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Patterns of modernization in Turkish music as indicators of a changing society

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• ABSTRACT

Background in sociology. Turkish society has experienced a profound transformation since the late eighteenth century, that has stimulated an extensive social change in which traditional modes of cultural expression have been restructured throughout capitalistic standardizations. This simplification is also observable in the structural transformation of traditional Turkish music. In fact, musical rationalization encodes the logic of an entire phase of modernization.

Background in ethnomusicology. The sound system of traditional Turkish music differs substantially from the Western one which became universally valid. Traditional Turkish music theory necessitates a sufficiently refined and non-Western musical perception. However, during the last two centuries this perceptual affinity has been slowly abolished through the standardizing process of modernity, which realizes in effect a hidden temperament within the traditional sound system.

Aims. We aim to analyze the main features of rationalization in Turkish music, through the change of its expressive specificities, as representation of a sociological transformation.

Main contribution. Music is one of the most symbolic domains, in which symptoms of a rationalization process can be observed. Our study tries to demonstrate the progressive proliferation of a process of rationalization. Traditional and Westernized sound systems and performances have always been conceptualized as deeply separated spheres, even as antagonistically polarized hermetical spheres which possess their specific audience, expressive instruments, discourse, etc. Conversely, we also deduce that the actual phase of musical rationalization in Turkey has attained such a degree that the artificially fragmented nature of musical genres are being melted in a technical and stylistic fusion.

Implications. In nearly all of the sociological studies on Turkish music, the ontological specificities of music are underestimated, while developing deductions from music itself. In the case of ethnomusicological researches on the same subject, musical phenomena are usually isolated from their sociological context. Opposing such prevailing considerations both in sociology and ethnomusicology, the present study may help to inaugurate, in a totally unexplored domain, an alternate path through which the artificially divided musical spheres of the Turkish cultural

context can be reevaluated as different aspects of an identical comprehensive modernization process.

INTRODUCTION

Turkish music, for several reasons, has long been conceived as a *naturally* fragmented domain. As a center of debates with ideological extensions, this presupposition overcharged the ontological content of the music that has been segmented throughout two centuries into well-distinguished *genres*. Although this widely institutionalized debate on political connotations carried out by the music has occupied a considerable social agenda, a much more profoundly sociological phenomenon has evolved through the ages to render this politically manipulated debate invalid. A very comprehensive and multi-dimensional change since the late eighteenth century helped to gradually transform traditional social structures, such that the historical functionality joins, besides its internal dynamics, a process of *rationalization*, in the Weberian sense of the term. The latter is manifested by a series of technical features or social uses from incompatibility to standardization, from diversity to reduction and regulation in several aspects of music, but particularly on the sound system. Yet, one should certainly underline that Max Weber has also pointed out that the process of rationalization seems to include, in most cases, inconsistent or at least unexpected irrational elements. Paradoxically, a harmonically non-rationalized music offers, as is the case of the Byzantine or oriental contexts, a wider set of possibilities that make it freer (Weber, 1998, p. 125). Moreover, the rise of the tempered sound system in the eighteenth century corresponds to the flourishing of the industrial revolution and the large-scale proliferation of capitalistic standards, in every day life as well as in conceptual and representational levels. Weber also indicates that it is not possible, through technical progress and the rationalization that it evokes, to establish a hierarchical escalation between different contexts of musical composing, though he tried to demonstrate the itinerary of musical rationalization throughout the rise of the Western experience of bureaucratization, without considering too much the roles played by musicians, musical environments and their corporate as well as social relations in symbiosis (Turley, 2001, p. 638). We are persuaded that the Weberian hypothesis can suggest, for our study, a double-sided evolution model for the case of Turkish music, due to its universal dimensions, besides its pretended Euro-centric point of view. Moreover, the perspective offered by Weber avoids such a superficial reading, but rather, it allows a pluralistic dialectic between *sensationalistic randomness and complete mathematical calculation*, such as the case of electronic music in the twentieth century (Malhotra, 1979, p. 106). From such a perspective, it is possible to argue that, on the one hand, the transformation of Turkish music is motivated by its internal and mostly traditional forces, while on the other hand, this process seems to be integrated in a universal model of structural change, which is, first of all, an apparent and inevitable reducing of the traditional sound system. This article focuses

on this very significant change on multiple technical aspects of music, through a decisive historical period, although it remains thus a not-sufficiently specific analysis. But this article should be considered, in our view, as a pioneering step into a minimally explored domain.

MODERNITY AND STANDARDIZATION

The disenchanted world modeled by modernity is the one that converts social expressions into objective knowledge, which requires a growing need for standardization. Conceived on an industrial scale, the latter gave rise to the emergence of a pseudo-individuality by an extensive reduction of personalities (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1995, p. 154). Therefore, standardization appears today not only as a feature of modernity concerning a meticulous calculation of the world composed of commodities, but as a matrix of perception and reasoning. In other words, the ever-puzzling interconnections between the economic and the symbolic are thus formulated as latent representations of a widely shared psyche. This has been the case, as for other forms of representation, of the music that carried out an intrinsic economic rationale. A general tendency that appropriates the calculated action and tries to shape natural entities into scientifically measured units is translated in music as the development of a sound system based on reduced scales, described as rational. Universally adopted Western standards, which emerged particularly since the seventeenth century, reflect in fact just a *certain temperament*, a *certain* set of mathematical adjustments according to the rise of a rational reconstruction of the world, though it has connections to a natural factuality. An esthetical convention has been established throughout modernity, while choosing certain scales as rational positions, because, on the one hand, they refer to a natural extent, and, on the other, they have been expressions of a both calculated and simplified world conception. Meanwhile, Weber revealed the very naturalness of harmonic scales observed both by Western (Descartes, 1987, p. 136) and Eastern (İbn Sîna, 2004: 16) theoreticians. Indeed, the same natural source of harmonic sounds gave rise to the flourishing of a multiplicity of systems, which thus annihilates the very possibility of authentication of the Western temperament as the sole universal criterion of rationalization. Every sound system traverses similar stages on the way to realizing its own standardization, though this does not represent a synchronous evolution for charging music with an optimum of representation, which is neither a total lack of nor an absolute signification (Adorno, 2002, p. 114). Moreover, the trajectory of the Western tempered system should not be taken as a referential model, since every social experience carries its own internal dynamics, but social change drags with itself a global need for simplification of existing symbolic forms, as social organizations become gradually more complex. Besides, we should also notice that a systemic transformation could include, in its own logic of rationalization, an unstable set of

