

FROM THE MEYHANE TO THE NATIONAL RADIO: THE *KEMENÇE* AS A METAPHOR OF CULTURAL CHANGE AND MUSICAL CREATIVITY IN TURKISH CLASSICAL MUSIC

Panagiotis C. Poulos*

Abstract

Musical instruments, as dynamic cultural objects, are media of social and musical meanings. They are functional artefacts serving musical performance, while and at the same time they are powerful means of expression of social and cultural experiences. The historical trajectory of the *kemençe* in the twentieth century embodies in an illustrative way the cultural transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic; it can be considered to be a record of constant re-contextualization and reallocation, of versatility and diversity of musical repertoires and styles, and of innovative technical challenges. Within the context of the urban musical tradition of the late Ottoman Istanbul, the *kemençe* is shared by the ensemble of the *meyhane* and the first recordings of the celebrated musician Tanburi Cemil Bey, whereas in the republican era it finds its place in the newly founded state radio and becomes the locus for experimentation and innovation in the hands of musicians and music theorists (i.e. *kemençe beşlemesi*, *dört telli kemençe*). In this respect, the historical trajectory of the *kemençe* is on the hand, documenting the way to Turkish modernity, whereas, on the other, it is a proof of a long genealogy of creativity and innovation, two elements that are historically embedded features of the Ottoman musical tradition.

Introduction

Musical instruments are functional artifacts serving musical performance; at the same time, they are powerful means of expression of social and cultural experiences. This duality has been the underlying analytical presupposition in recent ethnomusicological literature that attempts to construct a field for the cultural study of musical instruments in various musical traditions (e.g. Dawe 2003; Qureshi 2000; Racy 1994).¹ Seen from this perspective, musical instruments constitute dynamic cultural objects endowed with meaning. In fact, they embody multiple and diverse meanings and memories that due to their aforementioned nature have the ability to preserve (Qureshi 2000: 110-111). Drawing on this theoretical perspective, this paper attempts an overview of the *kemençe*'s trajectory in Turkish classical music, focusing on the multiple meanings it carries and their relation to Turkey's cultural history in the context of the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic. Rather than a linear narrative of the *kemençe*'s history from the end of the nineteenth century throughout the twentieth century, I will attempt a narrative structured around three different themes relevant to the history of the instrument: its mediated forms, its various re-contextualizations

* Department of Turkish and Modern Asian Studies, University of Athens

1 I am grateful to Konstantina Adrianopoulou and Eleni Kallimopoulou for their invaluable comments on aspects of this paper.

and, thirdly, the acts of remembrance of the instrument's past. Thereby, I would like to highlight the multiplicities and complexities of the instrument's history, while also suggesting its relation to the contemporary creative processes in Turkish classical music.

The kemençe mediated

The *kemençe* is in a sense a 'modern' musical instrument in the history of Turkish classical music. In addition to that, as this article suggests, it is an instrument closely related to Turkish modernity.² This modernist identity of the *kemençe*, one can argue, lies primarily in its extensive encounter in the late days of the Ottoman Empire with a medium emblematic of modernity, the recording industry. It is widely acknowledged that the *kemençe* found its way into the newly established recording industry of the late Ottoman Empire due to the prodigious musician Tanburi Cemil Bey (1871-1916). It was Cemil Bey's "sole devotion of his existence" to the *kemençe* towards the end of his life, as Mahmud Demirhan observes (Cemil 2002 [1947]: 129) that gave birth to the *kemençe*'s 'mediated life' in the twentieth century.³ Since that moment, the numerous recordings of instrumental and vocal pieces recorded by Tanburi Cemil Bey on the *kemençe*, have been endlessly passed down from one generation of musicians to the other. In the hands of musicians, these recordings have been the subject of careful listening, meticulous studying, and deep discussions and analyses. Yet, more than anything else, every single reproduction of these recordings has been for musicians an occasion for triggering "affective cultural memories" and for linking to the past, or to put it better, to the multiple and diverse 'pasts' that the *kemençe* embodies (Qureshi 2000: 811).

