2.1 A lost cause: in pursuit of the original

Songs dating back to the late Ottoman context often lead to debates of originality, which can even get heated to the point of insults towards each other's nations. In what follows, I review an internet debate on a song video to demonstrate how questions raised by song translation scholars are also raised outside the field of song translation. The song I selected for this purpose is "*Rampi Rampi/Çadırımın Üstüne Şıp Dedi Damladı*" [Dropped Right on My Tent]<sup>6</sup>, one of the various examples of uploaded shared songs on the internet where music turns into a battleground for

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<sup>6</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A> , last accessed March 18, 2016, emphases mine.

individuals from different nations. When it comes to songs two or more nations have in common, internet users engage in a heated debate of song originality. After some point, the debate gets so heated that the song which has been uploaded to Youtube turns into a battle ground of individuals who claim the song in the name of their nation.

The debate over the origins of the song “*Rampi Rampi/Sürüverin Cezveler Kaynasın/Çadırımın Üstüne Şıp Dedi Damladı*” starts with a rather neutral comment:

Actually, I think some Greeks might argue the "Turkish folk song" part. This is *one of those songs* ("Misirlou" is another) that's *often claimed by both*. Either way, it's a great song! <sup>7</sup>

Eric Rash, the user who made this entry criticizes the user Onik Chilian, who uploaded the song on Youtube on grounds that he (the uploader) represents the song as “Turkish.” Eric Rash comments on Chilian’s referring to the song as “Turkish,” and points out that “some Greeks” might argue otherwise. His clarification is simple: “this is one of those songs [...] claimed by both [the Greeks and the Turkish]”. In fact, with this very statement, what Eric Rash does is bring up two essential facts: (1) There is a special category of songs (2) The songs belonging to this category are often claimed by both the Greeks and the Turkish. Onik Chilian, the uploader of the song, replies to him:

No way i thought it was Turkish cuz of the lyrics "Rampi Rampi" but *being Armenian myself* i am *not quick to give credit to Turks* because *they have a tendency to steal things and claim its theirs (MT. ARARAT)* :/ so thank you for the comment i will change it to Greek.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A> , last accessed March 18, 2016, emphases mine.

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A> , last accessed March 18, 2016, emphases mine.

With this comment, Chilian states that he is of Armenian origin, which he also sees as a reason why he would rather not “give credit to Turks,” and that the Turks “have a tendency to steal things and claim its [sic] theirs”. In other words, because he is Armenian, he knows the Turks well, and for this reason he would think twice before giving credit to them for anything they claim. According to him, such things include land, as well as songs. Located along the border Armenia and Turkey share together, Mount Ararat - *Ararat* in Armenian and Mount *Ağrı* in Turkish - is of paramount importance to the Armenian culture as a “national symbol” and a “holy mountain” (Walker, 1997, p. 15). Apparently, Chilian accuses the Turkish of “stealing” a mountain that belongs to his nation and culture, and translating its original Armenian name into Turkish, to say the least. Furthermore, in his reply to Rash, he clearly implies that the Turkish can do such things to Greek songs as well, so, to his mind, one cannot be too careful with anything that is represented as “Turkish” as with the case of Mount Ararat/Ağrı. Chilian also explains that the only reason he represented the song as Turkish is that he thought the word “Rampi” was Turkish (“I thought it was Turkish [because] of the lyrics *Rampi Rampi*”). He takes Rash’s comment as a suggestion to change the title into “Greek” and says that he will do so; nevertheless Rash clarifies his point with the following reply:

Now I didn't say it WAS Greek - only that some claim it's Greek [sic] , while others say Turkish. We'll probably never truly know it's origin [sic]. If I had to guess, I'd probably go with Turkish based on the time signature (9/8, which is more typical of Turkish music) & [sic] the fact that the rhythm usually played with it (karsilma) is Turkish [sic]. Of course, as I understand it, there's been a great deal of musical influence traded back & forth between the 2 countries over the many years, so who knows? [sic]<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A> , last accessed March 18, 2016.

Underscoring the fact that “some” claim it is a Greek song, while “others” think it is a Turkish song, and excluding himself from these two parties, Rash paraphrases his previous entry. He quickly adds that the origin of the song will never be known. Still, if he had to make a choice between one of the parties, he would be with those who think it is a Turkish song. The reason why he thinks this way is the time signature of the song, 9/8, which he believes to be “more typical of Turkish music”. He also says “the rhythm usually played with it (*karsilama*) [sic] is Turkish”. Nevertheless, the 9/8 time signature is characteristic not only of Turkish but also of Greek and Arabic music.<sup>10</sup> It is true that the Greek term “*karsilama*” is of Turkish origin, but it is also a term used to refer to a rhythmic category and dance in Greek, which is not used in Turkish or Turkish music terminology in such a sense. In short, the 9/8 time signature is shared by -at least- three different languages, namely Arabic, Greek and Turkish. In fact, Rash seems to have presented his view as to where the time signature and the song have originated from in a rather noninsistent way, and concludes his entry by stating that “there has been a great deal of musical influence traded back [and] forth between the two countries, so who knows [to which side the song belongs to].” His entry can be summarized in its entirety as underscoring the frequency of song exchanges between the Greeks and the Turks, as well as the difficulty of telling which song belongs to whom. Upon this entry by Rash, Chilian adds “Greek” to the song details and he no longer represents it merely as “Turkish,” but as “Turkish/Greek”: “The one and only Tasos Bouags [sic] sings the best version

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<sup>10</sup> See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QMMDptwei4E> as an example , last accessed March 19, 2016.

of the *Turkish/Greek folk song* Rampi Rampi enjoy!”.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, a third

Youtube user also joins in with the debate on whose song “Rampi Rampi” is:

Karsilama is a GREEK dance from Asia Minor...When did Turks ever know how to dance?? They "borrowed" Byzantine culture and customs and claim them to be Turkish...Why do these songs ALWAYS sound better when a Greek performer sings them?? [sic]<sup>12</sup>

Referring to Rash’s comments on “karsilama,” the youtube user with the nickname Akrivosdiavolos73 claims it is a “GREEK” dance. Moreover, s/he states that it is not only a Greek dance, but also from Asia Minor, in other words, Anatolia, where Turkey is located today. In fact, this comment is the first reference to history in this stream of entries, implying the fact that the Greeks used to live in the lands where the Turkish currently inhabit. It can also be understood from Akrivosdiavolos73’s entry that the song in question and the way it is danced to cannot be Turkish because the Turkish do not know, and never knew how to dance: “When did Turks ever know how to dance?” S/he also holds that the Turkish appropriated (“-‘borrowed’-”) Byzantine culture and customs, which can be read as another reference to history, the conquest of Constantinople/Istanbul by the Ottoman Empire in 1453, which had been a part of Byzantine Empire until then. Another reason s/he sets out is that “these songs ALWAYS sound better when a Greek performer sings them.” This rather subjective comment (“better”) intentionally or unintentionally acknowledges the fact that there is such a category of songs that both the Greek and the Turkish sing, as mentioned above, be it a category of shared –or stolen– songs. Compared to Rash’s skeptic entry which holds that it is almost impossible to know the origins of songs belonging to this category, that of Akrivosdiavolos73’s is rather politically-extremist

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<sup>11</sup> See <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A> for the details Chilian added to “Rampi Rampi,” last accessed March 20, 2016.

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A>, last accessed March 20, 2016.

on grounds that it deliberately advocates the Greekness of the song. As is usually the case, such extremist remarks trigger others of similar nature, like that of Ken Ata's:

u [sic] can also fuck off. greeks [sic] and armenians [sic] are making their own propagandas in every comment. What [sic] does it make a difference if its [sic] greek [sic] or turkish [sic] u [sic] fucking idiot..enjoy the song.<sup>13</sup>

Judging from his statement "Greeks and Armenians are making their own propagandas in every comment," Ken Ata's swearwords seem to target both Chilian, who advocates the Armenianness of Mount Ararat and Akrivosdiavolos73, who is of the opinion that the song is Greek. Nevertheless, unlike Akrivosdiavoros73, who unquestionably believes the song is Greek, Ken Ata concludes his derogatory entry with an impartial remark as to the origin of the song: "What does it make a difference if [it is] [G]reek or [T]urkish [...] Enjoy the song." A more politically-extremist comment is made by Umut Güler:

And Armeanians [sic] have a tendency to stab their brothers [in the] back and claim they never did. [...] If you have [a] brain[,] you can search for [sic] lyrics. Its [sic] [a] Turkish song[,] you dickhead.<sup>14</sup>

Apparently, Umut Güler replies to Chilian's comments and implies that it is not the Turkish who plagiarize from the Armenians, but that it is the Armenians who stab their brothers, probably the Turkish in the back. Then, he suggests a way to understand if the song is Turkish or Greek – searching the lyrics on the web (!) It does not take a genius to know that should the lyrics are looked up in Turkish, Turkish lyrics will come up, if the lyrics are searched in Greek, Greek lyrics will come up. Still, in the next entries, he provides the Turkish title to the song, and its lyrics as sung to two different intralingual versions of the song in Turkish "*Sürüverin*

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<sup>13</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A>, accessed March 20, 2016.

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A>, accessed March 20, 2016.

*Cezveler Kaynasın*” and “*Çadırımın Üstüne Şıp Dedi Damladı*”.<sup>15</sup> Then, he makes the following entry:

This not greek this is Turkish song. Original name is *Çadırım Üstüne Şıp Dedi Damladı* and *Karşılama* is a Turkish word because *Karsilama* is Turkish dance. You stole our *baklava* and now trying to steal our culture ? Greeks always steal. Get lost you thief.<sup>16</sup>

With this entry, not only does he claim that the song is of Turkish origin, but also the *Karsilama/Karşılama* dance belongs to the Turks. Moreover, he accuses the Greeks of stealing *baklava*, the dessert claimed in a similar manner by certain Greeks and Turks, and echoes Chilian’s comments above, but this time favoring the Turkish: “Greeks always steal. Get lost you thief.” The debate initiated with a discussion on the origins of a song ends up with insults to one another’s nationality.

Akrivosdiavolos73’s reply takes the matter even further:

Hey Genius...1.Bakalva is Arabic dont be upset...2. Turks NEVER danced.. the word for dance in Mongol, is XORON (greek word for dance)..Karsilama is a GreeK Dance from Asia Minor..dont forget before Kemal, the gay JEW exterminated/killed all the Greeks/Armenians (non Muslims) circa early 1900s there was a vibrant Greek/Christian community, their own schools/theater/soccer teams(PanIonion,Hrakles) until they slaughtered like sheep and Smyrna burned by Kemal.<sup>17</sup>

Akrivosdiavolos73 argues that *baklava* is neither Turkish nor Greek, but Arabic. He also adds that dancing is not a part of Turkish culture but that of Greek, and that even the word for dancing in Mongollan, which he apparently believes to be the language used by the Turkish in the historical past, comes from the Greek word *xoron*. Then, referring to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk as “the gay JEW,” Akrivosdiavolos73 states that

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<sup>15</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A>, accessed March 20, 2016.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A>, accessed March 20, 2016.

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NZaWdg6yf1A>, accessed March 20, 2016.

he was the one who massacred the non-Muslim citizens consisting of the Greek and the Armenians who lived in Anatolia in early 1900s, who deprived them of their systems of education, culture and entertainment, and last but not least, who burned down Smyrna. Akrivosdiavolos73's reply is important in that it displays how a debate on the origins of a song can turn into one on the shared linguistic, political, cultural history of the Greeks and the Turkish in a hateful tone replete with swearwords and insults towards the founder, hence, the symbol, of the Turkish nation-state.

This rather lengthy thread is just one of a number of debates that can be found on the web in the form of entries made under any song dating back to the late Ottoman context. Similar to these discussions, others also begin with a claim that a song in the name of "her/his nation" and lead to an expression of national fanaticism and hatred towards the other nation(s). As stated above, in a sense, the internet users answer the questions 1 and 2 raised by Klaus Kaindl: Who is the author of the song? What is the original and what is the translation? The Armenian claims that the original/source is not of Turkish origin, while the Greek maintains that it is Greek, and the Turk believes the song is of Turkish origin. Are we, translation studies scholars, to take sides with one of the parties, which would be claiming that the song is of Turkish/Greek/Armenian origin, then, and concoct support for such a claim? If we do not reformulate these questions raised by Klaus Kaindl and commented on by internet users of different nationalities, that is what we will end up doing: we will find ourselves immersed in nothing but a pursuit of origins. This is by no means the intention of my study.

### 2.2.2 Towards a genealogy of song translation

To adopt an even more holistic approach to song translation in the past, the historical context in which different versions of a particular song in different languages are created needs to be acknowledged. Today, we live in a context in which originality can be said to be taken for granted, i.e. the point of departure in most discussions is that there is a source song and its translation(s). This is most probably why Peter Low, Johan Franzon, Senem Öner and Klaus Kaindl, who all deal with contemporary or recent song translation practices, have not touched upon a case of song translation process which involves an unknown or inaccessible source. Looking at different song versions in the past brings to mind the possibility that *originality as we know it today* might not have existed as such in the past. Doubting the existence of originality and/or the accessibility of a source song suggests that originality might potentially be a time-bound concept of today. In other words, song translations in their historical contexts can shed light on discussions of originality, which, without doubt, are not new to the field of translation studies in general. In that sense, problematizing originality in song translation can expand both the concept of originality, which has been a key concept in translation studies for long, song translation itself, and translation studies in general.

Problematizing originality in the late Ottoman context of song production is not possible without a focus on history. Such a discussion can benefit extensively from Michel Foucault's (1977) genealogical approach to history, which *inter alia* places heavy emphasis on the distinction between *origin* and *emergence*. In his "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History" (1977), Michel Foucault proposes a genealogical method in investigating and writing history, which he describes as "meticulous and patiently documentary" (1977, p. 139).

According to him, genealogy “must record the singularity of events outside of any monotonous finality; it must seek them in the most unpromising places, in what we tend to feel is without history” (1977, p. 139). Songs, and to whom they belong, can only be discovered in detail in the depths of history – in the late Ottoman context. The earliest (known) recordings - therefore, representations - of “traditional” songs existing in both Greek and Turkish languages today can be such “unpromising” places. This way, through comparative analyses of songs with similar melodies but with different lyrics, rather than looking for their “origin,” i.e. instead of uttering definitive statements as to the origins of the songs, I aim to draw a map of a particular song’s “emergence”. Moreover, searching for “emergence” rather than “origin” also shows why it is pointless to look for an original song at a time when the concept of an original song did not exist.

Michel Foucault is against the idea of a mythical “origins” and originals: “[genealogy] rejects the metahistorical deployment of ideal significations and indefinite teleologies” (1977, p. 140). Hence, according to Foucault, history has neither an ideal meaning to be found in the origins nor a final end (*telos*) that would make it meaningful. He explains it with questions asked about the origins of morality and religion: “In what, for instance, do we find the original basis of morality? ‘In detestable, narrowminded conclusions [...] where should we seek the origin of religion? [...] It belongs, very simply, to an invention, a sleight-of-hand, an artifice, a secret formula, in the rituals of black magic [...]’” (1977, p. 141). The origins of both morality and religion, therefore, are only made up. They are concocted, made up and imagined by those who wanted others to believe in such origins. Anything based on belief could be resembled to Michel Foucault’s example of morality or religion.

The superiority of a nation and its sublime origins can also be another such case which certain nationalists believe in: let us assume there are two cultures and languages with a shared past. After a breaking point, these two cultures and languages found two different governments – two different nation states. According to the culture planning policies of the two governments, the creations belonging to the shared past, that is, what individuals from these different cultures composed together in the past, are now claimed by individuals living under these two separate nation states. Songs, which are creations of oral history, which do not usually exist in reliable written format, are passed on from one performer to another through performance, which gives the “nationalist” ample opportunity to claim it on behalf of his own nation, for it is almost impossible to prove otherwise. What the opposing nationalist do, on the other hand, is to claim it on behalf of the other nation. This is what happens in the youtube comments cited above.

However, Michel Foucault argues that a genealogical approach challenges the pursuit of origins because such an approach aims to “capture their carefully protected identities” by removing “every mask to disclose an original identity” (1977, p. 142). What the genealogical approach aims instead is turn to history: only effective history can show that everything is in fact without essence, but represented as if they were originals (1977, p. 141). Turning to history also reveals the fact that the claimed essence of things was “fabricated [...] from alien forms” (1977, p. 142): “what is found at the historical beginning of things is not the inviolable identity of their origin; it is the dissension of other things. It is disparity” (1977, p. 142). Genealogy does not look for origins:

A genealogy of [...] knowledge will never confuse itself with a quest for their ‘origins’. [...] On the contrary, it will cultivate the details and accidents that accompany every beginning; it will be attentive to their petty malice; it will

await their emergence, once unmasked, as the face of the other. (Foucault 1977, p. 144)

Genealogy admits the fact that every beginning is, among other things, coincidental. Bringing together the details carefully, genealogy strives to distinguish how something is represented as “original” from what the conditions leading to it were. Once such conditions are gathered through a genealogical approach to history, the thing, and in our case, the song’s descent is unmasked. It can be freed from the mask used to represent it as the original belonging of a particular nation, i.e. “unmasking” national discourse off the songs belonging to a shared history. This is why “the genealogist needs history to dispel the chimeras of origin, somewhat in the manner of the pious philosopher who needs a doctor to exorcise the shadow of his soul” (1977, p. 144). Because “history is a concrete body of a development [...] and only a metaphysician would seek its soul in the distant reality of origin” (1977, p. 145).

There is a critical distinction between “origin” and “emergence”. To account for the latter; however, one needs to look for various “descent”s that coincidentally ended up in such “emergence” (Foucault, 1977, p. 145). In Foucault’s terms, while “origin” refers to “a metaphysical hunt for a lofty beginning”, “descent” only aims to show how a pattern can be observed in the depths of history. “[descent] seeks the subtle [...] marks [...] to form a network that is difficult to unravel (Foucault 1977, p. 145). Descent, in this sense, refers not to the origin but to a beginning, or “numberless beginnings whose faint traces and hints of color are readily seen by an historical eye” (Foucault, 1977, p. 145):

[...] To follow the complex course of descent is to maintain passing events in their proper dispersion; it is to identify the accidents, the minute deviations – or conversely, the complete reversals – the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us; it is to discover that truth or being do not lie at the root of

what we know and what we are, but the exteriority of accidents. (Foucault, 1977, p. 146)

If nation is a god that certain citizens living within a particular nation-state worship, this means it is the “truth” or “belief” they believe in. To Michel Foucault’s way of thinking; however, this is nothing but metaphysics. In a similar vein, labeling shared songs as “Greek,” “Turkish” or “Armenian” is nothing but a reflection of such nationalistic metaphysics. Quoting Nietzsche, Michel Foucault (1977) describes such an approach as follows:

‘Injustice and instability in the minds of certain men, their disorder and lack of decorum, are the final consequences of their ancestors’ numberless logical inaccuracies, hasty conclusions, and superficiality’. The search for descent is not the erecting of foundations: on the contrary, it disturbs what was previously considered immobile; it fragments what was thought unified; it shows the heterogeneity of what was *imagined* consistent with itself. (p. 147, my emphasis)

Following their nationalist ancestors’ way of deifying the nation they belong to – be it the “superior” Armenian, the “superior” Greek or the “superior” Turkish culture – a number of individuals may jump to the conclusion that they well know their “pure origins” without questioning the historical narratives passed on to them. In fact, what they learned from their ancestors (or books written by them or schools founded by them) as “homogeneous” and “pure” are in fact heterogeneous, which they can only come to see from the perspective of genealogy. Homogeneity or purity in this sense is not factual but imaginary. In other words, “nationalism *imagines* and *creates* nations where they do not exist” (Anderson, 1983, p. 7). In Anderson’s (1983) sense, nations are imagined not only because they are historical inventions, but also because citizens/subjects of such communities “have always known that they are connected to people they have never seen” (p. 7). In a similar manner, an Armenian,

Greek or Turk, as they do in the Youtube comments above, might claim a song in the name of a “national” group s/he is made to “imagine” to be a part of. A genealogist approach can replace such a metaphysical way of thinking by focusing on descent instead. Descent can be described as how things undergo change in the course of history, whereas origin as what is the “first” thing that all other things have evolved from. As can be clear so far, Michel Foucault argues for the former. Only the search for descent can illuminate the heterogeneity lying behind the history of what is known today as a homogeneous nation’s cultural belonging. The search for descent is also crucial to the present study’s aim: my intention is not to find the sublime national origin of any shared song in a subjective manner, but to account for the historical context that led both to the composition and metamorphosis of shared songs as well as their being represented and claimed as elements of monolithic and homonegeneous national cultures that “emerged” after those very songs were composed - in other words, their “descent”.

If a shared song is labelled as belonging to a monolithic and homogeneous nation today, such inaccuracy stems only from the policies followed by today’s nationalists’ grandfathers, or even great-grand fathers, who imagined and believed in the concept of the nation, which was the dominant ideology for the first half of the twentieth century in Turkey and Greece to say the least. Those grandfathers erected the foundations of such an ideology and rewrote history. And it was also those very grandfathers who commented extensively on the songs belonging to the true spirit of the Turkish nation in an attempt to unify the nation, as discussed in relation to Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in Chapter 3.<sup>18</sup> Tracing “descent” can reveal the

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<sup>18</sup> Historical research also shows that Ziya Gökalp was half-Kurdish, in other words, even the ideologue behind such an homogeneous ideal, was in fact, not surprisingly, heterogeneous himself (Zürcher, 1993, p. 193).

“imagined” homogeneity of the nation and the masked heterogeneity of the descent of Greco-Turkish songs in question.

The notion of descent is related to that of emergence, which is why Michel Foucault (1977) argues that in order to have a genealogical understanding of descent, the historian needs to be well aware of cases of “emergence”. “As it is wrong to search for descent in an uninterrupted continuity, we should avoid thinking of emergence as the final term of an historical development” (Foucault, 1977, p. 148). Anderson also echoes Foucault in a similar manner: “nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being” (1983, p. 12). If a “nation” was founded and proclaimed as a nation-state at a specific time in history, descent should be looked for in the years before that date, during which an empire was in possession of those lands. That date itself, on the other hand, is when the emergence takes place. Descent therefore refers to a context where such emergence was in a stage of incubation. Emergence, in a sense, owes its existence to descent, or various descents, in other words, what comes before. According to Foucault, an emergence takes place when different lines of descent intersect (1977, p. 148). And the points of intersection, which are historically accidental and therefore contingent, give rise to struggles and systems of domination and subjection. Any emergence in history, such as the foundation of a state, must make the genealogist suspicious of a descent that precedes it. It is, after all, the existence of different lines of descent that makes emergence possible.

In placing present needs at the origin, the metaphysician [or the nationalist] would convince us of an obscure purpose that seeks its realization at the moment it arises. Genealogy, however, seeks to reestablish the various systems of subjection: not the anticipatory power of meaning, but the hazardous play of dominations. (Foucault, 1977, p. 148)

The fall of an empire results in the emergence of various states. From the moment they are founded, each of these newly found nation-states might strive to prove to their citizens that their nation is the one and the only, and that their roots date back to times even earlier than the founding of the empire their nation was once a part of. In this sense, each such nation rewrites its history and culture. In the national discourse, a nation-state that is newly-founded is made up of the members of a nation that is as old as humanity itself. In that sense, no one but they are the origins of history, no one but they are the original people. From the genealogical perspective, on the other hand, nation, which is merely a socio-cultural concept, is not old, but very new and recent (Anderson, 1983, p. 7). In fact, from the perspective of effective history, “a nation exists when a significant number of people in a community consider themselves to form a nation” (Anderson, 1983, p. 6).

When they begin imagining such a unity, the next step for them is the legal and geographical reflection of their imagination: the emergence of such an imagined community as a nation-state.

The emergence of a species (animal or human) and its solidification are secured ‘in an extended battle against conditions which are essentially and constantly unfavorable. In fact, ‘the species must realize itself as a species, as something – characterized by the durability, uniformity, and simplicity of its form – which can prevail in the perpetual struggle against outsiders or the uprising of those it oppresses from within. (Foucault, 1977, p. 149)

The moment a nation-state emerges, it distinguishes itself from all the enemies, or enemy nation states surrounding it. Maintaining its uniformity, the newly-emerged nation deprives itself of every element disrupting and even posing a threat to such uniformity. It is ironic that all these attempts at national uniformity disappear when it is understood that such uniformity has finally been established. Once it is ensured,

“another stage” begins: “individual differences emerge [...] when the species has become victorious and when it is no longer threatened from outside. In this condition, we find a struggle ‘of egoisms turned against each other, each bursting forth in a splintering of forces and a general striving for the sun and for the light’” (Foucault, 1977, p. 149). This way of thinking also applies to song representations by certain Greek and Turkish agents when the “Greek/Turkish other” is no longer in a position to threaten the “Turkish/Greek” self.<sup>19</sup>

Genealogy, in other words, effective history must be thought of as distinct from traditional history: “effective history differs from traditional history in being without constants [...] The traditional devices for constructing a comprehensive view of history and for retracing the past as a patient and continuous development must be systematically dismantled” (Foucault, 1977, p. 153). If a historical narrative serves a certain ideology, which is usually the case, it needs to be decoded, for it is neither impartial nor objective. Because of its making use of history as a means to justify its own ideology, such as “a lofty religion” or “a superior nation”, such a historical narrative falls short of reflecting events as they were and ends up retelling them as how they should have been to prove the superiority of the ideology it serves:

An entire historical tradition (theological or rationalistic) aims at dissolving the singular event into an ideal continuity [...] Effective history, however, deals with events in terms of their most unique characteristics, their most accurate manifestations. An event, consequently, is not a decision, a treaty, a reign, or a battle, but the *reversal of a relationships of forces, the usurpation of power, the appropriation of a vocabulary turned against those who had once used it, [...] the entry of a ‘masked’ other*”. (Foucault, 1977, p. 154, my emphases)

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<sup>19</sup> As discussed in further detail below, the cases of Panagiotis Toundas (Chapter 7) and Zülfi Livaneli (Chapter 6) below relate to such individual concerns.

In a similar vein, a song belonging to a shared past can be represented as if belonging to one of the parties that composed it, and can even be used against the other party by those. It can be appropriated and turned against those who had once sang it.<sup>20</sup> A folk hero who served both the Anatolian-Orthodox and Ottoman-Muslims can be depicted in traditional history as someone who fights against Greeks, even in the years he was not alive. Similarly, the Republic of Turkey may or may not be narrated as the continuation of the Ottoman Empire to serve a particular ideology. In this sense, traditional history represents and masks discontinuity into continuity as long as it serves the purpose of the traditional historical discourse of the nation. In a similar manner, genealogy needs to turn continuity as such into discontinuity and unmask events. Mehmet Ziya, also known as Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) was an ardent Turkish nationalist (Zürcher, 1993, p. 191). According to him, the Turkish nation had its own prominent culture, which was under the invasion of Islam, Arabs and Byzantine/Greek culture (Zürcher, 1993, p. 191). His way of imagining the nation was in fact aiming at a continuity of “the superior and pure Turk” which, to his mind, was disrupted by the Ottoman melting pot. The fact that he was able to link his nationalist ideas to the European civilization made Gökalp more than appealing to many Turkish nationalists including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself. From a genealogical perspective however, we can step out of such nationalistic discourse and see that the idea linking Turks to pre-Ottoman times was merely imagined. Similarly, unmasking history and unmasking songs of a shared past, which certain internet users, as reviewed above, claim to belong to their own nation, can also pave the way for an effective history. Referring to nineteenth-century Europe as “the land of interminglings and bastardy” and “man-of-mixture,” Foucault argues that

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<sup>20</sup> “*Tsakitzis/Chakidjis/İzmir’in Kavakları*”, which is such a song and the historical heroic character who constitutes its subject matter is elaborated on in Chapter 5.

“Europeans no longer know themselves; they ignore their mixed ancestries and seek a proper role” (1977, p. 159). In this sense, certain internet users’ ignoring the songs’ mixed descent, and Ziya Gökalp’s favoring Turkish nationalism ardently while being half-Kurdish himself (Zürcher, 1993, p. 193) are examples of “imagined continuity” (not “community” but “continuity” indeed) in the name of a nation.

Foucault proposes three uses of genealogy “that oppose and correspond to three Platonic modalities of history” (1977, p. 160). Of these, the second one, which he refers to as “dissociative,” is of paramount importance to the subject matter of the present study: it is “directed against identity, and opposes history given as continuity or representative of a tradition” (1977, p. 160):

[...] The weak identity, which we attempt to support and unify under a mask, is in itself only a parody [...] In each of these souls, history will not discover a forgotten identity, eager to be reborn but a *complex system* of distinct and *multiple elements*, unable to be mastered by the powers of synthesis. The purpose of history, guided by genealogy, is *not to discover the roots of our identity* but to commit itself to its dissipation. It does not seek to define our unique threshold of emergence, the homeland to which metaphysicians promise a return; *it seeks to make visible all of those discontinuities that cross us. If genealogy in its own right gives rise to questions concerning our native land, native language, or the laws that govern us, its intention is to reveal the heterogeneous systems which, masked by the self, inhibit the formation of any form of identity.* (Foucault, 1977, pp. 161-162, my emphases)

Genealogy does not attempt to elevate the emergence of a nation, the roots or origins of a nation’s true and superior identity. It does not speak highly of one’s native land, language, native culture, a part of which is native songs. Especially when genealogy spots such a discourse, it knows that there lies an agenda – an agenda attempting to mask, to misrepresent or to conceal the discontinuities that are out there. At that very point, it seeks to make visible the heterogeneity of identities that the national discourse has censored, defamed and slandered. In what follows, I suggest to use concepts to account for the descent and discontinuity of songs that were composed

within the late Ottoman context and that were masked and then unmasked after the emergence of the Greek and Turkish nations as states.

### 2.3 A different period, a different sense of originality: song symbiogenesis in the mobile, oral and porous Ottoman intercultural

To better understand the heterogeneous Ottoman context in which songs were created by agents of different ethnicities and religions, four concepts are useful: intercultural, porosity, orality and mobility, which together lead to songs of symbiogenesis, i.e., songs created together by agents of various religions and ethnicities within the late Ottoman context. I elaborate on each of these notions respectively in the following sections.

A genealogical approach to translation with a focus on descent and the disappearance of an original has not been tackled by any of the song translation scholars reviewed above. Nonetheless, it has indeed been taken up by current translation scholarship on the Ottoman translation tradition. Such a descent-oriented understanding of the disappearance of the ‘original’ can also shed light to a better understanding of the songs that constitute the subject matter of the present study. Analyzing sixteenth century Ottoman poetry, Saliha Paker (2011) refers to a dynamic Arabic-Persian-Turkish intercultural in which these three languages inseparably coexisted and reflected into the different versions of a particular work (p. 460). What is also of utmost importance is that the ultimate source text was not known. “Boundaries were not clear; source and target overlapped in both language and literary tradition” (Paker, 2011, p. 460). In other words, in the 1500s, within the borders of the Ottoman Empire, the three languages spoken - namely, Arabic, Persian

and Turkish – were all used by poets who created these poems. A poet would create a poem, say, in Arabic or Persian, then it would be rewritten by another poet in the same language. Then, another poet would write it, say, in Turkish or Persian. An example Paker gives is *Layla and Majnun*, a well-known romance in verse (2011, p. 464). This poem had been rewritten in 16 different versions in the sixteenth century alone. The source poem, on the other hand, is known to date back to the pre-Islamic times (Toska, 2007, p. 33, cited in Paker, 2011, p. 464). Other examples Paker gives are the rewritings in this period of fables such as “*Kalilah wa Dimnah* (Kalila and Dimna)”, which is about two jackals and other beasts (Paker, 2011, p. 464). This theme, which was transferred from other rewritings in Sanskrit from even earlier times, was made popular in Turkish in the sixteenth century (Paker, 2011, p. 464). Resemblance and repetition were so widespread in the creation of poetry in the sixteenth century that biographers commenting on (re)poems “would assume poet X’s source text to have existed not as ST1 but as STn, since such a text (STn) could only be expected to be a previous interpretation or reinterpretation (TTn) of an earlier (or even of a contemporaneous) text” (Paker, 2011, p. 467). To put it another way, an earlier known version of a poem was also believed to be the version of a third related poem. There might be different versions of the same theme (re)written at times not far away from each other. There might also be different versions written much later/earlier than one another. For this reason, no version would be considered as the ultimate source. In other words, all the versions of a particular theme derived from an original, which was believed to have existed at some point in time, but this original clearly remained unknown. In short, the three important characteristics of Ottoman poetry creation in the sixteenth century Paker diagnoses can be summarized as follows:

(a) the context is a crossroad of different languages and cultures

(b) the poem in question exists in a number of interlingual and/or intralingual versions

(c) the ultimate original of these versions is unknown.

(a) and (b) can be linked to what Anthony Pym defines as “interculture”: “*practices found in intersections or overlaps of cultures*, where people combine something of two or more cultures at once” (1998, p. 177, *emphases mine*). In fact, these two characteristics Pym (1998) attributes to the notion of “interculture” are based on a critique of Gideon Toury’s (1995) interpretation of the term: Adopting a target-oriented approach, Gideon Toury proposes a perspective acknowledging the coexistence of interculturalities in a setting where two or more cultures coexist (1995, p. 172). Each of these interculturalities, Gideon Toury argues, belongs to a particular target culture (1995, p. 172): “In reality, there would at best be a *series* of ‘interculturalities,’ each one pertaining to a particular target culture” (Toury, 1995, p. 172). Anthony Pym criticizes Gideon Toury on the grounds that he fails to reduce the notion of interculturalities to target cultures only: “[Gideon Toury] tries to imagine an intersection but cannot get over the idea that translators belong in target cultures” (Pym, 1998, p. 179). Challenging Toury’s perspective of interculturalities belonging to particular target cultures, Anthony Pym underscores the fact that “interculturality” differs from “multiculturalism” in that the latter refers to a society or a political unit where many cultures can be found. Therefore, the decisive fact distinguishing the

former from the latter is an intersection of two or more cultures/languages where the concepts “target culture” and “source culture” overlap.

Interculturality, then, can as well be studied from the perspective of a genealogical approach, which strives to account for a song’s “descent” and subsequent “masked” “emergence(s)”, rather than looking for its “origin” in Foucault’s sense (1977). This can help research focus on the conditions under which interlingual and intralingual versions of a particular melody were performed, composed and passed on from one agent to another, rather than getting obsessed with and fruitlessly attempting a search for its origin. But how can interculturality be observed? If the ultimate source is unknown (c) and the different intralingual and/or interlingual rewritings are made within a context where various languages and cultures overlap, this can be regarded as a space where interculturality exists, rather than associating a particular translation with a target (or a source) culture. Saliha Paker’s contribution to the definition of the term proposed by Gideon Toury and further elaborated on by Anthony Pym; therefore, is important in linking the notion of interculture to a historical context: intralingually and interlingually rewritten versions of the poems are created at a crossroad of different languages, that are spoken and used by bilingual and/or trilingual agents. Such coexistence of bilingual or trilingual agents is naturally reflected in any artistic creation. Languages A, B and C are spoken by the poets t, u, x, y and z. Poets t and u create in languages A, B and C. Poets x creates in languages A and B, poet y in B and C, and poet z creates only in the C language. Some aware and some unaware of each other’s rewritings, they end up creating 16 versions of the same theme in the languages A, B and C. The original poem, also known as the source poem, poem n, is unknown. It is also unknown whether poem n is one of the 16 rewritings or another 17th rewriting. The only thing

known is the fact that all of these versions are the transformed versions of one another. What is more, some of these are intralingual rewritings, i.e. , rewritings of the same theme in language A, and some of these are interlingual rewritings, i.e. , say, rewritings of the same theme in more than one language. This context in which many renderings of a particular theme are made in different languages by rewriters who speak those languages as a daily part of their lives is a remarkable example of intercultural.

Such a context of intercultural can also be hypothesized for the case of intralingual and interlingual song rewritings of the early nineteenth century Ottoman context. To do so, the Ottoman poetry creation in the sixteenth century and song translation in the early century Ottoman song creation need to be compared. First of all, (a) it was evident that the early twentieth century Ottoman context was a crossroad of various cultures and languages, two of which were Greek and Turkish. As Risto Pekka-Pennanen (2004) argues, “there was great linguistic diversity among the various religious and ethnic groups during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire” (p.16):

Many Greek and Armenian Orthodox Christians spoke Turkish as their first language, and Turkish was written in Greek and Armenian characters. There were also Turkish-speaking Slavs, Armenian-speaking Greeks, Greek-speaking Jews, and Greek-speaking Levantine Catholics. (Pennanen, 2004, p. 16)

Such coexistence of multilingual agents was reflected in song creation. For example, one song with the same melody was recorded and released in three different languages: Turkish, Armenian and Greek: “Dareldime Tzitzim Bana” (87427), “Hokvon Siretsi” (161-1A), and “Xariklaki” (101321) respectively. The earliest recorded versions of another song sung in Turkish and Greek by Ottoman-Jewish,

Ottoman-Greek and Ottoman Turkish agents were “Chakidji” (XC1057), “Chakizi Zeybek” (W.2054513) and “Tsakitzis” (W. 20005). In other words, in addition to the intercultural context where different languages and cultures coexisted, a number of versions of the same melody were recorded in different languages. This is the second point of similarity between poetry creation in the sixteenth century Ottoman context and song creation in the twentieth century Ottoman context, which corresponds to (b) above.

There is also a third point of similarity (c). Just like the existence of a number of interlingual and intralingual rewritings of a poem in the sixteenth century Ottoman context, songs in the twentieth century Ottoman context have many versions *the original of which is unknown*. While the main theme of a poem was what remained unchanged in the various versions in the sixteenth century Ottoman context, for a song in the twentieth century Ottoman context, what was rendered in each version was the main melody. The “descent” of such a melody, in other words, the process of what was kept from the earlier song version and what was added to or omitted from it is in fact worth elaborating.

“Porosity” refers to a space where cultural-linguistic permeability takes place. It is the “inter” as in interculture as opposed to the “multi” in “multicultural” as discussed in relation to Anthony Pym (1998) above: “[interculture refers to] *practices found in intersections or overlaps of cultures*, where people combine something of two or more cultures at once” (p. 177, emphases mine).

“Interculturality” is not to be mixed up with “multiculturality” because only the former is an intersection of two or more cultures/languages where the concepts “target culture” and “source culture” overlap (Pym, 1998, p. 177). Acknowledging a heterogeneous context as interculture also requires accounting for the way in which

songs were passed on from one agent to another, who altogether participated in the various performances of the same melody. Porosity is useful in accounting for such transmission which took place especially in the urban centers and/or port towns of the Ottoman Empire. One such urban city, without doubt was Constantinople/Istanbul. It was divided into neighborhoods such as *Pera* (“the other side, the other part of the city” in Greek) and *Galata* in the Ottoman times, where people of various ethnicities and religions lived side by side (Keskin and Sözer, 2012, p. 1). These neighborhoods were separated from each other by border-walls that were closed at night and opened during the day (Keskin and Sözer, 2012, p. 1). In a sense, Istanbul, at least since it was conquered by Mehmet II in 1453, has been made up of “others within itself”: it has been a place where the self and the other have been inseparably intermingled, where various peoples and cultures have moved to each other’s neighborhood in a porous atmosphere (Keskin and Sözer, 2012, p. 1). In a similar manner to Ferda Keskin and Öney Sözer, David Quataert also points to porosity within the Ottoman society, and states that the different groups were also difficult to identify and what seemed like a homogeneous group such as the Ottoman-Greek Orthodox displayed distinctions within itself, which led to porosity *not only between but also among groups*:

All societies, including the Ottoman, consist of complex sets of relationships among individuals and collections of individuals that sometimes overlap and interlock but at other times remain distinct and apart. Persons assemble voluntarily or gather into a number of often distinct groups. On one occasion, they might identify themselves or be identified by others as belonging to a particular group, yet at other times another identity might come to the fore. At a very general level, the Ottoman world may be described as holding the ruling and subject classes and also divisions by religious affiliations such as Sunni Muslim or Armenian Catholic. There were also occupational groups, sometimes but not always organized as corporate groups (*esnaf*, *taife*) that we call guilds, as well as huge groups such as women, peasants, or tribes. In all cases, each social group was hardly homogeneous and varied vastly in terms of wealth and status. We should not straitjacket the Ottoman individual or collective into one or another fixed identity but rather we need to

acknowledge the ambiguity and porosity of the boundaries between and among such individuals and groups. (Quataert, 2005, p. 142)

In fact, as regards songs, oral tradition, or “orality”, led to and increased the level of porosity, making such transmission faster, i.e. reading and (re)writing takes much longer than listening and (re)singing. This is how songs spread in the Ottoman Empire for music was rarely written down (Behar, 1998, p. 15). Instead of scoring, musical performance would contribute to the survival of the musical tradition (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 64). Naturally, memory played a major role in this process. In musical gatherings called “*meşk*”, masters and apprentices would come together and the master would help the students to memorize a particular song (Behar, 1998, p. 16). Merely for this reason, the concept of originality was highly doubtful in the tradition of Ottoman music tradition (Behar, 1998, p. 80). After all, such tradition was based on oral culture and memory, and there is no written proof as to “the different versions of the same song” (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 64). Therefore, different interpretations and versions of songs were considered as “equally original” (Behar, 1998, pp. 80-81). Such a system of passing on songs to students was so vital to the survival of the tradition that every master was expected to take part in it (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 65). As an outcome of many changing factors such as instruments and social orientation of the performers, everything including the songs themselves, was prone to change. In other words, while the survival of a song melody was dependent on the oral tradition, the same means was also responsible for all the different versions the said melody was rewritten into, in other words, the oral tradition determined the accidental descent of every song. With every new performance, i.e., every replaying and resinging, the melody was passed on to other agents in newer forms. Because there was neither a written version nor an audio record for most of the melodies,

reaching the ultimate source melody was fruitless. Even after the introduction of the record industry in early 1900s, it was easier to access different versions of the same melody, but it still did not help access the ultimate source melody, i.e., the ultimate original. A version of a song recorded, say, in 1910 did not necessarily mean that that version of the particular song was not composed earlier. Which of all the interlingual and intralingual versions would be first recorded was a matter of coincidence. Moreover, whether or not one of the versions of the song in question would actually be recorded was also a matter of coincidence. It is highly likely that many went unrecorded or lost (Ünlü, 2004, p. 119). Yet, “it is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into history” (Anderson, 1983, p. 12). The magic of genealogy, on the other hand, can “cultivate the [...] accidents that accompany every [imagined] beginning” (Foucault, 1977, p. 144).

Commenting on how an anonymous song can be rewritten over and over again, Merdan Güven (2009), a musicologist specialized in folklore, also argues that songs can be passed on from one individual to another easily as long as agents move from one place to another where songs can be passed on from one agent to another (p. 40). Therefore, in addition to orality, it is the agents’ “mobility” that facilitates the porosity of the song interculture. At the moment of creation, e.g., the ultimate source song, there is, naturally one specific individual or a group of individuals (Güven, 2009, p. 40). Naturally, one particular song melody cannot come to being at once in two different spaces separate from each other, i.e. there is always a process of transmission and transfer. Güven places emphasis on potential changes the lyrics might undergo: once a song spreads, it is no longer what it used to be (2009, p. 40). A song entitled “Celaloğlan”, for example, is known to exist today in three different versions (Güven, 2009, p. 40). As in the case of “Celaloğlan,” songs can gradually

turn into anonymous creations, which makes it highly problematic to identify the original version of a song (Güven, 2009, p. 40). It is problematic because a particular song melody might have been transferred by many different mobile agents such as traveler troubadours, soldiers, migrants, travelers and the like. Such transfer might take place during occurrences such as migrations, population exchanges, weddings, visits and the like (Güven, 2009, pp. 44-50). Due to such agents and occurrences, the song in question keeps being relistened and resung. Such relistening and resinging practices might lead to additions and omissions in both the lyrics and the melodies of the newer rewritings of that song (Güven, 2009, p. 41). For example, the story told in the song “Dağlar Seni Delik Deşik Delerim” sung in Malatya, is quite different from the lyrics sang to the same song melody in Erzurum (Güven, 2009, p. 41). Another example, “Celaloğlan” talks about a character called Celal (Güven, 2009, p. 41). In the version sung in Malatya, Celal gets sick in Istanbul and dies on his way back home. In the Kayseri version, he dies abroad (Güven, 2009, p. 41). There might be other versions of these songs which have gotten lost in time, in other words, other versions to which the surviving versions have been preferred. The “ultimate original” of these; however, remains unknown and highly probably will keep remaining as such.

While musicologist Merdan Güven points to the agents and contexts that facilitate the passing-on of songs, she fails to acknowledge that songs can also be rewritten into languages other than Turkish. She merely limits herself to intralingual rewritings of songs as a result of the mobility of agents and misses out a great deal on the descent of a song melody. Haris Rigas-Theodorelis (2011), on the other hand, comes up with a clearer picture of the porous interculture of song production across languages in the late Ottoman context. Rigas-Theodorelis (2011) also comments on

agents facilitating the spread of songs in the Ottoman context: such porosity was mostly observable among workers in sea ports, traveler Gypsy musicians, merchants and even inmates (p. 192). Making this comment, Theodorelis-Rigas (2011) connects porosity to mobility, and mobility to interlinguality: only such “surprising mobility” within the borders of the Ottoman Empire could be the major reason behind the fact that a particular song was known with different lyrics in different languages in three distant places such as Aleppo, Crete and Istanbul (p. 192). As a result of mobility, porosity was mostly observable in port towns, which were connected to one another by ships. On those ships traveled people, who facilitated the exchange of songs. One such port town was Istanbul, where people who had extremely mobile professions lived. Such people consisted of foreign merchants, seamen and ambassadors (Keskin and Sözer, 2012, p. 1).

Therefore, such musicological views on how songs are passed on from one agent to another can be applied to the Ottoman intercultural, but this time acknowledging their interlinguality, too. This means taking into account only the intralinguality but also the interculturality and interlinguality of ambassadors, traveler troubadours, foreign merchants, sailors, soldiers, migrants and travelers at/after/during commercial or non-commercial performances, migrations, population exchanges and weddings. This way, highly-porous contexts which enable other agents who have not heard such songs before to listen to them for the first time and pass them on in other highly-porous contexts can be effectively accounted for. Only then can we get closer to a clearer genealogy of the descent of such songs, unmasking their “national” make-up that has been usurped to create an “imagined continuity”. Only then can we get a clearer picture of the “porosity” of different cultures and languages that took place within the late Ottoman “intercultural”, leading

to songs that are still shared today. And only then can we come to understand how their “descent” was turned into conflicting representations of those very same songs after an “emergence” such as a population exchange simultaneously occurring with the proclamation of a nation-state.

In the sixteenth century interculture of poetry creation, the different versions of poems themselves are known to be (re)created in written format by certain poets. Nonetheless, in the interculture of song creation in the late Ottoman context, a song could be orally reperformed over and over again. Such reperformances could be intralingual or interlingual. Due to that more dynamic nature of songs as opposed to poems, there were potentially more agents involved: relyricists, resingers, reformers to say the least. And unlike a poem which was usually spread in written format, a song could be easily remembered, memorized and resung by someone who had just listened to it. Compared to the sixteenth century poetry interculture, the twentieth century song interculture lacks not only the ultimate original, but also questions of song (re)writership. Because it can be passed on much more easily than a poem, in (re)creating its versions which still survive today, there are possibly many more agents involved. These agents can be said to have all contributed to both the survival and the (re)creating of the versions that can still be sung and listened to today. In short, these agents created the intralingual and interlingual versions of the songs together, sometimes side by side, sometimes chronologically and geographically away from one another. In this sense, drawing much of my inspiration from Konstantin Sergeevich Mereschkowsky’s (1910) coinage of the term in biology, I propose the use of “symbiogenesis” as a mode of song translation: “the union of two different organisms whereby both partners mutually benefit” (Kutschera, 2009, p. 192). In the field of (song) translation studies, symbiogenesis

can be applied to refer to all the songs (a) dating back to the porous, mobile and oral Ottoman song intercultural, (b) which have several intralingual and/or interlingual versions, (c) the ultimate source song of which is unknown.

Symbiogenesis can refer to musicians of different backgrounds composing a particular song together, side by side in the Ottoman context. Such a song might have at least two versions, one in language A and one in language B. The instruments used, and the melody performed would potentially be quite close to each other. In an intercultural space where Armenian and Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish or Georgian and Turkish existed side by side might have been reflected into song versions existing in two or more of these languages and/or cultures. The traditional songs “*Sari Gelin*” [The Blonde Bride] or “*Havada Bulut Yok*” [No Cloud in the Sky] might have been composed in such a way.<sup>21</sup>

Symbiogenesis can also refer to a song composed in one language in any given city. Having travelled to another city in the memory of an agent (Agent A), this song might have been sung at a musical gathering in this new city. Another musician living in this new city in this period of time (Agent B), might have learned it and might have rewritten it with lyrics in a language which is spoken in this new city. This whole process can also be referred to as symbiogenesis, for what we have is the two (at least two) versions of a song with a similar melody and with two different lyrics in two languages. It is not possible to know if there were other earlier versions, for a particular recording does not necessarily mean there were no other earlier versions. As stated above, Haris Rigas-Theodorelis (2011) maintains that mobility within the borders of the Ottoman Empire could be deemed the major reason for a

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<sup>21</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0ZeyVU3ewPY> last accessed on January 22, 2015.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=J3oUIx1VtMw> last accessed on January 22, 2015.

particular urban song to be known under different titles and with different lyrics in different languages in three distant places such as Aleppo, Crete and Istanbul (p. 192).<sup>22</sup> In a way similar to Rigas-Theodorelis (2011), Cem Behar (1998) has also pointed out the urban nature of the music and argue that it developed in cities such as Istanbul, Bursa, Thessaloniki, Damascus and İzmir, which were examples of highly-mobile, and therefore porous cities in the Ottoman context (p. 45).

Along with this mobility and porosity, the oral transmission of any song of symbiogenesis results in what Stathis Gauntlett (1985) refers to as “variant performances” of the same melody (p. 54). As a result of being sung over and over again at various performances, the song is passed on from one musician to another, resulting in a number of versions. Each performance of the song in question can therefore lead to a newer version, echoing the song in question in a different way. From the perspective of translation studies, the idea of being performed over and over again, or being *reperformed* and *rereperformed*, can be accounted for by André Lefevere’s notion of “rewriting”:

The mere requirement for a text to be labeled as “rewriting” is that [those who read it] have a certain image, a certain construct of [the source text] in their heads”. That construct is often loosely based on some selected [elements] of [the source text] in question supplemented by other texts that rewrite the text in one way or another such as [...] performances on stage. (Lefevere, 1992, p. 6)

In a way similar to the definition of “rewriting” as suggested by André Lefevere here, the versions of a particular song melody can also create a certain construct in the minds and ears of those who listen to it. Lefevere’s stress might be on a verbal

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<sup>22</sup> For the Arabic version of what is known in Turkish as “*Ada Sahillerinde Bekliyorum*” [Waiting on Island Shores], go to [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hCZQFt9\\_80s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hCZQFt9_80s) . Last accessed on January 22, 2015.

text, and what he must have meant by “performances on stage” is probably a theatrical play or the adaptation of a work into theatrical performance. Still, given Lefevere’s (prerequisite for being “loosely based on some selected features of” a “source” the audience has in mind, the notion of “rewriting” can be applied to a song being rewritten at every performance, each of which, is a rewritten version of the song in question with its similarities and differences at various levels.

Applying this term, enables the translation researcher to bypass the need for a strict definition of translation: “the term rewriting absolves us of the necessity to draw borderlines between various forms of rewriting such as ‘translation,’ ‘adaptation,’ ‘emulation’” (Lefevere, 1992, p. 47). Even though I strongly agree with him on the benefit of this notion of his, in the present study, my motive for applying it is drawing lines rather than bypassing them. I apply the term to elaborate on the different levels of the translation process: the song can be “rearranged” and “reperformed” by different instruments, and even come to be identified with a new genre (“recategorization”) and the characteristic instrument of this genre (“reinstrumentalized”). The song’s lyrics can be “relyricized” in another language or other languages, it might be “resung” in different intralingual or interlingual versions. Then, some of the acts of reperforming and resinging can get to be “recorded”, “rerecorded”, and “redressed” in concert advertisements, album covers or liner notes. Being subject to dynamic processes of “reperforming”, “resinging”, “rewriting”, “rerecording”, “recategorization”, “reinstrumentalization” and “redressing”, symbiogenetic songs can be performed and listened to in very different

spaces from each other, but always as transformed and “represented” versions of each other.<sup>23</sup>

#### 2.4 Agents of symbiogenesis

As in other subcategories of translation, the songs of symbiogenesis cannot be transmitted from one place to another, from one culture to another, and from one historical setting to another on their own; they can only be composed, recomposed, relyricized, resung and travel by “human agents”: André Lefevere (1992) points out that literature is a system that has not come into existence naturally, it is created by “human agents,” in other words “rewriters” (p. 12). Being unnatural artistic creations, the Ottoman songs of symbiogenesis also owe their very existence to agents coming from various *millet*s within the Ottoman context, who are rewriters, relyricists, reperformers, resingers, rerecorders and the like.

Itamar Even-Zohar (2000) also emphasizes the role of “agents” in the making of a cultural repertoire. He regards cultural repertoire as “the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people, and by the individual members of the group, for the organization of life” (p. 166). The repertoire can be artistically created by “anonymous contributors” or agents that are “openly and dedicatedly engaged in” creating a repertoire (Even-Zohar, 2000, p. 168). Within the Ottoman context, the songs of symbiogenesis can therefore be regarded as creations of “anonymous contributors” in Even-Zohar’s sense, who are various rewriters that kept performing and hence rewriting each particular song in each performance. The reperformers

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<sup>23</sup> I have proposed elsewhere the application of categories such as “resinging”, “reperforming” and “rearranging” in song translation analysis regarding pop songs composed in the 1960s (Pesen, 2010). Focusing on the need to problematize the concept of originality in the present study, I propose three new categories: “redressing”, “recategorization” and “reinstrumentalization”.

whose names appear on the vinyls released within the Ottoman context, therefore, should be acknowledged as merely one of the anonymous performing agents that contributed to the song's rewritten over and over again through oral performance. On the other hand, the latter agent category that Even-Zohar (2000) refers to as those who are "openly and dedicatedly engaged in creating a cultural repertoire" (p. 168) can be applied to the creation of a national cultural repertoire after the "emergence" in the Foucauldian sense. The masking of the heterogeneous songs of symbiogenesis as monolingual and monocultural homogenous national creations by agents can also be conceptualized by applying Even-Zohar's (2000) notions of "invention" and "import": the former is a pure creation and original while the latter is a borrowing from another culture (pp. 168-169). While making up a new culture, certain agents benefit extensively from "import" in the making of a cultural repertoire, which has the potential of playing a crucial role in the organization of a much more crucial role in the making of repertoire, and hence in the organization of groups (Even-Zohar, 2000, p. 169). As Even-Zohar (2000) points out, agents "that are openly and dedicatedly engaged" in creating a cultural repertoire have a tendency to represent "imports" that are used in such a creation of a repertoire as "inventions" (pp. 168, 169). This way of thinking is in fact very similar to notions discussed regarding Michel Foucault: what is presented as an "original" / "invention" can in fact be replaced with an "emergence" that disguises the "descent".

