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Uluslararası Müzikoloji Dergisi

www.rastmd.com

Doi: 10.12975/rastmd.2016.04.01.00067



ISSUES OF MUSICAL IDENTITY DURING THE FOUNDATION OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC (1923-1950)

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ABSTRACT

In the early years of the Turkish Republic, music was a central topic in the cultural reforms that aimed to guide Turkey in the modernism and progressivism that defined the first half of the twentieth century. Several issues were involved, including the “change of civilizations” from an Ottoman and Eastern identity to becoming more like a Western European nation-state. This was a period that saw the establishment of Western-style music conservatories and the employment of musicians and musicologists to help establish a national classical music based on Turkish folk elements. At the same time, media outlets such as radio helped to shape and disseminate a national folk musical style. Private music making and cultural exchange with the West also played an important role in shaping a new Ottoman style. All of these elements worked together to form a rich and complex fabric of musical identity during the early days of the Turkish Republic.

Keywords: Turkish Republic, National Identity, Cultural Reforms, Classical Music, Folk Music

TÜRK CUMHURİYETİ KURUMLARINDA MÜZİKAL KİMLİK MESELESİ (1923-1950)

ÖZET

Yirminci yüzyılın ilk yarısında müzik, Türkiye’yi erken Cumhuriyet döneminde çağdaşlık ve ilerici konusundaki yönlendiren önemli bir alan olarak tanımlanmıştır. Osmanlı ve Doğu kimliğinden Batı ve Avrupa ulus devletine dönüşüm, uygarlıkların değişimi gibi birçok konuyu içeriyordu. Bu, Batı stili müzik konservatuvarlarının kuruluşu ve Türk halk kültürüne dayalı ulusal klasik müziğin oluşturulması amacıyla müzisyenlerden ve müzikologlardan faydalanılmasını içeren bir dönemdi. Aynı zamanda, özellikle radyo gibi medya kaynakları milli halk müzik stiline şekillenmesi ve yayılması konusunda yardımcı oldu. Yeni Osmanlı müzik stiline oluşmasında özel müzik yapımı ve Batı ill kültürel etkileşimler önemli rol oynamıştır. Bu öğelerin tamamı erken Cumhuriyet döneminde zengin ve kapsamlı bir müziksel kimlik dokusu oluşmasında ortak olarak çalışmışlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Cumhuriyeti, Milli Kimliği, Kültürel Reformları, Klasik Müziği, Halk Müziği

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INTRODUCTION

The years leading up to and after the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923 constitute one of the most significant periods in Turkish history. This was a period that saw intense ideological reforms manifested on many fronts: certainly on the political and economic fronts, but also to a great degree on the cultural front. Not least of these cultural reforms was the battle waged over identity in music, which was crucial for the founders of the Republic in terms of establishing a sense of Turkish identity that was separate from the powerful sense of Ottoman identity that had dominated social life in the region for centuries. The Republicans sought to reform Turkish national culture in such a way that it would be situated within the social and political ideological structure of the West. This meant a strict breaking of ties with Eastern modes of thought, including Islam, as well as anything having to do with the nation's Ottoman past.

PHILOSOPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Assuming a lead role in the dissemination of this new philosophy was the intellectual and poet Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), whose influential volume *The Principles of Turkism*, first published in 1920, was widely read by the revolutionary Turks. These Young Turks, led by Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), were eager to follow the example put forth by Turkish intellectuals like Gökalp; it is astounding to see how many of Gökalp's ideologies came to fruition during the early years of the Republic. For this reason, the material laid out in the pages of *The Principles of Turkism* can be said to have represented a practical model for the extensive socio-political reforms of the Atatürk regime in the beginning of the twentieth century. Music was a key factor in determining this new sense of Turkish identity during such volatile years. The debate revolved around three concepts of music making: that of the West, which was embodied in the classical tradition, that of the East, which was represented by the Ottoman court, and that of the Turkish folk, comprised by the peasant class from the Anatolian countryside.

The aristocracy had adopted Western influences even in Ottoman times, as exemplified during the Tanzimat Reforms of 1839-78, initiated by Sultan Mahmud II (1785-1839), and codified by Sultan Abdülmecid I (1823-1861). These reforms were employed with the goal of instilling certain European infrastructures within the Ottoman political system—in large part by lessening the emphasis on religious law—while maintaining the essential components that provided the sultan with absolute power. The Republican period advanced this concept to the extreme, as it was to lead in time to a new Turkish government and society that had become completely westernized.

