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The Nationalization of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece

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This article addresses some problems connected with the post-Ottoman reception of Ottoman and Ottoman-influenced popular music in the Balkans, with nationalism and national culture-building as main themes. The emphasis is on the Ottoman-Greek café music nowadays usually called *smyrneika* ("of or pertaining to Smyrna") in Greece. I will also offer a revised view of Ottoman-Greek popular music from a wider perspective than the standard Greek one. Such a view is needed since in writing on Greek popular music, Ottoman-Greek café music has by and large been overlooked as a subject of study in favor of the bouzouki-based Piraeus rebetika.

There are two main forms of nationalism, which often intertwine. One branch, associated with Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), treats of political nationalism; the other, most seminally articulated by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), treats of cultural nationalism. The main goal of most political nationalists is the creation of an independent nation-state. Political nationalists tend to construct centralized organizations, such as political parties, to attain their goals. Cultural nationalism is based on the work of scholars and artists, who form academic and cultural societies in order to preserve, study, and develop the cultural heritage they look upon as characteristic of their national community (Hutchinson 1994:40–45).

Scholars of nationalism usually agree that the work of nationally-oriented intellectuals becomes widely significant only when it is popularized by journalists and pamphleteers. However, the exploitation of national myths is not only a concern of journalists. It also has its commercially motivated aspects; one can succeed in business by producing, marketing, and selling goods such as books, films, CDs, and posters, based on national motives and themes. National culture can sell well.

National culture-building can be seen as a contrasting process: a national identity is always defined in contrast to, or as a complement to, that of other

nations (cf. Löfgren 1989:11). Although many historical, social, cultural, aesthetic, and structural factors unite music and dance in the Balkans, nationally oriented authorities, journalists, scholars, composers, and choreographers have rather tended to stress the differences, thus creating situations where musical styles declared as national are seen as increasingly separate from each other. Ethnic characteristics have been underlined, even created, by selecting and combining various components. The outcome of cultural nationalization has very often been manifested in various emblems, invented traditions, and folklorism, i.e., the ideological, aesthetic, and economical utilization of folklore (see Kurkela 1989:27-35, 135-251 passim; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983).

The connections between Ottoman popular music and smyrneika have been treated carelessly by some Greek writers on pre-World War II popular music. They tend to underestimate the Ottoman element in smyrneika or at least avoid investigating the issue too closely. The nationalist point of view in Greek writing on music which stresses the domestic origins of cultural, political, and social factors can be called Hellenocentrism. It is typical for Greek writers on local folk and popular music to consult mainly Greek literature and sources (see, e.g., Voliotis-Kapetanakis 1997, 1999). The result has been a number of publications whose scholarly use is problematic.¹

The important study of the Greek-Australian Nicholas Pappas (1999) is seminal, but typically it fails to treat the music of urban Ottoman-Greek refugees as a part of Ottoman popular music. The very term "Greek" is ambiguous in this context; the 1923 exchange of minorities between Greece and Turkey regulated by the Lausanne Treaty took religion instead of ethnicity as the criterion of nationality. This distinction can be seen as a legacy of the Ottoman millet system, which was based on the organization of the population, solely on the basis of religious affiliation, into simultaneously administrative, religious, and community units called millets (Poulton 1997:82-83; Lewis 1998:8-9).

Urban Ottoman Music

Urban Ottoman music culture can be defined as a complex whole consisting of various traditions which flourished in the cities of the Ottoman Empire or music deriving from these traditions. Western music also had an influence on some Ottoman popular styles from the last decades of the 19th century. There are several Ottoman-influenced urban music traditions in the Balkans. For example, a large part of the café repertoire recorded in Greece in the 1920s and 1930s consisted of Ottoman popular pieces that were provided with Greek lyrics, arranged and recorded by Greeks. Other important traditions are Macedonian *čalgiska muzika*, Bosnian *sevdalinke*, and older

strata of *starogradske pesme* (old town songs) of Serbia, Macedonia, and Bulgaria and the corresponding urban traditions of Albania, Kosovo, and Walachia. Balkan and Anatolian rural traditions have quite often been autochthonous and relatively different from their urban equivalents. Still, in some cases—such as the Greek *sirtos*, the Romanian Gypsy *longa* and Anatolian *türkü* folk dances and songs—these traditions had an impact on the music of Constantinople (Reinhard 1973:31; Reinhard and Reinhard 1984a:114–15).

Constantinople/Istanbul was and still is one of the main urban musical centers in the Balkans and the Middle East.² The reasons for its prominence are obvious. In the beginning of the twentieth century the best singers, instrumentalists, and composers as well as the wealthiest patrons lived in Constantinople. Patrons were especially important for Ottoman classical *fasıl* music. In the field of popular music, there was a great concentration of theaters, cabarets, night-clubs, cafés, and taverns providing the public with music and dance. Accordingly, the best work opportunities for musicians were in Constantinople. The city was also the center of music publishing, the record industry, and instrument-making (see Aksoy 1996:4–6).

Though most important, Constantinople was by no means the only musical center at the beginning of the twentieth century. Among other centers of Ottoman and Ottoman-influenced urban music in Anatolia and the Balkans were Smyrna (İzmir) and Adrianople (Edirne, now in Turkey), Salonika, Athens and Ioannina (now in Greece), Bitola and Skopje (now in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia), Sofia and Plovdiv (now in Bulgaria), Korça and Tirana (now in Albania), Prizren (now in Kosovo), Sarajevo and Mostar (now in Bosnia-Herzegovina), Novi Pazar and Belgrade (now in Serbia), and Bucharest (now in Romania). The centers fell into several categories: administrative, commercial, communicational, industrial, military, and religious. Before the advent of railways in the Balkans, commercial and communicational centers were often situated along caravan routes. Apparently we need further historical research for a more detailed list of the centers. For instance, there is very little published data available about the musical situation in the areas comprising modern Bulgaria and Albania before the Balkan wars (1912–13).³

Constantinople has always been a powerful cultural center, whereas lesser cities such as Smyrna have been more or less recipients with some local traditions. However, in the dominant Greek discourse the city of Smyrna—which had large Greek and Armenian Orthodox as well as Jewish, Muslim, and Western communities before Greece lost the Greco-Turkish war in 1922—has been seen as the main center of café music. Smyrna as the birthplace of smyrneika music in Greece is a national myth.⁴ This point of view ignores any other origins of smyrneika songs than Greek. Thus, a song in Turkish originating, for example, from Constantinople became Smyrnaic (i.e.,

Greek) when it was performed in Greek. A more appropriate term for this musical style would be Ottoman-Greek café music, a term based on the ethnic background of the musicians and the main performance milieu.