irrationalities such that the dialectical relation proves the impossibility of a purely conceived sound system.

Once thought of in such a framework, rationalization has both universal and specific implications. The expansion of the capitalistic mode of production and the progressive implanting of the modern spirit necessitated a realignment of different sound systems along the same axis of temperament, that which has been conceived in the Western context. Although this process can be thought of as a unilateral acculturation of non-Western cultures, we should also highlight the fact that the rationalization of sound systems transversally develops on a large collection of authentic music, while covering them with a simplifying function, jointly to the rising democratic impulses. The more the music transports popular claims, the more it becomes less ornamented, though the intrinsic complexity (Graham, 2000, p. 69) of the musical language, due to its natural abstractness vis-à-vis the other arts, remains constant. Today's mass society is one that necessitates at once a popularization of musical expression and a technical simplification unveiling the mystery of theoretical sophistication of power. Turkish music follows more or less this itinerary of evolution, since the end of the eighteenth century, moving away gradually from its modal specificities and keeping only the *maqams* more or less fitting and the scales in congruence vis-à-vis a tempered perception. In fact, Turkish music continuously modified itself during the overall process of modernization, always watching to eliminate the theoretical and practical aspects of the Byzantine-Ottoman tradition. The sociological framework of this item renders derisory a technical explanation of this phenomenon, but we uniquely will underline that the simplification of the theory, just as well as one of the usages of music, corresponds in Turkey to a progressive standardization that the objective ought to be not only to adjust musical practices, but also musical perception and the various functions which derive from them. Although our discussion does not aim to draw up any historical analysis, we have attempted to insert a brief description of the social transformation process in Turkey since the Tanzimat, to diagnose the signs of standardization on the way to modernity, which is initially borrowed but mostly self-generating.

THE TANZIMAT AND ITS SOCIAL EFFECTS

Although limitedly presented within the contours of this article, the historical background of rationalization in Turkish music is a much too wide and multi-faceted issue that deserves to be sketched out in a more comprehensive framework. In a very functionally summarized context, it is possible to argue that the eighteenth century was a period of shaking of the Ottoman political order, caused by a series of social transformations. After the dismantling of feudal social organization and the geographic discoveries that started a movement in scientific progress, the West European societies acquired a considerable, often breathtaking acceleration of technological inquiry, the immediate impact of which was observed in the change of

social characteristics and cultural expressions. Far from this well-known trajectory of social change, the Ottoman Empire, for various cultural or structural reasons, rejected this historic turn. The political social structure dominating the Empire allowed very little mobilization of resources on a large scale, in way of a functional metamorphosis. Ottoman society possessed neither the intellectual or organizational instruments, nor the necessary economical vocation that would generate a change in social dynamics, in order to adapt to the worldwide socio-economic circumstances in mutation, henceforth directed by a purely capitalist logic. Ottoman social stratification, based on a system of solidarity through traditional trades aiming to preserve a corporatist production, rested little in accordance with the laws of the capitalist market, which, in Western Europe, took hold while evoking a massive progress in all segments of social activity. A considerable resistance came, persistently, from particularly the side of an important part of the political elite and the prominent representatives of corporatist hand-working, which impeded the eventual triggering of a large-scale social change (Ortaylı, 1999, p. 247). This internal tension of the Ottoman economic order implied naturally a deepening of the existing gap between velocities of modernization of the Western European societies and of Ottoman society. The Ottoman Empire of the eighteenth century was characterized by difficulties at the level of budget balance and by a general state of collapse (Özkaya, 1985, p. 245). Symptoms of this reversed equilibrium appeared in different domains, but particularly in military technology, given that the most vital functions on which the Ottoman system was established were those directly connected to an economy of conquests and spoil-gathering. Exempted of this very basic ability, the Ottoman political elite had to start some reformist moves for re-establishing the degraded once-military power. Those initially shy and oscillating steps at the end of the eighteenth century, as those of the most ambitious strides in the nineteenth, were typically symptomatic reforms destined to take palliative measures rather than to envision long range transformations. That resulted anyway in a modernization by sight and uniquely, at least in the beginning, in the military domain.

The decree of Tanzimat promulgated by the Sultan Abdülmecid and pronounced publicly by a group of bureaucrats in 1839, regulated a new judicial order, which modeled the beginnings of a process of social and institutional adjustment that gave rise later to the republican reforms after 1923. The Tanzimat modified, first of all, the role and quality of the dominant elite in the process of adopting a refined way of life (Mardin, 1990, p. 92). Thus a relative proliferation of modern practices and references has been observed on a non-negligible part of Ottoman society (Berkes, 1978, pp. 43-44). Therefore, a fragmented point of view that separates old and new signs of social life, spread out through social layers, which was transposed to the modernization in music as a process of adjustment to Western norms. Music was one of the domains in which the overall process of modernization became more obvious, through a series of changes in technical characteristics and social functions.