It is important at this point to stress that the aforementioned cultural memories are memories of a rather recent past. In contrast to musical instruments like the tanbur and the ney which have a longer history in the Ottoman court performance tradition, and consequently of more 'solid past', dating at least since the seventeenth century, the *kemençe* was adopted by Istanbul's Ottoman musical milieu only in the beginning of the twentieth century (Feldman 1996: 132). Within the corpus of Tanburi Cemil Bey's recorded repertoire, the cases where the *kemençe* was somehow aligned to the performing tradition of the Ottoman court were those few examples of pre-nineteenth century compositions, like, for instance, the *Segâh Karabatak Peşrev* by Kemanî Hızır Ağa (d. 1760?) and the *Gülizar Peşrev* by Tanburî İzak (1745?-1814). Aside from these recordings of pieces by classical court composers, the majority of the repertoire recorded by Tanburi Cemil Bey's on the *kemençe* consists of late nineteenth century compositions, his own pieces in the instrumental forms *peşrev* and *saz semaisi* and numerous *taksim*s and *gazels*; in other words, the current light urban *fasıl* repertoire style of his time (Orfeon Record).⁴

However, the most modernist feature of the mediated form of the *kemençe*— that is, the *kemençe* as sound captured in tangible recordings – lies in the radical nature of the medium itself

² For a critical discussion and relevant literature on Turkish modernity, see Bozdoğan et al. (1997) and Çınar (2005).

³ For an overview of Cemil Bey's career in the recording industry of Istanbul, see Ünlü (2004: 192:207).

⁴ Apart from the *kemençe* recordings of Tanburi Cemil Bey for the Orfeon Records, there are also eight items recorded for Disques Favorite. However, these are all *taksim* recordings. I am indebted to Risto Pekka Penanen for sharing with me the catalogue of Disques Favorite.

and in its impact on the “acoustic ecology” of the twentieth century (Clarke 2007). The acousmatic character of recorded music, based on the detachment of sound from its generating source has, as Clarke observes (2007: 67), led to the advancement of ‘intensely solitary listening’, overtly altering the contemporary auditory experience. This type of ‘private’ musical encounter describes fairly the way Turkish classical music, and particularly the *kemençe*, has been transmitted throughout most of the twentieth century.⁵ More specifically, the transmission of the *kemençe* in the twentieth century was, to a large extent, based on mediated sound. Comparing to the *tanbur*, where there is a stronger notion of transmission through musical apprenticeship, as well as through recordings, the art of performance of the *kemençe* has been essentially passed down through the recordings of Tanburi Cemil Bey. At the top of the lineage of contemporary *kemençe* players, Ruşen Ferit Kam (1902-1981) is among the first to be initiated in the art of the instrument through the meticulous listening to the recordings by Tanburi Cemil Bey, memorizing and commenting on every fine aspect of his performances.⁶ In addition to Cemil Bey’s recordings, since 1926 the *kemençe* took another mediated form, that of the radio broadcasts. Radio broadcasts together with recordings played a vital role in the overall transformation of contemporary *meşk* (Aksoy 2002: 333). As the master of *kemençe* Cüneyd Orhon observes with regard to his personal learning experience and the radio: “Like today’s ‘imaginary teachers’ on the Internet, in my twenties, the radio was an imaginary teacher to me” (Orhon, in Aksoy 2009: 19). This quote, confirms Clarke’s observation on the solitary element of the contemporary auditory experience, extending the argument on the impact of the acousmatic effect on the transmission and learning of the *kemençe*.

However, there is also a communal angle in the case of recorded music that is very significant, for it is related to the way the notion of ‘performance school’ has been constituted in the field of Turkish classical music in the twentieth century. More specifically, in the absence of a solid transmission line through apprenticeship, the widely distributed recordings functioned as the bonding element between the various musicians that formed Cemil Bey’s school of performance (*Tanburi Cemil Bey’in ekolü*).⁷ This is the case where, as Qureshi eloquently puts it, “the sound of music can create bonds of shared responses”, which consequently endow the sound “with a social existence coded as identity...and with shared associations and connotations coded as aesthetics...” (Qureshi 2000: 810-811).