According to the Turkist philosophy laid out by Gökalp, there was a great difference between the definition of culture and that of civilization. The former was said to be the true spirit of the people, while the latter was the system in which culture was said to operate. This is a crucial distinction to make, for the transfer of Turkish culture from Eastern to Western, or from Ottoman to European, civilization could, in theory, have been completed with relative ease. The split between culture and civilization could be illustrated by the existence of two quite distinct kinds of music, one pertaining to the Ottoman elite and the other to the rural *halk*, the folk. In Gökalp's view, Turkish folk music could easily be separated from Ottoman music, which was less a type of music than a technique based on rules as they were taken from the Byzantines. Thus, Turkish culture was to remain much as it was deemed always to have been,

whilst the civilization only was to effect the change from oriental to occidental:

Civilization is the sum total of concepts and techniques created consciously and transmitted from one nation to another by imitation. Culture, however, consists of sentiments which cannot be created artificially and cannot be borrowed from other nations through imitation. Hence, whereas Ottoman music is a technique based on specific rules, Turkish music consists of melodies unfettered by rules, systems and technique, of sincere songs which express the heart of the Turk. Because of its source, Byzantine music is part of the culture of ancient Greeks (Gökalp, 1968, p. 24).

He continues:

The Tanzimatists attempted to reconcile Ottoman with Western civilization, but two conflicting civilizations cannot live side by side. Since their systems are opposed to each other, each corrupts the other. For example, Western and Eastern music cannot be reconciled, nor can Western pragmatism and Eastern scholasticism live together in harmony. A nation is either Eastern or Western. Just as individuals cannot have two religions, so a nation cannot have two civilizations. The Tanzimatists failed in their reforms because they did not understand this point. The Turkists will succeed in their efforts, however, because they want to discard entirely the Byzantine civilization of the East and [completely] adopt Western civilization. Turkists wish to enter Western civilization completely and unreservedly, while remaining Turks and Muslims. Before we do so, however, we must discover and expose our national culture (Gökalp, 1968, p. 33).

Gökalp believed, however, that only one kind of music could exist as the true, national music of Turkey, and this was to be achieved through a synthesis of Turkish folk music and the musical techniques of Western civilization. It was of paramount importance to Gökalp that the new Turkey should be able to produce musical genius of the caliber of the Western masters (Stokes, 1992, p. 33). In order to accomplish this, Gökalp first had to discredit the accomplishments of the musical high culture of the Ottoman court. His first strategy was to attack its religious nature:

The rhythmic music of the East is a musical technique which al-Farabi borrowed from Byzantium and transposed into Arabic. This music penetrated the *havas* class of Arabs, Persians, and Turks but remained restricted to that class, for it was never able to penetrate the lower strata of the people. This is why Muslim nations have never been able to demonstrate in music the originality that they have in architecture. The Turkish lower classes have created a national popular music by continuing the techniques they had developed under Far Eastern civilization, and the Arab and Persian lower classes also continued to use old techniques. As a result, Eastern music has not become the national music of any Eastern nation. Another reason for not calling this Islamic music is the fact that it is used not only by Muslim nations but also in the religious ceremonies of the Orthodox nations, the Armenians and the Jews (Gökalp, 1968, p. 42).

The *havas* class represents the religious upper class prevalent during Ottoman times. Gökalp is careful to distinguish between upper and lower class in order to demonstrate the lack of authenticity of the Ottoman music as a true barometer of the people. He demonstrates that al-Farabi, an intellectual belonging to high civilization, artificially borrowed techniques that were

used only by the religious aristocracy, but had no bearing on the nature of the music made by the lower classes, where the true forms of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish culture were to be found. Furthermore, these lower classes based their national popular music on the continuation of Far Eastern techniques that predate the artificial incorporation of Byzantine techniques brought by al-Farabi. In this passage, Gökalp discredits both the religious aristocracy along with their “false” interpretation of Byzantine musical techniques, neither of which can speak to the hearts of the folk. His next discussion on music continues this logic, taking it a step further and revealing the motivation behind his argument:

Byzantine and Roman civilizations did not diverge one from the other during the Middle Ages. Muslims were unable to impose great transformations on Eastern civilization, just as Christians were unable to effect great changes in Western civilization. Only two innovations, in fact, were instituted in Europe during the medieval period: opera appeared in feudal chateaus, and respectful and chivalric love and salon and female aesthetics arose in the southern areas of Western Europe. The first innovation led to the perfection of musical techniques and the creation of modern Western music. Not being suitable for opera, the quarter-tones of the ancient Greek musical technique were abandoned. Simultaneously, monotone melodies were also dropped under the influence of opera and the element of harmony was added (Gökalp, 1968, p. 43).

It is here where Gökalp reveals his belief in the superiority of Western music, as it represented the proper way of interpreting Byzantine musical techniques. Opera, for Gökalp, demonstrated a capacity to internalize Byzantine source material and create something out of it that was emotional, powerful, and, most importantly, an honest reflection of the heart of the Westerner. This was achieved through the abandonment of the modes of Byzantine music, to be replaced with harmony, what Gökalp understood to be the greatest Western musical achievement. Conversely, it is in this way that Ottoman music failed. Its insistent use of quarter tones became archaic, backward, and therefore incapable of expressing the emotions of the people. In order to identify precisely what the *halk* style is, and in order to ensure that the government of the new Turkish nation institutionalizes this sense of identity, a position created to administer the identification of the Turkish *halk*, the “directorate,” is suggested:

The Directorate General of Statistics will differ from the special statistical organizations that already exist in each ministry. The latter are concerned only with the statistics required by their respective official procedures, whereas the Directorate will be a manifestation of our national culture and will thus concern itself with all aspects of national life. Once the Directorate, which will be administered by a European specialist, had been organized, all statistical organizations now attached to the ministries and to various semi-official institutions will be placed under its control so that all will operate according to the same methods and procedures. It is only after a comprehensive centralized statistical organization has been established that it will be possible to determine from statistics our social deficiencies and aptitudes. Only a study of facts brought to light by basic statistical compilations can indicate which of the proposed reforms and innovations will be harmful and which beneficial.

The national cultural institutions discussed above are merely those that will have the task of searching for, and finding, our national culture. There are numerous other

national cultural organizations which, once the national culture has been discovered, will have the task of integrating its various branches with European civilization. These include the...*Türk Darüelhan* (Turkish Conservatory)...

Let us take the *Türk Darüelhan* as an example. The *Darüelhan* which now exists in İstanbul is a conservatory of the monotone system, i.e., of Byzantine music. It attaches no importance to real Turkish music, the primitive elements of which are reflected in the sincere melodies of the people and which will acquire a modern and Western character after having been harmonized in accordance with European musical techniques (Gökalp, 1968, p. 70).

Finally, in a summary of the above points leading to their logical conclusion, Gökalp lays out his agenda for establishing a Turkish music in which melodies derived from the rural *halk* would provide the basis for a Western art music tradition:

Today, we are thus confronted with three kinds of music: Eastern, Western, and folk. I wonder which of them is our real national music? We have already noted that Eastern music is both sick and non-national, whereas neither folk nor Western music is foreign to us since the first is the music of our culture and the second is that of our new civilization. I submit, therefore, that our national music will be born of a marriage between folk and Western music. Our folk music has given us many melodies. If we collect these and harmonize them in the Western manner, we shall have both a national and a European music. The music committees of the *Türk Ocağı* clubs are among those who will carry out this task. This, essentially, is the Turkist program in the field of music; the rest is up to our national musicians (Gökalp, 1968, p. 99).

Gökalp had thus laid the foundations for the creation of a nationalist musical agenda for music based on that of the Turkish folk, completely modernized and westernized, along with the methodology with which to carry it out.

HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Western Conservatories, Folk Music and a Turkish Classical Style

A direct consequence in the 1930s was the foundation of conservatories—where Western music could be taught—and teacher training schools, all of which led to the institutionalism of operas, ballets, orchestras, chamber and choral music in the 1940s (Say, 1995). The establishment of the Turkish Republic put Ottoman music, or “Turkish classical music” as it was now called, into a new situation. As a consequence of the secularist reforms put into place by Atatürk, the closing of the dervish lodges in 1925 removed one of the most important patrons of traditional art music from the Ottoman period (Feldman, 1996, p. 16). Finally, the “Turkish Nation State” model, conceived by Gökalp and enacted by Atatürk’s regime, clearly stated that making references to Asian and Anatolian history would form the identity of the young Turkish Republic. Wanting to build its new identity on “its own culture,” the Republican ideology was of course obliged to define those cultural elements that were “its own” (Duygulu).