André Lefevere's (1992) notion of "patron" can also help expand the involvement of agents within the representation of songs of symbiogenesis in the aftermath of the emergence. According to him, literature is a system made up of "human agents" ("rewriters") and "texts" (p. 12). However, the act of rewriting by these rewriters is regulated by patrons who are located just outside this system

(Lefevere, 1992, p. 15). This relationship between a given system and other systems is under the control of patrons, who therefore have the capacity to “make up a society” and “a culture” (Lefevere, 1992, p. 15). Using the Ottoman descent to borrow “imports” and present them as “inventions” after the national emergence, the “dedicated agents” within the Turkish government in the early Republican period and afterwards can therefore be conceptualized as patrons who encourage the rewriters to cleanse the songs belonging to the Ottoman interculture and rewrite and represent them as purely Turkish cultural creations. On the other hand, agents going to mainland Greece after the population exchange and registering the songs under their own names can also be seen as patrons who act in a national context where the state does not get involved in the masked representation of songs belonging to a heterogeneous descent.

## 2.5 Methodology

In his chapter under “Methodology” in *Charting the Future of Translation History*, Julio-César Santoyo (2006) underscores the need to address “blank spaces” in translation history (p. 13). What he means by “blank spaces” is that certain fields related to translation have tended to be neglected and therefore they still are replete with undiscovered aspects and details (Santoyo, 2006, p. 13). Among such blank spaces are “oral translation,” that is, the rarity of historical research in the field of interpreting as opposed to the abundance thereof in written translation (Santoyo, 2006, p. 13). Although he points to a dire need, what he misses out on here is the fact that the definition of oral translation can be thought of in broader terms. Since the Ottoman song translation is based among other things on orality, the creation and interlingual and/or intralingual transformation of music with lyrics in such a context can also come to be seen as a unique way of oral translation, that is, a mode of

translation practice carried out on the spot and not in written format. In fact, not being in written format can also be associated with another blank space in translation history: in the same article, he also voices a lack of historical research in “the daily practice of translation”, that is, the rarity of such studies regarding “everyday, common, unerudite unscholarly translations” (Santoyo, 2006, p. 15). In other words, while research in translation history has been dominated by those on the translation of “books”, it has neglected other written or oral translatorial activity that was part of everyday life. Giving the example of Bede the Venerable’s translating liturgical songs from Latin, Julio-César Santoyo (2006) includes song translation in this category (p. 17). Song creation in the Ottoman music scene and the representations of such songs in the aftermath of the declaration of the Turkish Republic and the mass exchange that dramatically increased the population in the Hellenic Republic can therefore be regarded as such an undiscovered category of an everyday translation practice.

In fact, the formation and translation of these songs as products and process constitute a blank space lying in the intersection not only of what Santoyo (2006) refers to as “blank spaces” of “oral translation” and “everyday practice of translation” (pp. 15 – 17), but also in that of history, music and politics. Therefore, elaborating on them creates the need of a well-established historical methodology.

Reflecting on methodology in translation history, Paul F. Bandia (2006) raises what he refers to as “fundamental questions of methodology in translation history” (p. 48):

What is the role of the translation historian in documenting or recreating the past? Is translation history, as a discipline, a mere recounting of past events, a deciphering of the traces of the past ... ? Or should the discipline be

construed as serious historiography, with a decidedly *interventionist role* for the translation historian? (Bandia, 2006, p. 48, emphasis mine).

Such an “interventionist role” can be associated, among others, with Michel Foucault, who “has contributed a great deal to the deconstructionist approach to history” (Bandia, 2006, p. 49). Michel Foucault’s (1977) main objection is to the traditional way of approaching history, an obsession with any origin, which Paul F. Bandia (2006) reviews as follows: “Following a Nietzschean and post-structuralist line of thought, Foucault discusses what he views as history’s dubious quest for the origin of truth, which he considers to be the part of the great myth of Western culture” (2006, p. 49). Doing this, while underscoring Michel Foucault’s main criticism to traditional history writing and the type of method Foucault opts for, Bandia does not refer, surprisingly, to the methodological tools Michel Foucault proposes.

In fact, Michel Foucault does not refer to himself as an interventionist or to his method as “interventionism”. The method he proposes is “genealogy”, or “effective history”, and the historical researcher is called “the genealogist” (Foucault, 1977). The tools Michel Foucault (1977) strongly advises the genealogists to apply to “fight the chimeras of origin” are “emergence,” “descent”, “(dis)continuity” and “(un)masking”. The present study makes use of these tools proposed by Michel Foucault to rewrite the history of songs from a genealogical perspective in the late Ottoman context as well as their various representations in the post-1923 Hellenic and Turkish Republics.

Adopting the genealogical method proposed by Michel Foucault, I devote the first two chapters of the present study to locating such songs in the contexts they come into being and were represented. The first of these contexts is the late Ottoman

stage during which the songs were first created, which I acknowledge as the Foucauldian “heterogeneous descent” of songs. To see the fuller picture of song creation in the Ottoman context, one of the notions I apply is “interculture”, as also discussed in detail in the theoretical framework above, which allows me to account for the heterogeneous context in which songs were created in the late Ottoman Empire. To problematize the process of song creation itself and how it took place, on the other hand, I propose three notions that help define the creation of songs in the Ottoman song interculture: “mobility”, “orality” and “porosity”. These characteristics I associate with the Ottoman context are based on research by music historians and musicologists, which I review in detail in Chapter 3. In a similar vein, I apply the term “symbiogenesis” as “descent” (Foucault, 1977) to refer to a joint creation in an intercultural context where it is highly problematic to engage in a search for national origins and originals, which has hitherto been a “blank space” (Santoyo, 2006) in song translation studies.

The representations song in the aftermath of the population exchange on the other hand in Foucauldian terms correspond to an “emergence”, a term, as discussed also above, Michel Foucault (1977) prefers to replace with “origin”. Upon the arrival of Anatolian Greek refugees in mainland Greece during and after the exchange, songs of symbiogenesis “emerge” as “original” song records either belonging to “Greek” individuals or the homogeneous “Greek culture”. I apply the term “Greco-monogenesis” to refer to the former and “Greco-symbiogenesis” to the latter. Almost simultaneously, they “emerge” in Early Republican Turkey always as anonymous, or in my terms, products of “Turco-symbiogenesis”. To compare and contrast how the Ottoman songs of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis are represented in Greece and Turkey after 1923, I also apply tools from the field of translation studies. As already

discussed in detail in the theoretical framework above, these tools are a combination of Klaus Kaindl's holistic method in analyzing songs and André Lefevere's term rewriting. From such a perspective, the representations of songs of symbiogenesis in Greece undergo practices such as "relyricizing," "recomposing" and "reinstrumentalizing" by certain individuals such as Panagiotis Toundas. In Turkey, on the other hand, such practices as "relyricizing", "recomposing," "reinstrumentalizing" are undertaken by state sponsored institutions. "Recategorizing" songs of symbiogenesis under the *rembetiko* genre in Greece and the *türkü* genre in Turkey is also another practice masking their Ottoman descent. Such theoretical tools as "relyricizing," "recomposing", "reinstrumentalizing" and "redressing" are also applied in the analyses in the case studies on the rerecordings and masked representations of three different songs. "Masking" is not the only way the songs have been represented after the "emergence" of Greek and Turkish music and culture after the exchange, and especially after the cooperation agreement between the two countries, unmasked and even bilingual representations of songs of symbiogenesis reflecting the Ottoman intercultural descent to some degree have been on the rise. At this point, the case study in Chapter 6 is important in revealing the transition state from masking to unmasking on the grounds that it is the representation of Turco-monogenesis as Greco-Turco-symbiogenesis.

In attempting to account for the history of songs of symbiogenesis and representation thus applying a combination of theoretical tools from translation studies and history, the present study is mainly based on the song versions themselves, the earliest of which date back to 1908. While drawing on the historical background to the songs in Chapters 3 and 4, it benefits from scholarly works from the fields of history and musicology. In Chapters 5, 6 and 7, two or more versions of

a song are analyzed in comparison to one another taking into account the way the song is performed at various levels: (re)singing, (re)lyricizing, (re)playing and (re)instrumentalizing. Accounting for these transcribing the lyrics in written format and transcribing the melody in musical notation on the researcher's part especially when no transcription is available and/or reliable. For vintage records dating back to the first decades of the twentieth century, historical biographies of performers and the song titles on records are also taken into account. As regards the representations songs dating back to more recent times such as the 1970s, album covers and back covers also determine the way the songs are represented. Finally, as regards more recent albums such as those released from 1970s on, album inserts and booklets are also benefited from for the analysis of representation.

## CHAPTER 3

### FROM HETEROGENEITY TO HOMOGENEITY

In the previous chapter, I provided a theoretical framework to probematize the context in which songs of symbiogenesis were composed. As argued above, the discourse stating that songs belonging to the Ottoman intercultural are in fact purely Turkish or purely Greek is an invented historical narrative, which, in Michel Foucault's way of thinking, could be referred to as traditional. In this chapter, in an attempt to unmask – again, in the Foucauldian sense – such traditional national musical histories, I present a genealogy of the Ottoman intercultural, which was how and where the songs of symbiogenesis were created. To do this, I set out to locate their descent in the porous, mobile and oral Ottoman song intercultural under “Locating Ottoman Descent”.<sup>24</sup> Agents belonging to different Ottoman *millet*s, who were of various ethnicities and religions, were the composers of the songs of symbiogenesis. This is the very reason why the socio-political context in which they lived and created their songs is my main point of departure. In the first section of this chapter, therefore, I quote extensively from various historians to locate the heterogeneity of songs within the Ottoman intercultural. I especially make use of those works penned by Greek, Turkish as well as other writers to suggest a genealogy of the Ottoman music scene.

In the section that follows, “From Millet to Nation,” I review the developments experienced in the last days of the Empire, eventually leading to the

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<sup>24</sup> Even though Greece gained its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1821, the Lausanne Treaty, which marked both the foundation of the Republic of Turkey and the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, the final rupture of the peoples who, among other things, played an active role in song symbiogenesis, was signed in 1923 (Clark, 2006, p. 2).

Greco-Turkish population exchange. The failed attempt to achieve a nation that is merely “Ottoman” is interesting for the subject matter of this study in that it reflects how heterogeneous the Ottoman Empire was that it got so close to transforming into one unified nation representing all different homogeneous groups under the Ottoman flag. The second option, that of moving towards Turkish nationalism, was the direct opposite, and resulted in turning what was once heterogeneous to a homogeneous nation, which, as we will see in Chapter 4, transformed the way songs of symbiogenesis were performed and represented.

### 3.1 Unmasking the Ottoman intercultural

In his groundbreaking book on nationalism, Benedict Anderson (1983) suggests that “nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which – as well as against which – it came into being” (p. 12). Greek and Turkish nationalism, therefore, can be better accounted for by means of locating their descent within the Ottoman context, which was the larger, preceding, and heterogeneous system from which the Greek and Turkish nations came into being. The concepts of *millet* and the mixed language situation within the Ottoman Empire were the two important aspects that led to the song intercultural.

#### 3.1.1. *Millet*s and languages in the Ottoman Empire

The concept of *millet* is key to understanding the socio-political context, in other words, the heterogeneity, hence symbiosis, of various communities living together under the Ottoman Empire as opposed to the concept of “nation” in today’s nation-

states. The word *millet* in Turkish, however, is tricky in that it translates into English as “nation”, and can also render the meaning thereof as it is used to describe Turkish nationality after the emergence of Turkey as a nation-state. In the Ottoman context, nevertheless, it had an entirely different meaning:

In the Ottoman Empire, [...] minorities [or all groups of subjects, including the Muslims, rather] were constituted into what were known by the name of a *millet*. A *millet* was a religio-political community defined by its adherence to a religion. Its members were subject to the rules and even to the laws of that religion, administered by its own chiefs, naturally insofar as these did not conflict with the laws and interests of the state. In return for this measure of religious freedom and communal autonomy, non-Muslim millets owed allegiance to the state [...] In the Ottoman Empire, there were four major *millets*; in order of ranking, the Muslims, the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Jews. All four were defined exclusively in religious terms. (Lewis, 1995, p. 322)

*Millet* in the Ottoman Empire, therefore, did not mean “nation” but a defined community of religion. This legal category also applied to the Muslims, which was in fact the dominant *millet*. In other words, there were not nations in the “modern” sense, but communities of subjects defined in terms of their religious affiliation.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, none of these different communities were linguistically homogeneous even within themselves.

The Muslim *millet*, also known as ‘*millet-i hâkime*’, the dominant millet, included speakers of Turkish, Arabic, Kurdish, Albanian, Greek and several Balkan and Caucasian languages. The second millet, that of the Greeks, was equally diverse. As well as ethnic Greeks, it included the followers of the Orthodox Church of many other origins – Serbs, Bulgars, Romanians, and Albanians in Europe; Arabic and Turkish speakers in Asia, who by Western classification might be called Christian Arabs and Turks. The third millet, that of the Armenians [...] consisted [...] of [...] adherents of the Armenian Church. It included, however, a considerable number of Turkish-speakers, who wrote in Turkish in Armenian characters. The Jewish *millet* included Spanish-speaking immigrants who fled from Spain before and after the edict of expulsion of 1492, the native Arabic-speaking Jewish communities of

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<sup>25</sup> The idea of being defined in terms of religious affiliation is especially important as regards the population exchange between Greece and Turkey, which I discuss in detail below.

Syria and Iraq, and the Greek-speaking Jews of the Morea, as well as smaller communities speaking several other languages. (Lewis, 1995, pp. 322-323)

The *millets* within the empire displayed *inter alia* linguistic heterogeneity within themselves: Ottoman-Muslims did not only speak Ottoman Turkish, but Arabic, Kurdish, Albanian, and last but not least, Greek. Ottoman-Greeks spoke Arabic and Turkish, as well. Armenians also spoke Ottoman-Turkish and even wrote Turkish in Armenian characters. The Jewish living within the Ottoman Empire also spoke, as clear from the excerpt above, a multitude of languages including Arabic, Greek and Turkish, as well. Bernard Lewis also underscores the distinction between Turkish as a language and Turkish as ethnicity in the Ottoman context.

The people whom we call, and who now call themselves, Turks [...] did not describe themselves by this [name] until fairly modern times. The *language* was known as Turkish, but the civilized citizens of Istanbul and other cities did not call themselves ‘Turk’. [...] It was only in modern times, under the impact of European ideas of *nationality*, that literate city-dwellers began to describe themselves by [this] ethnic [term]. (Lewis, 1995, p. 323)

While there were speakers of Turkish as a language within all the Ottoman *millets* – the Muslims, the Greeks, the Armenians and the Jews – the term Turkish or Turk was by no means used to describe a *millet*.<sup>26</sup> Risto-Peka Pennanen (2004) also foregrounds the Ottoman heterogeneity of agents belonging to different ethnicities and religions who spoke various languages including Turkish:

There was great linguistic diversity among the various religious and ethnic groups during the final decades of the Ottoman Empire. Many Greek and Armenian Orthodox Christians spoke Turkish as their first language, and Turkish was written in Greek and Armenian characters. There were also Turkish-speaking Slavs, Armenian-speaking Greeks, Greek-speaking Jews, and Greek-speaking Levantine Catholics. (p. 17)

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<sup>26</sup> Back in those times, ‘Turk’ was only used to refer to “the primitive peasants and nomads of Anatolia” (Lewis, 1995, p. 322).

Such ethno-linguistic heterogeneity of subjects was what constituted the Ottoman intercultural music production: “This language situation was reflected in [performances by] singers which contained a mixture of languages, usually Greek and Turkish” (Pennanen, 2004, p. 17). To see how such symbiosis of various communities intersected in the field of music, one needs to turn to music history. All the music cafés within the Ottoman Empire seem to have functioned as highly porous venues where mobile musicians of various millets speaking various languages gave oral performances.

### 3.1.2 Song interculturalism as descent: mobility, orality and porosity (MOP)

Music cafés within the Ottoman Empire, especially those in port towns, were key to understanding the nature of song production by musicians of different *millets* speaking various languages. Music historian and archivist Cemal Ünlü (2004) has observed that two major contexts where folk music was performed live were the festivals held by Ottoman-Greeks in Galata and Tattavla<sup>27</sup> districts in Istanbul and music-café (p. 84). The latter increased in number towards the end of the nineteenth century and got more popular in the course of the early twentieth century as “Kıraathane”, “Mani Kahvesi”, “Café-Chantant”, “Café-Santouri” or “Café-Aman” (Ünlü, 2004, p. 84).<sup>28</sup> *Café-amans* were places where musicians and audiences came together for live performance: “Café-aman was the popular name for a type of oriental music-hall or café-chantant. The origins of such establishments [...] are obscure. Cafés offering musical and other entertainment existed in the cities of the

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<sup>27</sup> Named as “Kurtuluş” today, this district is located on the European side of Istanbul, not far away from Galata.

<sup>28</sup> Although the terms used to refer to these places differed, what they all had in common was the fact that they were cafés where live music was performed for the purpose of entertainment.

Ottoman Empire as early as the 17th century” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 65). These music coffee houses that have existed in the Ottoman context since the 17th century and flourished in the late 19th century were crucial in terms of song mobility and porosity:

Café-aman musicians were touring artists who used to visit and perform in various urban centres of the eastern Mediterranean. Together with them, [music] traveled and interacted with various traditions and popular urban genres that flourished in the beginning of the 20th century, mainly in the seaports of the area. (Tragaki, 2007, p. 50)

The artists playing at these music-café did not limit themselves to a city. Traveling across the Mediterranean by ships, they toured other cities such as Izmir/Smyrni, Selanik/Thessaloniki and Istanbul/Constantinople, just like the theatre companies of the period mentioned above, who were also mobile. These cities with seaports were important in that they facilitated the agents’, hence, songs’ mobility at a time when sea travel was the most convenient way of transport. Increasing the mobility of musicians, and bringing them together in various café-amans in different port towns, live performances increased a song’s porosity: the more the song traveled in the minds of agents, the more it got passed on to other agents at live performances where they came together:

One of the most famous violin players, Semsis or Salonikios [from Thessaloniki] included in his repertoire a broad variety of tunes – [in Greek], Turkish, Arabic, Serbian, Spanish, Rumenian, Hungarian, Bulgarian [...] – which he learned during his tours of the east Mediterranean [...] Café-Aman musicians [...] were the vehicles that transported [songs] and communicated within a network of musical traditions featuring the circum-eastern Mediterranean area. (Tragaki, 2007, p. 50)

Mobility of musicians not only enabled them to make a living out of the royalties they earned at café-amans in different cities, but also broadened their repertoire of songs, i.e. songs they learned from other musicians they came across at those café-

amans in different cities. When these other musicians spoke different languages such as Greek, Turkish, Armenian or Arabic, the other musicians listening to them at the highly dynamic port towns could acquire songs performed in different languages. Taking into consideration the varied use of languages in the Ottoman context referred to above, it was not surprising to see that a song could be heard in different languages. The higher the number of musicians who learned and performed a song, the more it spread to other musicians and the more mobile and porous it got. The tradition of exchanging songs in performances this way led to a common song repertoire “communicated within a network of musical traditions” in the eastern Mediterranean area within the Ottoman Empire (Tragaki, 2007, p. 50).

Aristomenis Kaliviotis also refers to the mobility and porosity in the eastern Mediterranean, and foregrounds the importance of the music scene in the port town of İzmir/Smyrni. According to him, songs of various origins and genres first got popular in Smyrni and then traveled not only to the eastern Mediterranean, but also to the United States, where a number of immigrants lived [...] (Kaliviotis, 2002, p. 119). It is thanks to this mobility that a song “assumed to be of Cretan origin” was also rerecorded several times with different lyrics and titles, one of which was in Greek: “O Kritikos” (Kaliviotis, 2002, p. 119). A song sung in Romanian as “Colea in Gradinizza” was also sung in Greek as “Nina” (Kaliviotis, 2002, p. 119). Mobility of songs as well as porosity among agents led to a song melody to be relyricized and resung in more than one language. Lambros Liavas also refers to the song interculture in the Ottoman İzmir as representative of the entire Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean:

The port towns were under the influence of [...] Romanian, Serbian, Turkish, Persian, Armenian and Gypsy music mixed with traditional Aegean music. The old tunes of the Aegean, [...] Romanian dances, compositions in Serbian,

songs in Turkish all *intersected* in the narrow streets of Smyrni. Songs in Greek were sung by Armenian musicians and danced to by Gypsy dancers. A future was ahead of us: one that would be representative of all the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean. (Kaliviotis, 2002, p. 16, emphasis mine)

Izmir as a port town in the Ottoman Empire witnessed the mobility, and porosity of various ethnicities and languages, which as a result reflected all their languages and influences in the songs they composed and performed together, which made up an extensive repertoire in common. Music historian and archivist Petros Tambouris (2008) also refers to the music scene of intercultural in Izmir as one reflecting “the diversity of the society,” while he paradoxically maintains that the music was mainly played by the Greek musicians, who constituted the majority (p. 7):

[...] The various Moslem [sic] minorities in Smyrna also made their presence felt, as did the Armenians, Jews and settlers from Western Europe who were mostly from commercial, diplomatic and military missions. Thus the city was a composite of different minorities. Within that great *melting pot*, all the different forms of cultural expression managed to make themselves felt. So, Greek musicians, who were in the majority, had to meet the needs of *a diverse mosaic of ethnic groups*. It was precisely by expressing that cultural diversity that the first urban songs were written [...] (Tambouris, 2008, p. 7, emphases mine)

Petros Tambouris (2008) depicts life in Izmir as symbiosis among the Muslims, the Armenians, the Jews as well as those coming from Western Europe, hence “a composite of different minorities” (p. 7). To his mind, within this “melting pot” where the cultural practices of different minorities intersected, in order to reflect “the diverse mosaic of ethnic groups,” urban songs came to the fore (Tambouris, 2008, p. 7). According to him, though, because they constituted the majority of musicians in Izmir, it was Greek musicians who came up with that music reflecting the diversity. Therefore, Petros Tambouris’s comments so far can be summarized as follows: The urban songs in Izmir were heterogeneous, whereas who wrote those songs were Greek. He makes the emphasis on the Greekness clearer:

The long Ottoman occupation of areas with a Greek population created conditions for a cultural exchange. *Although the Greek influence was greater, Ottoman classical and popular music also managed to develop and, based on ancient Greek prototypes, created the national music school of today's Turkey. So there were several melodies which, irrespective of their origins, were used equally by Turks and Greeks.* (Tambouris, 2008, pp. 7-9, emphases mine)

Tambouris refers to the descent of Greco-Turkish song intercultural foregrounding the porosity between the Muslims and the Greeks in the Ottoman context. To his way of thinking, which clearly favors Greek nationalism (“although the Greek influence was greater”, “the national music school of today's Turkey” is “based on Greek prototypes”), within this porous environment (“cultural exchange”), the Turks seem to have borrowed more from the Greeks than the Greeks borrowed from the Turks. Still, he acknowledges the porosity and that certain elements were exchanged, and no matter to which side they belonged, several melodies were performed and enjoyed by both. He also refers to the mobility of intercultural musicians and therefore songs from Ottoman Smyrna and Istanbul to Athens, the already-Greek port town, linking it up to the café-amans:

The songs of Smyrna and Istanbul [...] were taken to liberated Greece with the first groups of musicians who toured there during the second half of the 19th century. They [the musicians of the Ottoman song intercultural] made their presence felt in [...] Athens and Pireaus. A large number of music cafés (café santouri or café-aman) were created [...] In 1873, the first café-santouri opened (renamed the café-aman after 1886) [...] By 1886, Athens was flooded with café-aman[s]. (Tambouris, 2008, p. 9)

Although Athens was no longer a part of the Ottoman Empire from 1821 on, the mobility between port towns could still be observed, and the songs kept on travelling to and from Athens as well as among several Ottoman cities. Café-amans, places where the repertoire of song intercultural expanded also opened in Athens in the late nineteenth century. Unlike Petros Tambouris, certain other music historians'

comments on how *rembetiko*, a musical style associated with Greek culture today, came into being, emphasize the fact that its roots also lie in the heterogeneous, porous and mobile Ottoman intercultural.<sup>29</sup> One such writer is Ed Emery (2000), who – echoing Benedict Anderson – refers to Greece as an “imagined community” (p. 12):

[...] Despite the best efforts of Greek nationalists to prove the contrary, Greece is a bastard culture. A rich and complex admixture of cultural elements deriving from far and wide [...] It [Rebetika] too is a *bastard culture* par excellence. A complex coming-together of musical modes and rhythms, combined with a distinctive argot that *borrowed from all the languages of the Mediterranean seaboard*. (Emery, 2000, p. 13, emphases mine)

Emery defines the *rembetika* genre as “bastard,” in other words, heterogeneous, linking it to the Ottoman past where songs traveled from one music café to another, one port town to another in the minds, voices and instruments of the shared oral culture of the musicians of the Mediterranean, who spoke various languages.<sup>30</sup>

Another important port town in the region was Salonica, famous for its “improvised café singing sessions – in the so-called Café Amans – which were beloved by Turks and Greeks alike” as follows (Mazower, 2004, p. 370):

Before 1912, musical contacts with Istanbul had been very close, and musicians in the sultan’s service used to give concerts at the Café Mazlum on the waterfront. ‘Spring in Salonica,’ ran one popular Judezmo song, ‘at Mazlum’s café/a black eyed girl sings the amané and plays the *oud*.’ *Music united all tongues and faiths*. ‘There was not a Salonican who did not run to hear the voice of Karakas Effendi which set the great old Mazlum Café in a tremble,’ remembered an enthusiast. Backed by violin, clarinet, *oud* and *kanun*, Karakas Effendi – “an elderly man, tall as a pine, his 75 years hidden in a black frock-coat” – was *an Istanbul Jew who moved easily, like many*

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<sup>29</sup> The genealogy of Rembetiko is elaborated on in further detail below.

<sup>30</sup> Emery also refers to Greek nation as “bastard,” foregrounding the fact that it is not pure at all. In fact, this “bastardy” discussed above in relation to Michel Foucault in Chapter 2, in fact holds for and is characteristic of the entire Europe after the rise of nationalism.

*musicians, between the café and the synagogue, challenging the cantors to see who could chant the blessing more beautifully. (Mazower, 2004, p. 371, emphases mine)*

While the synagogue was frequented by the Jews only, the café welcomed all “tongues and faiths” accompanied by instruments such as the violin, the clarinet, the *oud* and the *kanun* (Mazower, 2004, p. 371). The café and the songs played there functioned as an intersection of those who belonged to different languages, or as stated above, those who were defined as different *millet*s under the Ottoman rule. While the doors of the synagogue were closed to those other than Jews, the café welcomed all to listen to the songs played on the instruments they were used to playing and listening to together. Unlike the synagogue, or the church or the mosque, the café offered porosity where differences intersected and transformed into the language of music, enjoyed by all those different from one another – The Jews, The Christians, the Muslims... Some of the most popular musicians of the time were Kyor Ahmet, known as the “Caruso of the common folk,” and “Dimitrios Semsis, also known as the “the Salonican” or “the Serb” (Mazower, 2004, p. 371). Even though certain cafés were soon destroyed, the songs went on being sung in the different languages the people(s) of Salonica spoke:

Mazlum’s café was burned down in the fire, and the upper-class Hotel Méditerranée was built in its place, but some of Kyor Ahmet’s [mentioned above] Jewish students continued to develop and adapt his Ottoman legacy. “Maestro Sadik” – the blind Jewish *oud* player Sadik Nehama Gershon – collaborated with the song-writer Moshé Cazés who paid tribute to his partner as ‘truly an international musician who plays many instruments and sings in Turkish, Greek, Spanish and Arabic. (Mazower, 2004, p. 371)

Interestingly enough, Sadik would later be described (by musicians arriving from Istanbul) as a “gramophone” because he was famous for being able to learn by heart

any song that he heard once (Mazower, 2004, p. 372). The oral song porosity was typical of Sadik's encounters with other musicians at other cafés:

In the cafés, players clustered around as Sadik taught them new songs “freshly arrived from Istanbul.” Since all the musicians take the lesson together, you can easily imagine how the café turns into a veritable dervish centre, Sadik with his *oud* and everyone else beating rhythm, some on their clothes, others with their feet. (Mazower, 2004, p. 372)

Sadik's performance enabled the other musicians around him to learn the song by heart at once. From then on, the songs they learned from Sadik, which had already travelled from Istanbul to Salonica would probably travel to other port towns such as Smyrni, Athens or even Aleppo in the memories of the musicians who learned the song from Sadik. In other words, orality, mobility and porosity increased in positive correlation to one another, strengthening the network of song interculture. Like Ed Emery above, Gail Holst also emphasizes orality and café-amans as regards the descent of songs which came to be known as *rembetika* after the emergence of the Turkish Republic:

The real beginnings of the *rembetika* certainly go back well into the 19th century, but *since they belong to an oral tradition*, we can only make guesses about what the music was like [...] About this time cafés appeared in towns like Athens and Piraeus [...] Thessaloniki, which remained under Turkish domination until 1912, Smyrna, on the Turkish coast, and Constantinople. These cafés were of various types, but one was called café aman, probably a corruption of “mani kahvesi”, a café where two or three singers improvised verses. [...] (Holst, 2006, p. 28, emphasis mine)

Like other writers, Gail Holst also refers to the importance of the café-amans in the port towns of Athens, Thessaloniki/Salonica, Smyrna and Constantinople, and what started to be referred to as *rembetika* once belonged to an oral tradition of

improvisation. Holst links such orality to mobility of musicians from one café to another as well as music instruments in common, which also point to intercultural:

Wandering street players, many of them gypsies, would play in the café for a short time and then move on. Later, small orchestras called *koumpanies* became permanently attached to a café. They were made up of partly Turkish and partly Greek traditional instruments like the *santouri*, a hammered dulcimer with over a hundred strings played with little wooden wands, the *kanonaki*, a type of plucked zither, the violin, the *laouto*, or folk lute, and the *outi* (the classical Arab *'ud*). (Holst, 2006, pp. 28-29)

In fact, uttering the fact that the instruments used in café-amans were “partly Turkish and partly Greek,” Gail Holst also depicts performance as intercultural. Instruments used in such performances – *santur*, *kanun*, *oud* and the violin – were used in all the café-amans in the port towns in the Eastern Mediterranean. Commenting on café-amans where players, or in his terms, “exponents”, of such instruments accompany a singer or singers, Stathis Gauntlett (1985) elaborates on orality:

I understand oral tradition to mean the transmission of a song from one person to another by word of mouth in a performance and its storage in memory between performances. The effect of this process on the individual song over a period of time and over a group of exponents [performers] must certainly be *the development of variant performances*. (p. 54, my emphasis)

Songs are recorded in the memories of the mobile artists, who perform in the café-amans in the various port towns of the Eastern Mediterranean. Café-amans are characteristic of porosity in that the songs are transmitted from one musician to another, no matter which Ottoman *millet* they belong to or which of the languages spoken by those *millets* they speak. It is also this very “orality” that leads to “variant,” that is, different interlingual or intralingual interpretations, hence rewritings, of songs. All these constitute the Ottoman intercultural of song production in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The excerpts from music

historians' works discussed so far point to such intercultural where notions of MOP are always present. What Stathis Gauntlett refers to as "variant performances," or what we, as song translation scholars, as "different song versions", "retranslations", or "rewritings" can only be studied by one means today: recordings of such performances.

### 3.1.3 Captured MOP, unmanned performability: song recordings

The turn of the 20th century witnessed a new means of MOP: from then on, a song would not only travel in the mind and performance of a musical agent, but as a sound recording. This meant that songs would spread more easily, and would reach more listeners, some of whom would also listen to, learn and reperform the songs through song records. Another outcome of this new technology is its potential for research: recordings made back then enable us today to listen to the song the way(s) it was played some hundred years ago. In fact, what has been discussed so far has been about music in the late Ottoman context of intercultural, but it is merely "about" music – hence a secondary source –, but not the music itself. Songs, as discussed in relation to the song translation scholar Klaus Kaindl above, are not notated objects. Neither can they be accounted for in writing. The most direct way to understand how they were performed, and carry out research on them, therefore, is to make use of them as primary resources. The present study makes use of a corpus of approximately 200 songs of symbiogenesis, most of which were recorded in the first decades of the twentieth century. However, before moving on to a general overview of these recordings and detailed analyses of some representative examples, information on how recording technologies were introduced into the Ottoman

Empire may be enlightening in that they also point both to symbiosis and symbiogenesis. Archivist and music historian Cemal Ünlü describes the Ottoman context on the eve of the introduction of sound recording technologies as follows:

İrili ufaklı pek çok tiyatro ve operet topluluğu başta İzmir, Selanik, İstanbul olmak üzere, turnelere düzenlediği Osmanlı kentlerinde “sahne sanatları geleneğini” yerleştirmeye başlamıştı. [...] Azımsanamayacak nüfus yoğunluğuna sahip Rum halkın, kökleri Venedik karnavallarına uzanan Galata ve Tatavla (Kurtuluş) Apakriya (Apokrias) eğlenceleri, laternalı, defli, armonikaları panayırları, halk musikisinin bir başka önemli kolunu oluşturuyordu. Özellikle 1800’lerin sonlarında yaygınlaşmaya başlayan çalgılı kahvehaneler (kıraathane) dönemine damgasını vuran [...] toplulukların icra ettikleri musiki akımları vardı [...] Bu durum, başka kentlerde eşine az rastlanır bir musiki zenginliğine yol açıyordu. Görünen sanki, Osmanlı başkentinin karmaşık etnik yapısını ve bu yapının oluşturduğu kültürel dokuyu, oldukça doğru yansıtmakta olan bir aynanın akisleriydi. Ses kayıt aygıtları, işte böyle bir süreci yaşamakta olan, belki de ses kaydı yapmak ve bu ürünler[i] pazarlamak için dünyanın en elverişli kentlerinden biri olan İstanbul’a ulaşmış oldu. (Ünlü, 2004, p. 84)

[A number of small-scale and large-scale theatre and operetta companies started to establish a performance arts tradition in the Ottoman cities that they toured. The most frequently visited of such cities were Smyrni, Thessaloniki and Constantinople. [...] The population of the Greek *millet* was fairly dense and their Galata, Tatavla - Apokrias festivals, which dated back to the Venetian carnivals, as well as the laterna, def and harmonica accompanied feasts constituted a major branch of folk music. There was also music tradition that kicked off by music groups in the *café amans* towards the late 1800s. All these led to a rare diversity in music in the city. These were the reflections of the complex ethnic structure and the related cultural formation in the Ottoman Capital. It was at such a moment in history that sound recording devices were brought to Istanbul, the city which was among the most favorable in the world to record and market music.]

The complex ethnic structure and cultural texture in Istanbul, made up of music cafés, touring artists and carnivals held by the Greek *millet* in the day-long-porous districts of Galata and Tatavla, must have been found profitable and promising for the agents in the sector that was yet-to-be-born. Ünlü (2004) refers to the first records made in Ottoman cities as a “repertoire in common” that was composed by different ethnicities that constituted the Ottoman Empire:

Erken dönemde gerçekleştirilen Türkiye kayıtları Almanya ve İngiltere'deki fabrikalarda basılarak mamul haline getirildikten sonra gemilerle taşınarak "ithal malı" olarak satılıyordu. Bu erken dönem kayıtlara ait kalıpların yurtdışında kalması anlamına gelir ki, özellikle ilk on yıl kayıtları hem sayıca çok hem de repertuvar açısından çok önemlidir. [...] Plaklar [...] Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nu oluşturan irili ufaklı pek çok etnik topluluğun "ortak repertuarı" olduğu için ilgi çekiciydi. (Ünlü, 2004, p. 127)

[The early recordings made in Turkey were printed in Germany and England as products and brought back by ships to be sold as "imports". This means these early records' matrices, which were high in number and important in terms of repertoire especially in the first ten years, were left abroad. The records were appealing especially because of the fact that they were the common repertoire of groups of various sizes that formed the Ottoman Empire.]

This shared repertoire was first recorded in Istanbul in May 1900. In other words, the Ottoman record history begins in May 1900 (Ünlü, 2004, p. 136). Although Cemal Ünlü refers to this as "Türk kayıt tarihinin miladı" [the birth of Turkish recording history] (2004, p. 136), I consider such a term as one that implies direct continuity between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, which Michel Foucault (1977) warns us to be critical of. This statement by Ünlü claims an imaginary Turkey which was present in early 1900s. However, history shows us that Turkey, or the Republic of Turkey, was founded in 1923. Apparently what Ünlü means is the birth of record history *in Turkish language*. He clarifies himself elsewhere:

İlk Türkçe taş plak kayıtları İstanbul kayıtlarından yedi yıl kadar önce Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde gerçekleştirilmişti. Belki bu iki farklı olayı birbirinden ayırmak için Mayıs 1900'de gerçekleştirilen kayıtları 'İstanbul'da yapılan ilk Türkçe kayıtlar' olarak isimlendirmek daha doğru olacaktır. (Ünlü, 2004, p. 138)

[The first records in Turkish were in fact made in the USA - seven years before the ones made in Istanbul. To distinguish between these two series of recordings, it is more to the point to refer to May 1900 recordings as "The First Istanbul Records in Turkish".]

What is worthy of particular attention is the fact that the moment marking the beginning of record history in the USA for Turkish language, as well as those in Greek and Arabic also point to a symbiosis. In fact, what Ünlü refers to as a Greco-

Turkish “repertoire in common” or “shared repertoire” was first marketed in history in New York in 1896:

Emile Berliner’in gramofonu bulmasını izleyen günlerde bu işkolu ile ilgilenen şirketler gerek kendi ülkelerinde gerekse dış pazarlarda gramofon ve gramofon plaklarını parlak bir geleceğin beklediğini çabuk kavradılar. Şikago kentinde 1893 gibi erken sayabileceğimiz bir tarihte Arapça ve Türkçe kayıtlar yapıldı. Üç yıl sonra Berliner etiketli Yunanca ve Türkçe plaklardan oluşan bir repertuvar New York’ta satılmaya başlandı. (Strötbaum, 1993, p. 149; cited in Ünlü, 2004, p. 138)

[In the days that followed Emile Berliner’s invention of the gramophone, the companies active in the field were quick to find out that a bright future awaited them both in the local and international markets. Recordings were made in Arabic and Turkish in the city of Chicago as early as 1893. Three years later, a repertoire made up of Berliner-labelled records in Greek and Turkish was put on sale in New York.]

It did not take Emile Berliner’s invention too long to come to Istanbul. Four years after the first marketing of records in Greek and Turkish together in New York (1896), The Gramophone Company recorded nearly 200 songs in the Ottoman city:

Mayıs 1900 tarihinde The Gramophone Company’nin kayıt uzmanlarından biri olan William Sinkler Darby, yerel pazar için kayıtlar gerçekleştirme amacıyla İstanbul’a gönderildi. Darby burada ; 7 inçlik plaklara (18 cm.) toplam 176 adet Türkçe ve Rumca kayıt gerçekleştirdi. (Strötbaum, 1993, p. 149, cited in Ünlü, 2004, p. 138)

[In May 1900, William Sinkler Darby, a Gramophone Company recording expert, was sent to Istanbul to make recordings for the local market. Here, Darby made a total number of 176 recordings in Greek and Turkish on 7-inch records.]

For us, people living in mid-2010s, it must be difficult to put into perspective, but these records marked the beginning of an industry which would later turn into cassettes, then CDs, and then mp3s. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that the technology of both recording and mass-producing was no different than a toddler in 1900s. At that time, there was no factory in Istanbul or in any other Ottoman city.

The records were made in Istanbul or other urban centers. Within the first two decades of the twentieth century, the Gramophone Company made records in various cities such as İstanbul, Thessaloniki, Edirne, Athens and Izmir (Ünlü, 2004, p. 142).<sup>31</sup> Of these cities, Izmir and Salonica were also important music centers where performances by Muslim, Greek and Jewish musicians were recorded (Ünlü, 2004, p. 143). These recording sessions were then sent to Germany or England as matrices to be mass-produced (Ünlü, 2004, p. 140). Then the copies were brought to the Ottoman Empire to be sold to customers (Ünlü, 2004, p. 141). Ünlü's comments on the records in Greek are also important in terms of identifying unintended historical continuity in his discourse: "Bu kayıtların *ilginç* yanı büyük bir bölümünün "Konstantinople"de yapılmış olmasıdır [...] Yirmi beş plağın yanında kayıt yeri olarak 'Konstantinople' yazılıdır" (2004, p. 147, my emphasis).<sup>32</sup> That the majority of records in Greek were made in Istanbul, especially at a time when a number of Ottoman-Greek citizens lived within the borders of the Ottoman Empire as members of the Greek *millet* as discussed above, should not come as a surprise to such a meticulous music historian as Cemal Ünlü. This can be related to policies and trends in favor of claiming songs of symbiogenesis, which emerged *after* the declaration of the republic of Turkey. The declaration of the Republic also marked the migration of one and a half million Anatolian Orthodox citizens from present-day Turkey to present-day Greece.

This very attitude, I would like to argue, can be explained by cultural policies pursued by those in favor of Turkish nationalism, who were inclined to see "Turkish national music" as the only continuity of the Ottoman past. This linear way of seeing

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<sup>31</sup> Athens was already officially Greek back then, whereas Salonica became a part of the Greek State in 1912.

<sup>32</sup> "What is *interesting* about these records is that most of them were made in Constantinople [...] On twenty five of these records, place of recording has been indicated as Constantinople", my translation.

history, i.e. as opposed to acknowledging various descents, must have turned the heterogeneous Ottoman intercultural into the homogeneous Turkish culture in such a way that the Ottoman-Greek other who contributed to the Ottoman music as much as the Ottoman-Muslim has become invisible to many researchers in Turkey. It has become invisible in such a way that they have come to get surprised when they come across the fact that the Greek language echoed the streets and music cafés in Ottoman Istanbul as much as the Turkish language. Records made back then prove to us that they in fact did. It was only that the masked representations of these songs made listeners thought otherwise. Accounting for the transition from *millet* to nation-state is key to understanding this.

### 3.2 From *millet* to nation-state

How could a vast heterogeneous empire with subjects of different *millets*, who also spoke a variety of languages both within themselves and with each other, forming spaces where each distinct culture intersected with one another have turned into what was presented as a homogeneous nation-state? To understand the ideology behind Turkish nationalism, the political atmosphere in the last two decades of the Ottoman empire is critical.

In this part, I explore the late Ottoman scene to provide a historical picture of the melting pot in which the songs were composed in a porous environment. It was only after such attempts proved fruitless that the idea of Turkish nationalism came to the fore as the only solution. The Late Ottoman context, as in the fall of any other empire, witnessed bloodshed and chaos, which eventually put an end to the era of symbiosis.

### 3.2.1 The emergence of Turkish nationalism

Before the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) officials finally decided to found a state based on Turkish nationalism – which meant the exclusion of those who would be deemed non-Muslim and non-Turkish –, they actually looked for ways to better represent heterogeneity and symbiosis under the Ottoman flag, which would allow for equality for all different groups of people no matter what their religion, language or ethnicity might be. The events leading to such an attempt in the Ottoman Empire began in 1908, when there was a series of assassinations in which Greek, Bulgarian and Muslim citizens were killed in Salonica. In an attempt to give the public a message of peace, Greek, Bulgarian and Muslim authorities gathered:

The Greek archbishop, the president of the local Bulgarian Committee and the *mufti* came out on the balcony, embraced one another and called on the lookers to do the same in the name of fraternity. A great shout of joy erupted, and an enormous flag was held up with the words “Long Live the Constitution!” in Turkish, and “Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, Justice” inscribed in its four corners. Standing in front of it, an excited *hodja* raised the cry “Long Live the Constitution!” The crowd responded immediately [...] Soon army officers and civilian CUP [Committee of Union and Progress] supporters – including Jews, Greeks and Bulgarians – were speechifying from the steps of public buildings, on café tables and hotel balconies, “enthusiastically cheered by crowds of all nationalities.” The streets were filled late into the night with groups waving the Ottoman flag as well as the red and white stripes of the CUP. (Mazower, 2004, p. 257)

Towards the end of July 1908, it was Enver’s Bey turn to speak of fraternity:

A few days later, [...] Enver Bey [...] addressed a large crowd outside the cafés in what had just been renamed Place de la Liberté. “Citizens!” he began. “Today the arbitrary ruler is gone, bad government no longer exists. We are

all brothers. There are no Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, Romanians, Jews, Muslims – under the same blue sky we are all equal, we are all proud to be Ottomans!” [...] The Empire had been reborn, as a state belonging not to the sultan but to all its citizens. This was the official ideology of nineteenth-century reform pushed to its limits. [...] This new situation, created by the committee [of Union and Progress], responded well to the secret sentiments of all the populations whatever their race and religion. (Mazower, 2004, pp. 258, 259)

The messages of liberty and fraternity were so effective that even brigands and band leaders came down from the mountains in the hopes of uniting peacefully under the CUP (Mazower, 2004, pp. 258, 259). Now it was time to remove the last obstacle to make way for the reform – Sultan Abdulhamid himself (Mazower, 2004, p. 259). In fact, in April 1909, the CUP officials received intelligence that Abdulhamid was about to call off the constitution once more, which ended in retaliation by the CUP- what was referred to as the “Salonica Army” advanced to Constantinople and got Abdulhamid to step back and leave the throne to his brother Resad (Mazower, 2004, p. 259). To put it another way, Constantinople was now under the control of the “Salonians,” who were composed of the different *millets* and who believed in the equality, liberty and fraternity of the subjects of all ethnicities and religions living under the Ottoman Empire such as Bulgarians, Greeks, Serbs, Romanians, Jews and Muslims – in Enver Paşa’s terms all those who were “proud to be Ottomans” (Mazower, 2004, p. 259).

Even though it did not last long, this revolution initiated by the Young Turks symbolized cosmopolitan loyalty to the empire as an alternative to “the divisive power of nationalism” (Mazower, 2004, p. 261). It was a new type of “Ottomanism” for it no longer owed allegiance to the throne, but emphasized “common participation in a constitutional government acting in the name of the ‘People’ or the ‘Ottoman nation’ (Mazower, 2004, p. 261). In that sense, it was the Ottoman

interpretation of the three pillars of the French Revolution – liberty, equality and fraternity for all the ethnicities and religions under the Ottoman flag. Although some of its Muslim opponents did not like the secularism component of Ottomanism, more Muslims preferred the idea of a constitution to owing allegiance to the Sultan. Macedonian bands also favored the CUP's Ottomanism, which they saw as the only alternative to the tyranny of Greece or Bulgaria (Mazower, 2004, p. 262). Moreover, both the Orthodox Patriarchate and several Greek deputies believed that Ottomanism was the only way to control and safeguard the Orthodox communities living in different parts of Asia Minor (Mazower, 2004, p. 262). A number of Greeks also agreed to this, and even joined the CUP themselves (Mazower, 2004, p. 262). Journalist and historian Bruce Clark also notes: "In 1908, when a group of radical young officers rebelled against the Sultan, proclaiming a spirit of fraternity between the empire's Muslim and non-Muslim peoples, many Greeks welcomed and actively supported this, at least in the very early days" (2006, p. 7). Nevertheless, it was finally understood that the symbiotic environment in which all these subjects led their lives was coming to an end when ethnic nationalism rendered Ottomanism fruitless: "Bulgaria declared its independence, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Cretan insurgents proclaimed union with Greece" (Mazower, 2004, p. 262). Unwilling to lose more territory, the new Ottoman government banned Greek, Bulgarian and Serb national organizations and more strict laws were passed against brigand bands (Mazower, 2004, p. 262). Seeing the influence of ethnic nationalism on the Ottoman-Christian population, the Ottoman-Muslims soon followed suit (Mazower, 2004, p. 263). As a result, the emergence - in the Foucauldian sense - of the Turkish Nation gained momentum.

The members of the CUP had made the final decision: the new government to rise from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire, which was made up of four major *millets* would be based on ethnic nationalism- just like the rest of Europe. Defining “Turk,” however, was problematic and this should soon be remedied:

By 1910 the ideology of Ottomanism had more or less collapsed as a way of holding the empire together, and as nationalism spread among its Christian population, it gained ground among Muslims, too [...] But who, or what was a Turk? Although Europeans were talking about “Turks” for centuries, it had not been a term much used within the empire. The ruling language was an amalgam of Turkish, Arabic and Persian, with a smattering of Greek, Slavic and Italian, and its ruling class – like all imperial ruling classes – included individuals from an astonishing array of different backgrounds – Albanian, French, Venetian, Arab, Jewish, and Circassian [...] If “Turk” meant simply Muslim, then in the Balkans alone, there were Albanian, Cretan, Bosnian, Bulgarian, Jewish and other Muslims in addition to a scattering of Sudanese slaves, Egyptian market gardeners and the long-established peasant descendants of nomadic Turcoman tribes. The main issue – how to define a Turk – was explored by the Salonica-based Turkish nationalist Tekin Alp in a series of articles in 1912 on *The Nature and Historical Development of the Turkish Movement*. (Mazower, 2004, p. 263)

One of the first to *imagine* himself to be Turkish would be Tekin Alp: despite being born into an Orthodox Jewish family in nearby Serres in 1883 with the name Moise Cohen, Tekin Alp became one of the leading figures of Turkish nationalism (Mazower, 2004, p. 264). In a work he published, he even preached the Turkification of minorities in Turkey on the basis of patriotic commandments such as “Turkify your names,” “Speak Turkish,” “Mingle with Turks” (Mazower, 2004, p. 264).

In fact, in the aftermath of the Young Turks movement in 1908, the meaning of Turk had been transformed from a derogatory term into one that is “honorable” (Kushner, 1979, p. 151). The basis of Turkish nationalism was thus established as the Turkish language and culture (Kushner, 1979, p. 151). One of the earliest attempts towards such nationalism was the founding of an association called *Türk Derneği* (the Turkish Association), which failed to reach many people on grounds of

belonging to intellectuals and its overemphasizing language reforms (Kushner, 1979, p. 154). This association was replaced with another, *Türk Ocağı* (the Turkish Hearth), whose main mission was to develop the Turks, which, according to the founders of this very association, constituted the leading Islamic nation, while at the same time purifying the Turkish race and language (Kushner, 1979, p. 154). This association was also important in that it also published the journal *Türk Yurdu* (the Turkish Homeland), one of the writers of whom was Ziya Gökalp, who would soon turn into the major theoretician and of Turkish nationalism (Kushner, 1979, p. 154). As the “founding father of the nationalist movement” and inspired by “racial nationalism,” Ziya Gökalp thought of many ways of making many people redefine themselves as belonging to the Turkish nation (Mazower, 2004, p. 264). To Gökalp, nation meant a society with culture, therefore, the true Turkish culture was to be researched and discovered in fields of literature, arts, crafts and last but not least, customs (Kushner, 1979, p. 155). In this respect, he would also make groundbreaking comments on how to achieve purified Turkish music.<sup>33</sup> Regarding the integration of religion into the definition of the Turkish nation; however, Gökalp was also strongly opposed to a civilization of Islam. In his way of thinking, religion could merely be an element that would trigger patriotism, and could also be benefited from in order to achieve cooperation and solidarity with other Muslim states (Kushner, 1979, p. 155). Language, on the other hand, was to constitute the basis of a national life and national awakening (Kushner, 1979, p. 155).

Due to the impossibility of both Ottomanism and Pan-Islamism movements, especially on grounds that it might lead to conflict with Russia, Mustafa Kemal and his entourage established Anatolia as the homeland of the Turks and started the

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<sup>33</sup> Ziya Gökalp’s influence on “the music of the Turkish nation” is discussed in further detail below.

national movement there (Kushner, 1979, p. 157). Although the basis for the population exchange was religion, the major element Mustafa Kemal Atatürk worked on was, as Ziya Gökalp suggested, language (Kushner, 1979, p. 157). Replacing the Arabic alphabet with the Latin alphabet was one of the major practices in this field (Kushner, 1979, 158). Another field, history, as elaborated on further below, was also of major importance to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk in that it would help consolidate the ethnic basis of Turkish nationalism (Kushner, 1979, p. 159). The elements that characterize Turkish nationalism were therefore established as origin, language, history and culture (Kushner, 1979, p. 159). In other words, the newly-defined Turkish people of the early 1920s can be said to have been unified under a secular ethno-linguistic nationalism. Nevertheless, even though religion was thus by-passed because of being deemed an obstacle hindering modernization and Westernization, it was later used to unify people of different ethnic, religious and linguistic backgrounds under one national identity (Grigoriadis, 2013, p. 23). Therefore, the ethno-linguistic nationalism of the Early Republican Era that turned its back to religion was replaced with an Islam-integrated version after late-1930s (Grigoriadis, 2013, p. 27; Çetinsaya, 1999, pp. 350-376). Still, in the early-1920s, because the ethno-linguistic character of the Turkish nation was yet to be established, there was but one way of separating those who would constitute the Turkish nation from those who would constitute the Greek nation: religion.

### 3.2.2 The population exchange

The breaking point for the total separation of the Greek and the Turkish nations in the making, in other words, the emergence of the Turkish nation, as well as the Greek nation, can be argued to be the population exchange, which was legally realized in the early 1920s (Clark, 2006, p. 2).<sup>34</sup> In this sense, the population exchange was decisive in the emergence of two homogeneous monolingual imagined communities that once lived under the heterogeneous and multilingual Ottoman Empire. The exchange was also crucial for the songs of symbiogenesis, which would come to be recategorized under the *rembetiko* genre in the Hellenic Republic and under the *türkü* genre in the Turkish Republic in years to come.

