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The IDEOLOGY OF MUSICAL PRACTICE AND THE PROFESSIONAL TURKISH FOLK MUSICIAN: TEMPERING THE CREATIVE IMPULSE

by
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Turkish folk musical culture has undergone a significant transformation in the past 50 years. Formerly restricted to the insular environment of culturally diverse rural communities, the folk music idiom has developed a highly visible and professional image in a modern, secular, and urbanized society. A new breed of highly skilled and institutionally trained folk music specialists helps project and reinforce the elevated status of regional musical forms of expression in the urban environment. These traditions are supported through state-controlled radio and television programs and the commercial recording and entertainment industries.

A brief overview of certain developments in Turkish history is extremely helpful for understanding factors that contributed to the present status of urbanized folk musical culture, the new directions it has taken, and the concerns of professional musicians who are struggling to revitalize it without disturbing the very foundations of its musical system. For example, a major turning point occurred almost seventy years ago when Kemal Atatürk and his associates set out to implement the ideological campaigns and institutional reforms that would help establish and maintain social changes in a new nation state, the secular Republic of Turkey. The primary aim of Atatürk's so-called "ideological revolution" was to create "an integrated society that blended basic Turkish values with an overlay of Western civilization" (Spencer: 653). Atatürk's inspiration for such revolutionary concepts and theories was Ziya Gökalp (d. 1925), a social theorist who promoted a national identity ideology that emphasized the elimination of cultural cleavage separating the Ottoman palace elite and the majority populace by looking back to a Central Asian Genesis.[1] In defiance of the Arabic and Persian influenced high art literature and music much loved by the Ottoman ruling class, Gökalp and his entourage of young nationalist intellectuals, the Young Turks, believed that one of the first steps in creating a new national culture was to tap the roots of unspoiled Turkish folk culture, its legends, proverbs, epics, and poetry. A primary source for such expressive culture was to be found in the

minstrels of Anatolia. They were seen as a folk elite, heroes whose living traditions embodied the "Turkish ideal" (Berkes: 85)

Although he valued folk culture and was active in folklore research, one of Gökalp's main strategies in consolidating a true national culture was the creation of a national Turkish music shaped by a synthesis of traditional folk music with principles borrowed from the European art musical system. According to Gökalp:

> Our national music, therefore, is to be born from a synthesis of our folk music and Western music. Our folk music provides us with a rich treasure of melodies. By collecting and arranging them on a basis of Western techniques, we shall have built a national and modern music . . . . . It is the task of our composers to bring this aim to fruition.
>
> (Berkes: 300, 301)

The Kemalist government instituted logical and practical measures to hasten the appearance of the new national music alluded to by Gökalp. Western music was added to the curriculum of the Istanbul Conservatory of Music in 1923, and became the main focus of study at the newly-founded Ankara Conservatory of Music in 1924.[2] Three years later, young talent was recruited from the Istanbul and Ankara conservatories to study abroad on state scholarships. The delegation included Adnan Saygun and Ulvi Cemal Erkin who belonged to a group of composers known as "The Five."[3] When Saygun and Erkin returned home from their studies, they set about refining the storehouse of raw materials available to them from traditional culture, and refashioned them within the mould of Western functional harmony. The two composers also took part in full-scale expeditions for the collection of folk music that were organized and sponsored by the Istanbul Municipal Conservatory (Istanbul Belediye Konservatuvarı) between 1926 and 1929, and by the Ankara State Conservatory (Ankara Devlet Konservatuvarı) between 1936 and 1952 (Ülkütaşir 1973).[4] Muzaffer Sarısözen, a folk music specialist and member of the research teams, was responsible for the archives of the Ankara Conservatory of Music and during that time transcribed many of the recordings made during the field trips. These notations were later used by Sarısözen to train radio musicians for weekly broadcasts of the state radio program "Yurttan Sesler" (Melodies from

Our Homeland) that continues to be one of the most popular programs today (Kayabalı and Arslanoğlu: 44).