Modernization in Turkish music manifests itself in two distinct but interrelated processes; firstly, a transformation of traditional music styles under the Western influence; secondly, the emergence of a new music life in Turkey in the Western style. Indeed, the eventual adoption of Western norms in music, at the beginning of the Turkish modernization period, would signify an unintended passage to a notion of musicality in the Western sense. In this article, we limit ourselves mainly to the secular, urban form of *Traditional Turkish Music*, which experienced a unique transformation process from the end of the eighteenth century. Regarding the general ethno-musicological literature, we want to refer to this style with the term *Classical Turkish Music*.

Classical Turkish Music is thought to have existed for about a thousand years. It represents the qualities of Ottoman society to a great extent and is mainly a multi-cultural style. At least until the twentieth century, it possessed a predominantly multi-ethnic, multi-religious character. Among its performers and composers one can observe Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish musicians. Moreover, influences of Byzantine, Arabic and Persian music are also significant. In some respects *Classical Turkish Music* does not reflect certain aspects of the social milieu in which it flourished: Ottoman society possessed a written culture, but its urban music style exhibited general characteristics of an oral culture (Behar, 1987, pp. 19-64). *Classical Turkish Music* was learned and disseminated through a certain transmission model called *meslek*, which is a form of education based on memory and carried out through a master-apprentice relationship. Memory is indeed considered as one of the most important gifts for a musician. Although musical notation was known to Ottoman musicians, they did not tend to use it until the end of the nineteenth century, believing that the proper way of acquiring musical skills should be only through *meslek* (Behar, 1993, pp. 9-82; 2003). Despite being transmitted orally, *Classical Turkish Music* was mainly a non-anonymous culture in that the composers of many works are known.

Besides, *Classical Turkish Music* possessed a theory of its own in treatises called *edvar*. The oldest *edvars* that belong to the Turkish philosopher Fârâbî, date back to the 10th century. This treatise uses the Arabic alphabet to indicate each note, reminiscent of the old Greek music theory, and describes special modes, sound-system, rhythmic patterns and instruments. Actually, it is not easy to consider *Classical Turkish Music* exclusively as an oral music culture, as some of its qualities belong to the written sphere. Since the seventeenth century there were several generally ineffective attempts at musical notation (Kantemiroğlu, 2001). Nevertheless, from about the end of the nineteenth century, Western musical notation has gained a centrality. It concerns here a chamber music style where a small ensemble of musicians performs the work (Behar, 1993: 117-138). Secondly, one observes some notes which do not exist in the Western scale. This phenome-

non can be explained by the fact that *Classical Turkish Music* comprises some micro-tonal varieties nonexistent in the Western tempered scale. However, one cannot mention a fixed sound-system in this context in historical practice. According to different *edvars* originated from various historical epochs, there exist about 14 to 19 chromatic steps in an octave. Moreover, intonation is something personal, that an individual performer can vary momentarily during the performance, according to his or her own musical taste.

Thirdly, this monophonic and therefore modal style consists of a complicated *maqam*-system. The term *maqam* generally refers to a mode or, better said, a modal usage. However, a *maqam* is not simply a scale, which retains a prescribed ordering of steps in all octaves. Rather, one prefers some steps in an octave and some other steps in a different octave. Beyond that, the central tone can be changed in a different modal region. Beside its range that includes determinate steps, a *maqam* is frequently recognized by the use of typical stereotyped motives (Signell, 2002). In *edvars*, *maqams* are not only described according to the steps they consist of, but also as regards the course of their melodic progress and a general scheme of modulations to various other *maqams*. *Classical Turkish Music* is principally an improvisatory style and the qualities of a performer lie also in the ability to modulate to other *maqams*, in an attractive and sophisticated manner. A *maqam* is not entirely deterministic on the pitch value of the steps that it contains; rather the latter are partially reconstructed within practice, though it consists of some clusters around a set of “anchor” notes that function as short-term memory clues (Akkoç, 2002, p. 291) for a traditionally oral-based musical creation. In its simplest form, *maqam* can be defined as a travel through different steps and scales, and on various regions, employing some characteristic melodic contours (Behar, 1987, pp. 123-125). Fourthly, we observe an unusual meter for Western music, consisting of 88 quarters in one measure. A traditional meter or rhythmic pattern of *Classical Turkish Music* is called *usûl*. *Usûls* may consist of regular or irregular rhythmic orderings, and vary from groupings of two beats to more than 120 (Özkan, 1994, pp. 561-567). In the absence of polyphony, listening habits were quite differentiated in *Classical Turkish Music*, so that the listener should follow long and quite complicated rhythmic patterns as well as micro-tonal varieties which divide an octave into more than 12 chromatic steps (Tura, 1988, pp. 174-204).

PATTERNS AND INDICATIONS OF MODERNIZATION IN TURKISH MUSIC

The simplification of the tonality is built on internal and external dynamics both; (1) modernization widely inspired, at the beginning, from the Western model, and (2) the creation of an urban popular culture. It is possible to observe, from the late eighteenth century, the proliferation of a music that points to the *worldly* motivations of an urban populace in transformation. An ambivalent evolution towards the adoption of modern references is clearly visible in the metamorphosis that Turkish

music undergoes, which consists of a disguised selection of compatible maqams with a new perception bias. This process is undoubtedly one of natural selection: there are, in Turkish music, 590 maqams that have been recorded until that time. But only a few portion of this corpus is currently used today. This tendency to eliminate maqams that are less compatible with a modernizing music became apparent particularly from the eighteenth century to our time. *Maqams* such as *Rast*, *Hicazkâr*, *Nihavend*, *Kürdilibcazâkâr*, *Uşşak*, *Hüzzâm* and other similar ones that are technically susceptible to be transposed onto Western scales with the least possible micro-tonal deterioration, became the favorite or at least privileged modes used by the composers of Turkish Classical Music from the period that spreads from the Tanzimat to now (Oransay, 1983, pp. 1500-1501). It is also possible to decipher from this overall elimination, a passage to a new musical taste that reflect an explicitly worldly motivation. The apparent sobriety of the musical works from the classical ages of the Ottoman Empire degraded in those of the later periods.

