ISTANBUL TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY ★ GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

CULTURAL MEMORY, IDENTITY AND MUSIC: ARMENIANS OF TURKEY

Ph.D. THESIS

Burcu YILDIZ

Department of Music

Music Programme

JUNE 2012

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Burcu YILDIZ
(409062007)

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Thesis Advisor: Prof. Ş. Şehvar BEŞİROĞLU
Co-Advisor: Doç. Dr. Robert REIGLE

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İSTANBUL TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ ★ SOSYAL BİLİMLER ENSTİTÜSÜ

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DOKTORA TEZİ

Burcu YILDIZ
(409062007)

Müzik Anabilim Dalı

Müzik Programı

Tez Danışmanı: Prof. Ş. Şehvar BEŞİROĞLU
Eş Danışman: Doç. Dr. Robert REIGLE

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Burcu YILDIZ a **Ph.D.** student of ITU **Graduate School of Arts and Social Sciences** student ID **409062007**, successfully defended the **dissertation** entitled **"CULTURAL MEMORY, IDENTITY AND MUSIC: ARMENIANS OF TURKEY",** which she prepared after fulfilling the requirements specified in the associated legislations, before the jury whose signatures are below.

Thesis Advisor :	**Prof. Ş. Şehvar BEŞİROĞLU** İstanbul Technical University	.....
Co-Advisor :	**Doç.Dr. Robert REIGLE** İstanbul Technical University	.....
Jury Members :	**Prof. Songül KARAHASANOĞLU** İstanbul Technical University	.....
	Prof. Dr. Arzu ÖZTÜRKMEN Boğaziçi University	.....
	Prof. Dr. Martin STOKES St. John's College, Oxford	.....
	Prof. Dr. Ayhan EROL Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi	.....
	Doç. Dr. Belma KURTİŞOĞLU İstanbul Technical University	.....

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To my family,

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June 2012 Burcu YILDIZ

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ABBREVIATIONS

BGST	**:** Boğaziçi Performing Arts Ensemble
CD	**:** Compact Disc
DVD	**:** Digital Versatile Disc
EU	**:** European Union
LP	**:** Long Play
NGO	**:** Non-Governmental Organization
TRT	**:** Turkish Radio and Television Corporation
USA	**:** United States of America
USSR	**:** Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

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CULTURAL MEMORY, IDENTITY AND MUSIC: ARMENIANS OF TURKEY

SUMMARY

My research focuses on Armenian *musicking* practices in Turkey in relation to the contexts of cultural memory and identity. The aim of the dissertation is to address three basic levels of questioning: 1-What is the historical flow in which Armenian musicking practices took shape in Turkey? What are the historical ruptures that structure and transform cultural memories of musicking? 2-How do spaces of musicking (social networks such as community institutions) provide contexts for activity and meaning making? 3-How do individuals construct their cultural identities through the interconnections of cultural memory and musicking? Taking those questions into consideration, the cultural/collective memory studies constitute the conceptual framework in this dissertation. In studying Armenian music, my intent is to open up a discussion about how meaning(s) are created, known, experienced and shared by musicking. I specifically use the term musicking instead of music, referring to a theoretical framework for the verb form of music that encompasses all musical 'web of significances' instead of the noun form that signifies music as an abstract thing. What is remembered and how it is remembered or forgotten is a path to understanding the meaning dedicated or constructed to musicking mediums such as sounds, songs, performing practices, musicians, etc. The concept of Armenian music is actually a composite of various regional styles with many distinct sounds and a polyvalence of social, political and historical discourses. The main difficulty of the research is the lack of studies and sources in this field. The other difficulty of this research is the need to cover the phenomena in the context of a wider, complex, sometimes non-placed, transnational-meaning worlds because of the multidimensional plural character of Armenian identit(ies). Multi-sited ethnography, as a revival of ethnographic research, provides a significant shift in the definition of the field with the construction of identities in global-local frames and in the influence of hibridity and cross-cultural circulation. This dissertation represents an ethnographic practice that became multi-sited in terms of my own journey and experiences with a reflexive approach rather than with the intention of presenting a description of Armenian music in Turkey. I am presenting my research in the form of a personal narrative of my journey toward understanding Armenian music in order to contextualize a reflexive approach to the arguments, concepts, ideas and topics of study. In this project I have employed the combined methods of participatory observation and ethnographic interview. I have conducted in-depth interviews mainly with musicians; with researchers, musicologists and ethnomusicologists who had an extensive knowledge about Armenian music, history and culture; with chorus members who are active in the Armenian musicking society; and as an oral history study, with elderly people from various localities including Istanbul, Yerevan and the Armenian diaspora. Musicking locate meanings in reproducing cultural memory in relation to the past and the present; in defining what 'us' is and what the

characteristics of those who make us in the creation of nation; in bringing close the society and integrating cultural identity in the process of new generation's acculturation; in creating social aesthetics; in performing an imagined homeland and in constructing the self by means of musical representation.

KÜLTÜREL BELLEK, KİMLİK VE MÜZİK: TÜRKİYE ERMENİLERİ

ÖZET

Tez için yapılan araştırmada, Ermeni müziği pratikleri kültürel bellek ve kimlik bağlamında ele alınmaktadır. Tezin çerçevesi üç temel soru etrafında şekillenmiştir: 1- Türkiye'de Ermeni müziği pratikleri tarihsel olarak nasıl gelişmiştir? Müzik pratiklerinde kültürel belleği yapılandıran ve dönüştüren tarihsel duraklar nelerdir? 2- Müzikal alanların (örneğin cemaat kurumları gibi toplumsal ağlar) anlam yaratımına ne tür katkıları vardır? 3- Bireyler kültürel bellek ve *musicking* yoluyla kültürel kimliklerini nasıl inşa ederler?

Ermeni müziğinin ele alındığı bu çalışmada, anlamların *musicking* yoluyla nasıl oluşturulduğu, öğrenildiği, deneyimlendiği ve paylaşıldığı tartışılmaktadır. Müzik kelimesi yerine *musicking* kavramı tercih edilmiştir. Çünkü müziğin isim haliyle, bir şey/varlık olarak kullanımı yerine tüm müzikal 'anlam ağlarını' ve süreçleri içeren fiil hali kastedilmektedir. Genel olarak müzik yaratımında temel belirleyenler; müziğin kendisi, müziği icra edenler ve dinleyicilerdir. Fakat *musicking* kavramının sunduğu içerik; müzik yaratımı sürecine odaklanır ve bu süreçte yer alan her tür müzikal odağı; profesyonel ya da amatör müzisyenler, dansçılar, müzik eğitmenleri, çalgı yapımcıları, organizatör, ışık tasarımını uygulayan teknisyen, ses mühendisi, piyanoyu taşıyan görevli, nota sayfalarını çeviren yardımcı kişi, sahneyi temizleyen görevli gibi performans aşamasında yer alan her tür bileşeni müzik pratiğine dahil eder. Dolayısıyla müzik materyalinin ve tınısının varlığı kadar, sürecin kendisi de önemlidir ve anlam ağları yaratmaktadır.

Bu tez kapsamında yürütülen alan çalışmasında, Türkiye'de Ermeni müziği üzerine bir araştırma yapmak gündeme geldiğinde, araştırma konusuna dair pek çok kişiden alınan ilk tepki; "Türkiyede üzerine tez yazılacak bir Ermeni müziği alanı ve performans pratikleri var mı?" şeklinde olmuştur. Bu soru Türkiye'de Ermeni müziğine dair gelişen literatür, müzik materyalleri ve müzisyenler göz önünde bulundurulduğunda çok da şaşırtıcı görünmemektedir. Bu noktada var olanın ve yok olanın ne olduğu; varlık ve yokluğa dair tarihsel süreçler; müziğin ve müzikal pratiklerin nasıl hatırlandığı, nasıl unutulduğu ve Ermeni müziğine dair tüm bu müzikal söylemlerin kimlik inşasında nasıl bir rolü olduğu, araştırmanın temel tartışma eksenlerini oluşturmuştur. Tezin genelinde, tekil ve genel bir tanımmış gibi görünen Ermeni müziğinin; farklı coğrafyalar, siyasi oluşumlar ve tarihsellikler içinde oldukça çeşitli anlamlar ve müzikal tınılar içeren bir kavramsallaştırma olduğu tartışılmaktadır. Araştırmacının deneyimleri ile şekillenen Ermeni müziği yolculuğu, her geçen gün farklılaşan Ermeni müziği algısı ve araştırma konusunun hangi dinamiklerle şekillendiği kişisel bir anlatı çerçevesinde aktarılmaktadır.

Kimlik olgusunun çoğulluğunu öne çıkaran 'karmaşıklık paradigması'; antropolojide ve sosyolojide nitel araştırmalara açıklayıcı ve yorumsamacı bir çerçeve sunar. Karmaşıklık paradigması, kimlik inşa süreçlerinde etkili olan çeşitli unsurları karmaşıklığı içinde inceleyerek doğrusal ve kümülatif bir nedensellik ilişkisine

dayalı pozitivist indirgemeci bakış açısını aşmaya çalışır. Söz konusu her tekil kimliğin 'öteki'lerle olan çok yönlü ilşkisel boyutunu değerlendirir. Karmaşıklık paradigmasının öncülleri şöyle açıklanır: 1) Verili bir objektif gerçek yoktur. İnsani gerçeklik bir anlam gerçekliğidir ve aktörler tarafından inşa edilir; 2) Tek bir gerçeklik değil, ama farklı ve birlikte yaşayan aktörler tarafından inşa edilen çok sayıda gerçeklik söz konusudur. Bu gerçeklerin her biri diğeri kadar doğrudur. 3) Bir anlam gerçekliği ortaya çıktığında bu durum, sadece bir nedene değil, içinde ortaya çıkan gerçekliğin kendisinin de bir payının olduğu döngüsel bir nedensellikler bütününe bağlıdır. Bu yönüyle karmaşıklık paradigması, pozitivist doğrusal nedensellik anlayışının reddine dayalı bir anlama ve anlamlandırma girişimidir. Söz konusu çoğulluk, öncelikle kimliğin taşıyıcısı olan her öznenin farklı bağlamlarda kendisinin ve ötekilerin kimliğine ilişkin farklı okumalar yapmasından kaynaklanır. Bu nedenle, kimlik sürekli bir dönüşüm içindedir. Dolayısıyla karmaşıklık paradigması, araştırma konusu olan Ermeni müzikal kimliğine ilişkin çok boyutlu açıklamalar getirebilmeyi ve Ermeni kimlik inşa sürecinin karmaşıklığını anlamlandırmayı sağlamaktadır. Her anlama ve anlamlandırma çabası gibi öznelliği barındırmakta ve bu yönüyle gerçeğe bütüncül bir açıklama getirme iddiası taşımamaktadır. Peki nedir bu karmaşıklık?

Türkiye Ermenilerinin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde, Ermenistan'da yaşayanların ise Sovyet Dönemi ve Cumhuriyet sonrasında yaşadığı deneyim birbirinden çok farklıdır. Dünyanın her yerine dağılmış olan Diaspora Ermenileri ise, özellikle Türkiye'de tek bir kategorilermiş gibi ifade edilseler de, Lübnan'dan Fransa'ya, California'dan Arjantin'e bambaşka dinamiklerle birarada bulunan topluluklardır. Dolayısıyla tüm bu coğrafyaları ve zamansallıkları içeren Ermeni müziği literatürünü ve bu literatür ekseninde oluşan söylemleri ve anlamları tek başına İstanbulda yaşayan Türkiye Ermenilerinin müzikal pratikleri üzerinden açıklamak mümkün değildir. Öte yandan, her cemaat gibi Türkiye Ermeni toplumu da homojen bir özelliğe sahip değildir. Protestanlık, Katoliklik, ateizm gibifarklı inanışlara sahip bireyler olduğu kadar; İstanbul kökenli/Anadolu kökenli, varlıklı/daha az varlıklı/fakir, Ermenice bilen/bilmeyen, eğitimli/eğitimsiz bireylerin de olduğu heterojen bir yapı sunmaktadır. Fakat bu birbirinden farklı topluluklar ve zamansallıklar son kertede, Ermeni etnisitesi çevresinde kültürel olarak ulusal sınırları aşan bir dayanışma ağı ile bağlılardır. Farklı anlam dünyaları olsa da dil ve din gibi, müzik de bu ortak dayanışma ağının ve bu ağ çevresinde şekillenen kimliğin çok önemli bir bileşeni ve ifade aracıdır. Peki bu dinamiklerle nasıl bir araştırma yöntemi izlenebilir ve alan nasıl tanımlanabilir?

Kültürel/kolektif bellek çalışmaları, son zamanlarda bir çok farklı disiplinin disiplinlerarası bir yaklaşımla kendi araştırma yöntemine uyarlayabildiği bir alandır ve bu çalışmanın da kavramsal çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. Bellek çalışmaları en genel anlamıyla bireysel ve toplumsal hatırlama ve unutma süreçlerini inceler. Sosyal bilimciler, bellek konusunu araştırırken, özellikle bireyin içinde bulunduğu toplumsal bağlam üzerinde dururlar. Çünkü hatırlama süreci güçlü bir biçimde toplumsal bağlamın etkisi altındadır. Dolayısıyla bellek çalışmaları özellikle bireysel olanla toplumsal olanın kesişme noktası üzerinde yoğunlaşır ve tarihin bireysel yaşanmışlıklar yoluyla yeniden gözden geçirilmesine olanak sağlar. Bu bağlamda, araştırmanın sorunsalı çerçevesinde yapılan görüşmeler ağırlıklı olarak müzisyenerle; Ermeni müziği, tarihi ve kültürüne dair birikimi olduğu düşünülen araştırmacılarla; müzikolog ve etnomüzikologlar ile; Ermeni müziği alanında aktif olan koro üyeleri ile ve sözlü tarih kapsamında farklı yerelliklerden yaşlı insanlarla yapıldı.

Görüşmeler aslen İstanbul ve Yerevan'da yapıldı. Fakat çalışmanın 'çok mekanlı' karakteri gereği bu görüşmelerin bir kısmı Diyarbakır, Vakıflıköy (Hatay), Çamlıhemşin (Rize), Tunceli, New Jersey gibi farklı mekanlarda gerçekleşti. Toplam 38 kişi ile 'derinelemesine' görüşme yapıldı. Bunun yanında katılım gösterilen performans ortamlarında çok daha fazla sayıda kısa süreli, spontane görüşmeler de yapıldı. Görüşme kişilerinin aile geçmişleri Sivas, Hatay, Mardin, Harput, Diyarbakır, Muş, Van, İzmit, Kayseri gibi farklı yerelliklere dayandığı için bu anlatılar çoğu zaman Anadolu Ermeni tarihine dair ayrıntılı, lokal bilgilerin edinilebilmesini sağladı. Fakat bu karmaşıklık ve çokluğa rağmen bütün anlatıların ortaklaştığı ve birbiri ile bütünleştiği bir fikirsel çerçeveye de ulaşılabildi. Derinlemesine görüşmelerde herkes için oluşturulmuş ortak bir soru listesinin kullanımı yerine, çoğu zaman görüşülen kişinin kişisel tarihi, mesleki formasyonu, müzikle ilişkisi vs. dahilinde geliştirilen açık uçlu, tanımlayıcı sorular tercih edildi. Kişilerin memleketleri, aile hikayeleri, çocukluğu, gençliği, evliliği gibi yaşam döngüsü anlatılarındaki müzikal referanslar; Ermeni müziğiyle ilk tanışmaları, kendi müzikal yaşantıları ve çalışmaları, Ermeni müziği bellekleri ve bilgi dağarcıkları, kafalarındaki 'Ermeni müziği algısı', bulundukları alanda müzikal ifade olanakları ve olanaksızlıkları gibi pek çok farklı düzeyde sohbetler yapıldı. Derinlemesine görüşmelerin yanında katılımcı gözlem, araştırmacının veri oluşturma yöntemleri arasında oldukça etkin bir çalışma zemini sunmuştur.

Tezin ikinci bölümünde; Ermeni müziğinin ele alındığı tarihsel kaynaklarda ve yazar tarafından tez için yapılan görüşmelerde edinilen veriler kapsamında Ermeni müziği tarih yazımında 'rönesans' ya da 'altınçağ' anlatısı olarak öne çıkan 3 farklı periyod ele alınmaktadır. 5.yüzyıldan 7.yüzyıla kadarki dönem, 10.yüzyıl ve 15.yüzyıl arasındaki dönem ve 19.yüzyıldan 20.yüzyıla geçiş dönemi, Ermeni müzik tarihinde görülen önemli değişim ve dönüşüm evreleridir ve bugünkü tarih anlatımının temel duraklarını oluşturmaktadır. Tarihsel müzikoloji araştırmalarından gözlemlenebildiği üzere bu rönesans ya da altınçağ anlatılarında, milletlerin ya da etnisitelerin kendine özgü, onları diğer milletlerden ayırt edici, topluluğu tanımlayıcı nitelikleri müzik yoluyla mitleştirilir. Bu önemli duraklar, kimlik inşa süreçlerinde beliren otantisite arayışına da yanıt oluşturur. Bu bölümde derinlemesine bir Ermeni müziği tarihinin yazılması değil, müzikal söylem ve üslupların oluşumunda etkili olan süreçlere değinilip tarihin yeniden tasarımında görülen millileştirme pratiklerinin incelenmesi hedeflenmiştir. Dünya genelinde, Ermeni müziğine dair tarihsel müzikal birikimin temsilcilerinden biri olan Komitas Vardapet'in çalışmaları, 'milli Ermeni müziği' yaratımı ve Vardapet'e dair kültürel bellek izleri tartışılmaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde ise İstanbul Ermeni toplumunun yaşadığı kolektif *amnesia* (unutma) süreci ve bu sürecin tarihsel arkaplanı, sonrasında gelişen müzikal ifade alanları ele alınmaktadır. Bu bölümde aynı zamanda Türkiye'deki Ermeni müziği pratikleri tarihselleştirilmekte ve kültürel kimlik inşasında müziğin ve toplumsal belleğin rolü üzerinde durulmaktadır. Tezin dördüncü bölümünde memleket ve kültürel bellek kavramları Diyarbakırlı müzisyen Onnik Dinkjian'ın müzikal kimliği üzerinden incelenmektedir. Amerikada yaşamakta olan Onnik Dinkjian'ın mekansal anlamda hiç deneyimlemediği Diyarbakırlı olma hali, Diyarbakır ve müzikleri özelinde oluşturduğu kültürel kimliğin diyaspora bağlamında nasıl bir performans alanına dönüştüğü tartışılmaktadır. Beşinci bölümde ise Arto Tunçboyacıyan'ın kişisel müzik yolculuğunda Ermeni kimliği ve müziğinin izleri, yaşam anlatısı çerçevesinde müzikal 'benliğinin' oluşum süreci ele alınmaktadır.

Sonuç olarak *musicking* geçmiş ve bugüne dair kültürel belleğin yeniden üretilmesinde; 'biz'in tanımlanmasında, toplumun birbiri ile ilişkilenmesinde, kültürel belleğin ve kimliğin yeni nesillere aktarımında, toplumsal estetik yaratımında, hayali bir 'memleket' performansında ve müzikal temsiller yoluyla 'benliğin' oluşumunda anlamlar kurucu bir kategori olarak işlev görmektedir.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 A Personal Journey to 'Armenian Music'

In the opening section of this dissertation, I will be arguing how the concept of Armenian music is actually a composite shaped by various regional styles with many distinct sounds and a polyvalence of social, political and historical discourses. I am presenting these ideas and the dynamics that affected my research topic in the form of a personal narrative of my journey towards understanding Armenian music. Because my perception of Armenian music has been shaped by my experiences of fieldwork and constantly reshaped during the course of this research, I will try to contextualize a reflexive approach to the arguments, concepts, ideas, and topics of study I have introduced in this narrative.

My awareness of identity and ethnicity issues and my close relationship to Armenian music, which is the subject of my dissertation, goes back to my undergraduate years at Boğaziçi University. In 1998, I joined the Folklore Club, one of many student clubs at the university, and I began to sing and participate in music and dance performances as a member of that club. My introduction to the Folklore Club took place during the orientation week when I chanced upon a concert performance. I was looking for the venue for the Music Club's jazz concert but by erroneously following the sounds coming from another hall I found myself instead at the Folklore Club's performance. The song that was playing as I walked inside the hall, though I had never heard it before nor did I even recognize the language it was in, awakened a feeling inside me that to this day I cannot precisely define. After the concert, I decided to join the Folklore Club's practices. Twice a week all the club's members would come together and learn examples of the musics of Anatolia and that of the peoples of neighboring regions. There were Turkish, Kurdish, Georgian, Azerbaijani, Armenian, Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, Ladino, Assyrian and Arabic folk songs in our repertoire. All these musics were new to me and thus awakened a deep curiosity about them. In those first years, I spent more time with the Folklore Club music

archive to listen to those musics than I did at the Boğaziçi University Library for studying. As a casual music listener, the most intriguing point for me was hearing all these new and different sounds that made me realize there was a very rich and varied musical world from the one, I had been listening to for years. The inherent multiculturalism of the people living in Anatolia and surrounding regions and the fraternity of the people living in these territories was the founding concept of the Folklore Club and this could be clearly observed in their performances. It was this basic political outlook, which guided the club's music research, the aim of which was to take into account the cultural, historical and political background of Turkey creating an accurate overall framework. With this objective in mind the club organized readings and seminars on the music, dance, and social histories of ethnic groups of Anatolia, as well as that of the neighboring regions, and published a journal called *Folklora Doğru* (Towards Folklore). Quite frankly, for new club members all these study sessions, rehearsals and performances were like discovering the musics and dances of 'hidden' cultures of Anatolia. At the same time, the club's activities allowed a generation brought up under the ideological influences of public education, media and the family - where the non-Turkish elements of society were labeled as the 'other' - to understand Turkish society from the perspective of a polycultural entity. In addition, the knowledge that ethnicities who perform these ethnic musics are not just neighboring peoples as the national state construct would have it, but are historically integral to modern Turkey, brought the 'official history' into awareness[1]. As a student of Political Science and International Relations I took courses such as Turkish Politics, Politics and Culture, Ideology and Discourse in the college. When it came to examining the official history in these courses, this gave me the grounding to understand that the historiography we were taught in secondary and high school was in fact not based on 'factual fixed truths' and that history and historiography in the affairs of power relations were constructed.

These ideological viewpoints from my undergraduate studies at Boğaziçi University guided me in my ethnomusicological studies as well. It has long been argued in anthropologically-based ethnomusicology that the process of learning and

[1] A lead article in the *Folklora Doğru*, "Cumhuriyet Dönemi Müzik Politikaları" (Musical Politics in the Republican Era) was an important critical source in the literature of Turkish musical history and was one of my primary resources in that period. See Necdet Hasgül, 1996.

understanding different cultures is brought to a more productive level from the vantage point of a performer and participant. Though I was not aware of it precisely at the time, my work with the Folklore Club during my undergraduate years immersed me in an ethnomusicological inquiry. I can say that the foundations laid during these years led to my writing this dissertation. My introduction to Armenian music, culture, and identity began when I started to sing Armenian songs. It was thought that the year-end performances were more effective when the Folklore Club vocalists focused their training on a particular area by paying attention to the language and/or the regional characteristics of vocal production, and so the practices were organized with this in mind. One day my colleague who organized and conducted the vocal practice sessions suggested that I work on Armenian songs as the timbre of my voice fitted them well. I remember thinking that apart from one example of Armenian music in our club's group practices, I could not bring to mind a single Armenian song and so I took this recommendation with some hesitation. Besides, I felt more or less the same distance from all the non-Turkish songs in our repertoire so it was not the language issue that was of concern to me. Because while on one hand to learn to sing songs in a language I did not know and sing words I did not understand was a reason for a sense of alienation, on the other hand to have the chance to discover worlds of different feelings by performing those songs was a great pleasure. It occurred to me that performing and especially singing cause people to become closer and create spaces independent from time and place. At this stage of learning by doing, musical performances always brought a sense of inner connection with others and, at the very least, the common musical language engendered a kind of sympathy and solidarity. In this respect, my entrance to the sense-scape of Armenian music started with the song *Sari Gyalin*[2] ('Bride of the Mountains' in Armenian) (please hear DVD: 1), which my colleague had recommended me to practice. *Sari Gyalin* is a folksong, which has effectively become a central element representing Armenian-ness amongst Turkish society, from its first use in *Salkım Hanımın Taneleri*[3] (The Pearls of Ms. Salkım), a film that brought the Armenian

[2] Turkish version of this song is *Sarı Gelin,* meaning blonde bride in Turkish.
[3] A film directed by Tomris Giritlioğlu and published in 1999, based on the novel written by Turkish author and politician Yılmaz Karakoyunlu. The film recounts individual stories illustrating the repression of the property tax for non-Muslims in 1942.

issue to national attention in Turkey, and years later surrounding the murder of Hrant Dink. What I wish to underline is this: this song was one of my first steps towards my participation in the Armenian musicking society.

I got to know Armenian music first through the copies of cassettes in the Folklore Club collection. The handwritten covers of those cassettes found in the collection indicated only the song titles and occasionally the names of the singers. The sound quality was rather poor due to conditions at the time and it was like listening to recordings from long ago. Today I can say that most of those copies were copies of disks from Armenia, Lebanon and the USA. And most of those cassette copies came from the collections of acquaintances in the Istanbul Armenian community. Colleagues from *Kardeş Türküler*[4] (Songs of Fraternity) who were the graduates of Folklore Club had very early established a relationship with some members of the Istanbul Armenian community involved in arts and culture as well as those doing research on language and music and established a co-operative relationship and friendship with members of the Sayat Nova Choir. As a side note, Pakrat Estukyan, Sarkis Seropyan, Minas Oflaz, Sarkis Erkol, Yetvart Tovmasyan, Payline Tovmasyan, Takuhi Tovmasyan, Melissa Bilal, Saro Usta, Ari Hergel, Sevan Garabetoğlu, Tamar Nalcı never failed to provide me with necessary assistance and support on my journey and, by sharing their experiences and accumulated wisdom with me, greatly contributed to my research. As my first impression for Armenian musical sound, I began to notice that the soloists on most of these cassette copies were singing folk songs using operatic vocal techniques or that the choirs were singing in tonal harmony, that traditional instruments like *tar*, *kanun*, *duduk* and *kamancha* were all mostly accompanied by western style orchestras, that the arrangements relied on heavy harmonization and that performances were virtuosic. Rupen Matevosyan, Hovhannes Badalyan, Ofelya Hampartsumyan, Lusik Kochian were among the popular and influential soloists in this musical school (please hear DVD: 2-3). For a long time I had assumed that Armenians were only a Caucasian people and this initially blanketed my perception of Armenian music. But as I began to read about Armenian history, the more I listened to the recordings the more I questioned this assumption.

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[4] A concert project of Boğaziçi Performing Arts Ensemble, founded in 1995.

In the Folklore Club we often debated the necessity of both reflecting the traditional styles as possible and individual interpretations on performing our musical repertoire. The soloists' renditions of the songs, the instrumental performances and most especially the dance performances were modeled on imitation firstly and then we were adopting them for stage performance. However once we thought our performances approached these traditional models, individual preferences could bring about innovative directions in the musical arrangements or the staging and so these new approaches and vocabularies were integrated. It was just at this point that we seriously began to question whether or not the recordings that we had been listening to reflected an 'authentic' Armenian style. This question arose from the knowledge that Anatolia had been the Armenian homeland for centuries and the political boundaries of Armenia today had been constructed relatively recently to create a modern nation state. I began to follow the trail of narratives from the members of the Istanbul Armenian community whom I had met and befriended. I stopped being surprised when they answered my question "Where are you from?" with Sivas, Kayseri, Van, Muş and Diyarbakır, most of the cities in Turkey. As I read the life stories and vignettes of ways of life written in the memoires published by Aras Publishing, I began to understand how this 'historical Armenia[5]' meant for the Armenian homeland from the point of view of constructing an identity. It became very clear that the 'traditional Armenian folk music' cassettes that I had been listening to had undergone a major transformation in Soviet Armenia. The highly stylized women's voices, operatic sopranos employing wide vibratos, crescendos and decrescendos, were an example of this. It did not seem possible to me that a villager living in Anatolia would sing a song in this manner. So how could I get a hold of the 'original' versions of these? Where could I listen to 'real' Armenian recordings? Weren't a large proportion of today's Istanbul Armenians Anatolian? So what then was the music of Istanbul Armenians like? From the lively discussions at dinner parties held at my Armenian friends' houses and from their performances of Armenian folk dance and music that I had watched, it appeared that the musical

[5] Armenian plateau is the homeland since 3000 B.C. Sivas on the west, The Mountains of Eastern Black Sea Region on the north, Southeastern mountains of Toros on the south, from the Georgia border of Turkey to Armenian state now on the northeast and the Lake of Urumiye and Iranian Plateau on the southeast are the borders of Armenian Plateau (Hovannisian, 1967, pp. 1-3).

repertoire and performances of the Istanbul Armenians closely resembled that of the recordings in the Folklore Club collection. It was all in 'Soviet Armenian style'.

The fact that most of the families of the Istanbul Armenians I knew and socialized with had emigrated from Anatolia and that they had either been born in Istanbul or emigrated at such a young age, their musical memory did not dispel my curiosity about Anatolian Armenian music sound. From my current perspective I am now aware that my curiosity at times varied between a search for a pure, a-historical ethnicity and a nationalizing authenticity. I was making a cultural excavation with the expectation that I would find that these regional and folk cultures preserved up to the present day much the way an archaeologist would. I was trying to find songs and materials about a world of another time or a life in another place as a salvage folklorist.

Once I began to do graduate work in the field of ethnomusicology, I had the opportunity to learn the function of fieldwork in music research. I realized that it was possible to understand musical pasts in a living context, not in a frozen history. My discovery of Armenian music continued but this time with the awareness of such research methods as oral history, memory studies, participant observation and performance. My first attempt to conduct short-term fieldwork took place in 2005 when I visited Vakıflıköy, a village in the district of Samandağ in the province of Hatay, which is the only village with an Armenian population in Turkey today. Every year in the second week of August, the village hosts a grape harvest festival called *Surp Asdvadzadzin* with the input of the Vakıflıköy Association, which is made up of villagers who migrated to Istanbul. Visitors from Istanbul, Syria, Lebanon, Armenian and other countries flood the village during the festival. The village has a population of no more than 100-150 people and most of the population are over 60 years of age. Many villagers have migrated to the big cities to take advantage of education and employment opportunities. It owes its existence to the fact that in the summer months it has become an attractive destination as an open-air museum.

In 2005, together with a few friends, I joined the tour arranged by the Istanbul Vakıflıköy Association. For me this tour was an opportunity to spend a four to five day vacation with an Istanbul Armenian group as a participating observer, as well. When I went to the village, I had high hopes of being able to hear some excerpts of traditional Armenian music. I have to say that these expectations became

disappointments. I would experience these disappointments so often in the course of my research that they became a state of mind. In a later section of this paper I will be using these disappointments in a somewhat ironic manner. In my interviews I was able to collect three songs in the Armenian dialect spoken in Vakıflıköy. The first, *Hala Hala Ninnoyi* (please hear DVD: 4), was for all intents and purposes the symbol of the village like an anthem. The other two, *Dgha dgha*[6] and *Sharjir sharjir*[7] (please hear DVD: 5), were Armenian language versions of popular Turkish songs. So, these did not fulfill my desire to find Anatolian Armenian echoes. The night of the festival, I went thinking I was going to have an Armenian musical feast. But instead, the night was filled with a davul-zurna team from a neighboring Arab Christian village who played regional Samandağ melodies. For a short time, the Istanbul Armenians danced and entertained by singing the 'Best of Armenian popular songs'. When the Istanbul tour group learned that I was a singer and that I sang Armenian songs, I was added to the festival's music program and I sang two Armenian songs. After that night my position in the group changed considerably. They began to ask me to sing everywhere, on the minibus during our daily excursions, at restaurants and in the lobby of the hotel where gathered for evening conversations. At one point I remember saying to them, "Something is going wrong with my fieldwork because instead of listening to you, I am always the one singing the songs. Really I should be the one listening to you more", I protested. Two years later my friends and I were invited to give a concert at the festival evening organized by the society and so I returned to the place I had first tried to collect Armenian music and this time participated as a performer of Armenian music. From the progress I had made in my fieldwork, I understood that the observations, performances and ritual environments that I had not deemed of value at the time actually could provide answers to the things I had questions about. I can say that I was in pursuit of a definition of a stable 'national' music in an ethnic group disconnected from any historical and geographic coherence and when I couldn't find it, I became disappointed – a perspective I am now critical of. Taking Vakıflıköy as an example, instead of dreaming to find the purest form of traditional music, I saw that it would be much more meaningful to research how music served as a form of

[6] The Turkish version of the song is *Oğlan oğlan.*
[7] The Turkish version of the song is *Bir dalda iki kiraz.*

cultural expression, how it had changed and evolved and what sort of synthesis it had become and how it had become a form of shared culture among the Christian Arabs, Muslim Arabs, Turks, Kurds and Armenians who co-existed in the Samandağ region.

After this trip to Vakıflıköy I was convinced my fieldwork would have to be centered in Istanbul if I were going to study Armenian music in Turkey. After grasping the broad and interdisciplinary nature of fieldwork in ethnomusicological research, this is what I understood: It was not just the musical material itself as an object of study but that I had to attempt to bring together diverse analytical categories including music, culture, identity and history as well. During this same period I focused my work with BGST, specializing on the field of Armenian music. Together with the Getronagan Association's Sayat Nova choir, who were an integral part of the cultural life of the Istanbul Armenian community, began to work on a series of joint concerts that would last for nearly two years. Because of this I was able to observe from many angles the internal dynamics in the field of performance; how much the choir members knew about Armenian music and what function music played in the community. Joining the members of the Sayat Nova choir for picnics in the garden of the church in Boyacıköy and invitations to dinner in their homes were the most delightful ways to develop my understanding of Armenian music. At the same time a group of musicians from the Sayat Nova choir and I formed an ensemble to play exclusively Armenian music and after a long rehearsal period we developed a concert repertoire. My friends in the Sayat Nova choir and BGST introduced me to the publishers of the Agos newspaper and Aras Publishing and my network of contacts grew very wide in a short period of time. Eventually I became a regular reader of the Agos newspaper. The memoires, stories and collections published by Aras expanded my historical perspective of Turkey with regards to the Armenians significantly.

In reading Hagop Mıntzuri's memoires of Armıdan and Istanbul, or Mıgırdiç Margosyan's captivating accounts of Diyarbakır or from the armchair journey to Harput that Hamasdeğ takes us on, one understands that the de-Armenianization of Anatolia was a profound loss and an open sore[8]. The effects of Fethiye Çetin's *Anneannem* (My Maternal Grandmother) and Baskın Oran's *M. K. Adlı Çocuğun*

[8] See Hamasdeğ; Hagop Mıntzuri, 2003 and 2008; Mıgırdiç Margosyan, 2009.

Tehcir Anıları: 1915 ve Sonrası (A Child Named M.K.'s Memories of the Deportation: 1915 and beyond) lingered long after I finished reading them[9]. I understood that implicitly or explicitly in all these writings was a deep trauma that was the result of the sufferings of 1915 remaining unacknowledged. In the course of recording the oral histories of my friends' *yaya*s (grandmothers), I saw what an important role all this cultural memory research played in the meaning formation of an Armenian identity.

As my field of study took form, I also continued to follow my trail of traditional Armenian music. The events I participated in and the conversations with every new person that I met, the rehearsals, in short, all my relationships with the Istanbul Armenian community caused more questions to form in my head. For example, one day I sang an Armenian love song, *Bardezum vart e patsvel* (please hear DVD: 6), at a rehearsal with the Sayat Nova choir. Afterwards one of the choir members left a meeting of the choir's governing board to come running over to me to say, "Burcu, you sing nicely but you have a somewhat *goygoy* (exaggerated) style. That is to say, you use too many ornaments, you sound Turkish". I was surprised by this statement and by the general round of agreement to it expressed by many other choir members present. This implied that there was a particular Armenian sound they were attuned to and that one must strive for this 'correct' performance of Armenian music. In that case did the male soloist Richard Hagopian on the recording that I had been listening to not sing the song 'correctly'? Because I had tried to sing the song the way he did and use the same ornaments that he had. Did Onnik Dinkjian, a singer of Diyarbakır Armenian songs whom I particularly admired, also sing his songs in a heavily ornamented style? (please hear DVD: 7).

In 2009, I had the opportunity to meet Onnik Dinkjian and his son, the world-renowned oud virtuoso and composer Ara Dinkjian, and share the stage with them for a *Kardeş Türküler* concert. This encounter turned into a long-lasting friendship and the two days I spent in Ara Dinkjian's priceless recording collection housed in the basement of his New Jersey home opened new doors in my journey to understanding Armenian music. Through Ara Dinkjian's collection I was introduced to the recordings of musicians who brought with them their regional musical cultures

[9] See Fethiye Çetin, 2004; Baskın Oran, 2005.

when they left various parts of Anatolia in the aftermath of 1915 to immigrate to the United States. These recordings bore a strong resemblance sound-wise to the tracks on Traditional Crossroads album *Armenians on 8th Avenue*, a recording I was familiar with. This album is a compilation of Turkish recordings of immigrant Armenian musicians who had established themselves by performing at Greek-owned cafes and nightclubs on and around 8th avenue in New York City. It seemed to me that those records were not the excerpts of Armenian music and that since the songs weren't sung in Armenian, they had no place in my study of Armenian music (please hear DVD: 8). But several examples I heard in Ara's collection recorded from the 1920's until the 1940's, especially those by Hovsep Shamlian, Mıgırdich Douzjian, Karekin Proodian, Moorad Elanjian, Vartan Margosian, The Arziv Orchestra, Yervant (Edward) Boghosian, were in performed exactly this style but this time with Armenian lyrics (please hear DVD: 9). For Armenians in the diaspora listening to old Turkish songs was the only way to maintain a connection to the homeland. But after a period of time, the Armenian community showed a marked preference to hear these songs in Armenian, not Turkish, so they were re-recorded with newly written Armenian lyrics. Some of these songs were newly composed Armenian lyrics set to Turkish or Kurdish melodies. Some of the tunes were also newly composed but as Ara Dinkjian explained, they were melodies in a general Anatolia style as opposed to having specific ethnic characteristics.

So musicians like Richard Hagopian and Onnik Dinkjian whose recordings we had acquired from our Istanbul acquaintances in 1990s had based their musical identity on an Anatolian source music that we can not distinct as Turkish, Kurdish or Armenian. Raised a generation after those musicians from 1920s to 1940s listed above and performing a style of musical entertainment known as '*Kef*[10] Time', they were echoing Anatolian sounds in the diasporic communities of the America. Similarly, this multi-ethnic musical style is also found in the Turkish music associated with the royal court during the Ottoman period. My ethnomusicologist colleague Aram Kerovpyan had stated in one of our conversation that non-Muslim musicians who performed Ottoman music have been appreciated as secondary contributors rather than the components of that tradition in the context of today's

[10] 'Kef' is an Armenian word meaning 'pleasure' or 'well-being'.

nation state discourses. However, if taken from the perspective of the Ottoman *millet*[11] system, these musicians were as fundamental to the establishment of this tradition as any musician. For that reason, he says, it is more correct to refer to this tradition as *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği* (Classical Ottoman Music) rather than an ethnic identifier terminology such as *Türk Müziği* (Turkish Music).[12] From my discussions with Aram, I understood that a similar interpretation could be applied to those Anatolian style recordings I had heard in Ara Dinkjian's collection. But the musical style I have mentioned above, and about which I will discuss in later chapters, did not represent Armenian music in spite of the Armenian lyrics to the many Armenians I interviewed in Istanbul and Yerevan. In a similar vein, at a symposium we organized at the Istanbul Technical University entitled *Writing the History of 'Ottoman Music'*, many scholars argued fiercely against using the term 'Ottoman Music' to replace 'Turkish Music', saying it was both unnecessary and incorrect. At this point trying to find a musical style which encapsulated a distinct, nationalized identity, be it Armenian or Turkish or any other ethnicity, to find which sounds defined that ethnicity and the effort to find a template for sound gradually became less meaningful to me, although I did not entirely give up on this obsession in Armenian case.

For example, when I heard in field recordings made by Sidney Robertson Cowell in 1939 (part of the WPA California Folk Music Project at the Library of Congress) and listened for the first time to people's unaccompanied voices and their particular style of singing, I felt it had the potential to provide the clear answers I had sought for so long (please hear DVD: 10-11). This ethnographic folk collection comprised of recordings of folk songs and instruments and photographs of Armenian immigrants living in Fresno, truly held a light to what Anatolian Armenian music might have sounded like prior to 1915[13]. Over time, recordings of folk music collections similar to the ones I had heard in the Library of Congress began to appear on the copies of CDs that I got from my friends and acquaintances. *Traditional Songs of Armenia* a two-volume work by Ensemble Karot and Garo Chalikian's *Armenian Folk Songs*

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[11] *Millet* was defining autonomous religious communities that were organized around its religious institution; namely Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.
[12] For further debate see Aram Kerovpyan and Altuğ Yılmaz, 2010.
[13] see http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/r?ammem/cowellbib:armenian

were recordings, which contained traditional songs from *Vaspuragan* (Van), *Daron* (Muş), *Dikranagerd* (Diyarbakır), *Sepastia* (Sivas), *Kharpert* (Harput), *Ayntab* (Antep), etc. all the regions in which Armenian people had lived in Anatolia (please hear DVD: 12-13). These sources, issued in Yerevan, were important to me because this time along with ethnicity, regional musical styles and geographic locations were indicated. When I went to Armenia I had the opportunity to meet and interview the musicians and specialists who had produced those albums. Because of this I was able to learn what dynamics they were recorded with and I was able to gather a great deal of information about where the songs were found, how the singers captured the regional styles and why they chose to perform the songs without accompaniment.

My first trip to Armenia took place in December of 2008 when I went as part of a 68-person tour with *Kardeş Türküler*, the Sayat Nova choir and BGST Dance Troupe. We were there to present a performance program highlighting the dance and music of the peoples of Anatolia and environs. During our weeklong trip to Yerevan I was able to form an impression about Armenia as well as observe what sort of ties Armenians of Turkey formed with Armenia. I was also able to observe what the state of being an Armenian of Turkey might be. In Turkey, Armenians are treated as an ethnic group but in Republic of Armenia, a country with a population that is over 90% Armenian and therefore a majority, they exist as a 'nation' of nation-state. Therefore, the Armenian identity and culture formed in Armenia differ from that in Turkey on both a practical and ideological level.

My second trip to Yerevan as part of my fieldwork conducted in 2010 lasted nearly twenty days. I took lessons in how to sing Armenian songs from Armenian folk music specialist Hasmik Harutunyan. Through my interviews with specialists and musicians and from what they said about Armenian music, their approaches to folk music, their concepts of traditional-ness, I had the opportunity understand the relationship between music, identity and history, this time from the Republic of Armenia perspective. The increase in the number of projects, personal enterprises and civilian visits between Turkey and Armenia over the past few years has established an alternative methods of communication in previously different from the diplomatic, state level gangrenous relations. As a result of these visits it became clear how different these societies were from one another and how little they knew about

each other, yet at the same time how pervasive and persistent long held prejudices that that had about each other remained.

1.2 Initial Reactions to The Research Topic

Coming to the idea of researching Armenian music in Turkey, the initial reaction of some of the people I interviewed in connection with the topic were questions like, “Is there anything to research?” and “Is it possible to say anything about the performance and production of Armenian music in our day?” It is not difficult to understand the reasons for these reactions. Since the cultural, social and economic rupture that took place in Turkey in 1915, the requirements and opportunities for musical performances for the Armenians of Istanbul has diminished to the point of nearly disappearing. When looking at resources for research such as sound recordings, musicians, musical activities, performances and music books you encounter a very limited field. It is a reality that limitations of the conditions for the productions of Armenian music are not worth debating. As many of the people I interviewed supposed, if there is no area of Armenian music worth studying today and even if I am going to disagree with that idea for the length of the dissertation, then what are the fundamental pillars of this explanation for this lack?

One can say that at the base of the explanation of this lack is an amnesia constructed by official history discourses. The historical background to this amnesia will be given detailed attention in Chapter 3. But in this section it is still necessary to briefly touch upon the taboos, prejudices and stereotypes expressed by different components of Turkish society in different and which created and perpetuated by this amnesia formed by the official history. It has come to the point that the state of forgetting and causing to forget in Turkish society especially after the 1990’s is an ideological reality that must be accepted. In the politics of identity, the tie created by the ‘remembered historical past’ plays an important role in the reconstruction of identities. But in the process of this remembering, the remembered past must go beyond its own limits particularly in the context of ethnic identities. The Armenian past is also the past of Turks, Kurds, Laz and many other groups. Every memory based on the Armenian past creates along with it a point of conflict by necessity. Over the years the politics of silence and repression has perpetuated the preconceived notion that the more minimal Turkish society’s memory of the Armenian past is, the

fewer corresponding conflicts will arise. And over time this has evolved into a taboo. But this taboo has had a reverse effect and as it strengthens it nurtures a reality that is like a bomb ready to explode.

The questions "Are you Armenian?" or "Do you have any Armenian background?" were ones the first reactions directed at me by many people who asked what I was writing my doctoral thesis on. I think these normally unimportant questions, which could arise out of any sort of natural curiosity in a casual daily conversation, were a symbolic reflection of the language of this Armenian taboo. These questions contain the judgement that curiosity about this subject and the desire to make it a topic of research could only be brought about by a feeling of inclusion. Turkish society whose collective memory of Armenian music consists of only the song *Sari Gyalin* and the sound of the *duduk*[14], continues to marginalize the Armenian issue in spite of adopting a popular, liberal, multiculturalist language that became popular in the 1990s. Even Armenians of Turkey carry this taboo to a certain degree in spite of being its objects. A question I heard often from both people whom I interviewed and from my Armenian friends was, "How could a state university give permission to research such a topic?" Looking at my own personal history, I have to admit that in spite of all that I was aware of in the process of my work to understand Armenian music from time to time I was influenced by this taboo as well. In this framework what then are the perceptions, biases, discourses and forms of remembering that establish this taboo?

It would not be wrong to say that the politics of assimilation, functioning like a melting pot, which is founded on an ideal of a homogeneous nation-state, is at the centre of Turkish identity politics in the post-Republican era. Like many places in the world, the concept of multiculturalism in Turkey from the 1990s onward has operated within a framework of a liberal, multicultural mosaic. Members of non-Turkish ethnic groups are seen as the 'colorful components' of state but at the same time they are treated as sub-cultures, which remain separate like mosaic pieces with clearly defined edges. The ethnocentric multiculturalist approach, which defines differences as the 'others' of central culture, is an ideological field that is as contentious to struggle with as nationalism. In this perspective, from the state's point

[14] a double reed aerophone symbolizing Armenian identity.

of view, all ethnicities and cultural identities are colorful components of the whole and their existence continues only under the hegemony of the dominant culture. The dominant culture therefore has the power to define the 'other's in a sub-cultural context and to make decisions about the demands placed on them.

There is a broad spectrum of 'othering' biases in society that can be drawn upon, from expressions of hatred to everyday nationalist statements, and to conceptualizing problems that stem from ignorance. In a wide area of Turkish society, individuals' first encounter with the word Armenian is in their primary school textbooks where essentially the entire Armenian populace is depicted as enemies and traitors in the nationalist emancipation narratives. This depiction of the 'enemy Armenians' is continued in a similar framework in discussions about 1915. But from time to time one notices that there is a clear distinction made between the obedient, 'good' Turkish Armenians who don't upset the history too much and the argumentative, lying, 'bad' Armenians of the diaspora and Armenia who distort the history.

These othering strategies are strengthened by stereotypical viewpoints and discourses about 'the other' that become fixed in the mind. For example there is a wide spread belief in the idea that "Armenians are rich people." This belief is based on tales people told about the gold that the Armenians hid by the jarful when they were forced to move in 1915. Another stereotypical perception is belief that the Armenian homeland is the borders of modern day Armenia and that Armenians living in Turkey are therefore immigrants. In fact, lying behind all these taboos, fears and prejudices is a lack of knowledge about the 'others'. Turkish society remains in ignorance of the fact that the Armenians have an Anatolian past; moreover, the concrete evidence that they were here for centuries before the Turks has been erased from their memories. Those who do know about it repudiate that reality.

Without a doubt, another fundamental cultural element that sets Armenians apart is the religious difference, that they are Christian. In that point, the term *gavur* (infidel) which extends to cover all non-Muslims and which is usually used as a curse or in a pejorative sense as a nick-name, has been used for the Armenians, too. During my fieldwork, my non-Armenian status sometimes caused me to be similarly identified with a stereotypical Turkish-ness. I also encountered similar situations amongst some Armenians living in Armenia who had no knowledge of Turkey or Turkish social dynamics. I don't often define myself with concepts of ethnic identification based on

my family's origin (a mixture of Turkish, Alevi, Albanian, and Gümülcine migrants), yet in the course of my fieldwork and in performance situations, I experienced moments of being othered in many times and I felt myself as Turk in a way that I had not experienced before. For instance, some Armenians often referred me to as *dacig*. I was quite surprised to learn that a special term like *dacig* was used in Armenian to identify Turks. I felt on many occasions when this word was used at the moment of introduction, that it was being used in an otherizing fashion, separating me from Armenians and calling attention to my difference. For example when I sang Armenian songs in concerts, the exaggerating surprised reactions of some Armenian listeners when they learned from my Armenian friends that I was non-Armenian, was a different sort of otherizing practice, even if I do not mean a clear, exclusive nationalist approach. In 2007, we went to present a concert program of Armenian songs with my group at a harvest festival organized every summer in Vakıflıköy, the only living Armenian village in Turkey. I will never forget the confusion of a group of Armenians from the diaspora participating in the festival experienced when they came over to meet me and I jokingly referred to myself as *dacig*. It was the first time that I experienced that the word *dacig* could be used as a term with negative connotations for Turks. Because of the term's pejorative nature, I understood that it was not the correct terminology and so I was alerted to the fact that it was not appropriate to use it in reference to myself. Moreover I witnessed how some of my acquaintances used the term. For example one of the first questions asked when a young person's impending marriage are announced is whether the person they are marrying is *Dacig* or *Hay*[15]. Furthermore, those who heard me sing Armenian songs at the same concert in Vakıflıköy, and who felt I had made an intimate connection with Armenian culture would jokingly say, "It's about time you were baptized, come on let's get you baptized." In the face of these remarks, I was forcibly reminded of my Muslim-ness. The only hurtful experience of otherization that I experienced in the field was on the day of a memorial concert for Hrant Dink organized in Dortmund. Before the concert, the person at the head of the organization said there were very few Armenians in Dortmund and when an Armenian woman living in Dortmund heard that there were Armenians from Turkey coming, she grew very

[15] *Hay* refers to Armenian people in Armenian language. Similarly, *Hayastan* means the land of Armenian.

excited. So the organizer wanted to introduce me to her. The woman came running up to me and warmly welcomed me in Armenian, gave me a hug and began to speak Armenian with me. When I told her that while I was from Turkey, I wasn't Armenian and I couldn't speak the language, she got cross with me and left my side in a frustrated manner. For the first time I was excluded by some prejudices because of my ethnicity. Just because I was Turkish, I was not even worth talking to. While creating the 'other', people get the superficial value judgements and attributions for the individuals of the othered society, by imagining uniformity and homogeneity in the community. So, woman in that concert had synchronized my individual identity with all the hatred attributions she coded in her mind about being a Turk.

On the contrary, when people point out the positive feelings that they feel for an individual in spite of her ethnic identity, by separating her from the negative reminders of the group in which she belongs may bring together another form of otherization. I will exemplify the situation in order to make clear the debate. When many of the Armenians I met in Armenia couldn't grasp the interest and academic curiosity I felt about their culture, they would say, "You must have Armenian blood" and would proceed to dig for an Armenian connection in my family history and places of origin. Many of the people I met, again, particularly in Armenia, thinking that I was different from the stereotypical image of Turk that they had in their heads, began to call me *Mer Aghchik* (our girl) when they wanted to show me that they valued me kindly. I much later came to the realization that addressing, from the point of view of an ethnomusicologist, allowed me to take on the role of something near of insider and which seemed so inclusive in fact may embrace a deep otherizing orientation.

Furthermore, there is a tendency on featuring the monolithic dimension of the identity of the individuals such as being Armenian, or woman, or heterosexual, or disabled as an emblem while referring to the 'other' individuals. To exemplify, some people started to overstate their empathy and love to Armenian people under the feeling of guilty conscience after the murder of Hrant Dink. These typologies, which some of my Armenian friends criticize and refer to as "Armenian-lovers", try to realize their own identity around this liberal multiculturalist discourses and try to redefine 'others' according to their own vision of Armenian-ness. In that context, the taboo that has arisen about Armenians, and to a similar degree about Turkey's 'other'

peoples, has another founding discourse at its base and that is the discourse of 'similarity and fraternity'. This discourse with its reductionist bias takes such things as the food or music cultures of Turks and Armenians and articulates how much they have culturally in common, or because they live as peoples beside one another in neighboring regions, how much they resemble one another. These statements could be seen as a well-intentioned, empathetic effort, but by emphasizing the legitimacy of loving and respecting the ones who resemble or neighboring you, it tries to bring the 'other' closer to 'us'. While 'others' are persistent on being different, as can be seen in the Kurds' desire to be educated in their mother tongue or by the refusal of Alevis to participate in religion classes with Sunni Islamic contents, their differences are suppressed by the hegemonic state in the interest of maintaining social balance and harmony. For this reason, the discourse of similarity is not a solution for historical tensions and disagreements rather it can be read as a discourse that serves to cover them up. In the period after the murder of Hrant Dink, which itself was seen as an extension of the Armenian issue, the media began to use the song *Sarı Gelin* or *Sari Gyalin* as a signifier for the word Armenian. In the beginning, this song put Armenian and Turkish societies' cultural similarities and fraternity on the agenda and articulated that this pain is a shared pain, but over time it came to be an olive branch that non-Armenians of Turkey held out to the Armenians. But this olive branch usually became "let's put history aside, let's forget what happened and look in front of us" in the dominant culture's language of peace, or, with "Armenians are in fact good people, they are our neighbors. Look, we can sing the same song together", it began to turn into a legitimacy struggle. The song became an emblematic attachment to Armenian identity. The impression I got from my interviews in the field was that many Armenian people no longer wished to be recognized by this song; in fact they could no longer tolerate even listening to it. A discourse of similarity and fraternity founded on folkloric components like folk songs, food and folk dances sometimes depicts Anatolia as peaceful place, a symbol of a utopian common life.

A parallel discourse of fraternity, with its nostalgic and romantic feelings of attachment to the homeland, is often shared by many Armenians in Armenia. During the course of my fieldwork in Yerevan I met a man at an art exhibit. When he learned from my friend that I was a Turk who had come from Turkey to do research, he said I looked so very like the Yerevan Armenian girl who was sitting in front of

me and he insisted on taking a picture of us standing together. He positioned us side by side, announced to the crowd at the exhibit that only a Turk and an Armenian could look so alike and took our picture. I can't describe the bewilderment on our faces because the girl and I did not look at all alike. Our hair color was the same and we had tied it up the same way and perhaps our skin tone was the same but apart from that we had no physical attributes in common. But that man saw us as he wished to see us. Because both our ancestors had lived in the same place and they were ancient peoples of Anatolia or historical Armenia, there was no reason for us not to resemble one another. This type of discourse, which can be considered peaceful at its core, covers up silence, loss, displacement, and historical conflicts. At the point where the discourse is reinforced with "Let's not talk about the bad memories, let's sing our songs", liberal multiculturalism becomes an ideology that should be criticized. The liberal discourse, which is articulated within an unreal construct of otherness in a nostalgic and romantic manner, which is disconnected from the practicalities of daily life, is nurtured by a social utopia free from conflict.

Podur (2003) has stated that insofar as the multiculturalists' view conceals the inequalities and hierarchy between groups, it also prevents us from seeing the power struggles within groups. However the ideal of multicultural society in which cultural identities have the freedom of expression and live together in peace in spite of their differences in a cultural pluralist manner can be possible through the contacts people make in life. In an extensive interview conducted by Michael Albert with Justin Podur, Podur's concept of polyculturalism, which is a more meaningful framework for societies like Turkey, is explained as the following:

> Polyculturalism recognizes that a single person holds multiple identities, multiple allegiances and affinities. We speak different cultural 'languages', and we can change. And to go from the individual to the society, polyculturalism recognizes that cultures overlap, they change, and they evolve over time. They cross-fertilize, and all societies are in a permanent state of flux, with all kinds of often very creative exchanges and interactions happening. So if a multiculturalist says that a society should allow all cultures to develop autonomously, a polyculturalist says fine. But the 'wider society' has a culture of its own, and that culture is one that everyone would have to relate to. It is in this shared space where people of different cultures interact that the basis for solidarity can be built. So in addition to having cultural autonomy, it would be important that the shared space be representative of everyone… (Podur, 2003)

People with different characteristics being able to know and accept each other without paying attention to these differences; the normalization of Armenian-ness or Turkish-ness or any other in public spaces and in daily life with an inter-subject channel of communication; can make possible the breaking down of taboos and prejudices and the coming to terms with the amnesia created by ideological apparatuses like the state, official history or the media. Because the distance between different ethnic groups of the society, which for centuries shared the same land, also brings with it an estrangement to their own histories and identities.

In the lines below, the Armenian poet Zahrad[16] beautifully explains that just as only seeing ourselves is a barrier to seeing 'others', it is also a barrier to seeing ourselves, or that without others, that we will be incomplete:

> He looks at the tree - he doesn't see the tree - he sees himself
> He looks at the road - he doesn't see the road - he sees himself
> He looks up – there are stars in the sky
> He doesn't see them – he sees himself
> And he looks at the mirror – he doesn't see himself
> He sends a greeting[17]

1.3 Main Questions and The Chapters

My questions about Armenian music center on musical meanings as the discourse of cultural memory and the means of cultural identity in relation to the politics of Armenian identity in Turkey historically. In addressing Armenian music, my intent is to draw on a discussion about how meaning(s) are created, known, experienced and shared by musicking. When I am trying to question what Armenian music means for Armenians, I refer to musical meaning, which is practiced not only aesthetically but also socially and politically. These are some questions, which help to shape the theoretical, methodological and ethnographic content of the research: What does

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[16] Born in 1924 in İstanbul, Zahrad (Zareh Yaldejian) was one principal figure in Istanbul Armenian poetry.

[17] Ağaca bakar - görmez ağacı - kendini görür
Yola bakar - görmez yolu - kendini görür
Yukarı bakar - yıldızlar var gökyüzünde
Görmez - kendini görür
Ve aynaya bakar - görmez kendini
Selâm verir

Armenian music mean for Armenians of Turkey, today? What is the relationship between musicking, identity and history/memory? What is the role of musicking defining their own understanding of Armenian-ness? How exactly are musical identity and behavior influenced by cultural memories? How do people remember and forget their past? What are the implications of history, memory and identity in musical performances? How does memory and music work together in the construction of a national past? What are the historical ruptures in which Armenian music transform in Turkey?

To sum up, my aim is to address three basic levels of questioning:

1- What is the historical flow in which Armenian musicking practices took its shape in Turkey? What are the historical ruptures that structure and transform cultural memories of musicking?

2- How do spaces of musicking (e.g. social networks such as community institutions) provide contexts for activity and meaning making?

3- How do individuals construct their cultural identities through the interconnections of cultural memory and musicking?

When we were having a chat with my ethnomusicologist friend Aram Kerovpyan on music and Armenians a few years ago, I mentioned that many Armenian people I contacted have a specific concern for and knowledge of Armenian music, its repertories, history, musicians, etc. in spite of the scarcity of productions and performance practices in Istanbul. He suddenly reacted smiling and said that "Yes, each Armenian person is a musicologist." That statement had some hidden meanings beyond the words.

In the same week in which I made an interview with Aram and heard the sentence "Each Armenian person is a musicologist." I made an oral history interview with Thomas Çerme, who is interested in Armenian culture and architecture intellectually. His family immigrated to Istanbul after he spent his childhood in Mardin. We talked about his childhood memories in Mardin, why they emigrated from there and what are the social and economic conditions of Mardin without Armenians today, etc. After I mentioned the difficulty in finding materials about Armenians of Mardin or the other regions of Anatolia, he reacted so excitedly. While he was throwing his books about Armenians of Mardin onto the table one by one harshly, he said, "Don't

forget, each Armenian person is a historian." Both striking discourses were articulated spontaneously in the interviews and both had comprehensive meanings.

On the one hand, the main component of identity construction for Armenian people is history and the remembering of the past. Taking those questions into consideration, the cultural/collective memory studies that appears as an interdisciplinary field to which many disciplines use their specific methodologies and perspectives, it may present a conceptual framework for my research, as well. The term *mémoire collective* (collective memory) was brought into the discussion by Maurice Halbwachs in the 1920s and his studies have emerged as the foundational texts of memory studies. Halbwach's interest in memory is rooted in French sociology and philosophy within the insights from two important scholars Emile Durkheim and Henri Bergson. Besides, around 1900, scholars from different disciplines such as Sigmund Freud, Aby Warbung, Arnold Zweig, Karl Mannheim, Frederick Bartlett and Walter Benjamin interested in the concepts of culture and the memory (Olick, 2008; Erll 2008). Halbwach (1992) articulated the idea how individual memories are inherently shaped and structured by social arrangements: "It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memories" (p.38). On the other hand, collective memory is not a monolithic concept. Collective remembering is a highly complex process, involving different people and practices and one need to be careful, therefore, not to presume at the outset that every society has one collective memory (Olick, 2008, p.159).