Folk music in Turkey is considered by its proponents and practitioners to play a specific role in creating a culturally unified and cohesive nation-state (Stokes, 1992, p. 20). With the defeat of the Ottomans and the occupation of Anatolia by British, Greek, French, and Italian

forces, and the eventual formation of the Ankara resistance, these diffuse currents of Turkist philosophy were sharply focused in the figure of the leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Stokes, 1992, p. 24). In order to establish a sense of pride in a Turkish nation, a break had to occur with its Ottoman past, and so the Kemalist republic had powerful incentives for emphasizing the differences between itself and the empire. In order to achieve this split, Mustafa Kemal emerged as the undisputed leader of the national resistance movement in the years 1919-1922, and his primary goal was for the new Turkish Republic to gain recognition and prestige in Europe (Zürcher, 2004, p. 99). This was evidenced by the fact that, within a short space of time, the religious apparatus of the Ottoman state had been dismantled, and the new government had endorsed the Gregorian calendar, the employment of metric weights and measures, the compulsory adoption of surnames, reforms of dress codes, language, and every expression of cultural identity (Stokes, 1992, p. 24-5). As we shall observe from analysis of Ziya Gökalp's *The Principles of Turkism*, music was considered a vital element in this larger social transformation, and it was specifically Turkish folk music that would enable the people to affect this transformation musically.

As stated earlier, the degree to which these Turkist philosophies came to fruition during the first half of the twentieth century is astonishing. The establishment of a Turkish folk style to be expressed in a Western musical model was carried out in a variety of ways, perhaps most important of which was the enlistment in 1935 of Béla Bartók to conduct a research trip in rural Turkey. This was a venture designed not to directly establish a national opera or symphony orchestra, but to instigate a systematic and scientific collection of folk music (Stokes, 1992, p. 37). For Bartók, presumably this venture presented an opportunity to expand his repertoire of material for his own composition; for the Turkish Republic, to document the existence of a uniquely Turkish style of music: this collection was a systematic attempt to extract a purely Turkish identity from the music of the Anatolian countryside. He travelled, at the subsequent invitation of the Ankara *halkevi* (house of the people) to İstanbul, Ankara, and then Adana in the south of Turkey. His research was conducted through the use of an Edison phonograph and his own written transcriptions. Bartók's folk music was however considered a success in terms of the example he set, particularly in his painstaking techniques of notation and transcription (Stokes, 1992, p. 37).

As has been established, the cultural policy from the founding of the Republic to 1950 supported Western music. Musical education in Turkey during this period was based on the principle that such training in this field is compulsory for everyone, as music is the leading element of common general culture (Say, 1995, p. 275). The *Darülelhan*, mentioned by Gökalp as an institution in need of reform, was the first Turkish conservatory. It was closed in 1921, to be re-opened in 1923 with Turkish and Western music departments. The Istanbul Municipal Conservatory was established in 1923, and two years later, a Teachers' Academy was set up in Ankara to train music teachers in the new Turkist musical style. The increasing demand for musicians trained in accordance with the most recent techniques resulted in the establishment of the third conservatory, this time in Ankara in 1936. That same year, preparations were begun for the development of a Turkish opera within the conservatory in Ankara. The establishment of so many conservatories in so short a time is indicative of the importance placed on education of musicians who could become well versed in the Western musical style. It also created an environment that fostered further development of this style through the research and cataloging of Turkish folk music.

In particular, the Turkish cultural authorities sought to bring out a Turkish musical language that could blend well with Western harmonies, and in order to accomplish such a synthesis, the system of *makam*, adapted from the Arabic musical modes, had to be dispensed with. The quarter tones present in the *makam* were impossible to harmonize using Western chord structures. It was perhaps for this reason that Turkish national intelligentsia aimed to align itself more closely with the nation's Asian musical heritage through the use of the pentatonic scale. This mode, consisting of five notes that coincide with pitches found in Western major and minor scale structures and had already been used by Western composers, provided a compatible basis from which to ultimately establish a Turkish national operatic and symphonic music.