In fact, the migration of Ottoman-Orthodox to present-day Greece, and that of Muslims to present-day Turkey began many years earlier than the official exchange of populations, during the Balkan Wars (Mazower, 2004, p. 313). Not only armies but also those who imagined themselves to belong to a nation were involved in violence to completely exterminate those they believed were alien (Mazower, 2004, p. 313). Since the Empire that was about to fall was made up of extreme heterogeneity, there were many parties who now imagined themselves as different nations, and there was constant violence and chaos. The First World War was about to break out, and in general, all of the newly-defined nations were violent towards each other and as a place where one nation emerged after another, the Balkans was not surprisingly no exception. Sometimes, some were less violent. An interesting fact is that, when the Greek Army marched to Vardar Valley, because they were as

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<sup>34</sup> The population exchange was in fact not limited to 1920s, because in action it began many years ago. This is discussed in detail below.

hostile towards Muslim civilians as their Bulgarian and Serbian allies, a number of Muslims even temporarily took refuge in areas under Greek control to run away from Bulgarian and Serbian allies and the related brigand bands (Mazower, 2004, p. 313). Greek refugees were also arriving from Thrace, and from 1913 on, a number of them were expelled from their homelands by Bulgarian and Ottoman troops (Mazower, 2004, p. 315). Given the circumstances, Ottoman authorities suggested that a partial population exchange take place between Muslims and Christians, however this could not take place since the First World War had already broken out (Mazower, 2004, p. 316). Still, no one could foresee in 1914 that in less than a decade to come, more than a million Ottoman-Orthodox would be forced to abandon Anatolia (Mazower, 2004, p. 316). Soon, more than fifteen thousand Muslims fled Salonica (Mazower, 2004, p. 318). Among them were the mother, sister and cousin of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and Nazım Paşa, the last governor of the city, and his grandson Nâzım Hikmet, who would later write in a poem: “I was born in 1902/ I never went back to my birthplace/ I don’t like to turn back” (Mazower, 2004, p. 318).

The conflicts between the Greeks and the Turks climaxed in the Greco-Turkish war in the early-1920s. Encouraged by West European politicians, the Greek Army landed in Izmir and then entered Anatolia in January 1921 (Emery, 2000, p. 38). Led by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the Turkish army defeated them (Emery, 2000, p. 38). In August 1922, the Turkish Army launched a final offensive to drive the Greek Army away from Anatolia (Emery, 2000, p. 38). What the Turks called victory would be recorded in Greek history as the “Asia Minor Catastrophe” (Emery, 2000, p. 38). Towards the end of 1922, representatives of the Greek and Turkish sides met in Lausanne, put an end to the war and decided on an exchange of

populations (Mazower, 2004, p. 321). This was what Bruce Clark would describe as “total rupture” between the Greeks and the Turks:

[...] Greece and Turkey, with the blessing of the leading world powers, agreed on an almost complete and *final division of the geographical and cultural space in which their peoples, languages and religions had previously coexisted*. It is true, of course, that a gradual separation, both in a psychological sense and a more literal one, was already well advanced when a final, nearly *total rupture* between Greek society and Turkish society was undertaken, in 1923. (2006, p. 2, emphases mine)

The leaders of the two communities, the Ottoman-Crete born Venizelos and Ottoman-Salonica born Atatürk both intended to form nation-states from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire and both were willing to take steps towards homogenization (Mazower, 2004, p. 321). In accordance with this latest exchange effective as of 1923, under the Treaty of Lausanne, Muslims would settle in Turkey and Orthodox Christians in Greece, in other words, difference was marked with religion (Mazower, 2004, pp. 375, 390; Emery, 2000, p. 20). Put more simply, whoever was Orthodox was to be “Greek,” and whoever was Muslim was to be “Turkish” (Tambouris, 2008, p. 15). There seemed to be no other way for achieving gradual homogeneity on the part of both the Turkish and the Greek nationalists. By mid-1920s, 1.5 million of Asia Minor’s Christian inhabitants had fled the region and taken refuge in present-day Greece (Tambouris, 2008, p. 13). Because the Orthodox refugees had lived in the Ottoman Empire for generations, they spoke Turkish (Tambouris, 2008, p. 15). In fact, some of them did not only speak Turkish but also sang in this language (Tambouris, 2008, p. 15). Among these refugee-musicians, especially those arriving from Smyrni and Constantinople, were Panagiotis Toundas<sup>35</sup>, Vangelis Papazoğlu, Dimitris “The Salonican” Semsis, Spyros Peristeris, Lefteris Menemenlis, Antonis

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<sup>35</sup> As the composer/rewriter of the song “Aeroplano Tha Paro/Telgrafin Tellerine”, Panagiotis Toundas is further elaborated on in Chapter 7.

“Dalgas” Diamantidis, Grigoris Aşikis and Marika Politissa (Tambouris, 2004, p. 15). They brought with them the songs of symbiogenesis, which they had performed together with their neighbours from the other *millets* in the Ottoman context. The songs belonged to them as well as they belonged to musicians from all the other *millets* including the Muslims in the Ottoman intercultural, and now they were taking them to mainland Greece among their few belongings. Unlike their actual belongings such as money or goods; however, there was neither a limit nor a way to control the belongings they would take to Greece in their memory. They could take as much as they could remember. Among them, Dimitris “The Salonican” Semsis, referred to in the section above with his outstanding memory, and Panagiotis Toundas, was of particular importance. This was because both were able to remember a myriad of the songs of symbiogenesis, therefore, contributed a great deal to the mobility of songs in the aftermath of the exchange from the Ottoman context to Greece. This also meant the transmission of songs of symbiogenesis from the Ottoman intercultural to what is known as the *rembetiko* genre, which today is associated with the Greek national culture.

## CHAPTER 4

### HOMOGENIZATION OF SONGS OF SYMBOIOGENESIS

A material belonging can be taken from one place to another. A book, a pack of cigarettes, a bottle of whiskey, or simply, your wallet – these are material belongings and they cannot exist in more than one place – as long as we are talking about the same book, the same pack of cigarettes, the same bottle of whiskey and your same wallet, not another one with the same features. This, in fact, is not the case for memories. If you learned a joke from a friend, or a fairy tale, it is highly likely that she also learned it from someone else, or read it somewhere. Unlike material belongings, memories can exist in more than one place at the same time as long as they travel from one place to another in the mind of an individual, who can pass it on to other people. As discussed so far, this was exactly the case for the songs of symbiogenesis. They travelled in the minds of the people who left, and remained in the minds of the people who stayed. The former group was the Muslim *millet* in the Ottoman context, and the latter were the Anatolian Christians, in other words, the Greeks. Upon this social separation, the songs belonging to the Ottoman intercultural, and therefore both social groups, assumed new identity in their new contexts. This chapter is devoted to the changes that the songs of symbiogenesis underwent in the Hellenic Republic and the Turkish Republic in the aftermath of the population exchange, to which we have already referred to, using Bruce Clark's (2006) definition, as the "total rupture" between the two groups of people that were separated from one another, taking into account to which *millet* they belonged in the Ottoman Empire (p. 2).

The songs of symbiogenesis were mainly taken to Greece in the minds of musicians coming from various parts of Anatolia, and the most influential of these refugees came from Izmir/Smyrni, a city famous for its music scene at the turn of the century. Because many immigrants spoke no Greek, or little Greek, and they came from “the Muslim land”, they were despised and even referred to as “yoghurt-baptized” (Mazower, 2004, p. 337). As a result, they were doomed to mingle with other outcast groups: drug dealers, prisoners and the *manges*. The songs that the *manges*<sup>36</sup> played, in other words, “the songs of the Greek underworld” were taken out of the hashish den by these very refugee musicians and performed at taverns for the very first time. Because they also had the songs of symbiogenesis of the Ottoman intercultural repertoire, they played all of them together in their performances, and they soon started to record them. This merged genre was referred to as *rembetiko*, and the *bouzouki* became its major instrument.

The songs of symbiogenesis also remained in the minds of the people who stayed within the borders of today’s Turkish Republic. Here, the changes these songs underwent were mainly state-sponsored. They were collected and compiled in the archives of various state institutions to achieve one goal: national unity. For this reason, because the songs were of symbiogenetic, thus heterogeneous nature, they were re-lyricized, recomposed, re-categorized and re-instrumentalized in a way compatible to the Turkish History Thesis, which claimed the historical continuity of the “lofty” Turkish nation and that “it was much older and deep-rooted” than both the Muslim Ottoman Empire and the ancient Greek civilization.

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<sup>36</sup> *Manges*, the plural form of *mangas*, were “twilight characters living on the edge of law” (Petropoulos, 2000, p. 87).

In the first section of this chapter, I demonstrate how and under what conditions the songs of symbiogenesis came to Greece, how they ended up being recategorized under the term *rembetiko*, and how this newly termed genre came to be associated with the *bouzouki*. In the second section of the chapter, I expand on how SoS were collected and compiled in accordance with culture planning policies pursued in Early Republican Turkey, how they were rewritten and represented to the public, how they were recategorized under the *türkü* genre, and how they were associated with the *bağlama* – the designated national instrument of the Turks. For this chapter, I will refer extensively to various historians and musicologists to be able to see the fuller picture, or in the Foucauldian sense, the “effective history” of the songs of symbiogenesis in the aftermath of the population exchange in both states.

#### 4.1 Unmasking the Greekification of SoS

Since, as referred to above, the newcomers to Athens were regarded as “Turkish seeds” they began to keep away from the Greeks already living there – “they spoke a different language and had different customs” (Tambouris, 2008, p. 17). Religion was the only thing that the Orthodox refugees from Anatolia had in common, and they were by no means a homogeneous group (Mazower, 2004, p. 336). They all fled different regions such as the Asia Minor coastal line, the Black Sea, the Caucasus and eastern Thrace (Mazower, 2004, p. 337). They were unfamiliar with what was yet to be imagined as a homogeneous “Greece” back then in the 1920s. “Some of them brought strange clothes and unfamiliar customs, harsh dialects and even, ironically, *the Turkish language*, which many of them spoke much *more fluently than Greek*” (Mazower, 2004, p. 337, emphases mine).

Moreover, a number of them could only understand Turkish, and referred to themselves not as “Greeks” but as “Anatolian Christians,” or “Christians from the East” (Mazower, 2004, p. 337). Spotting the differences between the newcomers and themselves, the Greeks from the Peloponnese or the islands called the exchangees “Turkish-seed” or even “yoghurt-baptized” (Mazower, 2004, p. 337). In other words, “incoming refugees faced additional pressures of racism” (Emery, 2000, p. 19). Even the Muslims who had so far managed to stay in areas under Greek control were surprised to see that those who were about to begin a life in their houses that they were about to leave for good, did not “know Greek and spoke Turkish” (Mazower, 2004, p. 337). Furthermore, to the Muslims’ astonishment, these Greeks also “sang in Turkish” (Mazower, 2004, p. 337).

With the music they brought from the Ottoman interculture, the “Greek” from the Ottoman Empire, or in their own terms “the Anatolian Christians”, played a major role in the music scene: they gradually changed the original setting where the songs of the Greek underworld were performed. In fact, they were the ones who commercialized these underworld songs along with the songs of symbiogenesis that they brought with them. When they first arrived in mainland Greece, since they were considered outcasts, or “Turkish seeds,” the only social group the refugees could really communicate with in Athens and Piraeus was other outcasts and musicians who were not refugees (Tambouris, 2008, p. 17). As a result, many of them mingled with underworld figures such as the *manges* (Tambouris, 2008, p. 17). The *manges* used to live in certain neighbourhoods such as Psiri in Athens, Karaiskaki and Trouba in Piraeus and had their own tavernas and cafés, where they controlled illegal business such as smuggling, drugs, gambling and prostitution (Petropoulos, 2000, p. 87). They could also be described as “twilight characters living on the edge of the law”

(Petropoulos, 2000, p. 87). They were also involved in crime, “often carrying knives” (Emery, 2000, p. 25). In fact, the *manges* was a term interchangeably used with *rebetes*, who were also the “characters behind the most underworld themes [...] – the songs about smuggling, prison and so on” (Emery, 2000, p. 25). In addition to the *mangas* character, two places were also important in the creation of underworld songs:

The womb of rembetiko was *the jail* and *the hashish den*. It was there the early *rebetes* created their songs. They sang in quiet, hoarse voices, unforced, one after the other, each singer adding a verse which often bore no relation to the previous verse, and song often went on for hours. (Petropoulos, 2000, p. 87, emphases mine)

The *manges* sang in the jail or in the hashish den out of self-satisfaction. Unlike the modern commercial musician who performs to please others, the *rebetes* sang out their pain and suffering and misery. In its original setting, the early underworld music was how they spent their days high on drugs, and they did not see it as something to make money out of. However, the dynamics of this type of song underwent extensive transformation upon the arrival of the Anatolian Christians (Emery, 2000, p. 20). When the Greco-Turkish war was over and there was one and a half million incoming refugees, the music that the café-musicians from Anatolia brought with them was markedly different from what the *manges* performed: “The music that the refugees brought with them was at first very different from that of the *manges*. It was oriental. Their clarinets, violins, santouris and kanonakia vied with the bouzouki players [...]” (Emery, 2000, p. 27). The hashish den, also referred to as

*tekés*<sup>37</sup> (from “tekke” in Turkish) where *manges* played out of self-satisfaction began to be visited more and more frequently by the refugee musicians:

The musicians, like most of the other refugees, were, in comparison to the Greeks of the host country, extremely sophisticated; many were highly educated, could read and compose music, and had even been unionized in the towns of Asia minor. It must have been galling for them to live on the periphery of the new society in poverty and degradation; most had lost all they had in the hasty evacuation, and many, from inland Anatolia, could speak only Turkish. In their misery they sought relief in [...] the tekés or hashish den. (Emery, 2000, p. 30)

Soon, the incoming musicians would completely change the style of the underworld songs that were played in the hashish den. They quickly integrated songs expressing the life style and values of the Greek urban criminal underworld into their repertoire, which also included the songs of symbiogenesis they used to play in music cafés (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 28). What they did was in fact perform the songs of low life out of their contexts, which eventually brought these songs acceptability and popularity (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 28). They first started to play the songs in taverns and cafés in Greece, where these songs had never been played before. A little later, in the late 1920s early 1930s, they were the first to record the underworld songs along with the songs of symbiogenesis: “Café-aman musicians were the first to perform traditional rembetika on gramophone records. From 1920 onwards, they were also the first to compose rembetika specifically for commercial recording” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 76). According to this comment of Stathis Gauntlett’s, the rembetiko in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, or in his terms, “traditional rembetika,” was

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<sup>37</sup> The Turkish *tekke* have various connotations, one of which, according to the TDK (Turkish Language Institution) Dictionary, is a place where vagabonds take refuge and/or gather. It also refers to a place where marijuana is smoked. Both these definitions overlap with the use of the word in Greek regarding the context of *rembetiko* and *manges*. Another connotation of the term in Turkish is a place where members of a particular religious sect gather and carry out rituals, which is irrelevant to *rembetiko*.

[http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com\\_bts&arama=kelime&guid=TDK.GTS.58d93ce53a9dd1.80507183](http://www.tdk.gov.tr/index.php?option=com_bts&arama=kelime&guid=TDK.GTS.58d93ce53a9dd1.80507183) , last accessed March 27, 2017.

one that was orally transmitted and anonymous. Just like the joint creation of songs of symbiogenesis discussed above, the underworld songs performed by the manges was also characteristic of mobility, orality and porosity. The place where it was originally played, however, was not the music cafés but the hashish den out of self-satisfaction. Stathis Gauntlett (1985) refers to this initial stage as a “non-commercial oral tradition” (p. 54). As I also discussed in detail in the previous chapter, Stathis Gauntlett’s definition of “oral” involves “the transmission of a song from one person to another by word of mouth” that leads to “variant performances” (rewritings) of the same song by “a group of exponents” (reperformers) (1985, p. 54). Bearing in mind what I have discussed so far as regards mobility and porosity, also inherent in this definition of orality are the notions of porosity (“the transmission of a song from one person to another by word of mouth in a performance) and that of mobility (“its storage in memory between performances”, that is, the idea of a performer/exponent learning a song at context X and reperforming it himself/herself at context Y). The process and various rewritings of a rembetiko song in what Gauntlett defines as the “non-commercial oral tradition stage”, then, is very similar to what has been covered above as regards songs of symbiogenesis. In other words, what Gauntlett refers to as “traditional rembetika” is another type of common and anonymous repertoire within the low-life, underground context of Athens and Pireas.

Subsequent to this stage is the “commercial oral tradition stage” in the repertoire of café-aman performers from the Ottoman interculture (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 54). Upon the arrival of these highly skilled musicians from Anatolia, the underworld songs get out of the hashish den, and are integrated into the repertoire of café-aman musicians who also had the songs of symbiogenesis in their repertoire: “The mobility of café-aman musicians [...] contributed to the dissemination of

rembetiko” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 67). Because these oral repertoires, both of which were symbiogenetic, were mixed – and difficult to distinguish from one another due to both of their orality and anonymity – in the repertoire of the *café-aman* musicians who now lived in mainland Greece, *café-aman* music and the songs of low-life intersected and gradually popularized under the title “*rembetiko*” for commercial purposes.

The two different sets of songs of mobile, oral and porous songs, namely, the songs of the underworld on the one hand, and the songs of symbiogenesis brought from the Ottoman culture on the other, got mixed in the repertoire of the *café aman* musicians, who also came from the Ottoman intercultural. And this mixed repertoire came to be referred as *rembetiko*. In what follows, I provide a genealogy of the term *rembetiko*, linking it to record history and the *bouzouki*.

#### 4.1.1 Recategorization of SOS: the *rembetiko* genre

Before the songs of symbiogenesis belonging to the Ottoman intercultural on the one hand, and the anonymous creations of the rebetes in mainland Greece on the other were united under the repertoire of *café aman* musicians coming from Anatolia as “*rembetiko*”, the term “*rebetes*” was already in use, but the term *rembetiko* was not as popular as it was after the 1930s. There were other terms used to refer to the music of the underworld, but eventually the term “*rembetiko*” emerged. I will first review the etymology of the term below and then tie it up to how it might have been the most popular among other terms that were in use, which eventually came to refer both to the songs of the Greek underworld *and* the Ottoman songs of symbiogenesis.

According to lexicographers, the term *rebetis*, from which the word “*rembetiko*” derived, is synonymous with “idler”, “vagabond”, “rogue” which are rather negative connotations (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 35).<sup>38</sup> The word can nevertheless have positive connotations such as “bon vivant” and “bohemian,” which can also be defined in Greek as “*meraklis*” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 36). Commentators on *rembetiko* such as Butterworth and Schneider, Friar and Holst also emphasize the fact that the word is associated with the underworld in the form of “non-conformity” and “delinquency” rather than “outright criminality” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 36). Fielding, Stratou, Hatzidakis and Christianopoulos associate the term with “ideological non-conformity” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 37).

The views on not only the meaning but also the etymology of the term are varied. Papadimitrou, Skouriotis, Fielding and d’Allones have little doubt about the fact that the word comes from the Turkish word “*rebet*” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 38). Two of these commentators on the word “*rebet*”, Papadimitrou and Skouriotis, maintain that the word in Turkish means “undisciplined, disorderly” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 38). In a similar vein, Fielding refers to the *rembetika* genre as “the favourite music of the spiritual anarchist” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 38). Stathis Gauntlett makes the following comment on these views:

None of these commentators [on the etymology of the word “*rembetiko*”] takes the trouble to document [their] claims from a published source, and in seeking to verify this etymology, I have been unable to confirm the existence of *rebet* as such in Turkish. (1985, p. 38)

Monolingual dictionaries of Turkish also seem to confirm this comment of Stathis Gauntlett’s – neither in *Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlüğü*, nor in *Dil Derneği Sözlüğü* can

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<sup>38</sup> The plural form of the word *rebetis* in Greek is *rebetes*. It can also be used interchangeably with the words *meraklis*, *mangas* and *berbadis* (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 35).

the word “rebet” be found. But this claim, which is not supported by any published source, might have to do with the mixing up of the genre with the Ottoman songs of symbiogenesis, which some exponents of the genre might have misinterpreted as not Ottoman but Turkish. Because they know that the genre dates back to the Ottoman intercultural, they might be automatically inclined to think the word “rebet” might also come from the shared past, where Turkish was spoken by both the Anatolian Orthodox and the Ottoman Muslims. Similarly, Professor V.L. Ménage of the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London is of the opinion that the word “rebet” does not exist in modern Turkish language (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 38).

According to him, it is in fact derived from the Arabic word *kharab* (“harap” in Turkish), the plural form of which is *kharabati*, meaning “ruins”. Apparently, it was passed on to medieval Persian as “tavern, wine shop” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 38), which can be associated with the places where the music was played after it was taken out of the hashish dens by the exponents of symbiogenesis arriving in mainland Greece from Anatolia.

All in all, the different views and speculations on the etymology of the term “rembetiko” and the impossibility of coming to a definite conclusion merely attest to a symbiosis (not symbiogenesis here, but *symbiosis* only) not only of Greek and Turkish but also Arabic and Persian languages which were a part of the Ottoman intercultural.<sup>39</sup> Just like the songs of symbiogenesis, it is not possible from a scholarly point of view to denote where and when the term was exactly born. In fact, the different opinions as to the genealogy of a musical genre is not peculiar to the rembetiko genre only, and in other musical genres such as the jazz and the blues,

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<sup>39</sup> Still, from another perspective, this could be taken further and regarded as a verbal/lingual *symbiogenesis* of people speaking the Arabic, Greek, Persian and Greek languages, borrowing from one of these languages and together creating the terms in another.

there are conflicting definitions, as well (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 42). The genre that is now called *rembetiko*, which I have discussed to be a mixing of the anonymous songs of the underworld on the one hand and the Ottoman songs of symbiogenesis on the other has not always been called as such: “*Rembetiko* is but one of the names applied to the genre under analysis, and [...] it was not the first” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 41). “The tradition was periodically or locally known by other names” such as *vlamika*, *koutsavaklika*, *mourmourika*, *magkika*, *mortika*, *chasiklidika*, *tis filakis*, *tsachpinika*, *achvachlika*, *areimaniotis*, *seretika*, *Smyrneikos ballos*, *rembetiko zeibeikiko*, *zeibeikiko dervisiko*, *servikaki alaniariko*, *kasapiko magkiko* and *sirto derbederiko* (Gauntlett, 1985, pp. 31, 32).<sup>40</sup>

Of all these terms, the term “*rembetiko*” was apparently opted for to refer both to the oral tradition of songs of the underworld and to the Ottoman songs of symbiogenesis brought to mainland Greece in the minds of Anatolian Christians. The acceptance and the popularity of the term was probably due to the use of the term on records, which dates back to the late 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>41</sup> Here is a list of records that display the term “*rembetiko*” for the first time in history, in the late 1920s (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 32):

- 1- “*Tournene*” (Rembetikos) (Greek Popular Song), Xorodia L. Kavvadia. Columbia, UK.
- 2- “*Fonias Tha Gino*” (Rembetiko), Maria Papagika. Columbia, UK.

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<sup>40</sup> According to Papadimitriou, the term *vlamika* was used to refer to the mainland Greek underworld before the population exchange, and it was replaced with the term “*rembetika*” upon the arrival of songs from Constantinople and Anatolia (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 31). Papadiamantis holds that the term *koutsavaklika* was used to refer to the underworld (Papadiamantis, 1972, p. 453, cited in Gauntlett, 1985, p. 31). Butterworth and Schneider point out that *Mourmourika* was the name of the genre, which Stathis Gauntlett believes to be a Smyrnaic word (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 31). Róvertakis and Sofoulis hold that it was called *magkika*, Karagatsis refers to the genre as *chasiklidika*.

<sup>41</sup> Stathis Gauntlett states that the listed recordings were made in 1930s; however, as I discuss below, Stavros Kourousis documents that at least two of the recordings which I came across on Gauntlett’s list were made in 1928.

- 3- “*Dourou Dourou*” (Rembetiko), Maria Papagika. Columbia, USA.
- 4- “*Tout Oi Batsoi Pou’rthan Tora*” (Rembetiko Zeibekiko) (Greek Bum Song)  
+ “*Apo Kato Ap’ Tis Domates*” (Rembetiko Zeibekiko) (Greek Bum Song),  
Giannakis Giannidis, bouzouki Man. Karapiperis. Columbia, USA.
- 5- “*Chaxpina*” (Rembetiko), K. Dousas + kithara. Columbia, USA.
- 6- “*O Yiatros*” (Rembetiko), G. Katsaros + kithara. His Master’s Voice /  
Victor, USA.
- 7- “*As Ta Kolpa*” (Rembetiko), Rita Abatzi. P. Tounda, His Master’s Voice.
- 8- “*Mis Klais Manoula Mou*” (Rembetiko), Stellakis Perpiniadis. Columbia.
- 9- “*I Orphani*” (Rembetiko), Anna Politissa. Columbia.

Of these first uses of the term “rembetiko” on records, 6 and 4 above are worth particular attention. *Record 6* above is important in that it is an example of one of the first songs to be represented as rebetiko is the rerecording of the song “O Yiatros,” which is in fact a song of symbiogenesis. In other words, this recording of “O Yiatros” [Oh Doctor!/*Aman Doktor*] in the early 1930s is a masked representation of a song of symbiogenesis, which exemplifies the fact that “*rembetiko*” was a term used not only to refer to the songs of the underworld, but also to the Ottoman interculture songs of symbiogenesis.

*Record 4* above is worth particular attention in that it does not only display the term “*rembetiko*” but also provides a definition of the term in English: “Greek Bum Song”. Such definition is also compatible with the possible connotations of the term discussed above. According to Stathis Gauntlett, who is the first scholar to comment on such a record, the unprecedented use and the translation into English of

the term as “Greek Bum Song” on this record might have led to its popularity over other terms used to refer to the genre:

Indicative of the intended connotations of the term is the translation of “rembetiko zeibeikiko” into English on both sides of one American record as “Greek Bum Song”. It is possible that this early commercial usage of the appellation “Rebetiko” led to the widespread acceptance of the term and displacement of the names previously applied to low-life songs. (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 32)

Stathis Gauntlett points here to the importance of the recording which displays not only the term “*rembetiko*” but also a translation/explanation in English. That very translation in the form of an explanation - “Greek bum song”- must somehow have been found cool and catchy by other musicians, listeners and producers of the genre and led gradually to the establishment of the term “*rembetiko*” to refer to the genre. It is Stathis Gauntlett who first spots this unprecedented use – displaying the term with a translation thereof - and how it might have led to the popularity of the term. In fact, this very recording that Stathis Gauntlett acknowledges as one of the very first to have the term “*rembetiko*” on its cover, and the first to provide a translation thereof has also another important characteristic. It is also one of the very first recordings history to display the *bouzouki*.

#### 4.1.2 Reinstrumentalization of SoS: the *bouzouki*

The *bouzouki* on the first *rembetiko* record labelled as “Greek Bum Song” was accompanied by the *bouzouki* player Manolis Karapiperis (Kourousis, 2013, p. 90). As stated above, this was also the first record to be known as featuring the *bouzouki*. This means, the first performer to ever have made a *bouzouki* recording in history, to our current knowledge, is Manolis Karapiperis, who was born in 1884 on Samos, an

island in the Aegean (Kourousis, 2013, p. 90). Geographically located right in the middle of mainland Greece and Asia Minor, the island was a cultural and musical crossroads (Kourousis, 2013, p. 92). Leaving his Anatolian Christian family there, Karapiperis left for the USA as early as 1912 and it would take him 16 years before he made the historic record of both the rembetiko and the bouzouki (Kourousis, 2013, p. 92):

His first recordings *Tout I Batsi Pou Irthan Tora* and *Apo Kato Ap' Tis Domates* were made towards the end of 1928 for Columbia and are two of the most important rembetika zeimbekika of the period of anonymous creation; that is to say, pieces which used traditional melodies and verses from the common stock. (Kourousis, 2013, p. 92)

Of these recordings made in 1928, *Tout I Batsi Pou Irthan Tora* [Those Cops] can be described as an “example of a song of *manges* of the old Greek underworld; one of the few authentic examples to have survived from the old bouzouki tradition” (Kourousis, 2013, p. 110). The other one, *Apo Kato Ap' Tis Domates* [How Much Are Those Tomatoes?], is described by Kourousis as follows:

Another impressive song from the old oral tradition. On the label of the original issue, as on the reverse side, we find the English sub-title, Bum Song; that is to say song of the “rounder”, loafer or vagrant. Also we find the definition, rembetiko [...] probably for the first time in the Greek discography that this appellation is justified. The verses originate from the period of anonymous creation [...] (Kourousis, 2013, p. 111)

This record, consisting of two songs that belong to the Greek underworld, is the first to be displaying both the terms “Rembetiko: Greek Bum Song” and the bouzouki, played by Manolis Karapiperis, who is, therefore, the first performer to ever have recorded the *bouzouki* instrument. However, as I have repeatedly stated as regards both the songs of Ottoman symbiogenesis and those of the Greek underworld, the first recording of an item has very little chance of being the first performance thereof

in a context of anonymous creations. The emergence of the *bouzouki*, and how it evolved into what was in the first recording in 1928, then, is a question that troubles the mind. In his book *From Tambouras to Bouzouki* (2013), Stavros Kourousis also draws both on the term *bouzouki*, and its evolution as an instrument in meticulous detail:

The origin of the word “*bouzouki*” still occupies researchers. We find our first reference to the term in the works of the 15th century Turkish poet Kamil, where it appears as “bozuk” or “bouzouk”. The name first appears in Greece in the early 19th century. It is possible that it originates from the Turkish “Bozurk”, which means “broken”, although this is open to doubt as the word does not refer directly to any musical terminology. However, the name “bouzouk” is still used today in some parts of Turkey for a form of tambouras and also for the established tuning for that family of instruments the “bozuk düzeni” (la-re-sol), or “Kara düzen” as it is better known. (2013, p. 24)

In fact, *tambouras/tambur* the instrument from which bouzouki evolved dates back to very long ago, as old as 2,600 BC: “the first indication of the tambouras is found in Mesopotamia in 2,600”. In the early 17th century, however, “the term bouzouki was used to refer to a tambouras with three strings” (Kourousis, 2013, p. 29) The first application of the term *bouzouki* not for the tambouras but for the bouzouki instrument dates back to the 1800s Constantinople/Istanbul, which is also contemporary with the Ottoman intercultural song symbiogenesis: “In 19th century Constantinople, highly decorated instruments were made, and called *Politiko Bouzouki* [Istanbul-style Bouzouki]” (Kourousis, 2013, p. 23).

As already stated above, the songs of the underworld were integrated into the repertoire of the incoming Anatolian refugee musicians/*café aman* musicians, who already had the songs of Ottoman symbiogenesis in their repertoire. When the term “rembetiko” came up with the release of a series of recordings labeled as such, the most influential of which was the 1928 record for the reasons discussed above, the

*bouzouki* also came to the fore as an instrument. Nevertheless, *café aman* musicians did not perform the *bouzouki* at first. In reality, the aspects *café-aman* musicians modified was not only the context (from the hashish den to sound records or the professional stage) and purpose (from mere pleasure to music business), but also the style the low-life songs they played. *Café-aman* musicians played the low-life songs the way they played the songs of symbiogenesis: they reperformed the songs they learned from the *rebetes* on the instruments they were already used to playing, such as the violin, the *santouri*, the *kanun* and the like: “In *café-amans* [underworld] songs were orchestrated for a *café-aman* ensemble (the *santouroviolia*, that is the *santouri* and violin based ensembles)” (Tragaki, 2007, p. 49). The *bouzouki*, on the other hand, which was the instrument originally used to perform underworld songs by the real *rebetes*, was yet to be mastered by these commercially oriented musicians. In other words, *café-aman* style meant the accompaniment of *café-aman* instruments as opposed to *the bouzouki* (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 67):

The form in which underworld songs was reaching [audiences] was of course that in which the songs were performed in the *café-aman*, whose voices and instruments differed greatly from those of the original underworld [style] of the oral tradition. (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 85)

Gradually, “although the *bouzouki* became synonymous with the *rebetiko* song”, early recordings of the genre were not performed by the instrument (Tragaki, 2007, p. 56). This resulted from the identification of the instrument with marginal groups, that are, the underworld figures, of Greek society (Tragaki, 2007, p. 56) This is why *bouzouki*-based bands were absent from the first recordings (Tragaki, 2007, p. 56). Soon, however, the *bouzouki* began to be used in recordings taking place in the USA towards late 1920s. One of these recordings artists, as discussed above, was Manolis

Karapiperis. Bouzouki soon gained popularity in the United States recordings, and this “had a profound effect on Greek rembetiko recordings made in Greece” (Tragaki, 2007, p. 56).

The commercial success of American *bouzouki* records impelled local recording supervisors to invite bouzouki virtuosos to conduct rembetiko recordings. Markos Vamvakaris, Stelios Keromytis, Anestis Dhelias, Ghiorghos Batis, Bayianderas, Yiannis Papaioannou and Mihalis Yenitsaris – the great names of the first generations of rebetiko musicians – were recruited to perform rebetiko with the bouzouki, the baglamas (a smaller version of the *bouzouki*) and the guitar. (Tragaki, 2007, p. 56)

In mid-1930s, café-aman musicians started to hire *bouzouki* players (Tragaki, 2007, p. 56). However, the government was not in favor of the increasing popularity of *rembetiko* on grounds that it was “dangerous for Hellenic-Orthodox customs and morals”: “In 1936 Metaxas’ dictatorship imposed censorship on recordings of the genre” (Tragaki, 2007, p. 56). The terms of the censorship brought about several restrictions. “Songs associated with lumpen urban culture could only be played on stage [...] State control also affected the language employed in the lyrics, which avoided the use of underworld slang, especially those words associated with marginal practices and drug consumption” (Tragaki, 2007, p. 60). All these affected the café aman musicians. They were the ones who changed the performance context of the underworld songs – they took the genre out of the hashish den and prison and started to perform those low life songs at taverns and music cafés. Now, the government was asking all musicians, including - *café aman* artists - to take out every element in the lyrics related to the underworld: “the tavern replaced the marginal contexts of the hash-den and prison cell and became the main setting of the rembetiko song stories” (Tragaki, 2007, p. 60). They, as stated above, had replaced the actual performance context of underworld songs when they first arrived in

mainland Greece after the forced population exchange – not the hashish den or prison but the tavern or the music café. Now, with the censorship, they were forced to replace “the hashish den/prison” with “the tavern” in the lyrics of the songs they performed. “Under these restrictive conditions shaped by Metaxas government and the broader *rejection of ‘oriental’ musical culture*, café-aman companies needed to reshape their public profile and the musical entertainment they offered” (Tragaki, 2007, p. 61, emphasis mine). In other words, *café aman* musicians were “distressed by the  *censor’s antipathy to ‘Turkish’ music*, which formed the mainstay of their distinctive style” (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 107). “Café-aman music making was traditionally regarded as an expression of *the Ottoman entertainment heritage* [and they wanted to] protect the genre from hostile state cultural politics” (Tragaki, 2007, p. 61). The *bouzouki*, on the other hand, was neither regarded as Ottoman intercultural heritage, nor censored. In fact, it had ironically gained popularity during and after the censorship (Tragaki, 2007, p. 58). To save both themselves and their music, what *café aman* musicians did was change the way they performed their repertoire by integrating the bouzouki instrument. Yiorgos Kavouras and Spyros Peristeris were the first examples of *café aman* musicians who came up with such an idea of integrating bouzouki into their repertoire to efface musical instruments of Ottoman intercultural, thus getting rid of the “oriental”, “Turkish,” or “Ottoman” recalls the sound of their music might cause (Gauntlett, 1985, p. 107). By all means, Spyros Peristeris’s mastering the bouzouki facilitated this sudden turn, which was another proof that the skillful incoming Anatolian refugee musicians were able to do whatever it takes to survive in the music scene of the new land they arrived in.

*Rembetiko* was not entirely a new genre, but a newly established term- a recategorization. In the Foucauldian sense, its *emergence* meant the masking of

representation of the songs belonging to the *descent* of the Ottoman intercultural. The *emergence* of the rembetiko, on the other hand, can be said to have taken place following the popularity it gained especially after the release of the record in 1928. This was the very record defining it as “Greek Bum Song” in the USA, as a result of which, the other terms used to refer to the low life songs became history. With this very record which also featured the bouzouki, probably for the first time in record history, the association of the rembetiko genre with the bouzouki instrument was also established. In fact, from this record on, the term *rembetiko* came to encapsulate both the low-life songs and the songs of symbiogenesis. After the censorship on rembetiko music by Metaxas government in 1936, the bouzouki got even more popular and incoming *café aman* musicians started to use it to secure their place in the music scene of Greece.

All in all, mobility, orality and porosity of *café aman* musicians contributed a lot to the intermingling of low-life songs with the songs of symbiogenesis, which they brought in their memory among their belongings. The songs belonged to these incoming Anatolian Christians as well they belonged to the other musician agents of other religions and ethnicities in the Ottoman intercultural. They came and took the underworld songs out of the hashish den and prison, and combining these underworld songs with the songs of Ottoman symbiogenesis, they contributed a lot to what we now call Rembetiko, which is still a term referring to a repertoire consisting of both the low-life songs and the songs of Ottoman symbiogenesis. In other words, *rembetiko* has always been and still is a representation that partially masks the heterogeneous Ottoman intercultural of song production. In the part that follows, I demonstrate how songs of symbiogenesis were masked in the decades following the foundation of the republic in Turkey.

## 4.2 Unmasking the Turkification of SoS

The Anatolian Christians had left taking the songs in their minds to their new land. However, this did not mean the songs had totally left what was once the Ottoman Empire. It was that very geographical environment that led to the song intercultural. And it was in that intercultural the songs of symbiogenesis came into being. As a result, the songs left, but they also stayed - they also remained in the minds of the performers who stayed. But what happened to the songs that remained in the minds of the Ottoman Muslims, who legally became the citizens of the Turkish Republic from 1923 on? To address this question, in what follows, after briefly reviewing the policies pursued in the early Republican period, I will refer to various musicologists to see the general discourse on *türkü* in Turkey. I begin with the cultural policies pursued by the Turkish government in the aftermath of the foundation of the republic in 1923, and then move on to the emergence of *türkü*. In the final section of this part, I elaborate on the *bağlama*, the instrument that came to represent the *türkü* genre. My excerpts for this section are made up of first and second hand resources in Turkish.

### 4.2.1 Imagined continuity in official Turkish history

From the moment it was founded, the Turkish state was keen on establishing continuity – in the Foucauldian sense – with a Turkish past that was much older than the Ottoman Empire. In the early Republican Period, redefining the Turk and establishing continuity with a great past in different fields constituted the main ideological focus. For this purpose, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic, gave utmost importance to reforms foregrounding Turkishness, beginning with the fields of history, religion, language and music. What Mustafa Kemal

Atatürk applied was in fact a fusion of Turkish nationalism and Islam as proposed by Ziya Gökalp (1918, p. 11):

A land where the call to prayer from the mosque is recited in Turkish  
Where the peasant understands the meaning of prayer in his worship,  
A land where in the schools the Koran is read in Turkish,  
Where, big and little, everyone knows the command of God –  
This, o son of the Turks, is your fatherland.

(cited in B. Anderson, 1961, p. 415)

In 1925, the Turkish Grand National Assembly delegated a Turkish translation of the Qur'an (B. Lewis, 1961, p. 415; Hanioglu, 2013, p. 154).<sup>42</sup> In 1932, although the singing of the call to prayer in Arabic was not directly banned, all *muezzins* across Turkey, the singers of the call to prayer, were ordered to recite the Turkish version including the cry "God is Great" (B. Lewis, 1961, pp. 415- 416). Mustafa Kemal Atatürk also gradually made a series of reforms aimed at certain symbols to lessen the role of Islam in the daily life of the citizens of the Turkish Republic (B. Lewis, 1961, p. 404; Hanioglu, 2013, p. 156). These reforms, which both lessened the role of Islam in daily life and marked discontinuity with the Ottoman past, included the adoption of the Gregorian calendar in 1925, the replacement of the *fez* with the European hat in 1926 and the acceptance of Sunday as the weekly holiday instead of Friday in 1935 (B. Lewis, 1961, pp. 268, 404, 410; Hanioglu, 2013, p. 159).

Religion was the common denominator uniting all the Muslim subjects within the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, the *millet* system in the Ottoman Empire, as discussed above, was also based on religion and other religions. Even the population exchange that took place right before the declaration of the Turkish Republic was

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<sup>42</sup> Translations of the Qur'an into Turkish had already been published in 1841, "but the hope was that a new translation would pave the way for a purification of the religion" (Hanioglu, 2013, p. 154).

based on religion. Breaking with the Ottoman tradition, in other words, reinforcing the discontinuity with the Ottoman past while providing the citizens of the republic with something to believe in almost as strong as religion was not an easy task and needed to be meticulously planned. At this point, fusing science, which he believed in most, and Turkism, an ideology ardently supported by the late-Ottoman intellectuals, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk came up with the idea of a new ideology: “A scientifically sanctioned version of Turkish nationalism” (Hanioglu, 2013, p. 161). As in other national movements that were voiced in politics, Turkish nationalism needed founding myths that date back to the depths of history. In other words, to establish itself as an “imagined community”, the Turkish nation needed to imagine a continuity with an ancient Turkish past. To do this, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself put forth a Turkish history inspired by H.G. Wells’s *The Outline of History*, a popular Darwinian work of the time (Milli Kütüphane Genel Müdürlüğü, 1973, p. 464; Hanioglu, 2013, pp. 161-162). The highschool textbooks in those days were written and published in a way reflecting Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s fusion of science and Turkism: “Skipping from the appearance of mammals and the start of toolmaking to the emergence of *civilized life in the Turkish homeland in 9000 BC*, [the textbooks] asserted that ‘the real evolution of humankind [would] be properly illuminated when the pickaxe of science breaks ground in *Central Asia...the Turkish homeland*’ ” (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1931, pp. 32-24, cited in Hanioglu, 2013, p. 162, emphases mine). Under the subsection “*Türk Irkı ve Türk Dili*” [The Turkish Race and Language], the textbook defined Turks as a race that has been able to maintain its true identity, language and culture throughout history and since antiquity, and is therefore one of the fittest communities to be defined as a nation (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1931, p. 20). Moreover, under the subsection “*Dinlerin Kökeninin Karışık*

*Mahiyeti*” [The Mixed Meaning of the Origin of Religions], it was stated that certain religious rituals such as sacrificing an animal for god(s) were borrowed from the primitive religions of ancient times (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1931, p. 23). Moreover, religion was merely a way to overcome the fears that ancient primitive civilizations suffered; nevertheless, now that very function carried out by religion(s) could be replaced with science and the community to which they belonged (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1931, p. 23).

In similar vein, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk encouraged state-sponsored historical studies that focused on the impact of the ancient Turks in the entire human civilization, dating back to more than 9000 years ago (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1930, pp. 58-59). The title of the book that was written and published for this purpose echoed *The Outline of History* by H.G. Wells: the name of the book published under the sponsorship of the Turkish state was called *Türk Tarihinin Ana Hatları* [The Outline of Turkish History] (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1930; Hanioglu, 2013, p. 163). The subject matter mainly dealt with the formation of the universe, the existence of the Turkish race since ancient times and the role the Turks played in the world history (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1930, pp. 25, 26). The book set an example for other books of similar content such as a four volume history textbook published in 1931 (Perinçek, 2014, p. 19). This was one year after the foundation of the Society for the Examination of Turkish History upon Mustafa Kemal Atatürk’s (Perinçek, 2014, p. 18).<sup>43</sup> A year later, from July 2 to July 11, 1932, the first Turkish History Congress was held (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1932, pp. V - XI). In fact, all these steps served the Turkish history thesis, which argued that the Turks originated in Central Asia, which was “the cradle of human civilization” (B. Lewis, 1961, p. 359):

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<sup>43</sup> The society was renamed as “The Turkish Historical Association” in 1935 (Hanioglu, 2013, p. 164).

Türkler anayurtları olan Ortaasiyada [sic] Yontmataş devrini *milâttan 12,000 sene evvel* geçirdikleri halde, Avrupalılar ancak 5000 sene daha sonra bu devirden kurtulabilmişlerdir. (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1932, p. 6, my emphasis)

[While the Turks underwent the Neolithic age in *12000 BC*, the Europeans completed that stage only 5000 years later.]

Moreover, not only were the ancient Turks more developed than the Europeans, but they also laid the foundations of Hittite, Sumerian, Egyptian, Mediterranean and Roman civilizations:

Türkler Ortaasiyadan [sic] yayıldıktan sora [sic] gittikleri yerlerde ilk medeniyeti neşretmiş ve böylece Asiyada [sic] Çin, Hint ve Mukaddes Yurt edindikleri Anadolu'da Eti, Mezopotamya'da Sumer ve nihayet Mısır, Akdeniz ve Roma medeniyetlerinin esaslarını kurmuşlar, ve bugün yüksek medeniyetlerini takdir ve takip ettiğimiz Avrupayı o zamanlar mağara hayatından kurtarmışlardır. (T.C. Maarif Vekâleti, 1932, p. 6)

[Once the Turks migrated from Central Asia, they brought civilization to the regions they reached, as a result of which they founded the Chinese and Indian civilizations in Asia, the Hittite civilization in Anatolia, the Sumerian, and finally the Egyptian, the Mediterranean and the Roman civilizations in Mesopotamia, saving Europe, whose advanced civilizations we admire and follow today, from being cave-dwellers.]

The Turkish History Thesis was designed to replace religion with the “lofty” Turkish past – so lofty that the Turkish race itself was both the cradle of mankind and human civilization (Hanioglu, 2013, p. 165). This ambitious rewriting of history had one more function: while establishing continuity – in the Foucauldian sense – with the alleged Turks that lived in 12000 BC, it almost discarded the 600-year long Ottoman past. Establishing such continuity with a past dating back to the depths of world history not only helped downplay the role occupied by Islam during the Ottoman reign, but also furnished the Turkish State with leverage to compete with other nationalisms that flourished during and in the aftermath of the partitioning of the Empire, including but not limited to the Hellenic Republic.

One of the most useful attributes of this revisionist interpretation of human history was that it bypassed the Ottoman past. To validate the new regime, Mustafa Kemal wished to erase any traces of Ottoman history. The best way to accomplish this goal was to present the Ottoman experience as no more than a modest footnote to a long and glorious past, and in the process subvert the role of Islam entirely, transforming it from the cement of Ottoman power to the principal cause of Turkic decline. An added advantage of this invented past was that it served to preempt claims by rival nationalisms that the Turks were latecomers to Anatolia and the Balkans. The thesis of a Turkic *mission civilisatrice* originating in the Neolithic age also solidified Turkey's position as an integral part of the West, replacing Greece as the fountain of Western civilization. (Hanioglu, 2013, p. 166)

Breaking with the Ottoman tradition and practice of Islam, and more importantly, regarding it as the cause of corruption of the Turks for centuries, the past rewritten by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and the commissions appointed by him dated back to an invented point in ancient times when Turks were so civilised that they introduced civilization into others around them - *mission civilisatrice* -, which was in fact an attempt to replace the importance attached to the ancient Greek civilization by the West. In this newly invented way of thinking, ancient Greece was reduced merely to one of the states that the “ancient and lofty Turks” helped civilized.

[...] When the regime sought an understanding between Turkey and Greece, it would claim that the Turks were the founders of the so-called Greek civilization, and that Greeks and Turks were racially similar. (Hanioglu, 2013, p. 166)

At times of conflict, on the other hand, “the Renaissance belief that the Turks were descended from Trojans” resurfaced (Meserve, 2008, p. 22):

[...] When the regime wished to underscore problems between the two countries, it would trace the conflict back to the Trojan War, maintaining that the horse-taming Trojans were of Turkish origin. (Hanioglu, 2013, p. 166)

The history rewritten by the Society for the Examination of Turkish History under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's supervision would determine the nature of steps to be taken in domestic as well as foreign affairs from then on. In domestic affairs, Turkish nationalism would replace Islam and the Ottoman past, and abroad, it would be competing other nationalisms, including but not limited to, Greek nationalism. The core idea that Turks have *continued* to exist since ancient times – as old as the 12000 BC, to be exact - , when neither *the Muslim religion* nor *the Greek civilization* was around, soon found its reflections in the field of language.

#### 4.2.2 Imagined continuity in language

According to the founder of the Republic, “Turkish was the culmination of an evolutionary process beginning with the initial tongue of civilized humanity, *from which all languages derived*” – an idea echoing the Turkish History Thesis in the field of language (Hanioğlu, 2011, p. 173). In this sense, the “linguistic changes [that the Turkish language underwent] can only be understood in correlation which the simultaneous development of Turkish society” (Heyd, 1954, p. 4). As in republican reforms made in other fields, “the ideological motivation behind the language reform [...] was to break ties with the [Ottoman] past” (Berk-Albachten, 2015, p. 167).

Along with the reforms made in history, establishing continuity with an imagined homogenous Turkish past in the field of language was to replace the heterogeneous Ottoman heritage. In the Ottoman context, there was a close link between religion and writing: The transformation of the multilingual public into a in Syria, for example, Arabic, which was the common language spoken, was written in Arabic script by Muslims, in Syriac script by Christians, in Hebrew script by Jews (Lewis,

1961, p. 426). Greek-speaking Muslims in Crete used the Arabic script and Turkish-speaking Christians in Anatolia used the Greek script (Lewis, 1961, p. 426).

Moreover, the language spoken by the Muslim *millet* had not always been written in the Arabic script (Lewis, 1961, p. 426). The transformation from multilinguality to monolinguality, both in script and in language, would help achieve national unity, lessening the role of Islam as a unifying element (Berk-Albachten, 2004, p. 112; Berk-Albachten, 2015, p. 167).

Towards the late-1920s, the new alphabet officially replaced the Arabic script and the use of Arabic and Persian was banned (B. Lewis, 1961, p. 276; G. Lewis, 1999, p. 34; Hanioglu, 2013, p. 159; Heyd, 1950, p. 120; Levend, 1949, p. 374). On August 9, 1928, then president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk presented the new alphabet to the public, emphasizing the need to break ties with the Ottoman past, hence establishing Turkish continuity in the true language of the newly-formed nation:

My friends, our rich and harmonious language will now be able to display itself with new Turkish letters. We must free ourselves from these incomprehensible signs, that for centuries have held our minds in an iron vice. You must learn the new Turkish letters quickly. (B. Lewis, 1961, p. 278)

In his address to the nation, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk also emphasized the fact the low literacy level was a direct result of the Ottoman script and it was now “time to eradicate the errors of the past” (B. Lewis, 1961, p. 278). The Ottoman “descent” in the Foucauldian sense was thus reduced to an “error” with the “emergence” of the true Turkish script. Opting for the Latin alphabet, which was easy to teach to the illiterate masses of people, strengthened the unifying function of the language by way of making it accessible to everyone (Heyd, 1950, p. 121). Still, the real purpose of the adoption of the new script was rather political: “slamming a door on the

[heterogeneous] past as well as opening a door to the [homogeneous] future” (B. Lewis, 1961, p. 279).

Another important step regarding the language reform was the purification of language by means of replacing loan words with those that were purely Turkish (Berk-Albachten, 2004, p. 96). In 1932, the Turkish Language Society was founded with a view to standardize the language of the Turkish nation (Ünaydın, 1943, p. 9). In practice, the Society aimed to “unearth the essential richness of the Turkish language” by way of replacing all non-Turkish terms with new coinage made up of Turkish roots (Berk-Albachten, 2015, p. 168; T.C. Maarif Vekilliği, 1933, p. 437). The founder of the Republic personally demonstrated his determination in replacing words of non-native origin with those that are Turkish: Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was himself so keen to cleanse the Turkish language of foreign elements that he even decided not to use his own name Mustafa because it was not Turkish (Hanioğlu, 2011, p. 176; G. Lewis, 1999, p. 55). Nevertheless, this posed a problem: if he rejected to use Mustafa because it was not Turkish, what was he to do with his middle name, Kemal, which was not Turkish either?

As for his personal name, which seemed equally vulnerable on this criterion, an official communiqué maintained that it was not Kemal, a word meaning “perfection” in Arabic, but Kamâl, allegedly an old Turkish term meaning “fortification”. For a period he therefore signed documents as “Kamâl”. (Hanioğlu, 2011, p. 176)

Nevertheless, his “purely Turkish” name soon led to difficulties in correspondance, which led Mustafa Kemal Atatürk to go back to using his name as it was (Hanioğlu, 2011, p. 176). Still, this was a striking example of what any Turkish national was capable of sacrificing in the name of purification of language.

Consisting of newly-coined Turkish words that were offered by the public itself, various dictionaries were published and shared with the same public in school and university textbooks in this period (Berk-Albachten, 2015, p. 168, 169). In other words, the very material that was formed with the contribution of the public was shared with the public to achieve standardization in the new language, hence unifying the Turkish nation. As discussed further below, this was in fact a method that inspired the collection, compilation and the standardization of anonymous songs that were created in the Ottoman intercultural, too. Moreover, proving their devotion to the language reform, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and İsmet İnönü, the first two presidents of the Republic, were also keen to opt for newly-invented Turkish words in their speeches (Heyd, 1954, p. 53).

Translation can be argued to have carried out a major function in the language reform. From a broader perspective, translation can be regarded as encapsulating the language reforms above: the alphabet can be said to be translated from the Arabic script into Latin script that was designed for the phonetic properties of the Turkish language. Similarly, the replacement of words of Arabic and Persian origin with those in Turkish can be seen as translation (Berk-Albachten, 2015, p. 169; Susam-Sarajeva, 2003, p. 9). Translation, in the narrower sense of the term, also fulfilled an important function in the language reform. Now that the alphabet had changed, the older literary texts needed to be rewritten in the newly-adopted script (Berk-Albachten, 2015, p. 169). Also, the literary texts the language of which was now regarded as obsolete needed to be translated into the new Turkish language (Berk-Albachten, 2015, p. 169). In fact, as Özlem Berk-Albachten argued, in the domain of literary texts, what was represented as “simplified” or “Turkicized” versions of certain works in these years were in fact intralingual translations (2015, p. 171).

Translation of texts within the framework of the early Republican period was not only limited to literary texts. One of the major repercussions of the language reform was felt when the Turkish constitution was translated into the new Turkish language (B. Lewis, 1961, p. 435). Translation also fulfilled a vital function when the Qu’ran, the holy book of Islam was rewritten in Turkish upon the initiation of the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Hanioğlu, 2013, p. 154). Another striking translation from Arabic was the rewriting of the call to prayer (“*ezan*”) to be recited in Turkish in 1932 (G. Lewis, 1999, p. 46; Hanioğlu, 2013, p. 155; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 53). Along with being a direct outcome of breaking ties with the Ottoman past, the transformation that the language of the call to prayer underwent can be regarded as the first state-sponsored song translation of the early Republican period.

Last but not least, the direct ideological reflection of the Turkish History Thesis in the field of language can be regarded as the “Güneş-Dil Teorisi” (The Sun Language Theory), which held that all languages (just like all the other civilizations as argued in the Turkish History Thesis) derived from Turkish, elevating the language of the newly-formed Turkish nation to the status of the original language of all (İnan, 1936, pp. 4 – 7; G. Lewis, 1999, p. 57; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 58). This suggested a Foucauldian continuity with a Turkish past that dated back to ancient times and the cradle of human civilization. These early Republican ideas of being the “original” civilization and speaking the “original” language from which all the others derived were also reflected in the field of music, where translation, history, language and music all intersected.