The choice of 'cultural memory' as a terminology instead of collective memory in the dissertation is due, in the first place, to its dimensional framework comprising social memory, material memory and mental or cognitive memory. All three dimensions are involved in the making of cultural memories. As Astrid Erll (2008) states that in a metaphorical sense, the concept of "remembering", a cognitive process that takes place in individual brains, is metaphorically transferred to the level of culture. (p.4). The two levels of cultural memory; individual/cognitive memory and collective/social memory interact while the remembering process is under the strong influence of the socio-cultural contexts and on shared notions of the past.

Furthermore, it is clear that the concept of cultural/collective memory is interpreted in either remnants of past or as a construction in the present. The former,

traditionalist models, assimilate collective memory to the heritage or national character and view it as a root for the continuity of identities. They often ask how collective memory shapes contemporary action. The latter, presentist model assimilate collective memory to manipulation and deception asking how contemporary interests shape the images of the past. Olick (2008) recommends "a particularly insightful way to understand the complexities of remembering, which is always a fluid negotiation between the desires of the present and the legacies of the past". (p.159)

In addition, the literature on cultural memory was mostly centered on the binary opposition between history and memory, which defines the different modes of remembering. Halbwach (1992) conceives history as abstract, totalizing and dead, while memory as living and meaningful past that forms our identity. Pierre Nora (1989) recommends the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (place of memory) describing the cultural appropriation of history into a mythic space of cultural memory. Erll (2008) proposes to dissolve that opposition by coming up with the basic insight that the past is not given, but must instead continually be reconstructed and represented. In this way, history is but yet another mode of cultural memory, and historiography its specific medium (p.7). The studies of Jan Assman (1995) and Aleida Assman (2008) has showed that it is much more appropriate to treat history as a mode of remembering, as a *mnemonic* practice. In that perspective, history is firstly a subgategory of memory. The past is invented and reconstructed by the present. Jan Assmann has proposed the concept of mnemohistory in order to analyse the ongoing process of shaping identities by reconstructing their past: "Unlike history proper, mnemohistory is concerned not with the past as such, but only with the past as it is remembered" (Assmann, 1997, p.9). A similar view can also be found in the Hans-Georg Gadamer's aspect on the history of interpretations.

Memory studies gained momentum particularly after the Second World War and the Holocaust. Notably, dating from the 1960s, the oral history method argued that individuals could also be included into the history through listening to their life experiences told in their own words. Another factor that helped memory studies

gather speed was the recent public interest in identity and, thereby, in the past[18]. As long as the conflicts rooting from nationalism and cultural identity continues to result in violence, the relation between these events and the construction of the past will make the importance of memory studies more apparent. Cultural memory studies is a new field still not much worked in Turkey,[19] as well. The social developments experienced after the 1980 Turkish Coup D'état, political restraints and the effects of the globalization process made the search for identity more prominent and increased the interest and curiosity about the recent past. Cultural memory studies, in general, examine individual and social remembering and forgetting patterns. Because examining the remembering process also requires an awareness of the forgetting process, memory studies became a means to reawaken and reevaluate many issues including the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Republic of Turkey, minority policies during the republican era, the so-called 'Kurdish issue', the 'Armenian issue' and the trauma resulting from all these historical conflicts; and made it possible to review history in the light of individual true life experiences.

What is the significance of the cultural memory debates for this dissertation? This conceptual framework allows me to understand the musicking practices of Armenian community of Turkey. Musicking still has a serious function in the identity constructions of Armenians of Turkey and is also a medium of preserving and reconstructing social memory. I specifically use the term musicking instead of music referencing a theoretical frame of Christopher Small. He proposes the verb form of music that encompasses all musical activity instead of the noun form that signifies music as an abstract thing. In the definition, Small points out the process of music, not the musical work as a thing. So every act that contributes to the process can be appreciated and valued as a musical activity. Small proposes the definition for musicking:

> To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing. We might at times even extend its meaning to what the

[18] For a further research on memory studies, see Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning, 2008; Jan Assman, 2001; Paul Thompson, 1999; Pierre Nora, 2006.
[19] For the memory studies in Turkey, see Arzu Öztürkmen, 2000/2001, 2003; Leyla Neyzi, 1999, 2004, 2009; Leyla Neyzi and Hranush Kharataryan-Araqelyan, 2010; Nergis Canefe, 2007; Esra Özyürek, 2001; Melissa Bilal, 2006; Ayşegül Altınay and Fethiye Çetin, 2009.

> person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone. They, too, are all contributing to the nature of the event that is a musical performance (Small, 1998, p. 9).

In addition, Small (1998) states that "the act of musicking brings into existence among those present a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the *meaning* of the act of musicking lies." In that point, similarly does my approach focus on the meaning of the act of musicking in the Armenian community not only the musical productions. As Jacques Attali (1985) indicates, "All music, any organization of sounds, is then a tool for the creation or consolidation of a community, of a totality" (p. 6). Besides, music not only brings the subject into relation with the collective memory, but it collectivizes the subject at the level of memory (Mowitt, 1987, p. 182). From this perspective, initial reactions which question the existence of my research topic and field, asking "Is there anything to research?" loses its ground. When we want to list the musical works on Armenian language or the works directly identified as Armenian in the contemporary music arena of Turkey, it is not difficult to realize that the quantity of the works is quite limited. But musicking practices and discourses of Armenians in Turkey are imponderably common and a useful category to conceive the identity constructions. In addition, what music ultimately does is to control humanity's relationship to the supernatural, mediating between people and other beings, and to support the integrity of individual social groups. In each culture music will function to express a particular set of values in a particular way (Nettl, 1983).

To sum up, I suggest that the link between cultural/collective memory and musicking will help me for finding answers about the nature of meaning. What is remembered and how it is remembered or forgotten will be a path to understanding the meaning dedicated or constructed to musicking mediums such as the sounds, songs, performing practices, musicians, etc. symbolically.

In the second chapter of the dissertation I overview the historiography of Armenian music in three periods that is described as its 'renaissance' or 'golden age'. The period between the 5th and 7th century, the 10th and the 15th century and the turn of the 19th to 20th century are important stages of transformation in the history of Armenian music and they form the context of today's historical narration. As it can

be followed from historical musicology research, distinct traits that were attributed to nations or ethnicities by the means of music have been mythicized and narrated by those renaissance periods or so-called golden age images. In this case, those special periods in the history of a nation are seen as the origin of the authenticity in the identity construction processes. In this chapter my aim is not to indicate the profound history of Armenian music, but to mention the processes, that were influential in the development of musical expression and styles and to analyze the nationalization practices, to be seen in the reconstruction of history. In addition, I discuss the works of Komitas Vardapet in the creation of 'national Armenian music' and the traces of cultural memory concerning Vardapet.

In the third chapter firstly I deal with the factors which led to a collective amnesia period in Turkey, including in nationalism's transformative effect on Ottoman Empire's social identity codes, which were defined according to the *millet* system to that date; the demographic engineering process, which was a key element in the construction of Turkish nationalism and the 1915 period; musical and cultural policies implemented during the establishment of the Republic of Turkey; and the minority policies adopted in the Republican era. Besides, I historicize the Armenian music practices in Turkey and discuss the role of the cultural memory and music in the construction of a cultural identity. In the fourth chapter, the notions of homeland and cultural memory are analyzed based on the musical identity of Diyarbakırite musician Onnik Dinkjian. Living in America, Onnik Dinkjian's being Diyarbakırite, what he never experienced in the spatial meaning; the cultural identity that was shaped by Diyarbakır and its music that became a performance field within the context of the diaspora is being discussed. In the fifth chapter, I discuss how the Armenian identiy and the traces of Armenian music have been effective for Arto Tunçboyacıyan's personal musical journey and the creation of his own musical homeland, namely 'Artostan'.

Then I conclude that musicking is functioning as a meaning establishing category in the regeneration of the past and present cultural memory, in defining 'us', in the association within the community, in the transmission of cultural memory and identity to new generations, in the creation of social aesthetics, in the performance of a imagined homeland and in the formation of a 'self' by musical representations.

1.4 Research Methods and The Process

Interpretive anthropology is one of the main influencing approaches for ethnomusicological research of individual communities. The interpretive paradigm mainly criticizes the traditional positivistic model that tries to reach the objective "truth" in science; and it deals with meaning and the contextuality of behaviors. Thus, interpretive anthropology takes up qualitative perspectives including hermeneutics, structuralism, semiotics, phenomenology, cultural studies and gender studies for analysis, often in the form of ethnography. In his book, *The Interpretation of Culture*, Clifford Geertz (1973) assumes culture to be a web of socially shared meanings and looks at how meaning is created, assigned and reinterpreted between actors within a given social world in a symbolic interactionist way. Following that paradigm, ethnomusicologists have analyzed musical performance as an activity that communicates social meanings in the community. "They have thus defined their task as conveying the 'lived experience' of individuals participating in a musical tradition by elucidating the meanings that community music-making holds for its members" (Sugarman, 1997, p. 24). One tendency of analysis within this paradigm is constructing structural homologies between musical forms and social aspects, ideologies or beliefs in the society. It is the aim of searching for consistency between music's structure and patterns of thinking and behaving within the culture. Articulation of those homologies or shared meanings by the members of society is not necessary. There may be some iconic or symbolic constructions. This method or the procedure of inquiry is defined as ethnoscience or new ethnography and was used by scholars in the 1960s and 1970s. As pointed out by William Sturtevant (1968), ethnoscience is "the system of knowledge and cognition typical of a given culture" (p. 99). Hugo Zemp's (1978) research on Aré Aré in the Solomon Islands, Steven Feld's (1990) study focusing on the relationship between sound structures and social structures among the Kaluli in New Guinea, and Adrienne Kaeppler's (1972) work on movement and meaning in dance ethnology are some of the indicated works.

However, the main problem of ethnoscience is not only its viewing culture as holistic and monolithic but also ignoring the contestation of meaning constructions among community members. Sugarman also finds the interpretive paradigm necessary but not sufficient, criticizing the "…issue of postulating a culture, belief system, or meaning system as something holistic and internally consistent that a musical

performance 'mirrors' or 'articulates'". Therefore, in her research on singing practice of Prespa Albanians in wedding ceremonies she points out that "It has thus become a major concern for me to provide an account of their singing that addresses the tension that often exists between shared understandings and the idiosyncratic and at times conflicting interpretations of individuals" (Sugarman, 1997, p. 25). Specifically, that critique is one of my significant concerns because I am also trying to avoid the imagination of monolithic, ethnicity-based, homogenous identification for the Armenian community. So, what does make the community? How can we define it? In *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, Anthony Cohen (1985) proposes that rather than thinking of community as an integrating mechanism, it should be regarded instead as an aggregating device. In his approach, the 'commonality' which is found in community need not be a uniformity (p. 25). He proposes to consider the use of the term instead of its lexical meaning and focuses on the element, which embodies the sense of discrimination, namely, the boundary. What does the boundary mean to people? What are the meanings they give to it? "To say that community boundaries are largely symbolic in character is, though, not merely to suggest that they imply different meanings for different people. It also suggests that boundaries perceived by some may be utterly imperceptible to others." (p. 13). As pointed out by Cohen, some categories such as age, life, gender, father, cleanness etc. are the shared symbols by those who use the same language or who participate in the same symbolic behavior. Nevertheless, their meanings are not shared in the same way. So, the members of community share the symbol, but do not necessarily share its meaning. "As a symbol, it is held in common by its members; but it's meaning varies with its members' unique orientations to it" (p. 15). Thus, the aggregate of those symbols constitutes the community's boundaries.

At this point the 'paradigm of complexity', which emphasizes the plurality of the identity concept, presents a descriptive intellectual framework for the qualitative research in anthropology and sociology. The paradigm of complexity aims to analyze certain factors effective in the construction of identity within their own complexity and thus tries to go beyond the positivist, reductionist perspective that is based on a linear and cumulative causality relation. It evaluates each individual identity element's multi-directional relation with the 'other's (Morin, 1992). Alex Mucchielli (1986) defines the principles of the paradigm of complexity as follows: 1) There is

no given objective reality. Human reality is a semantic reality and it is built by actors; 2) There is not only one 'reality' but many different coexisting 'realities' built by actors. Each of these realities is as 'real' as the others. 3) If a semantic reality exists, this is not the result of one or many reasons. This semantic reality is dependant upon a set of cyclical causalities, which also contains the reality emerging in the end. From this perspective, the paradigm of complexity is an attempt to understand and interpret through the refusal of the concept of positivist linear causality. The main reason of the aforesaid plurality is the fact that each subject – which is the carrier of an identity – reads its own and the other's identity differently in different contexts. This is why identity is in a continuous transformation (as cited by Özdoğan, Üstel, Karakaşlı, and Kentel, 2009, p. 29).

Consequently, the paradigm of complexity makes it possible to bring multidimensional explanations about the research subject – the Armenian musical identity – and to interpret the complexity of the construction process of the Armenian identity. It incorporates subjectivity – like any other attempt to understand and interpret – and thus it does not make any pretensions to bring a holistic explanation to 'reality'. So, what is this 'complexity'?

The difficulty of this research is the need to cover the phenomenons in the context of a wider, complex, sometimes non-placed, multi-local meaning worlds because of the plural character of Armenian identities. I would like to underline here that one of the difficulties I faced was the ability to conceive that complex multidimensional presence of Armenian identities as distinct from our simple nation-state/nationalized community perceptions inherited since the 19th century. In this respect, as I mentioned at the beginning section of the thesis, I should confess that I struggled with my own nationalized perceptions that stereotype people in an imagined land, in a linear historical timeline, as well. Stephen Blum's critique exemplifies how the model of national music causes to disregard cultural interactions between various people living in the same land as the following:

> Historians of European music have traced continuities in the traditions associated with a single language and nation, giving us excellent histories of, for example, 'Italian music' and 'Russian music.' However, the model of national music histories is more misleading than helpful when applied to the Middle East, where the norm has been cultural interaction among speakers of two or more languages and among practitioners of several religions. (2001, p. 12).

So, I have to consider some ideas and the facts through transnational Armenian world even if I'm focusing on the Turkish case. The life experiences of the Armenians in Turkey underwent a substantial change from the Ottoman Empire period to the Republic of Turkey; similarly, the Armenian population in Armenia went through different life experiences in the USSR period and in the republican period. Although the Armenian diaspora is considered as a homogenous category especially in Turkey, they are living all over the world from Lebanon to France, and from California to Argentina with their own dynamics in each location. On the other hand, The Armenians of Turkey is a component of that plural, transnational community in spite of their unique existence.

The impressions I have had from my personal journey about the Armenian music and the field studies I have carried out for my doctoral dissertation revealed that the Armenian identities, their perceptions, their sounds varies profoundly according to historical and geographical features. Therefore, Armenian music literature, which carries the traces of different geographical regions and periods of time and all the discourses and meanings, which is formed under the influence of this literature, cannot be explained through the musical practices of the Armenians living in Istanbul, Turkey. On the other hand, like any other communities, the Armenian community in Turkey does not have a homogenous structure. Armenian community in Turkey has a really heterogeneous structure including people of different beliefs like Protestant, Catholic, Apostolic, atheist; people with origins from Istanbul or Anatolia; poor or rich people; people who know/does not know Armenian language, and who are literate/illiterate. These different groups in the world are encompassed by a culturally transnational solidarity network formed around the Armenian ethnicity. Even though it belongs to a different world of meanings, music, just like language and religion, is one of the most important means of expression and a key element of this solidarity network and the identity formed around this network. So, what kind of a research method can we use for these dynamics and how can we define the research field? Consequently, I primarily tried to shed light to this musical plurality and thereby endeavored to understand how the Armenians constructed their musical identity and thus their Armenian identities under the influence of such a hybridity and cross-cultural circulation.

At the beginning of formulating my research questions and defining my field of study, I realized that I had to think more on the epistemological and methodological ways of studying transnational cultural identities and social relations. Doing ethnography seems like the best way to be able to interpret my research questions, but I apprehended that I could not answer conventional where/what/when questions of defining the field with ease because of the complex plurality of the research.

Appadurai (1995) critiques the effects of globalization for the ethnographic site and defies older practices of locating cultures in places as the following: "What is the place of locality in schemes about global cultural flow? Does anthropology retain any special privilege in a world where locality seems to have lost its ontological moorings? Can the mutually constitutive relationship between anthropology and locality survive in a dramatically delocalized world?" (p. 205). Rethinking concepts of space and place in ethnographic research has stimulated a multi-sited construction of ethnographic designs. De Certeau's theoretical foundation for his distinction between space and place clarifies the multidimensional conceptualizations of social processes, which ethnographers should deal with. According to De Carteau a place implies an indication of stability. Place is somewhere a person is physically situated, as being at school, at the market or in a room.

> A place (lieu) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence. It thus excludes the possibility of two things being in the same location (place). The law of the 'proper' rules in the place: the elements taken into consideration are beside one another, each situated in its own 'proper' and distinct location, a location it defines. A place is thus an instanteneous configuration of positions. It implies an indication of stability (1984, p. 117).

On the other hand, space is the way in which place is used, or more specifically, the meaning that is made out of place. Space gives dimension to place. For a place to be a space, people must be involved in the place for particular reasons over time (Gustavson and Cytrynbaum, 2003, p. 256). De Certeau (1984) states as the following:

> space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities. On this view, in relation to place, space is like the word when it is spoken, that is, when it is caught in the ambiguity of an actualization,

> transformed into a term dependent upon many different conventions, situated as the act of a present (or of a time), and modified by the transformations caused by successive contexts (p. 117).

Furthermore, people make the place as a space by inscribing multiple meanings on that place. Because space is not contained by place, the distinction between place and the space delimits the field in productive and creative spaces. For instance, some performative social spaces reconcile a community's local reality with a distant homeland by disseminating and reinforcing collective memory. When I went to some dance and music performances in which Armenian folk music and dances were staged, I always felt that performance halls were transformed into an Armenian village from the homeland within the shared atmosphere by both performers and audiences as a reflection of collective memory. Similarly, the idea of 'home' or 'homeland' for many diaspora communities is the meaning imposed space rather than a place. They can live the homeland life through their traditions and cultural memories in their new home as migrants even if they are not in their homeland, physically.

Multi-sited ethnography, as a revival of ethnographic research, provides a significant shift on the concept of the field with the construction of identities in global-local frames. According to George E. Marcus (1995), multi-sited ethnographies define their objects of study through several different modes or techniques: "These techniques might be understood as practices of construction through preplanned or opportunistic movement and of tracing within different settings of a complex cultural phenomenon given an initial, baseline conceptual identity that turns out to be contingent and malleable as one traces it" (p. 106). Marcus recommends those modes of construction as following people; following the thing; following the metaphor; following the plot, story, or allegory; following the life or biography; and following the conflict in order to define the objects of study. For instance, migration studies are a common contemporary research genre of the following people technique of multi-sited ethnography. Similarly in my research, to consider Armenian music in different sites in Turkey, Armenia and diaspora involves following the displaced Armenian people historically. Besides, following narratives and life stories are rich sources for forming ethnographic data in cultural memory studies. On the other hand, following the conflict technique provides another mode for generating multi-sited terrains of this research through identity constructions and musical meanings, which are in

conflict. In doing so, I am trying to catch the connections, suggested relationships, associations or the differences for shaping multi-sited Armenian musicking practices and discourses through those different spaces. Gustavson and Cytrynbaum (2003) describe the concept of 'relational spaces' to deepen and build on Marcus' call for recognizing complicity in relation to multi-sited ethnography. Over the course of the inquiry, research space is reproduced and reworked as the ethnography unfolds: "The relational spaces of research are those moments when the originally intended purposes of the planned data collection activities get pushed to the periphery and the relational dynamics of the research take center stage. This is not to say the concrete realities of data collection activities (e.g., participating observation, interviews, etc.) end. They continue" (p. 253).

As Marcus (1995) states, the most important knowledge in which the multi-sited ethnographer is interested is that which parallels the ethnographer's own interest: "In this cognitive and intellectual identification between the investigator and variously situated subjects in the emergent field of multi-sited research, reflexivity is most powerfully defined as a dimension of method, serving to displace or recontextualize the sort of literal methodological discussion..." (p. 112). Ethnographers attempt reflexively to understand their positions in the cultures being studied and to represent these positionings in ethnographies in a process Kisliuk (2008) described as, "we got to know other people by making *ourselves* known to *them*, and through them to know ourselves again, in a continuous cycle" (p. 187).

This dissertation represents an ethnographic practice that became as multi-sited as my own participation in the field, as well. I have decided to write about Armenian Music in terms of my own journey and experiences rather than as an aim to present a description of Armenian music in Turkey.

As I mentioned in the second section of this chapter, I started to perform Armenian music in the Folklore Club of Boğaziçi University and continued on in Boğaziçi Performing Arts Ensemble within the concert projects of Kardeş Türküler, and *Kef Kef* which presents the cultural plurality of Turkey by means of songs performed in the languages (Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian, Laz, Arabic, Greek, Ladino, Assyrian, Georgian, Albanian, Romani, etc.) of the peoples of Turkey. Then, I had the opportunity to meet and perform with musicians from the Armenian community of Istanbul and diaspora. In those concert projects of the BGST we collaborated with

choir members and musicians from Sayat Nova Choir and some popular Armenian musicians, such as Onnik Dinkjian, Ara Dinkjian and Arto Tunçboyacıyan for some special concerts in Istanbul and abroad. Besides, we founded an ensemble playing a repertoire consisting of Armenian songs with some of my Armenian friends from Sayat Nova Choir. We had rehearsals for three years and held concerts for some organizations related with the Armenian agenda in Turkey. When a conference, commemoration, memorial event, festival or a community gathering was organized by the Armenians or any non-governmental organization of Istanbul, the organizers would contact us to perform. At that time, unfortunately, we were the only Armenian music ensemble, besides choirs, from Turkey.

Therefore, the performance practices provided me broad opportunities for participant observation for the fieldwork of this dissertation. But I have to state that my fieldwork process did not start firstly as deciding a topic, secondly planning fieldwork and then doing the research. In fact, it was my performing practices that lead me to do fieldwork on Armenian music. I met with Armenians from various sites and community centers of Istanbul with a positive reference because of my membership in BGST and because of my role as a singer who is singing Armenian songs, even though I am not an Armenian. By my deep interest and love for Armenian songs, musics and the culture through my voluntary participation in the field, I found myself a place in the Armenian musicking community of Istanbul in a short time. Then all those participations started to be my daily-life activities rather than a task in the fieldwork process. All my works transformed to an ethnographic study of music practice in due course. Then, participating as a representative of Armenian music had strangely influenced my positioning in the field. I cannot forget the interesting concert at which my Armenian guitarist friend and I played for the 50th marriage celebration of an Armenian couple in a hotel. My friend had phoned me and said, "An Armenian woman called me and said she is organizing a celebration for her parents' 50th marriage anniversary. She wants a guitarist and singer who can play the repertoire including both Turkish pop songs of the 1970s and Armenian popular songs. She said if we sing Armenian songs, as well, her parents would be really happy. Would you like to sing with me?" I said, "Of course, yes". Most of the time in my fieldwork process, I felt that being a singer of Armenian songs at Armenian community gatherings was implementing me to have an intimate,

mediating relationship with people rather than being an outsider or insider. Michelle Bigenho (2008) refers to the insider/outsider boundaries that have been problematized by many scholars within ethnomusicology and anthropology, asking "Does being a musician provide a privileged form of insider-ship, and is that insider-ship anything like being a native ethnographer?" (p. 30). Timothy Rice (2008) writes about his music participation in Bulgaria that put him in the ambiguous position of being neither an insider nor an outsider indicating that: "…I speak as myself, as self formed, reconfigured, and changed by my encounters with an understandings of Bulgarian, and indeed all kinds of other, musical works and performances" (p. 57). As referring to Ricoeur's dialectical thinking, Rice indicates that 'appropriation' is the process of mediation between insider and outsider in which individuals operating within tradition continually reappropriate their cultural practices, give them new meanings. Then, in that process they create a continually evolving sense of self, of identity, of community, and of "being-in-the-world". Because ethnomusicologists often find themselves at some cultural or historical distance from the traditions they study, appropriation is the dialectical counterpart of that initial distantiation (p. 58). As being the singer in an Armenian music performance, I mostly felt myself in an appropriation such as being an active participant rather than an insider or outsider in the field.

Beside performance practices, I followed and participated in many musical and cultural activities, such as, concerts, dance performances, rehearsals, conferences, seminars, religious ceremonies in the churches, the meetings and demonstrations related to the Armenian agenda of Turkey, an oral history workshop organized by an institution of Armenian community, a workshop for Armenian monodic religious singing and Armenian language courses during my fieldwork process. Weekend picnics organized by the members of Sayat Nova Choir were another performance space for Armenian musicking practices, too. Especially, when a musician came to Turkey from Armenia or diaspora, the people from the choir would organize a gathering at home or a picnic in order to meet and introduce the musician to the Armenian community of Istanbul and their non-Armenian friends. Furthermore, since I lived in Kurtuluş, a neighborhood with one of the largest Armenian communities in Istanbul, for five years, I was able to observe their daily way of life, as well.

I visited Yerevan, Armenia two times for performance and research. I made interviews with some musicians, music groups and the folk-music researchers. I took singing courses for Armenian songs in order to acknowledge the stylistic and discursive characteristics of Armenian music. To sum up, I had the opportunity to contextualize the Armenian identity and music in a more comprehensive sense after the journey to Yerevan. In the 2000s, the intellectual struggle in order confront the silenced past of Turkish nationalism and developing interest on Armenian identity in public space, especially in the academic circles and the projects of some NGOs, resulted in the progress of dialogue in cultural and art activities not only collaboration with Armenia but also with the diaspora institutionally and individually. For instance, the increase of visits by Armenian musicians from Armenia and diaspora to Turkey enabled various sites for interaction of both the Armenian community and the wider society of Turkey. For instance, the visits of the popular Armenian musicians, Onnik Dinkjian, Ara Dinkjian and Arto Tunçboyacıyan to Istanbul several times provided me the opportunity to meet them and broaden the sites of my fieldwork. I had the chance to understand the role of the concepts of homeland and cultural memory in the construction of musical identities at individual levels. Furthermore, I participated in an Anatolian trip with the young Armenian musicians from the Van Project of Yerkir Union for fifteen days. Those young musicians, an ethnomusicologist and an anthropologist from Yerevan, followed the traces of Armenian music of the past in the lands of historical Armenia, and I tried to understand their process of meaning making in relation to music and cultural memory. I could observe their conflict of being in the lost homeland, in the space that they could only imagine through the narratives about the past. What had struck me most forcefully during my participation in that trip was a sense of perception that we – as Armenia and Turkey – can find many common grounds, such as music, to get close to each other even if the way is too long and challenging.

Participatory observation and ethnographic interview are the combined methods for my data collection. As part of the research subject, I made in-depth interviews mainly with musicians; with researchers, musicologists and ethnomusicologists whom I think had an extensive knowledge about the Armenian music, history and culture; with chorus members who are active in the Armenian musicking society of Istanbul; and as an oral history study, with elderly people from various localities. I

made interviews mostly in Istanbul and Yerevan. However, as a result of the multi-sited character of this study, I also had to make interviews in different locations like Diyarbakır, Vakıflıköy (Hatay), Çamlıhemşin (Rize), Tunceli and New Jersey. A total of 38 people participated in these in-depth interviews and conversations. Because of the study's structure, though, I made many other short and spontaneous interviews with the people also present in the performances I attended. I made the interviews in Turkish and English mostly. Especially in Yerevan, I had to interview in Armenian with the ones who cannot speak in Turkish or English by the help of the translator.

The family histories of the participants in the interviews reach back to various Anatolian provinces like Sivas, Hatay, Mardin, Harput, Diyarbakır, Muş, Van, Çatalca, Kayseri, etc. So their narrations provided detailed and specific local insights mainly about the history of Anatolian Armenians. Despite all this complexity and variety, however, I also had the chance to form a conceptual framework in which all these distinct narratives overlap and integrate.

In these in-depth interviews, I preferred descriptive and open-ended questions generally formed according to the participant's personal history, occupation, and relation with music etc., rather than using a fixed question list for every participant. We talked about the musical references in various phases of the participants' narratives about the life-circles like the participants' homelands, family stories, childhood, youth, marriage; about their first encounter with the Armenian music, the place of music in their lives, their musical studies, their recollections and knowledge about the Armenian music, their perception of the Armenian music, the musical expression opportunities they have and do not have in their lives.

In this context, I approached to the interviews in order to understand the process of meaning-making of musicking and the discourses and attributions woven around it in the process. The meaning depends on how individuals negotiate an event or an experience. As Alessandro Portelli (1998) states that, oral history "tells us less about events than about their meaning to the interviewees" (p. 67). For this purpose I addressed individual negotiations of musicking, cultural memory and identity through the framework of oral history and memory studies.

2. CREATING THE NATION: ARMENIAN MUSIC IN THE LEGACY OF KOMITAS VARDAPET

2.1 An Overview of Armenian Music Historiography

History-making with the positivist notions of scientific objectivity, which claims factual fixed historical truth in historiography, was the project of modernity in 19th-century Europe. The reciprocal relationship between nation and history was formed and instrumentalized in nation-state formations 'scientifically' in that time. Since, history-making with legendary stories and myths contributes to revitalize national communion and to attribute idiosyncratic, 'essential' characteristics to the people of the nations, the main components of historiography were employed to legitimize all nationalist projects during the 19th and 20th centuries. However, deconstruction of the nationalist historiographies focusing on the historical context and the dark sides of modernity, such as the violence of the Holocaust, caused critical approaches on the construction of historical knowledge (Göçek, 2006, p. 83). Then history writing, historical knowledge and facts have been challenged by postmodernism through questions such as "How do we know the past?", "Who does select the historical events in the narrative of the past?", "Who does decide the 'objectiveness' of the fact?". Therefore, 'history is constructed' and history writing or history-making imposes the meaning or the ideology upon that constructed past. In this approach, discontinuities, transformations or ruptures have been the general focuses on understanding historical concepts and practices rather than the historical periods, centuries or timelines within the grand narratives. In this light, I try to remark on the golden age narratives defining the transformations on Armenian musical identity in the following section. In the chapter, I debate on historical processes that enable us to understand the musical memory pertaining to Armenians in Turkey in order to provide a historical framework for the scope of this dissertation. My purpose for commenting on those historical contexts is to examine and understand the background of 'loss' discourse that is questioning the existence of Armenian music in Turkey after 1915. In that case, I would like to underline here that my goal is not

to write a sophisticated history of Armenian music, but rather to offer an overview of those historical contexts, to identify the strategies on musical discourses and attributions, and to call attention to the process of reconceptualising history. The difficulty or the lack of this study is the language barrier that causes limitations in reviewing only English and Turkish literature by the author.

Scholarly publishing in musicology and ethnomusicology is a still new but developing area in Turkey. The resources and the performances in the field of Armenian music are too limited. In a student symposium organized a few years ago at Istanbul Technical University, I made a presentation titled *Tracing Armenian Music in Turkey*. After my presentation, an ethnomusicologist faculty member from one of the leading universities in Istanbul, who had listened to my presentation, told me that he was also interested in this field and that he wished to suggest me some resources. When I heard that the most important of his resources – a book published by Avesta Publishing under the name of *Ermeni Müziği* (Armenian Music) – was the Turkish translation of a book I already knew, written by Sirvart Polatyan in 1941, I once more realized that Armenian music had hardly any place in the musicological studies in Turkey. As a matter of fact, it was the only published book on Armenian music in Turkish and everybody knew that book even if s/he was interested in Armenian music or not, because it was the only one. The book includes musical analysis of Armenian folk songs collected by Komitas between 1890 and 1901 and Turkish folk songs collected by O. Abraham and E. M. Hornbostel in Maraş and Antep. Given the fact that even the resources of a lecturer who claimed that he could provide academic help to me in this field was limited to this book, a really though field of study was awaiting me ahead.

Although the field of Armenian music has not been well covered in ethnomusicology worldwide, the pioneer publications in English provide a repertoire of knowledge for further research in that scope. *Grove Music Online*[20] and *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*[21] give an overview of Armenian music dealing with historical and theoretical aspects as two encyclopedia entries in the pioneering ethnomusicology sources. In addition, *Armenian Music: A Comprehensive Bibliography and*

[20] See Alina Pahlevanian, Aram Kerovpyan and Svetlana Sarkisyan, 2011.
[21] See Manuk Manukian, 2001.

Discography, written by Jonathan McCollum and Andy Nercessian presents a comprehensive bibliography and discography on Armenian Music that lists the entries into four categories called folk music, classical music, sacred music and liturgical context, and popular music with many subtitles.

Among the sources in English, a pioneering study that I came across is *Armenian Music: A Cosmopolitan Art* by Harpik Der Hovhannissian, which was written as a PhD dissertation examining the historical developments of Armenian music within a classification of church, folk and art music in the first volume and exemplifying some Armenian music pieces in its characteristic style in the second volume. Vrej Nercessian's *Essays on Armenian Music* appeared in 1978 as a collection of essays in German and French with English summaries previously published in various journals between 1968 and 1977. It covers early Armenian music, the notation system and Komitas Vardapet's contributions to the ethnomusicology discipline. It is true to say that Komitas Vartaped is accepted as the founding father of not only Armenian music but also Armenian musicology because of his thousands of folk music collections, compositions and arrangements; numerous articles on analytical and ethnographic perspectives of Armenian liturgical and folk musics; and his reformist efforts encouraging performance practices of Armenian communities from different provinces at the beginning of the 20th century. Besides, there is a sub-discipline in Armenian music scholarship attributed to him, called 'Komitasology' and there are some researchers called 'Komitasolog' in the Armenian academic circle throughout the world. Non-Armenian readers can become acquainted with his works through the book *Armenian Sacred and Folk Music* (1998). Edward Gulbenkian and Vrej Nercessian published the collection of his essays that were taken from the *Collected Works of Komitas* published in Yerevan in 1941[22]. Grikor Mirzaian Suni's (1876-1939) unpublished work[23], *Sketches in Armenian Musicological History*, presents an introductory brief sketch of Armenian music from pre-Christian times until the

[22] The articles are in German, French and English in this publication. The readers who want to reach all English versions of the articles should see Komitas Vartabed, 2001.

[23] Since the author did not subject his work to a final proofreading, the book has been prepared for publication with some editorial intrusion in 2005. The text has been notated, certain orthographic and punctuation corrections and some minor abridgements have been made, and a scholarly introduction has been added. Grigor Suni's extensive autobiography has been included as an addendum to the book (2005, p. 1).

beginning of the 20th century. In addition, Suni's research reflects musical debates from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, within a flowing ethnographic narration. The works of both contemporary musicologists, Komitas and Grigor Suni, comprise valuable data on Armenian music of Istanbul from the late Ottoman period, too. Nikoghos Tahmizian provided readers with important knowledge on Armenian medieval musicology relating to the period between the 4th-5th and the 17th-18th centuries in *Music in Ancient and Medieval Armenia*. Robert Atayan's study, *Armenian Neume System of Notation* that was written in 1959 and translated to English in 1999, traces the origins and development of a notation system called *khaz* through ancient Armenian manuscripts. However partial, Atayan's contribution was very valuable for both musicological and historical research. Aram Kerovpyan and Altuğ Yılmaz's *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği ve Ermeniler* (Ottoman Classical Music and the Armenians) appeared in 2010 as a pioneering resource, especially for the readers in Turkey. The authors provide readers with important perspective on the establishment of Ottoman music tradition and the reciprocal relation between that tradition and Armenian musical identity.

For the purposes of keeping the focus on historical sketches that form musical identity construction, in the following section I will suspend the literature review on Armenian music and continue focusing on three periods of renaissance in the history of music, art and culture in the Armenian case, which can be summarized as: a-) 5th -7th, b-) 10th -15th, c-) 19th through 20th centuries. As it can be followed from historical musicology research, distinct traits that were attributed to nations or ethnicities by the means of music have been mythicized and narrated by those renaissence periods or so-called golden age images. In this case, those special periods in the history of a nation are seen as the origin of the authenticity in the identity construction processes.

2.1.1 5th - 7th centuries

The origins of Armenians is linked back to Noah whose ark, in literature, was said to have rested on Mount Ararat (Genesis 8, p. 4). According to Richard Hovannisian (1967), the Armenian plateau has been their homeland since 3000 BC. Sivas to the west, the mountains of the eastern Black Sea Region to the north, the southeastern mountains of the Taurus to the south, from the Georgian border of Turkey to the

current Armenian state to the northeast and the Lake of Urmia and the Iranian Plateau to the southeast are the borders of the Armenian Plateau (pp. 1-3).

Armenians adopted Christianity at the turn of 4th century AD and became the first country/state in the world to adopt Christianity as state religion (Hovannisian, 1997, p. 81). Saint Mesrop Mashdots, a composer and poet himself, devised the Armenian alphabet around the year 405 AD. The translation of the Bible into Armenian, which immediately followed, became the starting point for the development of a distinctive tradition of liturgical music. St. Mesrop Mashdots and the Catholicos St. Sahak Bartev are accepted as the first composers of Armenian Church music. The liturgical system of Apostholic Armenian Church started to differentiate itself from Byzantine and Assyrian liturgies. The origins of *sharagan*, a highly developed form of sacred chant that is tied to the ecclesiastical calendar of the Armenian Church, can be traced from this ancient time. *Krapar*, the classical Armenian language, has remained the ritual language of the Armenian Church as a connecting point for the Armenian communities whose land was divided between the Persian and Byzantine Empires.

In addition, the manifestations of national music had been taken into consideration in that period by early Armenian historians. Musical material including the manuscripts of liturgical music, song books of secular music, collections dealing with essays on musical theory, aesthetics, history, philosophy, literature, etc. is extremely diverse. Knowledge of musical instruments, some texts of epic songs, song forms, descriptions of performances, and rituals with music accompaniment from pagan times can be found in the 5th century chronicles written by ancient-period historians such as Movses Khorenatsi (father of Armenian historiography) and Faustus of Byzantium. Not only Armenian ancient and medieval liturgical musical heritage but also secular musics including folk and *kusan* styles can be followed through the sources from the 5th century preserved in the collections of the Mesrob Mashdots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan. Significantly, at each stage of its development sacred music has been closely connected with secular music. In addition, the system of modes that constitutes the basis of the church music was also common in folk songs and kusan songs. Kushnarian, a pioneering Armenian music historian, gives an approximate date of origin to the surviving folk music with a chronological study and shows that the monodic forms of Armenian music were fixed long before the modern era, and that its early categories were defined as

peasant, *kusan* (a professional singer of epics) and religious. Alina Pahlevanian (2011) explains the musical developments of that time period as an unprecedented upsurge in all Armenian culture, as the following:

> New forms and themes of folklore came into being; the modal basis of the music and the range of melodic structures were broadened; Evidence for this is found in certain surviving lyrical love-songs and work songs of the peasants, and in heroic dances.

Briefly, after conversion to Christianity and the invention of Armenian alphabet, the first level in which Armenians made an appearance in history had been completed. Boğos Levon Zekiyan (2005) emphasizes the significance of that period in Armenian history for the formation of the national ideology and the self-awareness of an integrated perception of a single, worldwide identity stating that, "…we can consider the period of fifth through to the seventh century not only as a golden era in the Armenian culture, but also as the high point in the formation of the Armenian 'ideology', both as a nation and as a Christian nation" (pp. 51-52). Zekiyan's emphasis on the deep relation between Christianity and the nation is in fact because of the autonomous structure of the Armenian Church. It has belonged to Armenians and not represented any other ethnic group consistently in history. Within a modernist ideal, the Apostolic Armenian Church has been one of the oldest national churches. In addition, highlighting the significance of the ancient period of Armenian history at the core of their self-image as a nation, Armenians can legitimately claim descent from the oldest cultures and most prominent civilizations of the region (Kurkchiyan and Herzig, 2005, p. 2). In fact, music similar with the concepts of religion and language is assumed as powerful evidence for the existence and persistence of nation long before the modern era in spite of the alien rulership of the land. This view can be interpreted as a reflection of a primordialist approach that asserts Armenians are one of the oldest nations of the world who were united in common language, culture, music culture, religion and history with a special attachment to the homeland since ancient times. Meanwhile, the primordialist approach on nation has been criticized contemporarily because it overlooks dynamics of social change assuming a stable identity based on descent. On the other hand, it is

really helpful to understand how those ethnic 'webs of significance[24]' have evoked a consolidation of the identity constructions.

2.1.2 10th - 15th centuries

Armenians were exposed to invasions and alien rulership of the Byzantine Empire, Sassanid Persia, the Arab Caliphate, Seljuks, Mongols and regained their independence in dynasties such as Bagratunian and Rubinian in the mediaeval ages. Especially the Cilician age—the last Armenian kingdom of Anatolia was founded in Cilicia (a region at the north-eastern corner of the Mediterranean)—was a period of political stability that favored urban expansion, intensification of secular thinking, flourishing of trade, the value and role of fine arts, literature and especially music in public life (Zekiyan, 2005, p. 54; Özdoğan et. al 2009, p. 44; Tahmizian, 1982, pp. 20-22).

By this time there was already remarkable progress in liturgical music, especially through the agency of Nerses Shnorhali[25]'s attempts. Hovhannisian (1956) states that Shnorhali did great amount of work in the formulation and propagation of Armenian music both in Armenia and in neighboring countries, and he presents Shnorhali as "the originator of the Golden Age in Armenian music" referencing to his "new, free, and popular trend of music based on the Armenian folk-tunes" (pp. 156-157). Grigor Narekatsi[26] also gave a tremendous stimulus to Medieval Armenian hymnography, particularly within the *dagh* genre. *Dagh*s were 'forerunners of the renaissance of Armenian art' as sung poems in both secular and sacred forms (please hear DVD: 14). Besides, the most influential invention of the medieval period was the development of *khaz* notation, a system of neumes that serves to compile music notations in the manuals called *manrusum*. In the book *Badmutyun Hay*

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[24] Kurkchiyan and Herzig make use of Geertz's debate on 'webs of significance' that stress to a series of symbolic and mythic representations, which serve to generate and maintain the meaning. The authors states, "As in all national communities, the Armenian web of significance is formed by the collective memory. Memory is not itself history; it is a 'socially constructed' selection from history that provides a shared account of where Armenians came from, the things that they did themselves and the things done to them by others, and how and why they came to be so widely dispersed today. Within the selection is a multiplicity of different stands, among them religion, language, culture, family, literature, music and art." (2005, p. 2)

[25] Nerses Shnorhali (1102-1173), is an Armenian saint who transmitted 20 percentage of Sharagan (hymn) repertoire.

[26] Grigor Naregatsi (1165-1240), one of the outstanding composers of the late 10th century to early 11th century.

Yerajshdutyan, Aristakes Hissarlian (1914) says "this form of notation was only a reminder, and a performer could only use this notation if he already knew the melody." (as cited by Kazarian, 1983, p. 17). In this way, the process whereby the liturgical repertoire gained its common shape was completed in the 15th century (Pahlevanian, et al. 2011). Tahmizian remarks that the advancement of music can be traced not only for hymnography but all branches of national vocal and instrumental music as well. It is also apparent from the many historical references to *kusan* music that reached the peak of its development and played a leading role in all kinds of entertainment[27]. Besides, the descriptions for musical instruments and their performances had an important place in the writings of the authors from the 10th to the 15th century. As the conclusion of those progresses above, the historical era between the 10th and 15th centuries is interpreted as another renaissance period for the Armenian music historiography.

2.1.3 19th - 20th centuries

In his book, *Ermeniler and Modernite: Gelenek ve Yenileşme, Özgüllük ve Evrensellik Arasında Ermeni Kimliği*[28], Boğos Levon Zekiyan (2002) provides the readers with important information on Armenian modernity, enlightenment and secularization providing an understanding of the periods and trends of fundamental transformations within the Armenian society between the 16th and 19th centuries. He defines the periods of Armenian modernity as the following: a) the formation period (1520-1620), that is from the years of the first printed books in Armenian to the accession to the See of Etchimiadzin of Catholicos IV. Movses Datevatsi; b) blossoming of Armenian capitalism (1630-1730); c) humanistic period (1700-1840) stretching from the foundation of the Mekhitarist Order, generally better known as the period of 'Rebirth' (*Veradzınunt*); d) secularization period (1840-1915), better known as the age of 'Awakening' (*Zartonk*). Besides, Zekiyan demonstrates that modernity enters into Armenian society at a very early stage, however he refers to

[27] In the 17th century the art of the *kusanner* merged with folk music, making way for the *ashughner.* The music of *ashugh*, the wandering poet/minstrels of Armenia is a part of folk tradition, even though it can also be considered as type of art music tradition.

[28] It is the Turkish translated version of the publication; B.L. Zekiyan, *The Armenian Way to Modernity: Armenian Identity between Tradition and Innovation, Specificity and Universality,* Eurasiatica, 49 (Venice, 1998).

the existence of several modernities in different areas such as politics, economics, philosophy, literature and art (pp. 33-35). Although the ancient Armenian homeland fell under three empires, Ottoman, Persian and Russian because of the wars in which new borders were drawn and the demographic changes that occurred by the mass migrations after the Cilician age, the standard written language, schooling, books and newspapers created a new type of unity within a new formulation of Armenian identity. Furthermore, the *Zartonk* period (1840-1915) witnessed significant developments on the way to modernity by the means of transformations such as holistic secularization[29], success of trade and economics, a European formation on education, a pioneering role on printing and journalism, standardizing a literary version of Modern Armenian for the first time, and innovation on literature, poetry and arts[30]. (Arkun, 2005, pp. 73-76; Zekiyan, 2002, pp. 89-103)

2.1.3.1 Notation

In the discussion of the relationship between Armenian modernity and the Westernization process in music, the 19th and early 20th centuries emerge as a major historical golden age. The significant role of *khaz* notation started to decline in the church music education during the 16th century because of the destruction from wars, uprisings and the political conflicts in the region. Then the meanings of *khaz* symbols were nearly lost and the transmission of repertoire was provided by oral tradition up until the reconstruction of the notation system in the 19th century. The notation system[31], which is called *Hampartsum*[32], was developed through the collective efforts of Baba Hambartsum Limondjian (1768–1839), Fr. Minas Bejeshkian (1777–1851) of the Venice Mekhitarist congregation, Andon Duzian (1765–1814) and Hagop Duzian (1793–1847), however it has only been attributed to Hampartsum Limondjian (Kerovpyan and Yılmaz, 2010, p. 123). That notation had a crucial role of being a unique mediator on between Armenianness and Ottomanness in music

[29] The cultural hegemony of the church and the religious authorities were limited, thus causing to the intellectual liberation for the crowd of people. (Zekiyan, 2002, p. 89)
[30] In a similar context, Anahide Ter Minassian's book, *Ermeni Kültürü ve Modernleşme*, refers to the reflections of modernity process on cultural and social spheres, and daily life addressing to Ottoman Armenian community.
[31] for further information on *Hampartsum* notation see Aram Kerovpyan, 2001.
[32] It can be articulated as *Hampardzum or Hampartzum* because of the changeable usage of Western and Eastern Armenian letters; -ts, -tz, -dz. In Turkish sources, it has been written wrongly as *Hamparsum* because there is no letter such as –ts or -dz in Turkish language.

history. Although Hampartsum notation was a musical reform for not only Armenian Church but also for Ottoman music within a broad, effective usage by the musicians, it has still been a symbol of cultural achievement by Armenians. To exemplify, Kazarian (1983) refers to Limondjian as the first "leader of national music reform" who used his notation as a teaching aid in order to standardize the almost improvised method of singing the melodies of sharagan; and eliminated the variations that existed in the melodies of the church hymns by cleansing the vocal style of Byzantine influence[33]. (pp. 44-45). Besides, Kerovpyan and Yılmaz (2010) remark that the invention of Hampartsum notation, as a practical method to learn and transcribe music, is the leading reflection of the Westernization process in the musical sphere among Armenians (p. 123). The concept of notation corresponds to the philology movement in which it takes part as the foundation of Westernization process[34]. Representing music in a written, documentary form is a scientific tool that provides the transmission of tradition. So, Hampartsum notation functions as a significant instrument in the construction of an 'ethnographic nation' and furnishes self-confidence for the other reform movements from the 19th to 20th centuries in Armenian music history (p. 124).

2.1.3.2 Invention of 'national' folk song: Canonizing the repertoire through folk songs collections

The concept of 'national' folk song in Armenian music history was again a decisive reform movement following the winds of 19th-century modern Europe. When dealing with the reflections of modernity on Armenian music tradition it may be useful to understand what was happening with the music of Europe in the 19th century, which would later become a model for non-Europeans. Philip Bohlman provided readers with important knowledge on music's role in the rise of the nation-state from the Enlightenment to present-day Europe in his book *The Music of*

[33] On the other hand, Hampartsum notation system is seen as a fundamental milestone in the Ottoman music history and accepted as a cultural legacy of Ottomon tradition in general without attributing a national Armenian character.

[34] The influence of Mıkhitarian Order which was founded at the beginning of 18th century in order to conduct reformist advancements in the sphere of culture and education by the leadership of Priest Mıkhitar(1676-1749), is emphasized in the Armenian modernization process by the historians. Mıkhitarians were the pioneering figures on Westernization for Armenians and they were in the foreground for writing notation by means of Priest Pıjışkyan.

European Nationalism: Cultural Identity and Modern History, published in 2004. Bohlman (2004) states that the histories of the modern European nation-state and the emergence of modern European music run remarkably in parallel. He argues that music symbolizes and articulates nationalism, but far more, it participated in the formation of nationalism (p. 35). The European nation-state first took shape in the Enlightenment in the 18th century as a cultural movement of intellectuals. According to Bohlman, two discoveries accompanied the Enlightenment. First is the discovery of 'folk' defining the people sharing a common culture of a nation. The second is the discovery of Europe as a cluster of nations. Of course folk and Europe were present prior to the Enlightenment, but the discovery that Bolhman states is the link, the history of nation, between folk and Europe.

> Folk music came to represent the full implications of a history charting the course of the nation's presence in Europe during the nineteenth century. Identifying the nation in the entire spectrum of music, from the folk music to art music, was not only possible, it had become a prerequisite for claiming the distinctive history necessary for a nation struggling to find its place in nineteenth century Europe. (Bohlman, 2004, p. 45)

In a similar way, the literature on Armenian music, reviewed at the beginning of this section above, shares a common ideology, which aims to prove the 'distinctiveness' of Armenian music focusing on the origins and the 'essences' of the musical tradition that has survived throughout centuries in different foreign political structures. In that respect, the main influence of Komitas on Armenian music historiography is his effort to describe a 'unique' Armenian 'national' music tradition within an ideology in parallel to the European national music movement in the 19th and 20th century musicology. Furthermore, it can be traced that his discourses and ideological position reflects today's mainstream Armenian music scholarship. The legacy and the influence of Komitas Vardapet on giving meaning to Armenian music will be discussed in the following sections of this chapter, broadly. Similarly, Grigor Suni (1919) expresses his aim for discussing the history of Armenian music as "…studying all the changes that have taken place in the course of time in that branch of the Armenian arts, to reveal all the distinct qualities that are characteristically Armenian" (2005, p. 7).

The distinctive characteristics of 19th and 20th century Armenian music history can be summarized with the aim on the creation of national folk-song collections by ethnographic documentation, canonizing the national repertoire, and presenting that

repertoire in an aestheticized way common to European ideals of that age. Komitas, Krikor Suni, Kristafor Kara-Murza, Makar Yekmalyan, Spiridon Melikyan, are the most remarkable masters from that period who have folk-song collections and polyphonic arrangements of both sacred and secular musics, reflecting the national folk-song movement.

2.1.3.3 Westernization: Emergence of polyphony and the choral tradition

As Bohlman (2004) indicates that choruses of all sizes and shapes grew in number throughout Europe and also provided crucial connective tissue for the expanding national song networks in the 19th century, "...national songs emphasized the collective, and performance as a collective clearly underscored the metaphorical meaning of the songs for the nation itself" (p. 57). The excerpt below, which is taken from a handout book for foreign students, *From History of Armenian Choral Art*, exemplifies the connective relation between nation, song and choral singing as a performance practice in the Armenian case:

> For a free Armenian, the national song is a core value of national identity, a part and parcel of our entire cultural heritage vibrant with melody and stunning panorama of choral performance. Our singing art is a tune, born from the destiny of our nation and from the history of its spiritual culture. Armenian singing art, a unique musical and artistic phenomenon, is the history and culture of the nation, our destiny and certificate of our spiritual identity. (Davtyan, 2006, p. 10)

One of the primary contexts for the choruses had been the church and liturgical music in general. Polyphony was adapted to sacred Armenian music firstly, also. In the 19th century, with the participation of polyphonic choirs and the organ in the celebration of the Divine Liturgy, equal temperament was introduced. It may be useful to take a glance at the history of sacred Armenian music in order to understand that polyphonic tradition. In the 8th century, an official system of church modes was adapted in which the *sharagan*s were grouped in modes. There are eight *tsayn*s (modes) and two *steghi*s (composite modes), each named after the letters of the Armenian alphabet (Vardapet, 2001 (1913), p. 142). During the 9th century, new *sharagan* melodies were composed and the standardization of *sharagan* melodies among churches was achieved (please hear DVD: 15). (Kazarian, 1983, p. 20). The use of *khaz* notation contributed to the transmission of repertories throughout the centuries. The *khaz* notation became unintelligible after the 15th century and is still

so because the key of the system has been lost. The melodies, which are now accessible, were written down in the 1870s with the title *Mayr Yeghanak* (Main Melody) in Hampartsum notation. From the time of loss of *khaz* notation until their notation in the late 19th century those melodies were transmitted orally in the same way as folksongs, thus losing some characteristics of professional compositions and almost becoming folksongs (Pahlevanian et al, 2011). The rapid change of direction in Armenian sacred music was due to the fact that young Armenian musicians were being trained in the leading conservatories of Europe and Russia in the second half of the 19th century. Harmony was now being used in Armenian sacred music as the most significant turning point in the course of Armenian singing tradition. It was Kristafor Kara-Murza who introduced harmony to Armenian religious and secular music in 1885. In addition, Amy Apkar in 1896, Levon Chilingirian in 1906 and some others wrote some *badarak* (Holy Mass) versions, too, but they were not accepted officially by the Armenian Apostolic Church. The most widespread *badarak* was Makar Yekmalian's version accepted officially in 1896. Komitas'a version was published with the title *Chants of the Sacred Liturgy of the Armenian Apostolic Church* in Paris in 1933. Komitas wrote a four-part contrapuntal *badarak*, which is used as one of the last versions beside Yekmalian's version. One of Komitas' students, Vartan Sarkisian, rearranged Komitas' *badarak* for three-part mixed choir, too. (Kazarian, 1983, p. 20).

This reformist movement in the church music caused a polarization among the *tıbir*s (church singers or *mugannis*). The people who feared that musical notation could harm oral tradition and thus were against the use of notation at the beginning, gradually decreased in number and the conflicts focused on the issues of poliphony and westernization. For instance, the advocates of westernization argued that Europenization was a necessary step for the development of humanity and thus claimed that the Ottoman music was monophonic and underdeveloped. In this respect, *tıbir*s who continued using the Ottoman musical expression styles became conspicuous and a dichotomy was created between the *alafranga* (European) and *alaturka* (Ottoman) styles of musical expression (please hear DVD: 16-17). The interest in Western music is also apparent in musical pieces printed in several music magazines [like *Knar Arevelyan* (Eastern Lyra) and *Knar Haygagan* (Armenian Lyra)] published in Istanbul during the late 19th century, as these musical pieces

were written with the Western notation system. Over years, it was thought that the authentic traditional styles used in the Armenian Church Music became more similar to the Ottoman music and the East, and consequently, a completely Western style of musical expression was adopted in the churches. The ideological tendency of the period became a decisive factor in determining today's musical performances (please hear DVD: 18). According to Kerovpyan and Yılmaz (2010), the gap experienced in the 20th century in the field of Armenian Church Music Studies, has its roots in this tendency towards the Western world. (pp. 127-129)

The other context that caused an improvement on Westernized polyphonic performance in Armenian music in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century is the Soviet-imposed practice under the influential nativization policy of *korenizatsia* that provides 'the right of self-determination' for the republics of the union. Lenin applied this policy by satisfying national sentiments of the ethnic groups and eliminating the ethnic inequalities in order to get the support for Soviet rule. In his book, *The Duduk and National Identity in Armenia* and his article 'A Look at the Emergence of the Concept of National Culture in Armenia: The Former Soviet Folk Ensemble', Andy Nercessian (2001) classifies the aims of Soviet ideology in three rough categories: "Firstly, the goal of 'advancement,' which took on the particular form of Europeanization. Secondly, the elimination of any cultural forms suggestive of class differences, such as opera. Thirdly the survival of national elements in culture…" (p. 30). Formation of ensembles of folk instruments, standardizing traditional instruments, tunes and harmonies through modeling European style and endeavoring to raise folk music to the level of European classical music appear as the main strategies of that *korenizatsia* policy, especially in the 1920s, when Armenia voluntarily came under Soviet rule. Using this scheme, a somewhat artificial, nationally unifying culture was conceived.

2.2 Komitas as The Icon of Armenian National Music

> We can't talk about Armenian folk music without always mentioning Komitas' name. Whatever Komitas did for Armenian folk music, for our music, is just something beyond description… He is the God of Armenian music. We were sitting in an empty table without Komitas. (H. Harutunian, personal communication, September 23, 2010)

> Gomidas[35] Vartabed is a symbol of the proud stance taken by the Armenian people in the face of the suffering and devastation they endured. When he left his homeland, he left his heart and soul behind him. Like all Armenians who are scattered around the world[36]. (Esayan, 2009)

Komitas Vardapet is an Armenian musician, composer, priest and musicologist who has been the main reference point on Armenian music historiography. I believe that the two quotations above best reflect what he means for Armenian people, best. Komitas' work can be symbolized as a medium for the cultural revival of Armenians from the beginning of the 20th century onwards. Armenians in Turkey, Armenia or the Diaspora know who Komitas was and his contributions to Armenian culture. His name was mentioned in all of my interviews in Istanbul and Yerevan. Besides, I could observe that the cultural memory of Armenians on Armenian music and folklore is based on Komitas' works and discourses. It is not an exaggeration to say that he is a cultural icon, a myth or a legendary, heroic character for Armenians. It does not mean that all the Armenian people feel the same way about him, but I suppose that he has a significant role in Armenian identity formation. In addition, the discipline that studies his life and work is called 'Komitasology', with researchers known as 'Komitasologs' within the Armenian academic circle around the world.

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[35] Some letters such as K, T, P in Eastern Armenian is shown with the letters G, D, B in Western Armenian. I preferred Komitas Vardapet's own preference on writing his name. But when I'm citing, I didn't want to change the original material.

[36] Gomidas Vartabed, Ermeni halkının yaşadığı acıların ve hayata karşı gösterdikleri onurlu duruşun sembolüdür. O, ülkesinden ayrılırken aklını ve ruhunu arkasında bırakmıştı. Dünyaya saçılan bütün Ermeniler gibi.



Figure 2.1: Komitas Vardapet, Cairo, June 1911 (Gasparian 2009).

In 2010, seventyfifth anniversary of Komitas Vardapet's death was commemorated throughout the world. The 2010 Istanbul European Capital of Culture Agency in collaboration with several civil initiations in Istanbul organized a series of commemorative events. Although the main aim of those activities can be regarded as commemorating Komitas within the community, a larger purpose was to introduce him to the public in Turkey. Media coverted those events as the result of attempts by organizers on targeting also the non-Armenian audience in Istanbul.

A short film about Komitas was made by SAR production in collaboration with The department of Radio, TV and Cinema of Istanbul University and The Department of Cinema and Television at Istanbul Bilgi University. Its five-minute version received an award from Conscience Films, a short movie contest organized by the Hrant Dink Foundation. That film led the way for the foundation of the Gomidas Platform within the Armenian community of Istanbul in June 2010. Gomidas Platform's first activity was putting together a choir consisting of 31 prominent male voices from the local Armenian Church choirs. The choir was named as GUSAN/KUSAN-2010 after the

Kusan Choir founded by Komitas in 1910, which had over 300 choristers. The choir performed Gomidasian Badarak[37] in four voices at the Surp Garabed Armenian Church in Üsküdar. That performance was repeated as a concert at the Beyoğlu Üç Horan Church by the same choir and was released as a commercial record with the contribution of the 2010 Istanbul European Capital of Culture Agency, Anadolu Kültür and Istanbulahay. All of those events were consolidated with some symbolic meanings, such as stating that 2010 is the 140th anniversary of the birth of Komitas or the 75th anniversary of his death or 100th anniversary of his visit to Istanbul. His Anatolian origin was put forward firstly instead of his Armenianness, as it was stated in the manifest which was published on the website of Gomidas Platform:

> This is an adventure;
> new friends are needed
> to complete it,
> the story of a journey
> with a long breath.
> Like the stories of our ancestors.
> We listened to your places,
> we worked in your name;
> we suffered like Gomidas...
> And with such a short distance left
> to make real the stuff of our dreams,
> we ask you be our fellow traveler;
> and let us tell you our aspirations...
> Let us tell you,
> so that this wind may envelope you too,
> wrap you in such a way
> that Anatolia may embrace Gomidas again and be forgiven[38].

In the commemoration concert for Komitas Vardapet, *Respect for Gomidas: Songs of This Land*, Armenian and Turkish songs collected, arranged or composed by Komitas were performed by a large number of guest musicians including the Karasun

[37] *Surp Badarak* means 'Holy Mass' in Armenian. Gomidasian Badarak is one of the most widely performed two arrangements of Badarak in the world. It was arranged for 4 parts, but it also has a 3-part version. Armenian choirs in Istanbul generally sing the 3-part version.