It was with the establishment of state radio in 1937 that the dissemination of folk music traditions to a wider public became a priority for the state. Then, musicians were recruited into the radio by Muzaffer Sarisözen, who acted as a talent scout, hand-picking regional performers who displayed exceptional talent. The chosen few were placed under Sarısözen's tutelage and subjected to a rigorous program in which they were drilled in solfege, ear training, dictation, sight singing, and instrumental and vocal techniques, as well as regional repertoires and styles.[5]

Today, folk music performers can be trained at a number of conservatories, private music schools, folk arts clubs and associations, and at state-controlled radio stations in the major urban areas of the country.[6] This training helps prepare them for a wide range of freelance or full-time jobs as performers for national radio and television; cassette and phonograph companies; nightclubs, entertainment and concert halls; and festivals and private gatherings. They are also qualified to work as teachers in schools, conservatories, private music studios, and amateur folk music clubs; or as administrators, broadcasters, writers, and academics.

Folk music has found a niche for itself as a respected musical force in Turkish society today, but it faces two contradictory challenges. Members of the folk music establishment and extended community (which includes government officials, educators, journalists, and entrepreneurs, as well as performers) have expressed their concern about the state of the art of urban professional performance practice that seems to have become far-removed from its rural origins.[7] At the heart of a growing ideological discourse that permeates the community is the fear of losing regional modes of authentic musical performance that continue to become diluted through changes in the traditional transmission of folk musical repertoire and the continued urbanization and specialization of performers. Music specialists concede that the musical awareness of urban-based musicians has been broadened through exposure to communications media and the recording and entertainment industries. As a result, the desires of such enlightened musicians for experimentation will increase, particularly if they are endowed with great potential for creative behavior. The performers may then

choose to abandon regional idiomatic paradigms (*yöresel tavır ve üslûp*; lit., regional techniques and styles [of performance]) and develop a more personal, pan-Turkish style.

Another important factor that further affects the community's struggle to maintain the identity it has established for itself in Turkish society is the need to compete for the attention of a highly diversified public which has developed a preference for a new popular music genre known as *arabesk*, an Arabo-Turkish concoction that professes to fulfill the ideals of a truly "Turkish" national music. *Arabesk* has been interpreted as the degenerate music that appeals to a counterculture of acculturating urban migrants living a marginal existence in the squatter settlements of Turkey's major cities. The words of this genre appeal to uprooted villagers and others with their themes of alienation, resignation to fate, separation from loved ones, and unrequited love.

It is understandable that this "alien cultural artifact" poses a threat not only to the folk music community, but also to the very soul of Kemalist ideology (Stokes 1989: 27). In fact, the acute intellectual crisis Arabesk has created for government and urban intelligentsia was reflected in papers presented at the First Music Congress sponsored by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism that was held in Ankara in June of 1988. A prevailing statement that frequently surfaced at the congress was that Atatürk's "musical revolution" had not been entirely successful. Its failure could be demonstrated by the fact that the cultural vacuum in Turkish society alluded to by Gökalp had been filled not with the proposed new national fusion music, but with the hated *arabesk*, a genre that embodied the ideals and aesthetic of a predominantly foreign Eastern element.[8]

In the face of the ideological problems sketched above, the folk music community feels obliged to serve as a bastion, a symbol for a truly Central Asian Turkic cultural past. The community values the preservation of traditional means of musical expression, and opposes the views of spokesmen from other musical domains who support concentrated efforts towards a synthesis of the Turkic folk musical heritage with elements of the Western art musical system. This preservationist stance eschews any tampering with the very foundations of the folk musical system, yet condones a strengthening and revitalization of the present image of folk musical performance to

meet the demands and expectations of musical peers, patrons, and public.