Greek-language café music in the Ottoman Empire, Greece, Egypt, the USA, and elsewhere was more a branch of Ottoman popular music than an independent style. An analysis of the repertoire, musical forms, musical style, performance practice, instrumentation, and performance contexts lends strong support to this interpretation. For instance, such details as the high octave transposition of the last phrase of a vocal section heard in recordings made in Greece in the 1920s and 1930s are features of the late Ottoman café and nightclub style (cf. Greve 1995:170-73; Beken 1996).

Smyrna also plays an important role in the creation of the myth of rebetika as a purely Greek musical style. A popular view of the development of rebetika has been that it largely originated in Smyrna and came to Greece with refugee musicians in 1923. This myth has been expressed in numerous literary sources (e.g. Petropoulos 1979:13; Liavas 1987:45; Tyrovola 1992:115-17) as well as commercially successful artistic representations such as the film "Rebetiko" (1983) by Costas Ferris and the stage production ". . . Kai me fos kai me thanaton akatapavstos" (1995) by Constantin Costa-Gavras. As we shall see below, this myth is tied up with the problematic definition of rebetika as a genre. Indeed, it is highly questionable in what way a piece of Ottoman popular music could be placed in the same musical or cultural category as a Piraeus bouzouki song with underworld overtones. Café music was a branch of Ottoman popular music, whereas Piraeus rebetika was a more local syncretic style; they were two distinct traditions (see Pennanen 1999:26-65, 68-118 passim).

The Cultural Pluralism of Ottoman Popular Music

From the last quarter of the nineteenth century Ottoman popular music was mostly performed in cafés, taverns, cabarets, theaters, nightclubs, and brothels. The first entertainment centers in Constantinople were the Christian and Jewish districts of Pera and Galata. Later the entertainment business expanded to the Muslim districts between Şehzadebaşı and Beyazid (Ayangil 1994:419; Greve 1995:79-81).

The spread of music cafés was rapid: the first café in Athens was opened as early as 1873 (Hatzipandazis 1986:25 n. 4). Contemporary newspaper articles (see Hatzipandazis 1986: passim) confirm that there was an audience for Ottoman popular music in Greece before 1922; the view taken by Pappas (1999:353-56) that this music, especially *karsilamas*, *zeibekiko*, and *tsiftetelli* rhythms, was not well-known in mainland Greece earlier is somewhat problematic. Pappas bases his view mainly on the commercial reper-

toire that was recorded in Greece itself. According to him, the 1922 recording sessions, which were in fact the first major recording sessions of The Gramophone Company in Greece, comprised mostly “kleftic ballads, choral music, *kantádhēs* and regional folk songs primarily for dancing purposes,” whereas the recorded repertoire between 1925 and 1930 attests to the increasing popularity of Asia Minor music.

It is by no means a simple or straightforward matter to gauge the popularity of a musical style on the basis of a corpus of surviving commercial historical recordings. Rather, it is axiomatic that such surviving commercial recordings, far from being direct and/or accurate documents of contemporary living music culture, are documents, several times filtered, of the culture of recorded music. One might very well wonder, for example, in the case of early 1920s Greece, whether Karl Friedrich Vogel, the German recording concessionaire of The Gramophone Company for the Levant, had any contact whatsoever with musicians who played Ottoman-Greek music, not to speak of being able to hire them for recording sessions. In fact, the 207 recordings made between 28 January and 16 February 1922 were made mostly by opera singers, such as Mihalis Vlahopoulos (Athens ca. 1873–Athens 1956), and trained urban choirs, which exemplifies a relatively common policy of European record companies at that time.⁵

The policy of the recording concessionaire in 1922 seems to have been to utilize a limited number of singers, capable of performing a wide range of material, from folk song arrangements and urban *kandada* songs, to opera, operetta, and vaudeville pieces, rather than to engage specialists in each style (cf. Racy 1977:126–29). These recordings were probably aimed at the educated classes. Furthermore, the 1922 sessions took place under the exceptional conditions of the Greco-Turkish war, which may well be assumed to have affected the choice of performers and repertoire.

We should remember that almost from its very beginning recording was very much an international business. Thus it is reasonable to assume that before the advent of large-scale recording activities in Greece, Ottoman-Greek recordings from Smyrna, Constantinople, and Salonika could be, and were, imported to Greece by such companies as the German Favorite and Odeon, and the London-based Gramophone. If this is true, it would help to explain why commercially significant local recording activities of The Gramophone Company in Athens started as late as in 1922.⁶

Historical facts support the view that Ottoman popular music was relatively well known in parts of urban Greece before 1922. Before the great fire of Salonika in August 1917, which enabled the Prime Minister Eleftherios Venizelos to start his dual program of modernization and Hellenization, Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians formed only the third largest population in Salonika after Sephardic Jews and Muslims (Glenny 2000:347–49). The mu-

sic of these two largest groups was mostly Ottoman in style (for Salonika Sephardic music, see *Oriente Rien* CD 14). Thus, most Christians in Salonika during the late Ottoman era, which ended with the Greek capture of the city in the First Balkan War in 1912, must have known Ottoman nightclub and café music.

In addition, it is often forgotten that there was large-scale immigration from the Ottoman Empire to Greece even before 1922. After the beginning of the First World War in 1914 the Young Turk leaders decided to start massive deportations of the Ottoman Greeks from the Smyrna area into the arid and sparsely inhabited regions of central Anatolia. In order to hasten voluntary migration to Greece, the plan was publicized. As a result, within a few months 150,000 Ottoman Greeks left the western coast of Asia Minor for Greece (Pentzopoulos 1962:54). There was also a terror campaign against Greek and Armenian businesses by the Young Turk paramilitary force *Teşkilât-ı Mahsusa* of the Minister of War, Enver Paşa, which drove many Greeks and others into exile (Zürcher 1993:114–15, 130).

The heyday of Ottoman music cafés coincided with the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909). There were several types of nightclubs and cafés, each offering a different kind of music. In Constantinople the refined *gazino* night-clubs of Pera had semi-classical and popular music in their program. *Çalgılı kabvesi* was for popular music. The clientele was of middle and sometimes even upper class origin. The taverns of Galata and Tatavla (Kurtuluş), often owned by Greeks, Armenians or Jews, offered food, alcohol, and music. An old-style café with rural style music was called *semaî kabvesi*, *semaî* being a form used by folk music minstrels. *Baloz* (< Gr. “ballos dance”) was a type of modest music café or public house where sailors and workers consumed alcohol and danced. There were also ordinary cafés which were transformed into music cafés on Fridays and during the nights of the Muslim *Ramazan* fast month. In Tavuk Pazarı district the café clientele consisted of members of various *esnaf* trade guilds such as boatmen, sailors and *tulumbacılar* (sg. *tulumbacı*), firemen of the independent fire brigades, and subcultural groups such as *külhanbeyiler* (sg. *külhanbeyi*) and *dayılar* (sg. *dayı*) associated with petty crime (see Birsell 1983:179–98; Ergün 2001).