In the Turkish case, this shared and extroverted experiencing of past sound that was provided by the recordings, apart from its obvious bonding quality, functioned also as a powerful model for creativity for the next generations of musicians, launching a genealogy of innovative instances in the history of Turkish classical music. The best example of this is the gradual development of the novel

5 Turkish classical music was officially included in the curriculum of a state educational institution in 1975, when the Istanbul Turkish Music State Conservatory (İstanbul *Türk Musikisi Devlet Konservatuari*) was founded. Since 1982, Turkish Music State Conservatory has merged with Istanbul Technical University (İstanbul *Teknik Üniversitesi*) (<http://www.tmdk.itu.edu.tr/index.php?p=news&newsid=42>, accessed 31 January 2011). The absence of official teaching of Turkish classical music up until the foundation of the Turkish Music State Conservatory was largely covered by the internal training programmes of the national radio (Feldman 1996: 16).

6 As Nazmi Özalp observes: “...there was no other cure than the available ‘teacher-like’ gramophone records of Cemil Bey” (Özalp 1995: 81). All translations from Turkish are mine.

7 For the the notion of ‘performance school’ in the case of Tanburi Cemil Bey, see Poulos (2011).

genre of group improvisation (*beraber taksim*), which was largely a result of joint listening sessions of musicians to the gramophone records of Tanburi Cemil Bey (Poulos 2006: 166-170). Among the celebrated duets and trios studying carefully together Cemil Bey's recordings and practicing skillfully the art of group improvisation were Ruşen Ferit Kam and Mesud Cemil (Özalp 1995: 79), followed later by Necdet Yaşar, Niyazi Sayın and İhsan Özgen and currently by Derya Türkan and Murat Aydemir. In the intensive listening sessions of these musicians the recorded *kemençe* 'produced', in a sense, the school of performance of Tanburi Cemil Bey, as it allowed musicians to "sustain identification" with his performance art (Qureshi 2000: 829). At the same time, it generated new patterns of music making and creativity, reproducing, in a way, its very modernist past. Therefore, the *kemençe*'s modernist past, it can be argued, lies in the historical coincidence of a dynamic encounter between the prolific artistry of Tanburi Cemil Bey and those social and cultural consequences of a highly transitional period of the Ottoman society, like for instance the unpredictable professional prospect offered by the recording industry or by the soloist music career (O'Connell 2002: 757-758). In this context, Tanburi Cemil Bey, among a number of other innovative choices, recorded a couple of eighteenth century Ottoman court compositions with an urban-folk instrument, initially functioning in the context of entertainment. This brings us straight to the issue of the re-contextualization of the *kemençe*.

The *kemençe* re-contextualized

The roots of the *kemençe* in the entertainment culture of Istanbul and its association to the *kaba saz* ensembles are well known. The social context in which these ensembles operated was initially musical taverns (*meyhanes*), serving alcohol and run in their majority by non-Muslims, and the performance occasion was mainly entertainment that frequently included dance (Koçu 2003 [1946]). This context is well depicted, as early as 1793, at an illustration of the *Hübnâme ve Zenannâme* by Enderunî Fazıl (1759-1810) (Feldman 1996: 131). *Kaba saz* ensembles with one or two *lavtas*, a *kemençe* and some kind of percussion instrument are spotted in various *meyhanes* of Istanbul throughout the nineteenth century and up until the first quarter of the twentieth century. The repertoire of these ensembles consisted of the lively dancing genres '*köçekçe ve tavşanca*', as well as of various folk musical genres from the Aegean islands (Özalp 2000a: 228) and mainland Greece, like *kalamatianó* and *kléftiko* (Cemil 2002 [1947]: 166).