[38] Bu bir serüven; başarmak için yeni dostların gerektiği, uzunca soluklu bir yol hikâyesi. Atalarımızın tüm hikâyeleri gibi… Sizin yerinize dinledik, çalıştık sizin adınıza; Gomidas'la hemhal olduk…Ve hayallerimizdekini gerçekleştirmeye az bir yol kala, istedik ki yoldaş olun bizimle; size de anlatalım düşlerimizi… Anlatalım ki, bu rüzgâr sizi de sarsın; sarsın ki, Anadolu tekrardan kucaklaşsın Gomidas'la, helalleşsin…

Mangants, Lusavoriç, Sahakyan, Surp Takavor and Vartanants choirs of Istanbul; renowned pianist Şahan Arzruni; singers Ari Edirne, Sevan Şencan, Kevork Tavityan, Aynur and Şevval Sam; and musicians from BGST and the Aşkın Ensemble.

Furthermore, some publications were distributed at those concerts. The first one, *Gomidas: The Voice of This Land* included the summary of Komitas' biography, his music and some of his articles. It was edited by the researcher Diran Lokmagözyan. The other is the Turkish translation of a biographic book titled *Archeology of Madness: Gomidas*, written by Rita Soulahian Kuyumjian. Moreover, the authors of these two books held a seminar in which they summarized their work and discussed the meaning of Komitas for Armenian society. So, all those activities and the effort of introducing Komitas to the public was aiming at a dialogue between Armenians and non-Armenians, as well. Because the trauma Komitas lived through in 1915 resulted in the devastation of his life, Komitas' story could be read as the articulation of the Armenians' trauma in general.

Before continuing on the biographic information and the contributions of Komitas Vardapet, I should state why I gave place to Komitas in this chapter. One of the significant reasons for the discussion of Komitas in the whole chapter is his historical role as the founder of that constructed and invented traditional Armenian music concept for the generations after 1915. Because I am questioning the role and the meanings of Armenian music on the construction of identities, Komitas' definitions on 'what Armenian music is' and my informants' descriptions and discourses by the means of cultural memory on Komitas present a useful framework for the dissertation. In this chapter, I will discuss the relationship between music and national identity, considering it an interpenetrative process. In that context, I will claim that music does not only reflect or represent the Armenian authenticity and national identity but also constructs and maintains it.

2.3 The Legacy of Komitas Vardapet

Komitas Vardapet was born in the province of Kütahya in Western Anatolia in 1869. His childhood was full of deprivation because he lost his family at an early age. He appreciated the musicality of his family that he inherited in his musical talent. In his autobiography, he wrote that his parents came from families of naturally gifted

singers in both sacred and secular music (Vardapet, 2001 (1908), p. 3). He was chosen to be educated at the Kevorkian Seminary in Etchimiadzin when he was a 12-year old orphan. After graduating from the seminary, he was appointed as the music teacher in the seminary and also started to conduct research on Armenian sacred music. In 1895, he was ordained as a priest. He collected folk songs; rehearsed with a choir and folk instrument orchestra; studied harmony with the composer Magar Yekmalian and prepared for European conservatories in Tiflis. Because he thought the notation system of Hampartsum Limondjian[39] was the most efficient way to record Armenian monodic music, he used it to transcribe Armenian folk music from the peasantry (Begian, 1964, p. 60). He was later given the opportunity to study music at the private conservatory of Richard Schmidt and musicology at Friedrich-Wilhelm Royal University in Berlin. In 1899, Komitas came back to Echmiadzin and started to work at the Kevorkian Seminary again. He was spending all his time with musical activities, especially the collecting and harmonizing of Armenian folk songs as a consequence of his admiration for German classical music, especially the work of Richard Wagner, in addition to Liszt and Verdi. "'Wagner,' he wrote, 'gave a national music to Germany, and a lesson to foreigners,' something he deeply wished to do for his own country" (Kuyumjian, 2001, p. 52). In the same way he was to give a national music to Armenians. He worked with his friend, Manug Apegian, who would soon become one of the most prominent scholars of Armenian oral literature, on the collection of *Hazar u Mi Khagh* (A Thousand and One Songs) with the collaboration of their pupils who were transcribing folk songs during holidays at their homes. In 1907, he also published one part of his *Hay Knar* collection. In addition, he had a significant advance on his research on *Khaz* notation, trying to find the lost key that would help him decipher the neumes. He was spending all his time on lectures, concert tours and conferences abroad. Komitas' popularity as a researcher and a talented musician had spread through Europe and the Middle East. He gave lectures and organized choirs in France, Geneva and Venice. As Kuyumjian (2011) states "He had become a living symbol of cultural revival, frequently quoted in the Armenian press, and widely considered by European musicologists to be making some of the most valuable contributions in the field." (p. 62).

[39] A notational system, which borrowed neumatic, characters from 12th century Armenian neumes that can notate pitch and duration of pitch without the use of a staff.

In 1910, Komitas went to Istanbul. He aimed to found a national conservatory there and expected to find an environment that encourages his activities. But he had to meet the Armenian community with national Armenian music first. He founded the Kusan choir, consisting of 300 people, and held concerts in Istanbul, Bursa, İzmir, Alexandria, Egypt and elsewhere (Begian, 1964, p. 153). They were singing both Armenian sacred and secular music in their concert repertoire. So, the clergy criticized Komitas because he and his Kusan choir performed sacred songs on stage and he made concerts containing secular songs as a *vardapet* (priest). The concert repertories included 2 parts; the first consisted of sacred songs and the second was the secular part. The patriarch of Istanbul wanted him to extract those sacred songs from the repertoire. However, Komitas claimed that he had the permission from the Catholicos (Begian, 1964, p. 160). Those anti-Komitas criticisms decelerated in the Istanbul community after successful concerts and informative lectures on Armenian music.

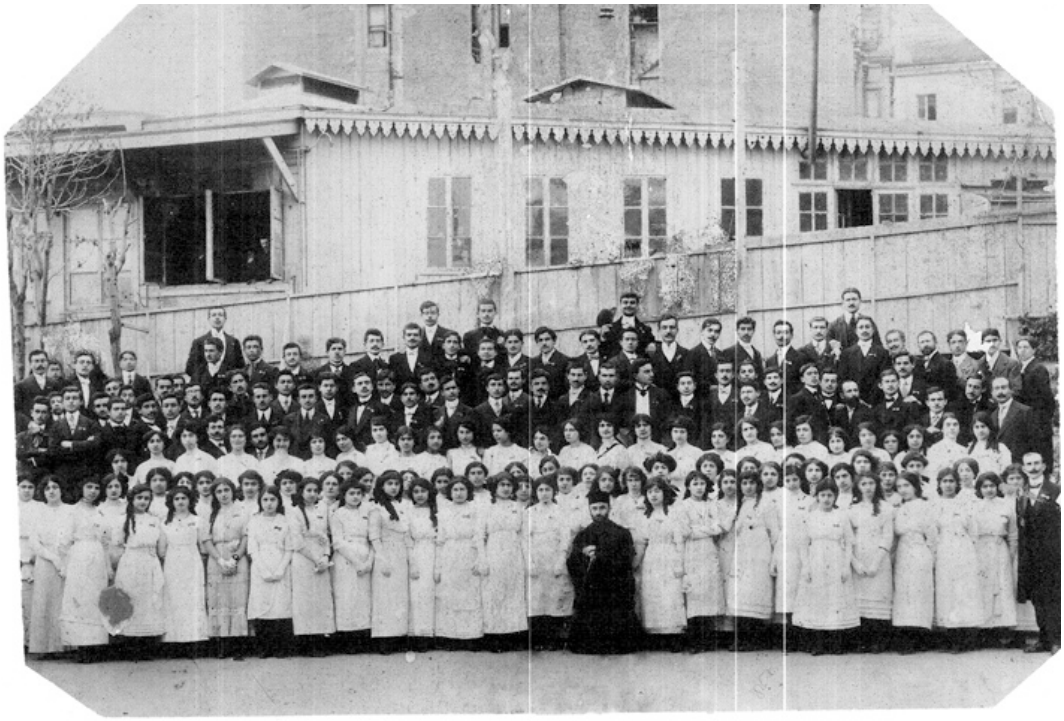


Figure 2.2: Komitas Vardapet's Kusan Choir in the yard of the 'Winter Theatre of Petits Champs' in Istanbul.

As indicated before, one of Komitas' main concerns in Istanbul was to establish a national music conservatory. He educated some talented young students in Istanbul on singing, elementary theory and harmony in order to help himself at a preliminary level of his ideal. Vartan Sarksyan, Mihran Tumajan, Parsegh Ganachyan, Hayg

Semerdjyan and Vagharshag Srvantsdyants are some of those students and are called the five disciples of Komitas (Begian, 1964, p. 184).



Figure 2.3: Five disciples of Komitas Vardapet (Gasparian 2009).

Unfortunately he was not able to realize his aim to continue his research and musical works. On April 24, 1915, more than two hundred Armenian intellectuals, suspected of spreading Armenian nationalist sentiments, were ordered to be arrested by the military. This event is symbolized as the start of 1915 in general. Komitas was one of those intellectuals on a death walk towards Çankırı. After 15 days arrested in the deportation, he and seven people from the convoy were allowed to come back to Istanbul. However, his mind was never freed of that trauma. According to Rita Kuyumjian (2001);

> It is clear that during the terrible journey to the death-camp, which involved enough trauma to place enormous strains on even the most stable of psyches, Komitas suffered an episode of what is now called Acute Stress Disorder (ASD)[40], a type of psychological stress reaction that is similar in many ways to Posttraumatic Stress Disorder but shorter in duration, more acute in onset, and quicker to appear. (p. 134).

[40] "A person afflicted by ASD is someone who "experienced, witnessed, or was confronted with an event or events that involved actual or threatened death or serious injury to the self or others, and whose response to these events involved intense fear, helplessness, or horror." (Kuyumjian, 2001, p. 134).

In 1916, Komitas was put in a psychiatric hospital in Istanbul firstly and then Paris where he spent almost 20 years of his life. He never could recover, and at last died in that hospital and was then buried in Yerevan in Armenia.

After an overview of Komitas' biography, I would like to discuss Komitas' spectrum of meaning as being a cultural icon of the Armenian world. Before, it may be better to point out his contributions taking into consideration his professional career historically. On the one hand, Komitas brings music as the founding component of culture and identity devoting his life to acquaint the Armenian community with Armenian music. He claimed to expose national Armenian music through his all works; folk song collections, his own compositions, arrangements, lectures, articles, etc. He was a musicologist, collector, musician, composer, conductor and ecclesiastic, but beside all of those qualifications he was an educator and transmitter of cultural memory. He has a unique, sentimental place in the hearts of Armenians emerging as one of the most important historical figures not only because of his musical contributions but also his position as a cultural conservator.

In the articles entitled *Armenian Peasant Music* and *An Overview of Armenian Folk Music*, Komitas Vardapet (2001) classifies the Armenian folk songs into types of peasant songs, ritual songs, epic songs, ballads, ditties and *andunis* (songs of homelessness). He defines the songs respective of age and gender; categorizes the types of human voice with the usage of European standard terms such as soprano, tenor, etc.; depicts the folk instruments with organological information and musical analysis; discusses the role of peasants in collective creation of song through ethnographic narratives; and gives sophisticated structural musical analysis on phonometry, temporal values of rests and meter considerations. He makes song lyrics analysis in an interdisciplinary appeal in relation to linguistics and structural folk song analysis discussing melody, scale, duration, meter, tempo, text, and prosody in his article *The Plowing Song of Lori as Sung in Vardablour Village*.

The content of those articles coheres to many points with comparative musicology practices, a 19th century field of study that was prominent in Europe, particularly in Germany. The comparative musicology of Carl Stumpf (1848-1936), Erich M. Von Hornbostel (1877-1935), Jaap Kunst (1891-1960) and Robert Lachmann (1892-1939) was centered on the study of musical systems (Myers, 1992). Komitas obtained his main music education in Berlin from 1896 to 1899 and was one of the founding

members of the International Music Society, which had been founded by Oskar Fleischer who was Komitas' professor and Max Seiffert in 1899 with the aim of promoting international musical contacts (Häusler, 2011). So he had the opportunity to follow musicological debates at the Berlin school, or it may be more accurate to say that he was a member of those debates. To exemplify, scholars from a comparative school, like Carl Stump and Eric M. Von Hornbostel, used musical transcription mostly in the beginning of the 20th century. Transcription and analysis became a medium through which a scientific appeal was gained in the field. Transcription and analysis were also the primary techniques of Komitas' debate in his articles and lectures. When demonstrating the distinctive features of Armenian music, he would also make some comparisons pointing out the differences of Turkish, Kurdish, Persian and Arabic folk songs (Atayan and Geodakyan, 2006, p. 32). In addition, he had a comparative approach when arguing the characteristics of Armenian church and folk music with an influence again of foreign music on Armenian national music.

Actually, it should be considered that his works are pioneering and remarkable not only for the Armenian world but also for the Ottoman Empire and Europe. When he participated in the Conference of International Music Society in Paris in 1914, he presented three lectures[41] and performed Armenian music, and was received with words of praise from many musicologists and musicians. Professor Guido Adler[42] from Vienna declared, "If God does not hear the pleas of the Armenians, whose will he hear?" (as cited by Kuyumjian, 2001, p. 105). Claude Debussy exclaimed excitedly: "Brilliant father Komitas! I bow before your musical genius... If Komitas wrote only 'Antouny', that alone would be enough to consider him a great artist". French musician F. Macler notes Komitas' presentations in an article entitled *La Musique en Armenie* as follows: "His lectures about folk songs, especially the one about the plough songs were the most successful papers of the conference" (as cited by Lokmagözyan, 2010, p. 38).

[41] The first lecture was on the study of Armenian musical notation (khaz); the second one was on Armenian folk music and the third one was on the distinctive features of Armenian musical structures. (Kuyumjian, 2001, p. 105)

[42] Guido Adler is one of the founding members of musicology as an academic discipline.

Komitas also received appreciation from the Non-Armenian population including some government officials and some Turkish intellectuals from *Türk Ocağı* (Turkish Hearths), like Halide Edip Adıvar, Mehmet Emin Yurdakul and Hamdullah Suphi Tanrıöver (Lokmagözyan, 2010, pp. 30-31). Rita Kuyumjian quotes a very interesting narrative that explores the relationship of Komitas with the intellectuals from the Young Turks in her conspicuous book. Komitas was invited to an organization held by *Türk Ocağı* to perform his music in Istanbul. An Armenian doctor Hovannes Manoogyan participated in the entertainment as the second Armenian. He describes the events of the evening to H.J. Siruni (1968):

> …The prince, Talat Bey and other higher government functionaries were there… writers; scientists and Muslim clergymen came in one by one… I knew Komitas Vardapet from before… but he looked so changed, so pale and sad. The master of ceremonies, Hamdullah Subhi, introduced Komitas and said… 'This son of Anatolia, an Armenian clergyman has, with his dedication and hard work, given wings to Armenian music… he ignored comfort and luxury and spent his music… he ignored comfort and luxury and spent his time in the villages collecting folk songs… and presented those songs as part of the Armenian national heritage… If only our clergy did the same thing. I wonder what treasures they would find, treasure that could elevate the value of the sensitive heart and the thinking mind of the Turkish nation… The truth… is that the Armenian nation remains on the frontier of our cultural life. Wherever you go in Turkey, in any corner of Anatolia, the Armenian mind, the creative Armenian mind and hand will greet you and tell you 'I am here'… (as cited by Kuyumjian, 2001, p. 105).

In her memoir, Halide Edip Adıvar (2005) also indicates that the invitation of Gomidas to *Türk Ocağı* was encouraged by the idea that "introducing the other nations' art develops our culture" (as cited by Çalışlar, 2011, p. 106). Komitas' leading role especially in collecting the folk songs of Anatolia, attracted the attention of Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, a prominent figure in the musicology studies carried out in the republican era. In one of his articles where he tried to emphasize that the collection studies for Turkish folk songs should have been started much earlier, Gazimihal states his opinions about Komitas. His thoughts quoted below, give important musical clues about the ideological tendency that became dominant after 1915 and during the foundation of the Republic of Turkey:

> It is essential to understand the phases that our folk music studies have so far gone through. Turkish musicologists who have learnt about the scientific studies on music acted swiftly to bring the youth's attention to the folklore studies in the western world. To sum up, in one of his articles in the *Şehbal Magazine*, which is published after the Second Constitutional period

> of the Ottoman Empire, Rauf Yekta B. mentioned about the efforts of the western world to collect folk songs and asserted that we should also collect our own folk songs. Turkish musicians who had a deep knowledge about musical notation, i.e. Hüseyin Saadettin B. and the deceased İsmail Hakkı B., collected a vast number of melodies belonging to various communities. However, their efforts never reached into inner Anatolia. Greek collector Pahtikos (1905) and Armenian musician P. Komitas Vardapet (1905) collected various Greek and Armenian folk songs from Anatolia. As these folk songs carried the characteristics of Turkish '*türkü*s' (folk songs), they are also of great concern to us. However, Komitas and Pahtikos did not work according to modern techniques, did not use phonographs and did not even mention the nation these songs belonged to. They also worked with the aim of finding new materials to be used in their 'political-ethnic' extremist propaganda, so the final product of their studies were of little importance. Collection studies carried out by Komitas are especially covered in clouds of suspicion; we cannot condemn him enough for this (Gazimihal, 1929, p. 5).

Moreover, it is known that Komitas' collecting activity is not limited to only Armenian songs. He recorded approximately 100 Turkish songs, which he recorded in his native town of Kütahya, in 1892. He identifies those songs as *şarkı* or *türkü* indicating their makams. Melodies of 69 songs embrace *makam*s marked by Komitas – Uşşak, Hüseyni, Hicaz, Şehnaz, Saba, Bestenigar, Rast, Hüzzam, Suzinak, Nihavend, Segah, Eviç, Aşiran, Irak, Buselik and Hisar (Atayan and Geodakyan, 2006, p. 33). Only 16 songs of that collection have been published. This collection has yet another interesting feature in that out of 22 people singing for Komitas, 20 were Armenian and some of them were his relatives; his uncle Harutiun Agha Soghomonian, aunts Guluneh Soghomonyan, Zemrht and Zaruhi Soghomonyans, and others. When I held an interview with Diran Lokmagözyan, who works on Komitas' manuscripts, especially the ones that contain Turkish collections, he said that Komitas composed some Turkish songs in Istanbul, surprisingly. Lokmagözyan points out the difficulty of interpreting Komitas' compositions into the Turkish language that present praises to the Ottoman sultan or the ones he composed on Mehmet Emin Yurdakul's nationalist poems. So, the interaction between him and those intellectuals from *Türk Ocağı* is a cloak of secrecy that should be researched by the historians.

Komitas also collected, transcribed and published Kurdish folk songs. One of the myths about Komitas is that he wrote his dissertation on Kurdish music. However, his only material related to Kurdish music is a small collection of *Kurdish Melodies*

Recorded by Archimandrite Komitas containing 13 transcriptions of his collections (Vardapet, 1904). However, Steven Blum (2010) emphasizes the significance of that collection in the entry of 'Kurdish Music' in *Grove Music Online* as the following: "The first substantial efforts to notate and analyze Kurdish music were made by the Armenian composer, singer and scholar Komitas Vardapet (1869–1935)."

2.4 The Spirit of National Folk Song

Folk music was and still is a cultural construct used for a variety of political agendas. Throughout the 19th century, folksongs were often published together with new songs inspired by the 'spirit of the people', often with piano accompaniment, with the aim of creating national music and forming national taste. In the early 20th century, Bartók attempted to define the essence of the Magyar musical style and thereby to distinguish Hungarian peasant music from that of the Roma with which it had been previously associated. In England, Sharp hoped to eventually found a national school of English music through the introduction of English folk songs into schools (Pegg, 2011). In creating socialist international identities under the former Soviet system, the identification of 'folk' or 'people's music was an important strategy. During the foundation of the Turkish Republic period the folk music arena was a field of combat, too.

The legacy of Komitas was also a reflection of the folk song[43] movement through modernization in the late 19th century when the folk song concept was a constitutive of nationalism. The discovery of folk defining the people sharing common culture of a nation and discovery of the folk song allowed people to take charge of their own narratives and link these up the histories of their own nations. Because it was possible through folk song that the music of one nation came to be different from that of another, folk songs had become symbolic representors in an era of expanding nationalism. The German philosopher and historian Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803), as the first user of the word Volkslieder (folk song), argues that the real voices

[43] Definition of the term 'Folk song (Volkslied)' is established by German cultural philosopher, theologian and writer Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). He stressed the necessity of folksong production by 'communal composition' and an aesthetic of 'dignity'.

of the people were audible in their songs and there was no other commonly specific form than national song (Bohlman, 2004, p. 42).

Therefore, we should analyze what the words 'national' and 'folk song' mean in Komitas' own discourses comparing the European conceptualization from the late 19th century towards the first quarter of the 20th century in order to interpret the meaning of Komitas' legacy. It may be helpful to look at his discourses in the articles. He defines 'the spirit of national folk song' in one of his articles entitled *An Overview of Armenian Peasant Music* as "the aggregate of patterns that a nation instinctively employs in singing" (Vardapet, 2001 (1908), p. 69). He analyses patterns as 'grammatical expressive accent, musical accent'; articulation of the text and corresponding improvised melody, the choice of tone color (nasal, guttural, or chesty sounds), choice of prosody befitting a song, the genres of songs, etc. Those musical characteristics will be discussed later but in fact, the combination of the two concepts 'folk' and 'song' is the real articulation of the spirit of national music, as Komitas indicated as follows: "All things which have an immediate association with a song, provided that they are immediate, non-artificial, intrinsic reflections of the internal and external life of the folk, express the spirit of national music" (p. 69).

According to Michael Tenzer (2006), music analysis purposes "to demonstrate or inspire compositional depth or ingenuity, to discover an archetypal sound-structure model on which a music or repertoire is based, to symbolize or reflect a philosophy, social value or belief [of the analyst, the composer(s), performer(s), or their society], to reveal a historical process of change…" Then he asks, "Is every analysis an expression of ideology?" (pp. 7-9). Komitas' noteworthy struggle on defining the spirit of national folk song should be emphasized in that point in my opinion. Folk was used as a synonym for nation. The identification of nation or folk was initially referred to as peasants, laying claim to its authenticity, in the 19th century. So, the music was like a mediator, which translates peasant culture to national culture. Across Europe many researchers and composers worked on collecting songs but especially collecting peasants songs. Mineo Ota (2006) examines the historical background of Béla Bartok's view of peasant music by concentrating on his influential use of the word 'spirit' in an article (p. 45). Ota interprets Bartok's argument of the spirit of peasant music connecting to both the discourse of cultural nationalism and to that of the modernism of his day. Bartok redefined Hungarian-

ness in the context of international modernism of music but posited the spirit of peasant music repeatedly in justification of his endeavors. In addition, Frigyesi (1994) explains the significance of peasants in Hungary in the second half of the 19th century through the rapid growth of the domestic economy that causes change in the social structure of country. That change enabled the formation of the modern bourgeoisie as the new middle class. The progressive intellectuals highlighted the culture of peasants, the lowest class in the society, as a point of reference for Hungary's cultural identity instead of the gentry's way of life (p. 271). As Anthony Smith (1999) points out, the peasants became "quasi-sacred objects of nationalist concern, since they carry many memories and myths (ballads, dances, crafts, customs, social organizations, tales, and dramas), which the nationalist intellectuals draw upon for the construction of their ethnic myth of descent, and its programme of regeneration" (p. 85). According to Frigyesi (1994), we must consider this context when interpreting the national aspect of Bartok: "Bartok clearly saw the peasants were the most abandoned segment of Hungarian society. His insistence on the importance of peasant music and his idealization of the peasant was in a sense an expression of his moral commitment, his unconditional loyalty to the underprivileged" (p. 278). It is possible to catch some similarities between Bartok's and Komitas' ideals on the spirit of peasant/national folk music. Komitas wrote a preface that appears in the program book for the concert given in Constantinople with the 300-voice Kusan choir in 1911. He spoke of Armenian peasant vocal music in three categories: *Bar asel* (to intone), *Khagh asel* (to sing) and *Khagh ganchel* (to chant). In addition, at the end of the text he defined the correlation between peasant, nature and folk song:

> The peasant is the true child of nature; therefore he has savored nature with his entire soul and heart. Nature speaks in his songs, for it has first spoken in his heart. The sea of nature moves within his heart, for he himself dwells on nature's waves. His songs are his life, for he has infused his whole life into his singing. Finally, folk songs are various expressive mirrors, which separately reflect the position, climate, nature, and life of the diverse locales in which they were born. (Vardapet, 2001 (1908), p. 105)

In Komitas' expressions above, the description of peasant life can be appreciated through that romantic nationalist discourse. This manifestation is also the presentation of peasants to Istanbul urban society as the main, natural source of the Armenian nation by Komitas as an intellectual. And the notion of national music that

represents the essence/nature of peasants brings together the primordialist nationalism debates for the 19th and early 20th centuries. If that is so, then how can we historicize Komitas' emphasis on the spirit of folk music as we discussed in Bartok's case? Of course, nationalism is not a monolithic concept as other cultural movements and it is not possible to explain all types of nationalisms within only a grand theory. That national wind flowing upon geographies and people should be interpreted in their own context but not free from its historical background. So, is it possible to reduce Komitas' work to a simple state saying that "he was affected from the nationalist stream in Europe and tried to apply it in his work?" If not, how should we interpret Komitas' construction of 'nationalness'? Are there any facts that differentiate his 'national' ideal from the 'nationalist' version?

In the all-encompassing book *Klasik Osmanlı Müziği'nde Ermeniler* (Armenians in the Classical Ottoman Music), the authors recommend Marc Nichanian's conceptualization that historicizes Komitas' works as a reflection of the philology movement in the West (Kerovpyan and Yılmaz, 2010, pp. 141-42). Philology is a descriptive discipline, which studies written historical sources in the framework of literary studies, linguistics, philosophy and history through critical approaches in its broadest sense. Modern philology was introduced through the studies of Eastern languages, but especially Sanskrit in the 18th century and spread at the beginning of the 20th century. The philology movement provided the invention of European identity as inventing, imitating and adopting Ancient Greek culture and formed the background of identity debates. In addition, the concept of a modern nation appeared with the propagation of philology simultaneously. Philology aims to present 'essential identity' to the local people based on the assumption that they had lost the memory and consciousness about their past. However, oral tradition and local customs are the remains of past. By the agency of archeological and ethnographic research, cultural data is systematized; an ethnographic nation is invented and then presented to the local. When art productions are combining cultural components, community is transformed into the nation coming together around those shared characteristics (Kerovpyan and Yılmaz, 2010, pp. 141-42).

The philology movement and Armenian enlightenment became widespread by the Mıkhitarians throughout the Armenian people in the 18th century. The priest Mıkhitar and his students' works on the Modern Armenian language and publishing

activities were the pioneering rush of the Armenian Enlightenment (Zekiyan, 1997, p. 91). During the 19th century, besides the theoretical publications on language, history, geography and archeology, many Armenian folklore collections also were published. The invention of Hampartzum notation may be the first reflection of that Westernization process in the musical arena. The concept of notation overlaps with that philological turn of mind by means of preserving national tunes (Kerovpyan and Yılmaz, 2010, p. 123).

On the other hand, Marc Nichanian points out the 'aestheticization principle' on Komitas' works making an analogy for the ideals of both the *Mehyan* (an Armenian monthly review, published in 1914) group of Constantinople and Charents (Armenian poet as a figure of Eastern Armenian literature) in his comprehensive book *Writers of Disaster: Armenian Literature in the Twentieth Century*. Therefore Komitas' national ideal can be read by those historical analogies from the Constantinople of 1914 and from Soviet Armenia of 1934 within the discipline of literature. Charents made a speech with a title of *Trends in Development of our Literary Language and the Language of Derenik Demirjian* in Soviet Armenia in 1934 defining a national road that would not be nationalist. Three years after that speech, he was arrested by the Soviet regime and died in prison, but the other participants of those discussions also had their share of those oppressive politics. Charents' claim on defining a national road was based on the aestheticized literary language: "The only way to avoid flattening is to introduce distinctive elements of national form into the language that has been created on the basis of common principles [unification and standardization]" (Nichanian, 2002, p. 37). Charents expresses two tendencies of Eastern Armenians: "a tendency working in favor of the civil-literary language" and "the centrifugal tendency associated with all those who wrote in their dialects". And he tries to define a third way that can be summarized as the standardization of the language and unification of the various modes of speech (Nichanian, 2002, p. 37).

The process of aestheticization was also the credo of the Mehyan generation including some significant writers of Armenian literature like Daniel Varuzhan, Hagop Oshagan and Costan Zarian in 1914. The Mehyan group asserts that literarization of the language is possible through an aestheticization: "We want to found an aesthetics of the language" (Nichanian, 2002, p. 39). According to

Nichanian (2002), "The same determination to aestheticize can be found, in a very different domain, in Komitas, who, in the same period, was systematically collecting popular songs in order to the end of restoring them to sphere of Art. The Mehyan generation was perfectly well aware of the similarity between the two projects" (p. 32). Nichanian gives a place for Oshagan's statement in order to point out the leading role of Komitas' works for the *Mehyan* generation on recreating the popular sources: "Beginning with our songs, a priest of labor has created, for us who had become strangers to them, music so magnificent that it borders on revelation…" (p.38). Furthermore, Nichanian discusses that by means of the work of art, "the 'aesthetic principle,' it is possible to accomplish the reappropriation of that which had become alien to 'us' and which, ultimately constitutes this "us" as such as a national 'us'... And if 'we' are a nation, the nation in its turn is clearly the product of an 'aestheticization', of a process of 'aestheticization'". Then he interprets Komitas' 'national' emphasis as the part of creating 'us' by the way of art:

> Of course Komitas understood that thus drawing popular sources into the light of art was the only way to preserve them, infuse them with new life, and transmit them to his contemporaries, to whom they were, intellectually, perfectly alien. It was, in a word, the only way to transform those popular sources into a 'national' heritage and thus bring the national into being by way of art. (Nichanian, 2002, p. 40)

In that context, it is significant to define what 'us' is and what the characteristics of those who make 'us' are. Therefore, it is convenient to turn to Komitas' discourses on defining 'us' by means of his debates on the uniqueness of Armenian music.

2.5 Armenians Have A 'Unique' Music

> Poor Armenian people! A nation you are, as unique as other nations; nobody can deny that. Yours is a distinct tonque: you speak. You have a distinct mind: you judge. You have a distinct physionomy, through which you are distinguished from other nations and their physical make. But your heart, which is the source of your feelings, is allegedly not yours, it is merely Assyro-Byzantine and Indo-Persian. (Vardapet, 2001 (1913))[44]

Komitas Vardapet wrote a reactionary article with the title of 'Armenians Have a Unique Music' to the journal of *Azatamart*, published in Istanbul in 1913. He

[44] "Hayn ouni inqnouroyn erazhushtoutiun" , *Azatamart*, Constantinople, (1913), no.1316.

responded to H. T'irakian, physician, scholar, within a rough idiom because he denies the existence of Armenian music without academic proofs in his article. He cited T'irakian's claim as "I think a thing called Armenian music does not exist in the scholarly sense of the word… I understand that the Parisian musicological authorities concur… That which does exist has an Assyro-Byzantine or an Indo-Persian influence" (Vardapet, 2001 (1913), p. 207). Komitas' defense was based on historical facts regarding the interaction with foreign cultures from the 5th century onwards. However, he insisted that his forefathers gave them music "…which is as legitimate and indigenous, as unique and idiosyncratic" as their language and literature (p. 209).

In Komitas' articles and in my interviews, one of the challenging points that is underlined specifically is the issue of the 'uniqueness' of Armenian music. Furthermore, overmuch emphasis on uniqueness brings the conceptualization of musical style through isolating a national style and differentiating itself from the 'others'. Komitas' struggle on defining national style embodies to prove historical origins and the continuity, although Armenian land was invaded by many civilizations throughout history and Armenians had to live through some cultural breaks and corruptions because of that diasporic Armenian identity. So for him, the foreign influence on that national style should be removed in order to provide historical continuity of the spirit and the authenticity. In that point Komitas draws attention to the very tight connection between Armenian church and folk music: "I have found the living proof of authenticity in that the liturgical songs which I collected in villages and ancient monasteries in their primitive forms, are virtually identical to folk songs which are the unquestionable creations of the Armenian peasant". Therefore, he criticizes Armenian choir conductors and cantors in the church claiming that they were singing in Turkish style in Istanbul:

> In Turkey, *tiratsous*, the cantors in the church, began to embellish the Armenian songs with Turkish colorations when they sang for the banquets of their rich patrons. The noble and pure nature of the Armenian liturgical song did not amuse the guests who, living in Constantinople, had acquired some of the Turkish tastes and mores. In this way the Armenian liturgical music of the metropolis slowly lost a degree of its purity and national character as it required a Turkish laxity (Vardapet, 2001 (1914), p. 167).

Komitas' article, published on the 8th of October in 1910 in *Jamanag* as a response to the newspaper's strong criticism of him refers to the debate clearly:

> I do not say that the Armenian musicians of Constantinople are incapable or incompetent… but do say, whenever my opinion in the matter is asked, that since there isn't one music conservatory in all of Turkey, the Armenian musicians who have been raised and received their limited musical training in Turkey are not capable of being considered well-rounded musicians… I do not know musicians in Constantinople who are next to worthless, but who when writing critical articles in the newspapers sign them, 'musical specialist'… Even though writers such as these are in reality of very little worth, they sound most pretentious regarding their own musical abilities… I must also state that I am not (as claimed by the article) conceited by my own talent and that I have never any pretensions of being (as further claimed) the only Armenian musician or the God of Armenian music… Quite on the contrary, I have often said that had I not been so fortunate as to go to Etchimiadzin, and through the good graces of my benefactor Alexander Mantashian to Germany, I would have probably remained in Goodinah and become no more than a shoemaker as were my father and uncle before me (as cited by Begian, 1964, pp. 159-160).

This debate generally symbolizes the conflict of the aesthetics of Ottoman Classical Music and Armenian Church Music going back to the Westernization process in the 19th century. The use of Hampartzum notation resulted in a revival of Armenian Church Music and the increase of cantors. According to Kerovpyan and Yılmaz, the cultural revival of Armenians in Ottoman related with some factors such as the Westernization process, Tanzimat and the Reforms, *amira*s' (the upper class of Armenian aristocracy) close relationship with Sultan Mahmut, etc., provided more visibility of Armenian people in the public sphere. Then Armenians also participated in the Ottoman music arena densely and that interaction with the non-Armenian community enabled a performance sphere different from the community sphere. In addition, that foreign influence—especially defined as Turkish and Persian by Komitas—on Armenian Church Music had been a debate in the 1830s as it can be followed from the impressive statements of Hampartzum Limonjian:

> Those of our *diratsu* (cantors singing in Turkish style) brethren who bring many unsuitable melodies into the church, or who speak of a great *hanende* (classical Turkish singing style) or of a Jewish or Gypsy or Bektaşi style as a beautiful thing and bring that into a church, they can commit no greater offence. Nor is there anything more appealing than those who come up with some sort of throaty melodic turn, and thinking they have mastered something marvelous, proceed to put it everywhere. Cursing in a church is preferable to this... They may

> think they are bringing joy to the people but they are casting them into sin[45] (as cited by Kerovpyan and Yılmaz, 2010, p. 108).

On the other hand, while Komitas pointed out removing foreign influence in order to save the existence of unique and authentic Armenian national music, he opened the door to the European style as widely as possible. If we state that one of the significant components of aesthetic principle is the purification strategy on behalf of bringing to light unique Armenian folk music, the other is of course the Westernization process through polyphonic arrangements of folk music in monodic character. Peasant music was being reformulated as Western listeners or Armenian elites could understand and love. This tendency was formed by the modernization process together with the 'tradition' as it can be traced in Şahan Arzruni's (an Armenian pianist and composer) statements:

> Gomidas pondered as to how he could introduce these songs he had collected to the people of Istanbul. The elitist Armenians would say, "Who is going to listen to these village songs?" He was going to have to be clever. If he had wanted to, he could have arranged these melodies in the style of Schubert or Schumann and presented them as lied. But then they would no longer be Armenian songs! He needed to find a solution that would make the songs appealing to the ears of Europeans and the Armenian elite, yet not compromise their 'Armenian-ness'. The interpretation of Armenian songs in a manner understandable to Westerners is one of Gomidas' greatest achievements[46] (Taşçıyan, 2010).

In addition, since the supporters of the Westernization process dealt through an evolutionary belief that supposed Europeanization is a natural development process; they found other non-Western ways underdeveloped. So in musical terms, they supported also the appropriation and the implementation of polyphony. In the seminar held in Istanbul by Diran Lokmagözyan and Rita Soulahian Kuyumjian,

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[45] Diratsu kardeşlerimizden kimileri, kiliseye yakışmayan çeşit çeşit ezgileri [kiliseye] sokmakta, güzel sesli hanendenin ya da Yahudi'nin, Çingene'nin, Bektaşi'nin ağzını "ne güzel şeydir" diyerek getirip kiliseye sokmaktadırlar ki bundan daha büyük suç olamaz. Kimileri de iyi bir gırtlak nağmesi uydurmuşlar, iyi bir şey yaptıklarını zannedip her yerde yapıyorlar ki bundan daha tiksindirici bir şey olamaz; kilisede küfretmek bile bundan iyidir… Halkı coşkuya getireyim derken günaha sokuyorlar.

[46] Gomidas bu derlediği şarkıları İstanbul halkına nasıl tanıtacağını da hesaplıyor. Elitist Ermeniler 'Köylünün söylediği şarkıyı kim dinleyecek?' der! Kurnazlık etmesi gerekiyor. İsteseydi bu melodileri Schubert'in, Schumann'ın stiliyle bir accompagnan yazıp lied olarak tanıtabilirdi. Ama Ermencie şarkı olmaktan çıkardı! Öyle bir çözüm bulması gerekiyordu ki hem Avrupalıların, Ermeni elitlerin kulağına hitap eden bir şey olsun hem de Ermeniliğini kaybetmesin! … Gomidas'ın en önemli katkılarından biri Batılıların anlayacağı şekilde Ermeni halk şarkılarını yorumlaması…

Lokmagözyan's speech on Armenian music and polyphony still exemplify that evolutionary trend nowadays:

> ...if you want to make polyphonic music then you must switch to a tempered scale system. This is what Gomidas did. He left behind makams and switched to the tempered system in use today, much the same way Bach had several centuries before in Europe. I don't see this as a loss but as a gain. Otherwise we would still be stuck with monophonic music, we would not have moved from monophonic to polyphonic music. Polyphony is a more developed form of music[47] (D. Lokmagözyan, personal communication, September 25, 2010)

Therefore the debate about *diratsu*s -cantors singing in Turkish style- was not only a conceptual but also a functional situation. Due to the fact that the monodic, modal structure of the melodies and the embellished singing style are not applicable in harmonization, purification of the structure provided the polyphonic arrangements. In one of his articles Komitas exhibits his purification strategy obviously again stressing the difference of Armenian music from other modal traditions and describes his transcription strategy as below:

> The difference between our modes and other Eastern modes is that whereas they augment or diminish the compass of the tetrachord, we take a simple tetrachord and rearrange its intervals on the basis of semitones. In Persian, Turkish, And Arabic music they even make use of the impractical and senseless 1/3, 1/4 tones… Neumes should either be transcribed unchanged (except for printing errors), or thoughtful modifications should be applied to every melody and consistently. Modifying means purging the compositions from unnecessary trills, turns, and patterns which violate the spirit of our national ecclesiastical music, and which need to be filtered and purified: its harmonic structure should not be disturbed, but should be clarified; its melodies should not be reinvented but corrected in accordance with its character; its rhythms should not be subjected to unnecessary disturbances, without negating its regularities (Vardapet, 2001 (1898), p. 186).

Komitas applied that purification strategy not only to the sacred melodies but also to the folk songs that he collected. Is not that strategy too relativist for the one who tries the keep the authenticity of those songs? May people have a shared meaning for the expressions such as "senseless", "thoughtful modifications", "unnecessary disturbance"? Does "purging the compositions from 'unnecessary' trills, turns, and

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[47] … eğer çoksesli müzik yapmak istiyorsanız tempere edilmiş müziğe geçeceksiniz. Gomidas'ın yaptığı da buydu. Makamları bıraktı, makamlardan bugünkü tempere edilmiş müziğe geçti. Nasıl ki Bach yaptıysa bunu ondan birkaç yüzyıl once Avrupa'da. Bu bence bir kayıp değildir, bir kazanımdır. Yoksa biz hala tekseslilikte kalırız. Tekseslilikten çokseslilige geçemeyiz. Çokseslilik ise müziğin bir gelişmiş formudur.

patterns which violate the spirit of our national ecclesiastical music" mean giving up the use of all of them?

Most of the Armenian people had the information that Komitas cleaned foreign, non-Armenian elements in the songs and without any concern, as I indicated above, that information had quite positive reflections as exemplifying Komitas' hard work for his nation. It can be said that one of the main reasons behind the extraordinary trust of Komitas' musicality on this purification strategy is related with his musicological background and academic works that contain musical structure analysis as pioneering in that period not only in Anatolia and the Caucasus but also in Europe:

> This a natural form of expression for a villager; a mother never sings a lullaby exactly the same way twice. What Gomidas did was a version of this. The most important thing he did was to analyze beyond what was written down, he looked where the melody had long, short, high or low notes. Then he took a look at the words and compared the two. According to the dictates of prosody, a word should be delivered with a high note or a long note. Otherwise the words are forced and not the real words of the melody. He sought the essence. He found the template where the words sat[48] (as cited by Taşçıyan, 2010)
>
> He was cleaning, he collected 23 versions of the same song, he started to clean, clean influences and in his notes he said, 'I'm ready to fight for one note difference.' One note difference can make big problems for the Armenian music (H. Harutunian, personal communication, September 23, 2010).

On the other hand, Komitas' ethnographic accumulation on Armenian people and the information that he was just about to find the keys of khaz notation strengthen people's adoration without examining. Armenians have been gathering their folk songs since the 1860s. However, songs have been passed down through many generations, and with a written culture dating to late antiquity, some songs—secular and religious—have been notated and discussed in texts from as early as the 5th century. As indicated in the pages above, the *khaz* notation became unintelligible after the 15th century and cannot yet be read because the key of the system was lost. Komitas' findings about khaz notation after centuries were opening a door to its

[48] Köylü için bu doğadan gelen bir ifade biçimi. Bir anne bir ninniyi aynı şekilde söylemez, Gomidas'ın yaptığı onun bir versiyonu. Yaptığı en önemli şey bunları yazmanın ötesinde analiz etmek. Melodinin uzun, kısa, yüksek, alçak notaları var. Bir de sözlere bakıyor ve ikisini karşılaştırıyor. Prozodinin aksanlı olduğu bir kelimenin ya yüksek notalı olması lazım ya uzun notalı olması lazım. Öyle değilse o söz uydurulmuştur, o melodinin asıl sözü değildir. Aslını arıyor! Kalıp gibi oturan kelimeyi buluyor.

origin. He underlines insistently that Armenian folk music and liturgical music are like brothers and sisters referencing to his ethnographic work: "I have found the living proof of authenticity in that the liturgical songs which I have collected in villages and ancient monasteries in their primitive forms, are virtually identical to folk songs which are the unquestionable creations of Armenian peasant" (Vardapet, 2001 (1913), p. 169). However, those musical traditions have not developed in equal measure. Folk songs have been repressed, restrained, and restricted due to external political circumstances, but also, they did not lose their depth and expressive force. On the other hand, liturgical songs have flourished, grown and prospered under the inviolable protection of the church (Vardapet, 2001 (1913), p. 166).

Moreover, Armenian music reformulated and invented by Komitas, is an instrument defining Armenian authenticity and it brings about the uniqueness because of that authenticity:

> Komitas would compare, and if a song didn't belong to us… The National Liberation Region had made a compilation and given to him so as he'd edit or write a review, he threw it away saying, "This is not ours! Why have you given it to me? It's not ours, not Armenian" (A. Sahakyan, personal communication, September 29, 2010).

In that case, music is an instrument of unification, too. Unification of identity is consolidated by history and musical heritage. On the other hand, the struggle to amplify the differences that separate a group of people from others in order to preserve their sense of identity is the main characteristic of ethnicity and identity debates. But defining all those differences as static and related with the unchanging essence of the people historically results in a view that rejects cultural interaction and that which is shared between people and ethnicities:

> Throughout his life Komitas put great effort into purifying both sacred and profane Armenian music of foreign elements. This is Komitas' contribution. He sat down and researched. He exposed and defined Armenian musical forms. He took the badly sung songs he had collected from villagers and arranged them to fit these forms. That is why we can say Komitas did not turn it into Western music, nor did he just make it up. Quite the opposite, he took it from its sources and extracted its essence[49] (D. Lokmagözyan, personal communication, September 25, 2010).

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[49] Komitas hayatı boyunca hem dini hem dindışı Ermeni müziğinin yabancı öğelerden kurtarılması temizlenmesi için çalıştı, mücadele verdi... Komitas'ın yaptığı buydu. Oturdu araştırdı. Ermeni müzik

The last excerpt was again from the seminar held in Istanbul by Diran Lokmagözyan and Rita Soulahian Kuyumjian, and those expressions caused a debate between some members of the audience and the speaker. One of the opponent's view from the audience was referring to the authenticity debate and questioned the role that is dedicated to Komitas as a creator of musical heritage:

> Abandoning the idiosyncratic makam system of Armenian music and turning into a polyphonic form was Komitas' own invention. But if we were to put it this way, if we claim that Komitas had established a pure authentic Armenian music, in all likelihood this would be erroneous from a musicological perspective. Komitas placed this makam-based, monophonic music into his own vision, he believed it was a more modern interpretation and so prepared such a composition but this is not its authentic state[50]

Nevertheless, Komitas made compositions—that were nourished by Armenian folk music—and polyphonic arrangements of folk songs for piano and the soloist, choir singing and orchestras, compatible with the 'aesthetic' ideology of the time. Were those works also the representation of national music? What about the foreignness of harmony and polyphony? One of the criticisms raised about the early collectors of folk music has been that their sound ideals did not coincide with those of their source singers or musicians; their musicological value systems were those of the Western classical tradition (Pegg, 2011). The sound ideal of Komitas was formed through the spirit of peasant music purified from foreign influences and he transcribed those songs through that purification strategy. On the other hand, it is really difficult to match that strategy with Komitas' compilation recorded in France in 1912, including his own voice and the ones in which he accompanies on piano to his singer student Armenak Shahmuradyan. Was European music not foreign to the Armenian peasant in historical Armenia? Because those records are the only ones surviving from pre-1915, and because of the Komitas's broad researches on Armenian national music, one is attributing that authenticity to those records. Were those records really 'authentic, national Armenian tunes'? I argue that the sound recordings of Komitas

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formlarını ortaya çıkardı. Köylülerden derlediği o yalan yanlış söylenen şarkıları aldı, o müzik formları ile düzenledi. O yüzden diyebiliriz ki Komitas ne Batı müziğine çevirdi ne de kendisi uydurdu. Tersine pınarından aldı, özü çıkarttı ortaya.

[50] Ermenilerin kendi makamsal yapılarını terkedip çok sesli bir yapı oluşturulması Gomidas'ın kendi yorumuydu. Ama eğer şöyle dersek; gerçek, otantik Ermeni müziğini Komitas koymuştur dersek, galiba müzik bilim adına yanlış bir durum olarak geçiyor. Gomidas kendi bakışını koydu, daha çağdaş bir yorum olduğunu düşündü ve öyle bir kompozisyon hazırladı fakat otantik hali bu değil, makamsal, monofonik yapı.

Vardapet and his student Armenak Shahmuradyan provided a new vocabulary for imagining and inventing the nation to inscribe an authentic nation. Those voices were symbolically sounding the nation into being (please hear DVD: 19-20).

In one of those commemorative concerts for Komitas Vardapet in Istanbul in 2010, *Respect for Gomidas: Songs of This Land*, I became really confused about the performance styles and the discourse on Komitas. The name of the concert was *Songs of This Land* referring to an Anatolian authenticity in the music, but the sound was really in the Western Classical style. The choirs sang Komitas' collected song in his arrangements, a string quartet again played his arrangements and then soloists sang the folk songs with piano accompaniment. The organizers of the concert had invited my group, Aynur (a renowned singer who performs Kurdish music) and Şevval Sam (a renowned singer who sings in 'ethnic' styles of Turkey) to perform Komitas' Turkish and Kurdish collections in order to point out Komitas' contribution not only to Armenians and their music but also to non-Armenian peoples of Anatolia. Each group was singing one or two songs and leaving the stage. On one hand, the speaker was talking about Komitas' life and his contributions to Anatolian music between each performance, and on the other hand nearly all the performances (except for the Turkish songs and Aynur's performance) had no connection with any Anatolian or folk sounds. Especially the timbres and the interpretations of soloist singers were making me feel as if we were in an opera performance. I was not able to identify even the melodies of those songs I knew very well. I felt that my heart was aching and I wanted to leave the concert place immediately. I was really confused and asking "Is it possible for an Armenian peasant of Anatolia to sing those songs in that way?" I was irritated with this representation of the musical heritage of Komitas in that concert and also surprised because of the appreciative audience response. Then I thought that most of the performances of Komitas' recorded collections I have listened to many times were very clear and similar to the sounds at that concert. What was my expectation? Did I think that 'Armenian folk authenticity' should be presented with the name of Komitas in Istanbul? Did I want to hear 'traditional' sounds referencing local peasants? What was tradition? And, what was the authenticity? Maybe, the reality of Istanbul Armenians was that Westernized, polyphonic sound and that sound has become the traditional or the authentic sound of them nowadays.

2.5.1 Armenian way of harmony

The other point on the uniqueness of Armenian music referencing Komitas, which I would like to discuss, is the issue of a 'special Armenian way of harmony' because this discussion may contribute to the debate on the aesthetic principle of Komitas' works. In Yerevan, when I was conducting an interview with Hasmik Harutunian (a folk singer from Yerevan), she said "The best way to learn folk music, Komitas said, is never play it on piano. The best way is using your voice," and complained about the musical attitudes of the new generation towards singing Komitas songs with piano accompaniment in their program. When I reminded her that Komitas also played piano accompanying folk song singing, she pointed out that he was Komitas and his arrangment style was different than European harmonization principles:

> That's a problem for every singer in conservatories. They sing perfectly opera arias, bell cantos. The dangerous part in their program is Armenian songs. If they sing Komitas, they get nervous. They try to sing Komitas accompanying by piano, that's already a joke. By piano to sing folk song… you have to sing and take piano on your shoulders.
>
> Then I said, "But Komitas did it also, didn't he?"
>
> That's Komitas! He arranged folk songs for the soloist singer and piano to show another way how people could use this academic style. But he never changed any note in singing part. And his arranging style it is very non-active left hand, in special way to accompaniment to singer. That is not European style harmonization. He arranged special Armenian style for the choir parts. That's why Komitas' father is the God. He is the God of Armenian music. We were sitting in an empty table without Komitas (H. Harutunian, personal communication, September 23, 2010).

I was given the recommendation to analyze Komitas' arrangements for piano and soloist in order to understand his special Armenian way of harmony. Again, I became bewildered with the expression special Armenian way of harmony, because I had never heard or thought of a harmonic approach unique to a nation, such as 'Turkish way of harmony' or 'Greek way of harmony'. On the other hand, I know that there are special harmonic traditions concerning Georgian or Bulgarian traditional singing styles. But this one is the one constructed by Komitas, and when I listen to his arrangements, especially from the choirs of Istanbul and from the recordings of his songs throughout the world, I feel like I am listening to Western classical music with Armenian words. But before the harmonic analysis, the monodic and modal structure of Armenian melodies has to be taken into consideration in order

to apprehend the Komitasian way. Then we can try to understand what he did in his arrangements for piano and soloist.

According to Komitas, Armenian folk and church melodies have the same formation and both are composed on the principle of tetrachords. Melodies, which do not conform to the system of tetrachords, are foreign in origin. As a matter of fact, he points out this characteristic in order to differentiate the foreign elements. The scales of the melodies neither correspond to the European major-minor scales nor Persian, Turkish or Arabic systems. Until the invention of the Armenian alphabet and the translation of the Bible in the 5th century, the Armenian Church sang only psalms, and those were most likely sung in ancient folk melodies. After that period, singing psalms was replaced by the singing of *sharagan*s. The classification of *sharagan*s into eight *tsayn*s (modes) and two *steghi*s (composite modes) are ascribed in the menology of Saint Sahak (Vardapet, 2001 (1913), p. 142).

Table 2.1: Armenian modal system as described by Komitas Vardapet.

First tone	Authentic	Heftiukeah
First side	First tone plagal	Seikah
Second tone	Authentic	Hiuseyni
The great side	Second tone plagal	Açem
Third tone	Authentic	Hiçaz
Ardent tone	Third tone plagal	Sabah
Fourth tone	Authentic	Neva or Isfahan
End tone	Fourth tone plagal	Iushshag

In addition to *sharagan* singing, some other liturgical song types such as *dagh*s, *gandz*es and *avedis*es were formed and those are sung in nearly 120 variants of the eight modes. Komitas says of the modal character of Armenian music stating that **"**We are an Eastern nation, and therefore our modes belong to the same system of Eastern multibranched modes and are related to them" (Vardapet, 2001 (1913), p. 152). But again he differentiates that modal character as emphasizing the uniqueness of Armenian music: "The difference between our modes and other Eastern modes is

that whereas they augment or diminish the compass of the tetrachord, we take a simple tetrachord and rearrange its intervals on the basis of semitones. In Persian, Turkish, And Arabic music they even make use of the impractical and senseless 1/3, 1/4 tones…" (Vardapet, 2001 (1898), p. 186).

If we turn to the harmonic analyses of Komitas' folk song arrangements for piano and soloist, it is seen, obviously, that he uses very simple though elaborate harmonies, but they are not more prominent than the main melody. So, the left hand on piano is non-active. Besides, In Armenian folk songs when a singer is singing same line two times, he or she never sings the same. For the first time you need a more basic, clear part. The second time through you can arrange it a little bit. This characteristic can be seen in Komitas' folk songs arrangements, too.
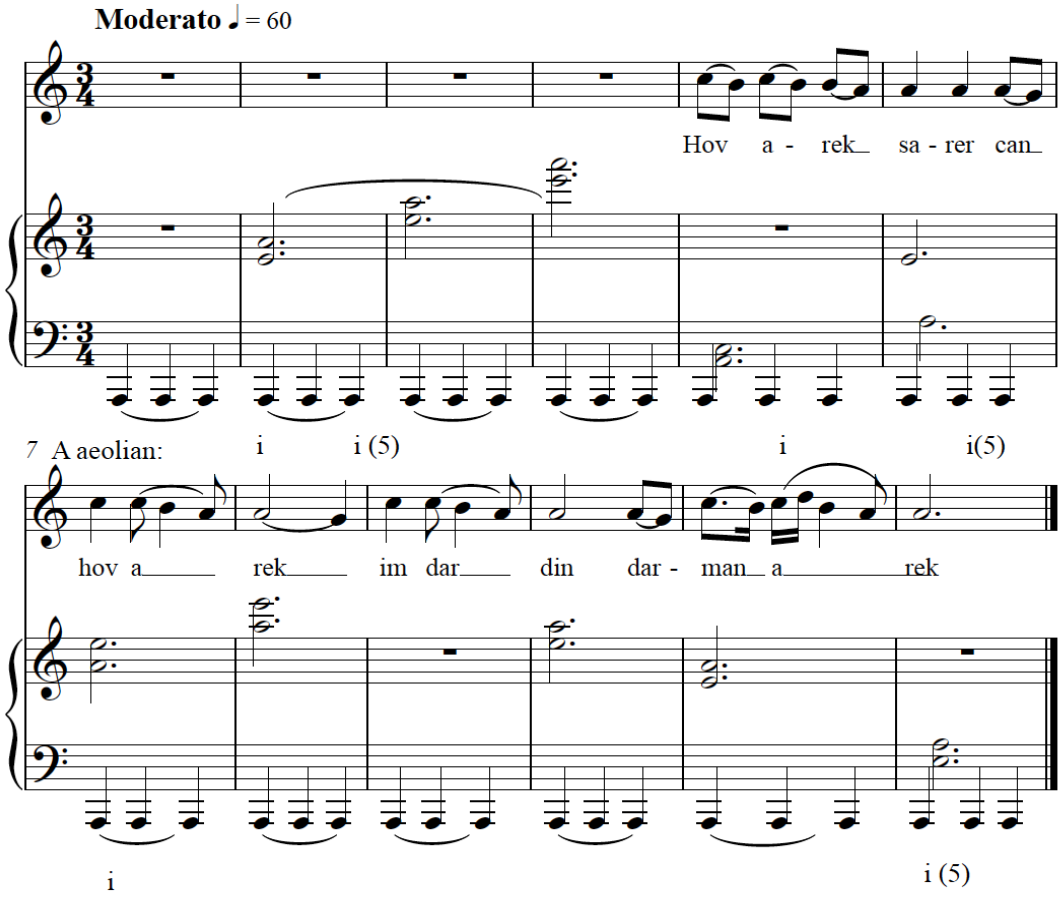


Figure 2.4: Transcription of the song *Hov Arek.*

As it is exemplified in the excerpt of *Hov Arek* above, especially at the beginnings of the songs, the left hand functions as pedal notes and the right hand supports the main

melody with simple movements. Şahan Arzruni expresses this style of Komitas as following:

> In the music of Asia Minor there is such at thing as holding a 'sound' (drone or pedal). Holding the pedal was functional and it became of importance to him. The piano section had become the part with the most eloborate pedal points. If you look at Gomidas' compositions you will notice there are very long notes in the piano parts. Unlike Schubert or Schumann, they are not peppered with black dots but with great, white whole tones. There are long tied notes. Gomidas had such a good ear that he understood these to be both correct and satisfying[51] (Taşçıyan, 2010).

One of the other peculiarities of his arrangements is changing the tonal center and the modes in the middle of the songs. To exemplify, in *Hov Arek,* it begins and continues with the first degree as A Aeolian than he passes to VII with some little elaborations by sus2 and sus4 chords. At the last verse of the strophe it comes back iv and i.

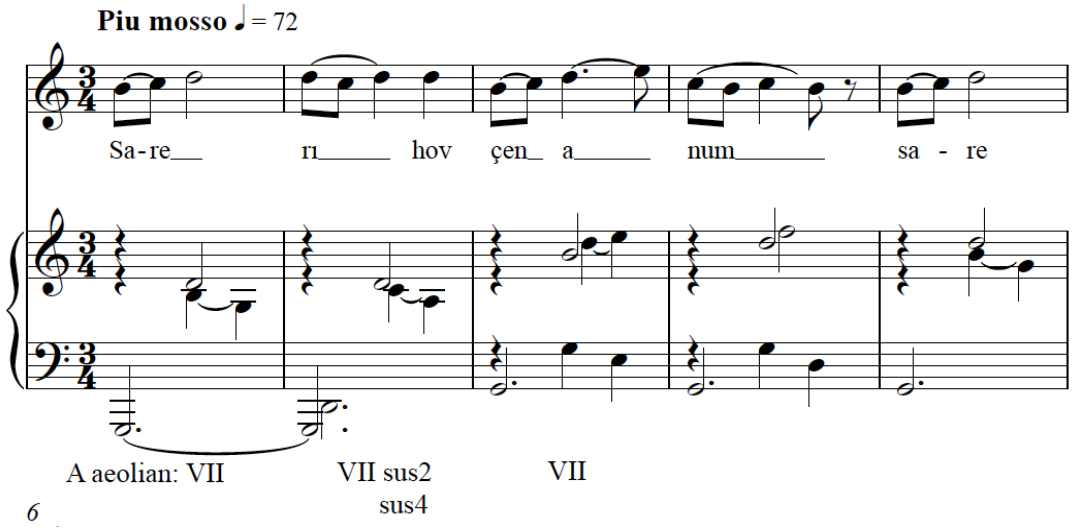


Figure 2.5: Transcription of the song *Hov Arek*.