In Athens and Piraeus the Ottoman-style music café was usually known as *kafe aman*, but the first newspaper references to music cafés call them *kafe sandour* after the hammered dulcimer *santur*, the main instrument played there at that time. The first café musicians and female singers and dancers were usually Ottoman Greeks and Armenians from Constantinople (Hatzipandazis 1986: 25 n. 4, 29, 115). Later musicians from the Ottoman Empire living permanently in Greece performed at such cafés.

Because of religious and cultural restrictions, public performers of popular music—especially women—in the Ottoman Empire were often non-Mus-

lms, that is Ottoman Sephardic Jews from Salonika and Constantinople (e.g., Pepron Hanım, Hayim Efendi and Abraham Karakaş Efendi), Ottoman Armenians, and Ottoman Greeks (e.g., Evgenia Hanım and Victoria Hanım). Muslim women only started performing in front of male audiences in the republican era. Ottoman female singers and dancers often performed in cabaret and in the *tuluat*, an improvised popular theater. Gypsies, such as the singers Gülistan Hanım and Hâfız Burhan Sesylmaz (1897–1943) were also music specialists *par excellence*. There were of course ethnic Ottoman Turkish singers and musicians, one of the most popular being the singer Hâfız Âşir Efendi (ca. 1870–1936). Because of the waning patronage of the Ottoman classical *fasıl* music at the court and by the aristocracy, many famous composers and instrumentalists worked at nightclubs and music cafés.⁷

In Greece the most famous non-Greek performers of café music were the Sephardic Jewish singer Sarah Skinazi, alias Roza Eskenazi (ca. 1895–1980) and the Armenian *ud* player Hagop Stambulian, alias Agapios Tomboulis (1891–1965), both from Constantinople. It is noteworthy that this ethnic pluralism was still very much alive in the 1960s in the USA, where nationalist political restrictions did not affect the music (Takis Binis, p.c.; cf. Frangos 1991; Rasmussen 1992; Hagopian 1996).

Subsequently, the cultural pluralism of Ottoman music has been insufficiently acknowledged in Greek writing on music. The Ottoman-Armenian musicians Melkon Alemsharian alias Marko Melkon (1895–1966), Kanunî Garbis Bakirgian (1885–1969) and the Macedonian-Bulgarian violinist Nikola Doneff, all of whom migrated to the USA and recorded there, appear relatively frequently on Greek reissues. Interestingly, Kanunî Garbis is taken at least twice for a Greek *kanun* zither player under the name “Yeoryios Garbis” (“George Garbis”) (Kounadis 1993; Tabouris 1995). This misrepresentation would only be possible for instrumental pieces, as Garbis recorded his vocal output in Turkish. Doneff’s pseudonym for Greek-language recordings, “Nikos D.,” also leads Greek discographers astray.

We can see how some Greek authors tend to nurture the idea of Ottoman-Greek popular music as a style created and performed by Greek musicians for Greek audiences. This idea is not based on historical facts. Recent research has revealed that especially before the early nineteenth century, the Ottoman millet system was not as nationwide and centralized as thought earlier; actually it consisted of local communities with a certain amount of autonomy in relation to the local representatives of the government. In addition, inter-millet relations were lively (Zürcher 1993:12–13).

Between the World Wars, there still was a large geographical marketing area for Ottoman popular music. For instance, Roza Eskenazi and Jewish dancers of Salonika such as Stella Eskenazi and Zoza Benveniste toured in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in the 1930s (see Eskenazi 1982:24; Džimrevski

1985:484 photograph 15). Café musicians of Athens and post-Ottoman Salonika may have visited Istanbul quite frequently; according to the HMV recording book Roza Eskenazi made eleven recordings in Turkey, probably Istanbul, in July and August 1937.⁸ In addition, from around 1930, Greek- and Turkish-language records were pressed in Istanbul from matrices made in Athens. Initially the recordings were mostly in Ottoman-Greek café style and they were aimed at the large Istanbul Greek population; “Nini—Manes” and “Nigris—Manes” (mat. GO 1539, GO 1540; cat. Odeon GA 1486), recorded by Marika Politissa in Athens in 1930, seems the first such issue.⁹ Recordings of café music made and originally released in Athens were also licensed to the USA and vice versa (see Frangos 1994:55–56).

Conversely, we know that Istanbul musicians visited Greece and worked there. For example, shortly after the signing of the Agreement for Friendship, Neutrality, and Arbitration between Greece and Turkey there was a concert in Athens under the patronage of the Turkish ambassador Enis Bey on 13 December 1930. It featured, among others, the Istanbul singers Safiye Ayla (1907–98) and Hâfız Burhan Sesyılmaz, the *kanto* singer Makbule Enver Hanım, and the violinist-composer Kemanî Ahmed Cevdet (later Cevdet Çağla [1900–88]). The concert advertisement (reproduced in Petropoulos 1979:661) implies that the marketing of recordings from Istanbul, which were pressed in Athens for the Greek market, had just started.

In addition, the virtuoso Istanbul Greek Orthodox Gypsy ud player Yorgo Bacanos (1900–77) visited Greece at least once. He was photographed at a private music party (*glendí*) around 1940 with the *kemençe* player Lambros Leondaridis (Constantinople 1892–Athens 1955), the kanun player Lambros Savaidis (born Constantinople 1886, died in Athens), and the singer Maria Frandzeskopoulou, alias Marika Politissa (born Constantinople 1898, died in Athens) (Petropoulos 1979:371, 392). It is not known if Bacanos performed publicly during his visit. Some musicians from Turkey performed with Greek musicians in Greece even after the Second World War. The ud and *cümbüş* player Şevket Bütüner performed at the Athenian nightclub Triana tou Heila during the season 1951–52 with Agapios Tomboulis, Lambros Leondaridis and Lambros Savaidis (Petropoulos 1979:374–75). We can conclude from the photographs that the evening program consisted of two sections with separate ensembles for each style: one with Ottoman-Greek and possibly contemporary Turkish popular music and the other with bouzouki-based contemporary Greek popular music.

The Musical Forms

The music performed at the various types of musical entertainment places in late Ottoman Constantinople was based on classical *fasıl* music,

urban popular music, and urbanized rural music. Western music in a popular vein was also performed especially in Pera. In addition, musical fusions were common. Some of the musical forms constituting a typical music café concert cycle were *şarkı*, kanto, *gazel*, *taksim*, *mani*, *koşma*, *türkü*, concert march, and polka. Most of these forms were performed in other kinds of entertainment places as well. Musical and dance forms associated with Gypsies were *köçek* and *çiftetelli*. The ensembles consisted of musicians playing Ottoman or Western instruments, or various combinations of the two. A group consisting of instruments suitable for performing Ottoman classical or semi-classical music was called *incesaz* (Greve 1995:80-81).