A similar elimination is also valid for the rhythmic patterns. The general abandon of longer forms, which are characterized by complicated rhythms, inevitably evoked a remarkable increase in the use of more simplified patterns. New rhythms were created. One of the most prominent examples is the *müsemmen*, created by Hacı Arif Bey (Encyclopedia of Istanbul, 1993, p. 302), which is a search for synthesis between Western effects and Turkish origins: a typically Turkish-style syncopated pattern, but in an 8/8 measure, instead of a traditional syncope of 9/8. Besides, it is possible to notice the significant rise of the *düyek*, another variant of the 8/8 measure, or the *Türk aksâğı* (5/8) a typically rapid and joyful rhythm, as well as the case of the *curcuna* (10/16). The extensive use of these rhythmic patterns connotes two noteworthy symptoms of social change: (1) the increasing speed of social life and (2) an apparent joy and lightness, both associated with a passage to a relatively hedonistic perception of the world. In fact, rhythmic patterns changed in a contradictory process: While melodic density notably rose, by the last third of the seventeenth century, tempo began to retard (Feldman, 2002, p. 122). In other words, the apparent standardization and acceleration of rhythmic structures is accompanied by an internal ambivalence towards social change, which has been translated as an unnoticeably slowing tempo: Modernization in Turkey, carried out frequently with internal contradictions and tensions, made it both dynamic and resistant.

The notion of musicality to the Western direction that depends on noted work and conventions of practice (Godlovitch, 1998, p. 85), penetrated into the world of Turkish music, alongside the modernization process, though the first attempts to notate music dates back to 1650. This basic principle guided, during the nineteenth century, the progressive mutation in theory and practice of Turkish music. Most composers have notated their works, as well as those of ancient composers. Three alphabetic-based systems of notation were used from 1650 to the nineteenth century. The very first initiative to notate music came from Ali Ufkî in the seventeenth

century, followed by Prince Dimitri Cantemir (Kantemiroğlu) and Nâyi Osman Dede who both developed systems of notation in the eighteenth century. But those remained limited initiatives in their technical possibilities, as also in their adoption among musicians who did not feel a real need to use them. Yet, the originality of Cantemir remains in his ability to inaugurate a modestly experimental opening to theory, while sustaining a style that emphasized individual creativity, at the dawn of the Enlightenment in Europe (Popescu-Judet, 1998, p. 82). The increasing rationalization of music in the nineteenth century gave birth to a relatively distinct functionality to musical notation. Another two initiatives were more effective, because of the relatively considerable rise of a demand to notate music. Hampartsum Limoncuyan and Abdülbâki Nâsır Dede thus shaped two different systems of notation that were used by several composers in the nineteenth century. This rising tendency to demand notated music and its circulation throughout the market implied the first publication of scores, which took place in 1874. As was the case with institutionalization of harmony in Europe, gradually standardized music was functioning both as a metaphor for a growing market and a substitute for religious motivation, replacing it with a secularizing sensibility (Attali, 2001, p. 100).

Classical Turkish music has two divisions as regards instrumental and vocal styles: longer and shorter forms. Alongside Turkish modernization, it is possible to observe a progressive rising of shorter forms as pre-designed expressions of an urban popular culture, then letting the longer ones be purely artistic, which are not frequently preferred either by composers or by the audience (Tanrıkorur, 2003, p. 44). The newly emerging urban culture henceforth, characterized by capitalistic relations, was compressing time, making it *precious* for consumers, and affecting their world-perception in such a way as to create a more precipitated and calculated psyche. Indeed, the song (*sarkı*), with all its variations, is still the most widely preferred musical form of actual popular music, not only in Turkey but also around the world.

Turkish music was affected, throughout the nineteenth century, not only by a series of technical changes, but also by a much more comprehensive transformation; that of the infusion of a certain logic of capitalistic relations into the modalities of composing and listening, henceforth transformed into *producing* and *consuming*. Some unprecedented forms and environments of musical experience have flourished. This significant change in the practice of music has accelerated particularly after the relative proliferation of new technological inventions, such as the gramophone and phonograph by the end of the nineteenth century. A new urban folklore was replacing the older one by introducing a common set of musical preferences and tastes, expressed by an increasing production of songs (*sarkı*) carrying light themes associated with frivolity inspired from especially the Thracian region of Turkey, based on simplified structures. Balkan influences thus became dominant. Influences from Italian-style singing were also added to this new stream, which shaped a new form of song, called “kanto”, performed usually by women from ethnic minorities

such as the Armenians or the Greeks. Kantos mostly reflected indications of changing everyday life, at least in urban contexts, caricaturing, exaggerating or emphasizing symptoms of modifications in human relationships (especially between both sexes). Most of the kantos are transporters of a changing sensuality, encoded in their remarkable coquettish lyrics, which were reflecting a new secular and urban lifestyle, especially in the republican era, after 1923 (Tekelioğlu, 2001, p. 100). The real implosion of market conditions were observed in the first decades of the twentieth century, with the beginning of a new kind of composing, which was exclusively devoted to the consumption of *designed songs*. This proliferation of massively adopted taste accelerated, in the years 1940-1950 thanks to the diffuse force of radio. Particularly characterized by a variation of genres, this new market logic was announcing the emergence of capitalistic conditions, which would absorb both the performer and the listener, as well as the composer (Aksoy, 1985, p. 1233).