[51] Küçük Asya müziğinde ses tutmak diye bir şey vardır. Ses tutmayı daha işlevsel kıldı, önem kazandırdı ona. Piyano kısmı çok daha geliştirilen ses tutma kısmı oldu. Gomidas'ın eserlerine bakacak olursanız piyano kısmında uzun uzun notalar vardır. Schubert'teki, Schumann'daki gibi kara kara notalar yok, beyaz beyaz notalar var! Uzun uzun bağlar var...O kadar iyi kulağı vardı ki Gomidas'ın, onların doğru olduğunu ve tatmin edici olacağını anladı.
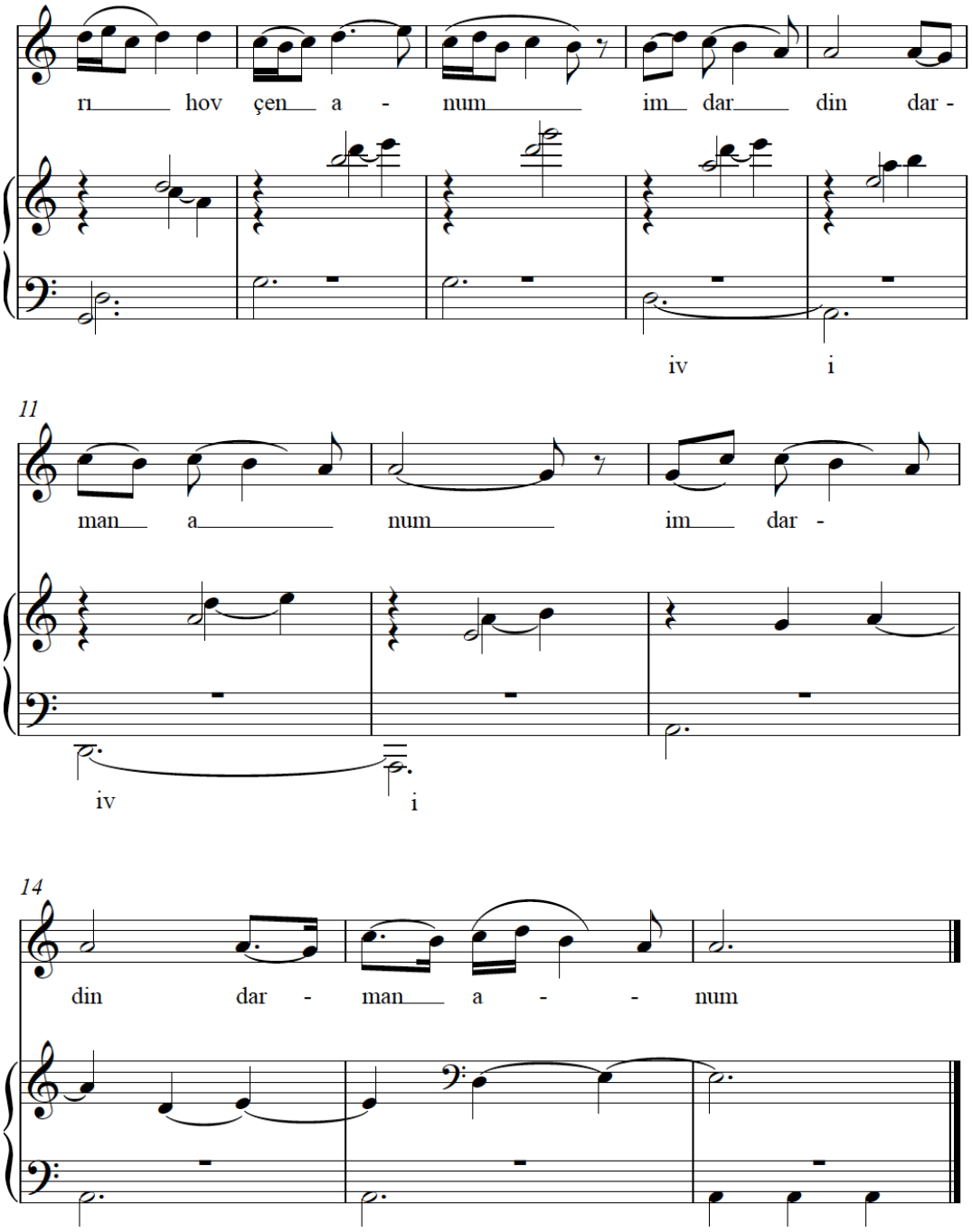


Figure 2.5 (continued): Transcription of the song Hov Arek.

The tonic and the mode suddenly change at the second strophe to D Dorian at the first verse and the melody starts on VII degree, its inversion, then it comes to tonic sus 4. In the last two lines of this strophe, the tonic and the mode again changes to A Aeolian.
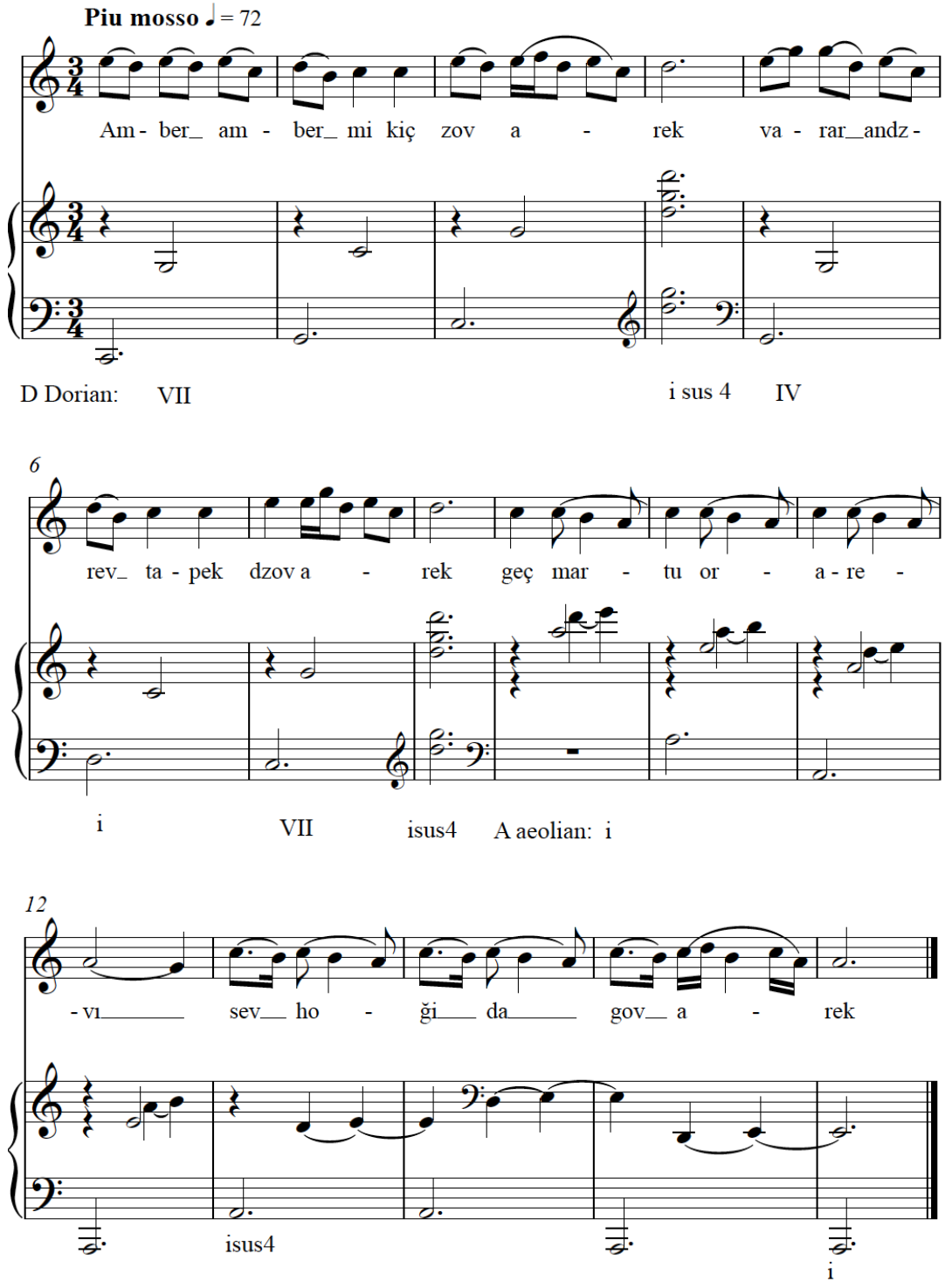


Figure 2.5 (continued): Transcription of the song Hov Arek.

One of the well-known Komitasologists, Rober Atayan, describes Komitas' logic on harmonizing as the following:

> In technique Komitas followed folk style but added original features; above all, he brought polyphonic development to a music which is essentially monophonic. He did this by subordinating conventional rules of harmony and polyphony to methods originating in the

> folk material. In polyphony he used Armenian intonations in melodically independent voices, freely allowing the occurrence of polymodality and polytonality. He also took advantage of national forms and rhythms, and the Armenian genius for antiphonal singing. Harmonically the modes proved a rich source, and Komitas also used original chords (in 4ths, 5ths etc.) relating to the modes. In piano accompaniments he effectively used the pedal to shade the colour of his modal harmonies (Atayan, 2011).

If we take into consideration the musical profile of the region of Caucasia and musical nationalism as it developed within Russian culture in the nineteenth century, we can interprete Komitas' musical ideals and harmonic approach in a broader sense. Marina Frolova-Walker's article, *National in Form, Socialist in Content": Musical Nation-Building in the Soviet Republics*, provides a remarkable contribution focusing on the renaissence of romantic 19th century nationalism within a socialist multinational state in a comparative approach. Frolova-Walker points out the period in which folk song collections in accordance with the principles of German nationalism were appreciated as the national treasure and priceless insight into the nation's soul when the dichotomies such as rural/urban, Russian/westernized, pure/contaminated, modal/tonal arose. The nineteenth century saw several changes on bringing Russian folk song into art music by harmonization and folk song arrangements with an attempt to redefine the function of folk song as distinguished part of the nation's cultural heritage. According to Frolova-Walker (1998), "These definitions gave rise to styles of harmonization marked in turn by the carefree imposition of ecternal conventions, then by what was though to be a more respectful approach, and finally by a style deemed to be authentic" (p. 343). As Komitas did, many musicians from different nations tried to find the principles of appropriateness somehow deduced from properties of the monodic style folk musics and appreciated it as the authentic national style. For instance, the difference between Russian harmony, articulated around IV, and Western harmony, in which the role of V is central, was treated as evidence to the Russian authenticity by discovery of Vladimir Stasov. Odoyevsky's explanation (1863) on his harmonizing strategies seems like Komitas' way: "We tried to keep the piano accompaniment as simple as possible (sine quarta consonante)…we did not dare to insert any seventh chords… this would entirel distort the character of Russian singing, both secular and sacred" (as cited by Frolova-Walker, 1998, p. 348). Afterall, Komitas was a Russian educated Armenian and was influenced by the Russian school. Similarly, at the first phrase of twentieth

century, Uzeir Gajibekov's attempts on adopting Azerbaijani music to twelve-note equal temperament but recommending sparser contrapuntal textures instead of adaption of a four-part harmonic style seems as a means of eschewing the characteristic sounds of Western harmonization (p. 356).

To sum up, on the one hand Komitas' way of harmony has been attributed as one of the unique national character of Armenian music by Armenians. On the other hand Komitas' musical ideal is a branch of musical nationalism in the Soviet Republics, which was dependent on the model of nineteenth century Russian and European national art strategies choosing to represent their native musical cultures within an imported but appropriated Western tradition.

2.5.2 National intonation in Armenian folk singing

In this next section I list and describe some 'characteristics of Armenian sound' that were defined by some musician, musicologist and folklorist interviewees in parallel with the findings of Komitas Vardapet. While by no means complete, the following issues of some basic stylistic effects that form a cultural aesthetic are incorporated in Armenian folk music. Because there has not been developed and formulated a scholarly music theory on Armenian music, I suppose that those ethnographic inferences and descriptions would help to understand the constructed aesthetics on musical style which occurred in people's individual and social perceptions.

Komitas defines that the language of every nation has a distinctive intonational pattern, which reveals people's spiritual essence. So, this 'national intonation' is the true spirit of a folk song based on language and varying utterances of phonetic sounds. Forming voice flowing from different resonators of the human mask brings in different timbre characteristics such as guttural, chesty, nasal, palatal, and so on. Komitas describes the national intonation of the Armenian within a quite specific framework, such as: "The national intonation of the Armenian employs chest and head registrations for producing the natural sounds. High pitches are tinged with a touch of emotion through guttural expression, to which a soft nasality is blended, the result being very close to the sound of the French clarinet, notably when there are nasal phonemes in words, especially if these are coupled with the '*a*' vowel. Chest tones are resonant, and head tones are crystal clear. Falsetto is not used" (Vardapet, 2001 (n.d), pp. 68-69). So, the spirit of national music is both the choice of tone color

(nasal, guttural, or chesty sounds) and the aggregate of patterns that a nation instinctively employs in singing.

One of the main reasons that I point out Komitas' discourses so often is the common musical discourse on Armenian style which musicians and musicologist share in many sites of my research through Turkey, Yerevan and diaspora. When I took singing lessons from Hasmik Harutunian, an appreciated Armenian folk-music singer who has an extensive knowledge on traditional Armenian singing, in Yerevan, she was always referencing Komitas' discourses on Armenian folk style. For instance, her first remark was about the relationship between language and the sound, which forms the musical accents. Because she believed that language is the main instrument in order to make the right Armenian sound, she started to teach me the sounds of the Armenian alphabet. In an interesting way, she told of the significance of the sound of '*a*' referencing the sun as a metaphor, saying that "Everything is coming from *Arev* (the sun). Everything is going around A. The whole universe is in A, you will take it up and up. If you keep your timbre there and sing a nice A, you will sing the other letters better" (H. Harutunian, personal communication, September 23, 2010). In addition, the timbre quality was her other focus on identifying different national styles. She drew attention to using right resonators for voice making, not in the throat, or not nasal as in the Turkish singing style. After taking those courses with Hasmik, I realized that the dissatisfaction of some Armenian friends on my singing Armenian songs was not only related with the true pronunciation of the words but the timbre characteristics that were signified as Turkish. So, the timbre characteristics of the voice have the lead role in Armenian singing. Not only do they provide the focal point for the audience and musicians, but also they greatly influence the level of a performance.

2.5.3 Melodic structure

The monodic/modal structure of Armenian folk music determines the melodic contour close to the spoken intonation. Musical phrases are often perceived as melodized speech. A common description I heard from my Armenian musician friends and my interviewees was their description of a sense of 'Armenian melody', in which they can realize and identify specifically. This melodic development can be followed not only in folk songs but also in liturgical music because they were all

formed from a common source historically. According to Harutunian, they have a 'special Armenian monadic melody' in monodic thinking. Even if she cannot describe that melodic structure with specific formulas, she exemplifies some characteristics of that melody making. She states the instable feature of the tonic as a defining stylistic feature in melody. The tonic is not the first note many times. You can see the tonic in different keys, sometimes on the dominant and sometimes another. The song starts anywhere and then finishes who knows where. Melody descends into another point not where it started (please hear DVD: 21).

In addition, Pahlevanian et al. (2011) describes melodic structure as the following: "Melodically, a flowing wave-like movement prevails, usually even but also with a short rising and a relatively long descending pattern. Skips (primarily upwards) occur, if at all, in opening structures, which are always completed with a wave-like movement." One of the fascinating descriptions of Armenian melodic progression was told within a metaphor of mythological triad by philologist and folklorist Aroussiak Sahakyan. Sahakyan described an Armenian melodic formula by making an analogy with human flow; birth, life (the doings) and death:

> This is our way of thinking. All the songs are like that... Look [singing] it threw it up [singing] descended… So, it doesn't keep it like the Eastern mugham it does not have all those long zigzags: it's rising gradually and straightly and it represents the mythological triad: birth, it rose to the pitch-the doings, descended-death. Later the same is with the son: Sanasar was born, founded Sassoun, died; Mher the Great was born [is saying as a song], defeated Melik of Mısır, died; David was born [is saying like a song]… like this… And that's the system of our melody. Our *sharagan*s are also the same way (A. Sahakyan, personal communication, September 29, 2010). (please hear DVD: 22-23)

According to Sahakyan, musicians must have a strong sense of the descending part of melodic contour in order to sing an Armenian folk song in the proper style:

> We have a Chamber Choir which has brought sixty golden medals from the world contests I try so hard to make them sing Komitas. They rise well but cannot descend. The structure of our song is like that: when they descend, they sing out of tune. If it's a folkloric ear they sing correctly, for instance [is singing] it rose, [is singing] fell… so it flies up as if it throws the voice into the space [is singing] it made it fly, threw it, and the continuation [is singing]. The conservatoire with vocal education, a European education fails to descend, sings out of tune. The old woman singing folklore who knows not what a note is, has no education, sings perfectly... This is folklore, nothing else. Komitas knew the secret (A. Sahakyan, personal communication, September 29, 2010).

2.5.4 The regional dialects, nature and peasant's folk life

Komitas states that the essence of folk songs comes from the local conditions where each location produces a style unique to its environment: "...a certain musical idea gets distinctive expression in various places. In one place the melodic style is simple, in another it is diffused, in some other place it is bare, in a fourth place it is embellished, in a fifth it is flat, in a sixth it is artistic, et cetera. Although melodies are different in shape or expression, they are the same in spirit for they all have a common musical foundation, exclusive to Armenians" (Vardapet, 2001 (n.d), pp. 42-43). Furthermore local melodies take on characteristics that function as provincial musical dialects, which are distinguished by the geographical names. During my conversations with musicians I came to an understanding that regional characteristics are still distinctive and significant categories while classifying and performing Armenian music. Musicians need to denote the regional signifiers such as Van, Moush, Akn, Sassoun, Alaskert, Aparan, Dikranagert, etc. in where the folk song melodies and styles were identified and created with distinctive traits. I suppose that the emphasis on that regional signification is of course related to both living and reconstructed cultural memory traces that provide to conserve the intimate connection with the homeland in diaspora.

According to Harutunian, in order to sing Armenian folk song in traditional style, one must have knowledge of different regions of historical Armenia. She states that dialect and musical accents make people's musical sentence/phrase different in general. When I asked how we could define and explain those musical boundaries, she explains those differences, for instance, caused by the natural and physical features of different lands:

> You can't sing in the same style a song from Daron and Vaspuragan even if they are neighbors. In Vaspuragan there are more waters than Daron. Their living style, their mountains make their character. I remember my teacher. She was forcing me to sing a love song from Van, close to the Vanetsi style. I was saying that I'm not Vanetsi, it is not natural for me to sing equal corner notes in a song. I'm from Mush, my blood is different from Vanetsi [She is singing in Van style]… Vanetsis, they had nice nature, more water than Mushetsis. They do these forshlock, more trios like water… More very short notes on the corner note… It's light and small. Up and down. [She is singing in Moush style]… Mushetsis were the most educated people in western Armenian. All the church people, teachers, famous people were from Mush… Musho taj, like fields, not mountains, not Vaspuragan, but their feeling is different, deeper. If you know a lot of songs from Van and Mush you will

> understand, sometimes it's hart to explain it (H. Harutunian, personal communication, September 23, 2010). (please hear DVD: 24-25)

Similarly, Komitas makes the classification of melodies according to the highlands and lowland, thus drawing a natural geographic boundary between mountain and plain: "For instance, in mountainous regions you will find mainly rough, fierce and violent, hostile, even martial melodies, because nature itself is violent and hostile with windstorms, thunder, lightning, floods, etc. In contrast, among the people living on the plains you find calm, soft, tender, gentle melodies, which are the result of the corresponding nature" (Vardapet, 2001 (1905), p. 164). For him, music is a kind of motion or movement, like light, temperature or electricity. Music is made up of tones, generated within the 'soul'. The movements of a person's inner world result from the movements of the outer world. Since music is a reflection of emotions in accordance with the circumstances in a particular community, differences in environment generate differences in emotions. To sum up, he associates musical expression with nature and points out that folk songs are like expressive mirrors which reflect the climate, nature, and life of the diverse locales in which they were born (Vardapet, 2001 (1911), p. 105). In my interview with Garo Chalikian, music theorist and researcher who traveled through Armenia from 1970-1980, and collected about 8000 songs, he also refers to the emphasis of nature on creating folk songs as the following:

> The ability to see the nature and to sing what you see is transformation of the nature. Over the course of time a person grows as an emotional phenomenon, so he also fuses with his emotion and this is how the song was created. The moment you listen to the Armenian you know from the third note that it's Armenian. But we don't know the Armenian song we know the Armenian nature only. You haven't heard the Armenian song from your grandma to know what it is but you instantly recognize it because we at least know our nature. (G. Chalikian, personal communication, September 28, 2010)

Furthermore, Arusyag's anecdote that I refer in the following exemplifies the belief on genetic transmission pointing out the link between timbre of voice and genetic type. When the massacres started in 1915, some Armenians from Sassoun, Mush and Dikranagert escaped to the mountains and stayed in the mountains until 1932 within the Kurdish communities. Then, they started to speak in Kurdish. They migrated to to Kamishli in Syria. When Arusyag went to Aleppo, she visited Kamishli and met with those Kurdish speaking Armenians. They were totally Kurdish speaking; they

didn't know a single word in Armenian. She met with a man, named Jano. When Jano started to tell the epic 'David of Sassoun' in Kurdish, he said, "My grandma was telling this epic" and cried as he told, "Why don't we know Armenian?" Jano told Arusyag that her eyes very much resembled his grandmother's eyes and showed a photo of her. When Arusyag saw the photo, she thought that that woman was a copy of her. They were from Mush, as Arusyag's family was. Arusyag narrates this memoir emotionally in order to refer to the genetic transmission, which people continue to carry in spite of the changing environmental factors.

> Yes, I mean there's a type, a genetic type. There are ethnic types… Jano's voice was Komitas's voice, purely… By the way, those Kurdish speaking Armenians of Kamishli were Muslims. I have the recordings… the year of 1997, Aleppo, pure Komitas, is singing spiritual songs, church songs. Komitas Vartabet was also singing the Kurdish songs of his forefathers. And Jano sang a song, a love song: agriculture-plow, a girl who brings bread: "Kulo is going to take bread", he said, "This is my father's song". I cried (A. Sahakyan, personal communication, September 29, 2010).

In the narrative above, Komitas again reemerges as a cultural icon who creates, transmits and provides to imagine the musical nation.

3. CULTURAL RECOVERY WITHIN A 'MUSICKING' SOCIETY

The historical ethnography narrated in this chapter, has been discussed comprehensively deliberately in order to make sense of the ruptures in the historical flow of the Armenian music in Turkey, which is the main theme of this study. As I stated in the first chapter, in coming to the idea of researching Armenian music in Turkey, the initial reactions of some of the people I interviewed in connection with the topic were questions like, "Is there anything to research?" and "Is it possible to say anything about the performance and production as Armenian music in our day?" That narrative of 'loss' is produced by the historical facts which I debate at the first section of this chapter. In the second section, I argue how the musical culture of the Armenian community in Turkey from the 1970s to the present was transformed into a mediator for the cultural recovery within a remembering process.

3.1 The Period of "Collective Amnesia" and Its Reflections on Music

The factors which led to a "collective amnesia" period experienced after 1915 within the historical musical journey of the Armenian community in Turkey included: Nationalism's transformative effect on Ottoman Empire's social identity codes, which were defined according to the *millet* system to that date; the demographic engineering process, which was a key element in the construction of Turkish nationalism and the 1915 period; musical and cultural policies implemented during the establishment of the Republic of Turkey; and the minority policies adopted in the Republican era. The first section of this chapter includes an overview of the factors mentioned above.

3.1.1 *Millet* system and national identification process in the Ottoman Empire

In discussions of minority politics in Turkey, the *millet* system of the Ottoman Empire emerges as a model structure to explain the ideal relationship between the diverse communities in order to put forth historical evidence that people were able to live in peace in this land. What was the constitutive attribute defining *millet*? Firstly,

the usage of the term had a specific definition rather than today's translation of the word as 'nation[52]'. *Millet* was defining autonomous religious communities that were organized around its religious institution; namely Muslims and non-Muslims. The former is *Millet-i Hakime* (the group who rules) and the latter is *Millet-i Mahkume* (the group who is under sovereignty). All the Muslims; Turks, Kurds, Albanians, Circassian, Laz etc. were inside the Islamic *millet*, which excluded ethnic identity as a determinant in the categorization. Similarly, non-Muslims had been categorized according to religious sects such as the *millet*s of Rum (Orthodox), Gregorian Armenians, Protestant Armenians, Jews, etc. For instance Bulgarian and Serbian people living in Ottoman Empire were in the Rum *millet*, or the Assyrian, Chaldean and Georgian communities were in Armenian *millet* according to the law. On the other hand, Catholic and Gregorian Armenians were in different millets although they were of the same ethnicity[53]. The authority for each *millet* were the religious leaders who ruled the internal administration of the communities as being responsible legally, in terms of payment of taxes, to the Ottoman Sultan.

According to Baskın Oran (2011), the *millet* system as the social foundation of the Ottoman Empire has two characteristics one within the other, and conflicting at the same time. Firstly, the *millet* system was multiculturalist and not assimilative. For instance, non-Muslim societies could autonomously organize their religious practices and social life, education, and deal with conflicts in their own the court of law if it were a case not involving a Muslim party. On the other hand, the *millet* system had a 'discriminating' structure paradoxally to that multiculturalist feature (pp. 404-405). Indeed non-Muslims did not have an equal status neither socially nor politically, even if they were the citizens/subjects of the Ottoman Empire[54]. The hierarchy between the two groups can be understood from the usage of non-Muslim terminology as defining one through otherization. The prefix, 'non-' causes a

[52] The concept of *millet* had the ethnic and linguistic attributions in the 19th century.
[53] For further information see Cevdet Küçük, 1985; Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, 1982.
[54] This unequal status does not mean that non-Muslim communities were the 'minorities' of the *millet* system. Minority, as a term has been added to law terminology after the Paris Conference of 1919 in the First World War period. So, to mention about these diverse *millet*s as minorities would correspond to anachronism unfortunately.

pejorative meaning at the beginning and consolidates the power relation[55]. Fatma Müge Göçek criticizes Turkish nationalist historiography, which idealizes an out of conflict society and dehistoricizes the relationship between the Muslim and the non-Muslim communities, pointing out:

> Turkish nationalist historiography underplays or keeps silent about the obligations the Ottoman minorities had to fulfill in return for what they received, namely the additional taxes they were obliged to pay, and also the legal, social, political and administrative restrictions they faced within Ottoman society because of their religion (Göçek, 2006, p. 87).

The restrictions non-Muslims faced within the society and discriminating policies in general were applied for the sake of the dominant Muslim elite for either state administration or social relations. For instance, a non-Muslim could participate in military service, though he could not serve as an officer, despite non-Muslim men having to pay taxes. On the other hand non-Muslims could take part in support services that required special professional qualifications for both the military and administrative labor such as medical, architecture, work of interpreter, collecting customs and taxes, etc. In addition, non-Muslims had to pay a different rate of tax for land than Muslims and they could not be legal witnesses except in cases within their own communities. They would be faced with some symbolic restrictions in daily life, too. For instance, they were not allowed to travel on horseback within cities, wear green clothes, get married with a Muslim without converting, make the sign of the cross outside the church, etc. Contrary to those political and social restrictions, Christians and Jews were predominant in the economic sphere, especially in the activities of trade, finance, banking, marine transportation, new industrial fields and agriculture for export (Özdoğan, Üstel, Karakaşlı, and Kentel, 2009, pp. 114-116). In the case of Armenians, they were powerful in trade by developing relations with Europe. Most of the Galata bankers were Armenian jewelers and those weighty Armenian families were effective in the industrialization of the Ottoman Empire (Issawi, 1982, pp. 170-73).

The economic expansion and the industrial revolution of the West resulted in the increasing involvement of European powers in the Ottoman Empire and

[55] The use of the term, non-Muslim is also problematic because it homogenizes the diverse communities; Armenians, Jews, Greeks and the others in one descriptive form and covers the differences.

transformations in social system, too. Because non-Muslim communities of the empire had specialized in trade and economy rather than administrative and military spheres, they had been in contact with the Western world and had visited some European countries, and were therefore in an advantageous position due to their linguistic, cultural and religious affinities with Europe. The political developments in Europe in the aftermath of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment affected the Ottoman social structure, too. "The most significant outcome of this Western political development was undoubtedly a discussion of the rights of individuals as citizens rather than as imperial subjects" (Göçek, 2006, p. 89). Then, the Westernization period, through the reform movements, affected the Ottoman social structure and prepared the conditions for the demands and new political ideas of Ottoman minorities to be recognized as a part of Ottoman public space. Toward the middle of the 19th century, the younger generations of both the Ottoman minorities and Western-style educated Muslims started to establish educational and cultural institutions in order to develop along similar Western lines. Beyond that, the administrative legal reform efforts such as *Tanzimat* (1839), *Islahat* (1856) and *Meşrutiyet* (1876), which attempted to bring the status of the minorities up to the level of the Muslims and to ensure equal rights for the Ottoman Muslims and the minorities, were unable to overcome the deep structural divide that had developed in Ottoman society. During this period in which the communities struggled with the issue of defining their identities within an imperial framework, the first stirrings of nationalism were felt. Greece was established as an independent state in 1830. The rebellions is Serbia in the 1850s, the increasing influence of the Russian empire in the Balkans and the northeast in the 1890s put the Ottoman Empire under pressure for reforms and caused resistance to the application of reforms.

To sum up, the autonomous structure of non-Muslims and the millet system in general is explained as 'tolerance' for non-Muslims in Ottoman history assuming that there was a natural dominance of the Ottoman administrative elites. The period in which the millet system was institutionalized in the Ottoman Empire is mentioned in a positive moral tone through the legendary golden age narratives indicating that all the components of Ottoman society were living in a peaceful order in spite of their differences. In general, compared with minority rights in the Western empires, it can be said that the *millet* system was dependent on an administrative model closer to a

multicultural lifestyle. The religious communities did not lead a segregated life in different compartments of the society. They shared and performed in public space collectively, however cultural ownership of that Ottoman public sphere was attributed to the legally dominant Muslim community. Also, the *millet* system should not refer an imagination of society exempt from conflict and power relations. Growing prejudices and intolerance among the communities sometimes expanded into violence as the result of economic or political conflicts. Besides, deportations, forced settlements, massacres, unlawful discrimination and violence toward non-Muslims by the state in the 19th and 20th century, signifies that 'the empire of tolerance' might turn into 'the empire of repression'.

3.1.2 Foundation of Turkish nationalism and creating homogeneity by demographic engineering

The researchers who criticize the official-history discourses about the formation process of Turkish republic, recognize the significant historical continuities between Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic different from Turkish nationalist historiography which excludes the first decades of twentieth century as a formative stage of Turkish nationalism (Zürcher, 1993; Keyder, 2007; Kadıoğlu, 1996; Cagaptay, 2006; Ersanlı, 2009; Kushner, 1997; Kasaba, 2011; Durgun, 2011; Dündar, 2010). To analyze the heritage of the Ottoman Empire, the transition period from the imperial state to the nation-state should not be considered as a linear line in which one ends and the other one starts. Instead, it should be considered as a continuous period of time where these two eras coexisted and transformed each other.

Two major interpretations of the 19th century nationalism, which also had impacts on Turkish nationalism, were the 'voluntarist' nationalism and the 'organic' nationalism. Voluntarist nationalism is based on the principle of national sovereignty, which was created by the French Revolution, and on the principle that each citizen has equal rights with the others. Under the influence of the German idealism, on the other hand, the organic nationalism accepts nation as an organic reality with a common culture and historical conscience (Ersanlı, 2009, p. 71). While the Ottoman Empire was transforming into the Republic of Turkey, an identity creation period was being experienced under the influence of various definitions of

nationalism, which were inspired by different aspects of social and political requirements. Ersanlı classifies these movements of nationalism under three different historical categories: "the imperial nationalism or the Ottoman-Turkish nationalism; Turkish nationalism inspired by ideologies of ethnic identity; and Turkish nationalism inspired by positivism and sociology" (p. 76).

First of all, the westernization movement which took 19th century France and Germany as examples, promoted both the Ottoman identity and the Turkish identity as a cultural policy. That was because the Ottomanism ideology focused on developing civil rights and the ideology of Turkism complemented it through focusing on developing the racial identity of a modern nation. Ottoman nationalists of the period, for instance Namık Kemal, had an unwavering belief in the state. They were preparing to 'Turkify' the language, secularize the education system and to make West-inspired reforms in the administrative levels of the state.

Secondly, Turkists who came from Russia had a great impact on the development of Turkish nationalism and Turkish historiography. İsmail Gaspiralı, Hüseyinzade Ali, Yusuf Akçura and Ahmed Ağaoğlu among others, had received a good education in Russia and then had the opportunity to learn the conceptual and scientific foundations of nationalism in Paris. Then in Istanbul, they found the suitable conditions to propagate their ideologies through their writings and political activities. One of the leading nationalist intellectuals of the period, Yusuf Akçura, for instance, emphasized that Turkism was politically indispensable in his article titled *Üç Tarz-ı Siyaset* (Three Styles of Politics) (1905). In his book called *Türkçülüğün Tarihi* (The History of Turkism), Akçura classified Turkish people into three groups: Turks of the East, Turks of the West and Turks of the North. He claimed in the book that the development of nationalism and Turkism in these regions in the late 19th century, should be considered intertwined with each other and also with the political state of the Ottoman Empire. He also highlighted the importance of races.

Thirdly, these intertwined and usually terminologically confusing terms such as Turkism, Pan-Turkism and Pan-Turanism can be discussed under a nationalism category inspired by positivism and sociology. These different explanation and definition attempts varies based on which of the various components like language, race, ethnicity, religion and common culture is effective. Ziya Gökalp was one of the nationalist leaders whose notion of nationalism had a bond with positivism and

sociology. So race, language, culture, and history became construed as both scientific and 'natural' social characteristics. Turkism, according to Gökalp, is to "bring the unconscious to consciousness". In other words, the Turkish identity or the Turkish ethnicity, which was claimed to exist as a culture, should have been revived (Ersanlı 88-89). Nourished also from 'Westernism and Islamism', Gökalp created a new form of Turkism excluding Ottomanism. This new notion of Turkism turned the Turkism built around Ottomanism upside down and took Turkism as its focal point. Moreover, it attempted to redefine the state, and even 'Islamism' and 'Ottomanism'. This new ideology argued that Ottomanism, contrary to what happened in the past, should from now on serve Turkish-ness and Turkism (Dündar, 2010, p. 76). According to Gökalp, Turkish-ness could have been a unifying bond which had the potential to create a cultural solidarity in a future Turkish state. Ersanlı (2011) states that these symptoms of nationalism handled in three categories should not be considered as three distinct movements independent from each other. On the contrary, she argues that these tendencies unify in Kemalism as political means and political goals. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of the Ottoman Empire, negotiations/decisions about what ought to define the nation made use of various discourses including: scientific and political progress, Turanism, religion and secularism, positivism, citizenship and race and Western European concepts of nation. And these negotiations shaped Turkish Nationalism in various degrees during the early years of the Republic.

During the First World War years, when the Turkish nationalism takes its form, the empires were collapsing and nationalism was becoming legitimized all over the world. Besides, Turkish nationalism was nourished from the opposing nationalist ideologies in the Ottoman Empire and arised as a reaction against these ideologies. The Ottoman elite class including citizens of different religions and ethnic origins tried to find a way of transformation which would make it possible for the Ottoman Empire to join the modern world without collapsing. The Turkish nationalists in the Ottoman elite class were a part of the ruling class of the empire and were dedicated to the Ottomanism project at the beginning. As most of the tradesmen and newly prospering trade groups were citizens of Greek and Armenian origins, there weren't any competitor Turkish elite groups coming from similar economical backgrounds.

Young Turks (*Jön Türkler*) differentiated with the ideology they adopted, not with their socio-economical background.

Until the period after the World War I, Turkish-ness continued being a conceptual construction, which did not have any solid reference point. According to Cemal Kafadar (1995), "the Ottoman ruling class eventually emerged as a combination of Muslims (some by conversion) who spoke Turkish (though not necessarily as a native tongue), affiliated (some voluntarily and some involuntarily) with the dynastic state under the rule of the House of Osman. And 'Turk' was only one, not necessarily a favored one, of the 'ethnicities' ruled by that class" (p. 11). Ottoman-ness of the ruling elite class can be demonstrated with interethnic and inter-religious marriages, which started in the Ottoman dynasty and spread to all levels of the society and with Europeans who converted to Islam to build a higher career in the government. Until the World War I, Turkish nationalism stayed as a marginal intellectual choice and even the executive members of the Young Turks were suspicious about it. During the final stage of the Empire, Turkish nationalism became more prominent due to its interaction with opposing nationalisms. This process was not the result of a national awakening but was the political choice of the elite class. To sum up, the Ottoman elite considered nationalism as an effective strategy for the reconstruction of a centralized and fortified government.

The defeat experienced at the Balkan Wars strengthened the view that Turkism was the only way out and that the 'other constituents' should be Turkified. Non-Turkish Muslims should be Turkified. But the ones which were hard to assimilate (meaning the Arabs) might be separated from the empire:

> Contrary to these advantages, it also led to some disadvantages for the Ottoman Empire, including: parting with the non-Turkish Muslim communities who live in the Ottoman Empire and whose Turkification is impossible and; dividing Islam into two categories, Turkish Islam and non-Turkish Islam, and not having any important relations with the non-Turkish Muslims (Akçura, 1976 (1905), p. 34).

Another important event which forced the Young Turks to side with the nationalist versions of state modernism was, the Muslim population which became more apparent after leaving the former Ottoman lands in the Balkans and moving to Western Anatolia and Thrace, as the Ottoman Empire lost its territories in the Balkans and got smaller. According to Keyder (2007), these immigrants adopted

Islamist ideology and Turkish nationalism as a reaction to the conflicts in Ottoman Empire's former Balkan territories, which paved the way to their separation from their homeland and properties; and then they formed a substantial Muslim community.

For other constituents of the Ottoman Empire, the non-Muslims, a demographic/ethnicity engineering process which required an immediate, result-oriented and massive population intervention was implemented, instead of an assimilation policy extended over a period of time. In his book titled *Modern Türkiye'nin Şifresi: İttihat ve Terakki'nin Etnisite Mühendisliği (1913-1918)* [The Code of Modern Turkey: Ethnicity Engineering of the Committee of Union and Progress (1913-1918)], Fuat Dündar (2010) analyzes in detail, how the muslimization and Turkification oriented population policies of the Committee of Union and Progress was imposed on various ethnic communities (Bulgarians, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Nestorians, Assyrians and the Kurdish) living in the Ottoman Empire. During the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the nation-state, erasing the non-Turkish and non-muslim homogenous territories was essential in depriving any possible separatist movements in the future of a population base. Making the Turkish ethnicity demographically dominant would also mean making this ethnicity economically strong and this would in turn enable the development of a national bourgeoisie. For instance, there was a conflict between the Muslims who came from the Balkans and settled in the Western Anatolia in 1910, and the Ottoman Greeks living in the neighboring villages. The properties of the Greek villagers were plundered and they were forced to migrate to inner regions. The Aegean Sea coast witnessed many ethnic conflicts between the years 1909 (when the Committee of Union and Progress seized the control of the government through a coup d'état) and 1923 (the year of population exchange) (Şeker, 2011, p. 169). This relocation is really important, as it was one of the key practices brought into action for the Turkification of Anatolia. There was a similar dynamic in the eastern regions of the Empire. There was a conflict between Armenians and Muslims especially in the areas where the Kurdish population had recently settled. To persuade the Kurdish tribes to abandon their nomadic life and settle, the government gave them lands, which were very close to the Armenian villages. As a result, a great possibility of conflict emerged between the Armenians and the Kurds on the lands, which would

be used to expand rangelands and cultivation areas. According to Keyder (2007), the spontaneity of these ethnic and proto-nationalist conflicts is questionable. Even if we assume that the government was not the provocator of each conflict, it is still highly probable that the official authorities provided support and consent. The Sultan Abdülhamid II, intervened in using the Committee of Union and Progress against the Greek and the Hamidiye Corps (formed from among Kurdish tribes) against Armenians (p. 79).

Şeker (2011), on the other hand, defines the settlement policies, which were implemented in the final stages of the Empire – a period of demographic engineering – under the influence of nationalism and which were aimed at ensuring ethnic and/or religious homogeneity as follows: "a violence-based ethno-demographic operation to ensure the predominance of a specific population or to eliminate an 'unwanted' or 'threatening' population" (p. 165). During this period of restructuring people were massacred; assimilated; immigrants from different ethnicity and religion were settled to the regions where the relocated population previously lived; the properties of the population who were forced to migrate was expropriated, confiscated and distributed to the new immigrants. All these practices witnessed in the restructuring period reveal the political and economic dimensions of the demographic engineering efforts.

The breaking point of the demographic/ethnicity engineering was April 24, 1915. On that day, a group of Armenian intellectuals, parliament members, businessmen (the leading figures of the Armenian community) was arrested and exiled to various regions in Anatolia; Armenians in Maraş and Zeytun, on the other hand, was deported to the deserts of Der Zor. The scope of the deportation and massacres were extended to include almost all Armenian population, in the following months. In a really short period of time, a very large portion of Anatolian Armenians were deported beyond Halep, beyond the future borders of the Republic of Turkey. Survivors of the deportation, exile and massacre were a small number of Armenians who were artists, government officials, members of the military and a small number of people who converted to Islam. The national historiography discourses, which claimed that the aim of these practices in 1915-1916 was to maintain the order and safety of the community, have been criticized by many scholars for decades. Şeker also points out that considering this transformation as a result of the conflicts of the

ethnic nationalisms competing on the same territory, would be an insufficient and also misleading perspective:

> This transformation is the result of a civil and military elite class' ethnical and religious redefinition of the elements making up the nation as Turkish and Muslim. This elite class represented the centralized government and had the power to allocate various tools to bring about the ethnical restructuring of Anatolia. The nationalist front, which emerged in 1919-1922, engaged in various activities that served to complement the project of the Committee of Union and Progress (Şeker, 2011, pp. 173-174).

After the World War I, the Greek army occupied a large part of Western Anatolia. The Greek occupation ended after a three-year battle, which went on from 1919 to 1922; and a large part of the Greek Orthodox population in Anatolia was forced to leave the country. Pursuant to an agreement signed between Ankara and Atina, it was decided that all Greek population would be sent to Greece as part of a population exchange programme. Greeks who officially resided in Istanbul were an exception. In 1913, one fifth of the population living in the territory, which is now called the Republic of Turkey, was Christian. By the end of 1923, this ratio had fallen down to one fortieth. The legitimizing ideology of the new republic, Turkish nationalism, was developed with these events in the background.

Nationalism's role in Turkish politics became more prominent in the 1930s compared to the previous decade. The secular republic had been firmly established and the country had been rebuilt by Kemalist ideology. A key development of the 1930s was the crystallization of Kemalist nationalism, together with the rise of authoritarianism. *Turkish History Thesis* had been nurtured by 'Turkish Hearths Committee for the Study of Turkish History' with the membership of prominent historians, intellectuals, ideologues such as Yusuf Akçura, Galip Reşit, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, Rıfat Samih Horozcu, Fuat Köprülü and Afet İnan (Cagaptay, 2006, pp. 49-50). History became a pedagogical tool in promoting nationalism. Historians sought to prove the worthiness of Turks scientifically through their history writing. The scientific models for history were informed by discourses of objectivity, 'truth', and 'documentation' in order to create an impression in the collective memory of citizens. Along with the construction of a homeland image, the notion of Turkish-ness was also reconstructed after the homogenization of the remaining population under the formula 'one nation, one language'. Consequently, the 'Turkish History

Thesis' was created within a fiction of continuous ethnical history, which went back to a mythical past in a foreign geography.

In terms of geographic origins, there are in fact two narratives by Turkish nationalism; first is the arrival of the Turks from Central Asia, and second is a root narrative in Anatolia. According to the Turkish History Thesis, modern Turks are the descendants of a civilization, which came from Central Asia without losing their identity and being affected by any other civilization and preserved their purity to date. Turks had to leave their homeland and migrate after a huge ecological catastrophe in Central Asia. As Smith (2004) has also pointed out, the construction of a nation cannot be finalized without referring to a specific homeland (p. 25). In Turkish nationalism, Central Asia was accepted as the historical homeland. On the other hand Anatolia, the actual settlement area was considered a sacred place, a reality which could unite the nation around a common sense. Therefore, the homeland concept found the answer in Anatolia. Turkish nationalists wanted to ensure that the geographical region where the nation was being constructed belonged to the nation and claimed that Anatolia had for long been the actual land of Turks. The national origins were extended back to the Hittites and thus Turkish-ness was carried back to a date even before the existence of the autochthonous communities in Anatolia. In this way, they tried to claim Anatolia as their primeval homeland (Durgun, 2011, p. 164). The memory of the non-Muslim was no more alive, the contradiction between the heritages of the Byzantium and the Ottoman Empire was over and Istanbul was not the center of the homeland anymore. Taking Ankara as the center, a new homeland, Anatolia, was created. According to Renan, the importance of forgetting in the creation of a nation is as follows:

> Forgetting, I would even go so far as to say historical error, is a crucial factor in the creation of a nation, which is why progress in historical studies often constitutes a danger for [the principle of] nationality. Indeed, historical enquiry brings to light deeds of violence which took place at the origin of all political formations, even of those whose consequences have been altogether beneficial. Unity is always affected by means of brutality (Renan, 1990 (1882), p. 11).

As Renan also stated, avoiding the indicators of the previous life is the ideal of modernizing nationalism. For example changing place names frequently and using Turkish names instead of place names, which were previously in Greek, Armenian or

Kurdish is an effective method used for the recreation of Anatolia and the construction of a new homeland image.

Durgun (2011) argues that the Turkish History Thesis had a constructed dimension, which was beyond the definition of history. It erased the existing history and geography from the memories and reconstructed the past and the future on the axis of three pillars; Central Asia–Anatolia–Western civilization. Combining the arguments of Anthony Smith and Benedict Anderson, this situation can be defined as "the ethnical ground built by the state". This ethnical ground Smith presented as a reality was "constructed and imagined" by the elite class in Turkey, as if it was a "historical reality" – in the sense Benedict Anderson had meant – (Durgun, 2011, pp. 172-173).

Another attempt aimed at creating a national identity and culture in the early days of the republic was the language reform implemented during 1930s. In many respects, this was an extension of the Turkish History Thesis. In this period, the first goal of the language reform was to eliminate language differences and create a national language. The second goal was to 'purify the language' through minimizing the Ottoman effect on the language and excluding foreign words (Cagaptay, 2006, pp. 54-55). According to Sun Language Theory, all human languages throughout the world are descendants of the Turkic language. This theory argues that Turkic language was the first language in human history and it was born as a result of the sun salute rituals of the people (Balıkçı, 2009, p. 45). These hypotheses were not based upon empirical evidences and consequently they were put aside after 1938. However, this does not mean that the language reform was totally abandoned. The efforts to find pure Turkish words and to base these words upon Central Asia was over; although the attempts to clear some words used by the people of dialects and to use a standard and pure written language continued. If a folk song with lyrics not fitting into pure Turkish language was discovered in the folk music collection studies, these non-Turkish words were eliminated or replaced with pure Turkish ones, as part of this language reform. Moreover, the language of certain minorities or localities was totally ignored in these collection studies, for the sake of creating a standard language (Balıkçı, 2009, p. 46).

While the Turkish History Thesis had asserted that the Turkish language was a key to both Turkish ethnicity and nationality, 'Citizen! Speak Turkish' campaign and 'Surname Law' kept the avenues of assimilation open to those who were not

ethnically Turkish (Cagaptay, 2006, p. 63). The Turkification policy aimed to combine Muslims and non-Muslims coming from different ethnic origins but living in the Republic of Turkey, in a single melting pot – the Turkish national identity – and then to recreate them as Turkish citizens. As Rıfat Bali cited, the 'Citizen! Speak Turkish' campaign started on January 13, 1928, pursuant to Istanbul University Faculty of Law Student Council's the decision taken at the council's annual convention. The president of the student council made a suggestion to prohibit minorities from speaking languages other than Turkish in public spaces (avenues, streets, ferries, cafes and recreation venues like cinemas and theatres) especially in Istanbul. Then at another meeting held in Turkish Hearths office, participants decided to organize conferences at schools on this matter and to hang posters and banners saying 'Citizen! Speak Turkish' to various locations. This campaign led to public harassment of many citizens (Bali, 2000, pp. vi-vii). Even though this national language campaign seems to target especially the non-Muslim population, it also targeted Muslim citizens whose native tongue was not Turkish; namely the Arabs, Circassians, Cretan Muslims and Kurds. However, the campaign is known to be persistent and thus effective especially about the assimilation of the Jews in Turkey (Cagaptay, 2000; Bali, 1998; Bali, 2000). The following decisions taken under the heavy social pressure of the era by a commission formed by the Jews in Edirne and the synagogues' encouraging approval of these decisions reveals the extent of this oppression:

> 1- Turkish language will be spoken in every kind of gathering places. 2- At religious ceremonies and rituals, the rabbis will recommend the people to speak Turkish. 3- Girls and boys attending Jewish schools must speak Turkish at school and also in public places and their houses. 4- Merchants and tradespeople in Edirne will sign an agreement stating that they will speak Turkish. 5- At cafes and nightclubs frequented and run by the Jews, waiters/waitresses speak Turkish with the customers (Bali, 1998, p. 217).

Another Turkification strategy was to Turkify names and surnames according to the Surname Law[56] enacted in 1934, which required everybody to take a family name. Cagaptay (2006) indicates that "since most Turks already had last names, the intent of this law was not to give new last names to the entire population. Rather, the act aimed to force the citizens to have their last names recorded, so that they could be

[56] for further information see Meltem F. Türköz, 2004.

screened for Turkish-ness" (p. 62). If the names did not sound Turkish such as the names ending with 'yan, of, ef, vich, is, dis, pulos, aki, zade, mahdumu, veled, and bin', citizens could not be registered. Than this made it impossible to register Armenian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Bosnian, Serbian, Greek, Cretan, Persian, Georgian or Arabic last names. So people had to change their names. The Republic of Turkey attempted to assimilate minorities by forcing them to adopt the Turkish language and even to change their names. As a result, a new definition, which can be called "nation-through-language", became possible and the country's demographic diversity seemed to be bound to clash (Cagaptay, 2006, p. 64).

The demographic policies implemented by the Ottoman Empire, the assimilation plans put into practice during and after the years of war and conflicts experienced with the local Christian population were all fresh in the memories of people. However, the nationalist narrative developed after the foundation of the republic did not lay any stress on the first twenty years of the 20th century and preferred to erase the conflicts from the public memory. Republicans who had chosen to eradicate the Christian population between the years 1915-1923 and to fully suppress and erase this common memory, also opted for constructing an artificial history thanks to an invented nationalism. The battle fought in 1915-1923 against the Greek army was glorified as the 'Turkish War of Independence'. It was even introduced as an anti-imperialist war fought against the colonial power. Nationalist history, which was expected to ensure the cultural unity of the nation, was created through the arrangement and promotion of the unreasonable narratives of the Turkish History Thesis. The conventional abyss between the elite class –who produced this ideology– and the masses –who were expected to adopt this ideology– became deeper, as there was no common ground between them. In this period, the masses maintained their passivity and a mutually agreed period of silence started, even though this agreement was not put into words. Republican nationalists tried to keep their distance from the Muslim tradition and the Ottoman culture, adopted the foundation myth which reduced the national heritage to an apparently artificial history, deprived the homeland of a geography and erased the common experiences of the recent past from public memory; thus, they implemented a top-down nationalist modernization movement. The elite class had the chance to create an imaginary folk, thanks to the

silence of the masses. As a common character of nationalism, the folk and the 'authentic tradition' were redefined through folklore and history.

3.1.3 An overview of music politics in the process of founding Turkish nationalism

Music policies in the republican era were implemented parallel to the culture policies put into action during the construction of the nation-state. In this part of the dissertation, I will make an overview about music policies, to provide a historical framework on the possibilities or impossibilities of expression in the field of Armenian music in Turkey. The first topic will be the ideal of synthesis-based musical aesthetic, which was developed under the effect of Westernization, during the creation of a modern nation-state. Then I will focus on the creation of a national music pursuant to the Turkism ideology discussed above and also on the musical reflections of the 'competitive' nationalist language created in the aforementioned period. Lastly, I will discuss the folk song collection procedures practiced in the nationalization period, the purification strategies imposed on the lyrics of folk songs, the Turkification of non-Turkish lyrics and the assimilation practices.

The cultural policy implemented for the construction of a nation state during the foundation period of the Republic of Turkey, is a compulsory East&West synthesis project that aimed to create a national culture under a single identity. Identified with the Ottoman history and all non-Turkish elements, the East became the cultural taboo of the new nation-state. On the one hand, the Turkish History Thesis took the West as a model and defined a modernization ideal, which included Western-based concepts. On the other hand, it emphasized the importance of preserving the characteristics of local culture and attempted to establish an ethnical and historical connection between Turkish-ness and the origins of the concepts attributed to civilization. As also stated by Kadıoğlu (1996), one of the most important paradoxes of the Turkish nationalism was its style, which imitated the West, but at the same time saw it as an enemy. According to Gökalp, the future of the new civilization would be the synthesis of the modern civilization level –the West– and the traditional culture of the Turkish people; and this synthesis would define the Turkish culture:

> We all understood that the oriental music is not only sick, but also irrelevant to our nation. Our folk music is the product of our national culture, and the Western music is the product of our new civilization; so they are not foreign for us. Under those circumstances, our national

> music will be born from the synthesis of the folk music in our country the western music. Our folk music has provided us with a lot of melodies. If we collect these melodies and harmonize them according to the western music system, we will have a music which not only national but also European. Turkism's plan in the field of music consists of this in essence, and the rest depends on the discretion of musicians and music lovers (Gökalp, 1972, pp. 146-147).

This was an attempt to transform a reinvented folk culture into "national high culture" (Gellner, 1998, pp. 239-240). If we look at this formulation's reflections in the music policies of republican period[57], we will see that this process is the continuation of the Westernization movements observed in the Ottoman Empire era. Musical changes which started during the first half of the 19th century especially at the Ottoman Empire's army can be accepted as developments which laid the foundation of the national music aimed in the republican era. These developments in the Ottoman era included: replacing the old janissary band known as *mehteran* with European style military bands which played anthems and marches in the *Nizam-ı Cedid* corps; commissioning the Italian musician Guiseppe Donizetti to arrange the transition to the Western music system, especially in musical notation; establishing *Mızıka-yı Hümayun* (Imperial Military Music School); composition of the first opera of the Ottoman Empire by Çuhacıyan; studies carried out by Rauf Yekta to make Turkish music polyphonic.

It was planned that, polyphony would be applied on a large scale to the national music formed out of the synthesis of folk music –the national culture– and the western music, and this application would constitute a model. However, the non-national oriental music, which reminded the Byzantine and Greek elements in the history, must have been eliminated before this attempt. Therefore, the *tekke*s and *zawiyah*s (dervish lodges or Sufi convents) were banned in 1925 to make sure that there remained no locational and institutional possibilities for the reproduction of Classical Turkish Music. In 1926, the oriental music department of *Darülelhan* (Istanbul Conservatory of Music) was closed. Then broadcasting Classical Turkish Music on the radio was banned for nearly 20 months in 1934. In 1935, the

[57] For further information see Özgür Balkılıç, 2009; Necdet Hasgül, 1996; Martin Stokes, 2010; Orhan Tekelioğlu, 1999.

Presidential Symphony Orchestra of the Republic of Turkey was established and the State Conservatory was founded in 1936. Western-based reforms implemented to popularize polyphonic western music included: playing western music in public spaces, for example to the passengers on ferries; organizing free concerts and opening music courses at community centers (*Halk Evleri*); founding conservatories; sending talented musicians abroad for training; collecting, transcribing and categorizing popular Anatolian folk songs and re-arranging them to be polyphonic; establishing a new radio channel which broadcasted western classical music, jazz music and western pop music. These reforms summarize the spirit of the period.

The Turkish culture was adopted as the national culture for the creation of a national music shaped under the influence of Turkism ideology. The music of the other ethnic communities in Anatolia was either ignored or assimilated to be attributed to Turkish folk music. In order to define a pure and unspoilt Turkish culture pursuant to the Turkish History Thesis and the Sun Language Theory, the pentatonic scale was attributed to the Turkish nation and the origin of Turkish music was claimed to be Central Asia (Stokes, 1998, p. 85). Adnan Saygun (1996) announced this hypothesis to the world using statements like "Pentatonism is Turkish people's signature on music" or "Wherever you hear a pentatonic scale, the people living there are Turkish" (as cited by Şenel, 1999, p. 112).

Şenel determined that folk music studies which developed especially in the field of folk music collections in Turkey, actually started with a survey conducted on music teachers and other related people in 1922. Some of the questions posed in the survey were: "Are there any musicians or famous intrumentalists in your home town?", "Is there any music society in the city you live?", "Can you tell us the popular folk songs of your town and village?", "Which folk songs are the most popular?". The participants of the survey were also requested to notate these folk songs and send the notations to related people. This survey continued for three years and the first collection studies started in 1925, in Western Anatolia. These collection studies were not deemed successful as no voice recorders were used and as the oral dictation method posed a high risk of mis-notation (Şenel, 1999, pp. 106-107). The phonograph was brought to Turkey in 1926 and following this development, four different expeditions were organized to Anatolia from 1926 to 1929 to collect folk songs. As a result of these expeditions, 670 folk songs were collected and published

in twelve volumes. Music reformers of the period found these expeditions fruitless. During the 1930s, *Ankara Halkevi* (Ankara People's House) invited the Hungarian composer and ethnomusicologist Bela Bartok to Turkey, to provide the researchers of the period with the guidance of an expert experienced in the fields of folk song collection and field research. Bela Bartok, a composer of 'modern Hungarian music' who had his roots in folk music, was thought to be a potential source of inspiration for young Turkish musicians. *Darülelhan*'s transformation to Istanbul Conservatory of Music (1928) and the establishment of Ankara State Conservatory (1936), fortified the institutional structure of national music. Expeditions that started in 1937 and lasted for 17 years resulted in the collection of approximately 9,000 folk songs and enabled the formation of a national folk music repertoire (Şenel, 1999, pp. 113-114). The People's House was one of the institutions that had an effective role in the popularization of national music in the republican era. These community centers organized various concerts and special performances, provided musical training to local people and carried out folk song collection studies (Hasgül, 1996, p. 42). After the 1940s, with the spread of radio throughout Turkey, these recently collected folk songs were performed by a chorus and broadcast on a radio program called *Yurttan Sesler* (Sounds of the Motherland), thus becoming widely disseminated. However the performance principles adopted by the *Yurttan Sesler* chorus resulted in the development of a new performance method that was alien to the local culture. This method disregarded personal styles of expression in folk music; and centered on accompaniment and chorus performances that did not actually exist in the Anatolian tradition. Even though orchestra conductors had never been a part of the tradition either, and this practice was almost impractical for Anatolian folk songs, conductors were appointed to direct the *Yurttan Sesler* chorus; and the traditional *aşık tavrı* (minstrel style) was ignored (Tekelioğlu, 1999, p. 149). According to Stokes, Turkification of the folk songs in the national repertoire (replacing the foreign words with pure Turkish words) at times led to really absurd results. He explains his claim with the following example:

> A folk song which begins with the lyrics '*Prahoda mindim sürdüm seyrana*' was included into the TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) repertoire, but with different lyrics: '*Gemilere bindim sürdüm Samsun'a*'. The Russian word '*prahod*' (meaning 'train') was not acceptable in a 'national' folk song, and a pure Turkish word which meant 'train' was not available, so '*prahod*' was replaced with the Turkish word '*gemi*' (meaning 'ship').

> Consequently, the 'train trip' was turned into a 'cruise'. Taking the Arabic origin of the word '*seyran*' into account, the high-principled collectors replaced it with Samsun (a city on the northern coast of Turkey) and changed the destination of the trip from Baku to Iğdır (a city in eastern Anatolia). The cruise we end up with in the end, does not seem to be much rational. (Stokes, 1998, p. 104)

Besides, there are many cases in which the rhythm and melody of the folk songs were changed and Kurdish, Laz, Greek and Armenian lyrics were Turkified in the collection and transcription phases and then added to the national repertoire. In addition to these purification and Turkification strategies practiced on the lyrics of folk songs, non-Turkish ethnical components were disregarded, when it was not possible to assimilate them. For instance, the TRT archive closed its doors to the Greek repertoire in the Eastern Black Sea Region and the Kurdish repertoire in Southeast Anatolia (Hasgül, 1996, p. 43). Another strategy was ignoring and attributing to Turkish culture, if possible. In an article Fuat Köprülü wrote in 1922 *Türk Edebiyatinin Ermeni Edebiyati Üzerindeki Te'siratı* (Turkish Literature's Influence on Armenian Literature), he could not neglect Armenian literature but instead claimed that it was nothing different from the Turkish minstrel literature, one of the oldest Turkish traditions:

> The evolution stages (…) of the Turkish Minstrel (Aşık) Literature has been explicitly revealed and it is obvious that the Turkish Minstrel Literature, with pure Turkish works of art dating back to the pre-Islamic era, has never been under Armenian or Christian influence. Moreover, the works of Armenian Minstrels (Aşug) writing in Turkish, are all written with a Turkish taste and inspiration… Even the name (Aşug) and musical instrument of the Armenian Minstrels are taken from Turks… Armenians had to adopt the Turkish culture, as Turks were not only numerically and politically dominant, but also further advanced in civilization than the Armenians." (Köprülü, 1986 (1922), p. 268)

In his article *Memleketimiz Halk Şarkıları* (Folk Songs of Our Homeland) included in his book titled *Anadolu Türküleri ve Musiki İnkılabımız* (Anatolian Folk Songs and Our Music Reform), Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal (2006), one of the leading figures of the music policies and folk music studies implemented in the Early Republican Period, categorizes the folk songs of the Asia Minor into two classes: (i) "Genuine Turkish folk songs with Turkish lyrics" and (ii) "Folk songs with lyrics in minority languages" (1928, p. 55). According to Gazimihal, the most characteristic minority folk songs were the Greek and Kurdish folk songs which "bore no resemblance to Turkish folk songs". Other folk songs that bore resemblance were actually inspired

by Turkish folk songs. When Greek folk songs are analyzed from a Turkish perspective, for example Greek folk songs collected on the Mediterranean coast do not have any connection with the Turkish folk songs in the same region. Gazimihal claimed that folk songs comparable to Kurdish folk songs could be found in Syria, Iraq and Iran. Quoting a long passage from the 'Turkish Music' chapter of *Encylopedie de la Musique*[58] written by a board directed by Albert Lavignac, he sardonically stated that Kurdish music could not have anything to do with Turkish folk songs. The writer of the quoted passage stated that the Kurdish workmen in Istanbul played the *zurna* (a kind of horn) in a really inadequate manner and that the music of every community could only be evaluated by their own intellectual level:

> The sound of this *zurna* is intolerably shrill and discordant. In Istanbul, in the neighborhoods where the members of Kurdish families live, there are certain *kahve*s (a kind of local coffeehouse) frequented by these workers. Many a time, I had the opportunity to pass by these coffeehouses and listen to their dance music played during festivals with *davul* (a large, double-headed drum) and this kind of *zurna*. Even though I tried my best, I did not hear even a single faultless melody or a faultless fourth or fifth note. I was astounded to see these people dancing for hours to this faultful music. In any case, I have to believe that they take pleasure in this kind of music. As a result, we can conclude that the music of a community reflects its intellectual level. (Gazimihal, 2006 (1928), p. 57)

Gazimihal continued his article by claiming "there wasn't any example of a real Armenian tune in Anatolia". According to him, "the Armenians of Anatolia do not know any language but Turkish and they do not have any music apart from Turkish songs. The music of the Armenians in the Caucasian territory, on the other hand, has some special characteristics, however, these characteristics have come out of Turkish music"(p. 57).