The *kaba saz* and the *kemençe*, in particular, were strongly associated with the festivities of the Greek-Orthodox (Rum) community like the carnival (Greek *Apokriá*). The need for *kemençe* due to the forthcoming carnival was the reason why the famous *kemençe* player Vasil (d. 1907) joined the ensemble of Civan and Andon (İnal 1958: 383). This ensemble is recorded performing during carnival in one of Ahmet Rasim's texts, which is quoted in the entry on 'Carnival Masquerades' (Turkish *Apukurya Maskraları*) in the legendary *Istanbul Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul Encyclopaedia) edited by Reşad Ekrem Koçu (1959: 900). In the same entry, there is a reference to a similar ensemble of the Concordia *gazino*,⁸ consisting of Akribaz on the *kemençe*, Lambo on the *lavta* and the Arab İbrahim on the *def* (Koçu 1959: 897). Ensembles of this type reached their heyday towards

8 This was a luxurious music night-club (*gazino*) run by the Greeks Andréas Leivadas and Andréas Xenátos from 1870s up until the beginning of the twentieth century, and was located in the Grand Rue de Pera, at the place where today stands the catholic church of Saint Antoine (Bózi 2002: 274).

the end of the nineteenth century, particularly in the area of Galata and Pera where the number of *meyhanes* of the urban-folk type were significantly increased (Bózi 2002: 272).

As Feldman observes (1996: 131), the notion of 'lower-class' element embedded in this type of entertainment, which is consequently attributed to the *kemençe* and its sound, is preserved in the Rauf Yekta's monograph written in 1921, which describes the *kemençe* sound as 'rude'. Indeed, the urban-folk roots of the *kemençe* are illustrated, among other sources, in a reference to a "wandering" *kemençe* player from whom *kemençeci* Vasil's learned to play the instrument (İnal 1958: 383). However, for the historian of Turkish music Nazmi Özalp the element of entertainment of the *kaba saz* has been the unifying feature between the members of various social strata of Ottoman Istanbul and consequently, *kaba saz* performances acted as a 'bridge' between the lower and upper classes (Özalp 2000a: 228). Indeed, this is well demonstrated by various references to the *meyhane* culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which indicate that members of an Ottoman elite consisting of civil servants and bureaucrats were among those who frequented the *meyhanes* of Topkapı and Yenikapı (Koçu 1960: 553). Such an incident is recorded by Mesud Cemil in his book *Tanburi Cemil'in Hayatı*: Cemil Bey with his friends leave spontaneously late at night the house of the counselor Tevfik Paşa's son-in-law in Şişli in order to go to a *meyhane* in Langa, at the other side of the Golden Horn (Cemil 2002 [1947]: 165).

The intercultural and socially diverse context of the *meyhanes* was quite evident towards the end of the nineteenth century, particularly at the districts of Galata and Pera. Under the new western-style municipal organization launched in 1857, Galata and Pera,⁹ inhabited by a culturally and socially 'extremely diverse' non-Muslim population developed into the entrepreneurial, diplomatic and entertainment centre of the capital (Rosenthal 1982: 369-371; Eldem 2005 [1999]: 203). In this context, French style restaurants coexisted with the *baraka* (hut)¹⁰ of the celebrated Kiryazís brothers (İnal 1958: 283). The strong identification of Galata as the Europeanized quarter of the city made it also an attractive social option for Muslim inhabitants of some socio-economic standing (Eldem 2005 [1999]: 204). It is in the context of the very transitional social circumstances of the late Ottoman Istanbul that Tanburi Cemil Bey and *kemençeci* Vasil's musical acquaintance took place and developed into a mixed relationship of long friendship and apprenticeship on the *kemençe*. Through this relationship, the *kemençe* apart from its obvious mediating role between diverse social strata was endowed with those meanings stemming of cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism of the late Ottoman Istanbul. These particular meanings, as will be shown later on, will be among those recalled in the 1940s in the form of nostalgia.

These types of intercultural encounters were not restricted to the context of public entertainment but were at the same time extended to the *konaks* and *yalis* of the late Ottoman

9 For a comprehensive survey on the urban transformation of Istanbul in the nineteenth century, see also Çelik (1993).

10 İnal at this point is, obviously, referring to a rather basic foundation owned by the celebrated family of musicians. However, Bózi (2002: 277) mentions that, according to the Greek press of Istanbul, in December 1898 Christákis Kyriazís was leading an ensemble of 'oriental' music at the luxuriously decorated music night-club "I Eptálofos" in Taksim.