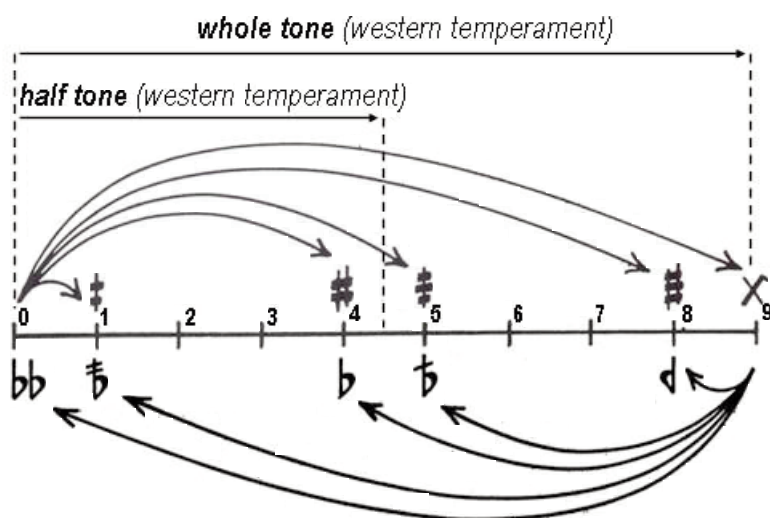


Figure 1.

Division of the whole tone into nine commas and four unevenly positioned intermediate-steps.

THEORIZATION OF TEMPERED PRACTICE

Another line of modernization in *Traditional Turkish Music* is the attempts at the standardization of the characteristic sound-system. During the twentieth century some musicologists formulized new theoretical explanations for the micro-tonal varieties of *Classical Turkish Music*, in order to fix steps according to a certain model. It was the beginning of a long-winded debate about the sound-system, on which musicologists have not reached a consensus yet. The first ones to propose such a system were Rauf Yekta, who stated that the music of the Orient has the same

Pythagorean roots as Western music (Yekta, 1986, p. 30), and his followers Arel, Ezgi and Uzdilek. According to them, an octave consists of 24 unevenly positioned steps as opposed to the Western tempered scale comprising 12 equal intervals (Arel, 1993, pp. 1-16). Here, the whole tone is divided into 9 (Figure 1). The smallest division, the ninth of a whole tone is called a *comma*. The Western half tone, which is not included in this system, exists on the half way that makes 4.5 commas. There can be four intermediate-steps within a whole tone, making up an uneven division. These steps are located subsequently on the first, fourth, fifth and eighth comma. Special alteration signs are designed to be able to designate these special intervals. In each of the six whole steps making up an octave, three of these intermediate steps are selected to fix the micro-tonal degrees. This procedure ends up with a chromatic scale of 24 steps, which are unequally positioned throughout the octave. If one is to consider all commas, i.e. the ninth of a whole tone, the system comprises actually 54 smallest steps lined up equally. This builds up in a sense a temperament with 54 tones, 24 of which are selected in this case (Özkan, 1994, pp. 36-40).

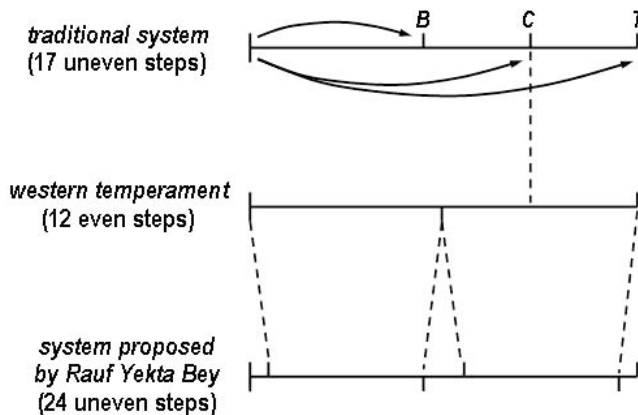


Figure 2. Comparison of sound systems within a whole tone.

Musicologist-composer Tura severely criticized the system of 24 steps. In contrast to it, Tura accentuated a system of 17 steps, which was in fact not invented by him, but originates from the old *edvars*. He explained that it is the system of *Traditional Turkish Music* for about a thousand years, which divides a whole tone into 3 unequal intervals and is loyal to the characteristic non-Western sound of Turkish *maqams*. Within a whole tone there exists the interval B to the half-way, similar to the half tone of the Western scale; to the three quarters, the interval C which is according to Tura the most characteristic interval of *Traditional Turkish Music* non-existent in the Western scale; lastly, the whole tone is designated with T (Figure 2). According to him, the micro-tonal varieties within the system of 24 steps are located in such a

close vicinity to the Western steps, that the difference between European and Turkish sound systems becomes inaudible. Therefore, the scale of 24 steps should be considered only as a caricature of the Western sound-system (Tura, 1988, pp. 104-204). Nevertheless, these theses were totally rejected by Zeren, who insisted that Tura not only lacks of minimal competence in this issue, but that all sound systems are just conventions about approximate values of micro-ranges of frequencies theoretically expressed as pre-determined steps, allowing thus the inevitable change in Turkish music against a retrograde positioning over-emphasizing *certain* authenticities (Zeren, 2003, pp. 156-158). The new listener, or more precisely the conditions of the music market that socialize him/her, demanded to henceforth hear more standardized works, since the socio-economical components of everyday urban life were defining particularly the institutional aspect of social action with much more minuteness. Indeed, the system of 17 steps remained nearly intact in rural areas and thus in folkloric musical practices, while that of 24 steps emerged as an exclusively urban phenomenon (Giray, 2002, p. 17).