#### 4.2.3 Imagined continuity in music

In the first decades of the Republic, the songs of symbiogenesis created within the Ottoman interculture were still in the minds of the inhabitants of various cities that were once parts of the Ottoman Empire. The state was well aware of this, just as it was aware of the traces of a bygone heterogeneous interculture. Similar to the Turkification process in the fields of history and language, in the field of music, too, the Turkish state wanted to mask the Ottoman and Muslim past and replace it with a Turkish continuity dating back to thousands of years ago. The official policies aimed to “purify” and thus “Turkify” the songs of symbiogenesis because this meant the creation of a monolithic Turkish folklore, which would help make the citizens of the newly-found nation-state imagine themselves as sharing a purely Turkish music history with their fellow citizens. A particular citizen would never meet in person with most of their fellow citizens, as in Benedict Anderson’s way of thinking, but singing the same “purely Turkish song culture”, they would be unified under one sublime roof, *imagining* that all the other citizens would be singing the songs that their “Turkish” forebearers composed and sang for decades, centuries and even millennia. This would help ensure continuity in national musical history. In fact, it was not only the newly-found Turkish Republic that resorted to this method: state-sponsored (re)planning of folklore played a crucial role in the nation-building stage of most states founded in the late 19th century (Öztürkmen, 1998, p. 16). In the “making” of the Turkish nation, it was Ziya Gökalp (1923) who first underscored the importance of folklore and particularly, music. In *Türkçülüğün Esasları* [Principles of Turkism] (1923), Gökalp commented on three types of music in detail:

Bugün işte şu üç musikinin karşısındayız: Şark musikisi, Garp musikisi, Halk musikisi. Acaba bunlardan hangisi bizim için millîdir? Şark musikisinin hem

hasta, hem de gayri millî olduğunu gördük. Halk musikisi harsımızın, garp musikisi de yeni medeniyetimizin musikileri olduğu için, her ikisi de bize yabancı değildir. O halde, millî musikimiz memleketimizdeki halk musikisiyle garp musikisinin imtizacından doğacaktır. Halk musikimiz, bize birçok melodiler vermiştir. Bunları *toplar* ve garp musikisi usûlüne armonize edersek, hem millî, hem de Avrupai bir musikiye malik oluruz. (Gökalp, 1923, pp. 132-133)

[We are faced today with three different types of music: Eastern, Western and Folk. Which of these, do you think, is national to us? Because folk music is that of our ancestors, and western music is that of our new civilization, netiher of these is alien to us. Therefore, our national music will be born of the fusion of folk and western music. Our folk music has provided us with a number of melodies. If we *collect* and harmonize them in the western fashion, we shall have a music that is both national and European.]

Similar to the Turkish History Thesis in terms of fusing the West with Turkishness, the music of the newly-imagined people would have to be modern and national at the same time. To achieve this, thought Gökalp, the various melodies the people's music, in other words, folk music should be collected (hence the national element) so that they could be rearranged in the Western way (hence the modern element). These remarks by Gökalp, "marked the official music policy in the first fifty years of the Turkish Republic" (Behar, 2005, p. 271). Inspired by Ziya Gökalp's ideas on music, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk commented on where such people could be found: "Bizim hakiki musikimiz Anadolu halkında işitilebilir/ Our true music can be heard from the people of Anatolia" (Kocatürk, 1999, p. 159). Echoing Ziya Gökalp's comments on Eastern Music, Western Music and Folk Music, he also distinguished between Ottoman Music and Turkish Music, and supported Gökalp's view that those songs should be collected:

Güzel sanatların hepsinde, ulus gençliğinin ne denli ilerlemesini istediğinizi bilirim. Bu, yapılmaktadır. Ancak bunda en çabuk, en önde götürülmesi gerekli olan Türk musikisidir. Bir ulusun yeni değişikliğine ölçü, musikide değişikliği alabilmesi, kavrayabilmesidir. Bugün dinletilmeye yeltenilen musiki, yüz ağartacak değerde olmaktan uzaktır. Bunu açıkça bilmeliyiz.

Ulusal, ince duyguları, düşünceleri anlatan yüksek deyişleri, söyleyişleri *toplamak*, onları bir [sic] an önce, genel son musiki kurallarına göre işlemek gerektir. Ancak bu düzeyde, Türk ulusal musikisi yükselebilir, evrensel musikide yerini alabilir [...] Osmanlı musikisi, Türkiye Cumhuriyetindeki büyük inkılapları terennüm edecek kudrette değildir. Bize yeni bir musiki lazımdır ve bu musiki özünü halk musikisinden alan çok sesli bir musiki olacaktır. İtiyat dediğiniz şeye gelince, sizin Osmanlı musikinizi Anadolu köylüsü dinler mi? Dinlemiş mi? Onda o musikinin itiyadı yoktur. (Saygun, 1970, p. 48)

[I am well aware of how you would like the national youth to make good progress in fine arts. This is being taken care of. Still, the utmost priority in this field should be given to Turkish music. The criterion for a nation's transformation is its capacity to absorb and grasp transformation in music. The music that is attempted to be performed today is far from warming the cockles of one's heart. We should put this in perspective. The lofty sayings and lyrics expressing national, aesthetic feelings and thoughts need to be collected, and immediately arranged in compliance with the latest general music rules. Only then can Turkish national music can get elevated and gain a foothold in the universal music scene. Ottoman music is incapable of expressing the lofty reforms in the Turkish Republic . We need a new music, and this new music shall be a polyphonic music, the essence of which comes from folk music. As for what you call traditional, I hereby ask: does the Anatolian villager listen to your Ottoman music? Has he? Gentlemen, he by no means has such a tradition.]

In fact, Atatürk was inventing an Anatolian villager that was purely Turkish, listening to and performing truly Turkish melodies as opposed to the melodies played in the Ottoman Court. As I discuss further below under “the Term *Türkü*,” there are views arguing that the word “Türk” originally meant “nomad, villager”. In this respect, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's locating the Anatolian villager and his music as opposed to the Ottoman Court and its music (“I wonder if your Ottoman music is listened to by the Anatolian villager. Has he ever listened to it?”) seems to be more than coincidental, and can be interpreted as a clever ideological move. To his way of thinking, it was the Ottoman Court that had prevented the villager from realizing its true Turkish self for centuries, and now it was high time the Turk, in other words the folk/the villager realized his/her true potential by applying the Western way of

performing songs. This very view itself was also not a far cry from the Turkish History Thesis in the sense that it aimed to bypass the centuries-long Ottoman past and establish Foucauldian continuity with ancient Turkish music in the field of music. The Ottoman Court music was not the true music of the Anatolian villager, who was the incarnation of the true Turk himself. And the true Turk's music, to Atatürk's and therefore the Kemalists' mind, was not the one played in the Ottoman Court because the true Turk did not even listen to it. The Turk was to listen to Anatolian songs performed in the villages of Anatolia, where he truly belonged. The Turkish villager, however, was not capable of this self-realization without the help of the political elite. For this reason, as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself expressed in 1927 after listening to a performance of Anatolian songs, "this music needed to be *improved*":

Bir milletin kültür ve sanat hareketlerini ve seviyesini, milli geleneklere bağlı kalarak, medeni dünyanın kendisine ayak uydurmaya mecbur olduğumuzu unutmamalıyız, bunu bu vesile ile de söylemekten memnunum. Bu [...] nağmeleri, bu istikamette *geliştirmeye* ve değerlendirmeye kıymet ve ehemmiyet vermeliyiz. (Ataman, 1991, p. 13)

[We should never forget one thing. It is our utmost duty to adapt our nation's level of culture and art practices to the civilized world while cherishing our national customs, which I am happy to express on this occasion. Therefore, we need to give utmost importance to improving and making use of these tunes.]

Once the songs were collected, which both Gökalp and Atatürk stated consecutively, they could be "improved" in a way supervised by the state. To this end, the state conservatoire, people's houses (*halkevleri*) and the state radio's major task in the Early Republican period was to compile ("derlemek") the songs from the people in the villages, rewrite them and then present the songs back to the people from whom the songs were learned (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 89). According to Martin Stokes, the early Republican Period cultural and musical practices, which were based on Ziya

Gökalp's (1998) ideas on Turkism and music, distinguished between two types of music: the music of the Ottoman court and that of the people (p. 91). The latter, to the Early Republican Way of thinking, was to form the true and pure music of the Turkish nation (Stokes, 1992, p. 91). The reformists, however, were missing out on an important detail while distinguishing between what they regarded as two opposite types of music: what remained from the Ottoman interculture was not only court music. What the state wanted to compile as people's music, or the true music of the Turks also belonged to the Ottoman interculture itself. Even though the reformists regarded it as non-Ottoman, it was the music composed together by *millet*s living under the flag of the Ottoman Empire, in other words, the common people who performed outside the Ottoman court. And all this music, which was composed and performed outside the limits of the Ottoman court, was now being redefined as truly Turkish as a result of the state-sponsored compilation activities in the early Republican era. These activities, as I have so far argued, were carried out in the name of establishing a spirit of unity in the hearts and minds of the members of the Turkish nation, by way of cleansing the Ottoman past and implying a continuity with an ancient Turkish past.

In line with the Turkish History Thesis, certain musicologists commented on an ancient Turkish music: according to the renowned musicologist Hüseyin Sadettin Arel (1944), Turkish music dated back to the Sumerian Turks, which suggested that it was at least 6000 years old, thus much older than the music of the Egyptians, Greeks, Persians and Byzantines (p. 5). Dursun Yıldırım (1999) argued that Turkish lyrics originated 7000 years ago and Umut Günay (2008) stated that the music of the Turks originated in 4000 BC (cited in Çevik 2013, p. 53). The Early Republican

compilation activities were also carried out in line with the view the music that was to be collected was far older than the Ottoman Empire, hence its music.

#### 4.2.4 Song compiling: state institutions and practices

Moving down the path put forth by Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, a number of song compilation visits were held in the Early Republican period. State institutions played a major role in the compilation visits, during and after which the songs were relyricized, recomposed and reinstrumentalized.<sup>44</sup> In what follows I first review these three institutions one by one and then move on to their joint practices under four categories: relyricizing, recomposing, recategorization and reinstrumentalization.

##### 4.2.4.1 Compiling institutions

In the early Republican period, four state institutions occupied a crucial role in the state sponsored systematic compiling of songs within the boundaries of the Turkish Republic: The Conservatoire, *Halkevleri* (People's Houses) and the state radio. The first institution to collect songs was *Dâr-ül-elhân*.

###### 4.2.4.1.1 The state conservatoire

The earliest attempt to collect songs in the Early Republican Period was made by *Dâr-ül-elhân*, the Ottoman institution, the name of which would be changed into “the State Conservatoire” in the late 1920s. In 1922, Musa Süreyya Bey, head of this

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<sup>44</sup> There were also certain individual attempts in the last fifteen years of the Ottoman Empire underscoring the importance of collecting songs. These were penned by ideologues including but not limited to Fuad Köprülü, Ziya Gökalp and Musa Süreyya Bey. For further information, see Balkılıç, 2009, pp. 130-132.

institution, submitted 2000 copies of a 14-question survey to the Ministry of Education to be sent to music teachers assigned in Anatolia (Balkılıç, 2009, pp. 132-133). In the survey it was stated that “people’s songs represented the national spirit” and that knowing such songs meant knowing the national spirit itself (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 133). The questions in the survey included: “are there popular *bağlama* players in your hometown?”, “are there music associations in the region that you teach?”, “could you send us the scores of the popular folk songs in your village or town?”, “who performs those folk songs?”, “which folk songs are most liked and sung?”, “what is your opinion of these songs?” (Şenel, 1999, pp. 106- 107). This survey took approximately three years and the music teachers that compiled songs sent about a hundred scores to the *Dâr-ül-elhân* (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 133). The first compilation visit was organized during the course of this survey, to Western Anatolia, by the Ministry of Education (Ataman, 2009, p. 360). In 1926, 85 of the songs sent by the teachers, and 76 of the songs recorded in the compilation visit were published, adding up to 161 folk songs in total (Ataman, 2009, p. 360). Nevertheless, both the survey and the compilation visit were heavily criticized due to alleged problems with musical notation and regarded as unsuccessful (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 133). The criticism centered on the fact that the songs were not compiled using a recording device. Upon request, Cemal Reşit Rey, who was in Paris at that time sent a phonograph to Turkey to be used in compilation visits from then on (Şenel, 1999, p. 109).

Music reformers did not lose time: just a day after the phonograph arrived in Turkey in 1926, it was used in a compilation visit. In fact, this was not the first phonograph-accompanied compilation in the region. While the first phonograph-accompanied compilation visit in the history of the Turkish Republic was made in 1926, the first one in the history of the Ottoman Empire dated back to 1898.

According to Gazimihal, the first songs to be compiled “within the boundaries of Turkey” [sic] were the ones belonging to the Greeks living in Chios (Gazimihal, 2006, p. 95). Just three years later, in 1901, another phonograph-accompanied compilation visit was made in Gaziantep (Gazimihal, 2006, p. 102). The source from whom the songs were compiled was Armenian – a fact leading Gazimihal to believe that “the songs compiled did not reflect the true character of the *türkü*” (Gazimihal, 2006, p. 98). What Gazimihal makes of this fact, and my interpretation thereof are completely different from each other. As a music teacher devoted to Kemalist ideology of the Early Republican Period, Gazimihal was obviously keen to exploit every single historical fact to prove an invented “lofty Turkish musical past”. Therefore, to his mind, songs compiled from Greeks or Armenians around 1900s – about a quarter century before the emergence of the Turkish nation-state –, no matter whether they were among the major *millet*s in the Ottoman Empire or not, were distorted versions of lost Turkish originals. To my way of thinking, on the other hand, the first compilations made with a phonograph in the region attest to both the symbiosis of different *millet*s in the Ottoman scene, and the symbiogenetic nature of the Ottoman interculture of songs. In fact, these were the very songs that were redefined by “reformers” such as Gazimihal to support the continuity of the Turkish History Thesis in the field of music.

In July, 1926 the first Republican compilation visit was organized (Ülkütaşır, 1972, p. 32). The visit was made to Adana, Gaziantep, Urfa, Niğde, Kayseri and Sivas, took 51 days, and 250 songs were compiled (Ülkütaşır, 1972, p. 32). The songs compiled on this visit were to make up the 1st, 2nd and 5th volumes of *Anadolu Halk Şarkıları* [Anatolian Folk Songs], which was to be published later on. Another visit was organized in 1927 to Konya, Ereğli, Karaman, Alaşehir, Manisa,

Ödemiş and Aydın, as a result of which 250 songs were compiled (Ülkütaşır, 1972, p. 32). The songs collected on this visit were to make up the 3rd, 4th, 6th and 7th volumes of *Anadolu Halk Şarkıları* [Anatolian Folk Songs] (Ülkütaşır, 1972, p. 32). After *Dâr-ül-elhân*'s name was changed into Istanbul Conservatoire three compilations visits were organized in 1928, 1929 and 1932. The 1928 visit was made to Inebolu, Kastamonu, Çankırı, Ankara, Eskişehir, Kütahya and Bursa and 200 songs were compiled, constituting *Anadolu Halk Şarkıları* [Anatolian Folk Songs], volumes 8, 9, 10 and 11 (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 135). The 1929 visit was made to Trabzon, Rize, Gümüşhane, Bayburt, Erzincan, Erzurum, Giresun and Sinop, took 35 days and 300 songs were compiled (Ülkütaşır, 1972, p. 33). This visit was also a first in the sense that a video camera was used for the first time to record the songs performed by villagers, which also gave authorities the opportunity to record several folk dances (Ülkütaşır, 1972, p. 33). In these years compilations were also made from troubadours that came to Istanbul and these songs were released as records (Şenel, 1999, pp. 108-110). All in all, in these first series of compilation visits made in the Early Republican Period, a total of 200 songs were recorded and released as records and 1000 folk songs were compiled (Başgöz, 1998, p. 46).

#### 4.2.4.1.2 THBD

Another institution worthy of mentioning as regards folklore research in those years was *Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği* [Turkish Folklore Association] ("THBD"), founded in 1927 by the then-minister of education Mustafa Necati. Despite being founded by a minister of the state, the association was of autonomous status, still this did not prevent it from being sponsored by state institutions (Ülkütaşır, 1972, p. 37). All

official publications of the association were printed in the Turkish Grand National Assembly press free of charge and these publications were bought by the Ministry of Education and distributed to all schools free of charge (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 137). After its foundation, THBD launched a journal titled *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri* [Folklore News], which clearly defined its mission in the first volume: “Halk kültürü üzerine çalışmaları içeren ve materyalleri toplayan bu dergi halkı eğitmek ve ulusal birliği sağlamak amacını güder” (Başgöz, 1998, p. 47). Achieving national unity by way of collecting songs was clearly a direct reflection of the state ideology. In 1932, Both THBD and its journal were transferred to People’s Houses.

#### 4.2.4.1.3 People’s Houses

The People’s Houses (“PH”) were founded in 1932. In the field of music, PH were responsible for improving folk songs in a modern way:

Halkevleri musiki mesai ve müsamerelerinde beynelmilel modern musiki ile milli türkülerimiz esas tutulacak ve beynelmilel musiki teknik ve aletleri kullanılacaktır. Yeni musikide gayemiz, modern ve beynelmilel musikiyi ve teganni tarzını esas tutmak ve bunu tatbik ve temenni etmektir. (Ankara Halkevi, 1935, p. 3)

[In People’s Houses music practices and performances, international modern music and our national *türkü*s will be brought to the fore, and international music techniques and instruments will be used. Our goal in new music is to achieve modern and international music and performing style and its application.]

For this purpose, PH also engaged in song compilation activities in different parts of Anatolia (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 139). Fine Arts Department of PH was responsible for compiling folk songs from tribes and villages (Ankara Halkevi, 1935, p. 4).

Activities of all PH branches, nevertheless, were centrally controlled and supervised by the political party in power (CHP, 1946, pp. 10-11).

By 1936, nearly a thousand songs had been collected in field studies carried out by People's Houses. This year was particularly critical in that Béla Bartók, the renowned Hungarian composer and pianist, was invited to Turkey by the People's House Branch in Ankara, which marked a turning point in folk music studies, both in theory and practice (Şenel, 1999, pp. 110-111). By 1952, nearly 9000 songs had already been compiled on 17 visits (Şenel, 1999, pp. 110-111). Among the figures who took part in these visits were Muzaffer Sarısözen and Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal. Rıza Yetişen was responsible for making recordings on the phonograph wherever there was electricity. Pieces were recorded in handwriting as musical scores elsewhere. What was as important as compilations themselves were their being rearranged and spread in their new form: as a result of the visits made to 57 cities, 1000 of the 9000 songs were taught to radio artists (Balkılıç, 2009, pp. 144-145).

#### 4.2.4.1.4 The radio

Being the leading reach platform of the time, radio was regarded the most effective means for establishing the national identity (Ahıska, 2005, pp. 20-21). For this reason, radio had the potential of transforming the entire nation into "one uniform voice/tek bir ses,"(Kocabaşoğlu, 1980, pp. 79-80). To the Kemalist way of thinking, this was not a far cry from ridding folk songs of their local character, hence rendering them accessible to the entire Turkish nation (Balkılıç, 2015, p. 10).

Radio was in deed effective in addressing a wider public at once. Nevertheless, it was not until 1940 that "Turkish national music" got promoted on

the radio. From 1927 to 1936, while Ottoman classical music received far more coverage than Turkish music on Ankara radio and Istanbul radio stations (Kocabaşođlu, 1980, pp. 87-89). After the two-year ban on music with Turkish lyrics on the radio from 1934 to 1936, Turkish folk music began to receive more coverage, but these broadcasts were still far from being systematically organized. Upon the recommendation of Vedat Nedim Tör, the music teacher Muzaffer Sarısözen, who also played a major role in the compilation visits, was appointed chief radio director of folklore and broadcast a program titled *Bir Halk Türküsi Öğreniyoruz* [We are Learning a Turkish Folk Song] in 1940 (Tör, 1999, p. 54). In the same year he also started the choir *Yurttan Sesler Korosu* [Voices from the Fatherland] to perform the songs compiled:

Halk musikimizin en güzel ve en doğru zabtedilmiş örneklerini bulmak için Maarif Vekilliđi Devlet Konservatuarının Folklor Arşivinde toplanmış malzemeden, bu malzemenin aslı ve esası bozulmadan güzelleştirilip mikrofon karşısına çıkacak şekilde öğretilmesi için de bu arşivin mütehassısı Folklorcu şefinden [Muzaffer Sarısözen] faydalanıyor. (cited in Balkılıç, 2009, p. 147)

[To find the most beautiful and most correctly preserved samples of our folk music, the material collected in the archives of the Ministry of Education State Conservatoire is made use of. The chief radio director [Muzaffer Sarısözen], an expert in folklore, sees to it that this material be performed in a perfected way without breaching its originality.]

Sarısözen himself made clear that the primary purpose of the choir was “to establish a sense of national unity/ ulusal duygu birliđi yaratmak” and that of the radio was “to achieve national unity among the Turkish nation/Türk halkı arasında ulusal birliđi sağlamak” (cited in Balkılıç, 2009, p. 148). Bearing these in mind, the compiled songs would only be performed by the choir after they were made fit to be *resung*: “yeniden söylenmeye uygun hale getirildikten sonra” (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 148,

emphasis mine). The songs (re)performed by the choir in question would be subject to selection in terms of being “correct/incorrect” or “good/bad”:

[...] Halk şarkıları çeşitli şekillerde derlenecek[,] radyo ve Halkevleri çalışmalarında çağdaş uygarlık seviyesine uygun hale getirilecek öğelerdi. Bu kurumlar halk arasında ‘ulusal birlik yaratmak’ amacıyla kurulduğundan, bu işlemin çok dikkatli bir şekilde yapılması gerektiği vurgulanıyordu. Bu anlamda, halk parçalarının Türk’ün yüksek ruhuna uymadığı düşünülen lirik yapıları bu kurumlarda “temizlendi”. Homojen bir dil yaratmak adına yerel lehçe ve diyalektlerin halk şarkılarındaki etkileri ortadan kaldırıldı. (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 149)

[Folk song were elements to be compiled in various ways, elements that were to be elevated to the level of modern civilization. This would be achieved through the practices of the radio and the People’s Houses. Since these institutions were founded to achieve national unity among public, it was emphasized that this process was to be made cautiously. For this reason, it was within these institutions that the lyrics that were deemed incompatible with the Turk’s lofty spirit were “cleansed”. For the sake of creating a homogeneous language, vernaculars and dialects were omitted from folk songs].

In fact, the Kemalist regime, just like other nationalist regimes, were creating binary oppositions. “Turkish” was synonymous with “good”, whereas “Ottoman” with “bad”. As referred to above as regards the Turkish History Thesis, all other nations especially those that were once part of the Ottoman Empire, such as the Balkan countries and especially Greece, were also viewed as opposed to the concept of image of the “Turk” and therefore associated with “bad”. Therefore, the great songs of the Turk, which dated back to some millenia ago, should be relyricized, in other words, cleansed off non-Turkic linguistic elements in line with the Turkish History Thesis and the language reform, a crucial aspect of the nation-building process. A linguistically and melodically homogenized folklore could help entrench historical continuity and national unity. During and after the compilation visits, the songs were therefore subject to rewriting practices.

#### 4.2.4.2 Compiling practices

During the Early Republican and afterwards, the State saw to it that the songs compiled and represented to the public were free of any Ottoman or non-Turkish elements, hence establishing continuity with a deep-rooted and pure Turkish past. To this end, the institutions engaged in four different practices: relyricizing, recomposing, recategorization and reinstrumentalization.

##### 4.2.4.2.1 Relyricizing

During and after compilation visits, folklore specialists could identify and rewrite all deviations from the national language and culture by way of looking at cultural creations in Anatolia (1998, pp. 47-48). Seeing to it that the language in songs was no different from the language spoken by the Turks would have to be one of Kemalist folklore specialists' main concerns. After all, for the founder of the Republic and his entourage in general, "Turkish was the culmination of an evolutionary process beginning with the initial tongue of civilized humanity, *from which all languages derived*" – an idea echoing the Turkish History Thesis in the fields of language and music (Hanioğlu, 2011, p. 173). Therefore, once deviations from pure Turkish were identified the folklore specialists could make use of all necessary means to assimilate these cultural anomalies for the sake of national unity (Başgöz, 1998, p. 48). Following the purification movement in the field of language, Kemalist music reformers therefore took it upon their shoulders to see to it that the lyrics to folk songs were examples of pure Turkish (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 156). If and when this was not the case, the songs should be relyricized in Turkish. The lyrics to the compiled songs were therefore subject to scrutiny and those that did not match

this criteria, including dialects and deviations from “standard” Turkish were omitted and replaced with a view to create a national language (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 156). While this stance towards different languages, dialects and hence diversity could be regarded as strict and cruel to say the least, the belief that folk songs were seen as the major means to achieve pure language was both naive and self-contradictory. The people living in Turkey, who constituted the *millet*s in the Ottoman Empire were diverse. This was still the case even after the population exchange, and was reflected in their languages and dialects. Their songs, in other words, not *the people’s* but *diverse peoples’* songs constituted the folk’s songs. In the name of standardization and homogenization of the nation, all this variety was reduced to an invented standard, which they believe was hidden in what the folk created. While they believed they would achieve true language through the folk’s songs, they did not keep or represent it the way the songs were created together by what was once the *millet*s, but rather concealed and masked it. Behind all this was the belief that if they did so, they would undo the corruption that Turkish language and music underwent under the Ottoman flag: in this sense, just as they believed there was a pure Turkish past in the continuum, in the future they would achieve such purity once again; hence the two-types of Foucauldian continuity in the state’s discourse on music:

Velhasıl, bu gün şuurla, elbirliğiyle girişilen *dil temizleme* işinde, sanatkârın rolü büyük faydası sonsuzdur. *Yarımın*, katıksız, nizamlı, güzel türkçesini yaratacak ve yaşatacak sanatkârdır.

[In short, in today’s conscious and unanimous practice of language cleansing, the artist is to play a major part and to make substantial contribution. It is the artist and artist alone that shall create the pure, proper and beautiful Turkish of the future.] (Saygunışık, 1942, p. 5)

If the language was to be cleansed, this suggested that it was polluted some time ago, hence the continuity in the past. If a “pure/katıksız” language is to be created, there is

the inherent belief that this will occur at some point in the future, hence the continuity in the future. They had these two continuities in mind, which I believe to be conflictual: if something that was “pure” in the past is “cleansed” it turns back to its original state, therefore it is not “creation”. Still, in the name of homogeneity, standardization, purification and creation, all of which were meant to ensure the historical continuity of Turkish folklore, the lyrics to compiled songs were examined and cleansed by designated music reformists such as Sarısözen.

In a series of compilations made in the city of Balıkesir, there were those who reported that they recorded the lyrics as they were, but provided the “cleansed” versions in paranthesis (Özer, 1940, p. 37). Similarly, Saygun stated that he was very careful with the compilations he made in the Karadeniz region and marked his additions and the correct versions of the words he came across (Saygun, 1937, p. 62). In compilation visits made in Afyon and Hatay, the “corrected” versions of the lyrics were provided, as well (Aytuğ, 1946, p. 292; Ergenekonlu, 1944, p. 18).

The lyrics that did not go with “the Turk’s sublime and aristocratic spirit/Türk’ün yüce ve soylu ruhu” were omitted from compilations. Such incompatibility might stem from containing “indecent” language. Yanıkoğlu has reported that songs he came across in Trabzon contained “nasty” lyrics, but he overtly marked these in his compilations (1943, pp. 27-28). Tuğrul has made similar comments on his Ankara compilations and stated that they did not change the lyrics at all, but they omitted two lines that could be deemed pornographic (1945, p. 3). CHP, the political party in power, also specified and limited the lyrics to be compiled, selected and passed on by People’s Houses:

Halkevlerinde halk ezgilerini gençlere öğretirken bazen bu ezgiler arasında seçme yapmak zarureti hâsıl olur. Bu türkülerin evlerde daima [...] sözleri

bakımından nezih olanlarını seçmek ve yaymak gerekir. *Açık saçık sözlü ezgilerin gençler arasında, Halkevlerinde yayılması doğru olmaz [...]* *Uygunsuz sözleri kaldırmak lazımdır.* Halkevi halkın evidir ama o ev, nezih bir aile yuvası karakterini taşıyan bir evdir [...] Halkevlerinde halkımız hakiki manasıyla bir bedii ve artistik hayat yaşayacaktır. Bedii hayat temiz, disiplinli bir dekor ve hava içinde yaşanır. (CHP, 1946, pp. 10-11)

[While teaching folk songs to youngsters in People's Houses, one might need to make a choice. Therefore, within the Houses, only those *türkü*s with proper lyrics should be selected and spread. It is by no means right to pass those of the songs with indecent lyrics among the youth in People's Houses. The indecent lyrics must be removed. People's houses belong to the people, but these houses are also places characteristic of a decent family atmosphere. Our people are to experience a truly aesthetic and artistic life in People's Houses. Aesthetic life can only be achieved in an atmosphere of discipline.]

For this purpose of eliminating “indecent” lyrics, there was even a committee based in Ankara to which PHs in different cities were obliged to submit the songs that they compiled so that they could be monitored by the committee in terms of decency.

The lyrics that were deemed incompatible with “the true Turkish spirit” were not limited to those that contained indecent language. There were also those with foreign lyrics, which would also be subject to relyricizing. According to Stokes (1992), a folk song which went “*Prahoda mindim sürdüm seyran*” was relyricized as “*Gemilere bindim sürdüm Samsun'a*” on grounds that “prahod” was a Russian word meaning “train” (p. 104). Hasgül (1996) also commented on the compilation of the same song stating that “*seyran*” was replaced with “*Samsun*” because the former word was of Arabic origin (p. 43). Moreover, various local dialects in the Karadeniz region were intralingually rewritten in Turkish so as to maintain standardization (Can, 1940, pp. 2-3).

The examples were not only limited to the northern parts of the country. Salcı (1935) stated that no one in Harput in the city of Elazığ spoke Turkish and that the songs in this region were not even hybrid; however, he still mysteriously compiled a

song the language of which was cleansed (p. 158). Also commenting on eastern Anatolia, Tuğrul (1937) claimed that the people in Tunceli were “pure Turks/tamamen Türk” and spoke a “clean Turkish/temiz Türkçe”, therefore, his compilations from the city were “the clean songs of the people of Tunceli” (p. 8). In fact, compilations made from eastern Anatolian cities such as Dersim, Harput, Diyarbakır where Kurdish was widely spoken never included, ironically, a song which was not completely Turkish (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 158). While this was the case for *interlingual* relyricizing practices, in *intralingual* relyricizing practices, even the Turkish word “Kürt” (Kurdish) was masked using word such as “Türkmen” or “Türk”: “*Kürt* was rewritten as *Türkmen*, *Kurdish* girl as *Turcoman* girl, *Kurdish* bride as *Turcoman* bride and *Kurdish* lad as *Turkish* lad” (Hasgül, 1996, p. 44). Hasgül (1996) has pointed out that, since the priority was to cleanse language and therefore Turkify the lyrics in the early Republican period, although there were a number of Anatolian folk songs not only in Kurdish but also in *Greek* languages, they were either not compiled at all, or relyricized in Turkish (p. 43). Bearing in mind the lingual diversity of the *millets* taking part in the Ottoman song interculture, it was not surprising to find examples in various Anatolian cities of songs created together by the entire folk in all of these languages. In line with the dominant ideology of the early Republican era, apparently all those songs except for the ones in Turkish were either deliberately ignored or relyricized in Turkish.

The relyricizing practice must have also been applied to those songs with lyrics that were deemed inappropriate. The State Radio Artist Hasan Mutlucan, whose music career was notoriously associated with not only the 1980 coup d’etat in

Turkey, but also the Greco-Turkish Conflict in Cyprus 1974 tells about<sup>45</sup> how the state radio officials rewrote the lyrics to “Şu İzmir’den Çekirdeksiz Nar Gelir/ Smyrniote Pomegranate Has No Seeds” a song of symbiogenesis from Izmir/Smyrni and got him to sing the relyricized version, most probably on the grounds that the non-relyricized version has an allusion to the Great Fire in Smyrni, associated with the Greco-Turkish War. The non-relyricized version goes as follows<sup>46</sup>:

<i>Yansın İzmir aman</i>	<i>May flames engulf Izmir</i>
<i>Kordonboyu kül olsun</i>	<i>May Kordonboyu get burned down to ashes</i>
<i>Beni yardan aman</i>	<i>Blind all those who made me</i>
<i>Ayrırlar kör olsun</i>	<i>Leave my love behind</i>

Due to the narrator’s desire to see Izmir and the *Kordonboyu* coastal line, which might lead one to remember the Great Fire in Izmir, which according to Turkish histories, was started by the defeated Greek Army, the first two lines must have been deemed “şüpheli/suspicious” (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 157) and therefore rewritten by the compiler Muzaffer Sarısözen as follows (TRT, 2006, p. 728):

<i>Güzel İzmir aman</i>	<i>Beautiful Izmir</i>
<i>Kordonboyu şen olsun</i>	<i>May Kordonboyu rejoice</i>
<i>Beni yardan aman</i>	<i>Blind all those who made me</i>
<i>Ayrırlar kör olsun</i>	<i>Leave my love behind</i>

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<sup>45</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XQ6GAXUTGzU> , please go to the link to watch Cüneyt Özdemir’s interview with Hasan Mutlucan, last accessed on December 18, 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Please go to the link to listen to the non-lyricized version: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DRTmnU3eDec> , last accessed on December 18, 2016.

#### 4.2.4.2.2 Recomposing

Reformists taking part in compilation visits not only relyricized the songs in question. They also recomposed them. This stemmed from a number of causes. As we have seen above as regards song translation, when one of the two interdependent aspects of song translation were changed, the other one is also affected. So the first cause was the reflection of relyricizing in the song composition; when relyricized in a way with a different number of syllables from the source song, the target song's composition was automatically rewritten. Another cause resulting in the recomposition of folk songs in the early Republican era was related to inexpert compilation practices: during compilation visits and after, in the absence of phonograph and sound recording, the melodies and rhythmic measures of a number of songs had been unintentionally misrepresented in musical notation, which eventually resulted in a change in the entire song:

Bir seneden beri geçen zaman isbat etti ki bize gelen notaların birçoğu kitabeti musiki kavaidine tamamiyle vakıf olmayan zevat tarafından yazılmış ve mesela 9/16 hesabıyla yazılması icabeden bir şarkının 5/8 ile yazılması gibi ehemmiyetli bazı hatalar bile yapılmıştır. (Saygun, 1938, p. IV)

[Practices engaged in for more than a year has shown that music scores are notated by inexperts and, for example, a rhythmical measure of 9/16 was written as 5/8, which corresponds to an error of fact.]

In addition, there were also those compilers who trusted merely in their memory. From 1936 on, melodies of the compiled songs were this time intentionally changed as a result of being recomposed in the name of polyphony and harmonization for the choir (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 150). One example was Sadi Yaver Ataman, who individually composed harmonized music on the basis of certain folk songs, and then attempted to use the notation he himself wrote as proof that Turkish folk music was naturally polyphonic (Uzunoğlu, 1951, p. 291). Under the guidance of Muzaffer

Sarisözen, song melodies were also known to be changed intentionally a great deal for *Yurttan Sesler Korosu*.

Yurttan Sesler yayımlarında çalınan türküler arasında memleketin çeşitli bölgelerinde söylenen bazı parçaları kısmen değişmiş, yahut –tabir caizse– restore edilmiş şekilde dinleyen bazı kimseler, alışık oldukları nağme ve temaların değişmiş olduğunu görünce, sinirleniyorlar; bu türkü böyle değildi, bunu bu hale sokan kim, halkın türküsü nasıl değiştirilebilir şeklinde itirazlarda bulunuyorlar. (cited in Balkılıç, 2009, p. 152)

[Upon realizing that the tunes and themes to the songs that they are used to from various parts of the country are changed, some of those who listen to these partially changed, or, as the phrase goes, restored versions of *türkü*s on Yurttan Sesler broadcasts get frustrated and make complaints and objections such as “this is not the way the *türkü* goes,” “who changed this *türkü*,” “how come a song of the people can be transformed in such a way”.]

One such complaint was that Muzaffer Sarısözen had added artificial microtones (“komalar” in Turkish) to songs in question to make them sound authentic.

According to Elçi, Muzaffer Sarısözen had renotated the folk songs reflecting the microtones, a practice which had not been applied to the notation of folk music until 1940s (Elçi, 1997, p. 123). Aşkun (1943), for one, complained about the fact that songs from the city of Sivas had undergone substantial change at Ankara radio under the guidance of Sarısözen:

Ankara radyosunda Sivas Folklorunu yaşatmak için *eski türküleri* düzgün, yanlışsız okuyan bir bayan bulamadım. Mevcut saz ve söz ehlinin hepsi de hem ezgileri hem de demeleri değiştirmişler. (p. 50)

[I was not able to find a lady who could properly perform old *türkü*s in the Ankara radio to keep Sivas folklore alive. All the current experts apparently changed the songs and the lyrics.]

Ironically, criticizing those who caused songs to undergo such substantial change, Aşkun (1940) himself admitted that in his compilations from Sivas, he had only recorded the lyrics to songs because *he did not know about musical notation at all* (p. 64). Yücer (1940) was in similar condition: since he did not have any training in

music, he had only compiled song lyrics (p. 28). In addition to signalling recomposing as a practice to tailor the anonymous songs in an Anatolian city, Aşkun's comments ("Ankara radyosunda Sivas Folklorunu yaşatmak için *eski türküleri* düzgün, yanlışsız okuyan bir bayan bulamadım") also reveal another Republican practice to homogenize songs of symbiogenesis: categorizing them as belonging to the *türkü* genre.

#### 4.2.4.2.3 Recategorization of SOS: the *türkü* genre

It is difficult to identify when the term *türkü* was exactly coined as much as how it came to stand for the national music of the Turks. Since the word comes from the same root with that of the term *Türk*, any native speaker of Turkish tend to subconsciously associate the words *türkü* and *Türk*. This view is also popular among writers who comment on the issue, which Mehmet Çevik (2013) summarizes as follows:

"Türkü" sözcüğünün, "Türk" sözcüğüne Arapça -î eki getirilerek oluşmuş "Türki" sözcüğünden geldiği ve zamanla da ünlü uyumuna uyarak "türkü"ye dönüştüğü görüşü, kabul görmüş ve yaygınlık kazanmıştır. (p. 39)

[It is a generally accepted fact that the word "türkü" comes from the word "Türki", a combination of the root "Türk" and the Arabic suffix "-î" and that as a result of vowel harmony, it was gradually transformed into "türkü"]

The word is made up of the combination of the root "Türk" and the Arabic suffix "-î" and the combined word changed gradually into "*Türkü*" as a result of vowel harmony (Çevik, 2013, p. 39; Karadeniz, 1999, p. 13; Sever, 2003, p. 78). In the early Republican period, such a connotation came to mean "belonging to the Turks"

(Dizdaroğlu, 1969, p. 102). Nihat Taydaş (2005) is also of the opinion that *türkü* is a derivative of *türki* and further argues that *türkü* is a term which can only be applied to Turkish music and that there cannot be such a thing as “Kurdish *türkü*” for this reason: “Kürtçe yazılmış ya da söylenmiş şiirin, müzikle anlatılmasına ‘türkü’ denmesi yanlıştır. Türkü, Türk’e özgü bir biçimdir, Türk’e ilişkinliği gösterir” (p. 103). The concept of “Kürtçe *türkü*” was in fact taken up by Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal (2006), a “dedicated” song-compiling “agent” in Even-Zohar’s sense, who classifies “Anatolian folk songs” into “two categories” p. 75). The first category, he maintains, is made up of “original Turkish folk music with Turkish lyrics”(Gazimihal, 2006, p. 75). The second category refers to the songs that “minorities” sing in their own languages (Gazimihal, 2006, p. 75). He argues that Greek and Kurdish folk songs constitute the most characteristic samples of this latter category, and *these by no means hold any resemblance to türküs*: “Bu ikinci grubun en karakteristik örneklerini Rum ve Kürt halk şarkıları oluşturur ve bunlar türkülere hiçbir şekilde benzemezler” (Gazimihal, 2006, p. 75). However confident Gazimihal is of the dissimilarity of *türküs* on the one side and Greek and Kurdish folk songs on the other, he still leaves some room for resemblance (!): “ancak benzeyenler varsa da bunlar, Türk halk şarkılarından, yani türkülerden esinlenilerek oluşturulmuştur” (Gazimihal, 2006, p. 75). In other words, even if they happen to resemble one another, so the argument goes, such examples are nothing but rewritings of Turkish folks songs, in other words, *türküs* (Gazimihal, 2006, p. 75). The Republican “*turcogenesis*” Gazimihal passionately believes in seems to stem from the fact that the Greeks and the Kurdish sing *türkü* alongside songs of their own, whereas the Turks do not sing songs with Greek or Kurdish lyrics – the Greeks and the Kurdish speak both Turkish and their own languages, whereas the Turks do not *speak* Greek

or Kurdish (Gazimihal, 2006, p. 75). A point Gazimihal misses out on is the fact that not all the Ottoman-Orthodox, or in other words, “the Greeks” that had to leave present-day Turkey spoke Greek: as referred to above as regards the Population Exchange, most of them *spoke no Greek, but only Turkish*. Another point Gazimihal seems to historically misreflect is the fact that, the population exchange, as also referred to above, was based on religion, not on national identity. So in the pre-Turkish Republic times, in other words, before 1923, there was no actual Turkish national identity or Greek national identity within the borders of the Ottoman Empire. There were only *millet*s. And it was so impossibly difficult to distinguish among them that the politicians of both countries decided to base the exchange on religion. In short, the concept of a Greek or Turkish citizen within the borders of the Ottoman Empire was merely nonexistent. Still, Gazimihal’s extreme nationalism and blind adherence to an invented Turkish continuity must have led him to jump to this dogmatic conclusion that any song melody the Turks, the Greeks and the Kurdish have in common exclusively belongs to the Turks and Turks only.

Still, these remarks by both Gazimihal and other researchers show that *türkü* was widely established in the early Republican period as a term meaning “belonging to Turks”. Interestingly enough, despite having been accepted as such in the early Republican period, Özkul Çobanoğlu (2010) argues that *türkü* had a different meaning in earlier times:

Bugün “türkü” olarak söyleyip yazdığımız bu kelime, yaygın olarak bilindiği gibi, eski cönk ve mecmualarda “türkiy” şeklinde dar ünlüyle söylenilmekte ve yazılmaktadır. Bizim kanaatimize göre “türkiy”in daha önceki formu “türk ezgileri” ve “havaları” anlamında “türk küy” olmalıdır. Ancak arka arkaya gelen “kk” sesleri “y”nin daraltıcı tesiriyle bitişerek önce “türkiy”e daha sonra da “türkî”ye dönüşmüştür. Türkküy’ün, türkiy’e ve türkî’ye dönüşmesi sürecinde, *kırsal kesimde yaşayan göçebe taşralı anlamındaki “türk”e nisbetle bu yeni anlamların yüklendiği dönemde, şehirlere veya “şar”lara yerleşen Türkler de, “şarküy”leri (şehir havaları) icat ederler.* (p. 47)

[This word pronounced and written as “türkü” today, as is generally known, used to be pronounced and written with a narrow vowel as “türkiy” in the old lore and documents. It is our contention that the earlier form of “türkiy” must be “türk küy”, meaning “tunes of turks” [villagers]. As a result of the consecutive “kk” consonants and the narrowing effect of “y”, the word must have changed first into “türkiy” and then into “türkî”. In the course of “türkküy”’s transformation into “türkiy” and that of “türkiy” into “türkî”, and in the period during which a new meaning was attached to the word “türk” which meant “nomadic countryman who lives in the country side”, the Turks who settle in urban dwellings, in other words, “şar”’s, compose “şarküy”’s, meaning “urban songs”.]

In Çobanoğlu’s view, therefore, the term *türkü* is the combination of two different words: the first one is *türk*, which translates as “hillbilly or villager” (“kırsal kesimde yaşayan göçebe taşralı anlamındaki *türk*”) and the second one is *küy*, meaning “song”. It is also an interesting coincidence, to say the least, that Atatürk believed in the true Turkish spirit in the Anatolian *villages* as opposed to the Ottoman court. Similar to Çobanoğlu’s associating the term with the villages above, Bernard Lewis is of the opinion that “Turk” was only used to refer to “the primitive *peasants* and nomads of Anatolia”. Lewis (1995) also points to the recent connotation that was attached to the term in the early twentieth century, which I would like to quote once more at this point:

*The people whom we call, and now call themselves Turks [...] did not describe themselves by this [name] until fairly modern times. The language was known as Turkish, but the citizens of Istanbul and other cities did not call themselves “Turk”. [...] It was only in modern times, under the impact of European ideas of nationality, that literate city-dwellers began to describe themselves by [...] this ethnic [term]. (p. 323)*

As Lewis has argued, the term *Türk* was accepted as a nationality as of early twentieth century, and this way, *türkü* has apparently been established to mean a song belonging the Turkish nation. Without doubt, the music reformists also used this term to assimilate and turkify the songs of symbiogenesis: any song represented

as *türkü* was understood as an element of the Turkish national culture, thus breaking with Ottoman tradition and hence establishing Turkish continuity. While establishing the *türkü* as such, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself and his entourage also assigned an instrument to this newly (re)defined genre, another practice which reinforced the masking, in other words, homogenized representation, of the songs of symbiogenesis: the *bağlama*.

#### 4.2.4.2.4 Reinstrumentalization of SoS: the *bağlama*

Similar to the way bouzouki helped Greekify the SoS, and helped established the homogeneity of the *rembetiko* genre, the *bağlama* became associated with the *türkü* genre, helping Turkify the Ottoman SoS. Bağlama was seen as the true Turkish instrument during the Early Republican Era. Muzaffer Sarısözen and other music reformists of the period were of this opinion and believed that all Turkish folk music should and would be performed using either the *bağlama* or other instruments belonging to the bağlama family such as the *kopuz* (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 154). The need for transition to *bağlama* was first overtly expressed by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself in 1927 upon Sadi Yaver Ataman's *bağlama* performance:

Genç arkadaşşıma teşekkür ederim, bize Anadolu'nun güzel havasını getirdi. Beyler, bu bir Türk sazıdır. Bu küçük sazın bağrında bir milletin kültürü dile geliyor. Bir milletin kültür ve sanat hareketlerini ve seviyesini, milli geleneklerine bağlı kalarak, medeni dünyanın kendisine ayak uydurmaya mecbur olduğumuzu unutmamalıyız. Bu küçük sazın bağrından kopan nağmeleri, bu istikamette geliştirmeye ve değerlendirmeye kıymet ve ehemmiyet vermeliyiz. (Ataman, 1991, p. 13)

[I would like to thank my young friend, he brought us a beautiful Anatolian air. Gentlemen, this is a Turkish instrument. In the small body of this instrument lies the culture of an entire nation. We should never forget that we have the duty of adapting the nation's cultural and artistic practices and the level of these to the civilized world, paying due attention to the national

customs. We therefore need to improve and value in this direction the tunes coming right from the body of this instrument.]

Atatürk's projecting *bağlama* as a Turkish instrument was soon taken up by a number of music reformists and musicologists. Very similar to the invented replacement of the Ottoman music interculturalism with folk songs that were truly Turkish, the instruments used during the Ottoman reign were to be replaced with *bağlama*. Adnan Saygun (1936) soon echoed Atatürk stating that *bağlama* should be taught in any institution specialized in music education (pp. 42- 43). Muzaffer Sarısözen, who was one of the leading figures in song compilation visits, also argued that *kopuz*, from which *bağlama* was derived, was the only true instrument of the Turks, thus linking the newly appointed instrument of the nation to an ancient Turkish past (Bayrak, 1985, p. 384).

An agent with his unquestionable devotion to “the true music of the great Turkish nation”, Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal (1947) also followed suit and underscored that although “Ottoman music instruments such as the ud” were played by the public, true Turkish music instruments had been forgotten for years (pp. 43-44). This way, just as the compiled songs lyrics were cleansed of the easy-to-spot traces of the Ottoman past, the instruments used to play the songs of symbiogenesis in the *café amans*, would be replaced with the *bağlama* family – another national symbol signalling continuity with a purely Turkish - therefore non-Ottoman - musical past. The songs of symbiogenesis, many of which were now established as belonging to the *türkü* genre, therefore a construct of the national Turkish culture, would from then on be performed not on the Ottoman *café aman* instruments such as the *santouri*, the *ud*, the violin but on the truly Turkish *bağlama*. In this vein, Gazimihal distinguishes between *kopuz* and *bağlama*: the former was the national

instrument of the Turks before they set foot in Anatolia, whereas *bağlama* came into being in Anatolia upon the Turks' arrival (cited in Çevik, 2013, p. 73):

Hititlerin ve en eski Bizanslıların da mızrapla çalınan uzunca saplı halk sazları vardı amma, bilhassa Oğuz ozanlarının kopuzları Rum diyarına göçünce o eski prototip çalgılar çoktan tarihe karışmışlardır. [...] İlkçağdan Sümer, Hitit ve Mısır panduralarını kopuzun tarihiyle karıştırmak yanlış oluyor.

[The Hittites and the Byzantines had long-necked folk instruments played with the use of a plectrum; however, especially the *kopuz* that was played by the Oghuz minstrels disappeared when they migrated to the Greek lands, and those prototypical instruments became history. It is therefore misleading to mix up the Sumerian, Hittite and Egyptian pandouras with the history of kopuz.]

Therefore, for Gazimihal, the *bağlama* has been derived from the Turkish *kopuz*, which was a completely different instrument from those used by the Hittites and ancient Byzantines: the Turkish *kopuz* has also nothing to do with the *pandouras* used by the Sumerians, Hittites or Egyptians. Nevertheless, there are other researchers who do not agree with this idea.

According to Banu Mustan Dönmez (2008), the view that the *bağlama* was derived from the *kopuz* is merely ideological, and therefore, false (p. 216). Sedat Alp (2005) also believes that, contrary to what Gazimihal argues, the *bağlama* originated in the Hittites then was used respectively by the Romans, the Byzantines, the Seljukians and finally by the Ottomans (p. 74). Agreeing with Alp in this respect, Banu Mustan Dönmez (2008) rhetorically asks:

Bağlama Orta Asya'dan Anadolu'ya giren Türklerin, Anadolu'ya gelirken getirdikleri bir çalgıysa, bağlamanın akrabası olduğu bilinen buzuki, Türk ve Müslüman olmayan Yunanistan'a, hangi yollardan girmiştir? (p. 16)

[If the *bağlama*, as claimed, were an instrument brought to Anatolia by the Turks entering into Anatolia coming from Central Asia, then which route did the *bouzouki* -a member of the *bağlama* family- follow to end up in the non-Turkish and non-Muslim Greece?]

Clearly, Dönmez refers to the similarities between the two instruments – the Greek *bouzouki* and the Turkish *bağlama* and argues that the two instruments cannot have evolved separately from each other while having so much in common. In fact, the idea of coming into existence separately while having so much in common is similar to the idea of the same or similar melody being composed in two different places at the same time, which I have argued against above on grounds of being impossible in the absence of divine intervention. Under normal circumstances, one must have preceded the other. As I have so far argued, in a context of intercultural and the subsequent emergence of nations, it is neither objective nor historically possible to say one nation preceded the other. Therefore, I must once more express that I completely agree with Dönmez’s criticism on Gazimihal’s ideologically-oriented quasi-scientific explanations. In fact, with her rhetorical question quoted just above, Dönmez must be referring to Gazimihal’s thoughts on the *bouzouki*, which he had expressed in 1939. It is with these comments that Gazimihal unsurprisingly argues that the Turkish *bağlama* preceded the Greek *bouzouki*: he argues that the Greek *bouzouki* was originally the instrument called “*bozuk*,” which belongs to the Turkish *bağlama* family (Gazimihal, 2001, pp. 111-112). He further puts forward that the Turkish *kopuz* -the earlier form of *bağlama*- spread to Europe, the Balkans and specifically Greece (Gazimihal, 2001, p. 66). Apparently musicologists and researchers fall into two groups on the history of *bağlama*, and being a member and ardent supporter of the compilation visits himself, Gazimihal’s liabilities, not very surprisingly, lie with the dominant state ideology of the Early Republican Period. It is a direct result of this ideology that *bağlama* is still regarded by the many as the symbol of the *türkü* genre, which is associated with a post-Ottoman and non-Greek “deep-rooted Turkish music” culture.

As can be clear so far, the comments on the evolution of the national instrument of the Turks were naught but an invention, which was apparently designed in line with the Turkish History Thesis, for neither the concept of state-nationalism nor a Turkish nation existed before early 1900s. Overall, even though researchers have different opinions as to when the *bağlama* came into being, there seems to be no one who disagrees with the fact that it is the national instrument of the Turks. Therefore, all these comments made by different researchers in the decades following Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's quoted speech on the instrument, *bağlama* has been established as the true instrument to perform the *türkü* genre, hence helping mask the Ottoman songs of symbiogenesis. As a result, *bağlama* is still regarded as the chief instrument of the *türkü* genre today: “*bağlama*, *türkü* türünün temel enstrümanı olma özelliğini korumaktadır / *bağlama* still retains its characteristic of being the chief instruments of the *türkü* genre” (Çevik, 2013, p. 72).

## CHAPTER 5

### TRAVELLING IN SPACE AND TIME WITH *TSAKITZIS* EFE:

#### MASKED AND UNMASKED REWRITINGS OF A SOS

In this chapter, I set out to look at interlingual and intralingual versions of the song “Tsakitzi”.<sup>47</sup> The reason why I selected this song is the striking difference in its representations at different points in time. The first recording of the song, to my knowledge, analyzed below, “Tsakitzi” (1908) can be regarded as a recording representing the Ottoman descent, which predates both the Greco-Turkish population exchange and the foundation of the Turkish Republic, after which the “emergence” of the state-sponsored national homogenization of music took place.<sup>48</sup> This version is important on two grounds: one reason is that it is the first known recorded version of the song in question. The second reason is that analyzing this version, which represents the Ottoman “descent”, can make it easier to see points of similarity and difference when it is juxtaposed to more recent record releases that came out in a nation-state context. Such a masked way of representation, without doubt, injects an element of ideology to the version of the song that was released in the Ottoman context. This might be in the form of claiming the song as part of a specific national culture, in other words, as part of a *Turco-symbiogenesis*. As demonstrated below, the second rewriting to be analyzed, “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” [The Poplars of Izmir] (1976), is such an example. Adhering to mainstream trends; however, certain

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<sup>47</sup> Song versions of Çakıcı are given different titles in different rerecordings. Because almost all the versions refer to the *Efe*, I will refer to it as “Tsakitzi” in general. See and listen to Appendix A for the songs analyzed in Chapter 5, Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

<sup>48</sup> Given the fact that the recording history begins in the early 1900s, there is a faint possibility that there might be other versions of the song recorded before 1908. Even so, these possible recordings have probably gotten lost in time.

presentations of a song can also inject certain elements which directly reveal a song's symbiogenetic nature within the Ottoman intercultural. One such example would be the third rewriting analyzed below, "Tsakitzi" (2005), which turns the song into a celebration of togetherness of Greek and Turkish languages and cultures, thus resurfacing the heterogeneous past during which it was composed. In short, in representing both of these opposing views, not only the lyrics of each song rewriting but also their instrumentation and visual presentation (record covers, album names and liner notes) play an important role. In other words, not only does each song version *reflect the dominant viewpoint of the time when it was (re)written* but also *each one rewrites history for their future audiences*. This way, the same melody keeps travelling in space and time in different dresses. Bearing these in mind, I aim to explore in rewritings of "Tsakitzi";

(1) what the elements of a shared Greco-Turkish culture were in the earliest known recording of "Tsakitzi" (1908) produced in the Ottoman intercultural context,

(2) how it has been torn away from the intercultural space that created its heterogeneous nature and came to be represented as product of a homogeneous national culture in the 1974 rerecording,

(3) whether such nationalistic discourse and appropriation can still be observed in its 2005 rerecording.