élites, various private musical gatherings (Aksoy 1985: 1228). For instance, *kemençeci* Vasil was among the *piyasa* (music entertainment market) musicians, performing at the *meyhane* of the Kyriazi brothers mentioned earlier and at the popular *mayhane* “Café Couronne” of the Rum Pétros Petsákis (Bózi 2002: 272), and at the same time invited to perform at private musical gatherings. His social versatility is eloquently described by Mahmud Demirhan in the following way: “...he was a man brought up in the rules of conduct (*âdâb-ı muâşeret*) of the great *sarays* and *konaks*” (Demirhan, in Cemil 2002 [1947]: 127). In the context of private musical gatherings, the *kemençe* performed alongside the classical *tanbur* and the *ud*, lighter genres of the *fasıl* form of the *ince saz* repertoire. The private musical gathering played a pivotal role in the re-contextualization of the *kemençe* from an urban-folk instrument associated with the social sphere of entertainment to a musical instrument of the urban elite, performing light Ottoman music. This class re-contextualization of the *kemençe* can be further seen in the inclusion of the instrument in private musical tuition in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Yet, on a symbolic level, the most emblematic incident marking this shift is Tanburi Cemil Bey’s choice to perform in front of Sultan Abdülhamid (r. 1876-1909) with the *kemençe*, rather than the *tanbur*, the *Marş-ı Sultani* accompanied on the piano by Devlet Efendi (Cemil 2002 [1947]: 103).

The reformist politics of the period after the Second Constitution (*İkinci Meşrutiyet*) in 1908 are marked on the musical sphere by the foundation of the *Darü'l-Bedâi-i-Osmanî*, later renamed into *Dârü'l-Elhan*. The establishment of the first Ottoman public music educational institution was a monumental act in the contemporary history of institutionalization and classicization of the Ottoman musical tradition. In this novel context, Oriental music (*şark musikisi*) gains a designated equal position, right opposite to its counterpart genre, Western music (*garp musikisi*). Apart from a clearly stated curriculum and a theoretical backup provided by Rauf Yekta Bey, Ottoman music had its representative musical instruments taught by celebrated instructors of the time. Next to the Turkish style *keman*, the *ney*, the *tanbur*, the *santur*, the *ud* and the *kanun* there is also the *kemençe*. This inclusion signified the beginning of the *kemençe*’s institutional life that is its presence in an educational context that adhered to the modernizing needs of the Second Constitutional period. Consequently, this inclusion meant practically the launching of permanent employment opportunities for *kemençe* instructors. Therefore, *Dârü'l-Elhan* becomes until the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 a further unifying context for the members of Tanburi Cemil Bey’s lineage. More specifically, following the death of Tanburi Cemil Bey, who was among the first permanent staff of *Dârü'l-Elhan* at the founding period, Ruşen Ferit Kam took up the position of the *kemençe* instructor (Özalp 2000a: 66-74). In 1922, a less renowned, female *kemençe* player, who had actually taken private lessons on the instrument by Cemil Bey, Samiye Cahid Morkaya, after winning the entry exams became a *kemençe* instructor at the *Dârü'l-Elhan* (Bardakçı 2001).

The institutionalized trajectory of the *kemençe* carries on into the Turkish Republic (1923) via the newly established radio. The first radio station was established in 1926 in Istanbul by *Telsiz Telefon Türk Anonim Şirketi* (hereafter TTTAŞ)¹¹ and functioned from the top floor of the *Büyük Postahane* (Grand Post Office) in Sirkeci until 1934 when it moved to Beyoğlu (Kocabaşoğlu 1980).

11 After the collaboration of the Labor Bank (*İş Bankası*) and the Anatolian Agent (Anadolu Ajansı).

Up until 1936, when the radio passed into state administration, the Istanbul station was marked by the prodigious presence of Mesud Cemil who was responsible for the Turkish music section. For the purposes of music broadcasts TTTAŞ employed a number of permanent musicians (*daimi sazende*), as well as occasional 'visiting' artists (*ekistra*). Among the permanent staff was Ruşen Ferit Kam who together with Mesud Cemil (*tanbur*), Vecihe Daryal (*kanun*), and Cevdet Kozanoğlu (*ud*) formed the *Telsiz Telefon Stüdyo Alaturka Musikî Heyeti* (Kocabaşoğlu 1980: 85-86).¹² This quartet became responsible for shaping the aesthetics of the performance of Turkish classical music and for creating a distinct music style both during the first period and later, while they all served the Ankara Radio Station. In fact, the *Alaturka Musikî Heyeti* represented the more 'classical' aspect of the Ottoman musical repertoire, as opposed to the *Fasil Heyeti* that was associated with the entertainment part, and could be found in the music domain of the night-clubs. The *Fasil Heyeti* consisted of violin, clarinet, *ud*, *kanun*, and singer (Kozanoğlu 1988: 5-8).