Bohlman points out that the crucial argument advanced by modernist rhetoric of national aesthetics was "our music is better than anyone else's". This assertion was then followed by "our nation is better than anyone else's". Bohlman (2004) differentiates between the 'national' and 'nationalist' discourses, stating: "By claiming that 'our music is better than anyone else's', the aesthetic rhetoric that accompanied the rise of the modern nation-state also underwent a dramatic shift from

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[58] Even though Gazimihal did not state in his book, this part of the encyclopedia was written by Rauf Yekta.

emphasis on the national, to the assertion of the nationalist. Comparison was crucial to that shift, and competition was critical to its implications" (pp. 117-118). In that context, I discussed these discourses to reveal the competitive nationalist discourse of some leading intellectuals from the republican period and to review the music politics of that period.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will focus on the collective amnesia period experienced especially after 1915 and in the republican era. While doing this, it is also important to reveal the connection between the silence period of Armenian music and this competitive and eliminative nationalist discourse.

3.1.4 Historical background of the Armenians in Turkey

Only 2.5 million of the total 7.5 – 8 million Armenian population throughout the world lives in the Republic of Armenia. Most of the remaining population have scattered far and wide to various parts of the world including Russia and the former Soviet states, Europe, the United States, Canada and Argentina. Today, the estimated population of the Armenians living in Turkey is 60,000 to 65,000 (Özdoğan, Üstel, Karakaşlı, and Kentel, 2009, p. 462). Official statistical data about the Armenian population in Turkey is limited to the information obtained from the censuses carried out in Turkey from 1927 to 1965. In seven censuses that cover this period, population data about minorities was officially declared. Even though the Armenians were not expressly defined as an ethnic community in these censuses, the general language and religious groups within the society were classified and this classification provided approximate framework of information about the size of the Armenian population. For instance, in addition to the Apostolic Armenian population, there were no sub-categories in these censuses to determine the size of the Catholic and Protestant Armenian population and as a result, the information we obtain is insufficient. Furthermore, these censuses do not provide any information about the number of the Armenians who do not know the Armenian language or who are Crypto-Armenians. So the censuses of this period did not provide precise data but instead produced an approximate general overview (Dündar, 2010). According to data from 1914, the Armenian population made up seven percent of the total population. However, according to the first census conducted after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey, in 1927, this ratio is five per million. The results of the

following census revealed that the Armenian population had declined further and in 1965, the ratio of Armenian population was to 1.8 per million. In the post-Republican period, the Armenian population gradually became concentrated in Istanbul[59]. In 1927, 69 percent of the total Armenian population in Turkey lived in Istanbul, and this ratio increased to 89 percent in 1965. The migration from Anatolia to Istanbul continued even after 1965. Another reason for the decline observed in the Armenian population in Turkey after the foundation of the Republic was emigration to other countries. Both the 1915 trauma and the minority policies exerted on the non-Muslim minorities in Turkey, especially after World War II (Conscription of "the Twenty Classes" – 1941[60], *Varlık* (Wealth) Tax – 1942[61], the pogrom of September 6-7, 1955), accelerated this emigration process (Özdoğan, Üstel, Karakaşlı, and Kentel, 2009, p. 156-160). Khachadur Derderyan, one of my interviewees living in Yerevan, stated that when he was a child, he did not want to live in Istanbul as the Armenians in Turkey were living in a constant feeling of fear. He continued; "During this period, the Armenian families in Turkey were sending their children abroad for education at an early age. When they found an opportunity, they also migrated abroad." According to him, one of the most compelling reasons for this escape was that his father's shops on Istiklal Avenue was ransacked during the pogrom of September 6-7 in Istanbul: "I didn't know that there was a place called Armenia, then. However, I wasn't considering Turkey as my homeland, either... We were afraid of speaking Armenian on the streets[62]" (H. Derderyan, personal communication, December 9, 2008).

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[59] Armenians have been living in Istanbul since the Byzantine era. However, the community life took shape especially with the foundation of the Armenian Patriarchate after the conquest of the city by the Ottoman Empire in 1453. While the city was being rebuilt as a consequence of the war, a significant Armenian population migrated to Istanbul in order to work as blacksmiths, architects, stonemasons, engravers, etc., in the reconstruction of the city. That migration is seen as a historical crossroad determining the social structure of Armenians of Istanbul. It is said that Armenian population in Istanbul was then 120,000 to 234,000 (Pamukciyan, 2002, pp. 3-4). According to the data published by Mağakya Ormanyan in 1912, Armenian population in Istanbul was 161,000. On the other hand, according to the 1914 Ottoman census, the number was 84,093. (Köker, 2005, p.129).

[60] The conscription of "the Twenty Classes" (20 Kur'a Askerlik) was the compulsory second or third time military conscription of non-Muslim citizens of Turkey during World War II. Non-Muslim citizens between the ages of 25 and 45 were kept away from the workforce for over 14 months.

[61] In 1942, an additional tax was levied on non-Muslims on the basis of law. Those who could not pay the tax were exiled or condemned to forced labor in Aşkale, near Erzurum, where 21 forced laborers died. See Aktar, 1996; Akar, 2000.

[62] O dönem Ermenistan diye bir yerden haberdar değildim ama Türkiye'yi de memleketim olarak görmüyordum... Sokakta Ermenice konuşmaktan korkardık.

Istanbul became the center of attraction for the Armenians in Turkey because: there were no operational Armenian schools left in Anatolia; the Armenian churches in Anatolia were having a difficult time maintaining their existence; formal education in Armenian was only possible in Istanbul, and; the Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul had a protective role on the community. It is said that the migration of the Armenians in Anatolia gained speed in the 1950s and 1960s. Thanks to the support of Patriarch Karekin Khachaturian and Partiarch Shnork Kalustian, a large number of Armenian students and their families migrated from Eastern Anatolia to Istanbul (Dink, 2002). It is rumored that a priest called Sahak traveled to Central and Eastern Anatolia and selected students for the Surp Khach Tıbrevank Armenian School. Therefore, Istanbulite Armenians, the immigrants who came from Anatolia, and the ones who have come to Istanbul from Armenia as migrant workers constitute today's Armenian population in Istanbul. It can be said that Istanbul has become the home for the Armenians in Turkey, except for the Armenians still living in a little village – Vakıflıköy – in Hatay, and for the Crypto-Armenians who have become Kurdified or Turkified Muslims in Anatolia.

The migration of the Armenian population from Anatolia to Istanbul resulted in the formation of a new Armenian community in Istanbul, as people with different cultural backgrounds and from various regions came together in Istanbul and intermingled with the existing Istanbul Armenian culture. Most of my interviewees were born in Istanbul, as well. When I asked "Where are you from?", their answers point to Anatolian cities of their family origin like Sivas, Malatya, Elazığ, Van, Mardin, Hatay, Sasun, Diyarbakır, places with which they no longer have any material bonds. Even though they do not have any contact with the homeland of their families, it is clearly visible that they have constructed an imaginary sense of belonging with these cities through the narratives of their families. Normally, people have various material bonds with their homeland. A homeland is, at the same time, a physical location where people can visit their relatives living there, go and stay for summer holidays, and spend the rest of their lives when they retire. However, the Armenians who were forced to migrate from Anatolia have too weak if any material bonds with their homelands. The following comments by Erkol, a tradesman and a member of the Armenian chorus, exemplifies this sense of displacement:

> We don't know anything about the days before Kırkısrak. I can talk about our past days in Kırkısrak, but that's all. I have no information about the rest. This hurts me a lot, you know? Do you know why? I see people going to Sinop, Malatya, etc., in the summer. Or, I see someone bringing tea from Rize, or hazelnuts from Ordu… We do not have such a habit. No one brings us hazelnuts or apricots from our homeland. Not possible… Sometimes, this reality hurts me too much, because everyone should have a past. Why don't we have a past? We have never asked this question. This hurts you but you can never question[63]… (S. Erkol, personal communication, November 14, 2009).

As can be seen in the narrative above, the feeling of a sense of belonging with Anatolia due to family origin also leads to a questioning of the past. Being of Anatolian origin strengthens and socializes the identity structure of the individual, as the individual's bond with the past or history is an indispensible element of identity. Indeed the homeland which defines the family origin and being Istanbulite constitute a homeland narrative that complements each other. Their true-life experiences in Istanbul, together with their Anatolian origins become an indication and proof of the identity of the Armenians in Turkey. One of the interviewees, Erkol states: "I was born in Istanbul but my hometown is not Istanbul. We grew up with the Anatolian culture. We never became Istanbulites. I still do not feel that I belong to Istanbul." It is apparent that his comments reflect the historic conflict of identities observed between the Armenians of Anatolia and the Armenians of Istanbul:

> Moreover, Kırkısrak was not an Armenian village. My parents were living among a Kurdish majority. When they moved to Istanbul from their village, they wished to integrate into the Armenian community in Istanbul. How come? They went to churches in Istanbul, but the notables didn't like them much saying "Oh, these villagers again?" We've always felt humiliated. Maybe that's why I still cannot feel that I belong to Istanbul[64] (S. Erkol, personal communication, November 14, 2009).

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[63] Kırkısrak'tan önce geçmişimiz yok. Tarihimi anlatırken Kırkısrağı anlatıyorum daha ötesi yok. Daha öncesi yok. Bu çok acıtıyor beni biliyor musun? Niye biliyor musun? Çevrende insanlar görüyorsun, yazın biri Sinop'a biri Malatya'ya gidiyor. Ya da bir bakıyorsun birisi Rize'den çay, Ordu'dan fındık getiriyor… Bizim hiç öyle birşeyimiz yok. Bize hiçbiryerden ne fındık gelir, ne kayısı. Yok öyle birşey… Bu bazen beni çok acıtıyor. Çünkü geçmişi olmayan insan olmaz di mi? Niye geçmişin yok. Bunları hiç sormadık ama. Yani içini acıtıyor ama sorgulayamıyorsun…

[64] Kırkısrak'ta Ermeni yokmuş zaten, daha çok Kürtlerin içinde yaşıyorlarmış bizimkiler. Köyden İstanbula geldiklerinde İstanbulda Ermeni cemaatine entegre olmak istiyorlar. Nasıl entegre olursun? Kiliseye gidersin. Kiliseye gidince, İstanbullu yöneticiler çok sevmiyorlar bizimkileri, yine geldi bu köylüler diyorlar... Hep bir aşağılama davranışı sezinliyorsun zaten. Belki de ben bunun için diyemiyorum İstanbulluyum diye...

The fundamental difference between the Armenians of Anatolia and the Istanbul Armenians is also the reflection of the conflict between urban culture and rural culture in Turkey. According to Arus Yumul, "being an Istanbulite, and especially belonging to rich, well-educated and 'deep-rooted' families was a source of prestige and pride" within the Armenian community (as cited by Özdoğan, Üstel, Karakaşlı, and Kentel, 2009, p. 339). Istanbul Armenians thought that the Armenians from Anatolia, with their lower level of education, were not able to adapt to urban life and moreover, had a negative impact on it. For instance, Armenians from Anatolia did not speak the 'clean' Armenian language of Istanbul, instead they used the rural Armenian *parpar* (dialect). As a result, this transformation of the Armenian language in Istanbul disturbed the Istanbul Armenians. On the other hand, as also stated by the interviewees, Armenians of Anatolia did not want to be humiliated as 'villagers talking barbarically' and just because of this, they abstained from speaking Armenian. Because of the financial difficulties they experienced in Istanbul, they led lives very similar to their lives in Anatolia for a long period of time and had to live in small houses with their large families. These cases also increased the visibility of the class distinction between them and the Armenians of Istanbul. One of the common cases emphasized by the interviewees was that three to four Amenian families were living together in the same house in districts like Kumkapı, Yenikapı and Gedikpaşa when they first migrated to Istanbul. With the improvement of their economic conditions, these families living together began to move to other districts like Samatya, Bakırköy, Yeşilköy, Kadıköy, Feriköy and Kurtuluş, according to their financial potentials. As most of the oldest Istanbulite Armenians have moved abroad, the most of the Armenian population living in Istanbul today are non-Istanbulites and nearly everyone has a connection with Anatolia. Both Istanbulite and Anatolian are relative concepts which cannot be reduced to homogenous and static perspectives.

The Armenian community in Istanbul managed to preserve their community institutions, started to lead a more introverted community life and thus struggled for survival, despite the 1915 trauma and the difficulties and discrimination experienced during the Republican era. The community structure has a powerful function in preserving and maintaining the Armenian identity in Turkey. For some people, the community is the sole foundation of their world of meanings, while for others, however, it may be a secondary reference. As Cohen (1985) states, the symbols of

community boundaries and their meanings are not shared in the same way. The meanings vary with its members' unique orientations to it (p.15). Especially beginning in the 2000s, the term 'community' (cemaat) began to recall a more introverted, isolated and passive social relation mechanism and as a result it became a matter of debate particularly among the young, new-generation Armenians in Turkey. "The Armenian Society of Turkey" (Türkiye Ermeni Toplumu) has started to become the preferred name, rather than the term 'community' (cemaat). I discussed the heterogeneous internal structure of the community in the first chapter. The Armenian community in Turkey has a heterogenous structure that includes people of different beliefs such as Protestant, Catholic, Apostolic, atheist; people with origins from Istanbul or Anatolia; poor or rich people; people who know/do not know the Armenian language; and those who are literate/illiterate. On the other hand, these different groups and individuals are encompassed by a cultural solidarity network formed around Armenian ethnicity.

The Armenian community structure works within basic foundations such as church, schools, community foundations, press institutions (newspapers and publishing houses) and community associations. Community associations are especially effective in creating a sense of solidarity between members of the community and preserving culture, language and identity in general. According to Vağarşag Seropyan (1993), the Armenian cultural institutions are generally divided into three historical periods: 'the old period' before 1810 (initiatives which generally commenced with the aim of 'fraternity'), 'the middle period' between 1810-1908 (institutions generally aimed to support schools, open schools and establish education in places places without schools) and 'the new period' which started with the establishment of foundations in Ottoman society after the Second Constitutionalist Period (pp.184-185). *Tıbrats tas* (church choirs), *sanuts miutyun* (alumni associations of the schools) and various sports clubs have been the most influential organizations holding community together for years. Similarly, Lali Manjikian (2005) discusses the Armenian community centres in Montreal telling that those centers give the opportunity to members to be part of Armenian community life. Beginning in early childhood, people are exposed to a basic cultural formation within the activities of those associations and those associations function as creators of 'national space' for Armenians in Montreal (p. 104). Cultural heritage is carried through community

centres for Armenians in Turkey, too. People like to gather together with those who have the same language, the same habits, traditions and background. The centers are likely a second family for the members. Therefore, those associations and their activities are a natural response to the needs of the community. These institutions, which were crucial for the reproduction of Armenian culture and solidarity, have also helped the Armenians in Turkey make their voices heard by the other people in Istanbul and Turkey, particularly through activities held in the 1990s. Demonstrations and meetings they held in the public sphere have been successful in promoting the existence of the community to the larger community and at the same time, have provided cooperation and integration with various social fractions taking place in the larger community of Turkey.

In the forthcoming parts of this chapter, the Armenian musicking community which was established in Istanbul under the leadership of the Armenian Alumni Associations and Church Choirs, and musical practices of this community shall be discussed within the context of cultural memory and identity construction.

3.1.5 The period of collective amnesia

In the foundation years of Turkish Republic, Turkish Official History was constructed through the otherization of the 'other' ethnic identities, denial of the repressive politics and forgetting the traumas from the beginning of the century. When the production and reproduction of knowledge is disrupted in a particular society, a collective amnesia that sets in inevitably refers to a group's inability and/or unwillingness to remember certain traumatic events about its past (Cuc, 2003, p. 36). So, the years from the early republican period to the 1990s can be regarded as a period of collective amnesia in which people living in Turkey forgot history or preferred to keep silent. My interviewees talked about their lack of knowledge on 1915 and family histories before this period:

> We were censured too much, I have only recently noticed this fact. This kind of issues were not mentioned in our house. We didn't know much about the events that happened during the war. I used to think that these things took place only in Gürün, our village, and that only the Armenians living there were expelled. I was in the first year of the high school, we had an Armenian Professor at Istanbul University, Department of History. We would ask: "Teacher, why did all the Armenian writers die in 1915?" and he would answer: "There was a great

> epidemic in 1915. All these writers died at that time." Nobody did give us the exact information[65] (S. Erkol, personal communication, November 14, 2009).

Interviewees tell that the past was not talked about during their childhood and fearful parents preferred to be silent in order to protect the next generation from hatred. Estukyan, a writer at Agos newspaper and a member of Sayat Nova Choir, describes his own experiences in the following statements:

> We heard 1915 experiences from our grandmothers at home. I listened to many stories from them and those stories were tragedies. We could know only such hearsays. There was not a quantity of publication as today, or not courses in this sense. Everything was covered up; especially for us, it was covered twofold. They were wary of us too much. They would say that 'our children should not hear those stories. They spite needlessly; they live in this country; they both get into trouble and become unhappy[66]' (P. Estukyan, personal communication, January 25, 2007).

It is notable to say that the Armenians of Turkey have a collective memory which has been inherited from generation to generation in spite of the silence. In fact, silence is one of the influential elements in the establishment of cultural memory. Forgetting processes, as well as remembering processes, can set forth effective analytical perspectives in memory studies. So, 1915, as one of the most traumatic events in the history of 20th century Turkey, had a tremendous impact that can still be felt today among the peoples of Turkey. Not only the people but also the places or the spaces of Anatolia still have the marks and memories of the catastrophic events of 1915. Local stories about the regions, cemeteries, churches and particular individuals also keep the memory alive and they are transmitted from generation to generation. Although the rupture has been remembered in a shared pain, each story about 1915 is unique to the narrator. The interviewees choose to signify 1915 by various terms such as *seferberlik* (mobilization), *savaş zamanı* (war time), *kırım* (massacre), *soykırım*

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[65] Biz çok sansürlü yaşamışız, insan sonradan farkediyor. Böyle konulardan bizim evde hiç bahsedilmezdi. Bu seferberlikte ne olduğunu çok da bilmezdik. Ben zannederdim ki bu seferberlik Gürün'de bizim köyde olmuş, bizim ordaki Ermenileri sürmüşler... Lise 1 deyiz, İstanbul Üniversitesi tarih kürsüsünde profesör bir Ermeni hocamız vardı. Biz de soruyorduk: "Hocam ya niye bütün Ermeni yazarlar 1915'te ölmüş?" Şöyle cevap verirdi: "1915'te büyük bir salgın, hastalık oldu. O zaman öldü bu yazarlar" derdi. Hiç kimse bize tam bir bilgi vermiyordu

[66] Biz 1915'te yaşananları nenelerimizden evlerimizde duyuyorduk. Onlardan çok hikayeler dinledim ve o hikayeler onların yaşadığı bir trajedi idi. Biz tabii o dönemde eğitim anlamında da ancak bu kulaktan dolma şeyleri bilebilirdik. Ne bugünkü gibi bir yayın bolluğu vardı, ne bu anlamda bir ders vardı. Her şeyin üstü örtülüydü, hele bizler için iki kat üstü örtülüydü. Bizden çok sakınırlardı. Derlerdi ki 'yani çocuklarımız bu hikayeleri çok da duymasınlar. Kinlenirler sonra boşu boşuna, bu ülkede yaşıyorlar hem kendi başları derde girer, hem mutsuz olurlar'.

(genocide), *tehcir* (deportation), *1915 olayları* (1915 events), *medz yeghern/büyük felaket* (big catastrophe) in order to describe the events that led to the destruction of the Armenian population of Anatolia. Dominant themes of the narratives about 1915 can be summarized as the experiences about deportation, relatives who found each other after years apart, violence, children left behind and broken families, etc. Interviewees state that there were not many books about Armenian history at that time, no education was provided at schools on Armenian history and history was not mentioned much in the publications[67].

According to the statements of the interviewees, two of the most important reasons for the silence about 1915 are (i) the cultural and economic survival strategy of the individuals and society and (ii) the fear about the recurrence of 1915, which intensified with the discriminatory policies imposed on non-Muslims after the establishment of the Republic. It was also detected in the interviews that "Citizen, Speak Turkish!" campaigns, Conscription of "the Twenty Classes", *Varlık* (Wealth) tax for non-Muslims, the pogrom of September 6-7 and ASALA[68] (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) have reproduced the collective amnesia process in different times historically[69].

The historical background narrated from the beginning of this chapter, has been discussed comprehensively deliberately in order to make sense of the ruptures in the historical flow of the Armenian music, which is the main theme of this study. Interpreting the remembering practices, which were developed in a reconstructive process, requires an awareness of the forgetting process. That narrative of 'loss' is produced by these historical facts which I debate at the beginning of that chapter.

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[67] Rubina Peroomian's *And Those Who Continued Living in Turkey after 1915* (2008) examines the amnesia period through which literature publications of Armenian authors, indicating that "The established Armenian writers of the pre-1915 era, unable to freely express the sufferings of their people, refrained from writing at all, or resorted to occasional outbursts of abstract melancholy" (p. 5). So, as a strategy, "They successfully overcame their own emotions and replaced the 'I' with the 'collective I'. They replaced personal struggle with the collective one" (p. 7).
Silence and collective amnesia in public space is effective not only in the Armenian Community of Turkey but also in the 'wider' society of Turkey. As an instance, for further information about silence in Turkish literature, see E.Köroğlu, 2011.

[68] ASALA (Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia) and JCOAG (Justive Commandos of the Armenian Genocide) violence abroad against especially Turkish diplomats in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Created escalated fear within Armenian community of Turkey.

[69] See R. Bali's article about reactions of the Turkish press and the Armenian Community of Turkey after the call of Soviet Armenia for Armenians of Turkey and diaspora to settle in Soviet Armenia in December of 1945.

Therfore, We can say that Armenian music activities were mostly limited with the religious music in the church between 1915 and the 1960s, in that amnesia period of Turkey. Armenian music was a ceremonial thing that was played on some special religious days. It was not a living thing for the life; rather, it was like a museum piece protected. The only performance place was the church as a public sphere. In that period, Armenians of Turkey had no contact with Armenia and the Armenian diaspora outside Turkey, and did not know much about the life, the music, the literature, etc., outside of Turkey. However, the survivors of 1915, those named as 'the first generation', had met with non-sacred Armenian music by way of Komitas Vartabed in Istanbul between the years 1910 and 1915. His *badarak*, some records (*taş plak*s and LPs) and folk song collections were the only material ruins of the memories of Armenian music. The only popular professional Armenian singer in the Armenian community of Istanbul, Bartev Garyan, states how records of Komitas motivated him at the beginning of his professional career:

> We had got a 78rpm timetable. We had a record of Gomidas' voice. It was my father's record. Probably it had been left by my grandfather. When he put that record on the turntable, I would say "is it real? Gomidas is singing, playing piano and we have that record. Then, there is such concept as 'Armenian Music'! It is not only peculiar to Italians or Polish." I said this with my childhood feelings of course. After years we realized that it existed. After Armenia gained independence we realized everything. But in that time we couldn't know because it was a closed box[70] (B. Garyan, personal communication, October 29, 2009).

Different from Komitas' legacy, a special repertoire which my interviewees remember from the period before the end of the 1960s, were some popular urban Armenian songs such as *Dzaghigner*, *Karun Karun, Sude Sude* and *Hingala,* mostly performed by popular *taverna* singer Hayko in the taverns and other entertainment places of Istanbul (please hear DVD: 26). Those were like Western pop songs with Armenian lyrics. In fact, they were from the repertoire of the *estradayin* movement, sung by its biggest star of the Armenian diaspora in Beirut, Adiss Harmandiyan (please hear DVD: 27-28). According to Alajaji (2009), "Though the origins of this

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[70] 78 devir bir pikabımız vardı bizim. Gomidas'ın sesi ile bir plağımız vardı, babamındı o plak, muhtemelen dedemden kalmıştı. O plağı pikaba koyduğunda 'hadi ya, yani Gomidas, şarkı söylüyor, piano çalıyor, o kayıt bizde var, demek ki bir Ermeni müziği de var yani, öyle birşey var. Bu sadece İtalyanlara, ne bileyim Polonyalılara ait birşey değil.' O yaşımdaki düşüncelerimle söylüyorum. Aslında var olduğunu yıllar sonra anlıyoruz. Ermenistan'ın bağımsızlığını kazandıktan sonra anlıyoruz ki neler oluyormuş. Ama kapalı bir kutu olduğu için duyamıyoruz.

particular usage of the term (*estradayin*) are unclear, it is quite possible it derives from the Russian *estradaya:* a singer of popular songs or ballads, backed up by a band" (p.185). Adiss covered both popular English and French songs, and traditional Armenian folk songs in Westernized pop arrangements. Although most of the interviewees appreciate those songs such as *piyasa* musics, those were worthless and false representations of the Armenian music repertoire. However, they were the pioneering examples of the Armenian popular music repertoire for the Armenian community of Istanbul in the 1970s:

> Armenian music was performed only by choirs and at churches. No form of Armenian music was available apart from this. We were listening to several audio casettes brought from abroad. Even musical materials coming from Armenia was limited during that period. When an audio casette or a long play was brought from abroad, we would pass it from hand to hand, copy and listen to it. A few records, like Adiss Harmandyan, would come from Beirut. Then, we even did not know anything about pop music. We hadn't heard an Armenian pop music song, didn't know what it sounded like. This was the first time we heard about and listened to it[71]. (S. Avedikyan, personal communication, May 19, 2007).

Garyan, emerging from Adiss Harmandiyan's concert in 1970 in Istanbul, one of his first encounters with Armenian music, recounts his excitement as follows:

> In 1970, an Armenian singer born in Beirut came to Istanbul to give a concert. I was dying for the concert, I had a great wish for it, but at that time I hardly found the money even to go to the cinema. Of course, I couldn't go to that concert. I never forget Adiss Harmandiyan. I was only 10 minutes away from the Şan Cinema. He was my idol at that time. I can't figure out how a 10 year-old child could find such an idol for himself, but I think this was because he was an Armenian musician[72] (B. Garyan, personal communication, October 29, 2009).

Among the rare Armenian songs performed before the 1970s, the song *Yandım Aghavni* –which can be considered an Istanbul folk song– and Udi Hrant Kelkulian's compositions like *Sirdıs Vra Kar Mı Ga* and *Sirun Aghcik* can be considered to be

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[71] Ermeni müziği sadece koro ve kilise müziği olarak icra ediliyordu. Onun dışında pek bir şey yoktu. Yurtdışından gelen birkaç kaset dinlerdik. Ermenistan kaynakları bile o dönemde çok sınırlıydı. Bir kaset, long, taş plak gelirse onlar elden ele dolaşır, kaydedilir, teyplerde falan dinlenirdi. Beyrut'tan birkaç kayıt, Adiss Harmandyan gibi şeyler gelirdi. Daha popüler müziği bile bilmiyorduk. Ermenice pop müzik nasıl olur, hiç duymamıştık, onlardan duyuyorduk ilk defa.

[72] 70 Yılında Beyrut doğumlu bir Ermeni şarkıcı konser vermeye geldi. Konsere gitmeyi nasıl istiyorum, nasıl bir istek var içimde ama o dönem sinemaya gitmek için bile zor bahşiş alabiliyorum. O konsere gidemedim tabi ki. Adiss Harmandiyan'dı, hiç unutmuyorum. Şan sinemasına sadece 10 dk. uzaklıktayım, o yıllardaki idolüm geliyor. 10 yaşındaki bir çocuk nasıl böyle bir idol yaratabilir kendine bilmiyorum ama, Ermeni müziği diye işte...

urban songs composed under the influence of the Turkish/Ottoman Music style (please hear DVD: 29-30). However, according to most of the interviewees, the aforementioned repertoire cannot be included in the Armenian music repertoire and these songs cannot make up a musical tradition. In his article titled *Armenian Music in Istanbul,* Estukyan states that there is no resemblance between the Armenian songs produced and consumed in the daily life of Istanbul and the authentic Armenian music, commenting as follows:

> Furthermore, Armenian folklore had no place in the Istanbul music repertoire, which became more colorful with the addition of new stage trends such as canto, etc. Despite the undeniable effect and contribution of the Armenian musicians to this colorfulness, it is hard to talk about the effect and contribution of the Armenian music. Various musicians including Artaki Candan, Nigoğos Efendi, Tatyos Efendi, Nübar Tekyay, Asdiç Ağa, Bimen Şen and Udi Hrant created the most outstanding examples of the Istanbul music. However, as we mentioned above, it was the contribution of the Armenian musicians, not the Armenian music. It is possible to talk about the presence of a music in the Armenian language in Istanbul, at the end of the 1800s, but it is impossible to talk about an authentic Armenian music. Looking from the perspective of today's Istanbul, Armenian music is perceived as a music in various forms, but not as an authentic music with distinctive and regional colors and a specific character. (Estukyan, n.d)

As Estukyan also indicated, there is not a musical style which can be identified as the traditional style of the Armenians in Istanbul. However, it can be observed from the concert brochures of the period that the Armenian folk songs - brought to Istanbul thanks to Komitas Vartabed – were performed before 1915 by the choirs established by Komitas. For example, it is apparent that folk songs such as *Mokatz Mirza, Karun a, Keler Tsoler, Sona yar, Dzirani Dzar, Kujn Ara, Grung, Ganche Grung* echoed in the soundscape of Istanbul in 1911, 1913, and 1914 at the concerts given by Komitas and the 'Hay Kusan' Choir. After 1915, as the first exception to that silence, a mixed choir of Armenian church choirs of Istanbul prepared a concert to commemorate Komitas Vardapet with a repertoire of his religious and secular songs in the year 1970.

3.2 Re-inventing Armenian Music and Dance in 1970s: *Yerki Bari Khump*[73] Tradition

At the end of the 1960s, there started a growing interest in the Armenian folklore within the leftist ideological strands in the Armenian community of Turkey, as well. It was also the period in which new universities were founded and institutions of advanced studies were being modernized in Turkey. So, that restoration on universities resulted an increase of students coming from many regions of Anatolia to the cities. Those students tried to conserve their local identities, for instance staying in the dormitaries with their fellow country wo/men. In addition, performing folk dance was also a vehicle on acting with solidarity for the other students from their regions. Consequently, 'folklore' as a term firsty brought 'folk dance' and 'folk music' to minds at the end of the 1950s. Folk dances embodied by *Halkevleri*[74], developed within non-official, private institutions as the result of closure of those *Halkevleri* in the 1950s and became popular in Turkish society. The increase on folk dance contests and festivals, the initiatives of TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Corporation) on collecting dance and music in Anatolia were the reflections of this popular performance sphere. So, the 1960s witnessed to the consolidation of performance-based folklor activities (Öztürkmen, 2006, pp. 194-205).

3.2.1 Cultural exchange with other Armenian communities: The influence of Soviet Armenia

At the end of the 60s, Armenian youth from universities and high schools became very active in community associations, especially in the graduate associations of the schools such as Alumni Association of Surp Khach Tıbrevank School, Alumni Association of Bezciyan School, Alumni Association of Esayan School, etc. Social activities such as theater, folklore, football, backgammon and chess had been mainly organized by those associations and it still continues. The traces of cultural exchange with other Armenian communities were seen in cultural activities of those associations. My interviewees especially indicate their surprise when they realized the existence of secular, non-sacred Armenian music with the records imported from

[73] It means 'Song and dance ensemble' in Armenian language.
[74] Community centers established by the state for public instruction and social events.

Beirut, Soviet Armenia or the other diaspora communities. They really were influenced by musicians such as Hovannes Badalyan, Tatul Altunyan, Khachadur Avedisyan, Parsegh Ganachyan, Aram Khachaduryan, Rupen Matevosyan, Ophelia Hampartzumyan, Edgar Hovhannesyan, etc. from Soviet Armenia. (please hear DVD: 2-3) They started to collect records of Armenian songs, learned to sing them and realized that Armenian world was not restricted with Istanbul. It may be heard ridiculous at first but many people were not even aware of the existence of Eastern (Soviet) Armenia. The borders defining Armenian ethnicity broadened for Armenian community of Turkey as a result of those records and cultural interaction with other Armenian communities in the 1970s.



Figure 3.1: LP cover of The Armenian Song and Dance Ensemble conducted by Tatul Altunian (Monitor Records)[75]

[75] I attained those LPs from Ara Dinkjian's personal archive.



Figure 3.2: LP cover of State Dance Ensemble of Armenia (Arka Records).

Firstly, the members of Surp Khach Tıbrevank Alumni Association, consisting of the graduates of two bourding schools, Karagözyan (elementary level) and Tıbrevank (secondary and high school level), founded a folk dance ensemble. Those schools included the children of Anatolian Armenians who had to immigrate to Istanbul in order to learn the Armenian language and have an education at a community school. Hachig Apelyan and his friends Hagop Kılıç and Benon Kuzubaş as the members of that alumni association, visited Yerevan, Soviet Armenia. They brought back LPs along with the dances they learned there.

That enterprise was very important for the flourishing of the dance and music activities in the community. In the program booklet of that first performance in 1971, it was written that they had been researching Armenian folklore since 1962; their main goal was 'to put forth their culture for consideration' aiming to pioneer with that work to other associations in the Armenian community to progress it. Pakrat Estukyan explains the importance of that performance in 1971:

> Haço abi (Cemal Apeligyan) began to develope an interest towards the folk dances when he was a student at the Technical University. He also had a background on the dance culture in his hometown. In those years, he consolidates it as visiting Armenia to stay there for two months and watching the dance figures. It was the year of 1971. That concert was the first

one for Armenians of Istanbul. Most of the Armenians did not know that there were Armenian dances. Folk dances were so popular for all Turkey in those years, that is to say it was uttered as 'folklore'. 'Dancing folklore' was quite desirable. Haço firstly introduced Armenian dances to the Armenians in Turkey[76](P. Estukyan, personal communication, January 25, 2007).



Figure 3.3: Covers of the booklets[77] for *yerk bar* performances of Esayan and Sahakyan Alumni Associaitons.

So, they learned the dance choreographies and songs collected from Eastern (Soviet) Armenia repertories. *Sevani Tsıgnorsneri* (Fishermen of Sevan), *Gagachner* (Dance of Poppies), *Lezginka*, *Hovivneru bar* (Dance of shepherds), *Kochari*, *Govgasagan Bar* (Caucasian Dance), *Hoy Nazan*, *Dzaghgepunch* (Flower Bouguet) are some of the most popular dances those have been performed nearly in every performance since the 1970s. Those repertoires were taken almost with the same choreography

[76] Haço abi (Cemal Apeligyan), Teknik Üniversitede öğrenci iken halk dansları ile ilgilenmeye başlıyor. Geri planında da zaten memleketinden getirdiği bir dans kültürü var. Bütün bunları yine o öğrencilik yıllarında Ermenistan'a gidip orada iki ay kalıp oradaki dans hareketlerini izleyerek pekiştiriyor. 1971 yılı idi. Bu konser, İstanbul Ermenileri için bir ilkti. Bir sürü Ermeni, Ermenilerin dansları olduğunu bilmiyordu. Halk dansları o yıllarda bütün Türkiye nezdinde çok popüler bir işti, yani 'folklor' olarak ifade ediliyordu. 'folklor oynamak' çok ilginç, çok cazip bir şeydi. Haço ilk defa Ermenilerin danslarını burada Türkiye'li Ermeniler'e tanıttı.

[77] I attained those booklets from Hayko Garabetoğlu's personal archive.

from *Bari Bedagan* Dance Ensemble from Armenia (State Folk and Dance Ensemble).



Figure 3.4: *Hovivneru Bar*/Dance of Shepherds (Surp Khach Tıbrevank 1978).

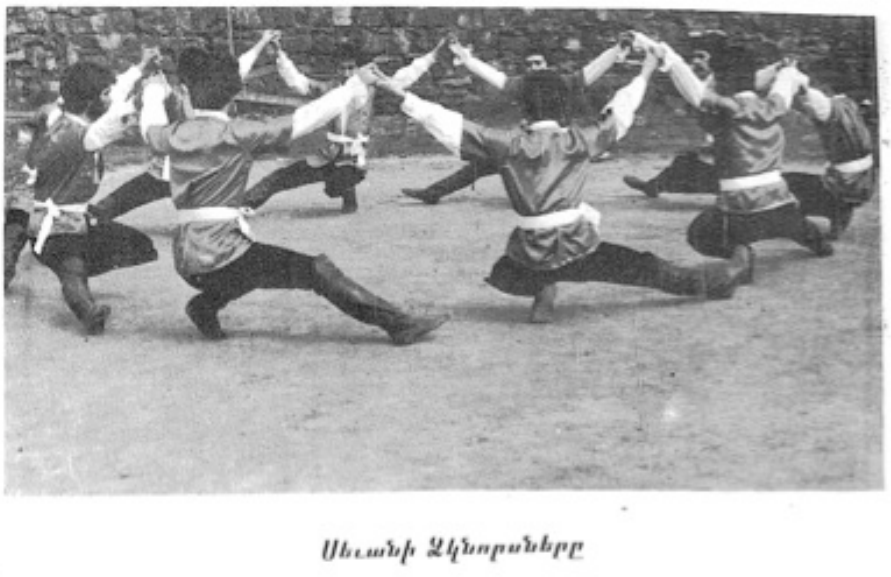


Figure 3.5: *Sevani Tsıgnorsneru*/Fishermen of Sevan (Surp Khach Tıbrevank 1978).

They also tried to collect some dance figures from older Anatolian Armenians migrated from the regions such as Sason, Daron, and Vaspuragan to Istanbul but that part included limited source. Then, they made new choreographies with those figures and gave the names of those regions to the dances as if they were original. *Daroni*

Yerker from Muş region and *Dağlıların Barı* from Sasun and Musadağ are the examples from Anatolian collections. And they also included Turkish Folklore excerpts from regions such as Diyarbakır, Bitlis, Sivas, Silifke, etc. Hayko Garabetoğlu -an accordeon player and dance instructor- explains the content of those performances as follows:

> Most of our dances are not the Armenian dances of Turkey. They do not exist in Anatolia anymore. Nonetheless we have authentic dances from the regions of Bitlis, Van, Erzurum, Bayburt, Muş from Anatolia. They are the same dances which are played with davul and zurna now but they have Armenian lyrics, then they are known Anatolian Armenian music. Of course, it took long time to invent them for us. We were exhibiting samples from Turkish folklore. Not only Armenian music but also the ones played by davul and zurna from the regions familiar to us such as Diyarbakır, Van, Sivas and Bayburt... We used them in the program. But all the people, whole group was Armenian[78](H. Garabetoğlu, personal communication, October 24, 2009).



Figure 3.6: Surp Khach Tıbrevank 1971.

[78] Bizdeki oyunların çoğu Türkiye'deki Ermeni oyunları değil. Anadoluda zaten öyle bir durum yok. Ama şu anda Anadoludan; Bitlis, Van, Erzurum, Bayburt, Muş yöresinden otantik oyunlarımız var bizim. Şu an davulla zurnayla oynanan oyunların aynısı ama Ermenice sözlü, ki bunlar Anadoludaki Ermeni müziği olarak geliyor. Tabi bizim bunları keşfetmemiz uzun sürdü... Bu arada Türk folklorundan da örnekler veriyorduk. Sadece Ermeni müziği değil, Diyarbakır, Van, bize yakın yörelerden, davul zurnayla çalınan, Sivas yöresi, Bayburt yöresi... Bunları da arada program içinde kullanıyorduk. Ama bütün kişiler, oradaki grubun tamamı Ermeniydi.



Figure 3.6 (continued): Surp Khach Tıbrevank 1971.

However that folklore recovery was accomplished by referencing Soviet Armenia. The concept of the suite for representation, staging customs such as weddings, framing a series of dances and balleticized character dances were similar with many other state ensembles. Shay (1999) explains the choreographic creations of the various state dance ensembles as "invented traditions" as referencing to Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983). He points out that "the steps and movements of character dance often have no connection with dance in the field and yet ballet character dance characterizes the bulk of choreographic output of such twentieth-century folk dance companies..." (p. 30). In a similar way, music and dance memory of Istanbul Armenians was imported through importing of the invented repertories from Soviet Armenia. Were those dance and song repertories a real remembrance of Anatolian origin? Of course, no, they weren't. They all were the reconstructions of the lost ones. As Shay (1999) states, "Many individuals among the public largely believe the fiction that the choreographies they view on stage reflect actual dances as they would be experienced in a traditional, field setting. The performances of both musics and dances have become choreographed and modernized in Soviet and Caucausian styles" (p.45). However, issues of authenticity are raised in relation to folk dance companies because of the idea that one is presenting an 'authentic' representation of the nation by using its purest, most primordial material.

Besides, the aim on revitalizing the cultural memory through folkloric elements is specifically observable on the concert program booklets of those yerk bar performances. The published programs of the performances consisting the repertoire were organized as a comprehensive booklet aiming to inform audiences on Armenian folklore in general. They also included the academic writings on definition and content of folklore as a research area, specific informations about Armenian dances and musics. Costuming was one of the most important visual aspect of those performances, as a symbol of authenticity. The most influential part of those booklets is the section about the Armenian costume tradition taken by the books from 19th century. In the booklet of 1971, yerk bar performance of Surp Khac Tıbrevank, it is observable that the representation of ethnicity emerges from the common public view that these dances, music and costumes originate in some primordial source of the nation's purest values.



Figure 3.7: From the booklet of *yerk bar* performance of Surp Khach Tıbrevank, 1971.

Similarly, in the booklet of Talar dance ensemble performance in 2001, they present the illustrations of old Armenian village costumes.



Figure 3.8: From the booklet of *yerk bar* performance of Talar Dance Ensemble, 2001.

However, the most influential aspect of those presentations is the symbolic 'recovery' of folklore with exhibiting both the old and the new ones and proofing how real they are. Members of the group sew the costumes for the performances according to those drawings, take photographs of those new costumes and show them together in order to point out the authenticity, continuity, and cultural transmission.

3.2.1.1 Music in *yerk bar* performances: 'Soviet style' Armenian folk music

One of the other avanguard characteristics of those performances was the idea of polyphonic choir accompaniment to the performance. The tradition of polyphonic choirs in Armenian music started during the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th century, when various musicians like Krisdafor Kara-Murza, Levon Chilingirian, Makar Yekmalian and Komitas Vardapet harmonized the *badarak* sung at the churches, and when these versions of polyphonic *badarak* were accepted by the churches. The first choirs to apply this polyphonic ritual format were Kumkapı Surp Asdvadzadzin Patriarchal Church Choir, Galata Surp Krikor Lusavorich Church Choir, Beşiktaş Surp Asdvadzadzin Church Choir and Yenikapı Church Choir, who started to use this format in 1906 (Seropyan, 1993, pp.184-185; Saka, 1994, pp.185-186.). Especially starting in the 1970s, the church choirs begun to join the *yerk bar* performances where folk and *ashugh* (minstrel) music was performed.



Figure 3.9: Surp Khach Tıbrevank 1978.

The performance profile of the choirs was based on three or four-part polyphonic pieces. Consequently, songs to be included in the choir repertoire were selected from the polyphonized notations of the songs from Armenia. Moreover, songs were deciphered from long play records, as notations were not sufficient for the choir repertoire at the beginning.

The repertoire that they brought from Yerevan consisted of mostly Tatul Altunyan's polyphonic choral arrangements of Armenian music. The choir, instruments and dance ensemble were on the stage altogether. The main aim was exhibiting Armenian folk dance and music culture preparing an impressive performance. Garabetoğlu explains the process of preperation for the performances as the following:

> In that time, there weren't so many notations. Only, the records are achieved. We were transcribing longplays here, and writing them as notes. We were selecting the lyrics. The orchestrations were done, harmonized for 4 part for the choir and we could (perform) Armenian folk music of Armenia for the first time. Here it was we did in 1971[79](H. Garabetoğlu, personal communication, October 24, 2009).



Figure 3.10: Surp Khach Tıbrevank 1971.

[79] O zaman nota olayı falan da çok yok. Sadece plaklar geliyordu. Longplaylari biz burda deşifre ediyorduk, notaya döküyordük. Sözlerini ayıklıyorduk. Onların orkestrasyonu yapılıyor, koro için 4 sese çevriliyor ve bu şekilde Ermenistandaki Ermeni halk müziğini ilk defa, Türkiyede (icra etmiş oluyoruz)... İşte 71 yılında yaptığımız ilk buydu.

As in the dance case, ‘Soviet style’ Armenian folk music was one of the constructed Armenian traditional music ideals of that period. That style still forms a considerable portion of musical memory of Armenians in Istanbul. In the 1960s, after a long period of collective amnesia on musicking, they started to listen Armenian music through those Soviet style records. Therefore, Soviet cultural policy and the musical approaches progressing through that policy proceeding the 1920s should be conceived in order to be able to define the sound that I state as ‘Soviet style’. East Armenia comes under Russian rule in 1828 and remains so up until 1918 when there was a short period of independence. In 1920, Armenia voluntarily falls under Soviet rule. At that time, the influential nativization policy of Soviet rule was *korenizatsia* that provides ‘the right of self-determination’ for the republics. Lenin applied this policy by satisfying national sentiments of the ethnic groups and eliminating the ethnic inequalities in order to get the support for Soviet rule. Andy Nercessian (2001) classifies the aims of Soviet ideology in three rough categories: “Firstly, the goal of ‘advancement,’ which took on the particular form of Europeanization. Secondly, the elimination of any cultural forms suggestive of class differences, such as opera. Thirdly, the survival of national elements in culture” (p. 30). Formation of ensembles of folk instruments; standardizing traditional instruments, tunes and harmonies through modeling European style and endeavoring to raise folk music to the level of European classical music appear as the main strategies of the *korenizatsia* policy. Nercessian’s book *The Duduk and National Identity in Armenia* and his article ‘A Look at the Emergence of the Concept of National Culture in Armenia: The Former Soviet Folk Ensemble’ sheds light on the emergence of a Soviet style Armenian folk sound.

The first Armenian folk orchestra, called Aram Merangulian orchestra, was founded in Yerevan in 1926. Most ensembles consisted of a number of *duduk*s, one or two *shvi*s (end-blown flutes), a clarinet, a cello, a *davugh* (10-stringed harp), a *kanun*, a *dhol* and two *kamancha*s (Nercessian, 2001, pp. 69-70). In fact, it is not known if those instruments had ever been played or not in the same ensemble before. Most of the players were musically illiterate so they must have been educated and taught notation. They performed collected folk songs harmonized and standardized in playing techniques (p. 84). Those folk ensembles started to represent the national identity both in Armenia and in the international arena. This music was defined as

azkain, which may be translated as either 'folk' or 'national' referring to 'folk music' played by the ensemble and the national culture that it represented (p. 88). The significant point that I want to refer to is that the creation and representation of this kind of *azkain yerajıshdutyun* (national music) has been seen as authentic, generally.

The singers such as Rupen Matevosian, Ophelia Hampartzumian, Lusik Koshian and Hovhannes Badalian - accompanied by popular folk ensembles like Armenian Radio Orchestra of Folk Music Instruments conducted by A. Merangulian, and Armenian Song and Dance Ensemble conducted by Tatul Altunyan - were some of the most popular performers of national music from the 1930s until today in Yerevan. *Yergu kuyr enk* (We are two sisters), the first Armenian song that I had ever listened was recorded by Tatul Altunyan Armenian Song and Dance Ensemble, too (please hear DVD: 31). Years later, I found that song on Youtube. The video starts with the written statement "Welcome to the absolute sound of Armenian Folk Music." It can be realized that Tatul Altunyan's records were the main source of Istanbul Armenians on meeting and performing Armenian traditional music, referring to the booklets of *yerk bar* performances of choirs and folk dance groups in Istanbul. But the main point that I am trying to make is that the aesthetic regard and performance practice for Armenian sound that has been shaped through this style in Istanbul since the 1960s is because the only source were those. Especially the choral sound has been formed through those records even if there are no such performing orchestras in Istanbul. When you listen to any choir in Istanbul singing Armenian folk songs, you will probably hear that canonized sound of Tatul Altunyan's arrangements.

Nercessian supposes 'propagability' as a major concern in the creation of the style of folk song adhering the standardized original. It can be observed that the standardized sound caused to spread and be transmitted in the Armenian society of Turkey as a canonized repertoire in years. He also points out that folk ensemble reconciles the urban identity with the national/traditional identity:

> The growth of the urban population had to be accompanies by an attempt to eliminate regional idiosyncratic characteristics from folk music, which could not be understood everyone. At the same time, as class differences were slowly transformed to differences between rural and urban society, the 'more refined' tastes of the new urban population were satisfied by the more refined ways of playing folk music which served the needs of a still not fully developed urban identity. In urban areas, music had to be accessible to a large audience formed of people from diverse regions and differing tastes (Nercessian, 2001, p. 74).

That style of folk ensemble serves as a means of strengthening national identity through a creation of a well-defined concept of traditional music. "The main goal was to cleanse traditional music, i.e., to Europeanize it, not to forbid it. One method of cleansing was European-style harmonization" (Nercessian, 2001, p. 33). For instance, polyphonic folk song singing in four-part texture was not a singing style of Armenian living in an Anatolian village. However, it wasn't too foreign Armenians in Istanbul because polyphonic singing in the church had been introduced to them at the beginning of 20th century as I discussed in the second chapter. Comparing to Yerevan, the orchestration was poor in terms of the instrumental diversity. The orchestras consisted of mostly accordions, zithers and dhols and rarely ud and violin with the lack of instruments such as *kamancha*, *blul*, *shvi*, *zurna*, *duduk*, *tar*, characterizing aforementioned Armenian folk sound. There was no Armenian musician who can play the traditional instruments or who could sing those traditional songs with their regional timbre and still the situation is similar in Turkey. So they had some guest musicians from Soviet Armenia to play at some of those *yerk bar* performances. For instance, Estukyan tells he even did not know what *duduk* was in his childhood:

> We even didn't realize that Armenian music was a living thing. We supposed that Armenian music was a ceremonial thing that was played in some special days. There are still many people with that idea. For instance, when there is a wedding ceremony, many people think "what can I play in Armenian?" But the ones living in Armenia do not think like that. They always can see Armenian music in lifetime. That is to say, he could make music with his duduk or duduk ensemble in the funeral ceremony or organize entertaining wedding ceremonies using only pure traditional Armenian instruments. However, it was too far to us. If there is a wedding, we would sing '*Kadifeden Kesesi*' in order to dance. We could not entertain with Armenian songs, it was not in life, it was in place like a museum[80] (P. Estukyan, personal communication, January 25, 2007).

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[80] Yani biz Ermeni müziğinin yaşayan bir şey olduğunun bile farkında değildik. Ermeni müziğini belli günlerde söylenen, biraz törensel bir şey olduğunu zannederdik. Halen bugün öyle zanneden de bir sürü insan var. Mesela bir düğün eğlencesi olacağı zaman "Ermenice ile ne çalabilirim?" diye düşünen çok insan var. Ama Ermenistan'lı öyle düşünmüyor, Ermenistan'lı yaşam içerisindeki müziği hep Ermenice görebiliyor. Yani bir cenaze töreninde de duduğu ile duduk orketstrası ile müzik yapabiliyor, salt geleneksel Ermeni enstrümanları kullanarak çok keyifli düğün törenleri de düzenleyebiliyor ama biz bunlardan çok uzaktık. Düğün olacaksa *Kadifeden Kesesi* söyleyeceğiz ki oynayalım. Ermenice şarkı ile eğlenemezdik, yaşamın içinde değildi, müzelik bir yerde idi.

The most popular instrument of the 1950s and 1960s was the accordeon because of the interest of young people on the instrument. Hayko Garabetoğlu who plays in those *yerk bar* performances since those years, tells that although accordeon is not a traditional Armenian instrument, it is appropriate for playing Armenian style and with its popularity transformed as a traditional instrument for Armenians in Istanbul.

> In those years, if young people who wanted to make popular music would like to play a musical instrument, the first one that came to mind was accordeon. Its sound was also good. There were Armenian accordeon teachers such as Agop Akyüz, Edvard Aris, Garbis Elbenk... I remember from my childhood memories that there were some people who could play accordeon in those days. When there was an entertainment gathering they also would come to my grandparents home in Samatya taking their accordeons[81](H. Garabetoğlu, personal communication, October 24, 2009).

3.2.2 Limitations in freedom of expression

The symbolic potential of the *yerk bar* performances for political resistance, for their reconnection with a forgotten past or for cultural tradition that had been broken had an impact on the collective imagined construction of the community. Music and dance are one of the strong driving factors motivating Armenians to join the community associations and the activities. Furthermore, those *yerk bar* performances are typically a mean of struggle against becoming absorbed or assimilated by the mainstream Turkish culture.

Those performances have many symbolic meanings for the construction of the community. On the one hand, community was saying that "we are still here as Armenians!" On the other hand 'auto-censorship' was a strong way of self-protection against state. For instance, if there was an so-called 'inconvenient' word such as 'Yerevan' (the capital of Soviet Armenia), or 'Hayastan' (meaning the land of Armenian) in the lyrics of the song, the members of the choir removed that word from the lyrics or changed it with another non-political word such as '*Vartastan'* (the land of Rose) in order to prevent the misunderstandings and not to have trouble with officials in the 1970s and 1980s. Garyan states the following:

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[81] O yıllarda popüler müzik yapmak isteyen genç insanlar bir müzik enstrümanı çalmak isterlerse akla ilk gelecek enstrümandı akordeon, tınısı da hoştu. Ermeni akordeon hocaları vardı; Agop Akyüz, Edvard Haris, Garbis Elbenk gibi... Ben çocukluk anılarımdan hatırlıyorum, böyle günlerde aramızda birkaç ders almış akordeon çalmasını bilen insanlar olurdu. Bir eğlence olacaksa onlar akordeonlarını alıp gelirlerdi Samatya'da anneannemin, dedemin evine.

> I founded my first orchestra when I gave up playing guitar in 1978. The Petak Orchestra... The member of the orchestra are all Armenia; the repertoire is only Armenian; we are founding such an orchestra. Of course, it is known in only in the community... There is a song containing the word 'Yerevan', I'm changing the word. It may pose a problem, we should not get involved in such things, Yerevan etc. I'm 18 years old. We change the word Yerevan to '*Vartastan'*. It means the land of rose. Foolish acts. Nevertheless, 1978 was a really terrible period[82](B. Garyan, personal communication, October 29, 2009).

Pakrat Estukyan explains his points as follows:

> Did we live in diffuculties in the past? We did. The one who created or imposed all of those diffuculties was not Turkish republic but in such an atmosphere some cautious brothers advised us not to use the the word 'Yerevan' in the songs. If there are such (unfavourable) words in the lyrics of the song, that word was being got out and the new one which would complete the rhyme was put. That was unfavourable, not in action but somebodies were in doubt about those things They said that "It is not true." Maybe, they were right moderately but mostly they were exageratting. Just because autocensorship is bad. Censorship is also bad but autocensorship is miserable[83] (P. Estukyan, personal communication, January 25, 2007).

On the other hand, mostly the audiences from Armenian community followed performances in those years, except the police detectives, charged by police department. They were really the loyal audiences. Despite the fact that there was no protest attitude or critical-political content in the performances, officials were keeping under control. So, state was still showing its power and giving its message latently: "We are watching you!".

The noticable common point of the repertories of those yerk bar performances from 1971 to 2010 is the song *Yerk Paregamutyun* (The Song of Friendship / Fraternity) which have been sung in every performances symbolizing the demand on peace (please hear DVD: 32). It was usually played at the beginning and at the end. The

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[82] 1978'de gitar dersini bıraktığımda ilk orkestramı kurdum. Petak orkestrası... Bütün çalanlar Ermeni, repertuvar full Ermenice, böyle bir orkestra kuruyoruz. Tabi sadece cemaat içinde kalıyor...İçinde 'Yerevan' geçen bir şarkı var, onu değiştiriyorum. Birşey olur bakarsın, Yerevan falan bulaşmayalım. 18 yaşındayım. Yerevan'ı 'Vartastan' yapıyoruz. Vartastan da gül diyarı. Böyle saçmasapan şeyler. Ama 78 gerçekten kötü bir dönemdi.

[83] Geçmişte sıkıntılar yaşadık mı? Yaşadık. Bu sıkıntıların hepsini de Türkiye Cumhuriyeti icat etmedi veya dayatmadı ama o atmosfer içerisinde böyle bazı tedbirli ağabeylerin uyarıları söz konusu oldu… Şarkılarımızda asla 'Yerevan' kelimesi geçmemeli idi. Şarkılarda öyle sözler varsa hemen o sözcük bir şekil oradan alınıyordu yerine o kafiyeyi tamamlayacak başka bir şey bulunup konuluyordu. Bu sakıncalı idi, öyle fiilen bir sakınca falan yoktu ama birileri öyle vehm ediyorlardı; "Bu doğru olmaz" diyorlardı. Belki de bir kısmı doğru idi ama büyük bir kısmı abartı idi. Otosansür kötü bir şey çünkü. Sansür kötü ama otosansür çok daha kötü.

founder of Maral dance group, Benon Kuzubaş initiated a tradition about performing this song in all performances. Talar dance group also supported this rule and it has become as a traditional ritual. As one of my interviewees told me, because police detectives came to all the performances in every years and watched as if they were ordinary audiences, they realized the importance of that song. Once, one of them wanted to be informed about the lyrics of that song. After having such a reaction, performers translated this song into Turkish and sometimes sang it in Turkish. In addition, this song was also thought in Turkish in the Armenian school:

> We are weaving the song of friendship with golden strings
> In the sunny, very green fields
> Let it resound, let it take wing
> In all the languages of world
> With millions of words
> In the whole world
> Let it peace, let it lasting spring
> Let it resound, let it take wing
> Our song like a pigeon
> In the living world.
> People under the sun, forever
> Let it be friends for centuries
> Life is happy
> Poetry and song
> Let them be heard from the lips of children forever[84].

In that case, the years of 1970s are so determining for musicking of Armenians of Istanbul because the foundations of *yerki bari khump* tradition, that creates practically the only performance space of Armenian music different from churches. As a result of the cultural exchange with other Armenian communities and becoming aware of the Armenian world, the cultural memories of Istanbul Armenians had being recovered and restructured within the realm of dance and music. Memory is always in the making, a continuous process of construction and reconstruction. Cultural memory maintenances individual's perception of continuity between past

[84] Dostluğun türküsünü altın tellerle dokuyoruz. Güneşli yemyeşil tarlalarda. İnlesin, kanatlansın. Dünya dillerinde, Milyon kelimelerle. Tüm dünyada. Barış olsun, sürekli bahar olsun, İnlesin kanatlansın, Güvercin gibi türkümüz, Yaşayan dünyada. Halklar sonsuza dek güneşin altında, Yüzyıllar boyu dost olsunlar, Yaşam mutlu, Şiir ve türkü Çocukların dudaklarından işitilsin sonsuza dek.

and the community's present existence. According to Halbwachs, who is one of the founders of memory studies, collective memory is the reconstruction of the past. It is always written today and also reflects today (Assmann, 2001, p. 44). Consequently, music and dance memory is evoked within the yerk bar performances for Armenians in Turkey even if its shape is different from the past versions. Maral Dance Ensemble (founded in 1980) and Talar Dance Ensemble (founded in 1997) are today's dance group which pursue *yerk bar* tradition and transmit it to new generations. Additionally, the dance ensembles have their separate children performance groups in order to provide cultural transmission. Those children ensembles take the name of the adults ones with the diminutive suffix '-ig' in Armenian, as in the case of Maral(ig) and Talar(ig). The ones who are educated from this children choir or dance group attend the adults' ones when they are growing up.



Figure 3.11: Talarig Dance Ensemble.

To conclude, embracing an experience of collective remembrance, Armenians of Turkey searched for a sense of cultural identity in *yerk bar* performances that played a formative part in their lives. To break down years of amnesia, it was a respond to the loss of cultural memory with a desire to reconnect with the past. For them, those dance and songs were more than mere nostalgic revisions of the past, more than just

the accompanying soundtrack of a lifetime. Those were the key ingredients, the integral part of the cultural identity in the process of new generation's acculturation, defining who they were. The emergence of *yerk bar* ensembles and the subsequent proliferation throughout the rest of Armenian community in Istanbul was instrumental in the process of reconstruction of cultural memories and the cultural identities long repressed during the years of early republican period.