TODAY'S CHANGING AND MULTI-LAYERED MUSICAL MILIEU IN TURKEY

In the second quarter of the twentieth century, social change in Turkish society was governed mainly by the nation-building process. After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, nationalism proposed a new Turkish national identity through a twofold restructuring; firstly, basic qualities of Western societies were appreciated as universal norms; secondly, folk character was considered as the essence, an exalted source for the national culture. In other words, the *content* of the national identity should comprise native characteristics, whereas its *form* of representation should conform to Western standards. In searching for the essentials of the new national identity, one route was to turn the face to the folk characteristics lying in the rural culture of Anatolia (Aydn, 2000a, pp. 71-91).

In the early republican era, on the one hand, the Turkish state reformed musical institutions according to Western models and supported research of Anatolian folk culture. On the other hand, the musicians in newly founded state institutions distanced themselves from *Classical Turkish Music* and gave importance to *Turkish Folk Music*. This meant a chiefly ideological distinction among the urban and rural styles of *Traditional Turkish Music*. Turkish folk culture was to be discovered, or better said, invented. As a reflection of the prevailing worldview in the early republican period, ethnomusicologist-composer Saygun stated in 1934 that in the origin of *Turkish Folk Music* one detects the pentatonic scale, but in that of *Classical Turkish Music* a tetrachordal structure akin to old Greek music, as a manifestation of Byzantine origins (Giannelos, 1996, p. 90). Like some other composers of the period, Saygun combined European composition technique and native folkloric elements in his music, as a synthesis of Western knowledge and Turkish spirit (Aydn, 2000b, pp. 25-78).

FUSION OF GENRES, POLYPHONY, AND POPULAR MUSIC

Today, Turkish music is evolving with impulses from multiple sources. It is possible to argue that the process of modernization institutionalized a profound transformation in the general perceptual instances of Turkish society, though it also fashioned a diversity of conceptual and practical contradictions, if not dilemmas. But it is explicit today that a not under-estimable historical evolution of polyphonic and modernized musical experience plays a dominant role in the reconsideration and reformulation of musical expression in Turkey, joining also the universal covering effect of a global market. Today's globally interconnected cities both shape more standardized forms, and create a global circulation of local specificities (Scott, 2001, p. 19). Symbolic extensions of such transformations can be easily detected in the over-stimulated and multi-layered Turkish music since the 1980's. Indeed, the social need for dynamism concretized in the *arabesk* form, which corresponded to a great social acceptance, carried out the signs of *the world of political participation and upward mobility*, as well as the rise of a new *ethos of hyper-consumerism* (Stokes, 1997, pp. 684-685), together with a socially infused idea that it symbolizes, throughout an iconography of sexual ambivalence and uncertainty, of powerlessness (Karakayalı, 2002, p. 258). Furthermore, the *arabesk* has emerged as a polymorphous initiative to fuse exclusively the Western and oriental forms and instruments, emphasizing for example the predominance of the violin (Özbek, 1994, p. 174) as a metaphor of recurrent social and economic fluency and incertitude. This polyvalent evolution assembled a sufficiently inclusive capacity for a fusion of genres, styles, sensibilities, expressions, historical and geographical divergences into a more or less standardized, but meanwhile innovatively dynamic musical milieu, concretized on the actual pop music in Turkey. One of the prominent composers of this era was Onno Tunç, who knew, with his Armenian Church music background, to synthesize several inspirations one could think as unfitting, if not antagonistic (Stokes, 2002, p. 252). In such a context, frontiers between musical genres are abolishing, thus entailing a gradual fusion of dualities such as traditional and contemporary, artistic and popular, global and local, etc.

CONCLUSION

Musical rationalization in Turkey is not recent neither is it an "imposed" phenomenon as some tend to believe, but rather a sociological fact, in constant progression jointly to the transformations in the ways of life and of modes of thought. It is natural that this trajectory of modernization is characterized by fluctuations, often of political origin, that didn't stop the course of change on the macro-sociological scale, that of a society in the process of urbanization and integration with the global market. The passage of a modal sound system to a tempered order, as well as the adoption of polyphonic expression or other characteristics of the musical universe,

such as the mutations in the scenes of audition, usage of instruments, visualization of music through pop videos, overall ambiance of spectacle, etc., underlines the historic relevance of an eventful axis of social evolution.

Although Weber's theory seems, at first glance, a mostly Euro-centric consideration of musical rationalization, it also promises, in our view, an alternate way to recognize the sociological significations deriving from the non-European models of modernization. Indeed, it should be taken into account that the Weberian perspective, with its explicit emphasis on the coexistence of rational and irrational elements, and the co-evolutional process of both natural and representative levels of artistic production, can offer a non-schematic and polyvalent conceiving of non-European experiences. In fact, each of the non-European trajectories of modernization presents, in their specific cultural contexts, a *certain kind of integration* with the capitalistic relations of production. In such a context, Turkish music seems to be a relevant example for transposing the Weberian conception of rationalization, certainly not as a unique model of modernization, but as one which is capable of including a vast variety of forms of articulation within the globally managed market economy. Consequently, the constant evolution of Turkish music, from the eighteenth century to the present time, seems to involve a double-sided development, which, on the one hand, follows more or less a gradual rationalization of the technical features, through particularly a hidden temperament on the sound system, as a projection of a continuous need to adjust a social sensibility and organization towards modernizing practices destined to be integrated with global market conditions, and on the other, improves, due to its internal historical and cultural dynamics, innovative and specific patterns of modernization. Weber's conception of rationalization serves, in our opinion, as a guideline, not only to demonstrate the similarities with the European experience, but also to expose a general scheme of its divergences and originalities, which include a synchronicity of both universal and local tendencies, thus a conflict-based nature. In this article, we have only tried to mark out a very preliminary pathway, for further studies, the main pillars of a very densely experienced but nearly unexplored field.¹