This distinction on musical style, supported by the institutional division of ensembles, marked the gradual classicization of the Ottoman musical genre within the context of the Turkish Republic. The process of classicization was further intensified since 1936 under the new administration with the introduction of a formal standardized training, classification of repertoire, and disciplined performance vehicles. *Kemençe* players like Kemal Niyazi Seyhun and Fahire Fersan, who were employed later on, contributed in the educational aspect of the music training programs by teaching repertoire. It is within the process of classicization that current concepts such as 'dignity' (*vukur*), 'seriousness' (*ağır başlılık*), and 'discipline' (*disiplin*), frequently employed by musicians in the description of style, originated (Feldman 1996: 499-500). In this process, the *kemençe*, following its earlier history of continuous re-contextualizations, was placed into the 'classical' camp. Through this 'placing' the *kemençe* was endowed with a further meaning; that of a classical instrument, which became its predominant contemporary identity within the history of 'Turkish classical music'.

Within the process of classicization, the *kemençe* has been further used to convey the ideological and aesthetical values of the music modernizers; these were novel meanings embodied, this time, in the physical dimension of the *kemençe*. The reference here is to Hüseyin Sadettin Arel's innovative experiment in 1933, known as the '*kemençe beşlemesi*'. This act, that aimed towards the construction of an equivalent of the violin family in western classical music, despite its heavily symbolic intention and its restricted reception is an act registered in the long genealogy of creativity and innovation in *kemençe*'s contemporary history.

The *kemençe* remembered

Through the history of the *kemençe*'s mediated forms and of its continuous re-contextualizations emerges a very dynamic narrative of changes, innovative accumulations, displacements and replacements. Throughout this trajectory, the *kemençe* is endowed with new meanings that are mounted on past ones. Certain types of repertoire are gradually abandoned for the sake of new ones and the instrument's function changes while it moves from one social context to another.

¹² The Western music section consisted of the *Telsiz Telefon Stüdyo Orkestrası*, which was under the direction of a person by the name Popof. Although Mesud Cemil was in charge of the Turkish section, he also took part in chamber music programs as a cellist (Kocabaşoğlu 1980: 85-86).

However, to return to Qureshi's point, musical instruments have the ability to retain cultural, as well as social memory due to the special "materials memory" they possess (Qureshi 2000: 811). This property makes them function, in a way, as means of preservation of the past. One can also add that musical instruments are successful in retaining cultural and social memory because they have the ability to 'remind' audiences of what has been forgotten in performance. Alongside the things that they preserve, they can also evoke those elements that have been abandoned.

The above type of remembrance takes usually the form of statements expressing certain nostalgia for forgotten and abandoned performance practices. These statements are in fact acts of nostalgia that indicate preference for certain, rather than other, layers of a musical instrument's thick past. In 1946, for instance, Mahmud Demirhan remembers the *kemençe's* forgotten past of the *köçekçe* repertoire in the following way:

Today they (*köçekçe*) cannot be heard any more; these we are listening to nowadays, neither from the point of view of tempo nor of the coherence of their melodies can be called *köçekçe*. This type of national melodies of ours whose many pieces had been essentially lost by the time of Vasil, they were altogether done away with after his death, they died together with him. Nowadays neither this kind of *kemençe* and *lavta* players, nor singers have left anymore. (Demirhan, in Cemil 2002 [1947]: 128)

What is being commemorated here, one can argue, is not only the loss of the art of the performance of the *köçekçe* repertoire that was carried by musicians like Vasil, but even more a certain historical phase of Istanbul, which has radically changed since the beginning of the twentieth century. It is actually the period after the *Tanzimat* and up until the establishment of the Turkish Republic, that the Muslim and non-Muslim empowered bourgeoisie contributed in turning Istanbul into a centre of entertainment, in which music occupied a central role (Stokes 1999: 125). Among a number of things that changed since that time are also the social and professional patterns of entertainment in which musicians like Vasil were operating.