### 5.1 Behind the Recordings: Conjectures on the composing of "Tsakitzi" and the Survival of "İzmir'in Kavakları"

There are two important questions to be addressed at this point. The first one is how so many different versions of a particular song can exist with different lyrics. Merdan

Güven (2009), an expert on folklore, argues songs could be transmitted from one individual to another easily in the past (p. 40). At the moment of creation, there was, naturally, one specific individual or a group of individuals writing the original version (Güven, 2009, p. 40). In other words, one particular song melody could not come to being at once in two different spaces separate from each other, i.e. there was always a process of transmission and transfer. The writer of the song could sometimes be a troubadour, a minstrel or a woman in lament (Güven, 2009, pp. 36, 40, 63). Nevertheless, Güven (2009) emphasizes, once a song spread, it was no longer what it used to be (p. 40). songs can gradually turn into anonymous creations, which makes it highly problematic to identify the original version of a song (Güven, 2009, p. 40). It is problematic because a particular song melody might have been transferred by many different agents, whom Even-Zohar would call “anonymous contributors,” such as traveler troubadours, soldiers, migrants, travelers and the like as well as during occurrences such as migrations, population exchanges, weddings, visits and the like (Güven, 2009, pp. 44-50). Due to such anonymous agents and occurrences, the song in question keeps being relistened to and resung. Such relistening and resinging practices might lead to additions and omissions in both the lyrics and the melodies of the newer rewritings of that song (Güven, 2009, p. 41). A song entitled “*Celaloğlan*”, for example, is known to exist today in three different versions (Güven, 2009, p. 40). In the version sung in Malatya, *Celal* gets sick in Istanbul and dies on his way back home. In the Kayseri version, he dies abroad (Güven, 2009, p. 41). There might be other versions of these songs which have gotten lost in time, in other words, other versions to which the surviving versions have been preferred. For these reasons versions of a particular song can exist in regions far away from each other, with different lyrics rewritten intralingually. If and

when more than one language is spoken in a given context, the same transfer process results in interlingual rewritings, two examples of which are “*Feretze Foro*” [Wearing a Face Veil] (1908) and “*Seni Gördükçe*” [The More I See You] (1908). These two song recordings are two interlingual versions of the same song melody the composer of which is unknown. As in the case of *Celaloğlan*, here, too, the intralingual and/or interlingual versions of a particular song point to a shared creation, a *symbiogenesis*: all the rewriters (relyricists, resingers and replayers) of the song versions contribute to that particular song’s survival although they might in some cases be regions, cities, towns away from each other. All of them create these songs together although they might be *nations, languages, dialects and even time periods* away from each other. “Tsakitzi”, with all its known versions, seems to be a representative example of such symbiogenesis. But of all the existing versions of a song of symbiogenesis, how come some get lost, some survive and some get more popular?

Who decides or what determines which one of all such existing rewritings will survive? Hence the second important question to be addressed. In Lefevre’s (1992) way of thinking, as already argued, there are patrons who are in control of the rewriting process (p. 15). Even though they might not be responsible for the rewritings themselves, they might determine which will survive, and which will not (Lefevre, 1992, p. 15). To understand why “Tsakitzi” is still sung today in Turkey as “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” [The Poplars of İzmir] while there are many other lyrics versions, looking at recent history can be useful in seeing how the Turkish State acted as a patron in bringing “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” to the fore while pushing the other versions of “*Tsakitzi*” to the periphery.

The most influential figure in Turkey in the 1920s, without doubt, was Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. As the founder of the Turkish Republic, he introduced Western-oriented reforms in different fields such as language, clothing and governmental institutions. Ziya Gökalp, the renowned ideologue of the period, explained in *Türkçülüğün Esasları* [The Principles of Turkism] (1923) how Westernization could be realized in music: the material, in other words, the scores would be songs from Anatolia, whereas the method to arrange and perform them would be Western music (Gökalp, 1923, p. 138). In similar vein, at the opening of Parliament in 1934, Atatürk announced that he was going to make reforms in music (Belge et al., 2007, p. 64), for he advocated that “the measure of the change undergone by a nation [was] its capacity to absorb, and grasp, a change in music” (Tekelioğlu, 1996, p. 204). Moving down the path put forth by Gökalp and the comments by Atatürk, a commission was formed within the State Conservatory for the purpose of collecting and standardizing songs from Anatolia (Greve, 2003, p. 222; Güven, 2009, p. 37). Acting as a patron in the rewriting of songs, this commission was seeing to it that the particular lyrics were suitable to the “Turkish Nation” (Balkılıç, 2009, pp. 175-176). The lyrics which were not, did not get transferred to the State Conservatory’s archives, and therefore omitted from the rewritten versions of song. Muzaffer Sarısözen, one of these patrons and rewriters who was acting on behalf of the state could be regarded as one of the leading song collectors in the commission. Using his power as a patron, he also made radio programs to play the standardized versions of the songs to the public. Sadi Yaver Ataman was also among the active agents of the song rewriting process. As a result of the power that the state vested in these patrons and rewriters of songs, the versions not approved by the State Conservatory and TRT - the state-owned radio-

were therefore not being a part of this standardization and centralization process. In time, the rewritings which were not confirmed by the State Radio would naturally not be replayed on the state-owned radio, and most of them would not be released as records. This way, the music of the “Turkish Nation” would be cleansed of any element which would not be fit for it. In other words, of all the intralingual rewritings of a particular song of symbiogenesis, the one approved of by the state, which was the strongest patron, would prevail.

The place where the government officials happen to make the first contact with a song can also be decisive in determining the fittest version. This is because a song which exists in many versions would be recorded in a specific city and the other cities or towns which also sang the same song with other place names might not go into the archives of the conservatory. In similar vein, Merdan Güven (2009) argues that place names in song lyrics do not show us that the particular song was composed in that particular town or city (p. 43). For example, the song with the line “Yaylalar içinde Erzurum yayla” is not only claimed by dwellers of Erzurum, but also by those of Konya and Urfa (Güven 2009, p. 43). Güven (2009) thinks this is natural, for the people of the region have a tendency to claim the song, usually by relyricizing the song mentioning their hometown (p. 43). This tendency to rewrite the song, as well as the compilation of songs by the government seem to be decisive in the representation of the song as an Izmir song, masking its original reference to Ödemiş in the 1908 recording.

In the coming years, Sadi Yaver Ataman, who could be regarded in Even-Zohar’s sense as “an agent dedicatedly engaged in” the modernization movement of the true music of the Turkish Nation, had it recorded by his student Hasan Mutlucan (1976) in the aftermath of the Cyprus conflict between Greece and Turkey. Many

years later, the lyrics of this same version would constitute the Turkish component of the Greco-Turkish bilingual relyrics sung by Candan Erçetin (2005) on an album celebrating the thaw of relations between the two countries.

## 5.2 The subject matter of “*Tsakitzis*”

“*İzmir’in Kavakları/Tsakitzis*” [The Poplars of İzmir] is also worthy of attention on grounds that its subject matter is a (re)telling of history of a legendary figure called *Çakıcı Efe*, one of the most famous *efes*, in other words, brigands in the late Ottoman scene.<sup>49</sup> A reliable source for learning about *Çakıcı Efe* as a historic figure is the renowned novelist Yaşar Kemal’s biographical series of articles published some four decades after *Çakıcı*’s death in Cumhuriyet Newspaper, in 1950s. These articles, based mostly on the diaries of Colonel Rüştü Kobaş, the Ottoman Officer who killed *Çakıcı*, were later turned into a book. According to this book entitled *Çakırcalı Efe* (1964), *Çakırcalı Mehmet*’s father had been killed by Hasan Çavuş, an Ottoman Sergeant (Kemal, 2004, p. 9). Unable to resist the temptation by his mother to take his father’s revenge and under the guidance of Hacı Mustafa, a dear friend of his father’s, *Çakıcı* defied the Ottoman rule and soon killed Hasan Çavuş (Kemal, 2004, p. 48). Hiding from the government in the mountains of İzmir, Aydın, Denizli, Nazilli, Ödemiş, Konya, Antalya and Muğla, robbing the rich and helping the poor, he became a legend (Kemal, 2004, p. 56). Apart from songs, the legend of *Çakıcı* was also covered in local and foreign newspapers: his fame as an Efe who defied the Ottoman Government even reached Europe and Britain (Kemal, 2004, p. 84). The people of the Aegean region of the time admired him so much that even the Ottoman Government itself had to officially pardon *Çakıcı* several times (Kemal, 2004, p. 84). In fact, even after he was killed by an Ottoman officer in 1911, people kept on

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<sup>49</sup> *Çakıcı Efe* was also known as “*Çakırcalı*” *Efe*.

making up legends about him (Yavuz, 2002, p. 14). One of them even went so far as his fighting against the Greek army in the Greco-Turkish war in 1919, which was in fact 8 years after his death (Yavuz, 2002, p. 14).

## 5.2 The rerecordings of “Tsakitzi”

It does not come as surprise; therefore, to see so a song dedicated to this *Efe*, whom the people of the Aegean loved so much, to have been resung and rerecorded many times over a century. For this reason, these two rerecordings, without doubt, are not the only rerecordings of the song. I have selected them from a list of all the known and accesible rerecordings of the song, which can provide clues about the travels of “Tsakitzi” through space and time.<sup>50</sup> The song was first recorded, to my knowledge, in Istanbul by Haim Efendi as “*Tsakitzi Turkusu*” (1908). Then, the following rerecordings were made:

- by Achilleas Poulos as “*Tsakitzi Zeybek*” in New York City, US in 1927 (W2054513)
- by Lefteris Menemenlis as “*Tsakitzi*” in Athens, Greece in 1927 (W20005)
- by Roza Eskenazi as “*Tsakitzi*” in Istanbul, Turkey in 1930 (B 834 – A)
- by Nevzat Güyer as “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” in Istanbul in 1940 (CtZ 6970)
- by Safiye Ayla as “*Çakıcı Türküsü*” in Istanbul in 1946 (Ct2 7105)
- by Hasan Mutlucan as “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” in Istanbul, Turkey in 1976
- by Candan Erçetin as “*Tsakitzi/İzmir’in Kavakları*” in Istanbul, Turkey in 2005.

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<sup>50</sup> Although it is not possible to know of all the different versions the song has been rewritten into since it was composed, it is indeed possible to trace some of these through recordings.

Below, I carry out an analysis of three of these versions to limit my research: those by Haim Effendi (1908), Hasan Mutlucan (1976) and Candan Erçetin (2005). I begin the analysis with Haim Effendi's version on grounds that it is the earliest known recording of the song and was made at a time (1908) when the Greek-Turkish symbiosis could still be observed in a region known today as Turkey. Then I move on to the analysis of two rerecordings of the song which are representative of two different poles in the presentation of Greco-Turkish songs of symbiogenesis in Turkey. Hasan Mutlucan's "İzmir'in Kavakları" (1976) and Candan Erçetin's "Tsakitzis" (2005). These two different rewritings of the same song, the first recording of which dates back to 1908, might help exemplify how dynamics of time in which the song is reperformed and rerepresented can be linked to the historical and political context. The years are important on grounds that Hasan Mutlucan's version (1976) corresponds to a time of political conflict between Greece and Turkey on the Cyprus issue, whereas Candan Erçetin's version (2005) was released at a time of political rapprochement between the Greek and the Turkish governments.

As discussed in Chapter 2, I analyze each song version under the categories "(re)lyricizing" and "(re)performing". In addition to these two categories, I also find it useful to add a third category under which song rewritings can be analyzed: "redressing". This refers to how songs change dress, e.g. how a once-heterogeneous song has been "dressed" up with different elements to reflect a certain ideology. For Hasan Mutlucan's and Candan Erçetin's versions I comment on "redressing" to underscore the links between historical developments and their audio and/or visual representations. In the analyses below, the three song versions in question are also presented in audio format to avoid tearing them away from their major – auditory – function.

### 5.3.1 Haim Efendi's (re)recording (1908)

In this part, I carry out an analysis of the earliest known recording of the song “Tsakitzis” (1908). The song is performed on this recording by Haim Effendi. The lyrics, the voice, the instruments and the performance are analyzed and interpreted in the light of biographical references to both Çakıcı and Haim Effendi under the separate subheadings “relyricizing” and “reperforming” (a combination of “resinging” for the voice and “replaying” for the instruments) respectively. This version of the song is not analyzed under “redressing” for it is not accompanied with visual material. Moreover, it dates back to a time there was no “national culture” to claim a song, so no “redressing” can be expected to be observed in such a neutral version. In other words, this version of the song belongs to the age of symbiogenesis itself.

Born in 1853, Haim Efendi was known as a famous Jewish Sephardic musician, singer, violin player and a translator of liturgical texts into Judeo-Spanish (Havassy&Edwin, 2008). As a well known musician in the entertainment industry, he toured extensively, appearing in public venues in various cities where large Sephardi communities lived (Havassy&Edwin, 2008). In the intercultural context of songs of symbiogenesis, Haim Effendi can be thought of as one of the agents contributing to the symbiogenesis of “*İzmir'in Kavakları/Tsakitzis*”. Since Haim Efendi happened to have recorded the song for the first time, other rewriters who also took part in its joint creation in the Ottoman context remained as anonymous agents whose rewritings of the song went unrecorded.

### 5.3.1.1 (Re)lyricizing in Haim Efendi's (re)recording

Lyrics	Translation
“Tsakitziş ”	“Tsakitziş”
Ödemiş kavakları	Poplars of Ödemiş
Dökülür yaprakları	Their leaves fall
Bana Çakıcı derler, yar fidan boylu	They call me Çakıcı the lanky
Yakarız konakları	We burn mansions down
İki kayak yan yana	Two boats are side by side
İçi dolu <i>inaudible</i> martinler	Filled with <i>inaudible</i> rifles
Çakıcının uğruna	For the sake of Çakıcı
Çifte de çifte can gider	Lives are lost
Tabancam kurşun dolu	My gun is loaded
Sevdiğim kız el oldu	My beloved's gone for good
Bana da Çakıcı derler, yar fidan boylu	They call me Çakıcı, the lanky
Tüfeğim fişek dolu	My rifle is loaded <sup>51</sup>

The song starts with the place name Ödemiş, which is not far away from Izmir. From the third line of the first stanza, it is understood that the lyrics are written in first person singular, and the narrator is called “Çakıcı”. From the fourth line of the first stanza, Çakıcı is understood to burn houses down. The rhymic pattern for the first stanza is a, a, b, a for “kavakları”, “yaprakları”, “boylum” and “konakları” respectively.

The second stanza starts with a depiction of two boats side by side, but the second line is inaudible. However, the inaudible word Haim Efendi utters seems to rhyme with “yan yana,” the last word of the first line. In the repetition, this inaudible

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<sup>51</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all transcriptions and translations in this chapter are mine.

word is replaced with “martinler,” a special type of rifle which can only be shot once. From this repetition, it can be understood that the boats are filled with rifles. From the last two lines of this second stanza, it is understood that Çakıcı kills many men “Çakıcı’nın uğruna, çifte çifte can gider”. The rhymic pattern of the second stanza is c, d, c, d for “yan yana”, “martinler”, “uğruna”, and “gider”. The last stanza of the lyrics is about Çakıcı’s gun and rifle being filled with bullets. Nevertheless, the girl he loves is gone for good. Again, there is a concern for the rhymic pattern, which is in harmony with the second line of the first stanza: b, b , b, b, for “dolu”, “oldu”, “boylu” and “dolu” respectively.

The lyrics of the version sung by Haim Effendi echo the legend of Çakıcı. The place name “Ödemiş” in the first line of the first stanza, is where Çakıcı was born. The line “Yakarız konakları” can be read as a reference to Çakıcı burning down the mansions owned by the rich, for the poor can never have owned them. As told by Yaşar Kemal, burning down the houses of the rich, and stealing from them, Çakıcı helped the poor who lived in the Aegean Region from 1890s to 1910s. The second stanza is about Çakıcı killing many people (“Çakıcının uğruna çifte çifte can gider”), which biographically corresponds to some 1081 people he killed (Kemal, 2004, p. 8). The last stanza is about his guns, rifles and bullets, and last but not least, the girl he loves. This girl he loves, is probably not Iraz - his wife - but the one he falls in love with when he was already married to Iraz (Kemal, 2004, pp. 79-83). The lyrics point out the fact that even a man as notorious and brave as Çakıcı goes under severe depression for platonic love. In short, the lyrics sung by Haim Effendi depict Çakıcı as an *Efe* living in the Aegean, defying the Ottoman Rule, and being a Robin Hood-like legend who steals from the rich and helps the poor. In what follows, Haim Effendi’s (re)singing performance will be elaborated on.

### 5.3.1.2 (Re)performing in Haim Efendi's (re)recording

The most striking aspect of the way Haim Effendi performs the song is that he sings it in a very joyful way. Another singer, who is unknown, accompanies him with the vocals at some parts of the song, which adds to the joyful interpretation. There are also words which Haim Effendi does not enunciate well, which causes the particular part of the lyrics not to be understood and render them inaudible. Also, the way the (re)singer Haim Effendi pronounces several words is not typical of a native speaker of Turkish. He pronounces "Ödemiş" as "Odemis". The way he pronounces the word "dökülür yaprakları" ("leaves *fall*") as "dikülür" also sounds non-native. He also pronounces "uğruna/for the sake of" as "ugruna", i.e. he does not produce the soft *g* in Turkish. As an agent belonging to the Jewish *millet*, he has an accent in the Turkish language, which is one of the four languages he speaks (Havassy&Edwin 2008). This is a direct reflection of the complexity of the language situation, as discussed above, regarding *millets* in the heterogeneous Ottoman context.

The tempo of the version he sings is rather fast. At times, especially after an instrumental part, or the riff, he does not start singing, and picks up only when the other singer starts singing. The arrangement is also quite simplistic. The vocals are only accompanied by a clarinet and an ud. There is no poliphony, both the clarinet and the ud play what the singers sing in unison. There is also a melody, riff, which is different from the vocal partition. The ud is probably played by Haim Effendi himself, which might also explain his being late to get back to his singing mode at times- he concentrates on his instrument. All these are understandable for a record made when the recording industry has just been introduced not only to the then-Ottoman Empire, but also to Europe.

Although Haim Effendi is a renowned musician of the time, naturally, this record gives the impression of an amateur-like, but sincere record, and feels as if the listener were listening to him at a tavern. The highly skillful *gazel* part at the end can also function to move and entertain the audience. Looking at his biography can enlighten both the joyful way he performs the song and his non-native sounding pronunciation of particular words.

Apparently, Haim Effendi's interest in singing well-known songs of the time made him the performer who happened to record "Çakıcı" for the first time in history. His coming from a family whose native language was not Turkish naturally caused him to pronounce several words in a non-native way. His moving to entertainment industry can account for the fast tempo and the joyful manner he sings the song. The narrator in the song turns into an *Efe* who is extremely happy about what he is doing with guns, and even about his platonic love ("Sevdiğim kız el oldu/the one I love is gone for good"). Moreover, sung at a time when Çakıcı was still in the mountains, it might also have been sung in such a joyful way to praise him. While the tune was being played at a tavern in Istanbul in the accompaniment of an ud and clarinet telling about a fictional Çakıcı killing men, the real Çakıcı might indeed have been up in the mountains defying the Ottoman Government shooting his rifle. Overall, the re-lyricizing, the re-singing and the re-playing contribute to the popularity of a folk hero who is still alive, and the performance functions to bring profit to the resinger Haim Effendi who plays it at taverns and musical gatherings, and for the first time in history, on a record. In what follows, I set out to analyze another version of the song re-performed at another point in time.

### 5.3.2 Hasan Mutlucan's rerecording (1976)

In this part, I analyze Hasan Mutlucan's rerecording of the song, entitled "İzmir'in Kavakları" (1976). The lyrics, the voice, the instruments and the performance are interpreted in the light of biographical references to both Çakıcı and the resinger Hasan Mutlucan under the separate subheadings "relyricizing" and "reperforming" (a combination of "resinging" for the voice and "replaying" for the instruments) respectively. This version of the song is also analyzed under "redressing" for it is accompanied with visual material. It dates back to a time when there was political conflict between the Hellenic Republic and the Turkish Republic on Cyprus resulting in a military operation initiated by the Turkish Armed Forces in 1974 (Zürcher, 2002, p. 400). This played an important role in the masked representation of the song in question. Elaborating on "redressing," therefore, can help discover how a heterogeneous song of symbiogenesis can be turned into one belonging to a national culture.

Born in 1926, Mutlucan toured Anatolia as an actor in late 1930s and early 1940s.<sup>52</sup> This gave him the opportunity to learn songs of different regions, cities and towns – a fact making him familiar with what I call the songs of symbiogenesis. He became a radio artist in 1953. Since the state radio, as discussed in Chapter 4, was one of the major compiling institutions back then, this was critical: his relations with the state-owned radio paved the way for his singing "İzmir'in Kavakları" as relyricized by Muzaffer Sarısözen, i.e., the version he sang on the 1976 record was the one deemed "fit" by the Turkish state. Another important factor was that his

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<sup>52</sup> The biographical information on Hasan Mutlucan is based on the TV Interview he himself gave on CNNTurk in December 2006 and the radio interview his relatives gave on TRT Radio on March 20, 2015. Both interviews can be accessed online respectively at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UVH-w1DyyTk> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XQ6GAXUTGzU> (last accessed April 3, 2017).

unique bass-bariton voice would give a heroic feel to the song at a time of political conflict with Greece.

In a period of ten years, he released many albums made up of popular folk songs. The first symbiogenetic song he (re)sang on an album, was “*Çanakkale İçinde*” [In Canakkale]” which also exists in Greek with similar lyrics (“*Mesa Sto Tsanakale*” [In Canakkale]”). This song was on an album entitled *Kahramanlık Türküleri* [Heroic Folk Songs] released in 1975, which boosted Mutlucan’s fame, and was followed by a third album of heroic songs which featured “İzmir’in Kavakları” in 1976.

#### 5.3.2.1 Relyricizing in Hasan Mutlucan’s rerecording

Lyrics	Translation
<i>İzmir</i> ’in kavakları	Poplars of <i>Izmir</i>
Dökülür yaprakları	Their leaves fall
Bize de derler Çakıcı, yar fidan boylu (Hoyde)	They call me Çakıcı, oh, the lanky ( <i>Exclamation</i> )
Yakarız konakları	We burn mansions down
Servim senden uzun yok	No one else is taller than you
Yaprağında düzüm yok	My cypress tree
Kamalı da Zeybek vuruldu	Kamalı Zeybek’s shot down
Yar fidan boylu	Oh the lanky
Çakıcı’ya sözüm yok	Çakıcı did it right

In this particular relyricizing of “Çakıcı”, the narrative is set in Izmir in the first stanza (“İzmir’in Kavakları”). Çakıcı speaks in the first person plural (“Bize de

derler”). The narrator also tells in this version that they burn down the mansions. In the light of the biographical information on Çakıcı Efe, this can be read as Çakıcı burning down the mansions of the rich in Izmir with his men. The rhymic pattern is a, a, b, a for “kavakları”, “yaprakları”, “boylu” and “konakları” respectively in the first stanza and c, c, b, c for “yok”, “yok”, “boylu” and “yok” in the second stanza.

In the second stanza there is a change of the narrator, i.e. it is as if another narrator is speaking. The praise to Çakıcı “servim senden uzun yok” (“no one else is taller than you”), is followed by another line which increases the image of how tall Çakıcı is (“yaprağında düzüm yok”). “Uzun”, “düzüm” and “sözüm” also form alliteration. In the third line, the narrator tells us Kamalı Zeybek, another *Efe*, had been killed. The conjunction “da” must have been added here to optimize the rhythm of the song, i.e. singing the syllables “Ka-ma-lı Zey-bek vu-rul-du” would have required to use a melisma -a prolonged singing of a vowel- so it is avoided by adding “da”. Although the narrator does not overtly say Çakıcı did it, in the last line of the stanza it can be understood that if Çakıcı did it, he did it right – he knew what he was doing. At this point, Yaşar Kemal’s (2004) account of Kamalı Zeybek is enlightening:

Dağda ufak tefek eşkıya kalmamıştı. Hepsi sinmişti. Çakırcalıya bir iki eşkıya kafa tutuyordu. Bunlardan birisi de Kamalı Zeybektir. Kamalı Zeybek ondan çekinmiyordu.

“Hacı, şu Kamalı itini de ortadan kaldırmalı gayrı. Uşakları gönder, takip etsinler onu.”

Bir hafta sonra haberci geldi. Çakırcalı tertibatını aldı. Kamalının bulunduğu yere geldi. Kamalı eğleniyordu. Kuşattı. *Kamalıyı bir kurşunda yere serdi*. Çetesini de temizledi. (pp. 97-98, my emphasis)

[There was no brigand left in the mountains. All were scared. Now only few bandits defied Çakıcı. One of them was Kamalı Zeybek. He did not fear Çakıcı.

“Hacı, my friend, we should kill Kamalı, as well. Send the servants, have him followed.”

A week later there was news from Kamalı. Çakıcı took his rifle and left. Kamalı was feasting. Çakıcı's band surrounded that of Kamalı's. *He killed Kamalı with a single shot.* He wiped out his band, as well.]

At a time when all Çakıcı's rivals were cleansed, Kamalı Zeybek, another *Efe*, was troubling Çakıcı. With the help of Hacı Mustafa, who is Çakıcı's hand, Çakıcı hunts Kamalı Zeybek down. The narrator of the song might be meaning he does not think badly of Çakıcı because he killed Kamalı Zeybek. This might make one think if Kamalı Zeybek was also an *Efe* who was loved by the people living in the Aegean. Interestingly enough, another rewriting of the song – with the same melody – is completely dedicated to Kamalı Zeybek:<sup>53</sup>

Aradılar sordular	They looked for him
Birgi içinde buldular	Found him in the town of <i>Birgi</i>
İnce de tuzak kurdular (yar fidan boylum)	Set up a trap (oh the lanky)
Kamalıyı vurdular	Shot <i>Kamalı</i> down

Also, another rewriting mourning Kamalı Zeybek goes as follows:<sup>54</sup>

Mustafa derler adıma	They call me <i>Mustafa</i>
Şeker uymaz tadıma	I do not like sugar
Beni vuran bir hacı (yar fidan boylum)	Those who shot me down (oh the lanky)
Ermesin muradına	May they never find peace
Aradılar buldular	They sought and found him
Bahçivanda vurdular	Shot him down in <i>Bahçivan</i>
Kamalının naaşını (yar fidan boylum)	Wrapped his dead body
Bir hasıra sardılar	In a bale of straw
Kamalı dağdan insene	<i>Kamalı</i> , come down from the mountain
Mor fesini giysene	Wear your purple <i>fez</i>

<sup>53</sup> [http://www.odemis.gov.tr/default\\_b0.aspx?content=216](http://www.odemis.gov.tr/default_b0.aspx?content=216) , last visited May 10, 2015

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.simavim.com/forum/index.php?topic=6556.0;wap2>, last accessed May 10, 2015

Kamalı zeybek vurulmuş

Yar fidan boylum

Ben vuruldum desene

*Kamalı Zeybek* is shot

Oh the lanky

Say “I’m shot”

These two rewritings of the same melody but with different lyrics point to the fact that some of the people living in the region used to like Kamalı Zeybek, as well. The rewritings also exemplify how a song travels through space, from village to village and from a person to person, being rewritten over and over again. In fact, the lyrics of the two rewritings analyzed above, the ones sung by Haim Effendi and Hasan Mutlucan also attest to that. The element “Kamalı Zeybek” does not exist at all in Haim Effendi’s version. In the version sung by Hasan Mutlucan, it only appears as a character shot by Çakıcı Efe, nevertheless the narrator thinks Çakıcı was right (“Çakıcı’ya sözüm yok/Çakıcı did it right”). The versions praising and mourning Kamalı Zeybek, on the other hand, are hard to reach today. In other words, these rewritings have not survived due to being masked by the version in Figure 1.

YORESİ  
İzmir

KİMDEN ALINDIĞI  
Ekrem GÜYER

İZMİR'İN KAVAKLARI

DERLEYEN  
Muzaffer SARISÖZEN

NOTAYA ALAN  
Muzaffer SARISÖZEN

İZ Mİ RİN KA VAK LA RI DO KU LUR YAP RAK LA RI  
RI BI ZE DE DER LER ÇA KI CI YÂR FI DAN BOY LUM  
YI KA RIZ KO NAK LA RI

İzmir'in Kavakları  
Dökülür Yaprakları  
Bize de Derler Çakıcı  
(Yâr Fidan Boylum)  
Yakarız Konakları

Selvim Senden Uzun Yok  
Yaprağında Düzüm Yok  
Kamalı Da Zeybek Vuruldu  
(Yâr Fidan Boylum)  
Çakıcı'ya Söztüm Yok

Figure 1. *İzmir'in Kavakları* as adapted and transcribed by Muzaffer Sarısözen (TRT, 2006, p. 337)

### 5.3.2.2 Resinging, reperforming and redressing in Hasan Mutlucan's rerecording

The song starts at a much slower tempo than Haim Effendi's version. The intro riff melody which Haim Effendi plays is not observed in Hasan Mutlucan's version.

Instead, the chorus melody of the song is replayed. This steals from the joyous manner in which Haim Effendi plays and sings his own version, and gives Hasan Mutlucan's version a slow, heroic and touchy feel. The addition of such heroic feel is even boosted with reinstrumentalization: *bağlama* and *davul* (the traditional "Turkish" drum). Hasan Mutlucan's resinging of the song is as if he were acting. It

gives the impression that a strong man, maybe even Çakıcı himself, is singing the song in a slow and confident manner, echoing the way Çakıcı used to roam the mountains. He even makes additions to the song to trigger the audience such as “Hoyde” and “Hoyde Bre”, which are exclamation words Greek and Turkish have in common. Together with Hasan Mutlucan’s bass-bariton voice, the heroic image of the resinger that was construed by means of a series of records plays a key role in the redressing of “Tsakitzis”. For this reason, I first provide an overview of these two records released in 1974 and 1975, then move on to the 1976 record which featured “İzmir’in Kavakları.” This, I believe, draws a fuller picture of the importance of the image of Hasan Mutlucan in the redressing of the song in question, an example of which can be seen in Figure 2.



Figure 2. The cover of Hasan Mutlucan’s *Kahramanlık Türküleri* (1974).

Sadi Yaver Ataman’s decision to get Hasan Mutlucan to sing heroic songs on an album was in fact very timely. One of the reasons was that Hasan Mutlucan was already popular thanks to the radio programs he made. People had gotten used to his

voice and image as a singer. He had a bass-bariton voice of rare quality, and combining the lyrics of a particular song with his acting skills which he had excelled thanks to the plays and movies he featured in, he was able to perform any song in a unique way. The other reason was the political atmosphere in the country. The Turkish Government was in serious conflict with the Greek government on the Cyprus issue, and hostility had increased to the point of military operation (Zürcher, 2002, p. 400): Turkish Armed Forces initiated the operation on July 20, 1974 and the forces entered Nicosia (Lefkoşa) on August 14, 1974.

Sadi Yaver Ataman, another dedicated agent in song of song compiling practices, got Hasan Mutlucan to sing an album of the State Conservatory and TRT-approved and fit versions of such rewritings. These would represent “the true spirit of the Turkish nation” on an album which would potentially sell well. As the name suggested, *Kahramanlık Türküleri* was made up of heroic folk songs which would raise the spirit of both the Turkish Armed Forces and the Turkish public in general. As can be seen on the album cover above, the songs were presented as part of a series called “Türk Folklor Şaheserleri” [Turkish Folklor Masterpieces]. Coupled with his bass-baritone voice, as a graduate of the Turkish State Conservatory and an employee of TRT, Hasan Mutlucan became a perfect choice for Sadi Yaver Ataman as a reperformer of “Turkish” songs at a time of armed conflict with another nation. In other words, no one was fitter than Hasan Mutlucan to sing these “fit” rewritings. In fact, Sadi Yaver Ataman himself told Hasan Mutlucan that no one other than him was more fit to sing those *türkü*s.<sup>55</sup> *Hey* Magazine rated Hasan Mutlucan’s *Kahramanlık Türküleri* as a top-ranking album on May 29, 1974 and as well as

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<sup>55</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UVH-w1DyyTk> , last accessed April 9, 2014.

August 28, 1974.<sup>56</sup> The dates of the military intervention were paralleled by a music magazine this way, and all this network of developments made Hasan Mutlucan “the true voice of the Turkish Nation.” This took place under the guidance of Sadi Yaver Ataman, a patron enabling this rewriting. As a resinger of such songs, Hasan Mutlucan gained so much popularity that a year later he made another album entitled *Kahramanlık Türküleri Volume II* (1975), displayed in Figure 3.

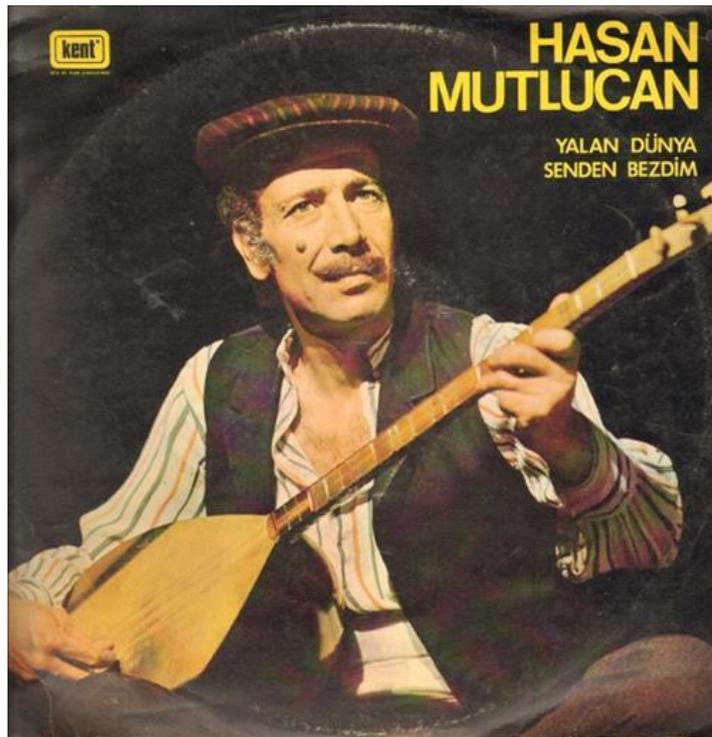


Figure 3. The cover of Hasan Mutlucan’s *Kahramanlık Türküleri II* (1975).

The album cover of the first volume (see Figure 2) featured a “Turkish” hero with a sword in his hand on a white horse. This was clearly an allusion to the song “*Yine de Şahlaniyor Kolbaşının Kıratı*” [The Foreman’s Horse is Rearing Up Yet Once Again] which was among the most popular songs of the album. The cover of the second volume (see Figure 3), on the other hand, featured Hasan Mutlucan himself in a local costume with a *bağlama* in his hand, depicting Hasan Mutlucan as a

<sup>56</sup> <http://www.diskotek.info/Artist/Details/Hasan%20Mutlucan%20Diskografisi> last accessed April 9, 2014.

troubadour of “the Turkish nation”. As discussed in Chapter 4, *bağlama* as an element was in fact very important for the Turkification movement in music introduced by Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk discussed above. Moving down their path, the dedicated state-designated patrons of song compilations thus deemed *bağlama* “the true instrument of the Turkish spirit” (Balkılıç, 2015, p. 154). For this very reason, on the album cover of the second volume of heroic songs, as Figure 4 shows, Hasan Mutlucan, the voice raising the spirit of the Turkish army was more than fit to hold a *bağlama* in his hand, although he did not know how to play the instrument.



Figure 4. The cover of Hasan Mutlucan’s *Cephe Türküleri* (1976).

A third album of heroic songs soon followed a year later, in 1976. In the third heroic album sung by Hasan Mutlucan, neither the troubadour costume nor the *bağlama* in his hand appeared on the album cover. Instead, the album version marketed abroad featured a Hasan Mutlucan in the traditional Aegean *eferi* costume with the caption “Patterns of *Turkish Folk Songs* from the Terrible [sic] Voice”. His heroic, deep, strong, bass-baritone voice was trying to be marketed abroad with a slip of translation

(“terrible voice”). The *efe* costume he wore must have been implying that the concept of *efe* was also Turkish.

The claiming of *efes*, at least Çakıcı Efe, becomes even clearer when “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” [The Poplars of Izmir] finds its place in the tracking list of this very album. If these songs, as overtly stated in the album cover are “Turkish”, so are “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” and the legend its lyrics tell about. The instrumentation of the song “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” also overlaps with the image of Hasan Mutlucan and the Turkish nation that are tried to be construed. Hasan Mutlucan’s exclaiming “*hoyde bre efeler*” (come on now, *efes!*) also strengthens the image of heroic “Turkish *efes*”. The percussive instruments give a heroic feel to the slow tempo mentioned above. More than that, the use of bağlamas echoes the early Republican view of *bağlama* as the true instrument of the Turkish spirit and reflects, as discussed in Chapter 4, the reinstrumentalization and recategorization of songs of symbiogenesis under the *türkü* genre.

With the lyrics, heroic bass resinging, reperforming of the truly “Turkish” instruments, liner notes, and the visuals, Hasan Mutlucan’s image and voice come to symbolize Turkish heroism. The soldiers’ photograph presented in the local version of the album (on the right above) might evoke the military march to Cyprus less than two years this third heroic album of Hasan Mutlucan’s was released. It might even bring to mind another victory won against “the Greeks” in Smyrna in 1922. Even the rewriting of the title from “*Tsakitzis/Chakidjis*” into “*İzmir’in Kavakları*”, and the turning of the first line of the song from “*Ödemiş Kavakları*” to “*İzmir’in Kavakları*” might be read as an allusion to that. Through rewriting, resinging and redressing, a song and a historical figure such as Çakıcı is claimed and Turkified. As “patrons” in Turkey, the State Conservatory, State Radio officials and the three albums’ producers

further the rewriting of songs this way, bestowing the resinger Hasan Mutlucan with fame. Through rewriting, Hasan Mutlucan's image was construed in such a strong way that the notorious military *coup* of September 12, 1980 was launched in Turkey in the accompaniment of his voice: right after the *coup* was announced on the radio, a song Mutlucan sang on the album *Kahramanlık Türküleri* [Heroic Songs] was broadcast. The government officials who had claimed Çakıcı Efe through a song rewriting had claimed the voice of the resinger Hasan Mutlucan this time. And as he expressed many times in interviews, he did not want to be used by any politician.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, his image as “the voice of military operations and coups” in Turkey still seems not to have been forgotten although the artist himself passed away in 2011.

Çakıcı Efe, who died in 1910, was also represented through this masked version of symbiogenesis rewritten by Muzaffer Sarısözen and resung by Hasan Mutlucan. This very rewriting of the song telling about Çakıcı was used by the government and the media to lift the spirit of the Turkish Army against the Greeks. Interestingly enough, the real Çakırcalı was not fighting against the Greeks in his time, in fact he had established a network of Greeks and Turks to fight against the Ottoman Government and protect the poor (Kemal, 2004, p. 73). For this, Çakırcalı Efe was even accused by some of being a Greek spy (Güven, 2009, p. 347). Yaşar Kemal (2004) also mentions the Ottoman Sultan getting Albanians and Circassians to try to hunt down Çakıcı (pp. 110, 113). It is clear that, Çakırcalı had no “nationalistic” affiliations with the Turks of the time. He was a successor of a tradition dating back to much earlier times, even before the Ottoman and the Byzantine Empires: “*Efelik Ege’de, kökü ta ötelere, derine dayanan bir gelenektir.*”

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<sup>57</sup> <http://www.radikal.com.tr/hayat/halkima-beni-yanlis-empoze-ettiniz-1073977/> , last accessed on April 4, 2017.

*Osmanlıdan, Bizanstan daha eski*” [Being an *Efe* was a tradition going back to the ancient Aegean; older than the Ottoman and Byzantine Empires] (Kemal, 2004, p. 21). The culture *Çakıcı* belonged, and also he himself, were not a part of the homogeneous Turkish culture only, which did not exist at that time. There were both Muslim and Orthodox communities he protected in those mountains and villages. That is why he was loved so much by the common people of the time, no matter if they spoke Greek or Turkish, and that is why a song dedicated to him must have survived to this day. Probably that is why the song “*Tsakitzis*” went on being resung in Greek with very similar lyrics to those in Turkish, as well. However, an unmasked rewriting of the song would only be released as part of an album in Turkey in 2000s.

### 5.3.3 Candan Erçetin’s rerecording (2005)

In this part, I analyze Candan Erçetin’s rerecording of the song, entitled “*Tsakitzis*” (2005). The lyrics, the voice, the instruments and the performance are interpreted in the light of biographical references to both *Çakıcı* and the resinger Candan Erçetin under the separate subheadings “relyricizing” and “reperforming” (a combination of “resinging” for the voice and “replaying” for the instruments) respectively. This version of the song is also analyzed under “redressing” for it is accompanied with both visual material and paratextual material: Candan Erçetin’s preface to the celebration of both her tenth anniversary as an artist and of Greek-Turkish rapprochement. In 1999, the two governments aided each other during the devastating earthquakes in both Greece and Turkey, right after which an official cooperation agreement was signed. This was in the aftermath of such an agreement that Erçetin released “*Aman Doktor/O Giatros*” [Oh Doctor] (2005), an album

featuring unmasked rewritings of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis including “*Tsakitzis*”. In other words, historical and political development played once again an important role in the representation of the song in question.

Since the middle of the 1950s, relations between Greece and Turkey were a source of serious concern for peace and stability in the eastern Mediterranean (Ker-Lindsay, 2000, p. 215). The Cyprus issue, disputes over territorial sovereignty in the Aegean Sea, and Turkish arguments about the negative role Greece has played in Turkish relations with the European Union have been among the major reasons for conflict (Ker-Lindsay, 2000, p. 215). Following the earthquakes striking the two countries and killing tens of thousands of people in both countries in August and September 1999, the first to give their hand to Turks were the Greeks in August. Then in September, the first to come to Greece’s help were the Turks. Right after these two developments, then-foreign ministers George Papandreou and Ismail Cem started working much more intensively on mutual concern and agreeing measures for bilateral cooperation (Ker-Lindsay, 2000, p. 215). These efforts were finally transferred into a a cooperation agreement. The following can still be found on the website of Greece’s, in other words, the Hellenic Republic’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs: <sup>58</sup>

In 1999 – in the light of chronic problems and on the occasion of two disastrous earthquakes that hit the two countries – a process of Greek-Turkish rapprochement was initiated, running, on a bilateral level, along three main axes:

The development of bilateral cooperation in soft policy sectors; that is, dispute-free sectors: economy and trade, tourism, culture, civil society, etc. A contractual framework was created, consisting of some 25 agreements, and joint committees and working groups were set up under the coordination and

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<sup>58</sup> <http://www.mfa.gr/en/blog/greece-bilateral-relations/turkey/>  
last accessed on January 10, 2017.

periodic assessment of the Steering Committee. This has functioned satisfactorily.

The reduction of tension – particularly military – through the improvement of the psychological climate and contacts between the armed forces of the two countries via confidence-building measures. To date, 29 such measures have been agreed upon and implemented exploring the potential for an agreed settlement – through exploratory contacts – of the issue of the delimitation of the continental shelf.

In other words, the earthquakes gave the foreign ministers of both states an opportunity to improve the relations on issues which the earlier governments failed to resolve. These included the Cyprus issue which had led to a military operation right after which Hasan Mutlucan had released the album featuring the rewriting “*İzmir’in Kavakları*”, almost functioning as a military march against the Greek government of the time in the mid-1970s. Some 35 years after that, another development, the earthquakes occurring in both countries led to many albums celebrating Greek-Turkish friendship, including a rewriting of the song released in an unprecedented way – with Greek and Turkish bilingual lyrics – in Istanbul, by the popular singer Candan Erçetin.

#### 5.3.3.1 Relyricizing in Candan Erçetin’s rerecording

Lyrics	Translation
“Tsakitzi”	“Tsakitzi”
İzmir’in kavakları	Poplars of İzmir
Dökülür yaprakları	Their leaves fall
Bize de derler Çakıcı,	They call me Çakıcı,
Yar fidan boylu	Oh the lanky
Yakarız konakları	We burn mansions down
Servim senden uzun yok	No one else is taller than you

Yaprağında düzüm yok	My cypress tree
Kamalı da Zeybek vuruldu	<i>Kamalı Zeybek</i> 's shot down
Yar fidan boylu	Oh, the lanky
Çakıcı'ya sözüm yok	<i>Çakıcı</i> did it right
Μεσ στησ σμυρνησ τα βουνα	Smyrni's mountains
και στα κρυα τα νερα	And her cold waters
Μεινε με μενα τσακιτζη, yar fidan boylum	They call me <i>Çakıcı</i> , the lanky
Παλικαρι στη καρδια,	Oh my braveheart
Μεινε με μενα τσακιτζη, yar fidan boylum	They call me <i>Çakıcı</i> , the lanky
Αχ, λεονταρι στην καρδια	Oh my lionheart

The title of the version resung by Candan Erçetin is “*Tsakitzis*”, not “*İzmir’in Kavakları*”. This means she does not stick to the “fittest” version archived by Muzaffer Sarısözen’s committee. Although the first stanzas are the same with the version sung by Hasan Mutlucan, the third stanza makes it clear that this version is completely different from that version. In fact, the version sung by Candan Erçetin is a combination of two different versions of the symbiogenetic song: The first is the one re-lyricized in Turkish by Muzaffer Sarısözen, an ardent song compiler of the Early Republican period. The second is the version recorded in Athens by Roza Eskenazi in 1950 in Greek. The lyrics in Greek also praise *Çakıcı*. The first line sets the context: this time we are not in Izmir downtown, but in the mountains. This might be read as an allusion to the fact that *Çakıcı* was running away from the government. The second line is about Izmir’s cold waters. In the third line, the narrator speaks of himself in the first person plural: “They call me *Çakıcı*”. In the second stanza, another narrator takes over and addresses *Çakıcı* as “my lionheart” and “my braveheart”. This is the first recording and release of the song with Greek

lyrics in Turkey and this can once again be linked to the political relations between Greece and Turkey, this time owing to a natural disaster.

### 5.3.3.2 Resinging, reperforming and redressing in Candan Erçetin's rerecording

Candan Erçetin sings the version in not a heroic but a joyful manner, which is similar to the version sung by Haim Effendi. The instruments which accompany the vocals of Haim Effendi, namely clarinet and ud, can also be heard in Candan Erçetin's version. The tempo is also fast, which is also reminiscent of Haim Efendi's version and in sharp contrast to Hasan Mutlucan's version – it gives the impression of an entertainment song performed to celebrate an occasion. Nevertheless, there are also differences with Haim Effendi's version. The resinger is accompanied by a crowded orchestra. The 9/8 rhythm of the song, which both the Greeks and the Turkish of the present day are quite familiar with, is brought to the fore by the reperforming of the renowned percussionist Hamdi Akatay. Guitars, bass and violin add to the polyphonic reperformance of the song, which is quite different from the (re)singing and (re)performing of the melody in unison observed in the 1908 and 1976 versions. Last but not least, the presence of the Greek bouzouki, which is a characteristic instrument of the Greek *rembetiko* style, is an innovative addition made to the reperformance of the song, especially when what the *bağlama* in the 1976 version symbolizes, as discussed above, is taken into consideration. The bouzouki is performed by the renowned bouzouki player Orhan Osman, also known as “Buzuki Orhan,” who also plays the smaller version of bouzouki –*bağlamadaki-*, and the lute, which is characteristic of Cretan music. Overall, the rearrangement of “Çakıcı”, from its resinging and reinstrumentalization to its rerhythming gives the impression of a

feast – a celebration of Greek-Turkish rapprochement. This is made clear in the album cover displayed in Figure 5 as well as the inserts and liner notes.

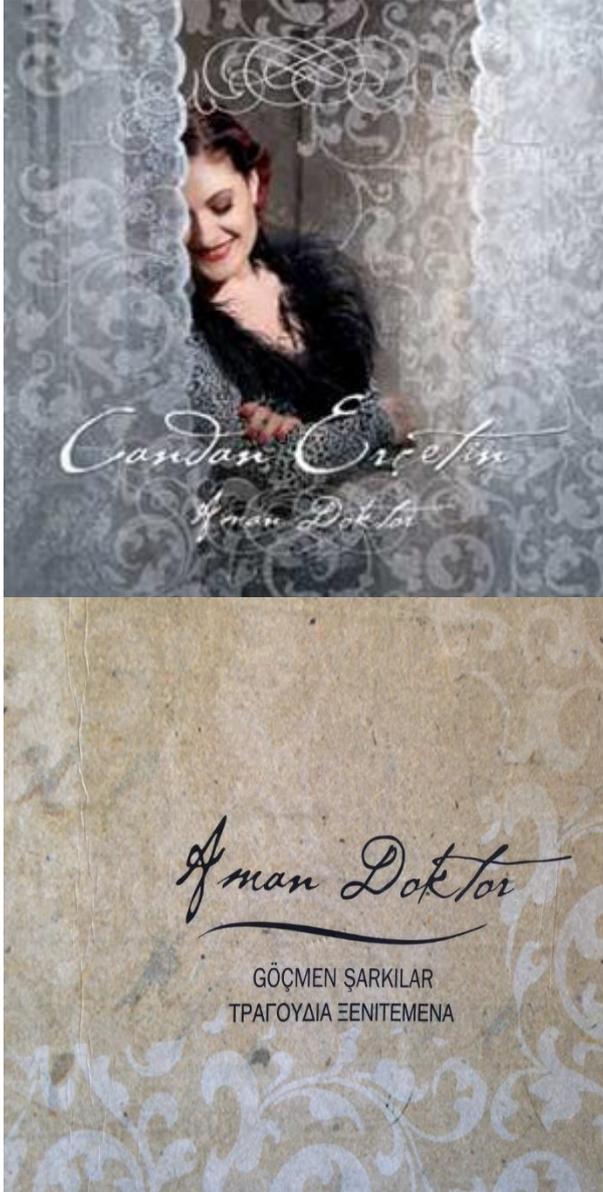


Figure 5. The cover of Candan Erçetin's *Aman Doktor* (2005).

At first glance, one can have the impression that the front cover of Candan Erçetin's album (on the left above) has nothing to do with Greco-Turkish rewritings: Candan Erçetin is seen smiling in the middle of rather simple patterns. Nevertheless, the title

of the album, *Aman Doktor*, is also the name of another Greco-Turkish song of symbiogenesis. The title of the album is telling in that all the songs on this very album are in fact Greco-Turkish songs of symbiogenesis. This is overtly made clear on the cover of the booklet accompanying the album (on the right above) with the subtitle “Göçmen Şarkılar/Tragoudia Ksenitemena” [Migrant Songs]. Candan Erçetin’s preface to the album booklet clarifies this, as well:

Elinizde tutmakta olduğunuz kayıt, üniversite yıllarımdan beri kafamın takıldığı, gönlümün meylettiği, *dinledikçe keyiflendiğim ama söylemekten büyük haz duyacağım* bir hayalin gerçekleştiğinin kanıtıdır. (Erçetin, 2005a, p. 6, my emphases)

[The record you are holding in your hand is proof that a dream I’ve been dreaming of, I have been *enjoying listening to but would enjoy even more if I performed it myself*, has come true.]

*Benzer coğrafya, benzer gelenekler, benzer duygular, benzer fiziksel özellikler, benzer damak zevki ve doğal olarak benzer müzikler... Sadece iki farklı dilde... Ama çoğu zaman sözleri anlamaya dahi gerek yok çünkü melodinin ruha işleyişi yetiyor insana. Yıllarca aklımı ve yüreğimi işgal etti bu şarkılar, iç içe geçmiş hüznler, sevinçler, derdini anlatan ezgiler ve her koşulda sınırları aşan özgür ama göçmen şarkılar...* (Erçetin, 2005a, p. 6, my emphases)

[*Similar geography, similar traditions, similar emotions, similar physique, similar taste, and naturally similar music... Only in different languages...* But most of the time, there is no need to understand the lyrics, for these melodies touch one’s soul... For years and years I’ve *kept these songs in my heart and mind*, thinking of inextricably intertwined sorrows and joys, expressed in songs that manage *to cross borders no matter what.*]

Candan Erçetin expresses her feelings about the album and states clearly that it has been her dream since her university years to reperform the songs she has been listening to for long. Then she goes on to explain the similarities between the Greeks and the Turks: physical appearance, appreciation of cuisine and songs. According to her, the only difference is the language, but it is rather unnecessary to understand

given the touchy nature of shared melodies speaking to one's soul. She depicts the songs of symbiogenesis in a rather romantic and nostalgic way. She is probably making covert references to the population exchange, the expulsion of the Greek population from Istanbul in the mid-twentieth century, as well as the Cyprus issue, which led to the increased popularity of the resinger Hasan Mutlucan: "the songs travelled across borders no matter what". In a sense, she means, whatever has happened, the Greeks and the Turks are still brothers and sisters. This can by all means be said not only for these two "nations" but also for the rest of humanity. Nevertheless, this preface written less than half a decade after the cooperation agreement signed by the foreign ministries of the two states cannot be mere coincidence. Candan Erçetin explains the timing of the release of this very special album by her tenth anniversary as a professional singer.