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• **Modelos de modernización en música turca como indicadores de una sociedad cambiante**

Antecedentes de sociología. La sociedad turca ha experimentado una profunda transformación desde finales del siglo XVIII, que ha estimulado un amplio cambio social en el que los modelos de expresión cultural tradicional han sido reestructurados a través de estandarizaciones capitalistas. Esta simplificación es también observable en la transformación estructural de la música tradicional turca. En realidad, la racionalización musical codifica la lógica de una fase total de modernización.

Antecedentes de etnomusicología. El sistema sonoro de música tradicional turca difiere substancialmente del occidental que se convierte en válido universalmente. La teoría musical tradicional turca necesita una percepción no occidental y suficientemente refinada. Sin embargo, durante los dos últimos siglos esta afinidad perceptiva ha sido lentamente abolida a través del proceso de estandarización de la modernidad, que ha desarrollado, en efecto, un temperamento escondido en el sistema sonoro tradicional.

Objetivos. Planteamos como objetivo analizar los hechos principales de racionalización de la música turca, a través del cambio de sus especificidades expresivas, como representación de una transformación sociológica.

Principal contribución. La música es uno de los dominios más simbólicos, en el que se pueden observar los síntomas de un proceso de racionalización. Nuestro estudio trata de demostrar la proliferación progresiva de un proceso de racionalización. Los sistemas sonoros tradicional y occidental, y las interpretaciones siempre se han conceptualizado como esferas profundamente separadas, incluso como esferas herméticas, polarizadas de forma antagonista, que poseen sus audiencias específicas, instrumentos expresivos, discurso, etc. A la inversa, también deducimos que la fase actual de racionalización musical en Turquía ha alcanzado tal grado de naturaleza artificialmente fragmentada que los géneros musicales han sido mezclados en una fusión técnica y estilística.

Implicaciones. En casi todos los estudios sociológicos sobre música turca, las especificidades ontológicas de la música son desestimadas, mientras se desarrollan deducciones sobre la música misma. En el caso de las investigaciones etnomusicológicas sobre el mismo tema, los fenómenos musicales son con frecuencia aislados de su contexto sociológico. Enfrentando tales consideraciones previas de sociología y etnomusicología, el presente estudio puede ayudar a inaugurar, dentro de un terreno totalmente inexplorado, un camino alternativo a través del cual las esferas musicales divididas artificialmente del contexto cultural turco puedan ser reevaluadas como aspectos diferentes de un idéntico proceso de modernización.

- **Modelli di modernizzazione nella musica turca come indicatori di una società in trasformazione**

Legami con la sociologia. A partire dal tardo Settecento, la società turca ha vissuto una profonda trasformazione che ha stimolato un esteso mutamento sociale, in cui i modi tradizionali dell'espressione culturale sono stati ristrutturati da cima a fondo dalle omologazioni capitalistiche. Tale semplificazione è altresì osservabile nella trasformazione strutturale della musica tradizionale turca. Di fatto, la razionalizzazione musicale codifica la logica di un'intera fase di modernizzazione.

Legami con l'etnomusicologia. Il sistema sonoro della musica tradizionale turca differisce sostanzialmente da quello della musica occidentale, che ha assunto validità universale. La teoria della musica tradizionale turca richiede una percezione musicale sufficientemente raffinata e non-occidentale. Tuttavia, negli ultimi due secoli tale affinità percettiva è stata gradualmente abolita dal processo di standardizzazione della modernità, che di fatto realizza un temperamento occulto all'interno del sistema sonoro tradizionale.

Oggettivi. Il nostro scopo è di analizzare i principali aspetti della razionalizzazione della musica turca, basandoci sul cambiamento delle sue specificità espressive quale rappresentazione di una trasformazione sociologica.

Contributo principale. La musica è uno fra gli ambiti più simbolici in cui si possano osservare i sintomi di un processo di razionalizzazione. Il nostro studio cerca di dimostrare la progressiva proliferazione di tale processo. Si sono sempre interpretate le esecuzioni, nonché i sistemi sonori tradizionali e occidentalizzati, come sfere profondamente separate, perfino come sfere ermetiche polarmente antagonistiche e dotate dei loro specifici pubblici, strumenti espressivi, discorsi, ecc. Viceversa, deduciamo inoltre che l'attuale fase di razionalizzazione della musica turca ha conseguito un tale livello da unire le nature artificialmente frammentate dei generi musicali in una fusione tecnica e stilistica.

Implicazioni. In quasi tutti gli studi sociologici sulla musica turca, le sue specificità ontologiche vengono sottostimate, mentre si sviluppano deduzioni a partire dalla musica in sé e per sé. Anche nel caso di ricerche etnomusicologiche sul medesimo soggetto, i fenomeni musicali vengono in genere isolati dal loro contesto sociologico. Con l'opporci a tali considerazioni dominanti sia in sociologia che in etnomusicologia, il presente studio può aiutare ad inaugurare, in un ambito totalmente inesplorato, un percorso alternativo mediante il quale le sfere musicali artificialmente separate del contesto culturale turco si possano rivalutare quali differenti aspetti di un identico e vasto processo di modernizzazione.