One cannot discount the fact that Turkish society has witnessed the emergence of many new manifestations of folk music traditions that have been absorbed and integrated into the fabric of Western-influenced Turkish art and popular musics as well as *arabesk.* The folk music community, however, views itself as a separate compartment, not unlike an ethnic enclave that is answerable to itself and its own system of mutual behavioral expectancies for musical performance. A code of ethics emerges that embodies an ideology of loyalty to tradition (*gelenek, görenek*) which allows some room for individualism (*yorum,* lit., interpretation) and acceptable innovation (*yenilik*). This loyalty is manifest in a commitment to regenerating authentic regional techniques (*yöresel tavır*) and regional styles (*yöresel üslûp*) of performance.[9]

In theory, we can interpret such orientations as being part of a prescriptive value system that discourages the competitive spirit, flexibility, and motivation (Bellah: 1; Kağitçibaşi: 9). In practice, however, artistic license is tolerated and one is able to witness occurrences of unique innovations that deviate from norms of expected behavior.

Ethics and Value Orientations in Performance Practice

In Turkey, each folk music specialist in solo performance engages in the process of recreating an idealized model from regional repertoire. In the past, this repertoire was transmitted orally from father to son (*babadan oğula*), or from master specialist to apprentice student *(ustadan çırağa).* Today, the medium for transmission can be a notated version, or taped or gramophone reproduction of a performance of a folk musical genre by regional musicians (*mahallî sanatçı*) or urban artists (*sanatçı, sanatkâr*). Musicians agree that everyone increases the variety of renditions (*çeşitlemek*) by producing variants (*çeşitleme; çatal*). The degree, however, of originality or skill displayed in each individual interpretation (*yorum*) of a known source can differ greatly — as each performer imposes his or her own breed of artistry and craftsmanship (*ustalık*) on regional musical variables. At the heart of the creative process, then, is compromise, as it is believed by most musicians that personal style should never distort identification with a known regional source.

Otherwise, a musical performance will not be accepted as genuine, but rather as concocted or made-up, and therefore, not acceptable.

An important criterion, therefore, for the evaluation of an authentic, and thus acceptable performance, is the ability to invoke distinctive regional melodic and rhythmic configurations, tonal systems, pitch deviations, ornamental devices, and expressive idiosyncrasies. It is believed that each musician merely contributes to the multi-faceted existence of regional prototypes by promoting their continued regeneration through new renditions that are assimilated into their ever-changing collective identity. The term *beste,* for example that means composition in the Western sense, has derogatory implications for the folk music community. The use of such a value judgement in criticism of a given performance suggests that the musician has assumed authorship, and composed new material that is **not** related to any known prototype. It is then believed that the protagonist engaged in such heretical behavior (*uydurma*) has indulged in an excess of creative experimentation, and in some ways betrayed his vows of loyalty to community ethics (*örf*).

True competence in regional stylistic conventions, performance techniques, and expressive idioms is believed to be synonymous with regional affiliation or identity. It is preferable that musicians actually grow up in rural areas and be raised with the country people. Then their performances will be identifiable with material indigenous to, and in the style of the locality whose repertoire they are performing, and therefore deserving of the evaluation, *tavırlı* (stylistically correct).[10] Only when performers have internalized the constituent units, forms, and meanings of a regional repertoire will their performances warrant credibility and acceptance. The attempt to master many regional repertoires is considered futile in that true quality and authenticity of interpretation are thought to be lost in the confusion of excess of knowledge. Such views are clearly expressed in the following words of Mustafa Özgül, an Ankara-based radio musician and conductor:

> Bir sanatçı, kendi bölgesini okursa, yöresine bir şeyler verebilir. Tum yörelere zorlanırsa, fayda yerine zararlı olur.
>
> (If a musician [established artist] performs repertoire from his own area of origin

> [expertise], then he can truly contribute something of worth to the musical culture of that area. If he struggles to perform repertoire from all regions, his contribution [to folk art] ceases to be useful; it can only be harmful.)
>
> (Özgül: 101)