Mahmud Demirhan's statement makes a reference to Istanbul's imperial multicultural past, a feature of the Ottoman Empire that was incompatible with the nationalist project of the Republican period up until the 1950s (Keyder 1999: 10). This act of remembrance of the *kemençe's* forgotten past, evokes Istanbul's multicultural and cosmopolitan past as a situated experience, or according to Martin Stokes, as a "construction of place" (1994: 7). Drawing on Amy Mill's study on the social memory in Istanbul, similar to the *mahalle*, the nostalgia for the early twentieth century Istanbul of the multicultural and cosmopolitan Galata and Pera districts and of the Rum musicians, fills the need for a collectivity that covers the gap of alienation in the postmodern city, while at the same time it constitutes a critical response to nationalism (Mills 2006: 386-387)

Interestingly, the phenomenon of reclaiming Istanbul's cosmopolitanism via music has been intensified in the last years through the re-mastering of historical recordings, including those of *kemençe* (CD, Kalan 2005). The escalating circulations of these, digital nowadays, sound recordings

of *kemençe* among musicians and music aficionados have contributed to the initiation of a number of innovative musical projects were the Ottoman musical past is being revisited, rethought and rearticulated in musical terms (e.g. İhsan Özgen 1995). This process of 're-cosmopolitanization' (Stokes 2007: 8), has an important impact in sustaining the long genealogy of creativity and innovation that goes back at least to Tanburi Cemil Bey and which, has been 'safely' carried on through the *kemençe*, throughout the twentieth century as one of its deeply embodied cultural meanings.

Conclusion

In this paper, I tried to address issues of meaning and memory in the history of the *kemençe* in the twentieth century. Moreover, through my analysis I intended to highlight the relation between the *kemençe*'s multiple meanings and the creative processes in Turkish classical music. These meanings, often opposite and contradicting, form the background of a genealogy of creative instances throughout the history of the instrument. This type of analysis of the history of the *kemençe* aims to illustrate the cultural dynamics that musical instruments embody and at the same time, shed light on certain aspect of Turkish cultural history.

References

- Aksoy, Bülent. 1985. "Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Musıkive Batılama". *Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, eds. Murat Belge and Fahri Aral: 1211-1236. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- _____. 2002. "Cumhuriyet Döneminde Devlet Radyosunun Türk Musikîsi Üzerindeki Etkileri". *Türkler*, 18: 329-337.
- _____. (ed.) 2009. *Cüneyd Orhon. Cüneyd Orhon Anlatıyor: Radyo Günlerim*. Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık.
- Bardakçı Murat 2001. "Tekkede Doğan İlk Kadın Rallicimiz". <http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2001/11/20/52733.asp> (accessed 31 January 2011).
- Bozdoğan, Sibel, Reşat Kasaba (eds). 1997. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.
- Bózi, Soúla. 2002. *O Ellinismós tis Konstantinoúpolis. Koinótita Stavrodromíou-Péran 19os -20osAíonas*. Athens: Elliniká Grámmata.
- Cemil, Mes'ud. 2002 [1947]. *Tanburî Cemil'in Hayâtı*. Istanbul: Kubbealtı Neşriyatı.
- Clarke, Eric F. 2007. "The Impact of Recordings on Listening". *Twentieth-century Music*, 4 (1): 47-70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Çelik, Zeynep. 1993. *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkley and Los Angeles: University of California.
- Çınar, Alev. 2005. *Modernity, Islam, and Secularism in Turkey: Bodies, Places, and Time*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.
- Dawe, Kevin. 2003. "The Cultural Study of Musical Instruments". *The Cultural Study of Music* eds. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton: 274-283. London: Routledge.