- **Les modèles de la modernisation de la musique turque, témoins d'une société en mutation**

Contexte sociologique. La société turque a vécu une transformation profonde depuis la fin du XVIII^e siècle, laquelle a stimulé une modification sociale importante qui s'est accompagnée d'une restructuration des modes traditionnels de l'expression culturelle par l'intermédiaire des standardisations capitalistes. Cette

simplification s'observe également dans la transformation structurelle de la musique turque traditionnelle. En effet, la rationalisation musicale code la logique d'une phase entière de modernisation.

Contexte ethnomusicologique. Le système sonore de la musique turque traditionnelle diffère substantiellement de celui de l'Occident, qui est devenu une valeur universelle. La théorie de la musique turque traditionnelle nécessite une perception musicale très raffinée et non occidentale. Toutefois, au cours des deux derniers siècles, cette affinité perceptive s'est peu à peu abolie du fait du processus de standardisation de la modernité, qui agit en effet comme un tempérament dissimulé à l'intérieur du système sonore traditionnel.

Objectifs. Nous cherchons à analyser les traits principaux de la rationalisation de la musique turque, par le biais de la modification de ses spécificités expressives, en tant que représentation d'une transformation sociologique.

Contribution principale. La musique est l'un des domaines les plus symboliques à l'intérieur desquels les symptômes d'un processus de rationalisation peuvent être observés. Notre étude cherche à démontrer la prolifération progressive d'un processus de rationalisation. Les systèmes sonores et les exécutions traditionnels et occidentalisés ont toujours été conceptualisés comme des sphères profondément séparées, voire comme des sphères hermétiques et antagoniques possédant leur audience propre, leurs instruments expressifs, leurs discours, etc. À l'inverse, nous déduisons également que la phase de la rationalisation musicale en Turquie a atteint un tel degré que la nature artificiellement fragmentée des genres musicaux est aujourd'hui mêlée en une fusion technique et stylistique.

Implications. Dans la toute grande majorité des études sociologiques ayant trait à la musique turque, les spécificités ontologiques de la musique sont sous-estimées, alors que des déductions sont développées au départ de la musique même. Dans les recherches ethnomusicologiques sur le même sujet, les phénomènes musicaux sont généralement isolés de leur contexte sociologique. En prenant le contre-pied des considérations dominantes tant en sociologie qu'en ethnomusicologie, la présente recherche peut favoriser l'inauguration, dans un domaine totalement inexploré, d'une voie alternative par le biais de laquelle les sphères musicales artificiellement divisées du contexte culturel turc pourront être réévaluées en tant qu'aspects distincts d'un même processus global de modernisation.

• Modernitätsmuster in türkischer Musik als Indikator für eine sich verändernde Gesellschaft

Soziologischer Hintergrund. Seit dem späten 18. Jahrhundert hat die türkische Gesellschaft eine tiefgreifende Transformation erfahren, die einen starken sozialen Wandel hervorgerufen hat. Traditionelle Bräuche wurden durch kapitalistische Normierungen verändert. Die Vereinfachungen sind auch in den strukturellen Veränderungen traditioneller türkischer Musik beobachtbar. Tatsächlich ist in der Rationalisierung der Musik die Logik einer ganzen Modernisierungsphase verschlüsselt.

Musikethnologischer Hintergrund. Das Tonsystem der traditionellen türkischen Musik unterscheidet sich deutlich von dem westlicher Musik, das allgemeine Gültigkeit erlangte. Traditionelle türkische Musiktheorie setzt eine feine, nicht westliche Wahrnehmung voraus. Allerdings hat sich in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten durch einen Anpassungsprozess an die Moderne diese Sensibilität der Wahrnehmung verringert, wodurch eine versteckte Temperierung innerhalb des traditionellen Tonsystems offenkundig wird.

Ziele. Unser Ziel ist die Analyse der Hauptmerkmale des Rationalisierungsprozesses in der türkischen Musik, die sich anhand der Änderungen spezifischer Ausdrucksmittel zeigt und einen soziologischen Wandel repräsentiert.

Hauptbeitrag. Musik ist einer der symbolischträchtigsten Bereiche, in dem Symptome eines Rationalisierungsprozesses beobachtet werden können. Mit unserer Untersuchung versuchen wir die schrittweise Zunahme eines Rationalisierungsprozesses zu zeigen. Traditionelle und westliche Tonsysteme und Aufführungen wurden immer als zwei grundverschiedene Sphären verstanden, wenn nicht gar als entgegengesetzt polarisierende, in sich abgeschlossene Sphären, die jeweils ihre spezifischen Zuhörer, Instrumente, Diskurse etc. besitzen. Umgekehrt folgern wir für die Türkei, dass die derzeitige Phase der musikalischen Rationalisierung ein solches Ausmaß erreicht hat, dass die künstliche Teilung in viele musikalische Genres verschmilzt und diese technisch und stilistisch fusionieren.

Folgerungen. In fast allen soziologischen Studien zu türkischer Musik sind ontologische Besonderheiten der Musik unterschätzt worden, während Veränderungen aus der Musik selbst erklärt wurden. Im Falle musikethnologischer Forschung zum gleichen Thema werden musikalische Phänomene üblicherweise unabhängig von ihrem soziologischen Kontext betrachtet. Anders als in vorherrschenden soziologischen oder musikethnologischen Untersuchungen wird in der vorliegenden Untersuchung versucht, in ein bisher unerforschtes Gebiet einzutauchen und einen neuen Weg aufzuzeigen, wie die künstlich getrennten musikalischen Sphären der türkischen Kultur als verschiedene Aspekte eines identischen übergreifenden Modernisierungsprozesses neu interpretiert werden können.