3.3 Singing as Social Activity: Musicking from Community Gatherings to the Stage

3.3.1 Musicking in Sayat Nova Choir

Today, 35 of the total 42 churches under the authority of the Armenian Patriarchate of Turkey are in Istanbul and the rest are in Kayseri, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Hatay, Iskenderun and Crete. 20 of these churches have their own choirs[85]. Singing in religious services like Sunday services, weddings and funeral rites is one of the basic duties and functions of a church choir. However, apart from their religious functions, some of the choirs have been also giving concerts where they performed Armenian folk songs and minstrel songs, participating in the chorus festivals organized in Turkey and taking stage in events organized by some NGOs, about the Armenian agenda in Turkey. The most active choirs carrying on these kinds of activities include Lusavoriç, Vartanants, Sahakyan, Surp Takavor, Asoghig, Getronagan and Sayat Nova Choirs.

In this part I will discuss the role of the church choirs -the most effective musicking actors of the Armenian Society in Istanbul- in the construction of identities. While doing this I will focus on Sayat Nova Choir, as I participated in their rehearsals and concerts during my fieldwork and thus acquired an extensive insight and impression on them. Because, thanks to my participatory observations about the choir, I understood that especially the concept of musicking provided me with a

[85] Asoghik Choir (Beyoğlu), Getronagan Choir (Karaköy), Gomidas Choir (Kuruçeşme), Karasun Mangants Choir (Bakırköy), Koghtan Choir (Patriklik), Lusavoriç Choir (Taksim), Miatsyal Choir (Üsküdar), Naregatsi Choir (Beşiktaş), Nersesyan Choir (Kınalıada), Sahak-Mesrob Choir (Yeşilköy), Sahakyan Choir (Samatya), Sayat Nova (Boyacıköy), Surp Garabed Choir (Üsküdar), Surp Hovhannes Choir (Narlıkapı), Surp Hripsimyants Choir (Büyükdere), Surp Takavor Choir (Kadıköy), Tarkmançats Choir (Ortaköy), Vartanants Choir (Feriköy), Varvaryan Choir (Kumkapı), Zıvarnots Choir (Gedikpaşa). (see http://www.hyetert.com/rehber.asp)

terminological approach to grasp the musical activities of the Armenian society in İstanbul. So, in this section, I will primarily focus on the performance practices of Sayat Nova choir, and how musical performances shape subjectivities.

Sayat Nova Choir was founded in 1972 as a church choir at Boyacıköy's Surp Yerits Mangats Church. The choir takes its name from the most famous representative of the Armenian *ashugh*[86] tradition, namely Sayat Nova[87]. The choir was founded with a leftist ideological background at the beginning of 1970s as Estukyan states:

> The dominant idea in 1972, the year the choir was founded was 'to change the world now!!!'. Sayat Nova Choir is an institution that was founded with a revolutionary propellant. The founders were mostly university students and being a university student in that time meant having a leftist ideology and being revolutionist. So, we began looking at the world through this lens and we grew up in that way[88](P. Estukyan, personal communication, January 25, 2007).

Sayat Nova Choir is officially a church choir but minly performs Armenian folk music. Estukyan states the founding years of the choir as follows:

> In the 70s and 80s, there was a leftist movement in Turkey, and there were many Armenians within that leftist movement. That leftist movement had both legal and illegal wings and there were many Armenians in both wings… The founding year of Sayat Nova was 1972 but such a revolutionary and leftist biased foundation was founded as a church organization. It is not possible to comprehend the situation for a Turkish revolutionist in Turkey. One will say that "what is your business at the church if you say that you're leftist?" But there was no way for Armenians to do that if it were not a church. The church was really the place like a *cami* (mosque) for us in true meaning of the word. So to speak, it is the place of '*cem'*, to meet and to coexist. In 1972, in such an undemocratic environment, we couldn't find an association, for instance. Such an organization called 'the society of Sayat Nova' or the 'the society of the

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[86] 'Ashugh' means love, lover and is similar with the Arabian term *ashegh*, Turkish term *âşık* and Persian term *ašik. Ashugh*s are the professional musicians who transmit the oral tradition and perpetuate national traditions by traveling across the country.

[87] Sayat Nova (Harutyun Sayatyan, 1712-1795) was an Armenian poet, musician and ashug who had compositions in a number of language. His adopted name Sayat Nova means 'Master of Songs' in Persian.

[88] Sayat Nova korosunun kurulduğu 1972 yılında egemen görüş şu idi; dünyayı hemen şimdi değiştirelim. Sayat Nova aslında devrimci bir itici güç ile kurulmuş bir kurumdur. Koronun kurucuları hemen hemen hepsi de üniversite öğrencisi idiler ve o dönemin üniversite algısı bugünden oldukça farklı idi. Üniversiteli demek zaten solcu, dünyaya sol pencereden bakan, devrimci demekti. Bizler de dünyaya o gözle bakmaya başladık, o ortam içerisinde bizler de öyle şekillendik.

singers of Sayat Nova' etc was not possible. So, the easiest way was getting organized within the community as a church choir[89](P. Estukyan, personal communication, January 25, 2007).

So, the way to articulate the initiation as a church choir makes advantaged them in order to be protected officially. As indicated above church is both the unifying mechanism and also the institution that embodies community against the state.



Figure 3.12: Sayat Nova Choir (from Sarkis Erkol's archive)

The Sayat Nova Choir participated in the *yerk bar* performances organized by Esayan Alumni Association in 1973 and 1974, and by Surp Khaç Tıbrevank Alumni Association in 1972, 1975, 1977 and 1978. In the post-republican period of Turkey, the choir had a key role in the reconstruction of Armenian folk music performances and in the traditionalized sound of the *yerk bar* performances.

After the *yerk bar* performances seen in the 1970s, a short-term period of stagnation was experienced in the Armenian culture-art environment - as in many other social environments in Turkey - during the 1980s, after the Turkish Coup D'état. Sayat

[89] 70'li 80'li yıllarda, Türkiye'de bir sol hareket var, o sol hareket içerisinde bir sürü de Ermeni var. Bu sol hareketin legal olanı var, illegal olanı var, her iki aşamasında da bir sürü Ermeni var...1972 yılı idi Sayat Nova'nın kuruluşu ama böyle devrimci böyle sola açık bir yapı gidip bir kilise bünyesinde kuruldu. İşte bu azınlık olmanın doğal çelişkisidir. Bunu şimdi Türkiye'de bir Türk devrimcisinin algılaması mümkün değil, yani "Solcuysan kilisede ne işin var?" diyecek…Çünkü Ermeniler için başka zemin yok. Kilise bizim için kelimenin gerçek anlamı ile cem yeridir, toplanma yeridir, cümle olma yeridir... Biz o 72 yılında, demokratik olmayan o ortamda, mesela bir dernek kuramazdık. 'Sayat Nova'yı sevenler derneği' ya da 'Sayat Nova şarkıcıları derneği' gibi bir oluşum söz konusu olamazdı. En kolayı kendi içimizde yapabileceğimiz örgütlenme ile bir kilise korosu olmaktı.

Nova Choir started to organize thematic choral concerts, after the flow of the *yerk bar* performances period. In 1985, an idea came up to organize a concert of Komitas' works to commemorate the 50th year of his death, and this idea was approved by the Armenian society. After this concert, various other concerts were held to commemorate the prominent musicians of the Armenian music history. The works of various important composers and musicians such as Komitas, Tatul Altunyan, Sayat Nova, Krikor Suni and Khachadur Avedisyan were performed in those concerts. The members of the choir state that for the organizers, performers and the audience, these thematic concerts had a content which was both educative and encouraging to learn more about the Armenian culture:

> I think I attained valuable things by joining Sayat Nova, in other words, by participating in an Armenian culture&arts environment. Before coming to Sayat Nova, I had a 'leftist' perspective as well, as a result of other things in my life, but it was only after Sayat Nova that I started to learn more about the Armenian identity and culture and approach these from a leftist point of view. This has always made me think about the educative character of this institution. So those thematic concerts undoubtedly have a highly effective educative aspect. This is why we attach such a high importance to them[90] (S. Erkol, personal communication, November 14, 2009).

With the 1990s, Armenian music of Anatolia started to attract the attention of the choirs and the themes of the concerts were no more determined according to musicians/composers but according to cities of origin or within a homeland perspective: such as *Folk Songs from Muş, Yergir Nairi and Ergir* concerts. These were the 'homeland themed' concerts where the Armenian people started to refer to their history in Anatolia. Moreover, these concerts were aimed at using music and literature together and conveying certain social messages through the texts and poetry read by a presenter on stage.

In fact, Sayat Nova generally performs acapella (please hear DVD: 33). But in 1992, an orchestra consisting of accordeon, bass guitar, clarinet, *dhol* and percussions was

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[90] Sayat Nova ortamına gelmekle, daha doğrusu Ermeni kültür sanat ortamında bulunmakla birçok şey edindiğimi düşünüyorum. Sayat Nova'ya gelmeden önce de başka etki alanlarının sonucunda böyle bir sol bakış açım vardı ama Ermeni kimliği, Ermeni kültürü ve bunlara da sol bir pencereden yaklaşma olgusu Sayat Nova ile pekişen bir şey oldu. Bu bana bu yapının hep öğretici özelliğini düşündürdü. Bu anlamda tematik konserler mutlaka ki çok eğitici çok öğretici bir fonksiyon üstleniyorlar, onun için tematik konserleri biz önemsiyoruz.

established. This orchestra started to accompany the choir at concerts from time to time, with the participation of guest *kanun* and *duduk* players coming from Armenia. However, this was an orchestra which came together only for concerts in general and thus did not have an organic structure and continutiy, like the choir. In 1990, Sayat Nova Children's Choir was established. Children who joined the choir at an early age, continued their choir career in the senior choir. Thus the members of the society had the opportunity to get this musical and cultural formation at an early age.



Figure 3.13: Sayat Nova Choir.

In Sayat Nova Choir, all of the singers are amateur performers who do not relate with music in a professional way and have a music education. The statements of the interviewees who state that they were subject to discrimination in the conservatoire exams in 1970s and 1980s just because they were Armenian, are as the following:

> I was at the entrance exam of the municipality conservatoire in Çemberlitaş. There were about 100 children who attended the exam. When it was my turn, I walked in. One of the jury members asked: "What is the name of this beautiful girl?" Takuhi Tovmasyan… He could hardly manage to say my name. The expression of the lady who asked my name changed in her face and ordered to me "Get out!" I was so excited and happy to go there. But in the end, I said to my mom "Mama, we don't need to come here tomorrow, I will never take place in the winners' list." My mother said to me "The fault is ours. We shouldn't have ever come.

> There are only 1 Greek and 1 Armenian child among 100 Turkish children. Will they accept us?"[91] (T. Tovmasyan, personal communication, February 10, 2008)

> I wished to attend to the folk music courses. The entrance exam was crowded. There was a list of attendees. They would read the names and say who should come in the afternoon. My name is Vasken Sezar Avedikyan, it is a bit difficult to say at the first time. The one who read the names said 'Sezar' only and pronounced 'Avedikyan' awkwardly. One of the children standing by me said "Who is this!" I said "It is me. So what?" I lost my nerves. I thought "I can't do music with this kind of people." I got out and did not attend the exam in the afternoon. Maybe my music life and career would have been different if I had attended that course. I don't know… [92](S. Avedikyan, personal communication, May 19, 2007)

Nevertheless, it can be said that particularly as of 1990's, lots of soloists, chorists and musicians who were trained in the Armenian choirs/ensembles of İstanbul, started to study music in conservatoires and were trained as professional performers in public institutions. However, Pakrat Estukyan -one of the members of the choir- expresses the idea of dabbling with an Armenian word *siroghaghan*. It means 'lovers' in English. He means that they do this job for love, affection or a friendly conversation. Interestingly, some of the members especially over the age of 60s are not singing now because of the health reasons but they are coming to rehearsals in order to listen to the songs and participate to musicking process in a self-disciplined manner. According to my own observations, even though some of the members have basic hearing problems on perceiving the tunes and tonal relations, the choir does not have trouble with the situation and the ones who can not sing well also can go on singing in the rehearsals and concerts. I think people sing together as a manifestation of their group identity; and that the sociological, psychological effects of communal singing are more important than aspects of aesthetics of performance practice. But it does not

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[91] Çemberlitaştaki belediye konservatuarının giriş sınavlarına katılacağım. 100 çocuk var sınava katılan. Sıra bana geliyor, içeri giriyorum. Jüri üyelerinden biri dönüp soruyor. "Nedir bu güzel kızın ismi?" diyor. Takuhi Tovmasyan... Zorlanarak söylüyor adımı. Soran hanımın yüz ifadesi değişiyor ve bana "çık dışarı!" diyor. Ne kadar sevinçli gitmiştim, çok mutluydum halbuki. Ama çıkışta dedim ki "mama yarın hiç buraya kadar gelmeyelim, bu listede benim adım olmayacak" Annem de bana dedi ki, "Zaten akılsızlık bizde. Hiç gelmemeliydik. 100 Türk çocuğun içinde 1 Rum 1 Ermeni çocuğu var, bizi mi alacaklar?"

[92] Halk müziği eğitimi veren kurslara katılmak istedim. Giriş sınavı çok kalabalıktı. Bir liste vardı, bu listeden isim okuyacaklar, bunlar öğleden sonra gelsin diyecekler. Benim ismim de Vasken Sezar Avedikyan, biraz zor oluyor ilk kez duyanlar için. Listede isimleri okuyan kişi "Sezar" dedi, Avedikyan'ı da acayip bir şekilde söyledi. Yanımdaki çocuklardan biri "Bu da kim ya!" dedi. Döndüm, "Benim" dedim, "ne olacak?". Benim sinirim bozuldu. "Böyle insanlarla mı müzik yapacağım?"dedim. Çıktım, öğleden sonra katılmadım. O kursu da bitirmiş olsaydım, müzik yaşantım daha farklı bir seyir izleyecekti benim için, bilemiyorum...

mean that they ignore the quality of the sound or the artistic representation of the performances. I was really surprised when I heard that most of the members of the choir cannot follow the notes on the sheets although they always used notes during the rehearsals and concerts. While they do not give too much value to musical ability or talent in their practice, they overrate the use of notes as an artistic sign. In addition, the conductor sings or plays the melodies on piano and then they repeat and learn the melodies of the songs. Through my observations, conductor basically take cares to sing precisely in tune and with a vocal timbre which complements the other singers; to sing at precisely controlled levels of volume, matching the dynamics and expressions prescribed by him, and not sing so loudly as to be markedly detectable as an individual voice within the section. So the structural organization of the choir and musical manner is applied through idealized, standard Western choral singing tradition.

So, what are the functions, reflections and motivating factors of being a choir member? Firstly, singing is about relationships in social action. So becoming a member of that choir engenders relationships among the people who participate in its various ways, whether as singers, conductors, listeners, organizer etc. Sayat Nova is a big family rather than a choir. Singing in a choir is an activity that every age group partakes in together, just like in a family setting. Basically, their main will is 'being together'. One of the main musicking activities of the choir is the weekend picnics that can be seen as a community ritual. They gather in the garden of the church, eat and drink and then sing and dance. But every instance of the day from buying the ingredients for meal to preparing the barbecue is held in order. I always felt that these picnics are like a celebration of togetherness like a traditional ritual. And music is one of the indispensable components of that ritual which is used on defining community as an act of exploration and as an act of celebration (Small 1998: 95). Secondly, the choir singing strengthens the collective cultural identities because music can play a symbolic role in the formation of nationalist or ethnic consciousnesses. As Benedict Anderson (1983) suggests, the simultaneity and unisonality inherent in the act of group singing echoes "the physical realization of the imagined community" (p.145). The choir atmosphere creates a sense of support and solidarity that individuals share a space where they can express and preserve their ethnicity. In addition, music complements the social processes of community

formation (Barz p.85). Choirs help the new generation to be a part of Armenian community life, embodying a national/ethnic space in a non-Armenian environment such as Istanbul.

3.3.2 Echoes of Anatolian Armenian musics: Knar

Thus it is safe to say that the period from the second half of the 1980s to the 1990s witnessed a significant change in the agenda of world and Turkey. The fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the collapse of the USSR and the entire Eastern Block from 1989-91, the breakup of the former Yugoslavia and the following conflicts in the Balkans, and the first Gulf War following Iraq's occupation of Kuwait in 1990 were some major developments in international politics. Identity-based oppositions and ethnicity debates -especially the Kurdish case- in Turkey and Middle East dominated the agenda of Turkey. The struggle towards achieving recognition of the Kurdish identity soon began to influence the discourse around other ethnic identities. In 1993, some intellectuals and local people were killed in a fire in the event of Madımak in Sivas. The event raised the Alevi-Sunni clash and was one of the determining agenda related with the identity debates in that period. Furthermore, representations of a homogenous national culture and violence against non-Muslim, non-Sunni, and non-Turkish groups started to be criticized. So, 'Turkish national identity' began to be problematized in the public sphere. Because of the agenda on EU membership for Turkey, 'issues of minorities' became the major matter of Turkish politics.

Furthermore, in the second half of 1990s, a new scholarship in history and generally social sciences came into being through the publications that criticize Republican period and Turkish nationalism. Of course, those publications were in the effect of nationalism studies in social sciences academic circles by the new nation-state debates of scholars like Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, Ernest Gellner and Anthony Smith. The critical approach against the perspective which defines the nation as a homogenous group formed around a common culture and history (typically language, religion, race and ethnicity etc.) basically argues that the common culture and tradition belonging to nations or 'imagined communities' was not born spontaneously and inherently, but instead 'invented' in the recent past. So, especially in the 1990s, the past was reconfigured with the shift that articulated individual stories in the public domain. Cultural products as the publications of

books and music records brought the plurality of Anatolia by reconceptualizing the human geography of Turkey. Belge Publishing was one of the pioneering publishing house which provides the recovery of silenced or forgotten voices in public domain. Mıgırdiç Margosyan and his students founded Aras Publishing with the slogan "the window opening to Armenian literature" in 1993. Aras has been publishing its books in both Armenian and Turkish since that time. Agos newspaper started to publish both in Armenian and Turkish language in 1996. Therefore 'Armenian issue' or Armenian identity also began to be argued in the public sphere of Turkey intellectually and literally. A substantive amount of Armenian, Greek and Jewish minority literature was translated into Turkish, and memoirs of members of the minorities also made their appearance for the first time. These publications mentioned about demolished houses, uprooted communities, ransacked or confiscated properties, destroyed churches and lost people; criticized the fascist policies of the state and the military bureaucracy, nationalist ideologies and intolerance; and reminded the readers of the good old days generally from a nostalgic perspective[93].

Besides, Kalan Music was founded in 1991. Kalan Music summarizes the goal of its establishment as "gathering the cultures and music kinds not known widely as an archive and setting up an open market to this accumulation." The company is the multicultural face of Turkey in the music industry with its products on 'other' languages such as Kurdish, Armenian, Greek, Laz, Gypsy, etc. The date of foundation of the company is of course not a coincidence. In 1991, the law that had forbidden publishing in other languages different from Turkish was lifted. That law (number 2932) was accepted in 1983 saying that "Expressing, diffusing and publishing the ideas in any other languages which are not first official languages of the countries that Turkey legitimized is forbidden." Therefore, remove of that law in 1991 contributed to freedom on expression in Turkish cultural arena.

This ideological opening period experienced during the 90s -having a greater potential for analyzing Turkey's past or mentioning, discussing and representing 'other' identities- also deteriorated the lack of confidence in these communities,

[93] See, for instance, Akçam, 1995; Andeadis, 1996; Bali, 1998; Ceyhan, 1999; Hamasdeğ 1997; Margosyan, 1994; Mıntzuri, 1993; Mıntzuri, 1996; Werfel, 1997; Yalçın, 1998.

which were considered as a threat throught the republican history. Moreover, these 'threat risk' non-Turkish elements frequently became targets for physical and symbolic violence. For instance, In 1998, *Pozitif* (an event company) and *Açık* Radio organized a festival, 2nd Istanbul Music Festival, in Harbiye Military Museum with a program including folk/ethnic musics of Anatolia. After the festival started, the concerts of Knar (Armenian music ensemble) and Reşo (A Kurdish singer) was suddenly canceled without any declaration by the organizators. In fact, only the Armenian and Kurdish musicians as the most powerful threats to the official ideology were censored. So, there might not be any explanation of this act. Only after a year, İsmail Cem (the foreign minister of that period) gave the albums of Kardeş Türküler, Knar and Birol Topaloğlu (musician who sings in Laz language) as the gifts to the participants of Helsinki meetings for the candidacy of Turkey to European Union, presenting them as the signs of cultural mosaic and multicultural stance in Turkey.

Aforementioned Armenian music band above, named Knar, was established in 1992 to accompany the dance shows of the Kumkapı Bezciyan Alumni Association. The band started to give concerts while also accompanying to the *yerk bar* performances. All members of the band were amateur musicians performing "Armenia-oriented music composed of Caucasian melodies" with musical instruments such as *tar*, oud, *duduk*, accordeon, violin, *dhol*, etc. (S. Avedikyan, personal communication, May 19, 2007).

With the establishment of the band, the format of the musical performances of the Armenian community of Istanbul started to show variety. The performance format which consisted of soloists and chorists accompanying a dance show, turned into concert performed by a music ensemble. After giving their first concert in 1996, they went to the Netherlands to give a concert within a project called 'Istanbul, the Door of Anatolia'. According to Avedikyan's statements, an ethnomusicologist, who was an expert in the Anatolian and Middle Eastern music, came to the backstage after the concert and told that the title of the project does not match with the content of the concert and advised:

> "Congratulations. You gave a beautiful concert with regards to performance but I haven't found what I expected. You are all Anatolians, discover your music and perform it." In the same year, one of the audience from Armenia commented likewise after a concert that was

> organized by the Patriarchate in Kınalıada: "You performed well but I can listen to the same music when I turn on the radio in Yerevan. Isn't there anything peculiar to you? Isn't there any music belonging to this land?"[94] (S. Avedikyan, personal communication, May 19, 2007).

Thereupon Knar, having taken the abovementioned suggestions into consideration, attempted to prepare a repertoire composed of Anatolian Armenian music.

[94] "Çok güzel bir konser verdiniz performans olarak, tebrik ederim. Ama ben beklediğimi bulamadım. Hepiniz Anadolulusunuz, kendi müziğinizi bulun ve icra edin." dedi. Aynı yıl Kınalıada'da Patrikliğin düzenlediği bir konser sonrasında da Ermenistan'dan gelen bir dinleyici benzer bir yorumda bulundu: "Çok iyi icra ettiniz yalnız ben Erivan'da da radyoyu açtığımda bu müzikleri duyuyorum. Size özgü bir şey yok mu? Bu topraklara özgü bir şey yok mu?

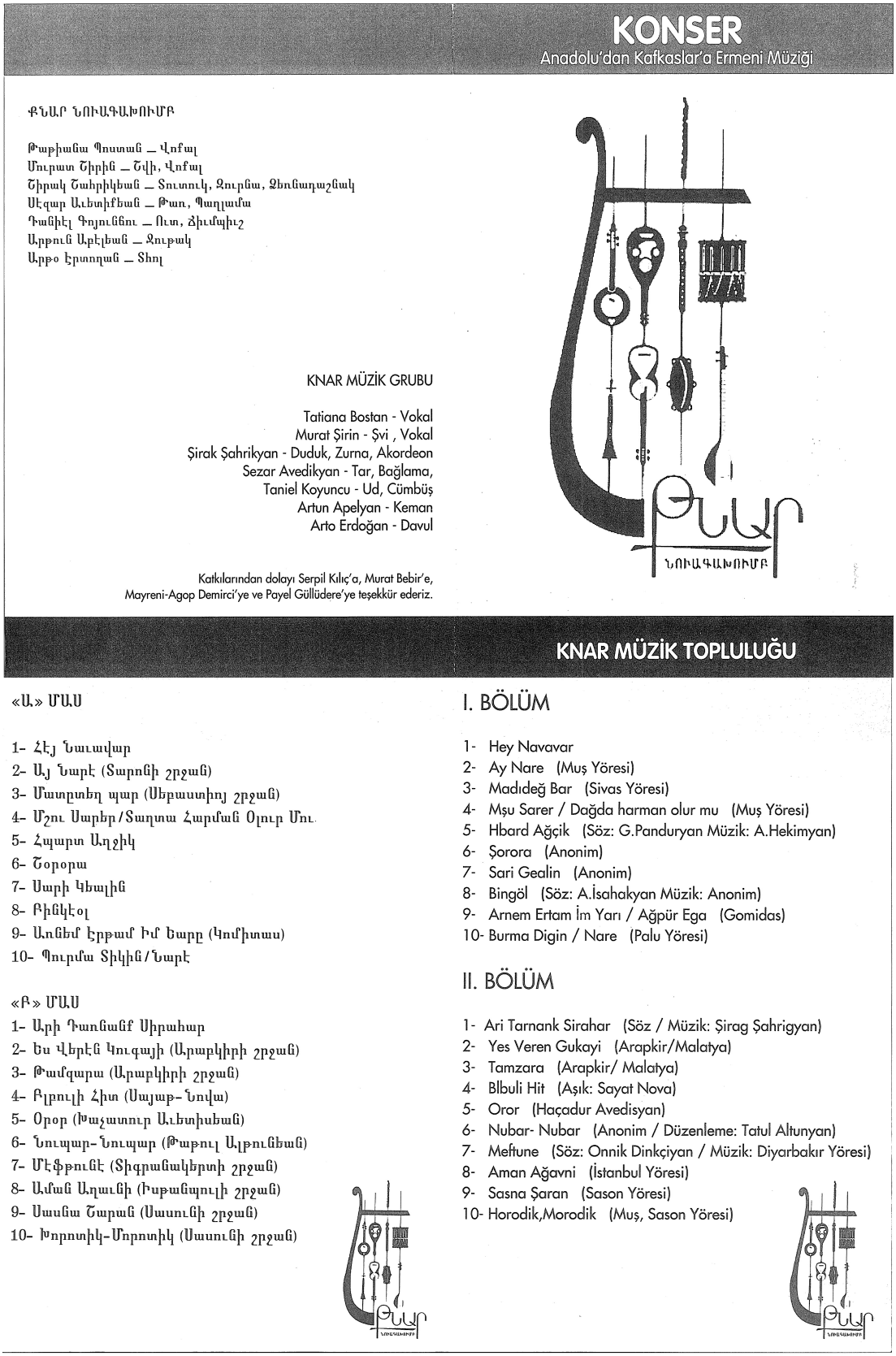


Figure 3.14: Concert programme of Knar.

After making a certain progress in their career and taking the suggestions regarding content into consideration, the band prepared the album called *Anadolu Ermeni Halk*

Müziği (Armenian Folk Music of Anatolia) in 1999 and achieved a good sale and popularity at that time (please hear DVD: 34). Knar also made a political debut with this album, as they went beyond the limits of the Armenian society thanks to this project and in a sense, as it reminded the Turkish community of the existence of Anatolian Armenians. Knar became the new face of the Istanbul Armenian society. The political discourse used in the album cover also draws attention to this reality:

> Social changes stemming from the forced migration experienced in Anatolia at the beginning of this century and modernization movements within the society had an effect on Armenian society's gradually falling apart from its local music in Anatolia. Today, almost all of the Armenians in Turkey live in İstanbul. Being aware that our origins are in Anatolia and that this Armenian folk music is in the process of extinction, we have turned our face to Anatolia since 1997. This album is the first product of these studies. We wish, this kind of works displaying the diversity of Anatolia will continue with your support[95] (as cited in CD booklet).



Figure 3.15: Album cover of Knar.

[95] Bu yüzyıl başında Anadolu'da yaşanan zorunlu göçden kaynaklanan sosyal değişim ve toplumdaki modernleşme hareketleri zaman içerisinde Ermeni toplumunun Anadolu'daki yöresel müziklerinden uzaklaşmasında etkin olmuştur. Bugün de Türkiye'deki Ermeni nüfusunun tamamına yakını İstanbul'da yaşamaktadır. Bizler de köklerimizin Anadolu'dan geldiği bilinci ile 1997'den itibaren bu müziğin yok olma sürecine girdiğini görerek çalışmalarımızı bu yöne çevirdik. Elinizde tuttuğunuz albüm bu yöndeki çalışmalarımızın ilk ürünüdür. Dileğimiz sizlerin de desteği ile Anadolu'nun renkliliğini gösteren bu tür çalışmaların devamının gelmesidir.

How did Knar compile its repertoire? In fact, the reason of Knar's preference on performing Armenian oriented music at the establishment times of the band was the shortage of recordings. The only way of reaching the samples of the Anatolian Armenian music at that time was to refer to Komitas' and especially Mihran Toumajan's collection books of folk music (please hear DVD: 35).

3.3.2.1 Bridging between 'Anatolian-ness' and 'Armenian music': Mihran Toumajan and *Hayreni yerk u pan*

Mihran Toumajan was born in Gürün (in Sivas) in 1890. In Istanbul he received an education in law, at the same time becoming a pupil of Komitas, singing in his *Kusan* Choir. He completed his musical education in Paris. Mihran Toumajan's Collections, *Hayreni Yerk u Pan* (Armenian Song and Sayings) series, add a great deal to the musical and literary heritage of Western Armenians containing folk songs and other folkloric works collected between the period 1920 and 1965 from Armenians living in the diaspora, displaced from different areas of Western Armenia and Turkey.

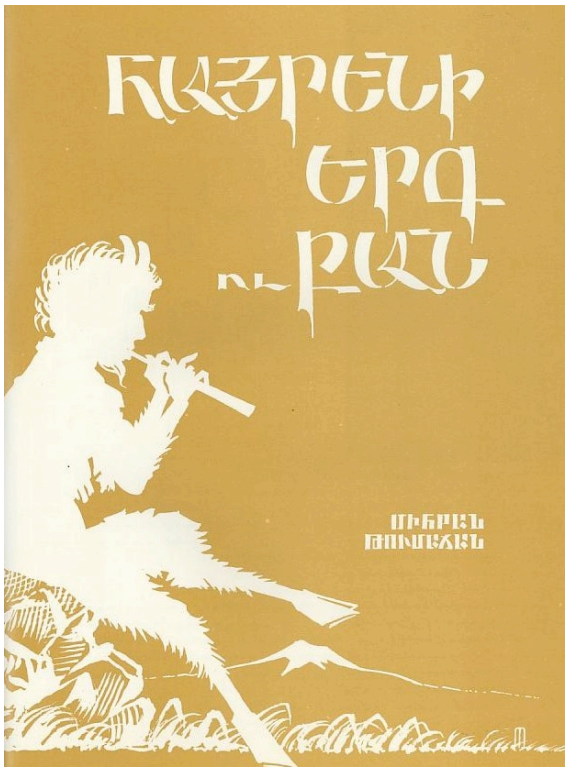


Figure 3.16: *Hayreni Yerk u Pan* (Armenian Song and Sayings), Mihran Toumajan.

Those volumes include traditional folk songs in a classification of genres such as lullabies, wedding songs, carnival songs, emigrant songs, laments, lyrical love songs and dance songs. There are also folkloric material presented in genres such as *mani*

(lyric quatrains), traditional and relatively new songs of everydaylife, children's game songs and rhymes, anectodes and jokes, prayers-spells, proverbs, sayings, riddles, etc. First volume contains the regions nearby Izmit (Butania), Bahçecik (Bardizag), Yalova, Sölöz, Akıncılar (Kıncılar), Adapazarı, Ovacık. It also has an appendix, presenting a few examples of the musical and literary folklore of Izmir (Smyrnia). Second volume consists of samples from Gürün (Gyurin), Harput (Kharpert), Tokat (Edessia), Antep (Ayntab), Kayseri (Kesaria), Çemişgezek (Chmushkatzag), Eğin (Agn) and Erzincan (Erznka). Third volume is focusing on Diyarbakır (Dikranagert), Muş-Daron, Garin, Surmalu, Baghesh-Bitlis, Shatakh, Khlat. Lastly, the content of fourth volume is composed of two parts; including folk songs from Bitlis province[96] from a single source, that of Anush Grigorian in the first part and songs from the Van (Vaspuragan) region which were researched and compiled by Komitas and Sp. Melikian from folk singer Tigran Chituni in the second part. The samples of Chituni's songs were recorded by Toumajan in different households in Paris in 1920-1922.

The material comprising the four volumes of this collection is arranged on a territorial basis and with attention to distinctive pecularities of genres. Many of those songs have musical and poetic variants. Armenian various dialects with their distinctive phonetic characteristics have been strictly kept in the texual transcriptions. In addition, explanations and commentaries in the form of footnotes gives detailed ethnographic information in each volume. Those collections also include samples of Kurdish and Turkish folk songs or songs that were often sung in Kurdish or Turkish with mixed Armenian words from Western Armenians.

To sum up, Toumajan presents a very rich historical source which has not been studied sufficiently by the scholars and musicians yet. If this series of collections - which can contribute highly to the works of not only Armenian music researchers but also the works of musicologists studying on folk music in Turkey- were translated into Turkish, it would facilitate the comparative studies and periodic analyses in folk music. A special session was held for Mihran Toumajan in the *Symposium on Cultural Interaction in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey,* which was organized at Istanbul Bilgi University in 2010 by the Hrant Dink Foundation. After this session

[96] Bitlis province was included the regions of Bitlis, Muş, Bulanık, Siirt and Sasun (Köker, 2005).

organized by ethnomusicologist Melissa Bilal with the participation of Toumajan's nephew Dikran Toumajan and Zaven Tagakchyan, the editor of the 4th volume of the *Yerk u Pan* Collection, I and my musician friends studying Armenian music gave a concert with a repertoire out of the collections of Toumajan and Komitas. This event became more meaningful when Knar members who hadn't came together for a long time accompanied us and performed several Toumajan songs in their repertoire.

While preparing for the concert, we realized that performing these notes was a serious challenge. The main problem we encountered while trying to perform the notes was that we did not have clear references which would define our preference on the vocalization method of the songs. The reasonable solution we all accepted was to use regional/local tone as the base, in other words, to shape the performance style of a song according to its region of origin. However, there were not any recordings of the collections made by Komitas and Toumajan as they were made at an early period. As it was summarized in the previous chapters, the collection studies in Turkey started to use the phonograph at a very late period and the ideological tendency in these collection studies ignored or assimilated the Armenian folk songs. It is claimed that the Armenians who continued living in Anatolia after 1915 had been recorded, however, these recordings did not come to light yet. Today, we do not have any information regarding these recordings which are mythically alleged to be present in state archives. As I mentioned in the first chapter, in addition to the collections made by Toumajan in the diaspora, the Library Congress archive studies conducted on the Armenians from Anatolia, and the 'ethnographic folk singing' (as defined by the ethnomusicologists in Armenia) recordings taken from the 2nd and 3rd generation Armenians in Armenia give hints about these regions. Nevertheless, the repertoire and regional diversity of these recordings are quite limited.

These collections which are the main references of all musicians or researchers studying Anatolian Armenian music, were carefully transcribed into notes. But as in most of the transcriptions which use the Western staff notation, the microtones presenting the modes of the melodies were not written down. Moreover, it is impossible to detect the timbre -a much debated issue in ethnomusicology- from notation. Thus, each new performance is an imagination. Our performance, the sound of Knar's albums and even the ethnographic recordings made in Yerevan are all reconstructions. If we had sufficient samples of regional tones, would we be able to

present an authentic performance? Of course, not. I just wanted to share this experience in a view to exemplify how that enormous historical interruption effected the musical culture afterwards. These transcriptions are just instruments to remind us of the lost songs of the Anatolia and they build a musical bridge from the past to the present, between 'being Anatolian' and 'being Armenian'.

3.3.3 Speaking to 'wider' society of Turkey through musicking

Armenian musicking echoes from İstanbul places in the entertainment spheres of Armenian community, such as the weddings, celebrations organized by community associations, club performances, etc. The first representative of Armenian pop music in Istanbul was Hayko. As already mentioned, Hayko had become popular in the Armenian community with his album containing Armenian songs from Beirut. However Armenian pop music generally seen as a means of entertainment started to become popular after Adiss Harmandiyan's -a famous Armenian singer from Lebanon- concert in the 1970s, at Istanbul Şan Cinema. Bartev Garyan, possibly the only person who worked as a professional musician performing Armenian songs in Istanbul for a long period of time, started his music career at the Petag Orchestra in 1978. With this orchestra, he was singing those Armenian songs from Beirut. Then he started to perform at the Mimoza Restaurant in Kınalıada in 1990s. He was performing pop music and he had Turkish, Italian and Armenian songs in his repertoire. Armenians who came to listen to his band were not much used to the 'Armenian pop song' (*estradayin*) concept those days. For the most of his audience, it was the first time they were hearing this kind of songs. However these pop songs started to be acclaimed and they gradually became popular. In 1993, upon the request of the partiarch of the period, he gave a concert in Kınalıada with a repertoire composed only of Armenian songs. After this concert, Bartev received great attention and appreciation from the Armenians in Istanbul. For years, he recorded his concerts, copied the records to audio casettes through his own means and gave them to anyone who wished. Thus, Armenian songs started to enter the households and Bartev reached a wide audience in the Armenian community (please hear DVD: 36). He then started to run a restaurant (Captain) in Osmanbey and perform at his own restaurant with the Arakast Orchestra. This restaurant had for a long time been a popular venue where the Armenians in Istanbul could have a good time and listen to Armenian music.

Saylort band established in 1996 and the *Akulis* band which took stage in the early 2000s with the aim of performing Armenian pop music, can be considered as short-term attempts where the Armenian youth found a space for musical expression. Besides, established in 1978 under the leadership of Vartkes Keşiş, Keops is a rock band which made compositions and arrangements in Armenian language, as well.

Considering that Armenian popular music sounds have not attracted sufficient attention even from the Armenian Commuinty in Istanbul, it is really hard for these musicians to reach the wider community of Turkey with their music and continue their musical attempts in the professional arena. So, the opportunities of the professional Armenian musicking practices in Istanbul seems so hard, even impossible with reference to most of my interviewees. According to Garyan: "You are creating ethnic music, but the country you live in has a mechanism and it is stronger than you. I mean, you are smaller and it is bigger than you. Of course, a Serdar Ortaç song will be heard and become popular more easily than my songs"[97] (B. Garyan, personal communication, October 29, 2009).

As their potential audience is limited to the Armenian community in Istanbul, their opportunities for giving concerts are also limited. Consequently, after a year of great effort to prepare a repertoire, for example, they cannot find sufficient number of opportunities to perform and have to be content with performing two ot three times a year. Thus they cannot get the material and emotional recompense for their efforts. On the other hand, Ari Hergel, who has been taking part in various musical projects in the Armenian community for a long time, thinks that it is possible to reach a wider audience even with Armenian music, if one can manage to create a different and new musical language nourishing from the tradition:

> As far as I am concerned, Armenian musicians I have seen till today have always tried to address Armenians. There is nobody who tries to produce a project addressing to the whole society of Turkey. For instance Sayat Nova, tries to do this in colaboration with Kardeş Türküler, Ruhi Su Ensemble or by taking place in different events. However, they are amateur musicians and their work is mainly restricted within the Armenian community. People who want to be professional musicians have economic concerns. There are a lot of

[97] Etnik müzik yapıyorsan yaşadığın ülkenin bir mekanizması var ve o senden daha baskın, yani sen ufaksın, o daha büyük. Tabi ki Serdar Ortaç'ın şarkısının duyulması ve popülerleşmesi çok daha kolay, benim müziklerimden.

> musical activities within the community but they are not done by professionals. A different musical attitude which benefits from the tradition is needed in order to produce something which will have a market.[98] (A. Hergel, personal communication, April 22, 2012).

Particularly in the 1990s, a prominent section within Armenians of Turkey started to bring the Armenian identity, consciousness of being a civil citizen and rights stemming thereof into question and with the 2000s a transformation process emerged. In fact many Armenians, who are in the horns of a dilemma being neither an isolated part within the Armenian community nor integrated into the wider society of Turkey, are giving a though struggle to define themselves. The discussion above regarding the opportunities of the Armenian music to express itself in Turkey brings actually the 'cultural citizenship' concept (which has gained currency in recent scholarship on identity politics) into question. The term appears to have been coined by the anthropologist Renato Rosaldo, to examine Latino civic participation in the voicing, claiming, negotiating of cultural space (Rosaldo, 1997). Cultural citizenship offers a different framework than the national citizenship definition which imposes a common and single culture and relies on the history of a certain ethnic group. Cultural citizenship offers a flexible framework which can deal with the questions of home and belonging set into motion by the complicated routes of identity in an age of globalization. The cultural anthropologist Renato Rosaldo argues that cultural citizenship involves the right for people from minority or subordinated groups to be different and still belong to the nation. Central theme to cultural citizenship, then, is the idea of difference (Rosaldo, 1997). Cultural citizen is a multilingual citizen who resist against the attraction of pure and uncomplicated identities and can smoothly walk among the numerous and diverse societies (Stevenson, 2001). Thus, this means that Armenian individuals who can establish their musical identities in private sphere, in other words within the community, shall be able to express themselves also in the public sphere, as is the case in many cultural domains. In other words, in

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[98] Benim bugüne kadar gördüğüm Ermeni müzisyenler hep Ermenilere hitap etmeye çalışıyor. Tüm Türkiye toplumuna hitap edebilecek bir proje üretme çabasında olan yok. Mesela Sayat Nova bunu belli bir düzeyde yıkmaya çalışıyor, Kardeş Türkülerle, Ruhi Su Korosu ile ilişkilenerek ya da farklı organizasyonlarda yer alarak. Fakat onlar da amatör müzisyenler ve son kertede yaptıkları iş yine ağırlıklı olarak cemaat içinde kalıyor. Profesyonel olarak müzik yapma tercihinde olan insanların ekonomik kaygıları var. Cemaat içinde bir çok müzik faaliyeti var, fakat profesyoneller tarafından yapılmıyor. Alıcısı olan bir iş yapmak için gelenekselden beslenen farklı bir müzikal dil kurmak gerekiyor.

spite of the public-private sphere contrast, private spheres within the public sphere must be mentioned [99](Özdoğan, Üstel, Karakaşlı, Kentel, 2009, p. 462). In that manner, the concepts of 'cultural citizenship' and 'polyculturalism' that I quoted and debated in the first chapter seems like complemantary points of views those recommend an ideal for identity politics in plural societies: "...the wider society has a culture of its own, and that culture is one that everyone would have to relate to. It is in this shared space where people of different cultures interact that the basis for solidarity can be built. So in addition to having cultural autonomy, it would be important that the shared space be representative of everyone…" (Podur, 2003).

In fact, cultural sharing and coherence experienced in Turkey's public sphere in the 2000s have also increased and became important in the Armenian music environment. The *Mahlemize Aşık Geldi* [100] concert performed in 2006 by the Sayat Nova Ensemble in collaboration with Kardeş Türküler and Ruhi Su Ensemble in Harbiye Open Air Theatre may be considered from this perspective. Various Turkish, Armenian, Kurdish, and Azerbaijani songs were performed in the mentioned concert which was organized with an aim to gather the minstrel music tradition together with the melodies of "a vast land including Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Iran, Armenia and Caucasian steps". The distinctive feature of this project -in which I also participated- was that, particularly in the rehearsal process, the entire repertoire was performed by all of the participants. In other words, the three groups did not prefer to perform their own repertoire separately and thus to create a division of work based on ethnicity and language. The aim of the concert was to make the performers of the concert experience and perform different musical cultures and in this way, a common language was created to share the diversity via music. Sayat Nova Ensemble pursued the same approach in their joint projects with other musicians such as Kardeş Türküler, Metin Kahraman, Selda Bağcan. Of course, I cannot claim that these events happened all of a sudden, automatically, without debate and in a utopic

[99]Agos Newspaper's perspective, which they try to set forth as of its establishment, is exactly in line with this framework.

[100]In the concert, samples from works and thoughts of many folk singers who live in the neighborhood lands and have different faiths, cultures, and origins such as the shaman poet-singers, and Yunus Emre, Pir Sultan Abdal, Dadaloğlu, Köroğlu, Karacaoğlan, Muharrem Ertaş, Neşet Ertaş, Ali Ekber Çiçek, Mahzuni Şerif, Aşık Veysel, Garabet Khaço, Nagaş Hovnatan, Kusan Aşot, Sayat Nova, Kusan Havasi, Nahabet Kuçak, Kusan Şeram, Civani, Kurdish *dengbej*s, women poet-singers, etc. were performed.

peaceful atmosphere. For instance, I remember that some members of the Sayat Nova Ensemble stated that the Sayat Nova Ensemble should not lose its Armenian music perspective and that this pluralist approach should not go beyond the ensemble's dynamics.

Thus, these events should not be considered as a sign of total and complete social transformation of the whole Armenian society of Istanbul. We can also claim that the cultural shock experienced by the public conscience after the assassination of Hrant Dink may have encouraged these cultural gatherings. During the events organized in memory of Hrant Dink, a lot of musicians from the Turkish music market came together and stated their wishes of solidarity and peace. Many musicians started to add Armenian songs to their repertoires. The pianist Ayşe Tütüncü arranged a Armenian bridal lamentation in April 2012 and performed a concert with all of the volunteer Turkish musicians in the memory of 24 April 1915. She made a video clip out of this performance and tried to make it visible by the public. Likewise, in 2011, after the Van earthquake which have caused great damage and deaths, a TV channel organized an aid concert with the participation of various musicians. One of the participants was Lusavoriç Armenian Choir who sang an Armenian hymn at the concert. The choir's participation in that concert can be evaluated as another alternative and extraordinary stance pointing to these symbolic representations and sharing in the public sphere in Turkish history. In brief, demands for equal citizenship provide Turkey with an important opportunity to live in its social plurality.

4. RECOVERY OF TRADITIONAL: PERFORMING HOMELAND BY PERFORMING ITS MUSIC

4.1 A Musical Journey to 'Gavur Mahallesi' (Hançepek): Traces of Cultural Memory and 'Home' in the Music of Onnik Dinkjian

In this chapter, the concepts of home and cultural memory through the musical identity of Onnik Dinkjian, an Armenian singer living in the USA, will be discussed. I first became acquainted with Onnik Dinkjian through a copy of a tape that I borrowed from the music archive of the BGST in 1999. The title of the cassette was handwritten on it: *Diyarbakır Ermeni Şarkıları* (The Songs of Diyarbakır Armenians). During that time, it was extremely difficult to find published sound recordings related to 'other' ethnicities of Turkey. Some friends from Istanbul Armenian community brought Armenian records from their visits to Armenia or diaspora and copied them for those in Istanbul who wanted to listen to them. *Diyarbakır Ermeni Şarkıları* was one of those copied cassettes. There was no information on the singer and track titles or the lyrics of the songs were missing. The only information provided was that those songs were in the Armenian language and associated with the Diyarbakır region (please hear DVD: 37). What made that cassette so special? First, the singer was singing in his own peculiar style with a special repertoire different than those on records coming out of Soviet Armenia. Onnik Dinkjian's melodies, instrumentation, and ornamented singing technique and timbre produced a feeling of familiarity, definable within a concept of Anatolianness. It was very difficult to find recordings of Anatolian Armenians or examples of traditional Armenian music from the early 20th century because 1915 caused a cultural rupture as well. With the loss of the people, most of their cultural traces had also been erased over time, not only from the places but also from cultural memories. The voice of Onnik Dinkjian and his recordings provided clues about a lost region, Diyarbakır and its music.

In 2009, Onnik Dinkjian, almost a youngster despite his 80 years, came to Turkey from the USA and performed in a concert in Diyarbakır with Kardeş Türküler. His

son, well-known oud player and composer Ara Dinkjian[101], also took part in the concert and contributed his own richness to our meeting. I had the opportunity to spend a week with Onnik and Ara in Istanbul and Diyarbakır. This chapter is a reflection of that trip and is based on my observations and interviews with them.

When Onnik Dinkjian came to Diyarbakır he mentioned how happy he was to be singing his songs in Diyarbakır, his homeland, and as an 80 years old man, it was his final and single desire. He had never lived in Diyarbakır and his family had been forced to leave it. Until our arrival in Diyarbakır it had been 'his love and longing for Diyarbakır' that I had least understood from our conversations in Istanbul. How can one feel such a longing and love for a land with which he has no current, living connection? It is through the musical identity of Onnik Dinkjian that I endeavor to understand and describe this powerful emotional attachment to the imagined locality, and the concepts of home and cultural memory.

I shall first provide some biographical information on Onnik Dinkjian. Onnik's family was from Diyarbakır, which was called *Dikranagerd*[102] ('the city that Dikran founded) in Armenian. Onnik's family was deported in 1915. They first migrated to Syria, then to Lebanon and finally to France. Onnik was born in Paris in 1929 and immigrated to the USA at an early age. Like the majority of Armenian singers, Onnik began his musical career at the church. He also loved listening to and singing sacred music, especially the *sharagan*s. He first sang solo at the church in Paris before moving to America. He told me how his father supported him on his music career, making donations to the churches. The passage from the church to the stage did not take long. He sang with the 43rd Zone orchestra and the Winged Victory Chorus in the American Army. He told me about his 18-month tour with famous

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[101] Ara Dinkjian can be remembered from his group of Night Ark that is one of the popular groups in the world music lists. He collaborated with famous Greek singer Elefteria Arvanitaki and Ömer Faruk Tekbilek who is a popular musician the world music scene. He also contributed to Turkish Pop Music sound with the works with Sezen Aksu -a famous Turkish pop singer-. Maybe it is the best way introducing Ara to Turkish and Greek listeners with his popular compositions such as *Sarışın*, *Vazgeçtim, Son Sardunyalar, Yine mi Çiçek* and especially the one *Ağladıkça* which was sung by Ahmet Kaya -a famous singer from Turkey. Turkish Classical Music has a special significance on his musical formation as is seen with his huge *taş plak* (gramophone records) archive. He is one of the richest Turkish and Armenian *taş plak* collector presumably as an owner of nearly 4000 records.

[102] I use both the terms Diyarbakır and Dikranagerd interchangeably in this paper, as Onnik Dinkjian does in his speech.

musician Eddie Fisher in the army again and again. His favorite singer ever he liked to listen to is one of the most popular Armenian singers, Ruben Matevossian.

It was naturally the songs in the Dikranagerd dialect, which he listened to in the family gatherings of his childhood that formed the musical underpinnings of his professional career. During the years he spent working in a furniture shop, he went on singing professionally in concerts and participating in the community choirs such as Kusan Choirs and Armenian Chorale of New Jersey. He made records; such as *The Many Sides of Onnik, All My Best, Inner Feelings, Just for You, Havadamk and Voices of Armenians-Live in Jerusalem* that became quite popular throughout the Armenian world. The selections on his albums included traditional Armenian songs, especially Dikranagerdtsi (from Dikranagerd) Armenian songs, as well as his own compositions.

4.1.1 The construction of 'home' in diaspora

Onnik stated that whether in Lebanon, in France or America, they all struggled to keep their identity alive. He noted, for example, that his father did not let them speak French at home. In the process of migration, individuals must generally maintain a dually rooted identity, based in both the homeland and the new home. Turino (2008) discusses the diasporic formation on the construction of individual self. He cites the bipolar situation in that immigrant people define themselves in relation to their original and new homes: "Diasporic formations are distinct in that they combine habits from the original home and their new home and are influenced by the cultural models from other places in the diaspora… Both immigrant and diasporic formations involve immigration, and both involve a subjective identification with the formation" (p. 118).

In that context, it can be useful to consider diaspora concept in order to understand the homesickness of Onnik Dinkjian comprehensively. The diaspora[103] concept has received increasing attention in theoretical debates concerning issues of transnationalism, globalization, deterritorialization and locality[104]. Cohen (2008)

[103] The origin of the word 'diaspora' comes from *diaspeirein* (disperse) from *dia* (across) + *speirein* (scatter) in Greek (Cohen 2008, xiv).
[104] See Stuart Hall, 1990; William Safran, 1991; Avtar Brah, 1996; Waltraud Kokot, Khachig Tölölyan and Carolin Alfonso, 2004.

sums up diaspora studies in four phases. In the first phase, the term has been widely applied for Jews and usually capitalized as Diaspora using only in the singular form. From 1960s and 1970s, the meaning was systematically extended including Africans, Armenians, Irish and the Palestinians (p. 1). It was used to refer to "the experience of populations displaced by slavery, colonialism and forced migrations" (Macey, 2000, p. 98). In the second phase, in the 1980s and onwards, diaspora was deployed as 'a metaphoric designation' by Safran. Safran (1991) pointed that the term designated different categories of people who applied the term to themselves or had the label conferred upon them: "expatriates, expelles, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities *tout court*" (p.83). Social constructionists critiques marked the third phase from the mid-1990s "as decomposing two of the major building blocks previously delimiting and demarcating the diasporic idea, namely 'homeland' and 'ethnic/religious community'. In the post modern world, it was further argued, identities have become deterritorialized and constructed and deconstructed in a flexible and situational way…" (Cohen, 2008, p. 1-2). By the turn of the century, the current phase of consolidation, in which the social constructionists critiques were partially accommodated but also seen as in danger of emptying the notion of diaspora an analythic and descriptive tool, set in. The increased complexity of deterritorialization of identities is valid phenomenon. In addition, the ideas of home and homeland remain powerful discourses. Besides, Cohen (2008) defines different categories of diaspora communities systematically. Those are victim diasporas, such as the Africans, Armenians and Palestinians; labor and imperial diasporas, such as the Indians and the British diasporas; trade diasporas, such as the Chinese and Lebanese; and deterritorialized diasporas, exemplified by the Caribbean experience (p.18).

Having been expelled by overwhelming force from a homeland is usually a prerequisite for defining the term. On the other hand, a diaspora is considered to be a mass of people who live outside a country of origin without necessarily having been expelled from it. For some people this flexibility of the definition of diaspora indicates the diversity of the migration fact, for others this stands for a betrayal towards the meaning of the term. In the first position, 'diaspora' is associated with the idea of changing place while preserving the tie to a real or imaginary land.

Whereas in the second position, it is argued whether the aforementioned population is worthy of being referred to as diaspora or not (Dufoix, 2011, p.14).

The diaspora issue is also a popular debate in Armenian studies, however the definition of diaspora or the meaning attached to Armenian diaspora may change towards the ideological discourse of the user. So, the definition of 'Armenian diaspora' evokes different meanings. In fact, diverse interpretations occur about the Armenian diaspora because of the definition of homeland. I was confused when I saw that Wikipedia defines the Armenian diaspora as "the communities of Armenians living outside of Armenia, and Nagorno-Karabakh." In that definition it means that homeland is accepted as Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh but the ambiguity of definition continues to change. This time the geography of homeland is referred to today's nation state of Armenia, excluding the concept of historical Armenia. On the other hand, when I mentioned in my interviews with Anatolian originated Armenians, living in Istanbul, that I thought they presently had been living a diaspora life in a way, most of them disagreed and said, that in scope of citizenship, the Armenians in Istanbul had been living in their homeland and so they could not be defined as diaspora. As a matter of fact, this topic is discussed in many newspapers and websites for the last few years. The point I am trying to discuss is without doubt not to attach the 'diaspora' tag to the Armenians of Istanbul. However, I supposed that the diaspora concept is an important conceptualizing with regards to the construction of meanings concerning homeland. Although the usage of this word may be contradictious, it brings up the problems of the voluntary or compulsory migration of peoples and the maintenance or reconstruction of the sense of belonging to a country, land of origin or a locality.

So, the main idea that I want to come to in relation with the diaspora debate is the meaning of home/homeland for diaspora. The idea of 'home' for diaspora communities must be considered conceptually, contextually and subjectively rather than in terms of a specific space/geography and time. For many people in the world, "Where are you from?" is not a particularly difficult question, even though the answer may change according to the preference of birthplace, family homeland, or the place where the individual is living at the time. But for some people and communities such as the Armenians, who have historically been obliged to sustain a diaspora life worldwide, answering the question "Where are you from?" is not nearly

so simple. A very general definition of 'home' might be, "The stable physical centre of one's universe -a safe and still place to leave and return to, and a principal focus of one's concern and control" (Rapport and Dawson, 1998, p. 6). Home is generally in the sense of a "lived experience of a locality" (Brah 1996:192). But for diaspora identities, home has no stable, universal meaning or reference; rather, it tends to be defined according to ancestral ties that bind its members to each other with a common history. Thus the formation of Onnik's identity cannot be reduced to a single place, be it Diyarbakır, America or France. In the case of Onnik Dinkjian, home calls up nostalgic feelings for ancestral lands, referring to beauty of the landscape, the heroic history of a certain region, myths and other cultural images, as can be observed from his childhood experiences. He remembers the family gatherings where ties between relatives were reinforced, and where social links within the community were refreshed and strengthened. He spent his childhood in Paris but nearly all of his relatives and family friends were from Dikranagerd. The language they speak was a special dialect of Armenian -the dialect of Dikranagerd- and the songs they sing, the stories they tell and their conversations were all about Dikranagerd. Onnik says that during his childhood, he was under the impression that "all Armenians were from Dikranagerd and all the people from Dikranagerd were Armenian." Thus it becomes clear that cultural narratives shape people's perceptions and feelings of belonging, and also how those people negotiate their sense of belonging through performances of collective memory that are channeled through the specific characteristics of the land or locality. In the narratives of Onnik Dinkjian, it becomes possible to understand how socially constructed narratives of identity shape group interpretations of collective history (Dudwick, 1994, p. 35). Those narratives also provide the process of 'imagined place-making'. Gupta and Ferguson (1992) indicates that it is analytically useful to distinguish between two interrelated processes of place-making: the process of 'imagined place-making' and of 'experienced place-making'. In that process a locality is infused with identity and "emerges by the intersection of its specific involvement in a system of hierarchically structured spaces with its cultural constructions as a community or locality" (p.8). Places exist in global space of relations and they are constructed as communities of relations as it can be seen in Onnik's story.

4.1.2 Performing 'home' by means of cultural memory and music

That trip gave me the opportunity to wander through Diyarbakır with Onnik and Ara Dinkjian and I realized that Onnik's experiences and feelings in his homeland were extremely important in order for me to understand the intimate relation between music, cultural memory and identity. Before sharing my impressions from that trip, I would like to provide some information about Diyarbakır's past. At the beginning of the 20th century the population was composed of Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Turkmens, Armenians, Chaldeans, Jacobites (Syrians), and a few Greeks and non-Ottoman foreigners (Hewsen, 2006, p. 73). Diyarbakır Province included four districts: Diyarbakır, Ergani, Palu and Mardin. According to the sources cited by Köker, the population of the provincial capital, Diyarbakır, was 35000, of which nearly 10000 were Armenian. Armenians also lived in 20 villages in the district. Armenian merchants and craftsmen played a significant role in the city's economic life. Coppersmithing, jewellery making, leather working, the clothing industry and carpet weaving were the chief occupations of Armenians in the city. They also worked in viniculture, fruit and vegetable farming, silkworm culture, and the raising of cotton and tobacco. Gregorian Armenians had two churches in the city of Diyarbakır: Surp Giragos and Surp Sarkis. They operated two schools near the churches. The weekly newspaper *Dikris* first published in 1910, the bi-weekly *Tsolker* and the journal *Trutsig Garmir* first published in 1913 were the main periodicals of the region (Köker, 2005, p. 314). Although this constitutes concrete data, narratives about the Armenians' presence in Anatolia have tended to be in the form of myths and tales in official history discourses they are always related with the expression "once upon a time…". But their existence or disappearance is rarely questioned.

We wandered the area known as Gavur Mahallesi (Infidels' Quarter / Hançepek), and the church of Surp Giragos within that neighborhood was the first place we visited in Diyarbakır. As we were walking around the church Onnik said, "Because of my childhood memory, it seemed like I saw and lived in Diyarbakır." As he related his father's childhood narratives in the church's courtyard, especially the one about his father's pranks in that small pool, he seemed to relive all the details of his story. Then, Onnik suddenly walked into the sanctuary of the ruined church and began singing the hymn *Amen*, *Hayr Surp* (Holy Father). The hymn is by Nerses Shnorhali

(1102-1173), from the Divine Liturgy of Makar Yekmalian (1856-1905) (please hear DVD: 38):

> Amen, Holy Father, Holy Son, Holy Spirit.
> Blessing to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Spirit,
> Now and always, forever and ever, Amen.

Onnik Dinkjian had lost his parents at an early age, and was adopted by a *Dikranagerdtsi* family. When speaking of his family, he refers to the one who adopted him. I mention that personal detail because Surp Giragos church was Onnik Dinkjian's only concrete connection to his lost parents. As Ara Dinkjian said:

> We don't know the address of where my grandparents lived in Diyarbakır. But the center of the social community for the Armenians in Diyarbakır was Surp Giragos, the church… As far as a sight to see, there was no place more important for us to see than that church. Because we know that my grandparents were certainly there, they got married there. We know that they were there (A. Dinkjian, personal communication, March 17, 2010).



Figure 4.1: Onnik Dinkjian is singing *Amen* in the Church of Surp Giragos in Diyarbakır.

Afterwards Onnik adds his feelings:

> Can you believe that my son and I, so to speak as the first and second generations, are returning to the lands where our family had to leave even though in order to visit. Besides, our visit is beyond a visit, we are coming in order to sing here. I'm sure my mother and father are watching me. (O. Dinkjian, personal communication, September 27, 2009).