Bir taraftan *bu tınlar hafızamın derinliklerinde dans ederken*, diğer taraftan müzik hayatımın 10. yılını nasıl kutlasam diye için için düşüncelere dalmıştım, birden bundan daha iyi bir fırsat olamayacağı hissine kapıldım ve 10. yılımı çalışarak kutlamaya karar verdim. (Erçetin, 2005a, p. 7, my emphases)

[*While these tunes were dancing in the depths of my memory*, I was also contemplating how to celebrate the tenth anniversary of my music career. Suddenly it occurred to me – there was not a better opportunity. I would celebrate my tenth anniversary getting in the studio.]

This excerpt from the preface clarifies the timing of the release of the album, as well as the festive smile on Candan Erçetin's face on the front cover (see above): she is celebrating both her tenth anniversary and Greek-Turkish solidarity at the same time. By all means, such a timing as the tenth anniversary of Candan Erçetin's would not serve as the mere underlying reason behind the release of an album of overtly expressed symbiogenetic songs if it were not for the mutual cooperation agreement signed by the Greek and the Turkish governments. Candan Erçetin might be well

aware of that, but she prefers to take the romantic path and tie it up to her sympathy for the shared songs, or in her words, “cross-over songs” and making an album to celebrate both occasions. The way she reperforms “Tsakitzi” with all the band, discussed above, as if celebrating an occasion, is now better understood. She also comments on the preparation stage of the album:

İşe ilk önce üniversitede okuduğum *Antik Yunanca bilgilerimi* tazelemek üzere Yunanca dersi almakla koyuldum. (Erçetin, 2005a, p. 7, my emphases)

[First I started to revive my Old Greek, which I studied at university.]

Dedim ya, şansa hep ihtiyaç vardır; işte o şans, *Etnomüzikoloji doktorası* için Türk müziklerini araştırmak üzere bir süreliğine İstanbul’a gelen Sophia ile beni buluşturmayı başardı, üstelik de Sophia karşıma önce bir *Yunanca hocası* olarak çıktı, gerisini tahmin etmek sanırım zor değil. (Erçetin, 2005a, p. 7, my emphases)

[Twist of fate always helps - I happened to meet Sophia who came to Istanbul to do her *Ph.D. in Ethnomusicology*. She first became my *Greek tutor*. The rest is easy to guess.]

*Dilimizi gayet iyi konuşan Sophia*, yılların birikimine yaklaşık 9 ay süren bir araştırmayı da katarak her iki yakanın ortak şarkılarını ve onların hikayelerini içeren geniş kapsamlı bir arşiv çalışması gerçekleştirdi. (Erçetin, 2005a, p. 7, my emphases)

[*Fluent in our language*, Sophia added to her years of experience the 9-month research she did for the present album. Her extensive archival research focused the shared songs and their stories.]

Candan Erçetin states she was already familiar with the Greek language. But for this album she decided to take courses in Greek, and came across Sophia Kompotiati.

They resembled each other in that they both had an interest in each other’s culture.

Sophia was a Greek interested in Turkish music. Candan Erçetin was a Turk

interested in both Greek language and the Greek versions of the songs she has

enjoyed listening to since university years. Sophia was also fluent in Turkish

language so she could teach her language to Candan Erçetin. Moreover, putting all

these facts on the album would be acting in accordance with the mainstream trend of

rapprochement. Setting “Candan the Turk” and “Sophia the Greek” who love each

other's culture and language as examples for the Turkish and Greek audiences would make a perfect story accompanying the album of songs of symbiogenesis. Moreover, Candan Erçetin was using the term "reperforming" herself in the final paragraphs of the preface:

[...] Kısacası biz, emeği geçen herkes, bu şarkıları 2005 yılında *tekrar yorumladığımız ve kayıt ettiğimiz* için çok mutlu olduk. (Erçetin, 2005a, p. 7, my emphases)

[In short, all of us who have put in effort for this album are so happy *to have reformed and rerecorded* these songs in 2005.]

She does not only point out the fact that she and her band *reperform* and *rerecord* the songs on this album, but also, adding to her credibility, she says, as a team, they have put in lots of effort and carried out extensive research. In other words, she signals the fact that, other musicians can make similar albums, but Candan Erçetin's is of particular importance:

Uzun araştırmalar ve büyük emeklerin sonucunda ortaya çıkmış bu çalışma *söyleyen ve dinleyen herkese ait olmuş*, hatta sahiplerinin göçüne katılmış şarkıların kayıt altına alınmasından ibarettir ve kökleri çok derinlere varan bir kültürel tarihin muhtemelen sadece birkaç satırını oluşturabilir. (Erçetin, 2005a, p. 6, my emphases)

[The present album, realized as a result of extensive research and efforts, boils down to recording songs *that belong to all those who sing and listen to them*, and in fact accompanied their composers in their migration. It should also be added that this album probably only constitutes a few lines of a deep-rooted cultural history.]

While establishing her album's credibility, Candan Erçetin once more emphasizes the fact that the songs on the album belong to all those who sing and listen to them. This way she makes all the earlier reperformers and relisteners, as well as the listeners of this album *inseparable elements of the (re)performance of these songs*. In other words, while the 1976 rewriting of the song claims the song on the part of the

Turkish culture, the 2005 version of the song celebrates a shared culture of Greeks and Turks – a direct reflection of the rapprochement period between the two governments. Such discourse locates both the song “Tsakitzi” and the folk hero it tells about right in the middle of the Greco-Turkish intercultural exchange which came into existence before the declaration of the Republic of Turkey as well as the “total rupture” (Clark, 2006, p. 2) between them: the population exchange.

## CHAPTER 6

FROM “YİĞİDİM ASLANIM BURDA YATIYOR” TO “MIROLOI”:

### A GROUNDBREAKING CASE OF GRECO-TURKISH REWRITING AND REPRESENTATION

As discussed in the previous chapter, songs of symbiogenesis, the earliest forms of Greco-Turkish song translation, have been presented in different dresses at different points in time. Two examples I gave were Hasan Mutlucan’s 1976 rerecording and Candan Erçetin’s 2005 rerecording. The former reflected the nationalist ideology at a time of hostility towards the Greek other while the latter celebrated the political rapprochement. Looking at Greco-Turkish translation history, it is also possible to see that the transition from a state of hostility to that of political rapprochement did not happen overnight. In fact, certain Greek and Turkish agents involved in song translation started the rapprochement process individually just half a decade after extreme political hostility. It can further be asserted that the overt representation of the hybrid nature of songs of symbiogenesis from the beginning of the 2000s to date can partially be attributed to those agents who put in a great deal of effort to translate and perform songs from one another in the politically tense atmosphere of late 1970s and early 1980s. This chapter is devoted to the analysis of a special case of song translation the source song of which is known. Nevertheless, the lyrics to the source song are rewritten from a poem written by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu for Nâzım Hikmet. Moreover, this poem is also a rewriting of two anonymous Anatolian songs: “*Fincanı Taştan Oyarlar*” [Carve the Cup out of Stone] and “*Mezar Arasından*” [Through the Grave], the originals of which are unknown. In what follows, I set out

to provide background information to the conditions leading to the translation of “*Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor*” [Here Lies My Lionheart] (1980) into Greek as “*Miroloi*” [The Dirge] (1982) at a time when “Greek-Turkish friendship was considered a taboo” (Livaneli, 2007, p. 222).

### 6.1 Behind the (re)writing of “*Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor*”

“*Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor*” is in fact a rewriting – the rewriting of a poem as song. Interestingly enough, the initiator of the process of the creation of the source song is the performer of the Greek writing of that very source song. Due to such a complex web of relationships among the agents involved - two famous Turkish poets, a Greek poet, and last but not least, Greek and Turkish song writers and performers - I would like to touch upon certain details of the story behind the composition and rewriting of “*Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor*” before moving on to song translation analysis.

#### 6.1.1 Behind the (re)writing of YABY in Turkish

The popular Turkish musician and song writer Zülfü Livaneli released his first album in 1973. The album was made up of songs the lyrics to which were written either by him or Ülkü Tamer. Back then, Livaneli had not yet started putting already existing poems to songs yet. Interestingly enough, this would not happen until mid-seventies, when Maria Farantouri asked him if he had ever composed a song to a Nâzım Hikmet poem.

O yıllarda müzik yaşamımdaki en önemli olay, Maria Farantouri'nin benden besteler istemesiydi. [...] Nâzım'dan bestem olup olmadığını soruyordu.

Uzun zamandır Nâzım'dan besteler yapmak istiyordum. Çünkü Yves Montand'ın, Pete Seeger'in, Paul Robson'ın Nâzım şiirleri üzerine yaptığı şarkıları dinlemiş, Finlandiya'da onun şiirleri üzerine yapılmış bir uzunçalar bulmuştum. Türkiye'de, kendi dilinde ise Nâzım şarkılarından oluşan bir albüm yoktu. Bu bana ayıp geliyordu. [...](Livaneli, 2007, p. 207)

[The most important event regarding my music career in those years was Maria Farantouri's requesting song compositions from me. And now she was asking whether I had a song composed to a Nâzım poem. This was something I wanted for a long time. I had already listened to songs Yves Montand, Peter Seeger and Paul Robson composed to his poems, and had even found such a long play in Finland. In Turkey; however, in the land of his own language, there was no album made up of Nâzım songs. This was such a shame...]<sup>59</sup>

Maria Farantouri's question seems to have gotten Zülfü Livaneli to realize the fact that poems of Nâzım Hikmet, probably the most popular Turkish poet worldwide, had not been put to song in Turkish. This would be a critical moment for the Greek-Turkish song partnership between Farantouri and Livaneli. Zülfü started to work on Nâzım Hikmet poems, and soon later he came up with his first song composed to a Nâzım Hikmet poem. Apart from being Livaneli's first composition, this tune was also important in that this would be the first song Maria Farantouri would sing in concerts in Turkish, i.e. resinging by a Greek agent in the source language. As Livaneli tells himself, he put in a great deal of effort to make this first Nâzım composition.

Bir gece sabaha kadar melodilerle boğuştum. Yatakta oradan oraya attım kendimi, gözümü kırpmadım. Sabah kalkar kalkmaz sazı aldım, birkaç kez kendi kendime araştırdım. Sonra Ülker'e, "Bak sana bir şey çalacağım," dedim. [...] Dinlemeye başladı. Bitirince, "Gerçekten çok güzel," dedi. "Hadi bir daha çal." Ve ben tekrar söylemeye koyuldum: "Karlı Kayın Ormanında". (Livaneli, 2007, p. 208)

[One night I grappled with melodies till morning. I tossed and turned, did not sleep a wink. I grabbed my *bağlama* as soon as I got up, and practiced once or twice. Then I told Ülker, "I'll play something". [...] After listening to it, "beautiful," she said, "play it again!" Then I sang it again: "The Forest of Snowy Beech". ]

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<sup>59</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all transcriptions and translations in this chapter are mine.

For Zülfü Livaneli, the musical rewriting of Nâzım poems was initiated by Maria Farantouri, who wanted to sing these songs on her albums and in concerts. She would soon reap the reward of such initiation – Zülfü Livaneli sent her “Karlı Kayın Ormanı,” this first Nâzım song, which the Greek musician would sing in concerts *in Turkish*. They also sang Livaneli’s first Nâzım composition in Turkish at the first concert they gave together, along with other songs. Then, Zülfü Livaneli recorded this song for his album *Nâzım Türküsü* (1978), which was made up of Nâzım Hikmet poems. In years to come, Zülfü Livaneli would also apply the idea given to him by Farantouri to compose a poem, this time, written not *by* but *for* Nâzım Hikmet. The source poem “Zindanı Taştan Oyarlar” was written by the renowned poet and artist Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu for his beloved friend Nâzım Hikmet, who was in Bursa prison at the time. Zülfü Livaneli rewrote this poem to lyricize it as “Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor” (Bedri Rahmi Eyuboğlu, 2003, pp. 316-318).<sup>60</sup> The song was recorded as part of Zülfü Livaneli’s (1980) album *Günlerimiz*.<sup>61</sup> The first rewriting of a Livaneli song *in Greek language*; however, was yet to be sung and recorded.

### 6.1.2 Behind the rewriting of YABY into Greek

Zülfü Livaneli and Maria Farantouri met in 1979 (Livaneli, 2007, p. 222). Maria Farantouri had a concert in Essen, Germany (Livaneli, 2007, p. 222). Zülfü Livaneli went to this concert and visited Maria Farantouri in the backstage (Livaneli, 2007, p. 222). Maria Farantouri was excited to meet the musician who had put Nâzım Hikmet

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<sup>60</sup> [http://www.yeniasir.com.tr/sarmasik/yazarlar/ali\\_kocatepe/2012/10/21/zindani-tastan-oyarlar](http://www.yeniasir.com.tr/sarmasik/yazarlar/ali_kocatepe/2012/10/21/zindani-tastan-oyarlar) last accessed on November 11, 2015.

<sup>61</sup> Uğur Mumcu used to like the song YABY, and told this to his friend Zülfü Livaneli. After Uğur Mumcu was assassinated in 1993, the song was sung and played frequently to commemorate Mumcu, which must have caused the public to mistakenly believe that it was composed after Mumcu’s assassination.

poems to song upon her request (Livaneli, 2007, p. 222). Right after this meeting, the *Sinematek* Association invited Maria Farantouri for a concert in Istanbul, in which Zülfü Livaneli and Maria Farantouri sang Livaneli songs together on stage “*at a time when Greek-Turkish friendship was considered a taboo*” (Livaneli, 2007, p. 222, emphasis mine). Right after this meeting, Farantouri invited Livaneli for a concert on top of Likavitos Hill in Athens. Just half a decade after the so-called “Cyprus Peace Operation”, the Turkish musician Zülfü Livaneli’s excitement mixed with anxiety on stage where he was surrounded by the Greek audience is not difficult to guess:

Likavitos tepesine çıkarken iki yanımdan sel gibi akan kalabalığa bakıyor ve biraz sonra ne tepki vereceklerini düşünüyordum. [...] Sıcak bir Atina gecesinde şarkılarımı söylemeye başladım. Sesimin yükseldiği gökyüzü yabancı değildi, heyecanlı bir deney yaşadığımın bilincindeydim. İlk şarkı bittiğinde birdenbire patlayan alkışlar ve seyircinin müthiş ilgisi, bir dostluk zaferi kazandığımızı gösteriyordu. Ama en büyük tezahürat Theodorakis’in bir parçasını Yunanca okuduğum zaman patladı. Zeybek ritmindeki “Marmara” şarkısını söylerken karşımdaki kitle heyecandan kendini kaybetmişti. Aynı duygu bir süre sonra, Maria Farantouri şarkılarımı Türkçe söylediğinde Türkiye’de yaşanacaktı. Maria, “Karlı Kayın Ormanında” diye başladığında, Efes Antik Tiyatro sarsılacak ve otuz bin kişinin çılgınlığı Ege göğüne yükselecekti. (Livaneli, 2007, p. 223)

[While going up Likavitos Hill, I was looking at the crowd flooding on both sides and wondering how they would react [...] I started singing my songs on a warm Athens night. The sky where my voice echoed was familiar. I knew we were witnessing an exciting experiment. The applause breaking out right after the first song and the rapt attention by the audience were proof that we had just won a victory of friendship. However, the loudest applause broke out when I performed a song by Theodorakis in Greek – the crowd was overwhelmed with excitement listening to the tune “Marmara” in *zeybek* rhythm. The same excitement would be observed in Turkey a couple of months later when Maria Farantouri performed my songs in Turkish. The moment Maria sang the line “Karlı Kayın Ormanında,” Efes Ancient Theatre would shake and the voices of thirty thousand people would echo in the Aegean skies.]

Interestingly enough, about five years after the notorious military operation in Cyprus, the Greeks were excited to listen to a Turk singing in Greek. This, along with Maria Farantouri’s singing in Turkish to a Turkish audience, constituted a

milestone for song translations to be made between Greek and Turkish languages. In fact, after the Cyprus Conflict, the reacknowledgement and rerepresentation of the Greek/Turkish other through songs can be argued to have been realized in two stages for the case of Farantouri and Livaneli, and therefore in Greco-Turkish song translation in general. In the first stage, two stars with nationwide popularity presented the other to her/his own audience, i.e., Livaneli accompanied Farantouri in her concerts in Turkey and had her sing his songs in Turkish. Farantouri also had Livaneli sing a song written by the renowned song writer Mikis Theodorakis in Greek in Athens. In other words, while the Greek agent resung a Turkish original in Turkish, the Turkish agent resung a Greek original in Greek in return. Once it was understood that these “exciting experiments”/“heyecanlı bir deney” in Livaneli’s terms (2007, p. 223) paid off – “the audience was overwhelmed with excitement” (2007, p. 223) – the next stage could begin: rewriting Turkish source songs in Greek and Greek source songs in Turkish.

It is important to underscore at this very point that such an initiative in the aftermath of Cyprus Conflict would also be among the first examples of overt representations of symbiogenesis. As individual agents, Livaneli and Farantouri stood up to political hostility through Greco-Turkish song rewriting. In a sense, they were pioneers who made one of the first attempts and provided the first examples of overt representation of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis in the late 1970s. In fact, just two decades later, in the 2000s, such overt representation would be frequently observed on albums made up of Greco-Turkish symbiogenetic songs, an example of which is Candan Erçetin’s rerecording and representation of “*Tsakitzis*” as discussed in Chapter 5.

Zülfü Livaneli started to visit Maria Farantouri at her house frequently, where he also met popular Greek musicians such as Haris Alexiou and Giorgos Dalaras, two of the agents who would also play a role in Greco-Turkish song translation as reperformers in years to come. Soon later, Minos, one of the major record companies in Greece wanted to make an album for Maria Farantouri and Zülfü Livaneli together (Livaneli, 2007, p. 256). The album would be made up of Livaneli compositions (Livaneli, 2007, p. 256). Nevertheless, the second stage had already started to take place: this time, the songs would be sung in Greek:

Maria şarkıları Yunanca söyleyecekti. Bu yüzden bütün sözlerin, *şarkı söylemeye uygun biçimde Yunanca'ya çevrilmesi gerekiyordu*. Bir süre Türkçe bilen Rumlarla çeviri üzerinde çalıştık, pek bir sonuç alamadık. Çünkü iki dil birbirine hiç uymuyordu ve müziğin her vuruşuna oturması gereken heceler, boşlukta kalıyordu. [...] Sonunda şöyle bir çözüm yolu bulduk. *Lefteris Papadopoulos adlı ünlü şaire şarkıların içeriğini anlatacaktık. O da kendince bu müzikler üzerine şarkı sözleri yazacaktı*. Akşamları Lefteris'in evine taşınmaya başladık.<sup>62</sup> (Livaneli, 2007, p. 256, emphases mine)

[Maria would sing the songs in Greek. For that reason, all the lyrics needed to be rewritten in Greek as performable translations. For a while, we worked on translating the songs with Turkish speaking *Rums* because the two languages did not harmonize musically and rhythmically [...] Finally we came up with another solution. We would tell Lefteris Papadopoulos, a famous Greek poet, what the lyrics meant. He would then rewrite the lyrics in Greek. We started to frequent Lefteris' house in the evenings.]

Zülfü Livaneli was collaborating not only with Greek musicians but also with bilingual speakers of the languages to create rewritings that would reflect the musical phrases. All these agents were trying to relyricize the songs in Greek, but apparently the result was not satisfying, at least for Zülfü Livaneli, the composer of the source

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<sup>62</sup> According to Zülfü Livaneli, Maria Farantouri's husband Telemakhos also participated in these translation sessions from Turkish into Greek, where he met the poet Lefteris Papadopoulos (2007, p. 257). Being a columnist for *Ta Nea* newspaper, Lefteris Papadopoulos helped Telemakhos get a position in the ministry (Livaneli, 2007, p. 257). Soon later, Andreas Papandreu made him the government spokesman (Livaneli, 2007, p. 257). Maria Farantouri also became a member of Papandreu's PASOK party (Livaneli, 2007, p. 257). Hence a web of relations clerly demonstrating the direct links between music rewriting and politics.

song. The way out would be a poet, Lefteris Papadopoulos, just like Nâzım Hikmet, the creator of the original lyrics. The Greek and Turkish agents of the relyricizing process were also accompanied by both Greek and Turkish musicians:

[...] Çeviriler tamamlandı. Atina'daki Polysound stüdyosunda günlerimiz ayrıldı. Maria, Yunanistan'ın önde gelen caz müzisyenlerinden davulcu Hristo ve kontrbasçı Filipidis'i tavsiye etti. [...] [Neyzen] Ali Dede'ye bir uçak bileti yolladım ve Atina'ya davet ettim. [...] Bütün müzisyenlerin hissettiği ve birlikte yarattığı bir müzikalite amaçlıyordum. Bunun için gece gündüz provalar yaptık, parçaları birlikte çalıp durduk. [...] Düzenlemeleri Ferhat [Livaneli] yapıyordu. Ses mühendisi Smirneos çok yetenekli biriydi. (Livaneli, 2007, p. 258)

[Once the translations were completed, we booked the Polysound studio in Athens. Maria suggested we should work with the renowned Greek jazz drummer Hristo and bass player Filipidis [...] I invited the *ney* player Ali Dede to Athens [...] I was aiming at a musical quality felt and created by all the musicians. To this end, we worked night and day keeping practicing the songs. [...] While the music producer was Ferhat [Zülfü Livaneli's brother], the sound engineer was the talented Smirneos.]

In short, from relyricizing to rearranging, agents from both cultures were involved.

While the source song composer's brother was deciding who would play which instrument and how, the rerecording was made by the Greek sound engineer Smirneos. The reperformers were also made up of Greek and Turkish musicians: Ali Dede, Hristo and Filipidis. All these rewritings were financed by Minos, the leading recording label of Greece (Livaneli, 2007, p. 255). In short, "Miroloi", the rerecording of "Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor" was not limited to a Turkish singer and a Greek resinger only. It was one notch down a reapplication of the activity of symbiogenesis, where both Greeks and Turks came *together* to *create* in the Ottoman intercultural. The only difference was that the source song was *known*, in other words, it was a song originally composed by Zülfü Livaneli. However, there was more to it: although the source song was composed by Livaneli, the poem from which he

rewrote the lyrics was written by Bedri Rahmi Eyübođlu, to whom Livaneli gave a reference to in his 1980 recording released in Turkey.

## 6.2 Zülfü Livaneli's recording (1980)

Zülfü Livaneli, as I mentioned above, composed his first Nâzım song upon Maria Farantouri's request and released his first album of Nâzım recordings: *Nâzım Türküsü* (1978). "Yiğidim Arslanım Burda Yatıyor" [Here Lies My Lionheart] would later be on another album: *Günlerimiz* (1980). Maria Farantouri's request would inspire Livaneli to compose a song, the original poem of which was dedicated to Nâzım. In what follows, I first carry out an analysis of the original poem by Bedri Rahmi Eyübođlu, then move on to its rewriting as lyrics by Zülfü Livaneli, and finally provide a comparative and contrastive analysis of the source and target songs, "Yiğidim Arslanım" and "Miroloi" respectively, in terms of intralingual and interlingual (re)lyricizing, (re)recording and (re)presentation.

### 6.2.1 Rewriting the poem as song in Turkish: from Nâzım's cell to his grave

To be able to have an idea of how Zülfü Livaneli composed the song "Yiğidim Arslanım Burda Yatıyor," the ultimate source from which he adapted the lyrics from needs to be studied. Then, it is much easier to understand which parts Livaneli kept and omitted in the song he composed. The source Livaneli worked on is the poem "Zindanı Taştan Oyarlar" [Dungeon Carved Out of Stone] originally written by Bedri Rahmi Eyübođlu as an allusion to the folk song "Fincanı Taştan Oyarlar"

[Cup Carved out of Stone]. Dedicated to Nâzım Hikmet, who was in Bursa prison at the time, the poem tells about the ingenuity of Hikmet's poetry and how such a great poet suffers in prison. When the poem is read carefully, it can be understood what a tragic situation Nâzım Hikmet underwent. Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu's love and grief for him can be felt strongly through all the ten stanzas:

ZİNDANI TAŞTAN OYARLAR	DUNGEON CARVED OUT OF STONE
Bursa'nın ufak tefek yolları	Roads to Bursa are narrow
Ağrıdan sızidan tutmaz elleri	His hands are in pain, they cannot grab
Tepeden tırnağa şiir gülleri	From top to toe, roses of poetry
Yiğidim aslanım aman burda yatıyor.	Here's where my braveheart's doing time
Bir şubat gecesi tutuldu dilin	On a Februray night you went silent
Silâha bıçağa varmadı elin	You didn't reach out to a pistol or a knife
Ne ana ne baba ne kız ne gelin	No mother, no father, no girl, no bride
Yiğidim aslanım aman burda yatıyor.	Here's where my braveheart's doing time
Ne bir haram yedin ne cana kıydın	You neither sinned nor killed
Ekmeğ gibi temiz su gibi aydın	As pure as bread, as clear as water
Hiç kimse duymadan hükümler giydin	You've been sentenced, nobody heard

Döşek diken diken yastık batıyor

In a sparky bedsheet with a

lumpy pillow

Yiğidim aslanım aman burda yatıyor.

Here's where my braveheart's

doing time

Zindanı taştan oyarlar

They carve the dungeon out of

stone

İçine bir yiğit koyarlar

Put a braveheart behind bars

Sağa döner böğrü taşa gelir

He turns right, his side touches

the stone

Sola döner çırılçıplak demir

Tosses left, there is only iron

Çeliğin hası da yiğidim aman böyle bilenir

The purest steel is honed this way

Döşek melul mahzun, yastık batıyor

In a sad bedsheet with a lumpy

pillow

Yiğidim aslanım aman burda yatıyor.

Here's where my braveheart is

doing time

Bugün efkârlıyım açmasın güller

I've got the blues today, may no

rose bloom

Yiğidimden kötü haber verirler

There's bad news from my

braveheart

Demirden pencere taştan sedirler

Windows of iron, beds of stone

Döşek melul mahzun yastık batıyor

In a sad bedsheet with a lumpy

pillow

Yiğidim şahinim aman burda yatıyor

Here's where my braveheart is

doing time

Mezar arasında harman olur mu?

There is no harvest in the grave

On üç yıl hâpiste derman kalır mı?

What is left of a prisoner after 13

Azrail aç susuz canın alır mı?

Döşek melul mahzun yastık batıyor

Yiğidim şahinim aman yerde yatıyor...

Dilinde dilimi bulduğum

Gücüne kurban olduğum

Anam babam gibi övdüğüm

Dayan hey Aslan Ustam

Abenim

Yiğidim dayan.

Dayan hey gözünü sevdiğim

Bugün efkârlıyım açmasın güller

Yiğidimden kötü haber verirler.

Sana kökü dışarda diyenlerin kökleri kurusun

Kurusun murdar ilikleri dilleri çürüsün

Şiirin gökyüzü gibi herkesin.

Sen Kızılırmak kadar bizimsin

years?

Would the angel of death take

you – hungry and thirsty?

In a sad bedsheet with a lumpy

pillow

My braveheart is doing time – on

the floor

Found my mothertongue in yours

I'd sacrifice myself for your

strength

Proud of you like a father, like a

mother

Hold on, My Master

Hold on

My braveheart.

Hold on my dearest

I've got the blues today, may no

rose bloom

There's bad news from my

braveheart

May those defaming you die in misery

May their tongues freeze, bodies not rest in

peace

Your poetry belongs to us all, as does the sky

You belong to us, as does *Kızılırmak*

En büyük ustası dilimizin  
Canımız ciğerimizsin.

The greatest master of our mothertongue  
You are our heart and soul.

Bugün burdaysa şiirin, yarın Çin'dedir  
Bütün hışmıyla dilimiz  
Kökünden sökülmüş bir çınar gibi  
Yüreğimiz içindedir.

Your poetry - here today, in China tomorrow  
Our mothertongue travels fast  
Like a plane tree uprooted  
It is right inside our heart.

Bugün burdaysa şiirin, yarın Çin'dedir  
Acısıyla sızısıyla alınının kara yazısıyla  
Bir yanı nur içinde tertemiz.  
Bir yanı sızım sızım sızlayan memleketimiz içindedir.

Your poetry - here today, in China tomorrow  
With its pain, misery and bad luck  
A part of it's in the purest light  
The other part's in our land aching every day  
and night

(Eyüboğlu 2003: 316-318, my translation)

It can be understood from the line “On üç yıl hapiste derman kalır mı?” that Nâzım Hikmet has been doing time for thirteen years, and is sick due to living under miserable conditions. From the first line of the first stanza, it is clear that Nâzım Hikmet is in Bursa prison. From the second stanza it is understood that Nâzım was put behind bars in February, and did not try to escape. Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu expresses his belief that Nâzım was totally innocent in the third stanza. The fourth stanza is on Nâzım's being forced to live under the harsh conditions of prison. The fifth stanza makes clear how sad the poet Bedri Rahmi is upon hearing the bad news about his beloved friend Nâzım Hikmet. The sixth stanza has the striking line “Azrail aç susuz canın alır mı?”: even the Angel of Death would spare Nâzım's life under

these circumstances because he is hungry, thirsty and has a tremendously uncomfortable living space. In the next stanza, Nâzım is praised for his command of his Turkish in his poetry. The poet is so sad, he does not even want roses to bloom: “Bugün efkârlıyım açmasın güller”.

In addition to its historical and biographical importance, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu’s poem is also important in that it is in fact a rewriting of two folk songs. I briefly mentioned above that one of these songs is “Fincanı Taştan Oyarlar”. The original lyrics to the folk song are: “Fincanı taştan oyarlar / İçine de bade koyarlar”.<sup>63</sup> Bedri Rahmi rewrites these lines as “Zindanı taştan oyarlar/İçine de bir yiğit koyarlar”. The second folk song Bedri Rahmi rewrites in the poem is “Mezar Arasından”. The lyrics to the anonymous song, dedicated to an *efe*, go as follows: “Mezar arasında harman olur mu/ Kama bıçak yaresine derman olur mu/ Kamayı vuranda insaf olur mu/ Arslanım Kâzım’ım Efem yerde yatıyor / Kaytan bıyıkları Efem bana batıyor”.<sup>64</sup> As can be seen in “Zindanı Taştan Oyarlar” above, the part is rewritten by Bedri Rahmi as “Mezar arasında harman olur mu? / On üç yıl hapiste derman kalır mı? / Azrail aç susuz canın alır mı? / Döşek melul mahzun yastık batıyor / Yiğidim şahinim aman yerde yatıyor”. In other words, Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu’s poem itself, a rewriting of two anonymous songs the original creators of which are unknown, is based on symbiogenesis.

The word “yiğidim,” which is used to refer to an *efe* in the folk song is used by Bedri Rahmi to refer to Nâzım Hikmet in his poem. Rewritten once again, the

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<sup>63</sup> To listen to a recording of the anonymous song, please visit <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BqiJqhZMJ04>, last accessed January 3, 2016.

<sup>64</sup> To listen to a recording of the anonymous song by Hasan Mutlucan, please visit <https://www.izlesene.com/video/hasan-mutlucan-mezar-arasindan/6752641> , last accessed January 5, 2016.

word “Yiğidim” is also one of the words in the title of Zülfü Livaneli’s song “Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor”. Below is the version of the lyrics that appeared in the book *Livaneli Besteleri: Nota Kitabı* (Livaneli, 1998). According to this book, Zülfü Livaneli lyricizes Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu’s lengthy poem into three stanzas:

Şu sılanın ufak tefek yolları	Roads to my homeland are narrow
Ağrıdan sızından tutmaz elleri	His hands are in pain, they cannot grab
Tepeden tırnağa şiir gülleri	From top to toe, roses of poetry
Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor	Here lies my braveheart
Bugün efkârlıyım açmasın güller	I’ve got the blues today, may no rose bloom
Yiğidimden kara haber verirler	There’s bad news from my braveheart
Demirden döşeği taştan sedirler	Sheets of iron, beds of stone
Yiğidim aslanım burda yatıyor	Here lies my braveheart
Ne bir haram yedin ne cana kıydın	You neither sinned nor killed
Ekmek kadar temiz su gibi aydın	As pure as bread, as clear as water
Hiç kimse duymadan hükümler giydin	You’ve been sentenced, nobody heard
Yiğidim aslanım burda yatıyor	Here lies my braveheart

(Livaneli, 1998, p. 151, my translation)

The first stanzas of the source poem and the source song are almost the same. The four lines are maintained in the same order in the song lyrics. The two items that are different are on the lexical level: the place name “Bursa” and the exclamation mark “Aman” have been omitted from the song lyrics. In fact, “Bursa” has been replaced with “Şu sıla,” literally, “the homeland”. Given the fact that Bedri Rahmi originally wrote the poem for Nâzım’s sentence in Bursa prison, such an omission also means removing a biographical fact from the lyrics. Rewriting it as “the homeland” can also be seen as an allusion to Nâzım Hikmet’s having to spend many years away from his homeland and being stripped away from citizenship. Nevertheless, this totally changes and rewrites the image depicted by Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu in the original poem.

The second stanza of the song lyrics is comparable to the fifth stanza of the source poem. Apart from the omission of the exclamatory word “aman” as in the first stanza, lines 1 and 4 are the same. Lines 2 and 3, are different from the source poem in that the words “kötü haber” and “pencere” are replaced with “kara haber” and “döşek” respectively. Replacement of “kötü” haber with “kara haber” also adds to the change in setting that kötü haber is related to the poet’s being sentenced while “kara haber” is indicative of death. Together with the omission of stanzas 2 and 4 which contain the lines about the poet’s sentence (“Bir şubat gecesi tutuldu dilin”, “Zindanı taştan oyarlar, içine de bir yiğit koyarlar”) (Eyüboğlu, 2003, pp. 316, 317), the image of a poet serving time in prison gradually turns into the setting of a graveyard where the braveheart lies.

The third stanza of the lyrics can be compared to the third stanza of the source poem. The first, second, third and fifth lines of the third stanza of the source poem correspond to the first, second, third and fourth lines of the song lyrics. The

difference is the fourth line, which is missing from the song lyrics: “Döşek diken diken yastık batıyor/ In a sparky bedsheet with a lumpy pillow” (Eyüboğlu, 2003, p. 316). This line is also refers to the fact that where the character in the poem lies is the uncomfortable bed in prison. Omitting this line, too, helps transform the setting of the song - from the Bursa prison to a grave.

Zülfü Livaneli’s intention to change the original poem’s setting seems to be more possible when the lyrics of two different recordings by Zülfü Livaneli are compared. The lyrics that appeared in the book published in 1998 only has three stanzas, while the recording made in 1980 has four. Here is the fourth stanza which only existed in the 1980 recording of “Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor”:

Mezar arasında harman olur mu?	There is no harvest in the grave
On üç yıl hapiste derman kalır mı?	What is left of a prisoner after 13 years?
Azrail aç susuz canın alır mı?	Would the angel of death take you-hungry and thirsty?
Yiğidim aslanım burda yatıyor...	Here lies my braveheart

Images such as “mezar” (line 1 above) and “Azrail” (line 3 above) help depict the image of a graveyard; however, line 3 “On üç yıl hapiste derman kalır mı?” is still a very specific reference to the sentence passed on to Nâzım Hikmet, and reinforces the original setting of the poem in the cell. Before omitting the stanza from his song completely, Livaneli must have tried to rewrite it in the new setting. In the source poem written by Eyüboğlu, this very stanza is made up of not four, but five lines- the fourth line, another reference to Nâzım Hikmet’s cell, has been deleted from the song

lyrics: “Döşek melul mahzun yastık batıyor/In a sad bedsheet with a lumpy pillow” (Eyüboğlu, 2005, p. 317). Moreover, the last line of the same stanza in the poem is as follows: “Yiğidim şahinim aman yerde yatıyor/ My braveheart is doing time – on the floor” (Eyüboğlu, 2005, p. 317). In the song lyrics; however, this line has also been turned into “Yiğidim aslanım burda yatıyor”, which not only helps turn every fourth line of every stanza into a chorus, but also omits another reference to Nâzım Hikmet’s cell – he is no longer sleeping in the floor in prison, but lies in his grave. This line in Bedri Rahmi’s poem is also important in that it is directly taken from the folk song “Mezar Arasından” as discussed above. Deleting this line also means, deleting the intertextual relation Bedri Rahmi has established with the folk song. In fact, the titles of the poem and the song lyrics also signal such intention: the poem’s title “Zindanı Taştan Oyarlar” has been replaced with the song title “Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor”: One more reference both to Nâzım Hikmet’s cell and to the other folk song Bedri Rahmi rewrites in his poem has been omitted. The only element that is left is the word “yiğidim” which is used to refer to Kâzım in the folk song, and Nâzım in the poem. Before moving on to the rewriting in Greek with a main focus on how much of the cell-grave dichotomy the poet Lefteris Papadopoulos has kept or omitted, I analyze the 1980 recording of “Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor,” the cover and insert of which are shown in Figure 6, in terms of dressing and performing in what follows.

## 6.2.2 Dressing and performing



Figure 6. The front cover and the album insert of Zülfü Livaneli's *Günlerimiz* (1980).

The art work on the front cover of the album is rather semi-abstract. There is a white dove shape through which a barbed wire, red carnations and green can be seen: freedom, captivity and beauty are juxtaposed, which can be interpreted as a reflection of Zülfü Livaneli's and/or Nâzım Hikmet's life. On the album insert (on the right above) Zülfü Livaneli is in the recording studio accompanied by Tülây German, Cahit Berkay and François Rabbath. "Yiğidim Aslanım Burda Yatıyor" is the second

track on the B side of the record, which also contains reference to the poet Bedri Rahmi Eyübođlu.

The song opens with a *bađlama* playing the C minor chord. Since *bađlama* is an instrument traditionally used to play chord melody solos –not chords– accompanying a singer, this in fact can be regarded as an extraordinary opening in that it is played as if it were a guitar, which is attributable to the *bađlama* player Cahit Berkay’s background as a rock guitar player also. Here, After eight seconds of diminished C minor chords on the *bađlama*, the female singer Tülay German’s sad voice is heard. She sings the first three lines of the first stanza of the lyrics. Then, in the fourth line, Zülfü Livaneli joins her: “yiđidim aslanım burda yatıyor”. Tülay German sings the first two lines of the second stanza solo. This time, Zülfü Livaneli joins her in the third and fourth lines: “Demirden döşeđi tađtan sedirler/Yiđidim aslanım burda yatıyor”. After completing the second stanza, Tülay German hums the melody. Right after that, Zülfü Livaneli takes over and sings the first two lines of the next stanza solo: “Ne bir haram yedi, ne cana kıydı/Ekmek kadar temiz, su gibi aydın”. Tülay German joins him in the next two lines: “Hiç kimse duymadan hükümler giydi/yiđidim aslanım burda yatıyor”. They sing the first two lines of the last stanza in the question-answer form- Zülfü Livaneli begins the first line by singing “Mezar arasında,” and Tülay German completes the line “Harman olur mu”. The second line is sung the same way. The last two lines of the fourth stanza are sung by German and Livaneli together and repeated twice: “Azrail aç susuz canın alır mı/Yiđidim aslanım burda yatıyor”. The tempo is not fixed, but rather *rubato*. Combined with the meaning of the lyrics and mourning-like singing of especially Tülay German, the song resembles a dinge dedicated to any intellectual who died after suffering in prison. In what follows, I carry out a comparative and contrastive

analysis of the rewriting, redressing and representation of the song “Yiğidim Aslanım” in Greek.

### 6.3 Farantouri’s rerecording of “Yiğidim Aslanım”: “Miroloi” (1982)

As discussed above, Maria Farantouri could be seen as the initiator of the songs Zülfü Livaneli put to Nâzım Hikmet’s lyrics, some of which she eventually resang – just two years later after the release of the album *Günlerimiz* (1980) and four years after the release of *Nâzım Türküsü* (1978). “Miroloi” [Dirge] was on the album *H Μαρία Φαραντούρη Τραγουδάει Λιβανελί* [Maria Farantouri Sings Livaneli] released by the Greek Label Minos in 1982. In what follows, I carry out an analysis on the lyrics of the Greek version rewritten by the Greek poet Lefteris Papadopoulos.

#### 6.3.1 Relyricizing

The lyrics rewritten by Lefteris Papadopoulos for Maria Farantouri’s resinging of the song in Greek were as follows:

Μοιρολόι	Dirge
Μες στο κοιμητήρι, αχ, πικρή βροχή,	In the cemetery, under the bitter rain
κάνε να μη σβήσει τούτο το κερί.	May this candle not go out
Κι ούτε ένα λουλούδι να μη μαραθεί,	May no flower fade away today
δεν τον σκοτώσαν, έχει κοιμηθεί.	They didn’t kill him, he’s asleep

Κι εσύ, αγέρα, πάψε πια να κλαις,

δεν έχει φύγει, ψέματα μου λες.

Μην κοιτάς το στήθος που 'χει ματωθεί,

δεν τον σκοτώσαν, έχει κοιμηθεί.

Ζεστό σαν το ψωμί, καθαίο σαν νερό,

ένα παλληκάρι είκοσι χρονώ.

Ούτε που τ' αφήσαν ν' απολογηθεί,

δεν τον σκοτώσαν, έχει κοιμηθεί.

Μαύρο κοιμητήρι, πώς και να γενείς

κάμπος της ελπίδας και της προσμονής;

Ο αρχάγγελός μου έχει πια χαθεί,

You wind! Don't you cry

He has not left for good,

you're lying

Don't look at his wounded

chest

They didn't kill him, he's

asleep

As warm as bread, as clear

as water

A twenty-year old

braveheart

The didn't let him speak

They didn't kill him, he's

asleep

Black cemetery, how can

you ever be

A field of hope and

expectation?

My archangel is gone now

As is the case with the 1980 version of the source song on Livaneli's *Günlerimiz* album, the lyrics are made up of four stanzas. In the first stanza, the setting is the graveyard. It is raining, and a candle is flickering. The poet does not want the candle to go out under the rain, which is in fact not very realistic. He does not want any flower to fade away either because he has hope: the man lying down is not dead, he is just asleep. Unlike the first stanza of the source lyrics, there is no mention of a homeland (“Şu sılanın ufak tefek yolları”), no reference to hands that cannot grab (“Ağrıdan sızıdan tutmaz elleri”), no reference to roses of poetry either (“Tepeden tırnağa şiir gülleri”). There seems to be a similarity in the fourth line, however: when the word “yatıyor” in the source lyrics is read as “here lies my braveheart” or “here is where my braveheart is buried”, the setting in both the target and the source lyrics is the cemetery. The line “may no flower fade away today” in the target lyrics also echoes the line “may no rose bloom” in the second stanza of the source lyrics. In other words, the first stanza of the target lyrics replaces absolute grief with hope. In fact, making use of such unrealistic hope, Lefteris Papadopoulos makes the atmosphere even sadder.

In the second stanza, the poet is talking to the wind, even consoling it. Apparently the wind believes the man to be dead because there is blood in his chest. The poet consoles the wind that he is not dead but asleep. Compared to the second stanza of the source lyrics, there is no mention of the blues (“Bugün efkârlıyım”), no reference to bad news from the braveheart (“Yiğidimden kara haber verirler”), no reference to his bed (“Demirden döşeği, taştan sedirler”). In this stanza, too, it can be

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<sup>65</sup> Transcribed and translated from Greek into English in collaboration with Kyriaki Kourouni.

inferred that the wind assumes the character to be dead, so he must be lying down, hence the similarity to the source lyrics – both the source and target characters can be thought of as lying down if the word “yatıyor” in the source lyrics are read as “Here’s where my braveheart lies”.

In the third stanza, the poet depicts the man as twenty years old. He did not even get the chance to defend himself, but still, they did not kill him, he fell asleep himself. The first line “Ζεστό σαν το ψωμί, καθάριο σαν νερό” is a literal rewriting of “Ekmek kadar temiz, su gibi aydın”. And again, there is the image of a dead man, but the poet cannot accept this, he cannot come to terms with the fact that the young man passed away. The young age of the man is a dramatic addition in the Greek rewriting, probably to make the atmosphere even sadder – dying young is always more tragic. Perhaps the poet Lefteris Papadopoulos is making a concealed reference to the young Nâzım Hikmet who was first sentenced in his twenties.<sup>66</sup> Still, as is the case with the source lyrics, there is no overt reference to the poet.

The fourth stanza is where the poet finally admits that the young man is not sleeping, but lying dead. He loses all hope, and talks to the dark cemetery: “How can you ever be a field of hope and expectation?” The young man is gone and he is not coming back. The grave is again the setting in both the target and the source lyrics. While the source lyrics speak of the angel of death, the target lyrics make use of the term “archangel” to refer to the deceased. The title of the target lyrics is also indicative of the fact that it is a slow sad song played for lamenting someone.

As discussed above, Zülfü Livaneli rewrites the poem “Zindanı Taştan Oyarlar” into “Yiğidim Aslanım” and a comparative analysis of both signals a

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<sup>66</sup> Hikmet was born in 1902, and was first sentenced in 1924, when he was 22 years old. [https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/N%C3%A2z%C4%B1m\\_Hikmet](https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/N%C3%A2z%C4%B1m_Hikmet) , last accessed on January 5th, 2016.

change in setting from prison to grave. “Miroloi” also echoes such a change in setting and even makes it stronger – there is no overt reference to Nâzım Hikmet’s cell at all. Zülfü Livaneli turns the setting of the original poem into a graveyard. His intention to omit the references to Nâzım Hikmet’s cell becomes clearer with the exclusion of the fourth stanza from both the rerecording of the song (Livaneli, 2006) and its rewritten musical score (Livaneli, 1998, pp. 150, 151). The rewriting of the lyrics in Greek also reflects such a change in setting and changing the general content of the song. This makes more sense with Zülfü Livaneli’s comments on how they created the lyrics in Greek together:

*Lefteris Papadopoulos adlı ünlü şaire şarkıların içeriğini anlatacaztık. O da kendince bu müzikler üzerine şarkı sözleri yazacaktı. Akşamları Lefteris’in evine taşınmaya başladık.(Livaneli, 2007, p. 256, emphases mine)*

*[We would tell Lefteris Papadopoulos, a famous Greek poet, what the lyrics meant. He would then rewrite the lyrics in Greek. We started to frequent Lefteris’ house in the evenings.]*

Zülfü Livaneli must have told Lefteris to rewrite the lyrics in Greek changing the setting as the graveyard, and this might have led to no references at all to Nâzım Hikmet’s cell in the rewriting in Greek, while there are certain references in Zülfü Livaneli’s rewriting in Turkish. In other words, his involvement in the translation process must have played a role in the way Lefteris Papadopoulos rewrote the lyrics – a case of rewriting where agents from both sides cooperated, echoing the days of symbiogenesis. In the part that follows, I analyze the album cover and insert, as displayed in Figure 7, to observe how such joint creation is represented audio-visually.

### 6.3.2 Redressing and reperforming



Figure 7. The front cover and the album insert of Maria Farantouri's *H Maria Farantouri Traγουδάει Λιβανελί* [Maria Farantouri Sings Livaneli] (1982).

The front cover of the album displays an artwork where there is a photograph of Maria Farantouri and Zulfü Livaneli together. The artwork, on top of which the names of Maria Farantouri, Zulfü Livaneli and the lyricist Lefteris Papadopoulos appear, seems to be replete with metaphors to the state of Greek-Turkish relations in the aftermath of the Cyprus conflict. The building in front of which they stand together looks old, worn-out, and in bad condition. The curtains are closed. There seems to be no hope of walking into the house. Nevertheless, the tree standing in the

garden is yet to produce its blossoms. Only the friendship of Farantouri and Livaneli, or the Greeks and the Turks can end the winter and bring the spring to the branches of the tree, and only such friendship can restore the façade of the house which is not in good condition. On the album insert, the Greek and Turkish musicians Hristo, Filipidis, Ali Dede, Smirneos, last but not least, Maria and Zülfü are in the studio recording together (Livaneli, 2007, p. 258). The album inserts are not limited to these, to which Figure 8 attests.



Figure 8. The inserts of Maria Farantouri’s *Η Μαρία Φαραντούρη Τραγουδάει Αιβανελί* [Maria Farantouri Sings Livaneli].

Because the album is aimed to be presented first to the Greek audience, the back cover features a photograph displaying Istanbul. With their smoking chimneys, the three ferries are yet to embark while a mosque can be observed in the background. On the track listing, “Miroloi” is presented as the second track of the album, its music is composed by Zülfü Livaneli, while its lyrics are written by Lefteris Papadopoulos. However, unlike the release of the song in Turkey in Zülfü Livaneli’s

*Günlerimiz* (1980) album, there is no reference given to Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu. In the way the song is represented here, it looks as though Zülfü Livaneli and Lefteris Papadopoulos wrote a song together, and nobody else is involved in such creation. Moreover, in Maria Farantouri's album version released in Turkey, there is no reference given to Bedri Rahmi Eyüboğlu, either. In other words, the name of the poet of the creation that inspired Livaneli to compose a melody has been – deliberately or otherwise – made invisible, while the name of the rewriting in Greek is represented as “poems in Greek by Lefteris Papadopoulos” - a case of representation of symbiogenesis where one of the creators thereof is omitted.

The song opens with a *bağlama*, which is similar to the Turkish version. The *bağlama* improvises freely for thirteen seconds, right after which the other instruments join in: a bass, a guitar and a *ney*. The moment the other instruments are heard, the *bağlama* begins to play the chorus of the song instrumentally. In the Turkish version, as stated above, the *bağlama* has been used in an innovative fashion, playing a chord melody solo in the way a guitar does. In the Greek rewriting of the song, however, this is not the case, and a rather traditional playing of the *bağlama* is observed. The song is made even more dramatic and rich with the accompaniment of violin, keyboards and percussive instruments. Farantouri's dramatic interpretation reflects the lamenting content of the lyrics, echoing Tülay German's interpretation of the version in Turkish. The singing techniques used by both the singer German and the resinger Farantouri are similar, and signal a shared way of singing songs making use of their vocal chords. This is mainly observed in the last words lines, where melismas are used. This is mostly observed in the last line of every stanza, which, for the first three stanzas, is: “δεν τον σκοτώσαν, έχει κουμηθεί / den ton *sko-to-o-s-a-an*, *e-xi-i kei-i-mei-i-thei*” the melody is based on 16

syllables, while there are only 10 vowels in the lyrics. The singer sings two or three syllables to one single vowel in the lyrics to make the melody and the lyrics match (as shown in italics), and sings using not only her diaphragm but her throat. This can also be heard in Tülay German's singing the corresponding line: "Yi-ğ̃i-dim as-la-a-ni-i-im bur-da ya-a-ti-i-yor". The only difference is that the lyrics in Turkish has not 10 but 11 syllables. Tülay German's prolonging the vowels increases the number to 16, just like in the target reperforming. Livaneli's changing the theme of the poem from Nâzım 's cell lamenting in the cemetery is also underscored by Maria Farantouri's repeating the last chorus twice: "Ο αρχάγγελός μου έχει πια χαθεί, μου τον σκοτώσαν, δε θα ξαναρθεί./ My archangel is gone now, They killed him, he won't come back". The twenty-year old *palikari*, or *yığit* is dead. All in all, the rerecording of the version in Greek is a collaboration of Greek and Turkish musicians, the most striking part of which is the fusion of bağlama with the Greek singing: the bağlama is known to be a Turkish instrument, and its coming together with a voice singing in Greek signals the reacknowledgement of the Greek/Turkish other, which is quite visibly represented in the album inserts.

CHAPTER 7  
REPRESENTATIONS OF OTTOMAN-SYMBIOGENESIS AS GRECO-  
MONOGENESIS AND TURCO-SYMBIOGENESIS

In Chapter 2, I suggested a theoretical framework to tackle intralingual and interlingual rewritings of a particular song and the disappearance of the source song in contexts of cultural and linguistic hybridity, which date back approximately to a hundred years ago. In this chapter, I would like to illustrate such a case where an agent, Panagiotis Toundas, seems to have officially claimed to have written the original version of a song which dates back to a century ago: “*Aeroplano Tha Paro*” [Taking the Plane] was registered under Panagiotis Toundas’ name in Greece in 1933 (Voulgaris and Vantarakis, 2006, p. 257). The version of the song in Turkish is known as “Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar”. Interestingly enough, the song is still registered as “anonymous” in Turkey today (TRT, 2006, p. 741; Kompotiati, 2005, p. 50). In the preface to the album *Aman Doktor: Göçmen şarkılar* (2005), Sophia Kompotiati writes:

Bazı melodilerin ağızdan ağza [sic] dolaşarak Ege’yi kolayca geçmesi kuşku götürmez. Ancak konu hak sahipliğine gelince, çeşitli araştırmalar, güftekarı ve bestekarı bilinen bazı meşhur eserlerin, anonim yaratılar olan geleneksel icralara dayandığını, söz yazarlarının ve bestecilerin bunları bilinçli bir şekilde mal ettiklerini ve bunları manevi [sic] isim hakları ile teminat altına aldıklarını ortaya çıkarıyor. Aslında bu gelişmelerin nasıl olduğunu tam olarak tespit etmek mümkün değildir. Örneğin; İzmir Rembetiko ekolünün en önemli besteci-temsalcilerinden biri olan Panayioti Tunda’nın ismine, menşei muhtemelen Türkiye olan birçok şarkı tescil edilmiştir. “Aman Katerina Mou”, “Dimitroula Mou”, “Kalliopaki”, “Kananini Mou Gliko”, “Aeroplano Tha Paro” gibi Panayioti Tounda adına kayıtlı şarkılar aslında “Aman Cevriye Hanım”, “Entarisi Ala Benziyor”, “Gemilerde Talim Var”, “Darıldın mı Gülüm Bana”, “Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar” adlı anonim eserlerin uyarlamalarıdır. (Sophia Kompotiati, 2005, p. 16, emphases mine)<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> Unless otherwise stated, all transcriptions and translations in this chapter are mine.

[Without doubt, certain melodies crossed the Aegean by word of mouth. But when it comes to ownership, various researchers hold that certain popular songs known to have been written or composed by certain individuals are in fact based on traditional performances of anonymous creations, and that lyricists and composers claimed them intentionally registering them under intellectual property rights. In reality, it is not possible to identify how such developments take place. For example, a number of songs that probably originated from Turkey are registered under Panagiotis Toundas's name, who is one of the composer-representatives of the Smyrni school of rembetiko genre. Songs registered under his name such as "Aman Katerina Mou", "Dimitroula Mou", "Kalliopaki", "Kanarini Mou Gliko", "Aeroplano Tha Paro" are in fact adaptations of "Aman Cevriye Hanım", "Entarisi Ala Benziyor", "Gemilerde Talim Var", "Darıldın mı Gülüm Bana", "Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar".]

Kompotiati's referring to the Ottoman intercultural of various languages as "Turkey" dehistoricizes the pre-republican context, a fact I discuss in detail in Chapter 3 regarding the replacement of the concept of *millet* with that of the nation-state. Moreover, although Sophia Kompotiati is of the opinion that Panagiotis Toundas is a songwriter who claims a song he did not compose himself, I believe, this should be looked at in further detail through comparative song analysis and requires a more detailed explanation, to which this chapter is devoted.