The following presents some short definitions of musical forms performed and recorded by Ottoman-Greek musicians. *Şarkı* is a vocal composition with a rapid tempo. It can be semi-classical or popular in character, it may be cast in one of several forms (Özkan 1984:89). The term kanto (pl. *kantolar*) derives from the Italian *canto*, meaning "song." It is a general term for easily memorized Ottoman popular songs. Kantolar were originally developed under the influence of Italian and French theater, cabaret, and *café chantant* performances after the mid-nineteenth century. The performances were dominated by sensual female singers and dancers. Although kanto performances and recordings had enormous success, the composers and lyricists often remained anonymous. This was due to the fact that from the viewpoint of the cultural elite kantolar belonged to low culture with no prestige. However, some composers are known, Kemanî Bülbül Salih Efendi (d. 1923) and İsmail Hakkı Bey (1860-1929) among them (see Ayangil 1994; Belge 1998; Ünlü 1998). Kanto was not a unique musical fusion; in Cairo a song type of similar origins was called *taqtûqa* (Danielson 1991:304; Neubauer 1998:144; AAA 099).

Gazel (pl. *gazeler*) is a vocal improvisation on a chosen poetic text in flowing rhythm to compositional systems called makams. The singer tries to create four sections, in which the third contains a modulation or alternatively a switch to the high register of the makam. Gazel is performed without or with a rhythmic ostinato accompaniment and it can be classical or semi-classical in character. The poems usually follow the *aruz* meters of classical *divan* poetry (see İz 1982; Reinhard and Reinhard 1984a:94-95). Taksim is the instrumental counterpart of gazel, albeit structurally different from it (Reinhard and Reinhard 1984a:103-09; Feldman 1996:274-99). Mani (pl. *maniler*, < Arab *ma'nā*.) is a form of sung or recited popular poetry in Anatolia and the Balkans. It is made up of heptasyllabic verses rhymed on the pattern *aaba*. Mani may be musically akin to gazel but the vocal style, text, syllabic meter, and melodic contour belong to folk or popular music.¹⁰ P. N. Boratav (1991) classifies maniler into eight categories on the basis of their poetic themes and performance context; one of them is the maniler of

the Constantinople café singers. It has been estimated that around 1900 there must have been thousands of mani singers in Constantinople. A typical Constantinople mani begins with the words “adam aman” (“mercy, man”) (see Kaygılı 1937:14–18; Rounder CD 1051: no. 14). In the Greek-language repertoire the mani “Adam aman” is also known as “Galata manes,” after the Galata district of Constantinople with its music cafés and taverns. Other well-known and frequently-recorded maniler in Ottoman-Greek repertoire are “Smyrneiko Minore,” “Tzivaeri” and “Tabahaniotiko.” These pieces lost their improvised character and became more or less melodically and structurally standardized.

There is confusion in the Greek-language nomenclature of Ottoman free-rhythmic vocal forms. In the early 1930s in Greece, gazeler of semi-classical character were often recorded under the terms “gazel” or “gazeli.” Subsequently, however, the terms “mane,” “manes,” and “amanes” deriving from “mani” became predominant: both gazeler and maniler were recorded under them. Sometimes both terms were used in the same title, e.g. “Gazeli moustaar manes” — “moustaar” meaning makam Müstear. Nowadays in Greece all Ottoman-derived vocal pieces with rhythmically free sections are generally regarded as *manedes* (pl. of manes) or *amanedes* (pl. of amanes). The latter term is a later contamination of the word “manes” and the interjection “aman” that was frequently used for filling the lines in gazeler and maniler.

There are several examples of the confusion in contemporary Greece caused by the lack of knowledge of Ottoman and Republican Turkish music culture. The famous early twentieth-century Constantinople popular song “Mavili” recorded by Kostas Nouros in 1928 in Athens as “Bir mavili” (mat. GO 624; cat. Odeon GA 1305) was reissued on the LP “Amanedes” (Margo 8222). Another example is the LP record containing live performances by the rebetika singer Marika Ninou from 1955 (Venus V-1053). Ninou sings a medley of two Turkish popular songs from the mid-1930s and early 1950s respectively, consisting of “Çıkar yücelerden haber sorarım” by Sadettin Kaynak and Vecdi Bingöl and “Gezdiğim dikenli aşk yollarında” by Kadri Şençalar. The editor of the record has taken the medley for one single piece and named it “Amanes” in the sleeve notes.

Türkü (“folk song”) is a very general term for a song and poetical form (Reinhard and Reinhard 1984b:25). Türkü may be rural or urban, anonymous or by a known composer. In Greece, café musicians performed urban and rural folk songs from Anatolia and mainland Greece as well as Aegean island melodies. In the late nineteenth century the repertoire included such things as rural semaî songs (called *sembai* or *sambai* in Greek music journalism of that time) performed by visiting troupes from the Ottoman Empire as well as *tsamiko* melodies in 6/4 from Epiros (Hatzipandazis 1986:46, 116). Other common türkü subtypes in Ottoman-Greek café music in Greece were

zeibekiko (Turk. *zeybek havası*) in 9/4, karsilama and its close relative *kioutsekiko* (Turk. *karş ilama havası* and *köçek havası*) in 9/8, *kalamatiano* (Turk. *mandıra havası*) in 7/8, *hasapiko* (Turk. *kasap havası*) in 4/4 or 2/4, and *syрто* (Turk. *sirto*), and *ballos* (Turk. *baloz*) in 2/4. Some of the new folkloristic compositions in the repertoire passed into the rural repertoire through gramophone records and from 1936 through radio broadcasts.

The Ottoman café repertoire contained also Western and Western-influenced hybrid music. Polkas in Ottoman makams were such hybrids. Neapolitan-style popular songs were sung in Greek as well as in Turkish. Influences from the West were brought about by European cabaret troupes and orchestras visiting Constantinople and Smyrna, and via gramophone records.

As in all memory-based cultures, Greek café musicians also composed new pieces mainly based on the melodic, rhythmic, and structural formulae of Ottoman and fusion traditions. It was also common to compose a new vocal melody and combine it with a suitable instrumental interlude (Turk. *aranağme*, Gr. *eisagoyi*; see Öztuna 1990: s.v. “*aranağme*”) from the common stock. One should be careful not to analyze the act of composition from an anachronistic or ethnocentric point of view. As Roderick Conway Morris (1980:82–83) has remarked, the concepts of “composition” and “authority” are problematic in Ottoman popular music since improvisation and the way the performance was executed were more highly esteemed than the original compositions. Also, variations and developments of pre-existing material formed the basis for “new” compositions.

When commercial recordings became a source of financial reward for the composer, it was an encouragement for making claims to pre-existing compositions, changing them slightly, and also for composing actual new material. In this light Morris’ view that in Western terms Panayiotis Toundas (Smyrna 1885–Athens 1942), one of the most important figures in Ottoman-Greek café music in Greece, was more an arranger than a composer is quite correct.