- Eldem, Edhem. 2005 [1999]. "Istanbul: From Imperial to Peripheralized Capital". *The Ottoman City Between East and West*, eds. Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman and Bruce Masters: 135-206. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Feldman, Walter. 1996. *Music of the Ottoman Court: Makam, Composition and the Early Ottoman Instrumental Repertoire* (Intercultural Music Studies, 10). Berlin: VWB- Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung.
- İnal, İbnülemin M. K. 1958. *HoşSada: Son Asır Türk Müsikişinasları*. İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi.
- Keyder, Çağlar. 1999. "The Setting". *Istanbul. Between the Global and the Local*, ed. Çağlar Keyder: 3-28. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Kocabaşoğlu, Uygur. 1980. *Şirket Telsizinden Devlet Radyosuna: TRT Öncesi Dönemde Radyonun Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Türk Siyasal Hayatı İçindeki Yeri*. İstanbul: S.B.F. Basın ve Yayın Yüksek Okulu Basımevi.
- Kozanoğlu, Cevdet. 1988. *Radyo Hatıralarım*. Ankara: TRT Müzik Dairesi Yayınları.
- Koçu, Reşad Ekrem. 1959. "Apukurya Maskaraları". *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. II, ed. Reşad Ekrem Koçu: 891-901. İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat Kolektif Şirketi.
- _____. 1960. "Akşamcı, Akşamcılar". *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol. III, ed. Reşad Ekrem Koçu: 551-556. İstanbul: İstanbul Ansiklopedisi ve Neşriyat Kolektif Şirketi.
- _____. 2003 [1946]. *Eski İstanbul'da Meyhaneler ve Meyhane Köçekleri*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitap.
- Mills, Amy. 2006. "Boundaries of the Nation in the Space of the Urban: Landscape and Social Memory in Istanbul". *Cultural Geographies*, 13: 367-394. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- O'Connell, John M. 2002. "Snapshot: Tanburi Cemil Bey". *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: The Middle East*, vol. VI, eds. Virginial Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds: 757-758. New York and London: Routledge.
- Özalp, M. Nazmi. 1995. *Biyografi: Ruşen Ferit Kam*. İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Basımevi.
- 2000a. *Türk Müsikîsi Tarihi*, vols I. İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- _____. 2000b. *Türk Müsikîsi Tarihi*, vols II. İstanbul: Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Poulos, Panagiotis. 2006. *Inheriting Innovation: A Study of Taksim within a 20th Century Lineage of Turkish Tanbur Players*. PhD. Dissertation. University of London, London: U.K.
- _____. 2011. "Rethinking Orality in Turkish Classical Music: A Genealogy of Contemporary Musical Assemblages". *Middle Eastern Journal of Culture and Communication*, 4: 164-183. Leiden: Brill
- Qureshi, Regula. 2000. "How Does Music Mean? Embodied Memories and the Politics of Affect in the Indian *Sarang*". *American Ethnologist*, 27 (4): 805-838. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing.
- Racy, Ali Jihad. 1994. "A Dialectical Perspective on Musical Instruments: The East- Mediterranean *Mijwiz*". *Ethnomusicology*, 38 (1): 37-57. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press
- Rosenthal, Steven. 1982. "Minorities and the Municipality Reform in Istanbul, 1850-1870". *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, vol. I, eds. Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis: 369-385. New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers.

- Stokes, Martin. 1994. "Introduction: Ethnicity, Identity and Music". *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*, ed. Martin Stokes: 1-27. Oxford/Providence, USA: Berg.
- _____ 1999. "Sounding out. The Culture Industries and the Globalization of Istanbul". *Istanbul. Between the Global and the Local*, ed. Çağlar Keyder: 121-139. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- _____ 2007. "On Musical Cosmopolitanism", *The Macalester International Roundtable 2007, Paper 3*. <http://digitalcommons.mcalester.edu/intlrtable/>
- Ünlü, Cemal. 2004. *Git Zaman Gel Zaman. Fonograf-Gramofon-Taş Plak..* Istanbul: Pan.

Record Catalogues

Orfeon Record: Catalogue Special, Tambouri Djemil Bey (sic), [no date].

Discography

- Aksoy, Bülent (edited by) 2005. *Kemençe*, Türk Müziği Ustaları series, Kalan, Turkey.
- Özgen, İhsan and Anatolia 1995. *Ege ve Balkan Dansları*, Kalan, Turkey.