In what follows, I set out to account for this difference in the representation of "*Aeroplano Tha Paro/Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar*" in Greece and Turkey. To do so, I first document the earliest version of the song which was recorded and released in the final days of the Ottoman context and compare it to the intralingual rewriting thereof by the TRT, a major compiling state institution, as discussed above, which masks songs as homogeneous Turkish creations through certain practices.<sup>68</sup> I then move on to a rerecording released in Greece, registered under the name of Panagiotis Toundas, a Smyrni-born Anatolian Christian refugee musician. Finally, I

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<sup>68</sup> Since the TRT version was registered as a musical score, i.e. not as a song recording, I refer exclusively to the relyricizing practice by the TRT, which corresponds to only one of the four practices carried out by compiling institutions in the Early Republican period, which I discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

analyze a bilingual version of the song recorded by the band Café Aman Istanbul, released in Turkey in 2012. This latest version was in fact released in the aftermath of the setting up of the Greek-Turkish High Level Cooperation Council in 2010.<sup>69</sup> The council was in fact a further step taken following the Economic Cooperation Agreement signed between Greece and Turkey in February 2000, which also facilitated the formation of the Greek-Turkish Joint Economic Council (Tsakonas, 2010, p. 222). While interpreting the songs, I also refer to biographical information as to the agents that (re)wrote and/or (re)performed them in different places at different times, and carry out a comparative song analysis taking into consideration the historical background on SOS and their masked representations in the aftermath of the population exchange, which I review in detail in Chapters 3 and 4 respectively.

### 7.1 Behind the earliest recordings of “*Aeroplano Tha Paro/Telgrafin Telleri*”

The earliest recordings of “*Aeroplano Tha Paro*” [Taking the Plane] in Greek, performed by Roza Eskenazi (1933) and Rita Abatzi (1933) on different sound recordings, date back to the early 1930s, when they were released under the patronage of Panagiotis Toundas. Moreover, both of these recordings are still registered under his name (Voulgaris and Vantarakis, 2006, p. 257). The earliest recording of the same song in Turkish, namely “*Telegrafin Teleri*” [sic] [Telegraph Wires], on the other hand, dates back to the mid-1910s, performed by Hanende İbrahim Efendi (1913). In the following part, I carry out an analysis of the latter.

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<sup>69</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/reasons-between-turkey-and-greece.en.mfa> , directly taken from the official website of the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, last accessed on January 10, 2017.

## 7.2 Hanende İbrahim Efendi's recording (1913)

The first musician to have recorded the song in question was Hanende (Singer) İbrahim Efendi, also known as “Klarnetçi” (Clarinet Player) İbrahim Efendi. He was also the first musician in the Ottoman intercultural to perform the songs of symbiogenesis “on the clarinet” (Öztuna, 1990, p. 379). Laurence Picken (1975) states that “the clarinet was first introduced into an [Ottoman] ensemble by a gypsy musician of Istanbul, İbrahim Efendi” (p. 11). In addition to the clarinet, “he also played the tambour” (Öztuna, 1990, p. 379), the instrument which Stavros Kourousis (2013), as reviewed in Chapter 3, deems the prototype of the bouzouki. Nevertheless, since Hanende İbrahim Efendi got popular with his clarinet, he made only a few records with the tambour (Aksüt, 1993, p. 277). Another important characteristic of Hanende İbrahim was that he was one of the few assets in the Ottoman music scene of the early 1900s who managed to record a number of songs as high as 200 (Öztuna, 1990, p. 379; Ünlü, 2004, pp. 131, 187).

Hanende İbrahim's recording of “*Telgrafın Telleri/Aeroplano Tha Paro*,” which he made in 1913, is the earliest recording of the song to our knowledge. As we have seen in Chapter 3, the early period recordings did *not* feature the name of the composer, *but* the name of the (re)performer, who in this case, is Hanende İbrahim (Ünlü, 2004, p. 139). In similar vein, the song is registered as “anonymous” in Turkish Radio Television Institution Archives (TRT, 2006, p. 741). Nevertheless, “anonymous” in an archive owned by the Turkish State can only mean anonymity within the Turkish culture, for as we have seen above, the Turkish State, from the moment it was founded, sought to break with the heterogeneity of the Ottoman tradition in the hope of achieving continuity with a great Turkish past. So the

“anonymous” in the TRT archives refers to a song whose composers are taken for granted as anonymous Turkish citizens. Therefore, it is not synonymous with “a song of Ottoman symbiogenesis,” but a song that is an element of “Turcogenesis”. If “it is the magic of nationalism to turn chance into history” (Anderson, 1983, p. 12), and if it is the magic of genealogy to reveal “accidents that accompany every beginning” (Foucault, 1977, p. 144), this very coincidental –coincidental in the sense that it was first recorded by him– recording of Hanende İbrahim Efendi’s can by all means be seen as an Ottoman symbiogenetic song masked in the aftermath of the foundation of the Turkish Republic. After all, what Hanende İbrahim Efendi recorded for the very first time in history was nothing but “[a song] that had already been well known for decades” (Tambouris, 2008, p. 13) Therefore, it would not be mere conjecture to assume that as one of the most popular and talented musicians of the intercultural Ottoman music scene, Hanende İbrahim Efendi must have made this first recording of the song by a mere Foucauldian “accident” (Foucault, 1977, p. 144; Ünlü, 2004, p. 186). Moreover, as it was highly likely for a trending musician to record cover songs, and Hanende İbrahim Efendi, just like Haim Efendi who made the earliest recording of “*Tsakitzis*” as analyzed in Chapter 5, was one of the few top-trending artists in the first decades of recording history (Ünlü, 2004, pp. 131, 187). In what follows I carry out an analysis of the lyrics sung by Hanende İbrahim Efendi on “*Telegrafın Teleri*” [sic] (1913).

### 7.2.1. (Re)lyricizing in Hanende İbrahim Efendi’s recording

Lyrics

Translation

Telgrafın tellerine kuşlar mı konar?

Do birds land on telegraph wires?

Herkes sevdiğine yavrum böyle mi yanar <sup>70</sup> loves?	Who else is this heartbroken for the one he loves?
Yanıma da yanıma da yanıbaşım	By my side, want you right my side
Şu gençlikte neler geldi zalim başıma	At a young age, I am suffering all this
Telgrafın telleri semaya bakar	Telegraph wires face the sky
O senin dalgın bakışın çok canlar yakar	Ain't your wistful look a heartbreaker
Yanıma da yanıma da yanıbaşım	By my side, want you right my side
Şu gençlikte neler geldi cahil başıma	At a young age, I am suffering all this
Gel ağlatma Seforina'm <sup>71</sup> - ben bir bekârım	My Seforina, don't make this bachelor cry
Koynundaki memeleri sarmak efkârım	Longing for caressing your boobs

The lyrics to the version sung by Hanende İbrahim Efendi begins with the question “Telgrafın tellerine kuşlar mı konar,” the first two words of which make up the title of the song as well. When read in relation to the rest of the lyrics, the line is semantically irrelevant: birds are landing on telegraph wires while the narrator is passionately in love with a lady. Still, the inclusion of the word “telegraph” in the lyrics makes one speculate that the lyrics must have been written either around or after 1855. This was the year when the telegraph was first introduced into the Ottoman Empire, only eighteen years after it had been inaugurated in the entire world (Okan, 2003, pp. 3, 36). In the second line the narrator addresses the lady he is in love with (“yavrum”), and says that not everyone burns this much for the one they love, and implies that his love is exceptionally deep. In the third line, he repeats the word “yanıbaşım” (“by my side”) twice, and shows that he insistently wants her by his side. In the fourth line, he bewails his misfortune because he has to suffer all this at a young age. In the fifth line, the narrative is semantically cut: the telegraph wires face the sky. In the sixth line, the narrator picks up where he left off, and tells about

<sup>70</sup> In the second take, the word “yanar” is sung as “kanar” (“Who else is this *fooled* by the one he loves?”).

<sup>71</sup> Seforina is a lady's name of Spanish origin, meaning “the west wind”.

how the wistful look of the lady keeps breaking hearts. The seventh and the eighth lines are the same with the third and the fourth, which together make up the chorus. The ninth line is important in that the narrator tells the name of his love for the first time: “Seforina”. In fact, it is also in this line that we overtly learn for the first time the gender of the one he loves, i.e. Seforina is a lady’s name, as well as the narrator’s gender: “ben bir bekârım” (“I am a bachelor”). In the tenth line, the narrator is saddened with the idea that he cannot caress Seforina’s boobs, a failed desire which could be interpreted not only as romantic but also erotic on his part. In recent intralingual rewritings of the song by other artists <sup>72</sup>, neither “the non-Turkish” name Seforina, nor the erotic part exists – a direct result of the State’s relyricizing practice discussed in Chapter 4 as regards compiling practices. It can be seen in the TRT archives today that both the non-Turkish element “Seforina” and the indecent element “memeler/boobs” are missing from the lyrics of the version of the song that has been published by the state institution (TRT, 2006, p. 741):

Telgrafın tellerine kuşlar mı konar?	Do birds land on telegraph wires?
Herkes sevdiğine yavrum böyle mi yanar	Who else is this heartbroken for the one he loves?
Gel yanıma da yanıma da yanibaşıma	Come here by my side, want you right my side
Şu gençlikte neler geldi garip başıma	At a young age, I am suffering all this
Telgrafın tellerini arşınlamalı	Must climb up telegraph wires
Yar üstüne yar seveni kurşunlamalı	And shoot down the one who loves more than once
Gel yanıma da yanıma da yanibaşıma	Come here by my side, want you right my side

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<sup>72</sup> Listen, for example, Fasl-ı Beyoğlu Band’s recording <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w4n-wwh0J6g> and Candan Erçetin’s recording [https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HniCYwkrk\\_s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HniCYwkrk_s), last accessed on April 10, 2016.

Şu gençlikte neler geldi cahil başıma	At a young age, I am suffering all this
Telgrafın telleri semaya bakar	Telegraph wires face the sky
O senin dalgın bakışın çok canlar yakar	Ain't your wistful look a heartbreaker

It was overtly declared, as discussed regarding compilation visits above in Chapter 4, by the early Republican state institutions that lyrics that did not reflect the true spirit of the Turks would be “corrected”. As a result, on grounds that they were indecent and non-Turkish, a number of songs were both interlingually and intralingually relyricized. Compatible with the reasons stated by the State, which are being indecent and non-Turkish, the two omissions from Hanende İbrahim’s recording point to a compilation-related relyricizing practice.

Picking up where I left off regarding the lyrics sung by Hanende İbrahim Efendi, it can also be argued that the semantic absurdity – the relationship between telegraph wires and passionate love – of the first line serves a function on the formal level: this very line ends with a word that rhymes with the last word of the second line: “konar” (lands) and “yanar” (burning for her love) respectively. Similarly, the words at the end of each line couple rhyme with each other: “yanıbaşıma” (by my side) and “başıma” (what happened to *me*) in lines three and four, “bakar” (*face* the sky) and “yakar” (*breaks* hearts) in lines five and six, “bekâırım” (*I am a bachelor*) and “efkârım” (*my longing*) in lines nine and ten. It should be noted that lines seven and eight constitute the chorus; therefore, they are the same with lines three and four. Also, the same rhyme pattern is observed in lines one and two and lines five and six. Overall, rhyme is observed at the end of every line without an exception.

### 7.2.2 (Re)performing in Hanende İbrahim Efendi's recording

The song opens with a riff that is played by four instruments: the violin, the oud, the percussion and the clarinet. Bearing in mind the biographical information regarding Hanende İbrahim cited above, the clarinet was most probably played by the singer himself. The sound of the oud is difficult to hear because the performers play in unison the same melody with the violin, which is a much louder instrument by nature. The percussive instrument, on the other hand, is simply a glass, which only accompanies the riff and goes silent when the lyrics are sung. The riff is played twice for 18 seconds, at the end of which Hanende İbrahim Efendi starts singing the lyrics. He sings the first two lines twice: “Telgrafın tellerine kuşlar mı konar/Herkes sevdiğine canım böyle mi yanar?” Then moves on to the chorus, which is sung once: “Yanıma da yanıma da yanışama”. Right after the chorus, the riff enters again, and is played twice. Unlike the first verse, the second verse “Telgrafın direkleri semaya bakar...” is sung only once by Hanende İbrahim Efendi, followed by the chorus. The chorus is followed by the riff and the third verse “Gel ağlatma Seforina'm”. Hanende İbrahim Efendi's pronunciation of the letter “ğ” is closer to “g”, which might give the impression that he has an accent in Turkish. In “*Hatırla Margarit*” [Remember, Margarit] another song sung by him, his accent is even easier to notice.<sup>73</sup> In fact this other song performed by Hanende İbrahim Efendi is worth mentioning not only in terms of hearing the singer's accent in Turkish, but also having another element in common with “*Telgrafın Tellerine*” [Telegraph Wires]: the relyricizing of a non-Turkish name. The lady's name “Margarit” in the earliest recording of the song, which was made around 1928 by Hanende İbrahim, seems to have been relyricized as “sevgili” (lover) and “ey peri” (oh fairy)- an outcome of early Republican

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<sup>73</sup> To listen to Hanende İbrahim's recording of “*Hatırla Margarit*”, visit <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=amfq0AEO9Hs> , last accessed April 12, 2016.

compilation practices. Relyricizing, in other words, the cleansing and masking of non-Turkish elements for the sake of Turkish continuity in history, language and music, as discussed in detail in Chapter 4, was inspired and exemplified by Atatürk's omission of his own name "Mustafa" and even the modification of "Kemal" on grounds that both names were of Arabic origin.

Regarding the performance, right after the last riff is played, an instrumental improvisation starts at 2.58, but stops rather abruptly at 3.20, which gives the impression that the musicians were just getting in the mood when they improvised for only 22 seconds.<sup>74</sup> This abrupt and awkward ending to the song must have stemmed from the time limitation brought by the newly-introduced recording devices at the turn of the century: they were capable of recording only for approximately 3 minutes (Ünlü, 2004, p. 128). When Hanende İbrahim Efendi made this recording, the introduction of the recording devices had not even completed its second decade, and musicians still seemed to have difficulty adhering to the time limitation – a constraint they did not have before they met recording technologies. In other words, unshaped and lengthy improvisations belonging to a merely oral tradition were being replaced by limited and prearranged performances (Tragaki, 2007, p. 49). Since the oral tradition meant that these were songs that were already known for decades (Tambouris, 2008, p. 13), for all musicians who wanted to have their performances recorded, this meant adapting to the new conditions. Commenting on the dawn of record industry, archivist Cemal Ünlü talks about prominent figures in the early nineteenth century Istanbul music scene - "piyasacılar," in other words, the *assets* of the late Ottoman music scene:

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<sup>74</sup> Although the mp3 file displays the song duration as 3.29, 3 minutes and 20 seconds should be thought of as the real duration of the song, after which no singer or player performs.

1900 yılında İstanbul'a gramofon plak kayıtları yapmak için gelen yabancı teknisyenlerin hazır bulduğu diğer önemli bir birikim de, *piyasacı* diye bilinen sanatçıların bolluğudur. Sarayla bağlantıları olmayan bağımsız çalışan *bu sanatçıların pek çoğu gayrimüslim* oldukları için onları bağlayan dinî, dolayısıyla da toplumsal baskı altında değillerdir. (Ünlü, 2004, p. 128, emphases mine)

[In 1900, what foreign technicians coming to Istanbul to make gramophone recordings found in abundance was the high number of musicians known as *the assets*. Being independent musicians that were not hired by the court, most of these non-Muslim artists were free of religious, therefore, social pressure.]

Apparently, at the beginning of recording history, most of the agents who recorded songs were of non-Muslim origin, reflecting the symbiotic nature of the Ottoman context. As Tragaki (2007) also points out, although in their natural performance context, songs lent themselves to lengthy improvisations, the recording artists of the time had to adapt to the limited duration of approximately three minutes. What Cemal Ünlü refers to as the “Piyasacılar,” or *the assets*, were skillful enough to shorten their improvisations:

*Piyasacılar*, fasıllarda süreyi istedikleri gibi kullanma alışkanlığı olan, uyanık ve yenilikler peşinde koşan sanatçılardı. Ses kaydı meselesine bu insanların sıcak bakması, işleri kolaylaştıran bir unsur olmuştur. (Ünlü, 2004, pp. 128-129, emphases mine)

[Being smart and open to innovation, *the assets* were used to managing song durations in musical gatherings. Their leaning toward sound recordings made record companies' life easier.]

Due to their skill, adaptability and flexibility to conditions, including time limitations, *Piyasacılar* were simply what the newly-born recording market could not do without. Among them, Hanende İbrahim Efendi soon became a rising star: “Hanende İbrahim [...] o zamanlar ince saza yeni karışan gireneteye [clarinet] refakatle (Odeon) markalı plaklara hayli şarkı doldurmuştu” (cited in Ünlü, 2004, p.

130).<sup>75</sup> In fact, he achieved such success that he made a very profitable agreement on his part with Gramophone Co., a leading company in the record industry: the company paid him regularly for a designated time period, during which the company was obliged to make payments although they did not ask Hanende İbrahim to make records” (Ünlü, 2004, p. 153).

Being an *asset*, Hanende İbrahim apparently let his performance be shaped by the time limitations of the newly born record industry, but in turn, he gave the earliest-known recorded form to one of the most popular, traditional and anonymous, in other words, symbiogenetic tunes belonging to the Ottoman interculture. As also stated above, this very song, which is still registered as “anonymous” in Turkey (Kompotiati, 2005, p. 50) today, is registered under Panagiotis Toundas in Greece. In what follows, I carry out an analysis of this latter recording.

### 7.3 Panagiotis Toundas’s recording (1933)

As stated above, although the song is registered as anonymous in Turkey, it is registered under Panagiotis Toundas in Greece. The earliest known recorded versions in Greek also point to Toundas as the composer of the song. To shed light on the difference in ownership in Greece and Turkey, looking at Panagiotis Toundas’ biography might be revealing.

Panagiotis Toundas was born in the Ottoman Smyrni, today’s Izmir, in 1886 (Tambouris, 2008, p. 92). At a young age, he started to play the mandolin in *Ta Politakia*, a famous band of the time. Then he joined other music ensembles and toured both Europe and Asia (Tambouris, 2008, p. 93). As a result of the population

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<sup>75</sup> [Back then, Hanende İbrahim recorded a number of songs for the Odeon label, which he performed on his clarinet-a newly introduced instrument to the music scene].

exchange between Greece and Turkey, he came to Athens and settled in the *Nea Smyrni* -New Izmir- region. Toundas was also a composer, lyricist and a music producer. For some years, he worked as the director of Odeon, the German label active both in Greece and in Turkey. In 1931 he assumed the same position in a different music company: Columbia. With this power he had as a result of being a *patron* in Lefevre's sense, he had his songs released not only on Odeon and Columbia, but also on many other renowned labels of the time such as Pathe, His Master's Voice and Parlophone. His being a patron would also make him the first "Greek" to have his name appear on the label of a 78 rpm record as "composer," which was released in Greece in 1924 (Tambouris, 2008, p. 93). He is said to have composed nearly 400 songs in his lifetime (Tambouris, 2008, p. 93). He also had other singers and instrumentalists (re)perform his songs on the records he produced. Among them were the renowned Roza Eskenazi and Rita Abatzi. The former would be the first to have sung "*Aeroplano Tha Paro*" [Taking the Plane] on a record (Tambouris, 2008, p. 93).

Born to Jewish parents in the Ottoman Istanbul of early 1880s, Roza Eskenazi started her career as a singer in Thessaloniki (Tambouris, 2008, p. 53).<sup>76</sup> Widowed in the early 1920s, she moved to Athens and started working at cabaret shows with musicians of Greek and Armenian origins, some of whom had migrated from Asia Minor and Thessaloniki (King, 2016, p. 156). She soon got discovered by Panagiotis Toundas and became the first to sing "*Tzivaeri manes*" on a Columbia record in 1929 (Tambouris, 2008, p. 53). She went back to Istanbul in 1954 and then to the US in the following year. On both these tours, she rerecorded some of the 376 songs which she had sung before on various occasions (Tambouris, 2008, p. 53). Twenty six of

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<sup>76</sup> Her exact birthdate is unknown.

these were composed by Eskenazi herself (Tambouris, 2008, p. 53). In addition to her voice, beauty and luck, her patron-resinger relationship with Toundas must have been an important milestone in her successful career as a musician. In fact, it must have worked both ways and the name Roza made as one of the earliest singers of the newly-born *rembetiko* genre must also have served Panagiotis Toundas well:

By the 1920s there were two distinct schools of *rembetika*. The first was the *Smyrna* school – songs with distinctly oriental melodies, which were often sung by women, such as *Roza Eskenazi* (d. 1981) and *Rita Abatzi* (d.1969). They were accompanied by a small Turkish-style band, playing *violin*, *santouri* and *ud* (lute)”. In the period 1900-30, these women singers performed in *Smyrna* itself, in the port town of Volos, and in the ex-Ottoman and strongly Jewish city of *Thessaloniki*, a cultural crossroads and a major trading port serving the Balkan hinterland. (Emery, 2000, pp. 30, 32, emphases mine)

The ports of Smyrni and Thessaloniki, as well as those of Istanbul and Athens were where these lady singers such as Roza Eskenazi and Rita Abatzi, together with the players that accompanied them performed this very song of symbiogenesis, which traveled across the Aegean Sea in their memory, maybe even before Panagiotis Toundas discovered her and got her to sing “Aeroplano Tha Paro” on a record. In the part that follows, I carry out an analysis of the lyrics (re)written by Panagiotis Toundas, which Roza Eskenazi resang and recorded in Greek for the first time.

### 7.3.1 (Re)lyricizing in Panagiotis Toundas’s recordings

Αερόπλανο θα πάρω

I’m Taking the Plane<sup>77</sup>

Εγώ φεύγω και σ' αφήνω μια για πάντα βρε αλανάρη

I’m leaving you for good, you bum

την Αμερική θα πάω κάποιον για να βρω

Going to America to find someone

και μαζί του πια θα μείνω που με θέλει να με πάρει

I’ll stay with him, who will want to marry me

<sup>77</sup> Translation taken from <https://goo.gl/u6qXj6>, last accessed on March 7, 2016. Checked and edited by Nerina Kioseoglu.

με δολλάρια θα μεθάω κι όλο θα γλεντώ

I'll have fun with dollars and get drunk

Πάψε τα παλιογινάτια πεισματάρα μου  
να χαρείς τα δυο σου μάτια παιχνιδιάρα μου

Don't be so stubborn, my little goat  
You know I'd die for your beautiful eyes,  
beautiful one

Ξέρεις τι καπνό φουμάρω και για σένα πως μπορώ  
αερόπλανο να πάρω να 'ρθω πάλι να σε βρω

You know how I am  
Will get myself on another plane and come find  
you there

Και μ' αεροπλάνο να 'ρθεις κι όσο γρήγορα να φτάσεις

Even if you take an airplane and find me, as  
fast as you can

στο 'πα και στο ξαναλέγω πως δε σ' αγαπώ

I told you once and I'll say it again, I don't  
love you

μόρτη μου κακό θα πάθεις κι απ' τη ζήλια σου θα σκάσεις

*Mangas*, you'll suffer and you'll crack up  
from jealousy

στην Αμερική θα πάω για να παντρευτώ

I'll go to America and get married

Βρε μη μου πατάς τον κάλο πεισματάρα μου  
θα τα μπλέξεις δίχως άλλο παιχνιδιάρα μου  
και μη μου γλιστράς σαν χέλι αφού ξέρεις πως μπορώ  
με την κάμα μου στο χέρι να 'ρθω πάλι να σε βρω

Hey, don't try so hard, you pighead  
You'll get in trouble, my playful one  
And don't slide away from me like an eel  
because you know,  
with my knife in hand,  
I can come find you again

Δε φοβούμαι βρε μαγκίτη και θα φύγω απ' την Αθήνα

I'm not scared of you, *mangas*, and I will  
leave Athens

στην Αμερική θα πάω πώς να σου το ειπώ

How else can I say it to you – I'm going to  
America

μέσα στον ουρανοξύστη θα περνάω όλο φίνα  
με ούισκι θα μεθάω κι όλο θα γλεντώ

I'll have a good time in a skyscraper  
I'll party with whiskey and get drunk

Μάθε πως απ' την Αθήνα πεισματάρα μου  
δεν μπορείς να κάνεις βήμα παιχνιδιάρικα μου  
και πως δεν ψηφώ τον Χάρο κι αν μου φύγεις πως μπορώ

Know that from Athens, my *peismatara*

You can't go even a meter away

And that I'm not afraid of death and if

you leave, so will I

αερόπλανο να πάρω να 'ρθω πάλι να σε βρω

Take an airplane to come and find

you again

The lyrics are in the form of a dialogue between two lovers, which is not the case in the version with Turkish lyrics. In the first stanza, the woman tells her current boyfriend that she will leave him and move to America, where she can find a boyfriend who will marry her, as a result of which she will marry someone, and live a life of luxury. The second stanza is the man's reply to her: he tells her that even if she runs away from him, he will jump on another plane and find her. In the third stanza, the woman tells the man that she does not love him anymore, which she told him many times before, and that if he comes to America, he will regret this because she has made up her mind to find another lover. In the fourth stanza, seeing that the woman will not change her mind, the man threatens to stab her if she finds somebody else. The fifth stanza is the woman's reply to the man's threatening, which shows no sign of fear on her part: it is understood that she is determined to leave Athens and to start a new life from scratch in a skyscraper in America. In the sixth and final stanza, the man forbids her to leave Athens, but even if she does, he will come after her at the expense of his own life.

The Greek lyrics to the song give the impression that Panagiotis Toundas intentionally concealed the symbiogenetic nature of the song. One of the reasons why he might have done so is the place name "Athens" in the seventh stanza: the couple is in Athens and the woman tells her boyfriend that she will move to America.

According to Merdan Güven, agents of song rewriting can apply various strategies to

claim a song of symbiogenesis, one of which is adding into the song the name of the place where they live (Güven, 2009, pp. 44-50). This way, any listener listening to this song will automatically think that the song s/he is listening to belongs to that particular place (Güven, 2009, pp. 44-50). Assuming that Panagiotis Toundas learnt or even composed the song as an agent in the Ottoman intercultural who used to live in İzmir, his adding the place name “Athens” after he was forced to move to Athens as a result of the population exchange does not seem to be a far-fetched possibility- he might have made the song an exclusive belonging of his, which he was able to carry across the Aegean Sea from İzmir to Athens in his memory.

There are other elements in the lyrics which make such a possibility stronger. One of these can be observed in the fourth stanza. The man threatens to stab his lover even in America: “With my knife in hand, I can come find you again.” In her reply to him, the woman refers to him as “μαγκίτη/mangas” and tells him that she is not afraid. In fact, a mangas with a knife in hand is a theme peculiar to and characteristic of the *rebetiko* genre. In *rebetiko* songs, the term *mangas* can be used interchangeably with the term *rebetis* (Petropoulos, 2000, p. 53). Moreover, the *rebetis* “hated marriage and preferred free love” (Petropoulos, 2000, p. 56). This is probably why the woman in the song is leaving the *mangas*, and is going to America to find someone who *will* marry her, as she tells him in Stanza 3, line 4 above. The term *αλανάρη* (“bum, wide-boy”) in the first line of the first stanza is also a slang word later used by other *rebetiko* composers, such as the renowned Markos Vamvakaris in 1935 (Emery, 2000, p. 26). All these items not only help Toundas make the song a belonging of his, but also help him get the song to fall under the category of the newly-born *rebetiko* genre, one of the earliest composers, therefore, trendsetters of which is himself:

The original rebetiko music [...] derived from Asia Minor. Here we are talking about a distinct first generation of rebetika composers and performers, most of whom derived from Asia Minor – *Panagiotis Toundas*, Kostas Skarvelis, Evangelis Papazoglou, Yannis Dragatsis, Kostas Karipis and Spiros Peristeris. (Emery, 2000, p. 30, emphasis mine)

Apart from making all these additions to the song which belongs to the Ottoman interculture of song symbiogenesis, an agent of which is in fact himself, Panagiotis Toundas makes use of another a theme to represent this song of symbiogenesis as *rembetiko*: moving to America. “Over the 30-year period 1893-1924, the United States drew in the labour-power of 500.000 Greeks” (Emery, 2000, p. 15). In Sophia Kompotiati’s words, this very song refers to a period when a number of people from Athenians migrated to America, to make their dreams come true (Kompotiati, 2005, p. 58). In a sense, referring to a past migration from Athens to America, which is a culture-specific and history-specific aspect of the mainland Greek community at the end of the nineteenth century and in the first quarter of the twentieth century, Panagiotis Toundas adds to the song another element that masks the heterogeneous Ottoman past. When compared to the 1913 recording, the song version under Panagiotis Toundas’ patronage also indicates recomposing, which I tackle in the following part.

### 7.3.2 (Re)performing in Panagiotis Toundas's recordings

The song takes 2 minutes and 58 seconds.<sup>78</sup> The instruments used are the violin, the oud and the percussion. The percussion only accompanies the song in the instrumental parts, which is the same case with Hanende İbrahim Efendi's recording. What is totally different from Hanende İbrahim Efendi's 1913 recording, however, is the melody of the main instrumental theme. Such a difference in the composition of the song can be accounted for in three alternative explanations. Panagiotis Toundas might have learnt the song in the context of Ottoman intercultural, and in time, he might have forgotten the main instrumental theme, and rewrote a new one instead (1). Another explanation is that Panagiotis Toundas might have come across a version of the song that was different from the version performed by Hanende İbrahim Efendi on his 1913 recording, and he might have stuck to that different version (2). A third possibility is that Panagiotis Toundas might have changed the instrumental theme on purpose in an attempt to conceal the symbiogenetic nature of the song (3). Figure 9 and Figure 10 display the different instrumental themes on the two recordings.

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<sup>78</sup> As can be heard on the recording attached, although the mp3 file displays the total duration of the song as 3 minutes and 11 seconds, all the performers start playing at 0:06 and stop playing at 3:04, which makes the real duration of the song 2:58.



The violin accompanies the vocal partition in unison. The oud on the other hand, gives the bass notes and the rhythm and at times plays in unison with the violin and the vocal partition. After the first two stanzas are sung by the female and the male singer-narrators, the main instrumental theme enters again, which is played twice. Right after that, the third and fourth stanzas are sung by the singers. This vocal part is also followed by the main instrumental theme. The last two stanzas, after which no instrumental theme is performed, mark the finale of the song. When compared to the earlier recording, the ending of the song can be referred to as professional. Together with the duration of the song, which is shorter than Hanende İbrahim Efendi's 1913 recording, the song, recorded in early 1930s under the rewritership and patronage of Panagiotis Toundas, gives the impression of a much more professional recording. Unlike Hanende İbrahim Efendi's abrupt and rather awkward ending discussed above, the reperformers and the arranger of this latter version seem to have successfully adapted to the time limitations brought about by recording devices.

#### 7.4 Café Aman Istanbul's recording (2012)

The band "Café Aman Istanbul", which took its name from the *café amans* of the Ottoman intercultural, was founded in 2009.<sup>80</sup> An Istanbul-born Greek whose parents were from Imvros<sup>81</sup> (Gokceada), the band's co-founder Stelyo Berber is a bilingual Turkish citizen singing bilingual songs in the two languages, both in their concerts and albums. In the booklet which comes inserted into their album *Fasl-ı Rembetiko*

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<sup>80</sup> *Café amans* are covered in detail in Chapter 3.

<sup>81</sup> Also spelled as *Imbros*. Not be mixed up with *Tenedos – Bozcaada*, which is in the south of Imvros.

(2012), he tells how he was first struck by the Greco-Turkish songs of symbiogenesis:

In Athens in the 90s, there was a place where I used to go with my friends, called “Rembetiki Istoría,” meaning “The Story of Rembetiko” [...] Every night Pavlos and his friends from the island of Skopelos were there, serving up a musical feast for the regulars. Besides the musical richness of rembetiko, *what drew me there was the songs in both Turkish and Greek* by Koulis, a master of the accordion from Istanbul, who sat at the left side of the narrow stage [...] (Berber, 2012, p. 14, emphasis mine)

Just like Koulis, Stelyo Berber is from Istanbul, born at the cultural crossroads as a Greco-Turkish bilingual. It probably meant more to him than to any other Greek or Turkish monolingual to come across Greco-Turkish songs of symbiogenesis being performed at a café in Athens, where he attended university (Berber, 2012, p. 14).<sup>82</sup> It was in those years that he studied music with the renowned Domna Samiou, whose family was from İzmir (Berber, 2012, p. 14). After his return to Istanbul, Stelyo Berber and his wife, Pelin Suer, formed the band “Café Aman Istanbul” in 2009 (Berber, 2012, p. 14).

In fact, the founding of the band in such a year coincides with a period in Greek-Turkish relations which has just completed its first decade. The Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs summarizes the specifications of the rapprochement, initiated in 1999, as follows:<sup>83</sup>

In 1999 – in the light of chronic problems and on the occasion of two disastrous earthquakes that hit the two countries – a process of Greek-Turkish rapprochement was initiated, running, on a bilateral level, along three main axes.

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<sup>82</sup> To read the interview with Stelyo Berber, please visit <http://www.denizcaba.com/cafe-amman-istanbulun-kurucularindan-stelyo-berber-rembetiko-bosuna-izmirde-dogmadi/>, last accessed January 17, 2017.

<sup>83</sup> Directly taken from the website of Hellenic Republic - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, <http://www.mfa.gr/en/blog/greece-bilateral-relations/turkey/>, last accessed on January 18, 2017.

The rapprochement period thus brought a period of conflict resolution, which, since the “Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974,” as Hellenic Republic of Foreign Affairs puts it, climaxed and even came to the verge of armed conflict, as in “the crisis of March 1987 and the Imia/Kardak crisis of December 1996”. While the second and third of those three main axes that the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs enumerated are related to military affairs, the first involved “dispute-free” sectors:

The development of bilateral cooperation in soft power policy areas; that is, dispute-free sectors: economy and trade, tourism, culture, civil society etc.

In similar vein, the Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs also underscores the importance of the rapprochement period between the two states as follows:<sup>84</sup>

A new era has begun in the relationship between Turkey and Greece as of 1999 [...] Enhancing bilateral relations with Greece in every possible field and the implementation of tangible projects to the benefit of our countries is one of Turkey’s priorities [...] Commercial and economic relations with Greece have also gained momentum since 1999 along the lines of positive developments witnessed in bilateral political relations.

As a result of the momentum in commercial and economic relations since 1999, renowned musicians in Turkey such as Candan Erçetin (2005), as discussed in Chapter 5, Hüsnü Şenlendirici (2010) and Melihat Gülses (2000) released albums featuring songs of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis that represented the identity of the songs in an unmasked way, i.e. that the songs belonged to both national-cultures were made clear in the album inserts. Café Aman Istanbul was different from these three artists: Candan Erçetin, Hüsnü Şenlendirici and Melihat Gülses were already famous in the music scene before the Greco-Turkish rapprochement period for their music, which was not limited to the Greco-Turkish songs of symbiogenesis. On the

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<sup>84</sup> Directly taken from the official website of Turkish Republic - Ministry of Foreign Affairs, last accessed on January 18, 2017.

other hand, Café Aman Istanbul was a band formed during this very period by both Greek and Turkish musicians, and for the very purpose of performing Greco-Turkish songs of symbiogenesis. This was made clear in the advertisement the moment the band gave its first concert in 2009, “in the courtyard of the French Cultural Center” (Berber, 2012, p. 14):<sup>85</sup>

Türk ve Yunan müzisyenlerden oluşan Café Aman Istanbul, repertuarını 1922 öncesi ve sonrası başta İstanbul, İzmir, Atina gibi liman şehirlerde olmak üzere dönemin Café Aman ve müzikli kafelerde icra edilen rembetikolardan oluşturmaktadır.

[Made up of Turkish and Greek musicians, Café Aman Istanbul bases its repertoire on the rembetiko that was performed in *café amans* and music cafés before and after 1922, mainly in port-towns such as Istanbul, İzmir and Athens.]

The advertisement that heralds the first concert of the band, first signals to the potential audience the fact that the band itself is made up of musicians that are both Greek and Turkish in the first place, hence a revival of the coming together of Ottoman-Orthodox and Ottoman-Muslim musicians at the *café amans* of the Ottoman times. It is also made clear in the advertisement that the repertoire of this newly-formed Greco-Turkish band would perform a repertoire made up of the Greco-Turkish songs of symbiogenesis:

Rembetiko müziğinin Anadolu kökenli şarkı ve ritimlerini İstanbul ve İzmir’den yıllanmış şarkılar ve türkülerle sunan grup, bu konserde Türk ve Yunan ortak müzik repertuarını işleyecektir.

Giriş ücretsizdir.

[Presenting Anatolian songs and rhythms of *rembetiko* music through bygone songs and *türkü*s from Istanbul and Izmir, the band will focus on a shared Greco-Turkish repertoire in this concert.

There is no entrance fee.]

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<sup>85</sup> <http://www.tiyatrodunyasi.com/2009/06/fransiz-kulturde-istanbul-ve-izmirden-rembetikolar-40348> , last accessed on January 17, 2017.

It might not strike the reader at first sight, but this part of the advertisement is in fact groundbreaking: given the homogeneity of the terms *rembetiko* and *türkü* as I elaborate on in Chapter 4, and the association of these with Greek and Turkish cultures respectively, the advertisement not only announces the revival of the bygone tradition of performing bilingual songs by two different but symbiotic *millet*s in the Ottoman port-towns of Istanbul and Izmir, but aims to juxtapose the two song categories that emerged simultaneously upon the emergence of these two *millet*s as nation-states: *türkü* and *rembetiko* performed on the same stage by Greek and Turkish musicians. In a sense, with this advertisement of its first concert, the band clearly acknowledges the fact that both the allegedly-homogeneous *rembetiko* and allegedly-homogeneous *türkü* genres are in fact based on an intersecting Greco-Turkish repertoire. The idea of a revived Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis at a performance was innovative even for the rapprochement period that was initiated with the signing of the Economic Cooperation Agreement between Greece and Turkey in February 2000. Moreover, probably because such innovation was to be realized by a band that had never performed before, there was no entrance fee, to encourage more spectators to come. The idea must have caught on for this performance was soon followed by numerous other concerts and an album (Berber, 2012, p. 14).

Among these other concerts Café Aman Istanbul gave before releasing their album, one was, to my way of thinking, of particular importance in terms of containing a nostalgic reference to the Ottoman Istanbul and its Rum *millet*. This was the band's performance at the revival of the once-renowned *Apokries* festival of the Ottoman Istanbul, held in February 2010. The advertisement of the event, which can still be found in Armada Hotel's website, stresses the nostalgic importance of this

carnival of the olden days in the Ottoman Istanbul, compares it to world-famous festivals in Brazil and Venice to familiarize the potential audience with the *Apokries* and announces the revived symbiogenesis of Greek and Turkish musicians:

Osmanlı İstanbul’unda her yıl Ortodoks Rumlar tarafından kutlanan, Brezilya’nın Rio, İtalya’nın Venedik karnavalının küçük ölçekli örneği “Apokries”, bu yıl 14 Şubat Pazar gecesi Armada’da Türk ve Yunan müzisyenlerden oluşan müzik grubu “Café Aman İstanbul” ile birlikte canlandırılacak...<sup>86</sup>

[Celebrated every year by the Orthodox Greeks in the Ottoman Istanbul, “Apokries,” which is a smaller-scale version of Brazil’s Rio and Italy’s Venice carnivals, will be revived this year on February 14, Sunday at Armada Hotel with the contribution of the band “Café Aman İstanbul,” made up of Turkish and Greek musicians.]

Before moving on to the timing of such an event in terms of the then-state of Greek and Turkish political relations, I would like to elaborate more on the *Apokries* festival and where it was used to take place in the olden Ottoman days: *Tatavla*. The concert advertisement briefly provides historical information on the Apokries festival as well as its association with the district that was once known as *Tatavla*:

Eski İstanbul’da yerleşik Rum Ortodokslarının 40 günlük “Büyük Oruç” (Paskalya) öncesi düzenlediği bir karnaval olan “Apokries” bundan böyle her yıl Ahırkapı’da Armada Otel tarafından yeniden canlandırılacak. 14 Şubat 2010, Pazar gecesi düzenlenecek olan ve eskiden, katılan herkesin kılıktan kılığa girip, maskeler takarak eğlendiği “Apokries” karnavalı, Galata ve Pera sokaklarında yapılan bir resmigeçit ile başlamış. Eğlence, “Tatavla”da – bugünkü “Kurtuluş”- yapılan muazzam bir panayırda sona ermiş. İstanbulluların “Bakla Horani” günü de dedikleri bu günden sonra Rumlar evlerine kapanır, perhiz ve ibadetle vakit geçirerek Büyük Paskalya Yortusunun gelmesini beklermiş. II. Dünya Savaşı’ndan sonra bu gelenek İstanbul’da tamamen ortadan kalkmış...

[Being a carnival organized prior to the 40-day “Great Fast” (the Easter) by the Rum Orthodox dwellers in the old days of Istanbul, the *Apokries* will from now on will be revived every year at Ahırkapı by the Armada Hotel. To be held on February 14, 2010, Sunday, the Apokries, a carnival where everyone taking part had a great time in costumes and masks in the past, used to commence with a parade in the streets of Galata and Pera. The fest would then end with a gigantic fair held in “Tatavla” – today’s “Kurtuluş” –.

<sup>86</sup> [http://www.armadahotel.com.tr/newsletter/web/2010\\_01\\_29.htm](http://www.armadahotel.com.tr/newsletter/web/2010_01_29.htm) , last accessed January 12, 2017.

Following this special day, which Istanbul dwellers also called “Bakla Horani,” the Rum Orthodox would get back in their houses and wait for the Great Easter dieting and praying. Following the Second World War, this tradition completely disappeared in Istanbul.]

This way, the concert advert focuses on how the Rum Orthodox *millet* used to celebrate the festival in the Ottoman Istanbul. The image of a festival full of attendees in masks and costumes in the streets of the Ottoman Istanbul must be appealing and even surprising to anyone reading this advertisement in the early-21<sup>st</sup> century. Naming the Pera and Galata districts and providing the former name of Kurtuluş, the advertisement also refers to why this renowned festival came to an end: the Second World War. Even though the Second World War made it even more difficult for the festival to be celebrated, it was definitely not the only underlying reason why the festival came to an end.

So, when and why exactly did the festival come to an end before it was revived with the performance by Café Aman Istanbul? If anything, the *Apokria* did not come to a halt overnight, but disappeared gradually. As a result of the First Balkan War, which broke out in 1912, Greece took a number of cities, towns and islands from the Ottoman Empire, and this negatively affected the relationship between the Rum and the Muslim population in Istanbul (Türker, 1999, p. 87). This was strongly felt in the pure Rum neighborhood of Tatavla, a district where the Ottoman-Muslims did not even set foot upon until the 1920s, not even for the *Apokria* festival (Türker, 1999, p. 18). In 1914, on the verge of the First World War, all Ottoman citizens, including the *Rum* millet, received call-ups (Türker, 1999, p. 88). Years later, on September 9, 1922, when the Turkish army retook İzmir, this also created much anxiety in Tatavla:

Türk ordusunun 9 Eylül 1922’de İzmir’i geri alması haberi tüm İstanbul Rumları gibi Tatavla’yı da sarsmıştı. Bu günleri takiben gelen İzmir yangını ve Ege ile Marmara bölgesindeki yüzbinlerce Rum’un Türkiye’den ayrılmak için perişan bir halde limanlara yığılmalarının söylentileri İstanbul’un diğer kalabalık Rum semtleri Pera, Galata ve Fener’le birlikte Tatavla halkını da ayağa kaldırmıştı. (Türker, 1999, p. 95)

[The Turkish Army’s retaking Izmir on September 9, 1922 devastated the Tatavlians, just like all the other Istanbul Rums. The Tatavlians as well as the peoples of Pera, Galata and Fener, which were other crowded Rum districts of Istanbul were deeply stirred by the İzmir Fire which took place in the days that followed and the rumours that hundreds of thousands of Rums in the Aegean and Marmara regions crowding up ports in misery]

Under the Lausanne Treaty, the Rum population in Istanbul was not subject to the population exchange. Still, the Tatavlians were first afraid of the potential outcomes of the national victory of the Turks (Türker, 1999, p. 96). Nonetheless, seeing that there was no threat for them in Istanbul, and that the migrants arriving in mainland Greece came up against a number of difficulties, most of them decided to stay (Türker, 1999, p. 96). There were even Rum families moving in to Tatavla from other mixed districts of Istanbul (Türker, 1999, p. 96). Soon, the Tatavlians were also caught up in the “long live the Turkish Republic” mood, which the entire Istanbul was celebrating (Türker, 1999, p. 96). Little by little, Turks started frequenting the taverns in Tatavla (Türker, 1999, p. 96). However, from those days until when it was revived with the performance of the band Café Aman Istanbul, only a few Rums carried on with what was left of the *Apokria* festival by way of gathering in a tavern (Türker, 1999, p. 70).

From 1923 to the end of the Second World War, the *Apokria* festival was still held, but with much less enthusiasm (Türker, 1999, p. 67). *Apoyevmatini* Newspaper writes in 1939 that although there was a crowd in Tatavla festival that year, the quality of both the fun and the visitors was quiet low (Türker, 1999, p. 70). The same

newspaper writes in 1942 that almost no one celebrated the festival that year (Türker, 1999, p. 70). In short, even though it was last celebrated in the days of the Second World War, the major reason why it began fading away was the Greco-Turkish War that ended with the Lausanne Treaty and the Population Exchange.

There is also one more important historical fact that the concert advertisement presented by Armada Hotel fails to mention: when and how the district's name was rewritten as Kurtuluş. According to certain sources Tatavla was in fact most famous for two things: its *Apokria* festival as well as its fire (Irmak, 2003, p. 7). The rewriting of its name in Turkish as Kurtuluş was related to the latter. On the extremely cold and snowy night of January 21, 1929, a fire broke out in Tatavla and destroyed most of it. Right after this, the municipality changed the name of the district into *Kurtuluş*, which means "salvation" in Turkish:

21 Ocak 1929 Pazartesi gecesi meydana gelen yangın, İstanbul'un en şiddetli kışının yaşandığı günlerde karlı ve buzlu bir gecede, hiç beklenmedik bir anda Tatavla'nın büyük bir bölümünü kül ederek bu tarihi ve geleneksel Rum semtini perişan ettiği için çeşitli tartışma ve yorumlara sebep olmuştur. Yangından sonra semte belediye tarafından "Kurtuluş" adının verilmiş olması da iki yönden yorumlanmaktadır. Neden "Kurtuluş" yangından mı? Rumlardan mı? (Türker, 1999, pp. 100- 101)

[The fire that broke out on the night of January 21, 1929, which was a snowy and icy night on one of Istanbul's harshest winter days, devastated most of Tatavla, a historic and traditional Rum district, at a rather unexpected moment, which all led to various arguments and interpretations. The municipality's naming the district as "Kurtuluş" [Salvation] after the fire has in fact been interpreted in two ways. "Salvation" from what? The fire or the Rums?]

Those who hold that this was in fact salvation from the Rums seem to have turned out to be right when an additional rewriting practice took place in the entire Tatavla/Kurtuluş district that followed the post-fire renaming: All the Greek and Christianity-related street names were replaced with those in Turkish (Türker, 1999,

p. 107). The law no. 1003 that was passed in the late-1920s required that all street names and avenues be given new names of Turkish origin (Türker, 1999, p. 9). As we have seen above, this was in fact a practice applied even to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's name, as well as many lyrics of non-Turkish elements. As in those cases, the street names in Tatavla either referring to Christianity, or those with Greek names were replaced with street names in Turkish. Some of the examples were as follows: *Kilise Arkası* was rewritten as *Omuzdaş*, *Ayazma* as *Lokumcu*, *Aya Tanaş* as *Yeni Alem*, *Marki Kalfa* as *Dev Süleyman*, *Aya Kiryaki* as *Teşrifatçı*, *Kosti Kalfa* as *Azak*, *Hristodulos* as *Civan*, *Mimar Andrea* as *Koçyiğit*, *Kilise* as *Hacı İlbey*, *Lazari* as *Hacı Zeynel*, *Hacı Yanako* as *Kabadayı*, *Papaz Köprüsü* as *Yaya Köprüsü*, *Hrisso* as *Ali Ağa* (Türker, 1999, p. 10).

The Turkish names given to these streets have never been changed back into what they used to be before the late-1920s. Neither has the name “Kurtuluş” [Salvation] ever been replaced back with “Tatavla”. Yet, the revival of a bygone festival –that was associated with a district whose name was sensationally rewritten in Turkish after an allegedly suspicious fire— featuring the performance of a band made up of Greco-Turkish musicians formed for the purpose of playing Greco-Turkish songs takes place within a year critical to the rapprochement period between the Hellenic and Turkish Republics. 2010 was in fact the year when the rapprochement period, which started in 1999, gained new momentum with the setting up of the High-Level Cooperation Council between the Republics of Greece and Turkey. The official website of the Turkish Republic's Ministry of Foreign Affairs

refers to the importance of 2010 in Greek and Turkish reciprocal relations as follows:<sup>87</sup>

In 2010, the High-Level Cooperation Council (HLCC) between Turkey and Greece was set up. Co-chaired by the Prime Ministers of both countries and under the coordination of Foreign Ministers, the HLCC is envisaged to convene in Turkey and Greece alternately. The HLCC aims at addressing various issues of Turkish-Greek relations at high level, thus contributing to progress in existing and prospective areas of cooperation, and rendering an “institutional” ground for Turkish-Greek relations.

The establishment of the HLCC mechanism in 2010 in particular has also paved the way for a substantial increase in commercial relations. The bilateral trade volume thus doubled between 2010 and 2014, reaching 5.6 billion USD by the end of 2014. In 2012, during the Second HLCC Meeting 10 billion USD of trade volume, was declared as a common goal and both sides are committed to explore ways and means to reach this target.

The HLCC’s coming into existence as of 2010 facilitated, among other things, the commercial relations between the two countries. The website of the Hellenic Republic’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs refers to the High-Level Cooperation Council as follows:<sup>88</sup>

In October 2009, an effort has been initiated so as to impart new momentum to the rapprochement process. To this end, a new mechanism was set up for promoting and structuring cooperation between the two countries in soft power policy areas: the High-Level Cooperation Council (HLCC), which was inaugurated during Turkish Prime Minister’s visit to Athens on 14 May 2010.

In fact, two albums were soon released following the new momentum brought by the “cooperation between the two countries in soft power policy areas”. One of these was by Hüsni Şenlendirici, the renowned clarinet player, and Trio Chios, a Greek band from the Chios/Sakız Island. The album, “*Ege’nin İki Yarı*” [Two Sides of the Aegean] came out in 2010, around the time Café Aman Istanbul performed at the

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<sup>87</sup> <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/relations-between-turkey-and-greece.en.mfa> , last visited on January 23, 2017.

<sup>88</sup> <http://www.mfa.gr/en/blog/greece-bilateral-relations/turkey/> , last accessed on January 23, 2017.

revival of the *Apokria* festival. The liner notes in Hüsni Şenlendirici' album reflected the “effort [...] initiated [...] to impart new momentum to the [Greco-Turkish] rapprochement process” in 2009.

Bu bir buluşma öyküsü... Farklı dillerde yaşanmış aşkların, dostlukların, acıların benzer hikayelerini bize aynı yolla anlatan, binlerce yıllık bu toprakların çocuklarının iki yakayı birleştiren müzikal yolculuğu... Bir taraf harmandalı bir taraf sirtaki ile büyümüş, bir taraf dolma bir taraf dolmades yemiş, bir taraf rakı bir taraf ouzo içmiş olsa da, aynı notaların heyecanımla biraraya gelmiş bir proje; Hüsni Şenlendirici ve Trio Chios.

[This is a story of coming together... Similar stories of love, friendship and grief, experienced in different tongues, told in the same way – the musical journey, bridging the two sides [of the Aegean], of the children of these thousands of year-old lands. Even though one of the parties has been raised up with *harmandalı*<sup>89</sup> and the other with *sirtaki*<sup>90</sup>; even though one of the parties eats *dolma*<sup>91</sup>, and the other *dolmades*<sup>92</sup>; even though one of the parties drinks *rakı*<sup>93</sup> and the other *ouzo*<sup>94</sup>, the project has been realized with the excitement of the same notes [played by] Hüsni Şenlendirici and Trio Chios.] (Beşer and Kuzuoğlu, 2010, p. 1)

The album project featuring the already famous clarinet player Hüsni Şenlendirici thus heralded the new turn in the Greco-Turkish rapprochement in the “soft power area,” as the Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs puts it, of music, referring to other elements the once-closer two cultures still have in common such as dances, food and liquors. It was also made clear in the liner notes that this very project came into being in the Babylon company, which took its name from “the Babylon where people once lived together without the differences of religion, language or race,” which is quite telling given the new turn Greece and Turkey took at the end of the first decade of 2000s, making a direct reference to the symbiotic environment the Ottoman-

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<sup>89</sup> Folk dance and music associated with the Aegean.

<sup>90</sup> Folk dance and music associated with Greece.

<sup>91</sup> “Stuffed leaves” in Turkish.

<sup>92</sup> “Stuffed leaves” in Greek. Also called “*dolmades*” and “*gemista*”.

<sup>93</sup> The “national” Turkish liquor. Not to be mixed up, in the verbal sense, with the Cretan “*rakı*,” which does not turn white when water is poured into it.

<sup>94</sup> The “national” Greek liquor, especially popular in Turkey for its similarity in taste to *rakı*.

Orthodox and Ottoman-Muslims, who are in today's terms called the Greeks and the Turks respectively, once lived together (Beşer and Kuzuoğlu, 2010, p. 1).

The other album released in the new decade of Greco-Turkish relations was the newly formed band Café Aman Istanbul's *Fasl-ı Rembetiko*, which featured, among other songs of symbiogenesis, a rerecording of the song recorded by Hanende İbrahim Efendi in 1908 and by Panagiotis Toundas and Roza Eskenazi in 1933, "Aeroplano Tha Paro/Telgrafin Tellerine", which in fact opens the album after an instrumental intro.