After 1932, the commercially successful bouzouki-based Piraeus rebetika started to have an increasing influence on the recorded repertoire of the café singers in Greece. It has been claimed that the censorship introduced by the dictatorship of General Ioannis Metaxas (1936–41) greatly affected the recorded repertoire in Greece: owing to it gazeler and hashish songs were not recorded in the late 1930s (e.g., Holst 1975:39). However, systematic preventive censorship appears to have been introduced later than has been thought. Although the regime promulgated a censorship law on 19 August 1936, it had first more to do with newspapers and books than the recording industry (cf. Kofas 1983:98–100; Hering 1996).

The actual date for the introduction of the systematic censorship of music seems to be September 1937. Despite this, Greek record catalogs from 1938 to 1940 contain numerous pre-censorship Ottoman-Greek recordings. Turkish- and Albanian-language recordings were also available.

Discographic analysis suggests that the *gazel* and the *manes* had their heyday on record several years before the Metaxas coup. The last two *manedes* before the Axis occupation of Greece were recorded in the late summer or autumn of 1937. It is hard to say if Ottoman-Greek music was actually banned; it was certainly marginalized as European, and Greek Western-style popular and Greek folk and folkloristic music were consistently prioritized in recording, and apparently in broadcasting policy. Still, censorship contributed to the decline of Ottoman-Greek music on record in the late 1930s, but another reason for this was the change in taste of the record buying public to a preference for Western-influenced more mainstream *bouzouki* music rather than Ottoman-Greek music (Pennanen 1999:18-19, 2003:111; cf. Pappas 1999:360).

Judging from photographs with well-known Ottoman-Greek musicians playing Ottoman instruments, there is no doubt that all Ottoman-Greek popular genera were performed at *cafés* and taverns in Greece even after September 1937 (see Petropoulos 1979:364, 366, 374-75; Kopsaheilis 1997:30-32, 50). In the USA Greek musicians and their Turkish, Jewish, and Armenian colleagues went on recording and performing the Ottoman repertoire even after the Second World War. A boom in modernized Ottoman and Turkish music in Greece began in early 1960 with the *türkü* “*Şinay*” which Stelios Kazantzidis recorded in Greek as “*Siko horepse koukli mou*” (mat. OGA 2993; cat. HMV AO 5616). The revival of Ottoman-Greek *café* music in Greece started after the mid-1970s, and some remakes of old songs became major hits.

Some Forms of Greek National Music

In many countries, members of the urban intelligentsia such as musicologists, arrangers, composers, choreographers, and poets have created “correct,” authorized, and timeless versions of national folk music and dance through processes of selection, categorization, relocation, and petrification. There is a strong element of invention here, because the results of the processes have usually been in one way or another very different from the folkloric raw material used (cf. Hobsbawm 1983:13; Torp 1993a:281-88). The process of selection is of special interest in understanding national culture-building; what is left out, disregarded, or ignored is as important as what is included in a national music.

One of the most well-known cases of cultural nationalization is the purification of Greek folklore in the nineteenth century of its Oriental elements, creating European stereotypes of the true, classical Greek nation (see

Hertzfeld 1982:97-110). Similarly in the Turkish Republic, Ottoman music was attacked on ideological grounds, especially between 1923 and 1940. Basing their nationalist cultural policy on the theory of Turkish origins in Central Asia, Kemalist reformers tried to create national myths, memories, values, and symbols. Thus, nationally-oriented musicologists supported the attempts to ban Ottoman classical music as the relic of a corrupt Ottoman past and replace it with a purified national folk music (Stokes 1996: Ch. 1; O'Connell 2000:122-23; cf. Zürcher 1993:198-200). This policy was all of a piece with the official republican writing on history that prevailed until the mid-1960s: everything in the Ottoman Empire was seen as bad and fallen into decay, and no continuity was admitted between the Empire and the Republic (Kleinert 1995:25).

On the other hand, when the musicologist Hüseyin Sadettin Arel published his series of fourteen articles entitled "Türk musikisi kimindir?" ("Whose is Turkish Music?") on the Central Asian origins of Ottoman classical music—now called "Turkish classical music"—in 1939 to 1940 (Arel 1939-40), this new legitimization of art music gained considerable support. It was henceforth possible to consider Turkish classical music a part of the national culture. Simultaneously, this reappraisal led to the exclusion of works by most non-Muslim Ottoman composers from the canon (Aksoy 1989; Feldman 1990:101-02). In the 1990s certain kinds of interpretations of this music became fashionable in Turkey. According to Martin Stokes (1996: Ch. 2), the revival of interest in Ottoman classical music indicates the failure of the Western-oriented reform policy of the Kemalist government.

It is important to note that the concepts of nation and national culture should not be studied exclusively from the point of view of governments and national movements but from below as well; the official nationalist policy and the common citizens' attitudes do not always coincide (see Hobsbawm 1990:10-11). We can understand this situation through the concepts of social memory and national memory. Social memory is what individual social groups remember and talk about among themselves, so as to establish an identity for themselves that has roots in the past. James Fentress and Chris Wickham (1992:85-126 *passim*) state that peasants, workers, and women, for instance, have particular ways of perceiving the past; their identity is based on other things than national identity. By contrast, since the advent of capitalism, national memory in each country has represented the way the upper middle classes and the intelligentsia perceive the past. It is the official history that is taught at school and supported in the media. The goal of national memory is the reconstruction, legitimization, and maintenance of the nation-state and national culture (1992:127).

National memory in Greece largely utilizes the nineteenth-century myth of the age-old Greek national culture stemming from classical times. Such a traditional, ethnocentric, and linear historical account is reinforced in Greek

school teaching (cf. Clogg 1988:16-26; Avdela 2000). The same scheme is seen in the introduction text to "Pages of History" ("Selides istorias"), a subseries in the catalog "The Hellenic Art of Music: 2,500 Years of Hellenic Music History" of the Greek record company FM Records.¹¹ In this typical set of mythic patterns, national music is represented as a symbol of the continuously perennial Greek nation, which, after the Golden Age of classical Greece and Byzantium, declined to a dark age under the Ottoman Empire, but which finally regenerated culturally, politically, and territorially through heroic struggle (cf. Karakasidou 1997:97-98; A. D. Smith 1999:62-70).

In the introductory text, the stress on music in written form is important: it is seen as an objective way of transmitting an uncorrupted national heritage through centuries, even millennia. The scholar-musicians of the "Pages of History" project have simply studied the newly-found works and played them on the authentic instruments of each historical period. Even a preliminary examination of the CD series reveals that the interpretations of the sparse written sources and the reconstruction of "period instruments" are based more on fantasy and invention than proper scholarly research. The sources on, for instance, surviving scores from classical Greece are very few and fragmented; even if we could read and interpret ancient notation signs perfectly, the material to which the knowledge could be applied has all but disappeared (see Landels 1999:218-63).