The preceding statement suggests that if musicians are familiar with the structures and stylistic peculiarities of regional melodies (*yörenin ezgi yapısını iyi bilmek*, to know a regional melody well), and are able "to invoke the experience and spirit of a region's people" (*kalkın yaşantısı, ruhsal yapısı aklına geliyor*] because they have managed "to share a wide range of experiences with those people" (*halkın çektiği derdi yaşamak*), then their performances will be acceptable to that community (*halk kabul edecek*, the people will be accepting [of the performance]). Then, the people listening to that music will immediately recognize its regional flavor (*tat*), scent (*koku*), and overall regional identity.[11]

In present-day Turkey, it is difficult to conform to such idealistic views of regional affiliation. Many young educated musicians were born in urban areas and have had little exposure to life in the rural environment. These individuals learn standard pieces and songs from a pan-Turkish repertoire that has been documented, transcribed, and notated for the purposes of mass consumption. Nevertheless, if students decide to become professionals, they tend to select one or more regional affiliations that fit in with their performing abilities and creative dispositions. Then they will be expected to immerse themselves in the repertoire by listening to older and more recent recordings of regional artists, and even to make field excursions to their areas of interest to observe and record authentic performances by local musicians. This promotion of genuine "grassroots" modes of musical expression is reflected in recent concentrated efforts to feature talented regional performers more prominently in radio and television broadcasts, and also to include them in formal recitals and concerts.

The overall effect of a musical performance and its subsequent evaluation is dependent on the degree to which a musician chooses to pursue artistic license (*yorum yapmak; yorumlamak*, to interpret or to explain) or originality (*özgün bir yorum*, an original or genuine

interpretation) in his manipulation of traditional sources. A musician once told me that everyone engages in *yorum* during performance, but that an excess of it turns into "a degenerate form of music-making" (*uydurma*), a kind of "decadent art" where traditional modes of deviation are pursued for their own sake (Meyer: 71).

For *yorum* to be considered "correct" (*düzgün*), many urban professional musicians seem to agree on the following broad set of guidelines for ensuring acceptable performance: (1) create renditions of traditional folk materials that can be identified with a specific source or prototype; (2) do not interpolate stylistic conventions from one region into the structure of another region's musical inventory; (3) resist borrowing musical ideas, phrases, motifs or the like from one region and attaching them in patchwork fashion to musical genres from a totally unrelated region; (4) avoid excessive ornamentation (*kalabalık*, lit., cluttered) so that the basic contour of the melodic line is not disturbed; (5) when learning the musical repertoire of an unfamiliar region, listen to recordings of regional specialists before experimenting with individual interpretations of how given genres should be performed.[12]

In effect, most versions of traditional musical repertoires are subtle modifications that mix and match, decorate and vary elements of regional sources yet "retain the basic melodic design" (Herzog 1965: 169). When performances differ markedly from conventional behavior, the performance can be judged for its original (*özgün*) or innovative (*yenilik*) qualities. Originality is seen as a milder, and less threatening form of innovation, as it concerns the unique interpretation of old materials (as opposed to the introduction of new ideas) that are derived from authentic prototypes.

This is an appropriate moment to address the question of the Western concept of "innovation" and its approximate equivalent in Turkish folk musical culture, *yenilik*.[13] In the Turkish sense, innovation can be interpreted as meaning "variations within the limits of permissible behavior" (King: 168) that "elicit comment" (Barnett: 19) because of their novel character. Although this definition implies an acceptable form of original or novel variation in the Turkish traditional context, innovation is not accorded "supreme value" as it might in other musical cultures (Nettl: 33).

The Turkish community of folk music performers values innovations that "represent a degree of creativity yet have antecedents; are derived from one another, and are in some ways a recombination of things." (Barnett: 9). If a musician attempts to create something new, where the majority of elements have "little or no continuity with the past" (Murdock), the innovation is considered to be *uydurma* (made-up, concocted or invented), *cambazlık* (fraudulent) or *abartmalar* (exaggerated), and therefore questionable, or not acceptable.