#### 7.4.1 Relyricizing

The lyrics resung by Stelyo Berber and Pelin Suer in Café Aman Istanbul's bilingual rerecording of "Aeroplano Tha Paro & Telgrafin Telleri" is a combination of part of the lyrics registered by Panagiotis Toundas in Greece and those registered under TRT in Turkey. This is overtly expressed in the booklet inserted in the album: "Aeroplano Tha Paro & Telgrafin Telleri, lyrics and music by Panayiotis Toundas & Anonymous" (Café Aman Istanbul, 2012, p. 22). The lyrics sung in Greek are the same with those sung by Roza Eskenazi in the 1933 recording of the song in Greece. The only difference is that only the first four verses are sung to make room for the lyrics in Turkish and to keep the song within reasonable length. The lyrics sung by Pelin Suer and Stelyo Berber go as follows:

Αερόπλανο θα πάρω <sup>95</sup>

I'm Taking the Plane

Εγώ φεύγω και σ' αφήνω μια για πάντα βρε αλανάρη

I'm leaving you for good, you bum

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<sup>95</sup> In the booklet inserted to Café Aman Istanbul's *Fasl-I Rembetiko* album, no lyrics are provided. The lyrics transcription here is mine. Translation into English is taken from <https://goo.gl/u6qXj6>, last accessed on January 25, 2017. Checked and edited by Nerina Kioseoglu.

την Αμερική θα πάω κάποιον για να βρω	Going to America to find someone
και μαζί του πια θα μείνω που με θέλει να με πάρει	I'll stay with him, who will want to
	marry me
με δολλάρια θα μεθάω κι όλο θα γλεντώ	I'll have fun with dollars and get drunk
Πάγε τα παλιογιγάτια πεισματάρα μου	Don't be so stubborn, my little goat
να χαρείς τα δυο σου μάτια παιχνιδιάρα μου	You know I'd die for your beautiful
	eyes, beautiful one
ξέρεις τι καπνό φουμάρω και για σένα πως μπορώ	You know how I am
αερόπλανο να πάρω να 'ρθω πάλι να σε βρω	Will get myself on another plane and
	come find you there
Και μ' αεροπλάνο να 'ρθεις κι όσο γρήγορα να φτάσεις	Even if you take an airplane and find
	me, as fast as you can
στο 'πα και στο ξαναλέγω πως δε σ' αγαπώ	I told you once and I'll say it again, I
	don't love you
μόρτη μου κακό θα πάθεις κι απ' τη ζήλια σου θα σκάσεις	Mangas, you'll suffer and you'll
	crack up from jealousy
στην Αμερική θα πάω για να παντρευτώ	I'll go to America and get married
Βρε μη μου πατάς τον κάλο πεισματάρα μου	Hey, don't try so hard, you
	pighead
θα τα μπλέξεις δίχως άλλο παιχνιδιάρα μου	You'll get in trouble, my playful
	one
και μη μου γλιστράς σαν χέλι αφού ξέρεις πως μπορώ	And don't slide away from me

like an eel because you know,  
με την κάμα μου στο χέρι να 'ρθω πάλι να σε βρω      With my knife in hand,  
I can come find you again

As in Roza Eskenazi's 1933 recording, in the first stanza, the female narrator, sung by Pelin Suer of Café Aman Istanbul, tells the male narrator that she will abandon him and go to America for good, and then find someone who will marry her and live in luxury. In second stanza the male-narrator, sung by Stelyo Berber of Café Aman Istanbul, replies to her: Even if she manages to run away from him, he will also take a plane and come for her. In the third stanza, the female narrator tells the man, as she did many times before, that she no longer loves him, and should he come to America, he will regret this because she is by all means determined to find someone else. In the fourth stanza, seeing that the female narrator shows no sign of stepping back, the male narrator threatens to stab her. So far, the lyrics are the same as the 1933 version. However, after the fourth stanza, Pelin Suer begins to sing the Turkish lyrics. The place name "Athens" in the 1933 version is thus omitted from the 2012 version. As also discussed above in relation to Panagiotis Toundas's recording, the place name "Athens" in the seventh stanza of that version seems to be a strategy to claim a song that is anonymous, i.e. it is highly likely to see agents adding into songs the name of the place they live in to make it look theirs (Güven, 2009, pp. 44-50). As brought up earlier, this way, any listener listening to this song will automatically think that the song s/he is listening to belongs to that particular place (Güven, 2009, pp. 44-50). Omitting the rest of the stanzas from their recording might have helped Café Aman Istanbul keep the duration of the song at a reasonable length as well as get rid of a place name that was added in 1933 to link the song to a particular place and culture. For a band formed for the sake of performing songs of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis

at a time when the friendly relations between the two nations culminated, it is reasonable to unmask the song that was once masked, among other things, with the addition of a place name which is in fact the capital of Greece; therefore, the symbol of the homogeneous Greek culture. The song then goes on with the Turkish lyrics:

Telgrafın tellerine kuşlar mı konar

Do birds land on telegraph wires?

İnsan sevdiğine yarım böyle mi yanar

Does someone burn this way for the one she  
loves?

Unlike the lyrics in Greek, the lyrics in Turkish does not make clear whether the singer-narrator is male or female, but that the voice singing the lyrics belongs to a female leads to the impression that they were in fact uttered by a female narrator. The rather absurd first line, a question about birds landing on telegraph wires, is followed by an exclamation about the narrator's burning love. The word "yarım" (my love) in the second line is a rewriting of the word "yavrum" (my dear), which can be observed in both Hanende İbrahim and TRT versions. It is interesting to see that in an unmasked bilingual version that is featured in an album celebrating the new momentum brought to the Greco-Turkish rapprochement in the aftermath of the setting up of the High-Level Cooperation Council, "yavrum", a word that is a part of both the Greek and Turkish lexicons, is omitted, which can be interpreted as merely accidental. After this line that is sung alone, Stelyo Berber sings the chorus in unison with Pelin Suer, which is repeated twice:

Yanıma gel yanıma da yanibaşıma

Come here, right by my side

Şu gençlikte neler geldi cahil başıma

How my ignorant mind suffered at this young

age

Both of them invite each other by their side and are rather shocked with how they feel at such a young age. The second verse is also sung by Pelin Suer alone:

Telgrafın direkleri semaya bakar

Telegraph wires face the sky

Senin o güzel gözlerin çok canlar yakar

Ain't your beautiful eyes heartbreakers

The chorus is sung twice again by both singers:

Yanıma gel yanıma da yanıbaşım

Come here, right by my side

Şu gençlikte neler geldi cahil başıma

How my ignorant mind suffered at this young

age

With the juxtaposition of a part of the Greek lyrics and a part of those in Turkish, the dialogue between the two lovers in the Greek lyrics is also taken to another level – one that turns into a dialogue between the Greek and Turkish languages. In a sense, the lovers who seem to bid each other farewell in Greek come back together in the Turkish lyrics by telling each other to come closer, in unison: “Yanıma gel yanıma da yanıbaşım”.

From another perspective, the juxtaposition of the verses that are kept and those left out can be interpreted as an attempt to keep away from extremes in both languages. As I already brought up, the omission of the verse including the place

name Athens is one of the actions the relyricizers of the Café Aman Istanbul version seems to have taken to represent the song as a product of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis rather than moving it closer to either of the allegedly monolithic cultures. In a sense, this also protects the said song version from political extremes. There are other such examples in the song. As discussed above, the TRT version is a “cleansed” rewriting which has omitted certain elements in the song such as the non-Turkish proper name Seforina as well as the “indecent” reference to Seforina’s “boobs”. The Café Aman Istanbul version does not play around with these taboos and presents only two “decent” verses and the chorus that has been kept in the TRT version. Therefore, rather than presenting the symbiogenetic bygone café aman version, Café Aman Istanbul has apparently opted to juxtapose the two established versions: Panagiotis Toundas’ rewriting in Greek and TRT’s rewriting in Turkish. In other words, Café Aman Istanbul’s relyricized version can be regarded as a cautious and prudent combination of the Greco-monogenetic as well as Turco-symbiogenetic versions rewritten by way of practicing self-censorship for the sake of increased popularity. While the authorship details of the song that are specified as “lyrics and music: Panayiotis Toundas and anonymous” covertly refers to such combination of established versions in the two countries, the band also comments on this with a focus on common tradition revival:

The group’s main primary goal is *revive a musical culture* that has been largely forgotten but is an integral part of this part of the world, and *present it to a wider public*.<sup>96</sup> (Café Aman Istanbul, 2012, p. 21, emphases mine)

In this respect, although the band hereby argues that it attaches equal importance to “reviving the musical culture” and “presenting it to the wider public”, I am of the

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<sup>96</sup> Translation is taken from the liner notes (*Café aman Istanbul*, 2012, p. 21).

opinion that, deliberately or otherwise, not mentioning extremes or taboos such as “Athens”, “Seforina” or “boobs,” which nationalist, bigoted and conservative circles would have frowned upon to say the least, Café Aman Istanbul’s rewriting of the song seems to prioritize popularizing the song over reviving the musical culture as it once was performed in the early twentieth century. In short, representing a cleansed combination of two masked lyrics versions – those by Panagiotis Toundas and TRT- as a bilingual song an album that was released in the aftermath of the setting up of the High-Level Cooperation Council between the two governments, Café Aman Istanbul plays safe.

#### 7.4.2 Redressing, rearranging, reperforming

A female hand, with a ring on her right hand’s ring finger, is playing the darbuka. This is what is seen on the front cover of Café Aman Istanbul’s *Fasl-ı Rembetiko*. In fact, the wedding or the engagement band is common to both the Greek and the Turkish cultures; nevertheless, there is a nuance. In Turkey, the wedding ring is generally worn on the ring finger of the left hand, while the engagement band is worn on the right hand. In Greece, it is the other way round: the wedding ring is worn on the ring finger of the right hand, while the engagement band is worn on the ring finger of the left hand. Whether the lady whose hand is playing the darbuka is Greek or Turkish is unknown, and the only thing the photograph-viewer might think is there is or there will be a marriage. The idea might be that, no matter what our differences are, we all engage in similar acts, one of which is marriage. Such an album cover can by all means be read as an allusion to the marriage or remarriage of Greek and Turkish people through the Economic Cooperation Agreement signed in

February 2000 as well as the setting up of the High-Level Cooperation Council in 2010. As quoted regarding the French Cultural Center Concert announcement above, Café Aman Istanbul “presents *rembetiko* through *türkü*,” therefore, it can also be read as the marriage of genres that are now attributed to the Turkish and Greek national cultures respectively. Last but not least, the female hand with an engagement band/ a wedding ring on her finger can be read as the marriage between the singers of Café Aman Istanbul: Stelyo Berber, who is of Greek/Rum origin and Pelin Suer, who is of Turkish origin. In a sense, their marriage also symbolizes the friendly atmosphere between the two states and peoples that was officially reborn as of February 2000, a celebration of which is realized through Café Aman Istanbul’s revival of symbiogenetic music: “The group’s primary goal is revive a musical culture that has been largely forgotten but is an integral part of this part of the world, and present it to a wider public” (Café Aman Istanbul, 2012, p. 21). The black and white color choice of the front cover photograph also signals this “largely forgotten” music that dates back to a nostalgic and symbiogenetic past, performed in the bygone Café Amans in port-towns, where musicians traveled (mobility), gathered (porosity) and sung and played together (orality). The album insert provides historical information on both the café amans and the symbiogenetic music atmosphere therein:

Known as “music and semai coffeehouses” in the 19th-century Ottoman Empire, the Café Amans were most common in major port cities like Istanbul, İzmir and Athens. These venues, where singers and instrumentalists from different ethnic cultures met and shared their repertoires in the form of improvisation, took their name from the frequently heard Arabic-derived exclamation, “aman!”

(Café Aman Istanbul, 2012, p. 21)

Depicting café amans as a shared venue where the Ottoman-Muslims and the Ottoman-Orthodox of the time came together to exchange music, the liner notes also

point to the symbiotic nature of the Arabic word “aman,” which both Greek and Turkish languages still use today in daily life as well as in songs. The liner notes also depict this mobile, porous and oral character of the café amans in particular:

In the Café Amans, which could be considered a continuation of the Ottoman meyhane culture, musicians playing local Anatolian instruments came into contact with those playing European music as well [...] café amans were important venues that brought together music from different cultures and in different languages. (Café Aman Istanbul, 2012, p. 21)

Café Aman Istanbul is a revival of this song symbiogenesis, and is made up, as the album insert states, of musicians such as Stelyo Berber and Pelin Suer on the vocals, Dimitris Lappas on the bouzouki, cura, baglamadaki and guitar and Serkan Mesut Halili on the kanun (Café Aman Istanbul, 2012, pp. 18-19). In short, it is overtly presented in the album inserts that the band is a performer of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis, made up of members that are either Greek or Turkish.

As the album back cover also displays, the total duration of the song “Aeroplano Tha Paro&Telgrafin Tellerine” is 3 hours and 37 seconds. The song opens with an introductory riff played by the kanun, the violin, and the oud in unison, demonstrated in Figure 11.

## Aeroplano Tha Paro & Telgrafin Telleri

Cafe Aman Istanbul



Figure 11. The instrumental theme on Café Aman Istanbul's recording.

These instruments are accompanied by the bass, the percussion and the guitar. The riff ends at 0.23 and Pelin Suer begins to sing. While she is singing, the kanun, the violin and the oud play in unison the vocal partition that she sings, but at a lower volume than the way they play the instrumental riff. This must have been done to allow for the vocals to be easily heard while boosted at the same time. The bass, the percussion and the guitar keep on accompanying the harmony of the song. She sings the first two lines, which is replied by the kanun, the violin and the oud, which play the last measure of the instrumental riff in unison. At 0.34, she begins to sing the third and the fourth lines, where she is also accompanied by these three instruments accompanying her in unison, but again at a lower volume. At around 0.42, when she stops to sing, a rather short instrumental riff, as shown in Figure 12, is played:



Figure 12. Café Aman Istanbul's recording, short instrumental riff 1.



minor and resolving back into A minor. Then the riff transcribed in Figure 15 is played:



Figure 15. Café Aman Istanbul’s recording, short instrumental riff 4.

After this riff that lasts for about a second, the main instrumental riff is played by the three instruments, but this time not twice but once. Right after that, Pelin Suer sings the third stanza, beginning with the line “Και μ' αεροπλάνο να 'ρθεις κι όσο γρήγορα να φτάσεις” (Even if you take an airplane and find me, as fast as you can). Then Stelyo Berber replies to her singing the last stanza of the Greek lyrics. The instrumental parts played in unison as well as in reply to the vocal partition in these last two stanzas in Greek are exactly the same as in the first two stanzas. As at the end of the first two stanzas, the main instrumental theme played at the end of the third and fourth stanzas is not repeated, and followed by the lyrics in Turkish. Pelin Suer sings the first two lines. Stelyo Berber sings the chorus in unison with her, which they repeat twice. As shown in Figure 16 below, at 2.49, an instrumental theme that is different from the one played so far enters:



Figure 16. Alternate instrumental riff on Café Aman Istanbul’s recording.

When the second instrumental theme on Café Aman Istanbul’s version and the one on Hanende İbrahim Efendi’s version are listened to consecutively, or, the riff just above and just below are compared, it can be seen that they are almost the same except for the rests at the beginning of the first, second and third measures on Café Aman Istanbul’s version, and the closing musical phrase in the fourth measure. The same riff, demonstrated in Figure 17, can also be heard on other rerecordings of the song released in Turkey.<sup>97</sup>



Figure 17. The instrumental riff version in Turkey releases of the song.

After this riff, which is almost similar to Hanende İbrahim Efendi’s, is played twice, Pelin Suer sings the lines “Telgrafın telleri semaya bakar / O senin güzel gözlerin çok canlar yakar” alone. Then, Stelyo Berber also joins her in the chorus, which they also sing twice. The tempo slows down gradually and the song ends with the line “Şu gençlikte neler geldi cahil başıma”, followed by a part of the last instrumental riff played, as shown in Figure 18.

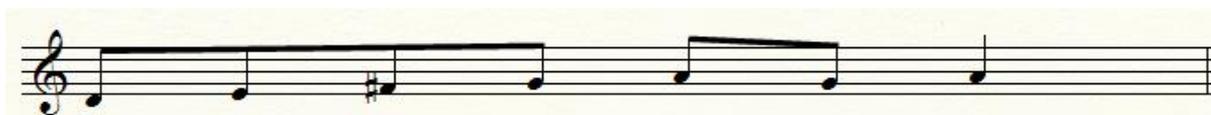


Figure 18. The instrumental closing on Café Aman Istanbul’s recording.

<sup>97</sup> Listen, for example, to Zeki Müren (1951), Ahmet Kaya (1998/2001) and Zara (2011) versions of “Telgrafın Tellerine,” which also feature the same melody performed by Hanende İbrahim Efendi.

In fact, this last instrumental riff is also an excerpt from the instrumental riff on Panagiotis Toundas' version, which is played just before the female singer narrator begins to sing in the melody. In this part; however, it is performed at a gradually slowed-down tempo to end the song.

This rerecording of the song, as I also mentioned regarding relyricizing, is a combination of the two versions in terms of reperforming and rearranging, as well. It opens with the instrumental theme that was recorded by Panagiotis Toundas in 1933, and goes on part of the Greek lyrics that were registered under his name in Greece in the same year. The song then goes on with the Turkish lyrics that were registered by the TRT, followed by the instrumental theme that was recorded by Hanende İbrahim Efendi in 1908. The song ends with a part of the instrumental riff in Panagiotis Toundas' version. Not only by way of relyricizing, rearranging and reperforming, but also by means of redressing, Café Aman Istanbul presents a bilingual version of the song that is both acceptable and established in both countries. This can be understood from;

- (a) the omission of elements such the Greek culture-specific “Athens” from the Greek lyrics, adherence to the TRT version of the song, which does not include the indecent “boobs” or the non-Turkish proper name “Seforina”,
- (b) the juxtaposition of the two instrumental riffs that are performed on the established Greek and Turkish versions,
- (c) and the comments on both the album cover and concert announcements about the revival of Greco-Turkish songs of symbiogenesis as well as the *rembetiko* and *türkü* genres that were born from them.

All in all, combining acceptable parts of versions that have been established in Greece and Turkey, Café Aman Istanbul seems to have produced a midway version that is congruent with the new momentum the relations between Greece and Turkey have gained especially at the beginning of the second decade of the 2000s. With its careful combination, this representation of the song unmaskes the Greco-monogenetic version attributed to Panagiotis Toundas in Greece and the Turco-symbiogenetic version registered by TRT in Turkey.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

The present study aimed to fill in a “blank space” (Santoyo, 2006) in the history of song translation. The questions as to why;

- certain songs were represented as homogeneous and national cultural belongings in the latter half of the twentieth century and,
- they were represented as shared songs in the albums released within the first fifteen years of the twenty first century,

created the need to trace the songs back in earlier history, namely, the late Ottoman context. In other words, the questions raised created a need to adopt an interdisciplinary approach in a way that combined translation studies, history and musicology. Applying a genealogical methodology (Foucault, 1977) to unmask traditional national history, I focused on why and how post-1923 representations of songs of symbiogenesis emerged in a manner masking the Ottoman descent, which I defined as a mobile, oral and porous song interculture. Establishing such a link in history between homogeneous emergence and heterogeneous descent demonstrated why it was pointless to see the post-1923 representations as originals since their earlier versions were created at a time when the nation-state claiming to own the original had not even come into being. Locating the earliest known versions of the songs and juxtaposing them with those that appeared after the emergence revealed the translatorial practices – relyricizing, recomposing, reinstrumentalizing, rearranging, recategorizing and redressing – the said songs underwent. Looking at more recent retranslations of a particular song also showed how masking and

unmasking translatorial strategies were applied to a song of symbiogenesis in question reflecting the reciprocal political relations between the Hellenic and Turkish Republics. Taking all these into account, the following conclusions can be drawn from the present study, which are innovative not only for translation studies, song translation and translation history but also for historiography, musicology and record history.

### Expanding (song) translation studies

As reviewed in Chapter 2, Johan Franzon (2008), Klaus Kaindl (2005) and Senem Öner (2005) advocate a holistic approach by underscoring the need to avoid limiting song translation studies to lyrics-focused renderings only. Doing this, they by all means make a notable contribution not only to song translation studies and translation studies in general but also to studies in musicology. However, while expanding the definition of translation in such an innovative way, they miss out on another aspect that is usually taken for granted: originality.

One of the points the present study wishes to make is problematizing the notion of originality, which has not yet been dealt with in song translation studies. In doing that, it applies tools from the fields of history, philosophy and last but not least, translation history. As reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4 in detail, the first appearance of songs in history date back to a point in time predating a breaking point in political history – the population exchange and the declaration of the Turkish Republic – , my point of departure was to analyze the songs in question in the Ottoman context first. One of the reasons for doing this was to try to account for the simple question raised by both translation scholars and by internet users, as discussed in Chapter 2: since there were two versions in Greek and Turkish languages with the

same melody, who did the original songs belong to? The other reason for my doing that was Michel Foucault's (1977) suggestion, whose historical methodology I applied throughout the present study: questions of originality cannot be accounted for in an uninterrupted continuity (p. 148). In other words, were these songs that were presented as originals during the era of the nation-state belonged to the larger system they once were a part of (Anderson, 1983)?

Drawing on song creation in the Ottoman context revealed a translatorial practice in the Ottoman context. Since I was looking for the earliest versions of songs that were represented as belonging to the Greek culture and the Turkish culture in the era of nation-states, the way individuals were officially defined and identified in the Ottoman context was of particular importance to my research. Reviewing the late Ottoman context revealed that the composers of songs were members of different millets within the empire, who also displayed features, among other things, of lingual diversity hence heterogeneity within themselves (Lewis, 1995). As also demonstrated in Chapter 3, these individuals of various backgrounds who engaged in music making moved from one performance to another (mobility), picking up new songs from one another and/or passing on songs to one another (porosity) by way of listening and singing (orality). In such a context where every performance meant a new rewriting of any particular song in question, it was neither feasible nor logical to engage in a pursuit of an ultimate original.

#### Expanding originality and interculture

As already mentioned, originality is a concept that has hitherto been unproblematized in song translation studies. However, the problematization thereof is by no means new to translation studies and translation history. The concept of interculture

introduced into translation studies by Gideon Toury (1995), developed by Anthony Pym (2001) was applied for the first time to the Ottoman Translation History by Saliha Paker (two dates) to account for a highly heterogeneous and dynamic context of poetry creation in the sixteenth century, which was characteristic of disappearance of originality. To account for a similar context of disappearance of originality in the late Ottoman context, I made use of the notion of intercultural in the present study for the first time in the field of song translation. While using it to account for the context of song creation by various musicians, I linked up the context of intercultural to the notions of mobility (Theodores-Rigas, 2011) (moving from one performance venue to another), orality (Gauntlett, 1985) (by way of listening and singing) and porosity (Keskin and Sözlü, 2012) (passing on songs to one another and picking up songs from one another) to account for the process by which musicians of various millets created together the songs of symbiogenesis. All in all, this innovative use of the concept of intercultural can be taken not only as the expansion of the notion of intercultural but also the expansion of the scope of song translation studies and translation studies in general.

#### Expanding history and historiography

As discussed under Chapter 2, the present study applies a hitherto unprecedented methodology to accounting for referring to a “blank space” (Santoyo, 2006): the practice of translation as song creation in the Ottoman context and the representation of these songs in the Hellenic and Turkish Republics in the aftermath of the “final rupture” (Clark, 2006, p. 2) – the population exchange – between the Anatolian Christians and the Ottoman Muslims. In redefining what was represented as original Greek or Turkish songs in the latter half of the twentieth century, the present study makes use of Michel Foucault’s (1977) notion of emergence. The emergence in the

present study refers to the redefining of the Ottoman-Greeks/Orthodox/Christians as the Greeks and the redefining of the Ottoman-Muslims as the Turks/Turkish. Emergence is also applied to refer to the allegedly-exclusively-Greek and allegedly-exclusively-Turkish representations of songs of Ottoman symbiogenesis in the latter half of the twentieth century. All in all, Michel Foucault's genealogical methodology contributes a great deal to accounting for the difference in the representation of the same songs in the Hellenic and Turkish Republics: the songs were redefined because the people(s) who created them in the Ottoman descent were redefined. Such a conclusion to be drawn is not only a contribution to translation studies but also to the understanding of late Ottoman and early Republican histories.

As I tried to make clear in Chapter 2, Michel Foucault's approach and my methodology based on his, can by no means be defined as "interventionist". Although Bandia defines it as such, Michel Foucault's methodology can be defined as a counter-interventionist, because it is the nation-state who rewrites history in an interventionist way, masking non-national elements and histories, trying to purify them, Turkify them, Greekify them. The genealogical approach, on the other hand, only tries to provide a reply to such a traditionally national way of historiography by coming up, as Michel Foucault (1977) puts it, with effective history.

#### Expanding musicology and record history

Such effective history as opposed to traditional history not only expands translation studies but also provides a critical reevaluation of works by musicologists reflecting the national paradigm shift that occurred after the emergence, which was focused on claiming the songs in the name of one of the national cultures. Chapters 5 and 7 demonstrated how some of the songs represented as belonging to the rembetiko

genre in Greece and the *türkü* genre in Turkey were in fact rewritings of songs dating back to the Ottoman descent of song intercultural. Therefore, adopting a Foucauldian methodology in research in translation history can also help spot the masking inherent in today's national genres of *rembetiko* and *türkü*, which, as discussed, are terms used, among other reasons, to mask and conceal the Ottoman songs of symbiogenesis. Chapter 4 demonstrated that in addition to this practice of recategorizing, reinstrumentalizing was also used to represent the songs of symbiogenesis as national belongings in both Greece and Turkey. Reperforming of songs of symbiogenesis on the bouzouki in Greece reinforced a more Greekified and therefore homogeneous representation of the songs in question. On the other hand, in Turkey, the *bağlama* was used to reinstrumentalize songs of symbiogenesis, thus representing them as national belongings of the Turkish culture.

Another aspect of the present study that filled in a blank space in the intersection of musicology and translation studies was the notion of anonymity. As discussed especially under Chapters 4 and 7, there were examples of songs of symbiogenesis that were represented from 1930s on in the Hellenic Republic as compositions by individual musicians such as Panagiotis Toundas, hence the representation of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis as Greco-monogenesis. On the other hand, from the early Republican period on, there was a tendency in the Turkish Republic to represent these songs as anonymous. Nevertheless, such anonymity referred, as discussed regarding the Turkish Radio Television Institution in Chapters 4 and 7, to a symbiogenesis within the Turkish culture, in other words, the representation of Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis as Turco-symbiogenesis. All these demonstrated that anonymity refers to a combined process of mobility, orality and porosity of songs; therefore, anonymity of any song always involves a number of

rewriters passing on songs to one another while they move from one performance to another. At these performances, other resingers learn songs from one another just by listening, singing and playing their instruments. Therefore anonymity, which is a concept and term always associated with songs whose composers are unknown, can also be seen as referring to a translatorial act, which involves being intralingually and/or interlingually rewritten/resung/reperformed over and over again, resulting in a number of unrecorded retranlations of the same song.

#### Expanding nationalism studies

Such a translatorial act in the Ottoman descent involved anonymous musician agents from the different millets, and of various backgrounds, speaking a diversity of languages. However, after the emergence, in other words, the *nationalist* masking of the Ottoman descent of song interculture, since every historical and cultural element was associated with an imagined continuity dating back to much older days than the Ottoman Empire, anonymity also came to be understood as “anonymity within a homogeneous national culture” rather than “anonymity within the heterogeneous Ottoman interculture”. As a result, the translatorial act of anonymity, which was based on the mobility, orality and porosity of songs created together by different people in the Ottoman Empire, ended up being represented as an essentially national Turco-symbiogenesis only. Since the songs were not compiled in Greece by the state, some musicians who came from the Ottoman interculture, such as Panagiotis Toundas and Giannis Papaiannou put them under their name, and this resulted in the representation of Ottoman song symbiogenesis as Gerco-monogenesis in Greece. In Turkey, I have never come across such a representation so far, and probably never will. This stems from the state institutions’ registering the songs as anonymous, in other words, the representation of Ottoman symbiogenesis as Turco-symbiogenesis.

To trace the way songs were represented at different points in time, the present study made use primarily of song recordings, carrying out comparative analysis of their retranslations over approximately one hundred years. The comparative analysis for each song and its retranslations was made at the levels of relyricizing, reperforming (resinging, replaying, reinstrumentalization) and when available, the redressing level. This list of songs existing in Greek and Turkish boasts being the first one to be attached to a scholarly work, not only in the field of translation studies but also those in historical as well as musicological research; therefore, it can also be regarded as a contribution to the field of musicology and record history. Moreover, on its own, this list is a merely fact-based picture of how translation, music, records and history overlap.

Using this list as a point of departure for the Ottoman descent as song interculture, and taking the cultural and political history reviewed in Chapters 3 and 4 into account, the present study gave examples of two opposite tendencies in the representation of songs of symbiogenesis: “masking” and “unmasking” (Foucault, 1977). Both these tendencies can still be observed in both countries, and although the rapprochement is in its second decade, there still are nationalists, like those commenting on songs on the internet. They favor the nationalistic view that any Greco-Turkish song of symbiogenesis exclusively belongs to the Greek/Turkish culture. Therefore, the rapprochement period and the related acknowledgement of a shared Greco-Turkish musical past does not suddenly and miraculously make nationalistic views on *türkü* and *rembetiko* go away. To the contrary, since the commencement of the rapprochement period, such views have existed alongside those favoring the idea of a shared past.

Furthermore, masking can even be observed, as discussed under Chapters 5, 6 and 7, in representations that claim to unmask: These include Café Aman Istanbul's version of "Aeroplano Tha Paro/Telgrafın Tellerine," Candan Erçetin's version of "Tsakitzis/ İzmir'in Kavakları," and even Zülfü Livaneli's composition "Miroloi": These demonstrate that even representation as Greco-Turkish symbiogenesis encapsulates the masking of other elements. When looked carefully, even alleged unmasking involves masking over and over again, in other words, while some of the masks are pulled off, others are put on. In the case of the representation of Greco-Turkish song symbiogenesis, therefore, unmasking is but remasking.

The present study aimed to account for a much-debated, but little-published phenomenon from the perspective of translation studies. Demonstrating how the heterogenous songs created in the Ottoman song interculture by members of different millets did not belong exclusively to any of them - or to all of them -, I came up with the term song symbiogenesis. Then, I accounted for the transformation they underwent as a result of national polarization in the aftermath of the emergence of Turkey as a nation-state and the almost simultaneous population exchange. Finally, with the thaw in relations between the two governments in the early 2000s, more and more songs of symbiogenesis were unmasked, at least, to some extent. There is still much to be discovered in Greco-Turkish song translation, going even beyond the limits of songs of symbiogenesis. For example, research is needed even to account for how the popular songs in Turkey, such as "Aşığınım" [In Love with You] (Fedon), "Telli Telli" [Demoiselle Crane] (Yeni Türkü), "Her Şeyi Yak" [Burn Everything Down] (Sezen Aksu, Duman) and "Haydi Söyle" [Say it Now] (İbrahim Tatlıses, Kalben) have been received and whether they were/are perceived as translations or originals might be a case in point, to which a holistic perspective in

song translation could be applied. The notion of symbiogenesis in a mobile, oral and porous context, on the other hand, can also be applied to cast light on songs sung in other languages that once constituted the Ottoman song interculture, such as Arabic, Hebrew, Armenian, and Kurdish. After all, translation studies, history and music are replete with masked moments that have long kept silent. Unmasking, nonetheless, can only be ventured into by those who know how to listen carefully and genealogically.

## APPENDIX A

### TRACK LISTING ON THE AUDIO CD

- 1- "*Chakidji Turkusu*", performed by Haim Efendi, 1908
- 2- "*İzmir'in Kavakları*", performed by Hasan Mutlucan, 1976
- 3- "*İzmir'in Kavakları/Tsakitzis*", performed by Candan Erçetin, 2005
- 4- "*Yiğidim Aslanım*", composed and performed by Zülfü Livaneli, 1980
- 5- "*Miroloi*", performed by Maria Farantouri, lyrics by Lefteris Papadopoulos, composed by Zülfü Livaneli, 1982
- 6- "*Telegrafın Teleri*" [sic], performed by Hanende İbrahim Efendi, 1913
- 7- "*Aeroplano Tha Paro*", performed by Roza Eskenazi, composed by Panagiotis Toundas, lyrics by Panagiotis Toundas, 1933
- 8- "*Aeroplano Tha Paro & Telgrafın Tellerine Kuşlar mı Konar*", performed by Cafe Aman Istanbul, 2012

## APPENDIX B

### A LIST OF SONGS OF SYMBIOGENESIS<sup>98</sup>

[No writing on label] (1910). [Performer's name unavailable]. Constantinople:  
Corona (Favorit Pirate) [serial no. not indicated]. 4420.

*Acaba Chenmicin* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City:  
Stamboul Record 416. 416-A.

*Adalar Sahili* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City: Stamboul  
408. 408-A.

*Aeroplano Tha Paro* (1933). Roza Eskenazi & St. Perpiniadis [Performers]. P.  
Toundas [Composer]. Athens: Columbia DG 454. WG 706.

*Aeroplano Tha Paro* (1934). Rita – Zacharias [Performers]. Athens: Odeon GA1710.  
GO1942.

*Agios Vassilis* (1910). İbrahim Efendi [Performer]. Constantinople: 16021. C.1100.

*Ağır Aydın Zeybek Havası* (1930). [No artist credit]. Istanbul: Polydor V.51148. 1097  
BN.

*Aidin Kier Oglou* (1910). Estudiantina Tschanaka Smyrni [Performers].  
Constantinople: Orfeos 11045. 1417.

*Aidinikos Xoros* (1928). Marika Papagkika [Performer]. New York: Columbia 11696  
[England]. W.205807-2.

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<sup>98</sup> I am grateful to record producer and archiver Charles Howard for this list, which contributed greatly to the present study. Mr. Howard kindly furnished me with the corresponding sound recordings of all the items on the list. All the titles and names on the list reflect the actual spelling on the vinyls. Greek script has been transcribed as Latin script.

*Aivaliotiko Zeibekiko* (1932). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: Victor V.58113.  
2K 1176.

*Aksham Oldu Yakmadem* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City:  
Stamboul 404. 404-B.

*Ali Pacha* (ca. 1920). Turk Mousiki Hejeti [Performers]. Constantinople: Odeon TX  
5043. WXG 3351.

*Aman Doktor* (1918). Kirkilisiotis [Performer]. New York City: Columbia 7618.  
87589.

*Aman, Aman Menemen* (1927). El. Melemenlis [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 8009.  
20035.

*Apo Tis Athinas* (1906). [Performer unknown]. Constantinople: Odeon 31925. CX  
646.

*Aptal Havasi* (1912). Tetrachordon [Performer]. Constantinople: Favorite 1-55043.  
7054-t.

*Aptal Havasi* (1927). Achilleas Poulos [Performer]. New York City: Victor V.32-  
59039. 40551-2.

*Aptal Havasi* (1930). Laiki Orchestra [Performer]. Athens: GA 1492. GO 1609.

*Aptal Havasi* (1960). D. Manisalis [Performer]. Athens: RCA Record 45 r.p.m.  
RCAGR 395.

*Aptaliko – Zeibekiko* (1929). Ogdhondakis [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 18076. W.  
20702.

*Aptaliko* (1926). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 166. BJ 241.

*Aptalikos Xoros* (1928). Laikas Orxistras [Performers]. Athens: Odeon GA 1378. GO 672.

*Asker Zeibekiko* (1950s). Marko Melkon [Performer]. New York: Liberty 41 A. 41A Arts.

*Aydın Zeybeği* (mid-1950s). Şükrü Tunar [Performer]. Istanbul: Balkan 4022. 4022 A.

*Azizie Sirto* (early 1920s). Kyria Koula [Performer]. New York: Panhellenion 5043. P. 153.

*Baglamades* (1929). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 311. BG 63-2.

*Bahriye* (1935). Mario Salonikia [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 2256. OGA 229.

*Bahriye Çifte Tellisi* (1938). Polydor Saz Heyeti [Performers]. Istanbul: Polydor VU 8014. 3331 ½.

*Bahriye Çiftetellisi* (1927). Halk Musiki Heyeti [Performers]. Istanbul: Columbia 12309. W. 2209.

*Bahriye Çiftetellisi* (ca. 1928). [Performer unknown]. Athens: HMV [serial number unknown]. BF 1921.

*Bakche Douvarindan Astim* (1936/37). Katina Pantelidou [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 7021. GO2681.

*Barba Gogos* (1926). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 163. BJ 243.

*Ben Bir Fintiksim* (1929). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 366. BW 2958.

*Beoglou Manes* (1929). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1434.  
GO.1442.

*Bergama* (1931). İzmirli Santuri Recep [Performer]. Istanbul: RCA 26-2028. OK.

*Bir Mavili* (1928). Kostas Nouros [Performer]. Athens: Odeon 1305. GO 752.

*Boutzalio* (1935). S. Georgiadis [Performer]. Sp. Peristeris [Composer]. New York City: Orthophonic 325. BS.92413.

*Bülbül – Kanarya* (1954). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Istanbul: Balkan 4047. 4047  
B.

*Bülbül Kantosu* (1906). Hafouz Aschir Efendi [Performer]. Constantinople: Odeon Record [Serial number unknown]. CX 1272.

*Cahve Yemenden Canto* (1920s). Achilleas Poulos [Performer]. New York: Pharos 801. 402.

*Chakidji Turkusu* (1908). Haim Effendi [Performer]. Constantinople: Odeon 54053.  
XC1057.

*Chakidji Zeybek* (1926). Achilleas Poulos [Performer]. New York City: Columbia 75009-F. W2054513.

*Coşkun Zeybek* (1932). Mahmure Handan Hanım [Performer]. Istanbul: S.S. AX 1735. OK.1314-2.

*Çakıcı Türküsü* (1949). Safiye Ayla [Performer]. Istanbul: Columbia RT 22184.  
CTZ7105.

*Çanakale* (1923). Maria Papagkika [Performer]. New York City: Columbia E.5283.  
59818.

*Dag Memo Naziresi – Cevahir Taşı misin Güzeller Sahi misin* (1928). Hafız Burhan Bey [Performer]. Istanbul: Columbia 12359. W.22341.

*Dag Memo Naziresi – Yeşillendi Bütün Dağlar – Garip Bülbül* (1928). Hafız Burhan Bey [Performer]. Istanbul: Columbia 12359. W.22340.

*Dareldime Tzitzim Bana* (1921). Mary Steele [Performer]. NYC: Columbia E.9030. 87427.

*Degirmenci* (1943). Victoria Hazan – Marko Melkon [Performers]. New York City: Metropolitan Records 2004. 2004A.

*Dervisikos Xoros* (1929). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: HMV AO 304. BG 119.

*Edremit Ayvalık Zeybek Alay Havası* (1931). İzmirli Santuri Recep [Performer]. Istanbul: HMV (S.S.) AX 1515. OK 537.

*Ela Konta Mou* (1948). Stella Xaskil & Vasilis Tsitsanis [Performers]. Athens: HMV AO 2822. OGA 1379.

*Elliniki Apolafsis-Zeibeikiko* (1927). George Katsaros [Performer]. New Jersey: Victor 68829. 38934.

*Ergier Karanlik – Ola Ta Mera Skoteina* (1929). Marika Politissa [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1435. GO 1469-2.

*Espases Ta Piata* (1929). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 311. BG 12.

*Evleri – Tourkiko* (1927). El. Melemenlis [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 8010. W.20036.

*Ferentze Foro* (1934). Rita Abatzi [Performer]. Roza Eskenazi [Composer]. Athens: HMV AO 2091. OT 1418-2.

*Gaida* (ca. 1920). Turk Mousiki Hejeti [Performers]. Constantinople: ODEON TX 5043. WXG 3350-2.

*Galata Manes* (1926). Marika Papagkika [Performer]. New York City: Columbia 56033 – F. W.205371.

*Galata Manes* (1928). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 241. BF 1815.

*Galata Manes* (1931). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 1008. OW 133.

*Galata Manes* (1934). Angelitza Papazoglou [Performer]. Athens: Columbia DG 6066. CG 1226.

*Galatiano Xasapiko* (1932). Stefo Armoniki [Performer]. Istanbul: Odeon A202121 [Turkey]. Co 831.

*Garip Hitzaz Taksim* (1936/37). Sarki Kilitzian [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA7021. GO 2680.

*Gel Barisaloum* (1931). Agapios Tomboulas [Performer]. Athens: Pathe 80162. N.70210.

*Gel Gel* (1928). Marika Papagkika [Performer]. New York: Columbia 56103-F. W.205770.

*Gialeli, Gialeli* (1932). Kostas Nouros [Performer]. Athens: Columbia DG 185. WG 238.

*Giouzel Zeibekiko* (1935). *Ta Politakia* [Performers]. New York: RCA Victor 38-3057. CS 89816.

*Gouzel Hasap* (1936/37). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. S. Peristeris [Composer]. Athens: Odeon GA 7020. GO 2679.

*Guzel Tournam* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City: Stamboul 401. 401-B.

*Hanum cifte-telli* (1950s). A. Poggi & P. Nicholaou [Performers]. New York: Alpha Record 2805. 2805 A.

*Harmandalı Zeybek* (1931). Santuri Recep ve Küçük Cemal [Performers]. Istanbul: Columbia 17664. WT 3083.

*Her Yer Karanlık* (1927). Achilleas Poulos [Performer]. New Jersey: Victor 68868. 38548-2.

*Her Yer Karanlık* (1954). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Istanbul: Balkan 4047. 4047 A.

*Her Yer Karanlık 1. Kısım* (1927). Hafız Burhan [Performer]. Istanbul: Columbia 12283. W.22077.

*Her Yer Karanlık 2. Kısım* (1927). Hafız Burhan [Performer]. Istanbul: Columbia 12283. W.22078.

*Hokvon Siretsi* (1920s). M. Douzjian [Performer]. New Jersey: MG Parsekian [serial no. not indicated]. 161-1A.

*Hovardaim Hovarda* (1929). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 366. BW 2957.

*I Xira* (1927). Leonidas Smyrinos [Performer]. New York City: Victor 68808.  
38450-2.

*Iskenter Bogaz - Tourkika* (1927). El. Melemenlis [Performer]. Athens: Columbia  
8010. W2053.

*Iskenter Bogaz* (1929). Agapios Tomboulis [Performer]. Athens: Pathe 80162.  
N.70208.

*Izmir Zeybek Havası* (early-1930s). Şükrü Tunar [Performer]. Istanbul: Odeon  
270154. CO 2977.

*İzmir Kordon Havası* (1930s). Şükrü Tunar [Performer]. Istanbul: Odeon 270154.  
CO 2976.

*İzmir Kordon Zeybeği* (early-1930s). Şükrü Tunar [Performer]. Istanbul: Odeon  
270154. CO 2976.

*Izmir Zeybek* (1950s). A. Poggi & P. Nicholaou [Performers]. New York: Alpha  
Record 2805. 2805 B.

*İzmir Zeybek Havası* (1930). İncesaz [Performers]. Istanbul: Odeon 202130. CO  
2206.

*İzmir'in Kavakları* (1948). Nevzat Güyer [Performer]. Istanbul: Columbia RT 17934.  
CTZ 6470.

*Kadife* (1928). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 224. BF 1732.

*Kaliopaki* (1933). St. Perpiniadis [Performer]. P. Toundas [Composer]. Athens:  
Columbia DG 454. WG 707.

*Kaliopaki Zeibekiko* (mid-1940s). Amalia [Performer]. New York: Metropolitan 160.  
1 CV 160A.

*Karotsieris* (1928). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 268. BF 1668.

*Karotsieris Hasapikos* (1927). Lazaros Konstantinou [Performer]. New York City:  
Orthophonic 327. 40605-4.

*Kasabaliotiko* (1931). Antonis Papatzis & K. Karipis [Performers]. Athens:  
Orthophonic 656. 2W 148.

*Kasabaliotiko Zeibekiko* (1931). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: Orthophonic  
656. 2W 148.

*Kasap Havası* (late 1920s). Turk Musiki Heyeti [Performers]. Istanbul: Parlophone  
DPT 24. CO 189.

*Kasap Misak* (1937). [Performer Unknown]. Athens: HMV Test [serial number  
unknown]. OGA 490.

*Katife - Bachrie Tsifte-Telli* (1928). Asikis [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 8270.  
W.20282.

*Katife* (1930). Marika Politissa [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1435. GO 1470-2.

*Katife* (1930). Sofroniou [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1432. GO 1406.

*Katifes* (1930-31). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Athens: Polydor V.51079. 132 BA.

*Kier Oglu* (1910). Estudiantina Tschanaka Smyrni [Performers]. Constantinople:  
Orfeos 11190. 1416.

*Kioroglou Turkusu* (1927). Achilleas Poulos [Performer]. New York: Victor 80261.  
BVE 40298-2.

*Kollarenda Djan Vereyim* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City: Stamboul Record 416. 416-B.

*Koniali* (1931/32). Karamouzes & Daouli [Performers]. Athens: Columbia DG 195. WG 311.

*Konialis* (1933). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Athens: Parlophon 21707. 101369.

*Konyali* (1930). Hafiz Burhan Bey [Performer]. Mehmet Bey [Composer]. Istanbul: Columbia G.G. 1013 [Greek issue]. WT 2726.

*Konyali Hani Benim Elli Direm Pastirmam* (mid-1940s). Bay Louis Matalon [Performer]. New York: Balkan 4008. 4008A.

*Kousiakli* (mid-1940s). Costas Gadinis Orchestra [Performers]. New York: Metropolitan 170. CV 170 B.

*Laz Kaymakam* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City: Stamboul 414. 414-B.

*Ma Giati Den Mas To Les* (1928). George Katsaros [Performer]. New Jersey: Victor V.59065. 45055-2.

*Manes Beoglou Manessi* (1929). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 365. BW 2984-2.

*Manes Galata* (1928). K. Karipis [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1338. GO 572.

*Manes Rast Smyrneikos* (1928). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 257. BF 1820.

*Mangas Sevdalis* (1932). A. Xatzidiamandidis [Performer]. Athens: Pathe 80251. N. 70516.

*Mantelena* (1926). Marika Papagkika [Performer]. New York City: Columbia 56034-F. W. 205371.

*Matia Mou* (1928). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 242. BF 1819.

*Mavili* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City: Stamboul 408. 408-B.

*Memo* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City: Stamboul 408. 408-B.

*Memo* (1927). Kostas Nouros [Performer]. Athens: Odeon 1305. GO 624.

*Memo* (mid-1920s). Hafouz Kemal Efendi [Performer]. Istanbul: Odeon Record [Serial no. unknown]. W.CX 3458.

*Mevlevihane Peşrevi* (1938). Polydor Saz Heyeti [Performers]. Istanbul: Polydor VU 8014. 3330.

*Mia Smyrnia Stin Kokkinia* (1931). Antonis Diamantidis [Performer & Composer]. Athens: HMV AO 2039. OW 87-2.

*Mitilinio Zeibekiko* (1930). Laiki Orchestra [Performer]. Athens: Victor Record [serial no. unknown]. CG 764.

*Nea Hira* (1934). D. Atraidis [Performer]. Tomboulis [Composer]. Athens: HMV AO 2216. OGA 146.

*Neoi Xasiklides – Rembetiko* (1928). Pol [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 8226. W.20258.

*Neoi Xasiklides* (1925/30). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: Edison Record [serial number unknown]. Edison mx.

*Neoi Xasiklides* (1928). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 267. BF 1665-2.

*Neos Konialis* (1934). Rita Abatzi [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 2093. OT 1495.

*Nitchun Kustun Bana* (1927). Canoni Garbis Efendi [Performer]. New York City: Stamboul 404. 404-A.

*Nitschun Guer dum* (1927). Hafiz Burhan Bey [Performer]. Istanbul: Columbia 12289. W.22076.

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*O Kafes* (1927). Savaris & Mixiaris & Lucien [Performers]. Athens: Columbia 8046. W.20048.

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*O Neos Magkas* (1932). Zaxarias [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 56329-F. 294435.

*O Psaras Me To Gri Gri* (1931). Zacharia Kasimati [Performer]. Athens: Parlophon 21550. 101158.

*O Stavrakas Me Ston Teke* (1935). Stavros Tsouras [Performer]. Spyros Peristeris [Composer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1853. GO 2274.

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*O Vaggelis* (1928). Angeliki Karagianni [Performer]. New York City: Okeh 82514. W.500024.

*O Yiatros* (1928). George Katsaros [Performer]. New Jersey: Victor 68980. 40361-4.

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*Ousak Tsifte-Teli* (1933). Ath. Levidas [Performer]. Athens: Columbia DG469. WG 658.

*Pergamia* (1930). Alexis Zoubas [Performer]. New York City: National Record 138. 10P 140-1.

*Politiko Zeibekiko* (1929). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: Pathe 80044. N.70013.

*Politikos Manes* (1928). Kyria Pipinas [Performer]. Istanbul: Homokord Eelektro G.4- 32072. C – 36 – 2.

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*Rambi Rambi* (1950s). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Athens: Standard F- 9122. GR 667.

*Rast Kanto* (1930). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1453. GO 1637.

*Rast Neva Longa* (1929). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: HMV AO 389. BW 3084.

*Rast Neva Tsifte Telli* (1933). Ath. Levidas [Performer]. Athens: Columbia DG 469. WG 659.

*Sa Se Map – Ferach Feza* (1936/37). Antolitki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: Odeon GA 7021. GO 2681.

*Sala Sala* (1926). Marika Papagkika [Performer]. New York City: Victor 68785. 36935-2.

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*San Pethano Ti Tha Poune* (1960). Stratos [Performer]. Athens: Monte Carlo MO939. 7MCA-69.

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*Segah Sarki Aksam Oldu Yine* (mid-1920s). Hafiz Ahmet Bey [Performer]. Istanbul: Odeon Record [serial no. unknown]. W.CX 3479.

*Seni Gheurduktcha* (1908). Gulistan Hanım & Arab Mehmet [Performers]. Constantinople: Odeon Records [serial no. not indicated]. 124326.

*Seni Gheurduktcha* (1908). Haim Effendi [Performer]. Constantinople: Odeon 54503. XC 1871.

*Smyrneiko Adam Aman* (ca. 1910). Smyrneiko Estudiantina [Performers]. Constantinople: Odeon (USA) 28016. Xgc 69.

*Stin Filaki* (1930). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1453. GO 1636.

*Syriano Xasapiko* (1932). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: Victor V.58113. 2K 1175.

*Syriano Zeibekiko* (mid-1940s). Costas Gadinis Orchestra [Performers]. New York: Metropolitan 170. CV 170 A.

*Ta Koritzia Tis Asias Theloun Pantreia* (1954). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Istanbul: Balkan Records 844. 844-B.

*Ta Matia Tis Smyrnias* (mid-1940s). Diamantidis & Baka [Performers]. New York: MeRe Records 808. 808A.

*Tabancası Bellinde* (1920s). Achilleas Poulos [Performer]. New York City: Pharos 801. 408.

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*Taksim Zeibekiko* (1937). M. Vamvakaris [Performer & Composer]. Athens: Parlophon B.21915. GO 2710.

*Taskiera Kantosou* (1930). Agapios Tomboulis [Performer]. Athens: Pathe 80162. N.70209.

*Tatavliani Tsachpina* (1929). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 56244-D. W.294250.

*Telegrafin Teleri – Neva Oushak Kanto* (ca. 1913). Hanende İbrahim Efendi  
[Performer]. Constantinople: Orfeon 12667. S.2869.

*Tha Spaso Koupes* (1928). Marika Papagkika [Performer]. New York: Columbia  
11696 [England]. W. 205806.

*Thelo Na Se Alismoniso* (1929). Amalia Bakka [Performer]. New York City: Okeh  
82533. W.500077.

*Tis Pligies* (1906). G. Psiamatianos [Performer]. Constantinople: Victor 63547.  
1452r.

*To Beredaki* (1934). Rozika Eskenazi [Performer]. “Tsama” Minos Matsas  
[Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA1704. GO1930.

*To Kanarini* (1934). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 2155. OT 1738.

*To Koutsavaki* (1933). Zacharia Kasimati [Performer]. Athens: Parlophon B21671.  
101324-2.

*To Mystirio Zeibekiko* (1932). Jack Grigoriou – S. Michelidis [Performers]. New  
York City: Columbia 56294-F. W.206684.

*To Salvari Tou Kioroglou* (1933). Marika Politissa [Performer]. Athens: Columbia  
DG 346. WG 576.

*To Salvari Tou Kioroglou* (1933). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA  
1653. GO 1866.

*Tourna* (1910). Hafiz Achir [Performer]. Constantinople: Orfeon Record [serial no.  
not indicated]. 13364.

*Tourna* (1927). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 203. BF 798.

*Tourna* (1927). Marika Papagkika [Performer]. New York City: Columbia 56059-F. W.205542-2.

*Tsakitzis* (1927). El. Menemenlis [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 8009. W.20005.

*Tsakitzis* (1954). Roza Eskenazi [Performer]. Istanbul: Balkan Records 834. B.834-A.

*Tsifte Teli Aman Giala* (1928). K. Karipis [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 1338. GO 551-2.

*Tsifte Teli Giala* (1929). Antonis Dalgas – tenoros [Performer]. Athens: Pathe 80064. N.70042.

*Tsifte Telli* (1909). Elliniki Estudiantina [Performers]. Smyrna: Odeon Record [serial number unknown]. 12802 B.

*Tsifte Telli* (1929). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: HNV AO 390. BW 3031.

*Tsifte-Teli* (1926). El. Melemenlis [Performer]. Athens: Polydor V.45119. 4628 ar.

*Tys Xesnitias O Ponos* (1931). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 2016. OW 88.

*Tzoban Kizi Kantonu* (1936/37). Katina Pantelidou [Performer]. Athens: Odeon GA 7026. GO2700.

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*Xanoumikos Xoros* (1931). Ogdhondakis [Performer]. Athens: Orthophonic 602. 2W 166.

*Xariklaki* (1933). Rita Abatzi [Performer]. Panagiotis Toundas [Composer]. Athens: Columbia DG452. WG.625-3.

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*Xer Yer Karanlik* (1928). Asikis [Performer]. Athens: Columbia 8270. W.20283.

*Xiotissa* (1920). K. Koula [Performer]. New York City: Panhellenion Record [serial no. not indicated]. 148.

*Y Xira* (1910). [Performer unknown]. Constantinople: Odeon Record [serial number unknown]. 4605.

*Yene Konyale* (mid-1940s). Garbis & Doneff [Performers]. New York: Kaliphone 709. D.709-B.

*Yeni Bahrie* (1929). Laiki Orchestra [Performers]. Athens: HMV AO 391. BW 3029.

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*Yeni Türk Zeybeği* (1930). Servet Hanım [Performer]. Istanbul: Polydor 51006. 1028 BN.

*Zala Zala* (1925) G. Vitalis [Performer]. Athens: Odeon 154062. GO 77.

*Zeibekiko Bergama* (1920s). Vlachos & Kastrounis [Performers]. New York City: Panhellenion 341. 341-A.

*Zeibekiko Melemenio* (1928). Antonis Dalgas [Performer]. Athens: HMV AO 267. BF 1667.

*Zeibekiko Ousak* (1927). Lednidas Smirnios [Performer]. New York City: Victor,  
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