One of the other most memorable images that Onnik remembered from his family narratives is the small door of Surp Giragos church that opens onto a street as narrow

as an arm's-length. When we saw that street he became very excited and recited the lyrics of a Dikranagerd folk song, *Amenu Daran* (please hear DVD: 39):

> They collected and took away all of them in a convoy.
> Only we stayed behind
> They couldn't take us away because the door of our home was quite short
> They couldn't take us away getting from that door[105]

Onnik explains, "Because of my childhood memory, it felt like I had seen and experienced Diyarbakır; the church of Surp Giragos, the small pool inside the church's garden, the Paşa Hamamı (public bath), the great wall where my father used to play *çeçen* (a soccer-like game)." Ara Dinkjian related the story of the great wall where his grandfather played soccer, pointing out how cultural memory is real, living and powerful. Ara said, "One day we climbed up the wall and at one point my father stood there and started to cry. I said, 'What is it?' and he said 'My father would tell me, we used to play on this wall.'" (Following, Ara recites the dialogue between his father and his grandfather): '"You mean you kicked the ball against the wall?' 'No we would go up onto the wall and play.' 'But dad, it's a ball, what do you mean you were playing on the wall?' 'Yes, it was that wide.' 'Come on, dad. You are exaggerating. How wide can it be that you could play ball on the wall?' 'I'm telling you, it was wide. You could play on the wall'" (A. Dinkjian, personal communication, March 17, 2010).

[105] Ammenoo daran yesi tche daran key yamo. Mer toure tsadz er mezi tche desan key yamo. Elank pelink pantsertsenik key yamo. Veran tenink kadvi penik key yamo. Esee babous endzi habir togh tcharne. Neshanades oskertchi e gue shine. (The lyrics are attained from Onnik Dinkjian's songbook)



Figure 4.2: The narrow streets of Diyarbakır; public bath; the great wall where Onnik's father would play soccer.

The point I would like to make focusing on these accounts is that individuals create an imagined homeland through narratives of cultural memory. In our conversation I see that Onnik related to his father's narratives as if they were his own experiences. He had his own perception and narratives of the past concerning Diyarbakır, his homeland, even if he had never been there. These narratives reveal how cultural memory is created and transmitted, as well as how it constitutes and shapes people's understandings of an imagined home. The term 'cultural memory' is used rather ambiguously, but generally refers to "the interplay of past and present in socio-cultural contexts." According to Astrid Erll (2008), "Such an understanding of the term allows for an inclusion of a broad spectrum of phenomena as possible objects of

cultural memory studies -ranging from individual acts of remembering in a social context to group memory (of family, friends, veterans, etc.) to national memory with its 'invented traditions,' and finally to the host of transnational *lieux de mémoire* such as the Holocaust and 9/11" (p. 2). Furthermore, the connection between cultural memory and identity is inevitable. They are the phenomena constructed, shared and changed over time. But, "Both memory and identity can be individual and collective, and identities are changing and subject to negotiation, with individuals as well as groups able to have multiple identities" (Gillis, 1994, p. 3). On the one hand, Onnik's childhood memories seem related with his family, the individual memory in this case. On the other hand, those memories are collective because those narratives match up with many other Armenian families' stories within the broader cultural content. Thus cultural memory maintains individual perceptions of continuity between the past and the community's present existence.

Our trip to the Hançepek[106] neighborhood continued with a visit to the Assyrian church and then to our great surprise, we meet the last two remaining Armenians in Diyarbakır, Sarkis Eken and Baydzar Alato. That moment was one of the most unforgettable for Onnik. He was overwhelmed with excitement when he saw Baydzar; he hugged her as if she were a relative. That coincidental meeting moved us all deeply, and it is very hard to describe their sympathy to each other that abstracts them from us. At that moment, Ara whispered to me, "He will never leave that woman. He feels as if that woman is the mother he lost." That was clearly observable in Onnik's behavior towards Baydzar. Although they were at a similar age, Onnik showed such a respect for her as if she was much older than him. At first, Baydzar said she had forgotten how to speak Armenian but after a moment they began chatting with each other in Dikranagerd dialect. Onnik was overjoyed to hear those Dikranagerdtsi words from Baydzar and tried to get her to speak more. When they said some words to each other in the Dikranagerd dialect, even if they were random words, they were filled with joy. According to Hewsen (2006), "While most Western Armenian dialects were heavily influenced by Turkish, that of Diyarbakır spoken so far to the south was more influenced by Kurdish and Arabic, so much so that the dialect was incomprehensible to most other Armenians. The dialect was preserved

[106] That region where Armenians gathered in and called as Gavur Mahallesi (Infidel Neighborhood).

for a long time in the United States, as Dikranagerdtsi immigrants tended to settle in their own neighborhoods" (p. 74).

As we left Baydzar and Sarkis in the garden of the church, Baydzar said the most emotionally loaded words of that trip: "I was Turkish until today, but today, I became an Armenian" (*Bugüne kadar Türktüm, bugün Ermeni oldum*). Onnik invited Baydzar and Sarkis to the concert the following day. Before the concert, he asked me to place those special guests where he would be able to see them clearly while singing. He added: "I always find an old lady in the audiences and sing *Dile Yaman*[107] to her in my concerts. This time I will sing that song for Baydzar. It's really meaningful for me." (please hear DVD: 40)

We requested from the municipality officer who came along with us on our trip to bring this couple to our concert. We agreed to meet them at the concert place and then leave that place. That coincidental meeting affected all of us deeply and I was not able to refrain from thinking what makes Baydzar so special to Onnik. In that place the only Armenian was not Baydzar. Also Pakrat Estukyan was with us. How can we explain their sympathy to each other that abstracts them from us?

Smith states that ethnicities can be defined with some characteristics: Collective name, a common ancestral myth, shared historical memories, symbols, customs and values, distinctive public culture, special ties with a historical homeland and the feeling of solidarity (as cited by Özkırımlı, 2008, p. 220). You can see that those characteristics are ties that connect Onnik and Baydzar but there is one more special situation that binds them together; belonging to Diyarbakır, which is beyond being Armenian, belonging to an ethnicity. The tie with the land, and the reality of being Baydzar as the only survivor of Diyarbakır Armenians makes her special. Onnik saw her as his mother and he became very happy because he could speak in the Dikranagertsi Armenian dialect in Diyarbakır.

I realized that Onnik was in a similar mood in Istanbul when we visited the brothers Mıgırdiç and Ardaş Margosyan, who are Dikranagerdtsi Armenians living in Istanbul. As they talked about Diyarbakır traditions and cultural traits, Onnik imitated his father's behaviors such as dipping bread into *meftune/kavurma* (braised

[107] A traditional Armenian folk song that symbolizes yearning for the homeland.

meat) -a traditional meal of Diyarbakır- and they all started to sing his song with the lyrics that tells about the foods of Diyarbakır. The music was traditional, but Onnik Dinkjian wrote the lyrics in Dikranagertsi dialect. He gave the description of making *meftune/kavurma, künefe* (a dessert with cheese) and coffee (please hear DVD: 41).

> Lay out our meftune with cracked wheat, O yar dile yar dile
> Add onion and chervil to it, O yar dile yar dile
> Lay out our braised meat with apple, O yar dile yar dile
> Let's eat it with bread, O yar dile yar dile
> Make künefe with cheese, O yar dile yar dile
> Make coffee with cardamom, O yar dile yar dile[108]

Mıgırdiç Margosyan and Onnik Dinkjian indicated how real and precious this song was within their life experiences and memories, even if others might find its lyrics meaningless. Armstrong points out that the symbols and myths that make clear the borders between the ethnic groups are enduring in spite of the passing time. They can survive for a long time (as cited by Özkırımlı, 2008, p. 215). So, what are the mediums through which the permanence and continuity of these symbols and myths are maintained? Can music serve such a function?

This brings us back to my question: How can one feel such longing and love for a land with which he has no current, living connection? Cultural memory is a mode of representation or performance of home, as seen in the case of Dinkjian's family. Onnik Dinkjian constructs a sense of belonging to an imagined home, Dikranagerd, keeping alive the memories. Then the process of imagining home brings with it 'performing' home and identity by the means of music. Even if he had never physically been in Diyarbakır before the age of 75, he had performed home and its culture in his new home, in the diaspora. At that point, the music becomes the medium through which 'home' is remembered and performed. Music plays a central role in the expression and construction of Armenian identity, but this is especially true for Onnik's Dikranagerdtsi Armenian identity. Thus Diyarbakır is not only an

[108] Mir metvounan belghourov, O yar dile yar dile. Metche sough berdenousov, O yar dile yar dile. Mir kavourman ghendzourov, O yar dile yar dile. Ogo ouding terhoug hatsov, O yar dile yar dile. Mir kenafan banirov , O yar dile yar dile. Kahvan le kakoulayov, O yar dile yar dile. (The lyrics are attained from Onnik Dinkjian's songbook)

imagined and performed home for him, but also the most significant component of his musical identity.

5. A MUSICAL NARRATIVE LYING IN ARTOSTAN[109]

I had a mountain. They didn't let me eat my own grass.
I went to someone else's mountain to look for my own grass.
Dou you know what I learned? I am the mountain[110]
(A. Tunçboyacıyan, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

This chapter is the attempt to interpret the role of cultural identity on the formation of one's musical identity and self. I present one's musical life journey on discovering the 'self' based on the oral history narrative of him. Before telling the story, I would like to clarify the meanings of two terms 'identity' and 'self' which are generally used synonymously. Thomas Turino makes a useful debate on the necessity of differentiating those terms in his book *Music as Social Life: The Politics of Participation*, and this approach helps to identify the relationship of concepts such as ethnicity, culture and musical meaning. Turino (2008) defines self as "...comprising a body plus the total sets of habits specific to an individual that develop through the ongoing interchanges of the individual with her physical and social surroundings" (p. 95). Self is the composition of the habits that determine our behaviors, tendencies, life-style, ideologies and everything we think, feel and do. On the other hand, identity "...involves the *partial* selection of habits and attributes used to represent oneself to oneself and to others by oneself and by others; the emphasis on certain habits and traits is relative to specific situations" (p. 95). So representation and perception are the significant components of that identity definition. It is not possible to make a unitary, monolithic identity construction because it is constructed in time and it is an ongoing process. As Stuart Hall (1993) states that identity is not an essence but a 'positioning': "Cultural identities are the points of identification, the

[109] Artostan as an invented term by Arto Tunçboyacıyan, means the "homeland of Arto". The '-stan' suffix is used for marking the homeland. For example, "Hai" and "Hayastan" are the indigenious terms for "Armenians" and "Armenia."
[110] Dağım var otumu yedirtmediler.
Ben de gittim başkalarının dağında kendi otumu aramaya.
Ne öğrendim biliyor musun? Benmişim dağ.

unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture" (p. 395). From that point, it is possible to assume a variety of shifting identities at different times and places.

Many factors influence the formation of identities and then all of those identity categories help the individual find his or her 'self'. If we turn back to Turino's definitions for 'self' and 'identity', we will see how he signifies the selection of habits that characterize the individual or the group. Turino (2008) refers to different ways that shared habits bind people into social groups according to specific aspects of the self (gender, class, age, occupation, interests etc.) -namely cultural cohorts- and the broader more pervasive patterns of shared habits that give rise to cultural formations (p. 95). In the case of this chapter I draw attention to the multiple natures of identity within an individual musician. I point out the meaning of Armenian music and Armenian identity for Arto Tunçboyacıyan on the construction of his musical identity and discovery of self within the framework of his cultural formations.

While I was chatting with people in the household of one of my interviewee's homes, I asked to household which Armenian musicians they listen to in Turkey. My interviewee's wife said the name of Arto Tunçboyacıyan first. My interviewee objected to this name saying, "Ok. But he doesn't live in Turkey anymore. He lives in America." That point was thought provoking for me at the beginning of my research. Before I decided to apply a multi-sited ethnography for this dissertation, I had wanted to limit the geography of my research to Armenians living in Turkey at first in order to be able to better cope with the scope of the field. But soon after I realized that it was too difficult to limit the scope of the research with only the musicians who live in İstanbul because the concepts such as displacement, diaspora, dispersion, multilocality, etc. provide an extensive framework to raise questions on musical meanings. So, Arto's story reveals a comprehensive debate on my way of researching 'meaning' regarding Armenian musicking.

Arto's family was from Sivas, a city in the central Anatolia. His family had to immigrate to Istanbul as the common history of Anatolian Armenians who could survive after 1915 in Turkey. Arto was borned in Istanbul and lived there up until his twenties and then immigrated to America in the 1980s. He visits Turkey a few times a year visiting his brother's cemetary, meeting with friends and relatives, making concerts and collaborating with some musicians and groups. In the interview, when I

asked to Arto if he had a plan to come back and live in Turkey, he answered: "I did not leave here. They say that I left but I am living here more than who live here[111]." His expression reminds again the various conceptualizations on 'home' as I discussed in the previous chapter. As Madan Sarup (1994) indicates, many of the connotations of home are condensed in the expression: "Home is where the heart is. Home is (often) associated with pleasant memories, intimate situations, a place of warmth and protective security amongst parents, brothers and sisters, loved people" (p. 90). It's obvious that Arto's life narrative and the themes of his many songs reflect some emotions within the definition of home above. In the following sections of this chapter, we are going on a journey to Artostan, to the homeland of Arto Tunçboyacıyan. I structure this chapter by telling his life story as refering his own expression "I transform my life to the sound[112]" and then I describe the process of 'constructing the self' by means of musical representation and discourses within a narrative of oral history.

5.1 First Musical Expressions

Arto was born in a village of Istanbul, called Galatarya, as a child of an Armenian family in 1957. His family had immigrated to Istanbul from Sivas in the 1950s and in those years they were in difficult economical conditions. So Arto had to work and contribute to the family economy in his childhood years. When he was in elementary school he also worked many jobs such as serving as a shoemaker's or goldsmith's apprentice, selling newspapers, etc. All the family members lived in a single-room home as in Sivas. This life condition resembles that of the other Anatolian immigrants of Istanbul in that time. I listened to very similar stories from my interviewees as I summed up in the section of 'Historical Background of the Armenians in Turkey' in the third chapter. Belonging to Anatolia within the family ties, even if they never lived there, was so special, nostalgic in a sense and precious for them. Their lifestyle and culture were adorned with Anatolian-ness. Therefore, Arto was both working and going to school at his early years as a member of such a poor Anatolian family. Of course if one has to survive in such life conditions in his

[111] Ben burayı terk etmedim. Terk etmiş gibi gösteriyorlar. Ben burayı burdakilerden çok çok daha fazla yaşıyorum.
[112] Yaşadığım hayatı ses haline getiriyorum.

early childhood, he grows up and matures earlier. When Arto talks about his childhood in the interview, he especially declares that he does not want to make 'fakir edebiyatı[113]'. He tells about those years because he really thinks that this realm and his music are in conjunction on an axis. He makes clear connections between those years and his music:

> When you learn life itself from the streets, you learn how to react, to be a part of it and to support and lead in life… You have to harmonize with your environment, perceive the time and react to it. Otherwise you crash to the wall in the streets or somebody always hits you[114] (A. Tunçboyacıyan, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

Arto, who is one of the most extraordinary talented percussionists in the world, believes that his early experiences in the streets contribute to his musical behavior especially to his time perception. His analogy between keeping up with the moment in the streets and musical timing brings to mind the debate of Turino's on the ideas of anthropologist Gregory Bateson regarding the evolutionary potential of the arts:

> … the arts are a special form of communication that has an integrative function- integrating and uniting the members of social groups but also integrating individual selves, and selves with the world... Bateson concludes that the integrative wholeness of individuals developed through artistic experience- the balancing of connective inner life with 'reason', sensitivity, and sense- is crucial to experiencing deep connections with others and with the environment, which is crucial for social and ecological survival (Turino, 2008, pp. 3-4).

When Arto was a 10-year old child, he would go to listen to his brother's band in a music club. His brother (Onno Tunç), who was a famous composer and arranger for Turkish pop music, would play with the Orchestra of İsmet Sıral in that club[115]. While Arto was watching the performance and accompanying with percussion

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[113] It is an idiom in Turkish, used when one is 'telling too much about the poorness and unfairness of his/her life in order to feel sorry for himself/herself and to impress the one who is he/she is talking with.'

[114] Hayatı sokaklardan öğrendiğinde nasıl tepki vereceğini, onun bir parçası olmayı, hayata tutunmayı ve önderlik etmeyi öğreniyorsun… Ortama uyum sağlamak, zamanı algılamak ve reaksiyon vermek zorundasın yoksa sokakta duvara çarparsın, birileri durmadan kafana vurur.

[115] In Turkey, the effects of westernization were seen at all the levels of social and political life since the 1950s. For instance, the only medium that people could listen to music was the radio and especially the songs in English, French, Spanish etc. were broadcasted on those radios. So young musicians of that period performed those musics by imitating the European and American counters. Besides, the entertainment mediums had also transformed the city life. Dance musics such as rock'n roll, calypso, twist, rumba etc. were played in the music clubs of the cities. Then new orchestras (e.g., Şerif Yüzbaşıoğlu, İsmet Sıral, Durul Gence, etc.) were founded and those orchestras were the places that new musicians got their musical formation.

nearby the stage by himself, İsmet Sıral liked his accompaniment and suddenly put him to the front of the stage. The percussion that he first played was a conga and because he was so small, audiences were able to see only his head and hands. But they loved his performance so much. Then he became one of the members of that orchestra and began to make money with music. He comments that the skill adapting to the time that he learned from the streets became a vehicle to express himself in that time.

5.2 The Experiences in the Turkish Popular Music Market

After he finished elementary school he left school and started to play as a professional musician. The 1960s and 1970s were the years witnessing the birth of popular music in Turkey. In those years, the music market was commercially founded. Furthermore, the popular music genres such as light/pop music, *arabesk*, Anatolian pop, etc. were being formed. Arto started to play with the percussionist and drummer Burhan Tonguç in the group Metronom[116]. He became the child leader of the percussion group in a short time because he had the talent to remember all the partitions of the arrangements[117]. Metronom became the most popular group both for stage performances and *plak* recordings in the studios. Therefore, Arto played with very special, famous musicians of Turkey, such as Orhan Gencebay, Mustafa Sağyaşar, Zeki Müren, Müzeyyen Senar and Suat Sayın. Consequently, those special experiences of his childhood formed his musical background. On the other hand, his brother Onno reached to the highest level of his career in the light/pop music arena. As a result, the economic condition of the family was getting better and they began to live in Kurtuluş –an area of Istanbul with a dense Armenian population. After Onno left the home because of his marriage, Arto took on the responsibility of caring for his family at the age of 11. He remarked that he could earn 500 TL in a week when his father earned only 100 TL. Afterwards, *arabesk* music market started to

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[116] It was a Turkish music group founded by Burhan Tonguç, Vedat Yıldırımbora, İsmet Sıral, Ömer Faruk Tekbilek, Mustafa Sayan and Mine Koşan. The group succeeded in creating a hybrid sound with the mixture of Arabesk, jazz and Turkish musical sounds.

[117] In the interview, while he was talking about his musical capability on remembering the partitions, he remembered his memories in the children choir of Armenian church. Because of that talent and his eagerness to sing all the parts in the choir, his energy exhausted the conductor and he was asked to leave the group.

change in negative ways. The cultural environment that had served like a music school for the musicians got worse and then, it was the time of dishonest, fraudulent music producers. Then Arto passed to the light/pop music arena and worked with his brother for years. He played with Turkish divas such as Ajda Pekkan and Sezen Aksu.

When he was 15 years old, the political environment of Turkey started to transform and the leftist winds of 1968 in the West reflected Turkey with specific conditions. Poverty increased, life conditions became more difficult and people started to immigrate from rural to urban areas as the result of the industrialization period of Turkey. These transformations caused to the rise of working class. It was the first time that a working-class party had 15 seats in the parliament of Turkey. Leftist ideology grew in the first half of the 1970s. A multitude of people became politically active and they struggled for justice, equality, freedom and democracy. Young people, especially the students in the universities began to organize and participate in some political meetings and boycotts in order to articulate their demands on a more democratic and freer system in the country. Opponents thought that the problems of the social system were to be blamed on the imperialism of the West over Turkey. Anti-imperialism and nationalist ideologies bacame the major political orientations which determine the stance of the opposing movements in the 1960s and 1970s. At the end of the 1970s, armed struggle and the sharp ideological leftist and rightist division in Turkish society carried the country to the brink of a civil war. The festival of laborers celebrated in Taksim in 1977 became a bloody celebration with an armed fight. The bloodshed in Maraş (a city in southern Turkey) was one of the terrible events that would not be erased from memories. In those days, martial law was declared in several places in Turkey. Consequently, a military coup was declared on the 12th of September 1980 and it became a catastrophic event in the political history of Turkey. That political rupture reflected also onto the musical sphere. The political and social environment with the coup was not suitable for making music. Most of the musicians preferred working in a different area or to immigrate abroad. The people met at the funerals of their friends instead of in the concerts. So, the musical progress that was gained in the 1960s and 1970s was in the process of disappearing in 1980s.

5.3 Following Up 'Imagine' in the Search of Freedom of Expression

Arto was in a state of mind making him a gateway in the late 1970s and the early 1980s, as well. Even if he cannot describe the reasons behind this psychology, it could be related to the suppressed mood on individuals' identities that resulted from the political, economical and social conditions of the country. It was the terrible atmosphere in which the leftist and rightist conflicted deepened, hostility to Greek people rose after Cyprus military operations and the Asala movements created a lack of tranquility in public space. Those were the landmark years of the 'genocide' debates for the first time. The genie was released from the bottle.

The discriminatory behaviors and violence displayed during his military service left a mark that could not be erased from his memory. In the interview, Arto suddenly remembered his friend Procop, who was a Greek musician from Istanbul, while he was telling of the social change in people's lives. He says that Procop was discriminated because of his ethnicity and people did not work with him even though he was such a talented musician and manager in the music market of Turkey in those years. In this narrative, Arto tries to describe that social change with some peaceful scenes from streets and social life:

> There was a bass guitar player, Procop, Greek. He is living in Kumkapı, on the upstairs of Blind Agop. He opens the window and says something towards the public square... The fisherman, Arabian Mustafa shouts to him "What did you say, bub?" He speaks some words in Greek: "May I come? Are the fish good?" like speeches...That is to say Kumkapı was like a family. They sent that guy away from here in tears. It is so abnormal; those are the ones who harmed everything. The arts were disappeared and also the smells[118](A. Tunçboyacıyan, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

On the one hand, Arto's will for leaving and escaping from Turkey can be interpreted with the effects of that political atmosphere in the country. On the other hand, the other cause is the impossibility on finding an environment purified of prejudice that allows freedom of expression and provides conditions for creative art works.

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[118] Procop var basçı, Rum, o da Kumkapı'da Kör Agop'un üstünde oturuyor. Camı açar Rumca bir şeyler söyler meydana doğru... Balıkçı Arap Mustafa ona seslenir "ne dedin lan?" İki tane Rumca kelime o ona atar. "Geleyim mi Mustafa abi, balıklar iyi mi?" gibi diyaloglar. Yani bir aile gibiydi Kumkapı. O adamı ağlaya ağlaya kovaladılar burdan. Çok anormal, işte zaten onu yapanlar bütün her şeye zarar verdiler. Sanat da bitti, kokular da bitti.

> My tickets are sold out at my all concerts abroad, you cannot find ticket. Do you know why you can't? People say that "This man is musician. He is creative because he is living." Their reactions give me a marvelous confidence and comfort. How is it here? You will put the artist in a cage and will ask why she/he is not creating anything. Is it OK? If you do not open your heart, your music also will not open. In other words, even if you do not like it you have to be respectful of it[119](A. Tunçboyacıyan, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

Arto expresses that people's ideologies, values and tastes build a barrier in front of musical expressions and it causes uneasiness psychologically. The effort of getting free of that apprehension is a sign of his musical behavior afterwards.

5.4 Night Ark: No Need to Become One More Charlie in America

Actually, Arto could not see a system that accepts his personal approach in his living space. He felt that he had an inner musical voice in his heart that he wanted to express. He heard that voice but was not able to describe what it was to himself for a long time. He wanted to leave the country because he thought he would not be able to be himself in Turkey anymore. He began to live in America at the beginning of the 1980s. Firstly he met and played with friends of his he knew from his homeland, he busked and participated in jam sessions. He filled one of the rooms in his house with percussion instruments and had a place for rehearsing. He drew attention with his talent in a short time and played with very special musicians such as Tony Williams, Steve Caton, Al Di Meola, Chet Baker, Arthur Blight, Mark Johnson and Paul Motian. Shortly, he appeared at various performance practices and places and gained experience in different musical styles. Within all his experiences, his journey on inventing his musical identity gained acceleration. But he felt that there were some faults in the way he was going about forming his musical identity and he thought that 'there are so many Charlies in America, and they do not need one more Charlie'. In fact he was in search of that strange sound within himself:

> But again I have something inside of me, do you understand it? Ok, I love jazz, it is super but it's only part of the work, not the whole. There is cheese but not the bread, or there is bread

[119] Benim yurtdışında yaptığım her konserde biletler tükenir, bulamazsınız. Niye biliyor musunuz? İnsanlar, "Bu adam müzisyen.Yaratıcı; çünkü bu adam yaşıyor." diyorlar... Oradan aldığım tepkiler bana süper derecede bir ferahlık ve güven getiriyor. Peki burada ne oluyor? Hem sanatçıyı bir kafese koyacaksın hem de niye bir şey yaratmıyorsun, diyeceksin. Olur mu kardeşim? Eğer kalbini açmazsan müziğin de açılmaz. Yani sevmesen bile saygıyla kabul edeceksin.

> but not the cheese. I haven't been able to bring the bread and the cheese together[120](A. Tunçboyacıyan, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

I did not mention Arto's relationship with Armenian music up until now because he did not have any connection with Armenian music until listening to a cassette including Armenian songs in 1985. He only knew the sound of religious music in the children's choir of the church. He had known nearly nothing about Armenian music at the time he borrowed a cassette -including *sharagan*s and some information about musicians' life in Armenia- from a radio producer in Denmark. Although some Armenians living in Istanbul imported some *plak* records from abroad -especially from Lebanon in which diasporan Armenians live widely - in the 1970s and those records were copied in the community, Arto did not hear about those records.

When he first listened to that cassette, which includes Armenian songs, the music and the life stories of musicians strongly affected him. In 1985, it was the first time he realized that there was a living Armenian music tradition. At that time he met with the oud player, Ara Dinkjian. Ara realized Arto's interest in Armenian music and prepared some collections of Armenian records for him:

> I had some music records but they were not strange, foreign to me. They never surprised me. They were the ones exactly that I was searching for, thinking about. Because we (Armenians) are completely like this, we dream something. But there is something; quality, art... I saw that from my father and everybody here (in Istanbul). My father was illiterate but people could distinguish the shoe of Setrak Usta (master) within a thousand shoes[121](A. Tunçboyacıyan, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

Furthermore, Arto was included in the Armenian music world intensively since then. Arto, Ara Dinkjian, Armen Danelian, Ed Schuller, Shamira Shahinian and Marc Johnson founded the group Night Ark, they started to give concerts and make records in the USA. The group became a famous popular group with their successful work in the world music scene. Moreover, the group was proposed a candidate for the Grammy Awards. The works of Arto with Night Ark were maybe the first of his

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[120] Fakat gene benim içimde birşey var anladın mı? Tamam çok seviyorum, yani caz olayı süper, ama bu işin bir tarafı, yani tümü değil. Ya peynir var ekmek yok, ya ekmek var peynir yok. Ekmekle peyniri bir araya getiremedim.

[121] ...bir müzikler geldi, ama hiç yabancı değil bir kere. Hiç sürpriz olmadı yani. Tam aradığım, düşündüğüm. Biz (Ermeniler) çünkü tamamen böyleyiz, birşeyler hayal ediyoruz. Ama birşeyler var, kalite, sanat...onu babamdan ve burada (İstanbul'da) herkesten gördüm. Okuma yazma bilmezdi babam ama bin tane ayakkabıdan derlerdi ki o Setrak Usta'nın ayakkabısı.

inner sounds that he could release and share with listeners at that time but still not describe.

In 1998, after a concert of Night Ark in Italy, Arto decided to go to Armenia. He arranged the arrival time in Yerevan to coincide with his birthday in order to start his life from zero there. When he arrived in Yerevan he did not feel himself as being in a foreign land. He felt himself as if he was in Sivas -his family home. He found some friends in a short time and was a witness of chats on Armenian history in some family meetings. It was the first difficult, unbearable term he faced with his past. He heard about many painful, tragic narratives about 1915, and he turned to alcohol for as long as he heared them. Surely, a nation's past traumatic experience has a definitive role in the formation of an individual's identity. Then he had two choices; to be embedded into those narratives and not be able to get rid of the feeling of sorrow or continuing on his way in the awareness of those realities and following the sound that calls him. He chose the latter. After listening to various Armenian records, he understood the musicians' talent and open-mindedness to different performance styles. He visited Yerevan Komitas State Conservatory and realized that the education system provides a program that gathers musicians from different performance areas together, not limiting their performances according to their formations such as folk, classic or jazz. *Duduk*, *kanun* or *zurna* players might play together with the saxophone or trumpet players in many ways.

5.5 Armenian Navy Band: Bringing the Ship to the Mountain (Ararat) in A City Without A Sea

Arto went to a bar to listen to music two days before coming back to America. He had listened to that group -a trio consisting of a keyboard, drum and bass guitar- playing in that bar before and liked their sound very much. When the group was playing, Arto suddenly went to the stage and started to play conga spontaneously. That first meeting caused the laying of the foundation of the Armenian Navy Band. Arto had the plan to come back to Yerevan for the Jazz Festival with his other group Night Ark after a few months. So, they promised each other to come together again. But at this next meeting, wind instruments (trumpet, saxophone, *duduk* and *zurna*) and other percussion instruments were added to the trio. They made their first album

Bzdik Zinvor in considerably difficult studio conditions in 1999. Arto gave a name to the group, Armenian Navy Band:

> I will bring the ship to the mountain (Ararat) in a city without a sea. My belief and ideal are so clean... It is the heart of mine… yours and all of us... It is the sea of us. That ship will go how far you can navigate it. If you believe in it and if you are pure in heart, it will go. If you have a fraudulent heart, the inside of the ship will be flooded[122](A. Tunçboyacıyan, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

In that case, the musical dynamics of the Armenian Navy Band contributed to him making that which he had imagined a reality. Cutting across all boundaries of percussive playing, singing with his 'strange' voice timbre, vocal improvisations and lyrics, heading towards composition, constructing his compositions on free forms, instrumentation choices, designing two new instruments called *sazobo* and *bular* in the way of searching distinctive timbres, his arranging style and all the avant-garde components of his music are the prominent characteristics that form his musical identity. He defines that musical style as *avant-garde folk*:

> Avant-garde folk, in fact, gives you the ability to dream about the future without losing your soul. It is a really open-minded style, and regardless of who you are it doesn't have a closed door[123](A. Tunçboyacıyan, personal communication, July 1, 2009).

From 1986 up until today, Arto has recorded nearly 15 albums with his two bands Night Ark and the Armenian Navy Band, and also under his individual name. Arto especially made real that which he imagined with the Armenian Navy Band in Yerevan, even if he had not thought it ever would have happened. By all manner of means, in his own musical journey, the importance of Armenian music and Yerevan that enabled the expression of his inner voice is so visible.

5.6 Arriving to Self, to Artostan

In that sense, it is important to emphasize that Arto invents his musical identity on the way to inventing his Armenian-ness and vice versa. Hence, he also finds his Armenian-ness on the way of searching for his music. As Hall states "The term

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[122] Denizi olmayan bir şehirde gemiyi dağa (Ararat'a) getireceğim. İnancım, idealim o kadar temiz ki... O senin, benim, hepimizin kalbi, bizim denizimiz. Sen nereye kadar götürebilirsen o gemiyi oraya kadar gider. İnanırsan gider, için temiz olursa gider, bir sahtekârlık olursa içi su dolar o geminin.
[123] *Avantgarde Folk*, kendi özünü kaybetmeden, tecrübelerinle yarını hayal edebilmek aslında. Çok açık bir tarz, ne olursan ol hiçbir kapalı kapısı yok.

ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity, as well as the fact that all discourse is placed, positioned, situated, and all knowledge is contextual" (1995, p. 226). So, ethnicity should be used as a category in the analysis of musical identity and self- construction rather than an objective tool. Although constructing musical identity is a more complex process and cannot be interpreted only within the ethnic sphere in the case of Arto, I will try to exemplify the cultural identity and memory components of his self through his musical meanings. In any case, Arto reveals his 'positioning' within his songs, lyrics, the titles he choose for his albums, the design of booklets, his autobiographical messages and discourses in the booklets.

5.6.1 Cultural heritage: Here is to you Ararat

Cultural heritage or the common cultural signs that community members share within a collective memory differentiate the boundaries between them and the others (Barth, 1969, p. 15). In this case, the importance of Mount Ararat for Armenians exemplifies the issue exactly. Ararat is thought to be located on originally historical Armenian land and it seems like the national symbol of Armenians. According to Dudwick, "Because of its Biblical significance as the site where Noah is thought to have landed after saving humanity from the Flood, Mt. Ararat figures in a repertoire of powerful and evocative symbols of national identity, and contributes to the vision of a cosmos in which Armenia occupies the center" (1994, p. 87). Therefore, iconographic representations of Ararat can be seen on many medium such as the state seal of Armenia, the name of Armenia's soccer team, the bricabracs, and in pictures and paintings as a symbol of identity. When we went to Yerevan for a concert with my group and Sayat Nova choir, being able to see Ararat was welcomed as a ritual at the first time. Ararat can only be seen over the Yerevan skyline on clear days, so the view of the mountain adds a special nostalgic meaning to the mountain. Also, the side from which you view it -whether from Armenian side or Turkish side- differs in meaning for many people. There is a never-ending yearning or feeling of loss for Ararat for the displaced people from Anatolia living in both Yerevan and diaspora. When we were chatting about the agenda on opening of the border between Armenia and Turkey with one of my interviewees in Yerevan, I had asked what would change in their life when the border is open. I had expected to get an answer pointing out the economic difficulties of the country but she really surprised me with her astonishing

response. She told that she would be able to see Ararat from the other side. Furthermore, Ararat has a nostalgic meaning that signifies the symbol of loss and yearning, in fact. In another interview, Ara Dinkjian also stated a similar narrative on Ararat's significance for Armenians in a self-critical and sarcastic manner as the following:

> Years later I took my father on a trip to Anatolia, to Diyarbakır, to all the villages and cities. And that time I saw Ararat from the other side, from the Turkish side. And it's, I don't know if funny is the right word but, in Armenia of course we lament that the fact that it's not ours. And so one of the constellations that we convince ourselves well 'we have the better view'. (A. Dinkjian, personal communication, March 17, 2010).

In 1998, Arto finally met Ararat from the Armenian side, while enjoying his friends' company in their home. He was captivated by a beautiful painting of a mountain on their window. Looking closer he realized that it was Ararat herself. He had known Ararat from the other side, from Turkey but he then understood both the view and its meaning from this side, Yerevan. Then, he composed a song for Ararat in his album, called *How Much is Yours*. He put many photographs of Mount Ararat in the booklet saying, "In this world there is only one nation who looks at Mount Ararat as their identity- The Armenians." (please hear DVD: 42)

> Beautiful you are, you Ararat
> You look so different from the Armenian side
> I feel the essence of your soul,
> Akh Ararat akh
> Now I understand what you are for Armenians
> You are the foundation of our soul; You are King I drink for you
> Ararat our beautiful Ararat,
> Ararat my heart trembles with your name
> For five years I have been looking at you from the Armenian side
> Every day you are different, you took me away I don't want to come back
> The time has come for us to part ways
> I am not separating you from my heart
> I promise you, One day we will not separate...
> Ararat, our beautiful Ararat
> My heart trembles with your name[124].

[124] Keghetsig-keghetsig es tun, Ararat, hey can hey

5.6.2 Narratives of 1915: "For the souls of those who passed"

History is one of the crucial elements in the making of identity. The impact of the past or the cultural memory on the construction of identity becomes more dramatic when a tragic event is at the center of that accumulated memory. Arto definitely faces his past in Yerevan. As a common reaction, family members -especially the second generation Armenians in Turkey- did not tell the stories of 1915 to their children in order to prevent feelings of hatred and revenge against Turks. So Arto had not listened to those stories in Turkey but he learned all the catastrophic narratives about 1915 in Yerevan. As I stated above he had two choices; being embedded into those narratives and not able to get rid of the feeling of sorrow or continuing on his way with the awareness of those realities and following the sound that calls himself. He chose to follow the sound calling him, but with the awareness of those realities and articulating them in an artistic discourse. He did not prefer a hard discourse to describe the events overtly when referring to 1915. His song *For the Souls of Those Who Passed* expresses his approach obviously. The composition style and the content of the lyrics are simply in a modern lament genre in Anatolian style. He makes the listener feel the grief and the pain with the melodies, his voice, and the crying timbre of kamancha. On the other hand, he does not need to put into words the details of the event; who killed whom? How? He puts a note under the song in the booklet: "I dedicate this song to the people who died because of their identity". The message is given. Transmission of the memory and the dialogue of the self with the past are provided within the musical meaning (please hear DVD: 43).

Nıgarit darper e ku, Hayasdanin gughmen, can
Hokut hodi kalis e indz
Genatsit, hey li lay le loo can
Akh Ararat Akh
Hima hasganum em kezi inç es tu hayots hamar
Mer hokun himkı tun es
Takavorun es mez hamar, Khımum em yes kez hamar
Ararat, merin sirun Ararat
Sirdıs togha anunuv
Hink dari nayum em kez Hayastanin gughmen can
Amen or darper es tun, arir darir indzi can
Chem uzum veratarnam
Adenk egav hasav patsnvelu kezme can
Arduv chem patsnıvum es khosk dalis em kezi can
Mi or chenk patsnvir menk

Table 5.1: Transcription of the song *For the Souls of Those Who Passed*.

(00:00 - 00:21)	The excerpt begins with an impressive introductory melody played by *duduk*, *kanun*, *blul* and *kamancha* heterophonically with keyboard drone.
(00:22 - 01:02)	Arto's vocal with the only syllable "*vo*" is added with a new melody phrase. Arto uses this syllable in his many songs functioning human voice as a wind instrument. You feel his pain from the timbre of his voice and melody.
(01:03 - 01:30)	Ending section of the introduction part with the pauses of *kanun* melodies.
(01:30 - 04:34)	With the opening melodies of *kamancha* Arto starts to sing the lyrics. He starts the song, singing an Anatolian lament with a syllabic vocal "*akh*, *akh*" (alas alas) to express the exclamation of sorrow. He uses this expression between the lines of the lyric many times adding the words "*Asdvadz ısa*" (my god), since the song is also a prayer to God. In that section we hear only the voice of Arto and the low drone. He structures the lyrics and the melody with many insisting repetitions of some lines. Of course those lines are the ones Arto wants to emphasize mostly. To exemplify, he repeats the line "why us?" six times examining why his community suffered that far.

Ah mothers, fathers
Do you know why I am crying
You know my God why I am crying
I saw images and pictures
Little hands, little feet, ah
My heart aches, Ah, my God,
Every time I ask you my God
Why us?
Ah,my God, Alas, alas, alas...
Brother Armen, brother Armen
Play for us
For the souls of those who passed[125]

[125] Akh mayrer, hayrer
Kidek inchu gulam
Kides Asdvadz ısa, inchu gulam
Desa, badgerner desa,
Bzdig tserker, bzdig vordker akh
Sirdıs gıtsavi, Akh Asdvadz ısa
Amen aden hartsnum em, kezi Asdvadz,
İnchu mezi, hamar

Table 5.1 (continued): Transcription of the song For the Souls of Those Who Passed.

(04:35 - 06:31)	He calls the *kamancha* player of the Armenian Navy Band as Brother Armen. He refers to him in the lyrics of last section. He wants him to play for 'the souls of those who passed' and then Armen Ayvazyan plays an improvisation with his *kamancha*. The choice of the instrument strengthens the meaning dedicated to the song. *Kamancha* is one of the most popular traditional instruments for Armenians and its timbre evokes the feeling of grief and loss from the heart.
(06:32 - 08:04)	In the last section of the lyrics, he again repeats the line "Don't show me, don't show us again" five times in order to emphasize his will from God.
(08:05 - 08:58)	He repeats the second melodic theme with the vocal syllable "*vo*" as in the 00:22-01:02.
(08:59 - 09:05)	After the melody finishes, the performance is concluded by Arto saying "*Aroghchutyun, urakhutyun kez*" "*Health and happiness to you all...*" He sends his regards to the listeners at the end of the song. He might prefer using those words as an epilogue because that is the last song of that album.

I beg you God
Don't show me, don't show us again
Ah, my God
Take my life, take my life
Health and happiness to you all[126]

To sum up, the most interesting transformation in Arto's musical journey from Istanbul to America and then Armenia is the process in which he arrives at his self, his own home. Although he signifies being from Anatolia, Sivas or Istanbul is important for him, he tells a musical story lying in *Artostan*. He makes a journey coming and going between identities and self and he builds the bridge between those

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Akh Asdvadz ısa, akh akh akh...
Akhber Armen, akhber Armen
Dzark mezi hamar
Erta merelnerun hokin
[126] Aghachum em kez me Asdvadz ısa
Mi tsutsner indzi, mi tsutsner noren mezi
Akh Asdvadz ısa
Ar gyankıs, ar, ar gyankıs ar
Aroghchutyun, urakhutyun kez

two realms within the language of music. Then he gives a name to his own home: Artostan... He indicates that: “I founded my home with my power of humanity, Artostan[127]!”

[127] Kendi insanlık gücümle kendi memleketimi yarattım, Artostan!

6. CONCLUSION

The aim of the dissertation is to address three basic levels of questioning: 1-What is the historical flow in which Armenian musicking practices took its shape in Turkey? What are the historical ruptures that structure and transform cultural memories of musicking? 2-How do spaces of musicking provide contexts for meaning making? 3-How do individuals construct their cultural identities through the interconnections of cultural memory and musicking?

As I have mentioned in the introduction of the dissertation, during my fieldworks, when it came up that I am writing my dissertation about Armenian music in Turkey, the first reaction of many people who were included, was the question, "Is there any field for Armenian music and performance practices in Turkey, about which it could be written a dissertation?" More specifically, raising the questions about 'loss' helped me reconsider the need for a historical ethnography on Armenian music in Turkey. At this point, the questions on what does exist and what has lost, historical processes of the existence and the loss, how music and musical practices were remembered and forgotten, have become the main arguments of my research. Through my acquintance with a range of people from Armenian community of Istanbul for years, it had already become clear to me that there is an 'Armenian musicking society' in Istanbul, about which it could be written a dissertation, however it was a rather neglected domain of research. Than, the main issue I wanted to discuss in contrary to this question was rather 'the role of musicking and cultural memory in the construction of Armenian identities', instead of quantitative existence of music productions.

In this dissertation, I preferred the term musicking that was coined by Small (1998), rather than the noun that implies music to be a material thing. In fact, I thought that it would be more effective to use the verb form that encompasses the whole musical 'web of significance' and processes in order to explain the meaning of Armenian music practices. In general the main determinants in creation of music is the music itself, the performers of music and the listener. However, the content of the term

musicking focuses on the creation of music and all musical elements like professional or amateur musicians, dancers, music educators, instrument makers, organizers, lighting technicians, sound engineers, the person who carries the piano, the assistant who turns the sheet of notes, the person who cleans the stage. This means that all components who take part at the performance process are included in the music practice. Hence, from the ethnomusicological perspective, the process itself is as valuable as the music material and reveals the web of significance.

I discussed throughout the dissertation that 'Armenian music' that seems to be a singular and general definition, is a conceptualization that in different regions, political formations and from the historical perspective. It also contains considerably different multiple meanings and musical sounds. Even if the chapters of the dissertation seem to be independently from each other and seem to be dealing with separate issues, my basic aim was to develop a comprehensive approach to musics of Armenians, to understand the connections between the musical attitudes that developed in Turkey, Armenia and diaspora and to comprehend how it is possible that all those common discourses in Armenian music traditions were established despite their completely different historical and social structuring. How could I define and historicize the meanings of Armenian musicking? In the second chapter, I remarked on the golden age narratives defining the transformations on Armenian musical identity. The literature on Armenian music, reviewed at the beginning of second chapter, shares a common ideology, which aims to prove the 'distinctiveness' of Armenian music focusing on the origins and the 'essences' of the musical tradition that has survived throughout centuries in different foreign political structures. As the debates of second chapter points out, main influence of Komitas on Armenian music historiography is his effort to describe a 'unique' Armenian 'national' music tradition within an ideology in parallel to the European national music movement in the 19th and 20th century musicology. I debated the influence of music for creating musical aesthetics on defining the nation through Komitas Vardapet's legacy. Music emerges as a 'nationalization' strategy in Komitas's definitions of Armenian music. During my conversations with musicians I have observed that Komitas's legacy provides the transmission of cultural memory and identity in the musical discourse of a nation. He emerges as a cultural icon who creates, transmits and provides to imagine the musical nation in the cultural memory of Armenians.

During my researches, the conception of loss regarding Armenian music and the historical ruptures, oftenly have detached me from the centerline of music and have lead me to concentrate on Armenian history and the history of Turkish politics. Before I started my research, in one of our conversations Hrant Dink warned me, "You will have to struggle with history rather than with music, are you prepared for that?" At this stage, I interpreted that warning as the necessity of a broad historical research. But then, I comprehend much better, that he emphasized the "importance of historical consciousness to understand today" and "the necessity to understand how history is perceived, interpreted and lived by individuals today" rather than a historical description based on documents. Once I had asked one of my interviewees to tell some of the characteristics of Armenian music and he had answered as: "The only thing I would say is that the spirit of the Armenian history is gonna come through if it is liturgical music, folk music, classical music even Armenian jazz music. Still the history of the people will come. This is the only thing that I can say." (A. Dinkjian, personal communication, March 17, 2010). Then I have had one of the answers to my question "How do spaces of musicking provide contexts for meaning making?" Musicking functions as a meaning establishing category in the construction of the past and present. So, cultural memory studies which reveals individual and social remembering and forgetting processes became a fundamental theroretical framework for the dissertation.

Nevertheless, The experiences of Armenians of Turkey during the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic or those living in Armenia during the Soviet Era and after the declaration of the Republic are completely different from each other. Whereas the Armenian Diaspora in the world, from Lebanon to France, from California to Argentine, are the communities gathered by completely different dynamics, even if they are defined as a monolithic category especially in Turkey. Hence, it is not possible to explain the Armenian music literature, discourses and meanings, containing all those regions and temporality, solely on the basis of musical practices of Istanbulite Armenians. On the other hand, like every community, the Armenian society of Turkey, has no homogenous characteristics. It provides a considerably heterogenous structure with individuals of different believes like Protestants, Catholics, Apostolics or atheists as well as different charasteristics like Istanbul/Anatolia originated, wealthy/less wealthy/poor, speaking/not speaking

Armenian, educated/uneducated. Though, in the last instance those communities and spaces that differ from each other, are connected around the Armenian ethnicity through a transnational cultural solidarity network. Even if they have different worlds of meanings, musicking is, like language and religion, a very important component and means of expression for identity, shaping within this solidarity network. Stuart Hall (1996) defines two vectors which characterize the dialogic relationship in terms of defining cultural identity within Caribbean identities: The vector of *similarity* and *continuity;* and the vector of *difference* and *rupture* (p.226). On the one hand, Armenian identities are both comprised of continuity with past and the similarity within communities. On the other hand, they share the experience of a profound discontinuity and rupture as the result of 1915. Because the Armenian communities from different parts of the world are both the same and different, the musical meanings and aesthetics are multitude, as well.

In the academic world and even in the field of social sciences, the idea of music itself, being a representational medium to understand the society, is still open to discussion, although a corpus in ethnomusicology literature that proves this fact exists. As Stokes (1997) indicates, music is considered as "diversionary" rather than "real life" experience, seen as "a domain of a special, almost extra-social, autonomous experience." (p.6) However, music can be effective "means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them" (p. 5). Musicking allows people to consider their place in the world. In this light, it is important to emphasize that music is a performance of imagined 'homeland' in some Armenian cases. I use the term 'performance' in order to refer to the process an individual or a community engages to recover, express or live. Even if this performance of imaginary homeland contains similar meanings, it shows differences at individual as well as at social levels. But music, as the echo of the imaginary homeland, shapes the reality of this imagination. Most of the Armenians I came in touch with throughout my field study are leading a diaspora life and the concept of homeland finds its correspondence in the cultural memory, shaped by narratives. Those locations which they have never been in touch with physically, becomes the most important components of the identity construction. For instance, in the fourth chapter of the dissertation, I discuss Onnik Dinkjian's –who is living in America- being Diyarbakırite, what he never experienced in the spatial meaning and how the

cultural identity that was shaped by Diyarbakır and its music that became a performance field within the context of the diaspora.

A deep attachment to the historical Armenia plays an important role in Armenian thinking about past. In Yerevan, the migrants memorialized their lost homeland in the names of neighborhoods such as Nor (new) Arapkir, Nor Cilicia, Nor Zeytun, etc. Smith's concept of 'ethnoscape' as "the unique and indispensable setting for events that shape the community" fits with Armenian's perception of homeland (Smith, 1999: 150). This perception of homeland turns from a 'place' that is a present reality to an imagined 'space' that each individual constructs in his or meaning world. As the authenticity of Armenian music coincides with this space, the performance of the music turns into the performance of the homeland. I suggest that the space of musicking practices in the community acts as a bridge between the homeland and living place.

> "Armenian folk music is only where we kept our genetical memory about homeland. Homeland for me is not Soviet Armenia. I have no connection. Soviet Armenia is not my homeland and it wasn't for my grandmother too. They grew up and died through the stories of homeland in their memory. My grandmother would say 'You should see Mush and understand what is homeland'. I would say 'why are you talking so much about Mush? We were born here (Yerevan)'. But now, I understand. That is in my blood, I can't just cut it and throw away. I can't forget it. Every Armenian family has their own Armenia in their heart in their memory, genetical memory." (H. Harutunian, personal communication, September 23, 2010).

However the concept of homeland does not always correspond to a specific locality in Armenian case. The concept of homeland appears through the idea of a 'historical Armenia', rather than a singular meaning of locality which individuals mentions as reference of their ancestors. It is seen that musicking mostly has a role in the creation of symbolic spaces for historical Armenia, as well. To exemplify, some restaurants in Armenia in which folk music is performed are very similar to the *türkü* bars in Turkey. At those locations, in a very short time, one will realize the folkloric elements which symbolize Armenian 'authenticity' and will find herself/himself in a homeland picture that has been tried to draw there by musical atmosphere. I think that the link which today's Armenians of Istanbul forges with Anatolia develops in a similar framework. The Armenian population living in Istanbul today is mainly Anatolia originated. After 1915, because of the de-Armenianization of Anatolia,

today the Armenians from Anatolian regions has nearly no link with Anatolian land. I have considered that the Armenians of Turkey have been experiencing a diaspora life even if they have been living in Turkey as citizens for years. I have discussed that the word 'diaspora' has several and many different definitions in the fourth chapter. For some people this flexibility of the definition of diaspora indicates the diversity of the migration fact, for others this stands for a betrayal towards the meaning of the term. In the first position, 'diaspora' is associated with the idea of changing place while preserving the tie to a real or imaginary land. Whereas in the second position, it is argued whether the aforementioned population is worthy of being referred to as diaspora or not (Dufoix, 2011, p.14). To exemplify, at folk music concerts including folk dances in Istanbul, with the last song of the repertoire, when everybody, dancers and musicians, fill the stage and the concert reminds of a wedding on a village square or another celebration, music turns into a homeland performance in which folkloric elements are used again. Or, the *Haybar* concept, that was started by young Armenian volunteers in the Yeşilköy Association at the early 2000s was designing a similar performance field at a place where Armenian music is performed. They were decorating the place with typical Armenian symbols (candles with Armenian alphabet, photographs of Mount Ararat and Komitas, etc.), eating and drinking traditional dishes (some of them were brought from Armenia) and listening to Armenian music with the accompaniment of Armenian poems. So, they were creating their own space in which they could perform their Armenian-ness in Istanbul. In all of these examples, the place is given an identity by the enhancement of other symbolic elements of music. Of course, the concept of homeland and the idea of belonging to a homeland may not always contain collective meanings. In this context, in the fifth chapter I discuss how the Armenian identiy and the traces of Armenian music have been effective for Arto Tunçboyacıyan's personal musical journey and the creation of his own musical homeland, namely 'Artostan'.

Moreover, musicking spaces can play a symbolic role in the formation of nationalist or ethnic consciousnesses. To exemplify, as I debated in the third chapter, the choir singing strengthens the collective identities by providing the new generation to be a part of Armenian community life, embodying a national/ethnic space in a non-Armenian environment such as Istanbul. In that case, musicking is an instrument of unification, as well. I am illustrating with different cases from my fieldwork that

music has an enourmous function on the identity constructions. In that sense, community is a space where constructions of identity tend to be recognized, welcomed, therefore allowing for a sense of belonging to be established. Gregory Barz (2003) defines a community as "a group of people that gathers for a reason: whether to remember and recall, to share, or to create new experiences. Communities are often fluid social structures that allow people of similar or dissimilar backgrounds to cooperate on shared objectives." (p.85). On the other hand, communities are not simple gatherings of people. "They are gatherings of people involved in social action, in processes that allow performance to function in the definition of self (selves) within society(-ies) (p.92). So, music is one of the indispensable components of that performance which is used on defining community as an act of exploration and as an act of celebration" (Small, 1998, p. 95). Besides, musicking functions as the performance of cultural identity fullfilling the human need to belong and it reinforce individual and group identity come to life. In the third chapter I argue that, after the process of collective amnesia, the musicking community that arose among Istanbul Armenians in the late 1960s and early 1970s, provided a 'cultural recovery' in the Armenian society and played an important role in the subjectivities of the individuals. Through the musicking community, they resisted to rupture by constructing a national/ethnic space through cultural memory.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Transliteration Guide
APPENDIX B: Interviews and Personal Communications
APPENDIX C: List of DVD Tracks
APPENDIX D: Glossary
APPENDIX E: Musical Transcriptions and Notations

APPENDIX A: Transliteration Guide

Table A.1: Transliteration Guide[128].

Ա	ա	a
Բ	բ	p
Գ	գ	k
Դ	դ	t
Ե	ե	e, ye[129]
Զ	զ	z
Է	է	e
Ը	ը	ı[130] (ê)
Թ	թ	t
Ժ	ժ	j[130] (zh)
Ի	ի	i
Լ	լ	l
Խ	խ	kh

Ծ	ծ	dz
Կ	կ	g
Հ	հ	h
Ձ	ձ	ts
Ղ	ղ	gh
Ճ	ճ	ch[130] (j)
Մ	մ	m
Յ	յ	y, h[129], _[131]
Ն	ն	n
Շ	շ	sh
Ո	ո	o, vo[129]
Չ	չ	ch
Պ	պ	b

Ջ	ջ	ch
Ռ	ռ	r
Ս	ս	s
Վ	վ	v
Տ	տ	d
Ր	ր	r
Ց	ց	ts
Ւ	ւ	v[130] (w)
Փ	փ	p
Ք	ք	k[130] (q)
Օ	օ	o
Ֆ	ֆ	f

ու	u
ոյ	oy
այ	ay
իւ	iv

յու	yu
եա	ya
յա	ya

[128] This transliteration guide is based on the phonetic values of Western Armenian. I used both the standards of ALA (American Library Association) – LC (Library of Congress) (http://www.translitteration.com/transliteration/en/armenian-western/ala-lc/) and the principles of The *Armenian Review* transliteration key (http://armenianreview.org/sub.htm). I also preferred some Latin letters in compatible with Turkish as Armenian community of Turkey used to do.

[129] In the initial position only.

[130] American Library Association (ALA) and the Library of Congress (LC) use the letter in parenthesis. I preferred the former because it is in use by Armenian community of Turkey.

[131] The letter is not transliterated in the final position

APPENDIX B: Interviews and Personal Communications

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Arshakyan, Inga. Interview with author. Yerevan, Armenia, 11 December 2008.
Asaduryan, Suren. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 13 December 2009.
Avedikyan, Sezar. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 19 May 2007.
Bağdasaryan, Arthur. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 13 December 2009.
Biryol, Uğur. Interview with author. Çamlıhemşin, Turkey, 21 July 2011.
Chalikian, Garo. Interview with author. Yerevan, Armenia, 28 September 2010.
Çalgıcıyan, Nişan. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 19 January 2012.
Çapar, Panos. Conversation with author. Vakıflıköy, Turkey, August 2005.
Çerme, Thomas. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 29 July 2008.
Demirci, Avedis. Conversation with author. Vakıflıköy, Turkey, August 2005.
Derderyan, Haçadur. Interview with author. Yerevan, Armenia, 9 December 2008.
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Derstepanyan, Yetvart. Interview with author. Yerevan, Armenia, 8 December 2008.
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Dinkjian, Onnik. Interview with author. Diyarbakır, Turkey, 27 September 2009.
Erkol, Jülyet. Conversation with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 14 November 2009.
Erkol, Sarkis. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 14 November 2009.
Estukyan, Pakrat. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 25 January 2007.
Garabetoğlu, Hayko. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 24 October 2009.
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Garyan, Bartev. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 29 October, 2009.
Harutunian, Hasmik. Interview with author. Yerevan, Armenia, 23 September 2010.
Hergel, Ari. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 22 April 2012.
Hergel, Misak. Conversation with author. Istanbul, Turkey, August 2005.
Kardashian, Norayr. Conversation with author. Arapkir, Turkey. 25 July 2011.
Kartun, Panos. Conversation with author. Istanbul, Turkey. September 2005.
Kerovpyan, Aram. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 23 July 2008.
Lokmagözyan, Diran. Conversation with author. 25 September 2010.
Manuşyan, Mari. Interview with author. Yerevan, Armenia, 8 December 2008.
Sahakyan, Aroussiak. Interview with author. Yerevan, Armenia, 29 September 2010.
Sarkissian, Margaret. Interview with author. Tunceli, Turkey. 28 July 2011.

Taghakchian, Zaven. Interview with author. Yerevan, Armenia, 27 September 2010.
Tovmasyan, Mari. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 10 February 2008.
Tovmasyan, Payline. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 10 February 2008.
Tovmasyan, Takuhi. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 10 February 2008.
Tunçboyacıyan, Arto. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 1 July 2009.
Usta, Mari. Interview with author. Istanbul, Turkey, 20 April 2007.

APPENDIX C: List of DVD Tracks

Table C.1: List of DVD Tracks.

Track	Name of the Song	Singer/Group	Record Source	Page
1	Sari Gyalin (Bride of the Mountains)	Margarit Shahinyan	Youtube[132]	p. 27
2	Hazar Dari Gısbasem (I would wait a Thousand Years)	Hovhannes Badalian	Golden Voices of Armenia (CD)	p. 28, p. 149
3	Nubar Nubar	Lusik Kodjian	Youtube[133]	p. 28, p. 149
4	Hala Hala Ninnoyi	Panos Kartun	Field recording	p. 31
5	Sharjır Sharjır (Wave Wave your)	Panos Kartun	Field recording	p. 31
6	Bardezum vart e patsvel (Rose has bloomed in the garden)	Richard Hagopian	Best of Armenian Folk Music: Richard Hagopian (CD)	p. 33
7	Yar ko parag boyit mernem (Beloved, I would die for your fine figure) - Byngol	Onnik Dinkjian	Onnik Dinkjian: The Many Sides of Onnik (CD)	p. 33
8	Şeker Oğlan (Sweet Boy)	Marko Melkon	Armenians on Eight Avenue (CD)	p. 34
9	Mer Khentzorin Dzar (Our Apple Tree)		From Ara Dinkjian's personal archive	p. 34
10	Inchu Byngoli Mıdar (Why did you enter Bingyol?)	Ruben Baboyan	Library of Congress: WPA California Folk Music Project (website[134])	p. 35
11	Hem Gul Hem Vart Hem Nergis [Both rose (in Turkish) and rose (in Armenian) and daffodil]	Ruben Baboyan	Library of Congress: WPA California Folk Music Project (website[135])	p. 35
12	Drdo	Alexander Harutyunyan	Ensemble Karot: Traditional Songs of Armenia, Vol.1 (CD)	p. 36
13	Du Drakhti Nurn Es (You are the Pomegranate of Heaven)	Karo Chalikian	Armenian Folk Songs (CD)	p. 36
14	İ nınchmanet Arkayagan (Those who rest in Heavenly Kingdom)	Aram Kerovpyan	Field recording	p. 69
15	Sharagan (Hymn)	Ensemble Akn	Akn: Chants liturgies armeniens	p. 74

[132] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1X0ie0f23eE
[133] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c5xtwLiN_e4&feature=relmfu
[134] http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?cowellbib:37:./temp/~ammem_44Kc::
[135] http://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?cowellbib:6:./temp/~ammem_57KT::

Table C.1 (continued): List of DVD Tracks.