For example, musicians such as virtuoso folk lute (*bağlama*) performers Musa Eroğlu and Arif Sağ often feel motivated to experiment with the musical models they are regenerating in order to escape the boredom of simplicity or redundancy, and thus avoid monotony (*montoluktan kurtariyor,* lit., it saves [us] from monotony). These musicians as well as others wish to explore the full potential of their instruments by creating products that achieve more expressiveness (*güzellik kazandırmak,* lit., to gain beauty) and thus become richer (*daha zengin olmak*). At the same time, they may wish to create something truly novel that will allow them to stand out from the rest of their peers. They can then focus their efforts on developing a personal style (*üslûp*, style; *yorum*, interpretation) that is *daha belirgin* (more distinctive), and *daha gelişmiş* (more evolved)[14]

It is now possible to argue that innovation or novelty, for many established performers, is part of a continuum that is activated by the creative potential of the individual musician in combination with incentives of a varying nature. Examples of these incentives are: competing with rivals for prestige; vying for status and recognition; meeting the challenge of a difficult project; desiring credit for cleverness, skill, and exclusive rights to a new idea; the wish to be imitated; or even dissatisfaction or discomfort (Barnett). For example, during the innovative process, *bağlama* (Turkish national folk lute; long-necked, plucked, with movable frets) performers apply compositional. techniques and devices of elaboration such as recombination, interpolation, and decoration to a given regional prototype, in order to enrich it with new dimensions that are "qualitatively different from [its] existing forms" (Barnett: 7).

Although the Turkish community of folk music experts and specialists discourages radical innovation, there are a number of individuals who venture to override the cultural dictates of their

peers. These mavericks seek "new trials for their abilities" and often "make excursions into different untried areas of techniques" (Barnett: 152). Some of these inventive and adaptive individuals are well-known radio and recording artists such as Yılmaz Ipek, Ali Ekber Çiçik, Arif Sağ, and Yavuz Top. [15] All of these performers are master virtuosos of the *bağlama*. .

Of these musicians, Çiçek was one of the first to engage in compositional activity while experimenting with new approaches to the refashioning of indigenous repertory. In 1965, he created the brilliant composition for voice and *bağlama*, "Haydar." Inspired by mystical poetry of the 18th century, "Haydar" exemplifies Çiçek's efforts to communicate spiritual values through music. It was conceived through experimentation and improvisation, but through reworking and repeated performance it became crystallized into a fixed form that has been reproduced again and again with little variation. The piece is an innovative, yet non-radical expression of one musician's need to explore artistic and expressive potential in order to transcend society's expectations of him, to produce something that would be "so difficult that no one else would be able to master it." The greatest challenge for instrumentalists lies in the instrumental prelude. There, Çiçek has managed to create a complex texture where innovative plectrum techniques, changing meter, and moments of tension created by stacked chord-like configurations are propelled along by rhythmic ostinati.[16]

Çiçek's link to mystical Islam is shared by Arif Sağ, one of the younger generation of professional *bağlama* performers whose subtle virtuosity and versatility is emulated by young students and performers throughout Turkey. Sağ has been consistent in his truly creative approaches to refashioning standard *bağlama* repertoire. His performance in 1982 of the Ankara dance piece "Yandim Şeker" provoked objectionable responses when he performed it in a solo recital at the Şan theater in Istanbul. Many musicians in the audience were shocked by the unconventional nature of a musical passage that was introduced and developed in a specific section of the piece. Sağ subjected the fragment to sequential treatment, using stepwise chromatic movement and ascending and descending motion. His love of invention, as demonstrated by this unusual passage, was in many ways prompted by an abundance of creative energy, but also by the desire to develop a reputation as a new thinker and leader of a new "school" (*ekol*) of playing, as the artist phrases it.[17]