National culture is not static; it is constantly being redefined. Take, for example, the recordings of Ottoman popular music which Greek musicians made in the Ottoman Empire and later in Greece. They are nowadays regarded as a part of Greek national music by most devotees of older Greek popular music. Conversely, in the 1930s Ottoman-Greek music was often classified as Oriental and thus non-Greek by the educated classes in Greece. However, there were outstanding exceptions: the Smyrna-born classical composer Manolis Kalomiris (1883-1962) and the musicologist Constantine Psachos (ca. 1874-1949) defended *amanedes*, stating that they stemmed from ancient Greece (see Gauntlett 1991b:14).

A remarkable redefinition of Greek national music took place in the early 1980s when the ruling leftist-populist PaSoK party chose urban bouzouki-based *rebetika* music as the emblem of the Greek people. This governmental patronage culminated in the 1984 state funeral of the bouzouki musician and composer Vasilis Tsitsanis (see Gauntlett 1991a:87-88, 1991b:35-37).

The Post-Ottoman Reception of Ottoman Popular Music in Greece

In the present analysis I do not ask if a piece of music is national, that is, quintessentially Greek; this would only produce subjective judgements. Instead, it is more fruitful to ask in what way and in which context a piece is

considered Greek. The reinterpretations of the origin, genre, and function of the Ottoman instrumental military march “İzmir marşı” (“İzmir March”) comprise an outstanding example of the nationalization of Ottoman musical heritage in Greece.

“İzmir marşı” was composed around 1877 by Mehmed Ali Bey (ca. 1830–95), the conductor of the Imperial Military Band (Mızıka-i hümayun), for his wind ensemble. The band was created after European models and consisted of Western instruments. The marches by Turkish composers in its repertoire were often mixtures of Western and Ottoman music (Akdemir 1991:20–21; Tekelioğlu 1996:198–99; for Ottoman and Turkish marches, see Üngör 1966). “İzmir marşı” became very popular, and it was also played outside the original military context, that is, as intermission music at theaters and cabarets where kanto songs were performed in the first decades of the 20th century (Ünlü 1998:42–44). As a considerably popular piece, it probably had other functions as well.

“İzmir marşı” was first recorded in 1905 in Constantinople by the orchestra Musique du Gramophone (mat. 476r; cat. Zonophone X 100011). However, the only recording from the Ottoman era available for this study was recorded around 1910 by the brass band Odeon Orchestra of Istanbul (cat. Odeon 31883, reissued on Kalan CD 150). The cornet taksim between the sections suggests that instead of being seen as a normal military march, this arrangement was seen as a concert march meant for listening.¹²

In Greece the Odeon Orchestra recording was reissued as “To emvatirion tis Smyrnis” in 1996 on the reissue compilation *Smyrna and its Environs: Songs of the Greeks of Asia Minor (Smyrni me ta perihora: Tragoudia tou Ellinismou tis Mikras Asias)* (Pandora CD PAN-210). According to the compiler Dimitris Raniotis, the performer is “Big Brass Band” (*Megali Banda Pneuston*). The CD cover, with postcard pictures from quarters of late Ottoman Smyrna inhabited by Europeans and Ottoman Greeks, is typical of Smyrnic reissues. The pictures lend themselves very well to supporting the image of Smyrna as a Greek city.

In the 1990s in Greece we find “İzmir marşı” in two other contexts. It was played at a concert of smyrneika music in Athens in 1992 under the name “Emvatirio Smyrnis” (“Smyrna March”) by a Greek brass band (Lyra 4661/2). Since there is a taksim in the performance, the arrangement is probably based on the Odeon Orchestra recording. The record sleeve describes it as an early 20th-century traditional march from Smyrna without any references to its composer and Ottoman military origin.

In a recording studio in Athens in 1995 the march became a “wedding song from Asia Minor” under the title “Tzizayir” (< Turk. *Cezayir* “Algiers,” “Algeria”) (Tabouris 1995).¹³ This time it was performed in incesaz style by Petros Tabouris on the kanun accompanied by the ud, the goblet drum *darbuka* and the frame drum *zilli def*. Possibly Tabouris has renamed “İzmir

marşı” after “Cezayir marşı” (ca. 1839) attributed to the Italian Giuseppe Donizetti (1788–1856) who was the first conductor of the Ottoman Imperial Military Band. The reference to Algeria is probably due to the French invasion of that Ottoman province in 1830 (Jäger 1996:66–67). In Greece the Donizetti march is known as the wedding melody (*patinada*) “Tzizayir” (recorded, e.g., in 1934 by the clarinetist Nikos Karakostas and in the 1970s by the kanun player Nikos Stefanidis, transcribed in Markos 1978:242–45).¹⁴

The CD booklet notes, written by Tabouris, state that all pieces are traditional songs and dances, even the well-known “Şehnaz longa” composed by Santûrî Edhem Efendi (1855–1926) and “Hicaz sirto”—under the name “Azizie”—composed by Sultan Abdülaziz (1830–76, who reigned between 1861–76). The booklet describes the former as a “classical composition from Constantinople” and the latter as a “ballos dance from the Asia Minor coast.” It is appropriate that in a CD named *The Greek Folk Instruments Volume 6: Kanonaki*, in the words of Herder, *das Volk dichtet*. According to romantic thinking, the ideas and poetry of the traditional cultures come out of the folk.

To sum up, in the Ottoman Empire the function and context of “İzmir marşı” changed from a march of the late nineteenth-century Ottoman army to a piece of Ottoman light theater music signaling the beginning of a kanto show. Almost one hundred years later in Greece the piece was seen as an emblem of the Greekness of the lost Smyrna performed at a concert and as an Asia Minor Greek wedding song performed as a listening piece on an Ottoman classical instrument in the studio.¹⁵

The nationalization of Ottoman-Greek café music was very similar to the process described above although it took place earlier. In post-1922 Greece it was self-evident to the refugees from urban centers of the Ottoman Empire that a large part of their popular song repertoire was Turkish-language in origin. Later this first-hand knowledge waned and was replaced by the myth of a separate Greek repertoire of Smyrna.

The discography of Ottoman Salonika by Aristomenis Kalyviotis (1994) also exemplifies the nationalization of music in Greece. The title “Gramophone Recordings in Salonika 1903–1912” leads us to expect a catalogue of all recordings made in that multiethnic city. Alas, the author has only catalogued a selection of recordings in Greek, excluding those in Albanian, Bulgarian, Judeo-Spanish, Serbian, and Turkish without any line of argument. Presumably this is in lip-service to the myth of Salonika as the purely Greek capital of the purely Greek province of Macedonia (cf. Danford 1995:30–40; Karakasidou 1997).

The Language Issue

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. The largest of these groups were Turkish-speaking Karamanli Christians of Asia Minor and Constantinople, who are mentioned in documents from as early as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries respectively. In 1922 their number may have been as large as 300,000, although the 1928 Greek census subsequent to the exchange of minorities gives the number 103,642 (Clogg 1999:115, 117–19, 133 n. 3).