16	Der voghormya (God Have Mercy)	Nişan Çalgıcıyan ve Teganni Grubu	Sesin Bekçisi Baba Hampratsum: Besteler ve Şaraganlar (CD)	p. 75
17	Tarts Antsnim (I shall overcome my sorrow)	Nışan Sirkoyan	From Ara Dinkjian's personal archive	p. 75
18	Der voghormya (God Have Mercy)	Lusavoriç Choir	Lusavoriç Armenian Church Choir Concert (CD)	p. 76
19	Hov Arek (Get Some Wind)	Komitas	The voice of Komitas Vardapet (CD)	p. 101
20	Gali Yerk (The Song of Threshing-Floor)	Komitas	The voice of Komitas Vardapet (CD)	p. 101
21	Nani Bala (Sleep Little One)	Hasmik Harutyunyan	Ensemble Karot: Traditional Songs of Armenia, Vol.1 (CD)	p. 111
22	Havun havun	Hasmik Harutyunyan	Field recording	p. 111
23	Hayrur (Lullaby)	Hasmik Harutyunyan	Field recording	p. 111
24	Hoy nar	Hasmik Harutyunyan	Ensemble Karot: Traditional Songs of Armenia, Vol. 2 (CD)	p. 113
25	Gorani	Hasmik Harutyunyan	Ensemble Karot: Traditional Songs of Armenia, Vol.1 (CD)	p. 113
26	Sud e Sud e (It's a lie)	Hayko	LP	p. 145
27	Dzaghigner (Flowers)	Adiss Harmandiyan	Youtube[136]	p. 145
28	Karun Karun (Spring Spring)	Adiss Harmandiyan	Youtube[137]	p. 145
29	Sirdıs Vra Kar Mı Ga (There is a Stone on My Heart)	Udi Hrant	Udi Hrant: The Early Recordings, Vol.1 (CD)	p. 147
30	Sirun Aghcik (Sweet Girl)	Udi Hrant	Udi Hrant: The Early Recordings, Vol.1 (CD)	p. 147
31	Yergu Kuyr Enk (We are two sisters)	Tatul Altunyan Arm.Song and Dance Ens.	Youtube[138]	p. 160
32	Yerk Paregamutyun (The Song of Friendship)	Talar Dance Ensemble	From Sevan Garabetoğlu's personal archive	p. 163
33	Hoy İm Nazani Yare (Oh My Charming Love)	Sayat Nova Choir	Sayat Nova Korosu: Tatul Altunyan Şarkıları (CD)	p. 169
34	Ay Nare (Oh Nare)	Tatyana Bostan	Knar: Anadolu Ermeni Halk Müziği (CD)	p. 178
35	İca İca Kinare	Knar	Knar: Anadolu Ermeni Halk Müziği (CD)	p. 179

[136] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2RkvvSZCbH8
[137] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_U2GqcHLEEs
[138] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1We2nSH50Aw

Table C.1 (continued): List of DVD Tracks.

36	Heranal (Going A far)	Bartev Garyan	From Bartev Garyan's personal archive	p. 182
37	Hele hele	Onnik Dinkjian	(CD)	p. 187
38	Amen Hayr Surp (Amen Holy Father)	Onnik Dinkjian	Onnik: Havadamk (CD)	p. 194
39	Amenu Daran (They Took Them All)	Onnik Dinkjian	Onnik Dinkjian: Voice of Armenians (CD)	p. 196
40	Dle Yaman	Onnik Dinkjian	From Ara Dinkjian's personal archive	p. 199
41	O Yar Dile	Onnik Dinkjian	Onnik Dinkjian: The Many Sides of Onnik (CD)	p. 200
42	Ararat (Mount Ararat)	Arto Tunçboyacıyan	Armenian Navy Band: How Much is Yours? (CD)	p. 215
43	For the Souls of Those Who Passed	Arto Tunçboyacıyan	Armenian Navy Band: How Much is Yours? (CD)	p. 216

APPENDIX D: Glossary

Ashug: the professional musicians who transmit the oral tradition and perpetuate national traditions by traveling across the country.

Badarak: 'Holy Mass' in Armenian liturgy.

Blul: an end-blown flute, usually with seven finger-holes and one thumb-hole.

Dacig: a term referring Turks in Armenian.

Dagh: sung poems in both secular and sacred forms, especially in the Medieval Armenia.

Dhol: double-headed cylindrical drum, beaten with fingers or palms, sometimes with sticks and cudgel.

Duduk: a cylindirical double reed aerophone with eight finger-holes and one thumb-hole, and a soft, slightly nasal timbre.

Kamancha: bowed chordophone widespread in the South Caucasus, Iran and other neighbouring countries.

Kanun: plucked chordophone, a zither with a narrow trapezoidal soundboard. Strings are streched over a single bridge poised on skins one one hand, attached to tuning pegs at the other hand.

Khaz: a type of neumatic notation devised by Armenians in the 8th century.

Korenizatsia: the nativization or indigenization policy that provides 'the right of self-determination' for the republics of the Soviet Union mostly in the 1920s.

Kusan: professional singer of epics.

Millet: autonomous religious communities that were organized around its religious institution; namely Muslims and Non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire.

Musicking: the term is defined by Christopher Small as the verb form of music that encompasses all musical activity instead of the noun form that signifies music as an abstract thing. To music is to take part, in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practicing, by providing material for performance (what is called composing), or by dancing.

Sharagan: a highly developed form of sacred chant that is tied to the ecclesiastical calendar of the Armenian Church

Shvi: end-blown flute which is mainly a hollow tube, made of cane or apricot tree and has seven holes on the face side and one on the back side.

Tar: double-chested plucked lute with a membrane as a soundtable.

Yerki bari khump: song and dance ensemble in Armenian.

Zurna: double-reed aerophone which has eight holes of the front, seven of which are used while playing, and one thumbhole which provide a range of one octave.

APPENDIX E: Musical Transcriptions and Notations
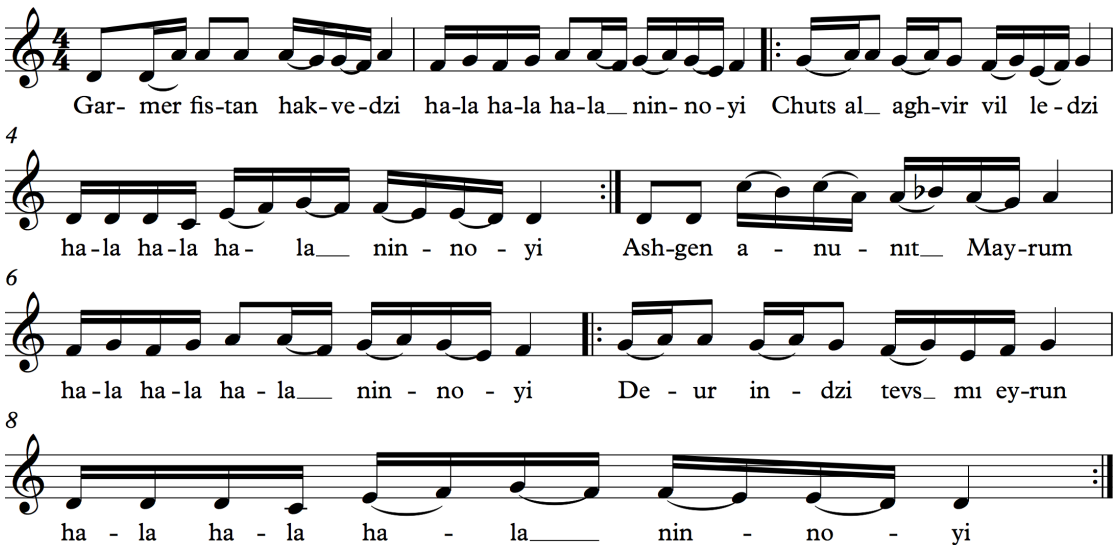


Figure E.1: Transcription of *Hala Hala Ninnoyi*[139]
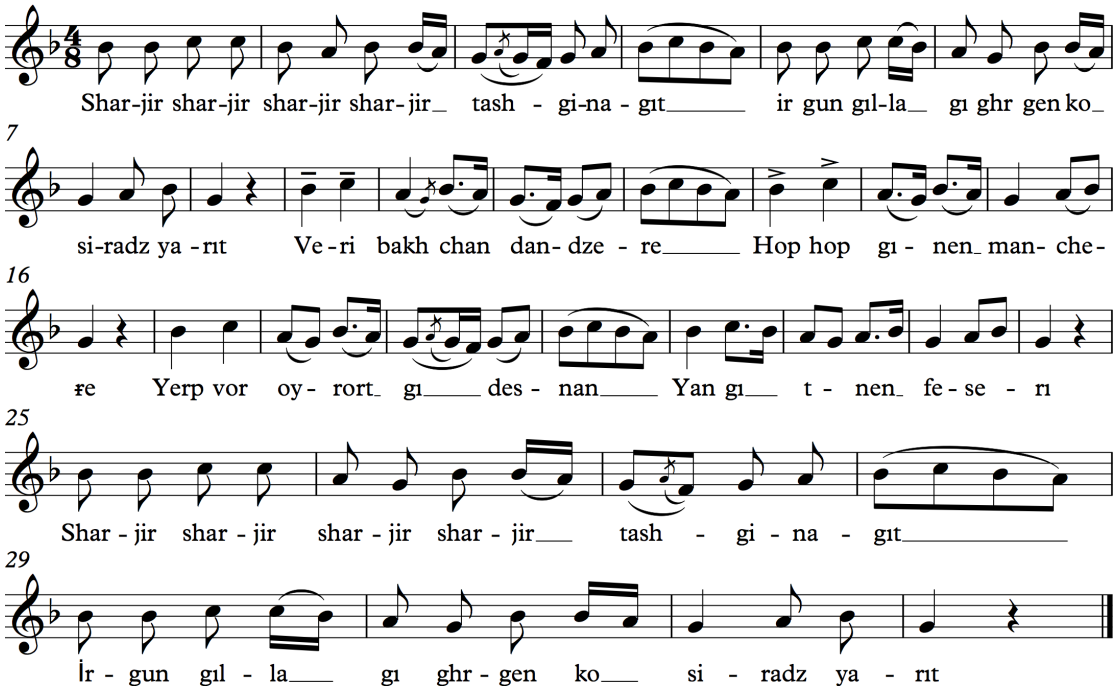


Figure E.2: Transcription of *Sharjir Sharjir*[140] (Svazlian, 2000, p.534)

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[139] *Hala Hala Ninnoyi* is a traditional song from Hatay in Anatolia. Translation of the lyrics: She wore a red *fistan* (dress). How it looked good on her. She went out to the yard of the church and said that she would get engaged.

[140] *Sharjir Sharjir* (Wave Wave) is a traditional song from Hatay in Anatolia. Translation of the lyrics: Wave wave, wave wave your handkerchief. I will send your beloved to you in the evening. Pears in/of

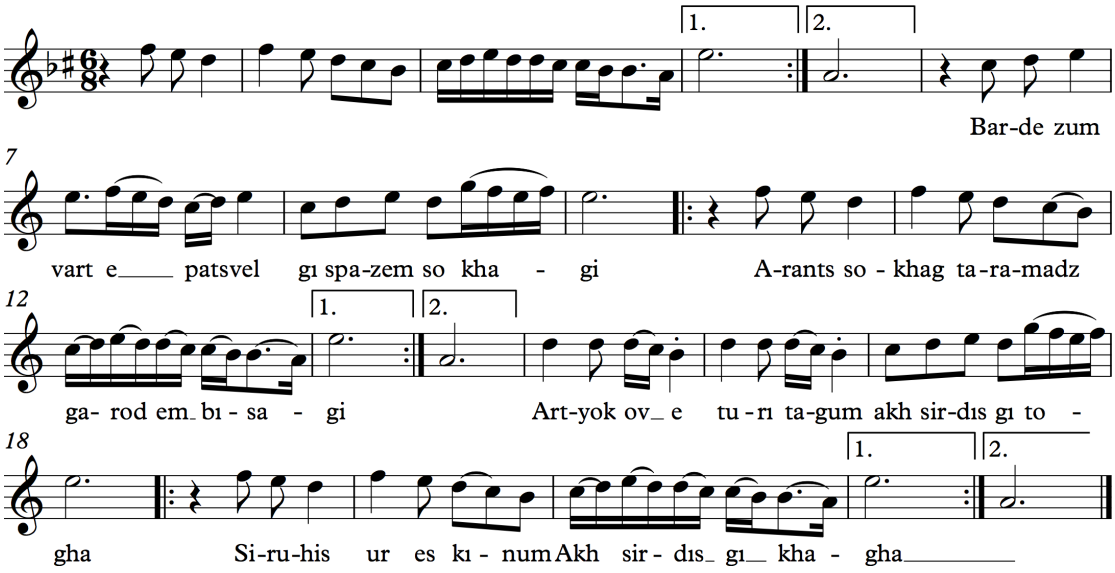


Figure E.3: Transcription of *Bardezum vart e patsvel*[141]

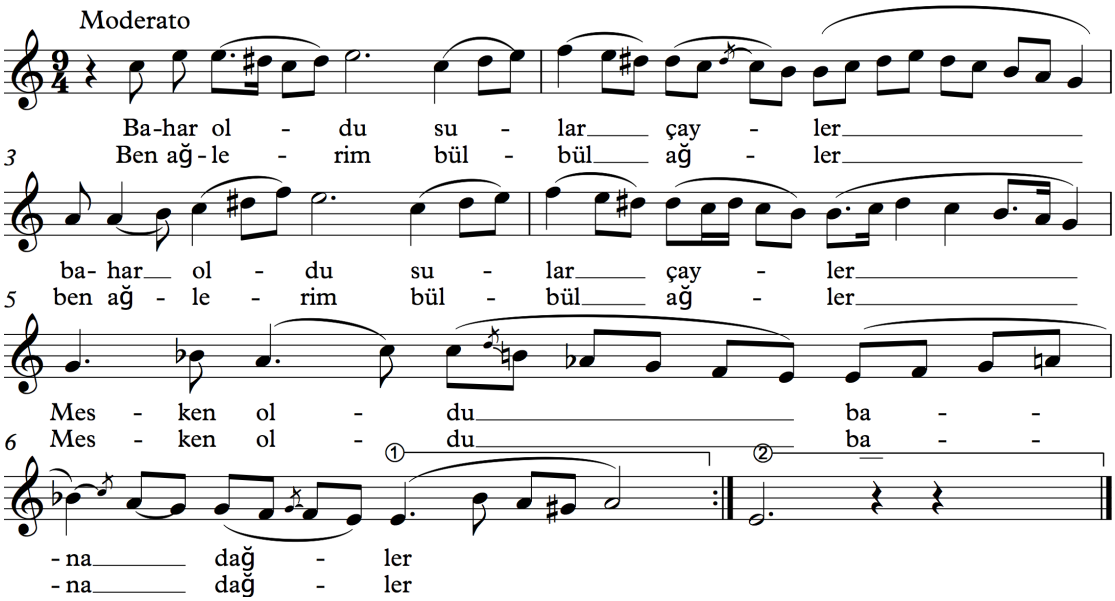


Figure E.4: Transcription of *Bahar Oldu*[142] (Atayan and Geodakyan, 2006, p.97-98)

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the garden above boys are exciting. When they see a young woman, they tilt their *fes*es (translated by Melissa Bilal).

[141] *Bardezum Vart e Patsvel* (In My Garden A Rose Has Bloomed) was written and composed by *Kusan Sheram* (1857-1938). It is transcribed by Ara Dinkjian. Translation of the lyrics: In my garden a rose has bloomed, and is awaiting a nighingale. Without a nightingale, is a withering rose able to blossom? I wonder who is at my door. My heart is fluttering. Oh my sweetheart, where are you going? My heart is throbbing. (Hagopian, 1995).

[142] *Bahar Oldu* (Spring has come) is a Turkish song, collected and transcribed by Komitas Vardapet. It was collected from Takuhi Khdryan from Kütahya in Anatolia. Translation of the lyrics: Spring has
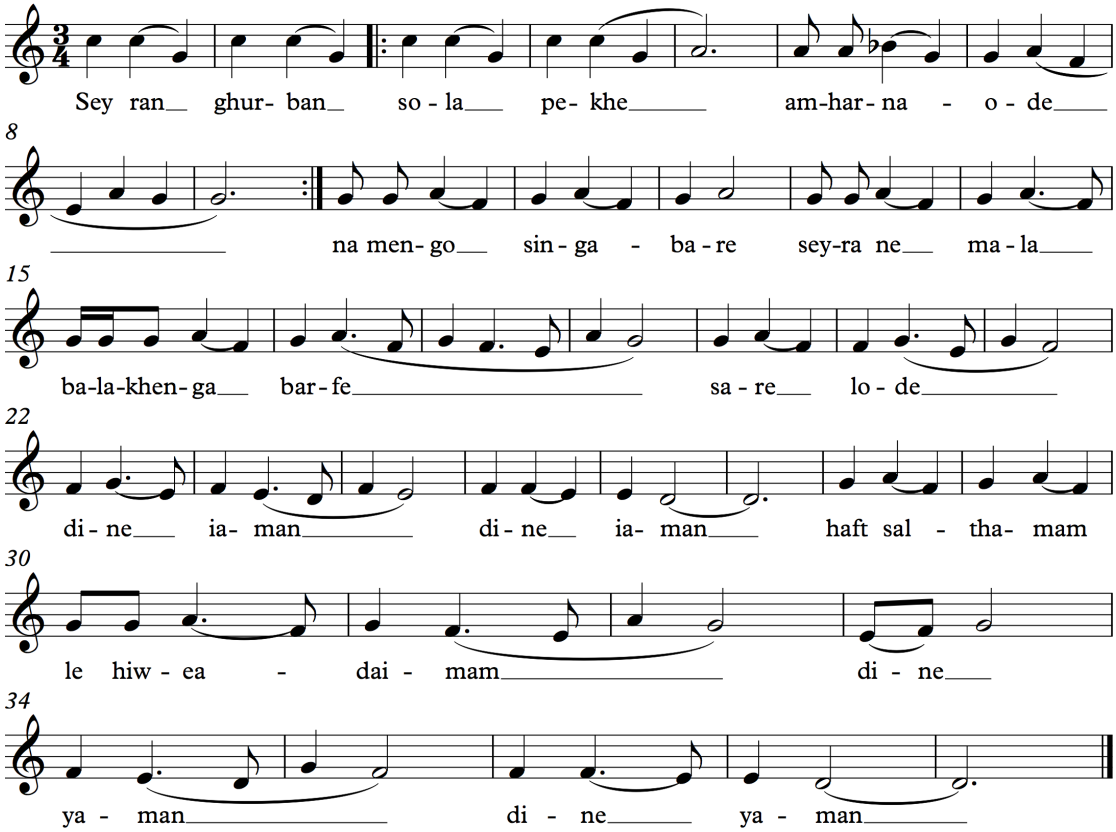


Figure E.5: Transcription of *Seyran*[143]

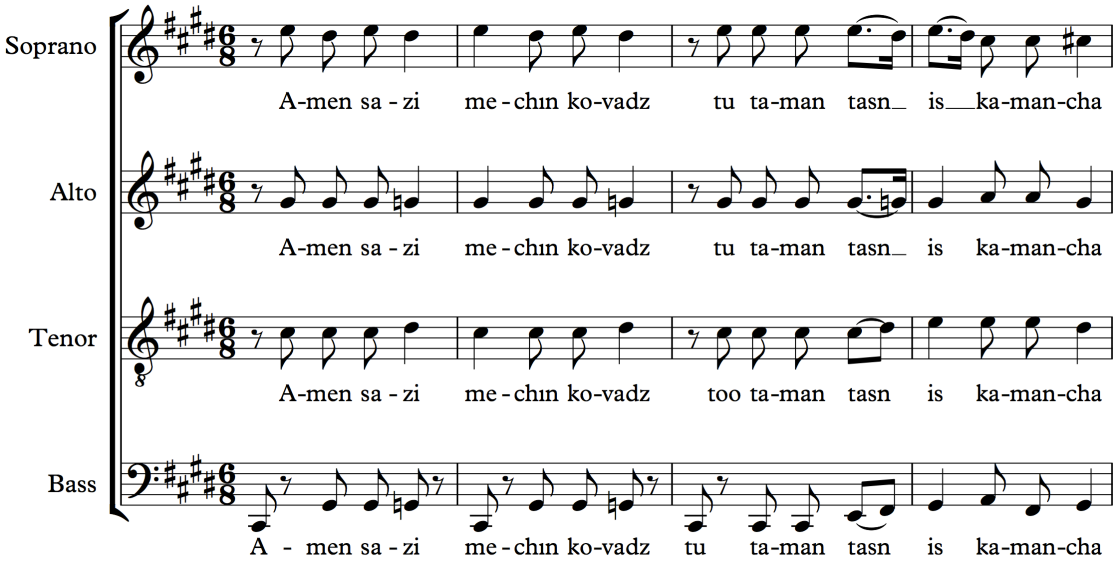


Figure E.6: Notation of *Kamancha*[144]

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come. Water is flowing. The mountains have become our dwelling. I cry and then the nightingale cries. The mountains have become our dwelling.

[143] *Seyran* is a Kurdish song, collected and transcribed by Komitas Vardapet. It was collected from İsrael Dirakyan.
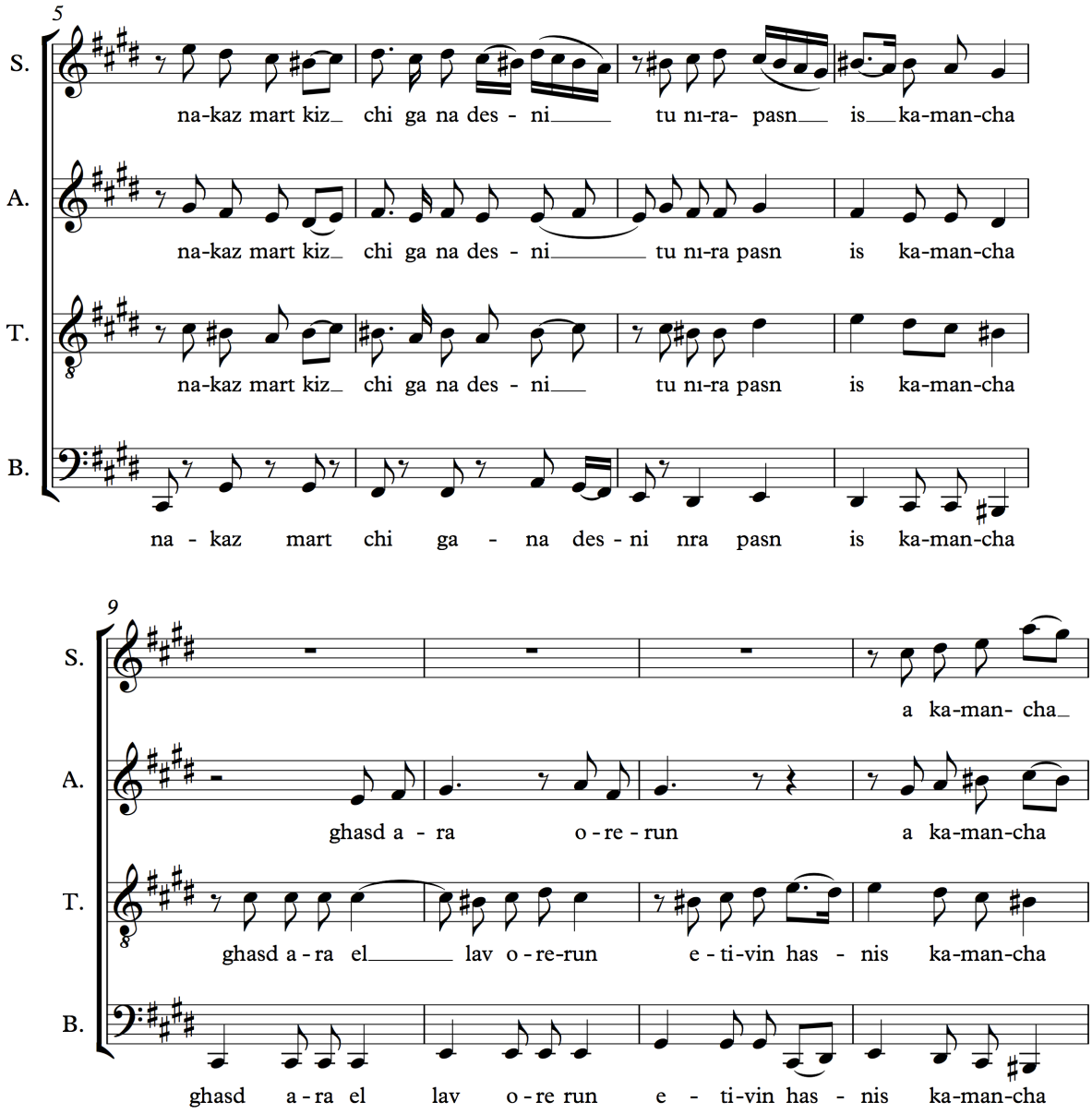


Figure E.6 (continued): Notation of Kamancha.

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[144] Kamancha was written and composed by ashugh Sayat Nova (1712-1795). I took this notation from the archive of Sayat Nova Choir. Translation of the lyrics: Special among all the musical instruments, you deserve a complete orchestra, *kamancha.* Man, he does not know to see you, he avoids you as if he were fasting, *kamancha.* Try to finally catch the beautiful days, *kamancha.* Who will be able to lift me? You are an instrument of glory for the poet, *kamancha.* You are an instrument of glory for the poet, *kamancha.* You are rubies and diamonds, *kamancha.* You are a golden cup, *kamancha.* You occupy the middle of the crowd, kamancha. Beg the people to say: Long live the one who makes you resound. As long as Sayat Nova is alive, you will see many things, *kamancha.* (Translated by Rebecca Carpenter, after the rendition into French by M. Tcheraz). (Popescu-Judetz, 1981, p.68).
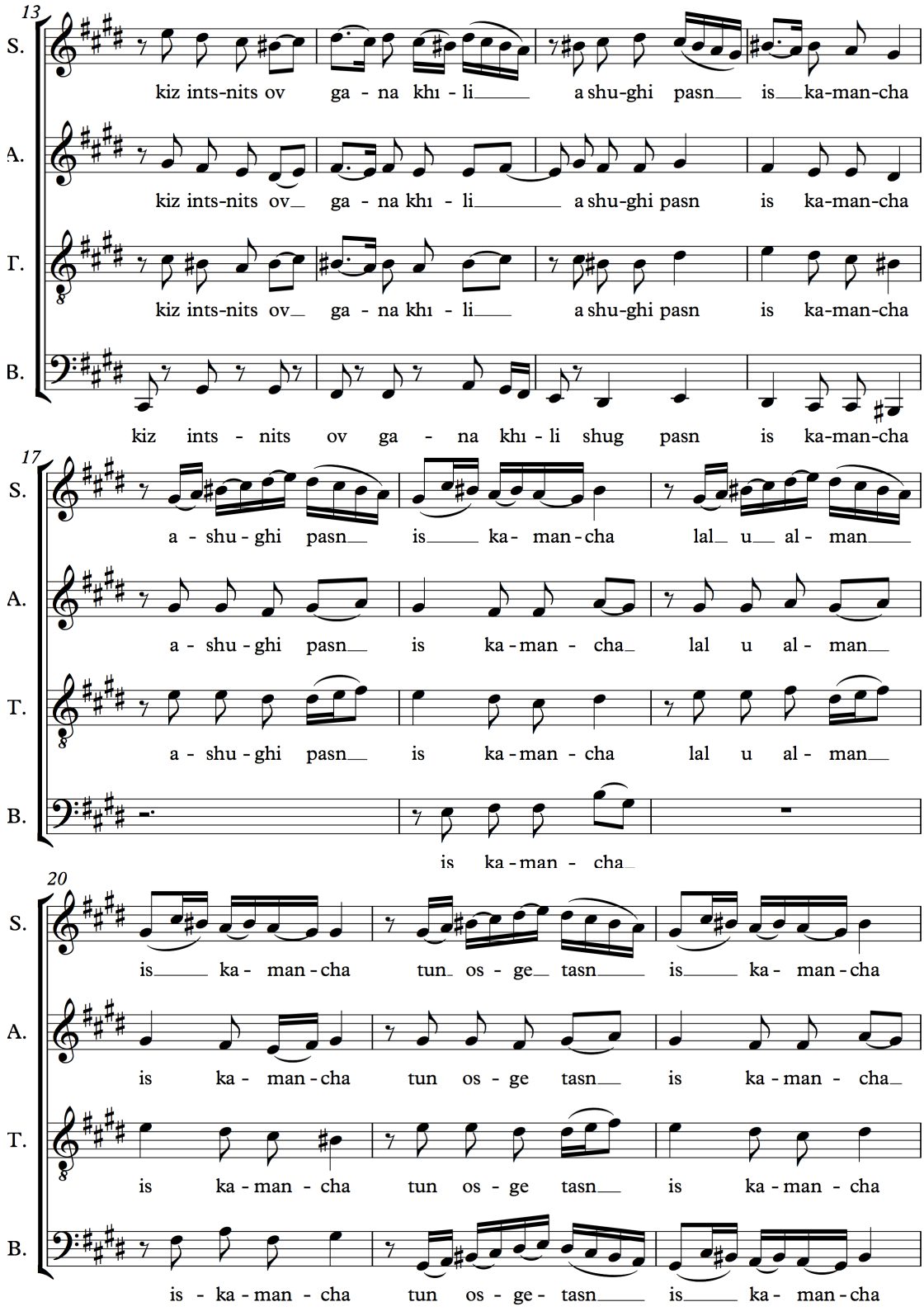


Figure E.6 (continued): Notation of Kamancha.
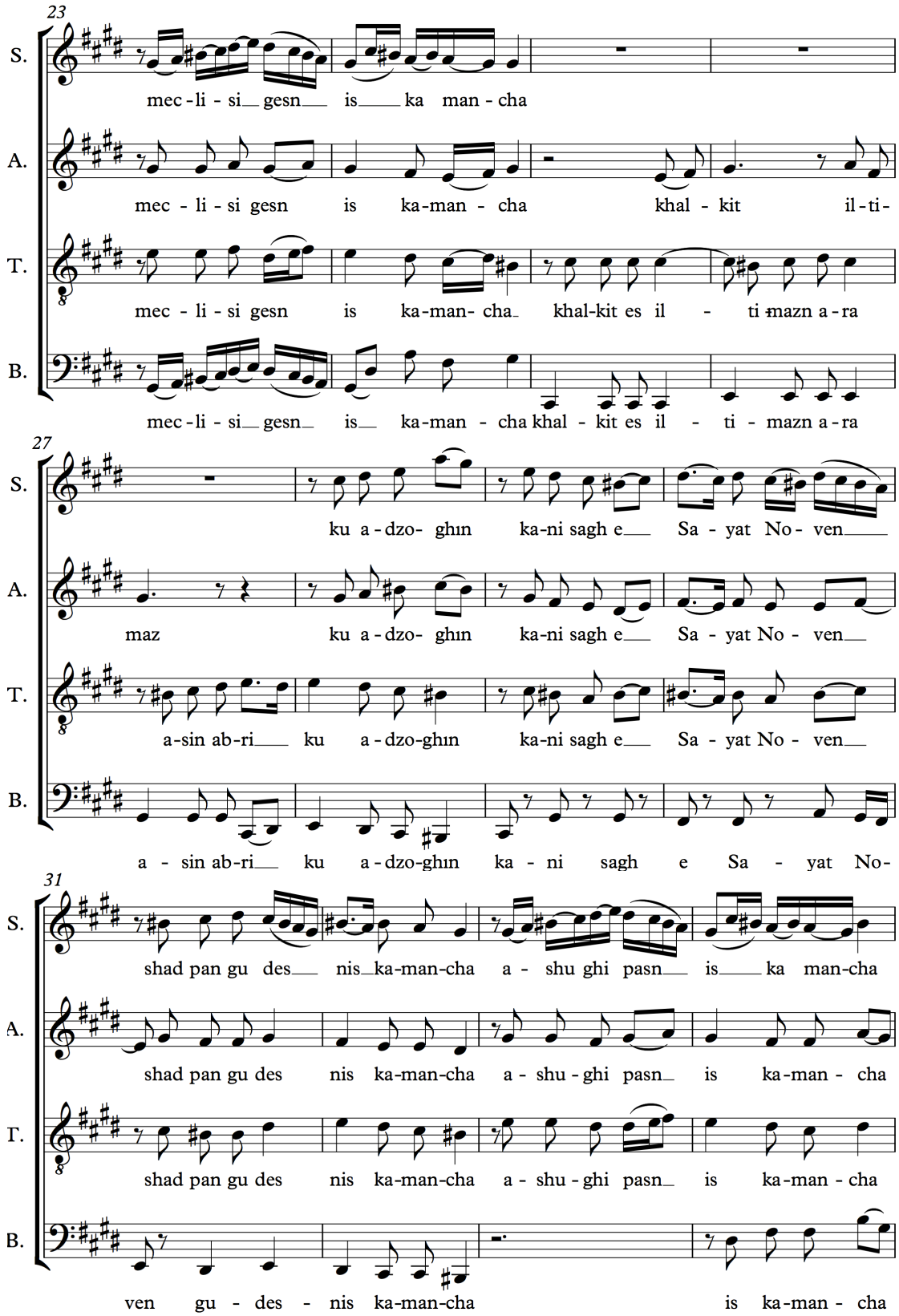


Figure E.6 (continued): Notation of Kamancha.
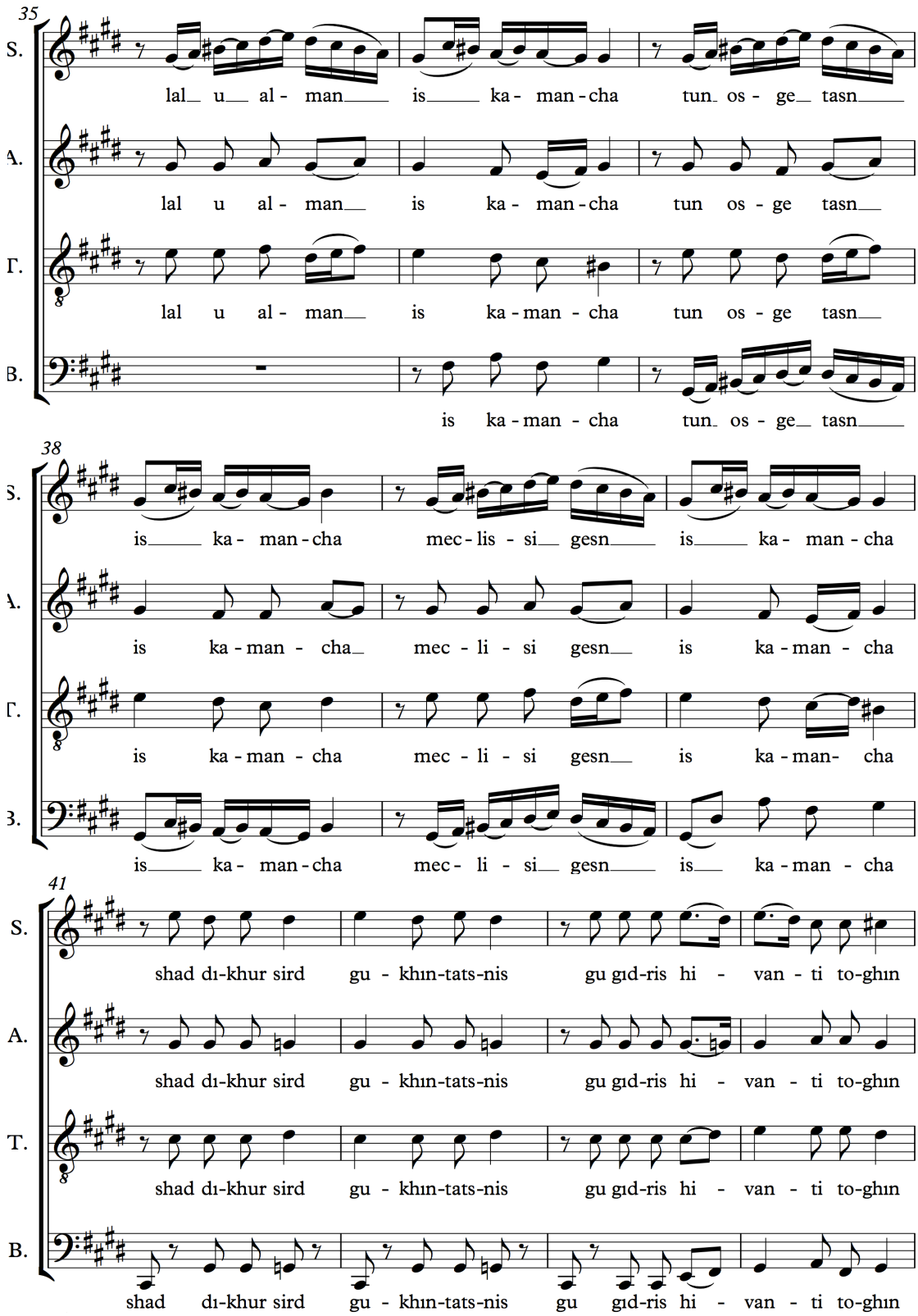


Figure E.6 (continued): Notation of Kamancha.

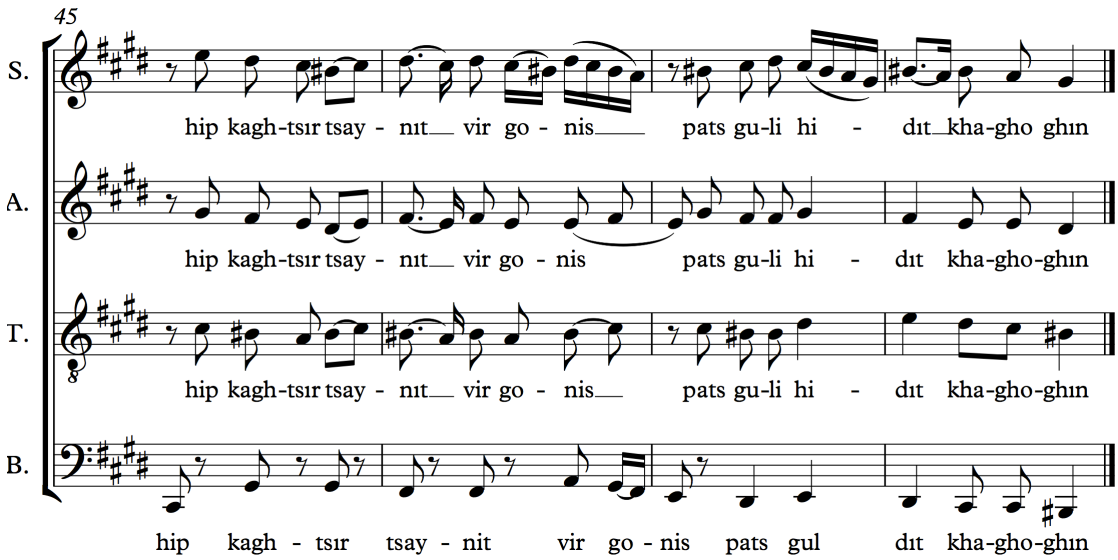


Figure E.6 (continued): Notation of Kamancha.
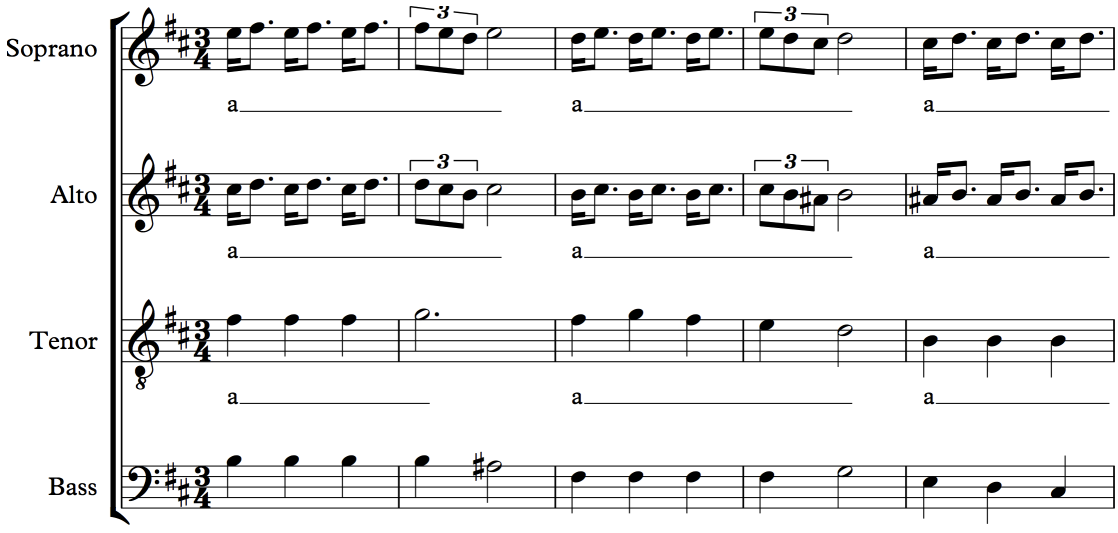


Figure E.7: Notation of *Grung*[145].

[145] *Grung* (The Crane) was collected by Komitas Vardapet and arranged by Tatul Altunyan. I took this notation from the archive of Sayat Nova Choir. Translation of the lyrics: Oh crane, where do you come from, I am a slave to your voice, Oh crane, don't you have news from our homeland? You did not answer me and you flew away, Oh crane, go, fly away from our land.
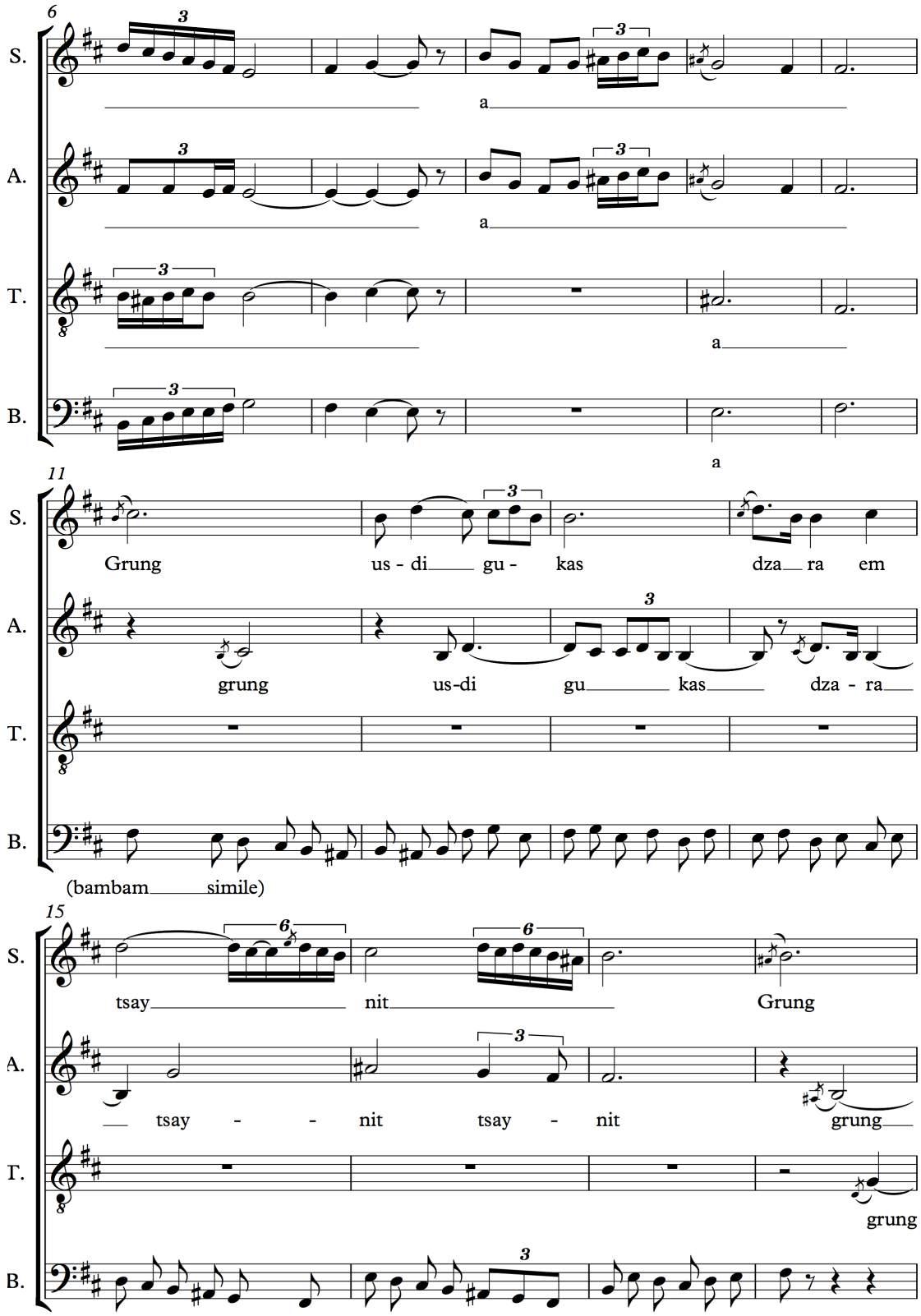


Figure E.7 (continued): Notation of Grung.
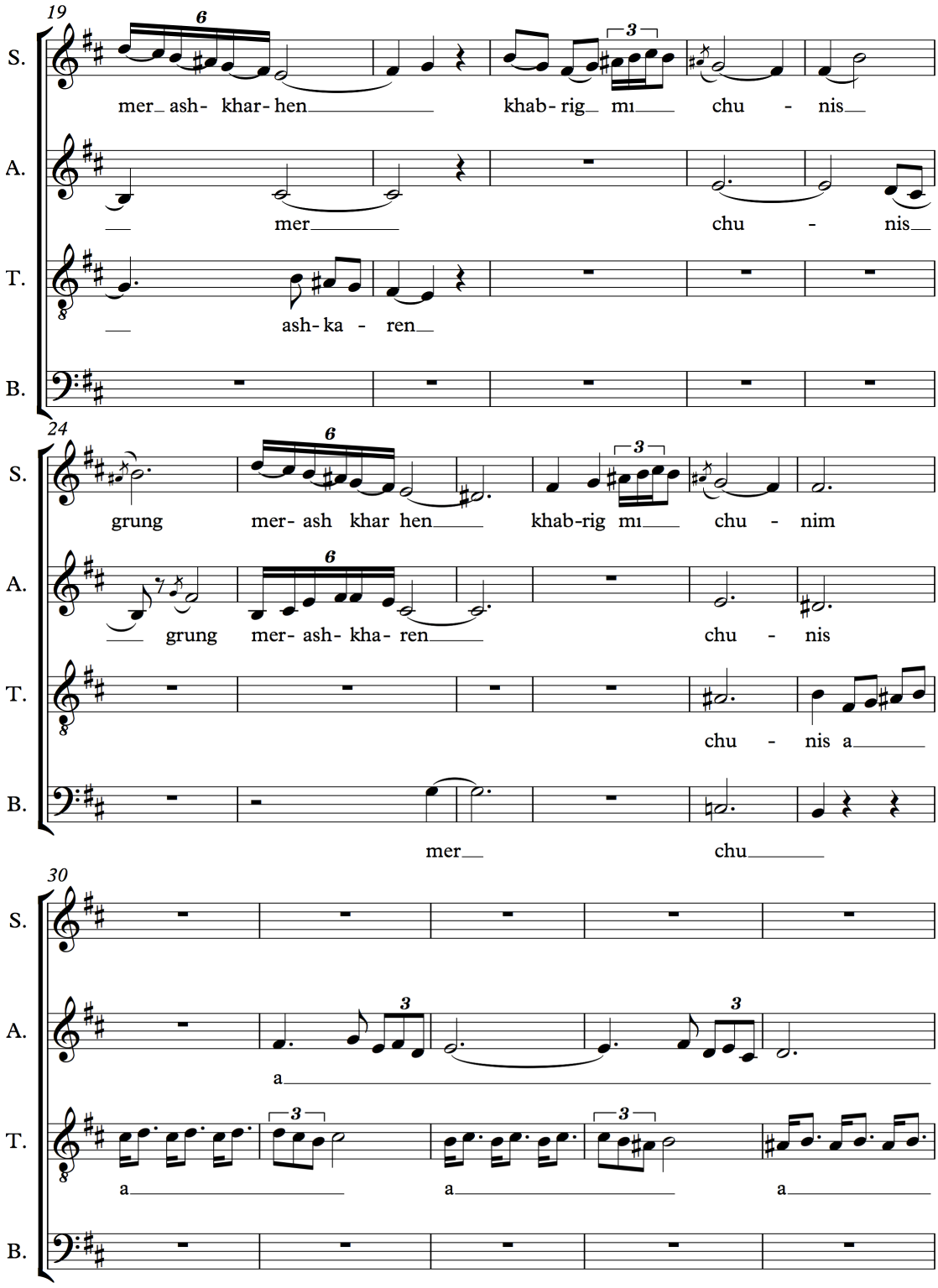


Figure E.7 (continued): Notation of Grung.
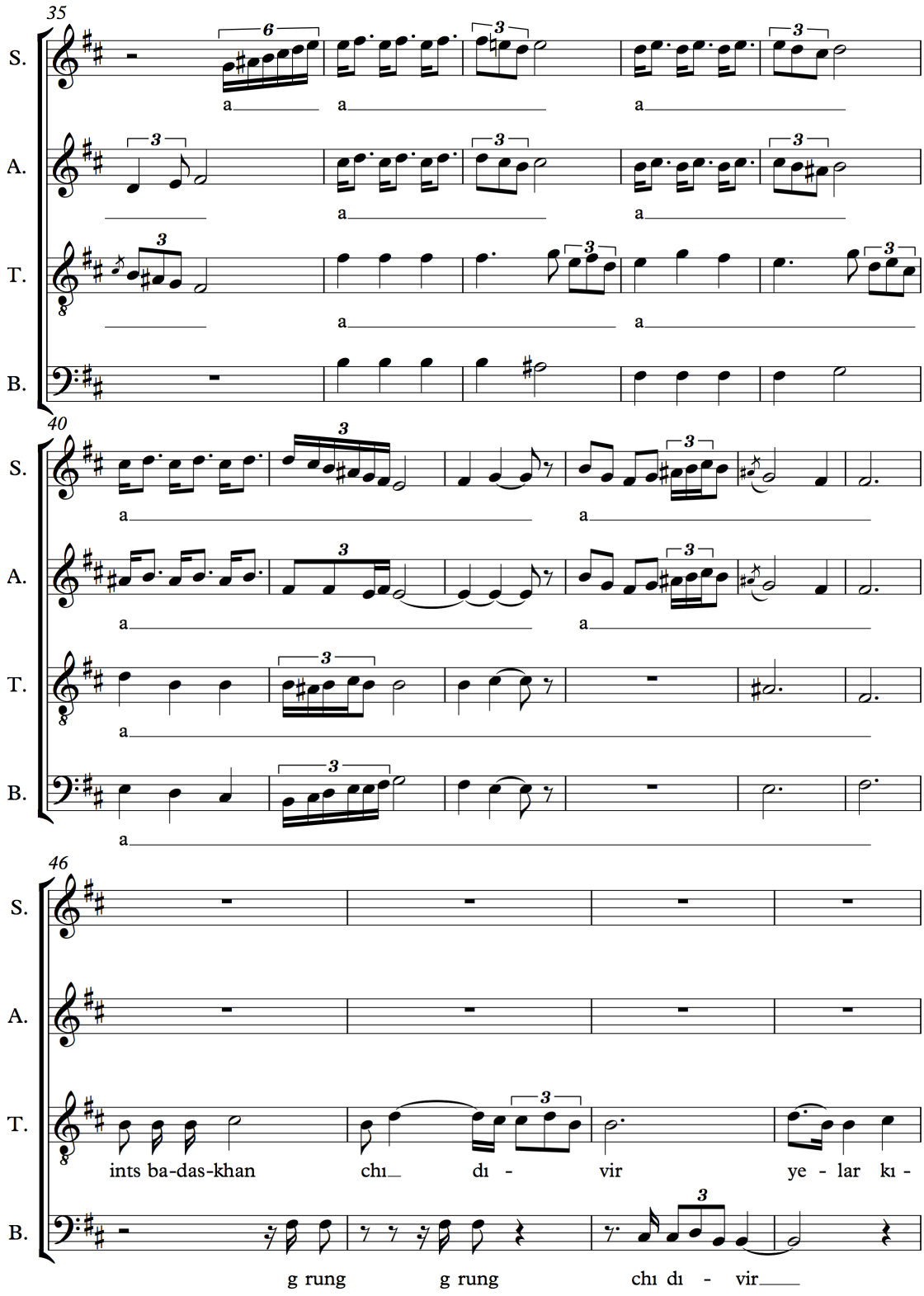


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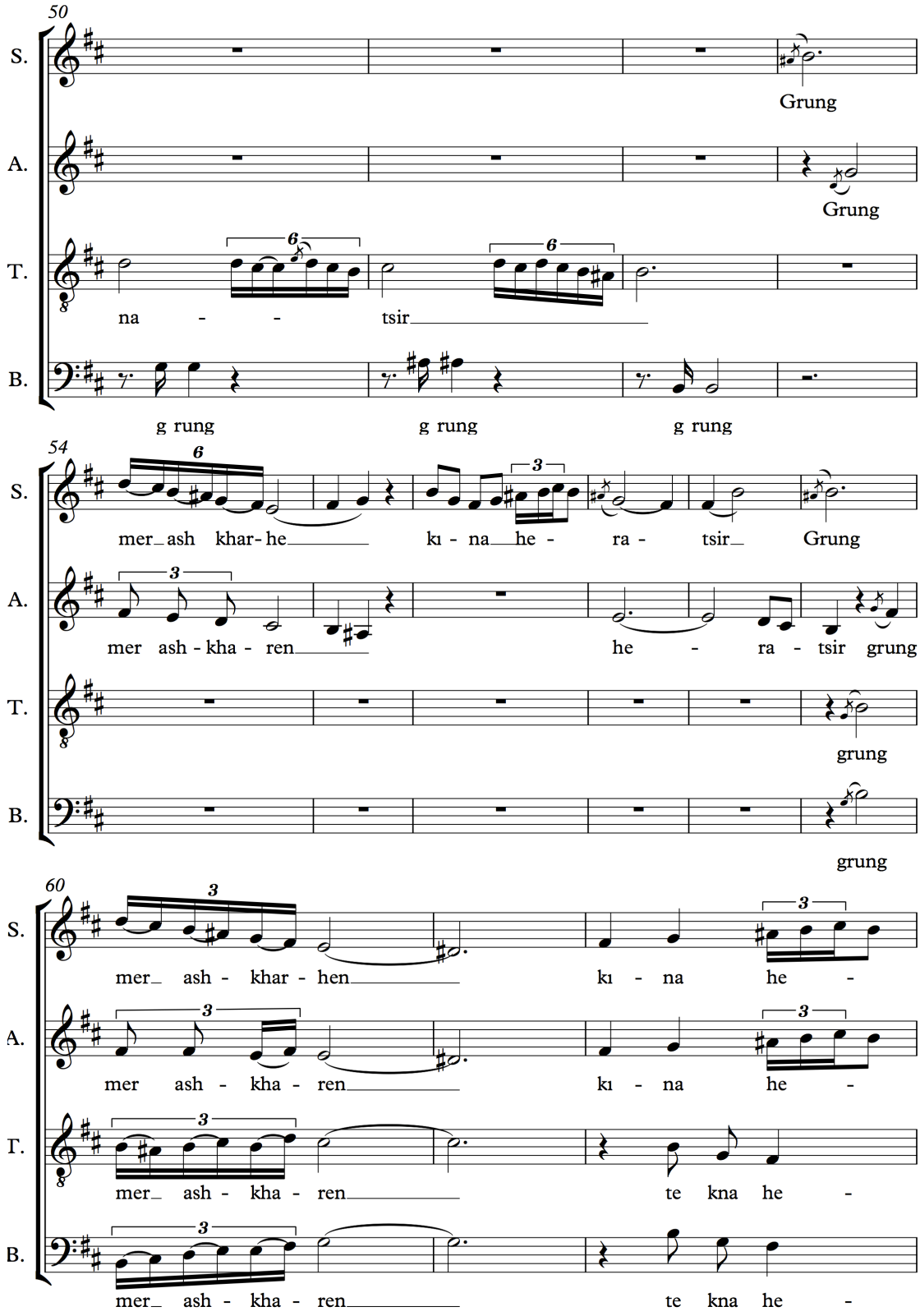


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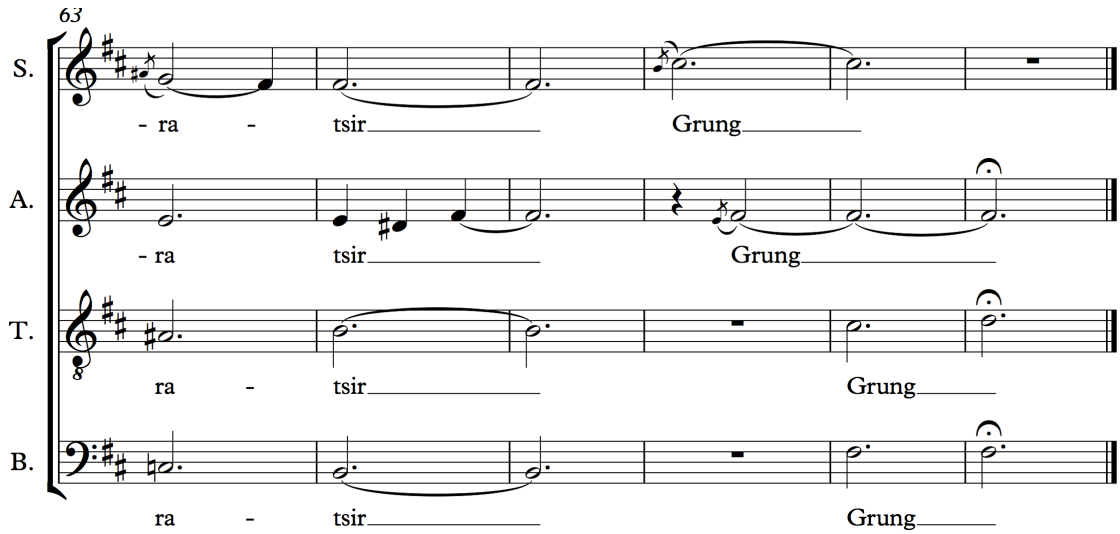


Figure E.7 (continued): Notation of Grung.

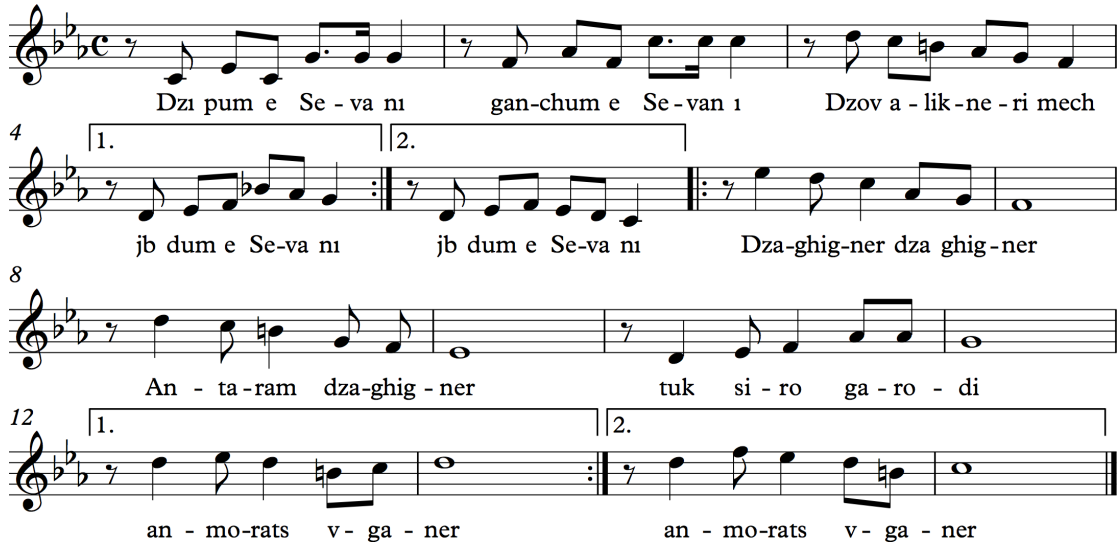


Figure E.8: Notation of *Dzaghigner Dzaghigner*[146] (Minasian, 2004, p.125)

[146] *Dzaghigner Dzaghigner* (Flower Flower) was written and composed Hasmik Manaseryan. Translation of the lyrics: Sevan is rippling. Sevan is calling. Sevan is smiling in sea waves. Flowers flowers. Unfading flowers. You are the unforgettable witnesses of yearning for love (translated by Melissa Bilal).

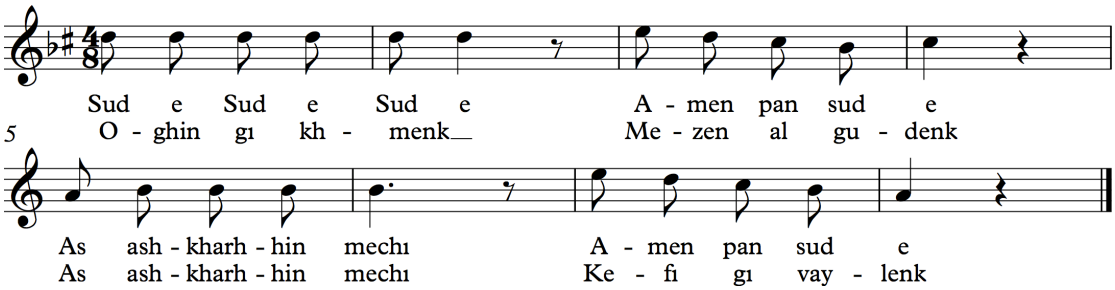


Figure E.9: Transcription of *Sud e Sud e*[147] (Svazlian, 2000, p.534)

[147] *Sud e Sud e* (It's a lie, it's a lie). Translation of the lyrics: Everything is a lie. In this world, everthing is a lie. We drink the *oghi* (*rakı*). We eat the *meze*. In this world, we enjoy ourselves (translated by Melissa Bilal).

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name Surname: Burcu YILDIZ

Place and Date of Birth: Eskişehir, 11 August 1980

E-Mail: burcuyildiz80@gmail.com

B.Sc.: Political Science and International Relations (Boğaziçi University)

M.Sc.: Music (Istanbul Technical University)