Unlike Sağ and Çiçek, Izmir-based Yilmaz Ipek chose to demonstrate his technical proficiency and individuality through compositions that are closer in style to Western European guitar literature than to local *bağlama* repertoire. Finally, Yavuz Top goes one step further by subjugating traditional repertoire for voice and *bağlama* to complex orchestration techniques combined with some limited attempts at Western functional harmony. Top, who has been singled out as a radical innovator by peers, is undaunted in his experimental forays. In his arrangement of "Ötme bülbül, ötme" (Don't cry out nightingale), Top adds new melodic elements and combines the forces of a mixed choir singing periodically in two parts with an instrumental ensemble that includes both Turkish and Western instruments. The instrumental opening is particularly striking and animated with the establishment of a driving rhythm that continues in the background once the choir begins to sing the text of the 16th century poet Pir Sultan Abdal.[18] Top has been an inspiration to a younger generation of trained professional folk musicians who are motivated to institute major changes in approaches to folk musical performance practice. Although there have been a few instances of performances where folk repertoire has been scored for instruments playing in several different parts, a significant outpouring of similar efforts has not yet been observed.

Conclusion

It has been the aim of this paper to pinpoint current trends of thought observed within the Turkish folk music community concerning the state of the art of contemporary performance practice and the ways in which those trends affect the image and identity of folk musical culture in Turkey today. My research conducted over a period of several years has revealed that a community of elite performers, educators, administrators, and scholars of folk music present a united front, with few exceptions, against a synthesis of native folk music traditions with techniques and practices from Western art music such as the diatonic tonal system and the application of Western functional harmony. In fact, there may be a growing tendency towards borrowing and incorporating some features from Turkish art music modal and performance practice.

Even though professional musicians have expanded their musical metalanguage and repertory of musical ideas and techniques related to their musical medium, they still prefer not to overstep the

bounds of tradition with extreme innovative behavior. In the reshaping of traditional inventory, they choose to retain the basic elements of style, melody, rhythms, and forms of indigenous musical practice. Musicians continue to take pride in identifying their performances with a rural source, although this serious intent is often mitigated by overwhelming drives of certain individuals with aspirations for fame and popularity. Conventional strategies by folk musicians are the norm, radical musical behavior the exceptions to the more conservative norm. For the present, professional artists continue the tradition of subtly integrating innovative techniques and mannerisms into the fabric of a deeply-rooted native performance tradition.

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Notes

[1]Many of the ideas in this paper were gleaned from the author's doctoral dissertation, "Musical Theory, Performance, and the

Contemporary *Bağlama* Specialist in Turkey," University of Washington, 1986.

[2]The Ankara Conservatory of Music (Musiki Muallim Mektebi) was a school for music teachers that served as a precursor for the Ankara State Conservatory of Music that opened in 1936.

[3]Adnan Saygun worked closely with Béla Bartók when he conducted research in Turkey. Saygun is best known for his compositions such as the oratorio *Yunus Emre* and the operas *Kerem* and *Köroğlu.*

[4]The Istanbul Conservatory trips yielded 850 recordings, the Ankara Conservatory expeditions, 10,000 (Ülkütaşir: 31, 82).

[5]Today, musicians who are aspiring candidates for positions at state radio stations in Ankara, Izmir, Istanbul, and Erzurum, are given the opportunity to compete for them each year when such positions are made available. Those who pass examinations successfully are accepted as apprentice artists and expected to study in order to qualify for yet another examination that will promote them to the rank of staff artist (*memur sanatçı*). Opening for established artists occur less frequently as the bulk of staff artists have not yet reached retirement. Folk instruments used in radio ensembles include: sizes of the folk lute family (*saz, bağlama*); double-bellied, plucked lutes (*tar*); gourd bowed lutes (*kabak, kemane*); double reed aerophones (*mey*); and different sizes of frame drums, with or without metal discs (*tef*).