This language situation was reflected in recordings by Ottoman-Greek café singers which contained a mixture of languages, usually Greek and Turkish.¹⁶ There were also records with one side sung in Greek and the other in Turkish.¹⁷ Along with Turkish-language recordings made in Athens, matrices were imported from Istanbul and pressed in Greece. The labels were partly in Turkish in Latin script, partly in Turkish in Greek script, and partly in Greek. Studio recordings made in Greece suggest that Turkish was also used in live performances of café music, although Greek was the predominant language.

Some Ottoman-Greek musicians made the majority of their popular song recordings in Turkish. Consider, for example, the Ottoman-Greek-American singer and ud player Achilleas Poulos (dates unknown), who recorded eighty-one vocal pieces in Turkish, out of a total of one hundred, between 1918 and 1927 (see Spottswood 1990:1210–13).¹⁸ Despite Poulos' prolific output, by 2003 only two of his recordings had been reissued—both in Greek (see CBS 53753; Afoi Falirea AF 22/23). In Greece Theodoros Demirtzoglou (dates unknown) was a similar case. He recorded in Turkish between 1934 and 1937 and even as late as 1947. Very little is known about the biographies of these singers. In total, only half-a-dozen pre-Second World War Turkish-language recordings of Ottoman popular music had been published on reissues in Greece by 2003.

The selection of the material on reissues looks suspicious to a scholar striving for the Rankean ideal of writing history *wie es eigentlich gewesen* (“how it essentially was”). Traces that do not support the idea of national music seem to be suppressed, their historical and artistic value notwithstanding. This does not look unlike the suppression of inconvenient traces and intellectual dishonesty in the elucidation of historical relationships. However, intentional suppression is only one explanation; another equally probable is economic. The record industry is a business that is dependent on the demands of the market. Greek record companies may have not considered it profitable to publish Turkish-language Ottoman-Greek café music.

Nowadays the term “rebetika” is very often used in an obscure way in colloquial language, on record sleeves and in journalistic, popular, and even scholarly writing in Greece. Practically all Greek-language non-Western popu-

lar music from the period before the mid-1950s, including Ottoman-Greek café music, is considered rebetika. Here current beliefs are projected back into the past. The reason is simple: due to the dismissive attitude of many Greek scholars, especially musicologists, towards popular music, writing on Ottoman-Greek café music has mostly been done by aficionados with little knowledge of music and the methodology of musicology, ethnography, and historical research (cf. O. L. Smith 1989:179).

A notorious example of this dilettantism is the Petropoulos Archive at the Gennadius Library in Athens, the contents of which were collected by the art-critic, poet, journalist, and amateur folklorist Ilias Petropoulos between 1959 and the mid-1970s. Petropoulos' unmethodical collecting and filing procedure lowers the reliability of the documents and renders their use problematic. Sometimes even their validity is questionable (see Gauntlett 1991b:26). The source value of the documents is not the highest possible; there is no archival catalogue with data on item titles, authors, datings, context information, and donors or sources. Thus, the Archive is a mere compilation of various traces connected by the obscure Petropoulian concept of "rebetika" (cf. Torp 1993b:7-8, 81-85). The disadvantages of the collection were passed on to the two editions (1968, 1979) of Petropoulos' book *Rebetika tragoudia* (see Gauntlett 1982:77-78, 1991b:25-27).

Willy-nilly, Petropoulos greatly contributed to the development of a peculiar pseudo-scholarly tradition of "rebetology" which characterises most Greek writings on this theme. A striking recent manifestation of this mixture of facts, fantasy, and fabrications is the book by Dionysis Maniatis (2001) containing a 964-piece discography of rebetika on 78 rpm records between 1896 and 1960. In fact, however, most of these "rebetika" recordings lack that term on their labels as well as in record company catalogs and files. Similarly, several other generic terms succeeding each title in brackets are Maniatis' own arbitrary additions and alterations which do not appear in any sources.

The early uses of the term "rebetiko" were manifold: such pieces were only a part of the recorded repertoire and there were several other terms closely related to it (cf. Gauntlett 1982:82-83). According to the observations of Charles Howard (p.c., 2001), in the early decades of recording (ca. 1910 through the early 1930s) the term "rebetiko" was evidently applied on record labels to any songs with a demimondaine or erotic lyric content which were not danceable, although there are exceptions to this rule. "Rebetiko" was a relatively rare generic name in Greek non-Western popular music recordings; the large majority of pieces were labelled by dance genre (e.g., hasapiko, zeibekiko) or by form (e.g., amanes, taximi). Very rarely was the term "rebetiko" combined with a dance genre; the 1929 Greek-American subcultural recordings "Tout' oi batsoi pou 'rthan tora—rebetiko zeibekiko" and "

Apo kat' ap' tis domates—rebetiko zeibekiko” by Yiannis Yiannidis and Manolis Karapiperis are such cases.

The language issue reveals the true nature of the term “rebetika.” Sung in Turkish, an Ottoman popular piece is usually classified as a non-Greek “Turkish song” by Greek musicians, audiences and writers on music, while the Greek-language version of the same piece is regarded as a national “*rebetiko tragoudi*.” We can see that the definition of the term “rebetika” is neither musical nor cultural. Instead, it is language-based: the use of Greek justifies the inclusion of an Ottoman piece in the Greek national repertoire.¹⁹

A similar language-based concept is apparent in the common terms “*to Mikrasiatiko tragoudi*” (“the [Greek-language] Asia Minor song”), “*to Smyrneiko tragoudi*” and “*to Elliniko tragoudi*” (“the Greek[-language] song”). The unspecified use of the Greek word “tragoudi,” which can only be translated as “song,” risks emphasizing song lyrics and the purely vocal aspect, at the expense of organological issues, structural musical issues and cultural aspects of the music, denying as it were the self-evident facts that instruments are often essential in accompanying popular songs, that there are often instrumental sections within songs, and that purely instrumental pieces are also essential elements of the musical corpus in question.

We can find a parallel process of cultural separation in the former Soviet Central Asia, where the creation of pure national music cultures took place during the Soviet era in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Although musicians were thoroughly bilingual in the Uzbek and Tajik languages in the musical centers of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, the bilingual art song repertoires of, for example, Bukhara and Samarkand were divided into two separate entities according to Soviet national categories: Uzbek classical music and Tajik classical music. Poetic texts were omitted in the first 1924 edition of Bukharan *shashmaqām* because they were in Tajik Persian and not in Uzbek Turkish. Later each repertoire was published in the national language of each Soviet republic with no references to the counterpart in the other language (see Djumaev 1993:46–49; Levin 1996:46–47; cf. Hutchinson 1994:103–04).