[6]It wasn't until 1976 that the first State Conservatory for the study of Traditional Folk and Art Musics (Devlet Turk Musikisi Konservatuvar) was founded in Istanbul. Until that time, the formal teaching of folk music, for example, was restricted to the state-supported educational institutions known as People's Houses (Halk Evleri) that opened throughout Turkey in 1930 and 1931 (Karpat: 274).

[7]Most members of the folk music establishment and extended community are concerned that institutionally-trained musicians learn from musical notations that are simplified transcriptions of recordings of regional performance practice. These notations often represent vocal melodies only, lacking the full dimensions of instrumental accompaniment. For that matter, notations of purely instrumental

genres are also lacking in exactness of detail that would constitute a true representation of the original performance.

[8]The Ministry of Culture and Tourism published the proceedings from the congress in a volume that appeared in 1988, the same year that it took place (*Birinci Müzik Kongresi Bildiriler.* Ankara: Kültür ve Türizm Bakanliği, Güzel Sanatlar Genel Müdürlüğü, 1988).

[9]A detailed account of the concepts and terms used by Turkish folk music specialists to frame their evaluations of musical performance is found in an article by the author that deals with an aesthetic/cognitive approach to the ethics of music-making (Markoff 1987).

[10]In the general sense, *tavırlı* means to use the correct style of vocal production, dialect, or instrumental styles and techniques for a given folklore. The term is used as a compliment in recognition of a performance that displays a definite regional identity.

[11]Many of the Turkish terms and expressions chosen for this study were thought to be the most representative of performers interviewed, and suitable for validating points raised in the overall discussion.

[12]The majority of interviews were conducted with *bağlama* performers. The *bağlama*, Turkey's national folk instrument, is a symbol of a Central Asian Turkic past as well as a Turkish present that identifies strongly with the expressive culture of the rural populace.

The *bağlama* family of long-necked, fretted, hemipyroform bowl lutes consists of instruments ranging in size from small (*cura*) and medium (*tanbura*) to the larger (*bağlama*) used by most amateur and professional musicians, and finally the largest (*divan sazı*) that often functions like a string bass in ensembles, and is the preferred instrument of many north-eastern Anatolian minstrels.

[13]The *New Redhouse Turkish-English Dictionary* (Istanbul: Redhouse Press, 1968) translates *yenilik* as novelty, or innovation, as distinguished from the term *uydurma* that is translated as invention, made-up, invented, and carries negative connotations.

[14]These Turkish terms were elicited from several in-depth interviews with Sağ in Istanbul (1982 and 1983) and Eroğlu in Ankara (1982 and 1983).

[15]Çiçek, Sağ and Top were born into Alevi communities in Eastern Anatolia; Çiçek and Top from the region of Erzincan, and Sağ from the region of Erzurum. The Alevis are heterodox, Sh'ii-related communities found in central and eastern Anatolia as well as in Thrace and the Aegean regions. They are led by holy men descending from holy lineages, and affiliated with the Bektashi order of dervishes. Alevi minstrels are heirs to a tradition of mystical poetry in the vernacular that can be traced back to the 13th century. An in-depth account of Alevi history and culture can be found in Markoff (1986) and Andrews and Markoff (1987).

[16]"Haydar" can be heard on the albums *Turkish Sufi Music. Folk Lute of Anatolia* (Lyrichord Stereo LLST7342) and *Turkey. Bektachi Music. Achik Songs by Ali Ekber Çiçek* (Musical Atlas -- Unesco Collection, EMI 3C 064 - 18568).

[17]Arif Sağ's rendition of "Yandim Şeker oyun havasi" is available on the disc *Işte Bağlama, Işte Arif Sağ* (Where There is a *Bağlama,* There Too is Arif Sağ) (Hakan label), that features selected excerpts from the artist's 1982 solo recital.

[18]Top's arrangement of "Ötme bülbül, ötme" appeared on a recording entitled, *Deyişler — 1* issued by Sembol Plak several years ago.

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