Conclusion

It is undeniable that the idea of the nation-state with its unique national culture left its stamp on the partition of the Ottoman musical legacy and the cultural status and definition of the substyles of Ottoman popular music in Greece and the Turkish Republic. In the light of newly discovered historical sources and their interpretation, the study of Ottoman-Greek café music requires the widening of the narrow Hellenocentric point of view and the reconsideration of the prevailing hypotheses and theories. This myth-breaking

will give rise to new definitions and stratification of other popular music styles which were performed, especially, in Greece.

Although Hellenocentrism has tended to dominate contemporary Greek writing on music, the situation is changing, for two reasons. Firstly, academic musicology has seen a change in recent years, largely as a result of a new generation of ethnomusicologists who have studied abroad. Secondly, and more importantly, there has always been a serious, though oral and informal, vein within Greek musicology and musicianship, which has acknowledged and in many cases revered the Ottoman element of Greek popular music. Recent changes in written musicology, with the notably increased contribution of practicing musicians, mark the transmission of perspectives current in the oral tradition to the written aspect of Greek musicology.

Tracing the Ottoman origin of Ottoman-Greek pieces is often difficult for the modern scholar since the Ottoman popular repertoire is in large measure forgotten. Extant sources, like old pieces of sheet music and 78 rpm records, are scattered: what historically-oriented music researchers need now is a corpus of reissues consisting of reliably dated and edited, undistorted recordings of Ottoman popular music in Turkish and Greek that have gone through an accurate sound-restoration process. The quest for source material sets high requirements for discographical research. The study of other historical documents related to Ottoman-Greek café music is also important, but the unorganized state of most Turkish and Greek public archives makes this very hard.

In spite of all these difficulties, it is time to start conducting research on an interesting but neglected multiethnic fusion music culture as a whole and to rehabilitate it as an object of scholarly research. There is a need to reveal the historical, social, and cultural links that have been blurred by subsequent turmoil.

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Notes

1. Outsiders have managed better in analyzing Ottoman-Greek café music: ethnomusicologists based in Germany have made an interesting preliminary comparison between traditional café ensembles in Turkey, Egypt, and Greece (Askari et al. 1985). The first serious attempts at comparative studies of the Ottoman-Greek repertoire were by the Finn Marko Jouste (1997) and especially the Turkish scholar Bülent Aksoy (1998).

2. The name Constantinople was officially changed to Istanbul in 1926 as a part of Kemal Atatürk's nationalist campaign (Mansel 1995:416).

3. For music and musical contexts in Macedonia, see Džimrevski 1985; for Greece, see Mazaraki 1959:23–50 *passim*; for Athens, see Hatzipandazis 1986; for Salonika, see Tomanas 1991.

4. A corresponding nationalist motivation for euphemism in Finnish music is the substitution of the word “Russian” that has been considered offensive by the neutral “Slavonic.” Originating from the 1890s, the substitution is made especially in musical writings in a popular vein but sometimes also in academic research. Some styles of Finnish popular music are indeed heavily influenced by late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Russian popular music but certainly not at all by, for instance, Bosnian or Slovakian music.

5. Pappas (1999:355) writes that 118 recordings of local Greek music were made. However, he does not explain the criteria for the distinction between local Greek and other types of music.

6. The date of the major recording sessions in Greece is exceptionally late in comparison with the other Balkan countries. The Gramophone Company arranged major recording expeditions to, for example, Constantinople, Belgrade, and Bucharest starting already in 1900, Sofia in 1903, Sarajevo in 1907, and Scutari in Albania in 1908 (Perkins et al. 1976: *passim*).

7. Among such musicians were the Ottoman Greek Civan Ağa alias Lavtacı Zivanis (died ca. 1910), the Ottoman Armenian Tateos Enkserciyan alias Tatyos Efendi (1858–1913) and the Ottoman Turks Şevki Bey (1860–91) and Lem’i Atlı (1869–1945) (Feldman 1990:76–77; Jäger 1996:73–74).

8. Besides matrix numbers, no further information on these recordings is available at the EMI Archives in Hayes, Middlesex. The titles are unknown and it is not sure if the recordings were issued, or what language(s) they were in. I am indebted to Charles Howard for these data.

9. For accurate dating, matrix and catalogue numbers are given for 78 rpm records. When the matrix number has not been available, the catalog number is given. Recordings from the USA are without discographical data since they are given in Spottswood 1990. LPs and CDs are referred to by the catalog number only.

10. The term *mane* is widely known in the Balkans. In the emic terminology of Bulgarian Gypsy musicians it means an instrumental improvisation in flowing rhythm over rhythmic accompaniment, i.e., the Ottoman taksim. In the modern Romanian Oriental style popular music *manea* is the very frequently used çiftetelli rhythm.

11. For a set of concert recordings and a book based on a similar concept, see Halkias 1999.

12. There is also an Ottoman-Greek mandolin and guitar duo recording (cat. Gramophone 17350) of the march from 1900 which is unfortunately not available. The instrumentation points again in the direction of a piece meant for listening, which was not an uncommon way to perform late Ottoman marches.

13. The table of contents of the CD contains an error: The so-called “Tzizayir” is number 11 and not 12 as stated in the cover and the booklet.

14. The march was known as far north as in Bosnia. The Sarajevo trio of Mustafa Sudžuka and Merkuš recorded it in 1907 under the title “Turski djezajer marš” (mat. 57131L; cat. Zonophone X 100681).

15. There is an interesting parallel with Ross Daly’s “Thalassa Mavri,” which appears as a song on the 1982 LP *Onirou Topi* and five years later as an instrumental piece on *Anadyisi*. Turkish musician Cahit Baylav has pointed out in conversation that the tune is the Turkish folk song “Eklemedir koca konak ekleme.” In 1989 this same tune was used by the Cretan lyra player Stelios Bikakis for his song “Erondas” on the CD *Erotoko Parapono*. Neither Daly’s nor Bikakis’ sleeve notes mention the Turkish source. Given Daly’s popularity in Crete, as well as the ignorance of Turkish music on the island, it can be assumed that Bikakis’ source was Ross Daly. “Erondas,” incidentally, became a big hit among the Greek Cypriot population of London (Chris Williams, p.c.).

16. For example “Houvarda kantosu” (i.e., “Hovarda kantosu”) recorded by Mme Coula (Kyria Koula) in New York in 1916 or 1917 and “Zeybek Melemenio” (mat. BF 1667; cat. HMV AO 267) recorded by Andonis Dalgas in Athens, 11 June 1928.

17. For example “O Giatros” (i.e., “O yiatros”) and “Gamjendeyem–Sarki” (i.e., “Gamcendeyem—Şarki”) recorded by Amalia Bakas (Vaka) in Chicago in the 1920s.

18. The two 1918 recordings of Poulos were rejected and thus not released. He made the rest of his recordings in 1926 and 1927.

19. On the problem of defining the term "rebetiko," see Gauntlett 1982, and O. L. Smith 1991:321-24.

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