The Turks saw as potential models the various nationalist schools of composition that arose throughout Europe in the nineteenth century: the Czech school of Smetana and Dvořák, the Finnish school of Saint-Saëns, the Spanish school of Albéniz, Granados and Fallas, and, the most direct model for the Turks, the "Russian Five" of Balakirev, Mussorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Cui, and Borodin. In order to achieve success similar to that of the national music school of Russia, Cemal Resit Rey, who had received music education in France, was invited to Turkey. Other talented young musicians, such as Ahmet Adnan Saygun, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Hasan Ferit Alnar and Necil Kazim Akses were sent to schools in Paris, Vienna, and Prague ("Songs of Passion", p. 7). These composers, in a manner similar to the Russian five, would become the leading figures of Turkish symphonic and operatic music in the twentieth century.

Indicative of the degree to which these composers adhered to the nationalist agenda is Ahmed Adnan Saygun's 1934 report to the Historical Society at the Teachers' Academy in Ankara, which was later developed and published as a treatise, *Pentatonism in Turkish Folk Music*, in which he states the following:

1. In the musical journey of mankind, pentatonism is not something which all races have in common. It has a completely racial quality.
2. Pentatonism is the stamp of the Turk in his music.
3. Wherever pentatonism is present:
 - a) the people living there are Turks
 - b) Turks, founding a civilization in those places in ancient times left their influence on the local people.
4. The homeland of pentatonism is Central Asia, the homeland of the Turks.
5. Its directions of diffusion are those of the Turks.
6. Comparisons of various pentatonic characters will provide us with very important results. These comparisons will make it possible for us to determine the origins of Turks who are living far from their homeland (Duygulu; Saygun, 1934, 1936).

This treatise reads as though a realization on musical-theoretical terms of Turkism as laid out by Gökalp. In fact, Saygun's *Yunus Emre Oratorio* (1942) won international acclaim for its combination of *makam*, Western harmonic progressions, and pentatonism in the same piece.

Mass Media: Turkish National Radio and National Folk Music

Up until now, we have observed the ways in which Ziya Gökalp's *The Principles of Turkism* has been manifested in Turkish culture and society during the first half of the twentieth century. However, there are modes of cultural interaction that Gökalp did not anticipate in his philosophical volume. Mass media outlets, such as radio and recordings, gave the Turkish people ways of spreading culture that both supported and subverted the techniques of nationalist cultural manipulation. Initially, the period of Western reforms was helped by the radio. Groups and ensembles founded to research, preserve and perform traditional music between 1923 and 1950, were established at Istanbul and Ankara Radios, and presented most successfully traditional music retaining its authentic features (Say, 1995, p. 261). Thus research, collection, performance, and state media policy became tightly interconnected with the operation of a national radio broadcast.

Seminal in this process was the formation, by Muzaffer Sarısözen, of the *Yurttan Sesler* (Voices from the Homeland) chorus for a radio program of that name in 1948 (Duygulu). Sarısözen had been connected with the Ankara state conservatory archives from the late 1930s, and used these archives as material for his teaching and performing repertoire at the state radio station in Ankara (Stokes, 1992, p.40-1). *Yurttan Sesler* put forth a monumental effort to broadcast these local styles countrywide, and realize its fundamental goal of uniting the entire country. Sarısözen explains the ideology behind *Yurttan Sesler*:

“The broadcast of folk songs, which the Radio has held onto fervently and performed successfully, is not only about providing a pleasant time for the listener nor simply giving an idea about our folk song types. *Yurttan Sesler*'s foremost goal is to unite our hearts and create a single feeling throughout our country. It hardly needs explaining any more that the artists working for *Yurttan Sesler* are creating an entirely new kind of fortress, and even the most modern agents of destruction will not be able to knock the tiniest piece from it.” (Duygulu).

This statement falls in line with the rhetoric of the nationalist reform movement. Moreover, the chorus was crucial in establishing a sense of Turkish pride through its inclusion and performance of all the folk styles throughout Turkey, which could now be contained within a single entity of public radio broadcasting.

Ottoman Traditions

However, since the early 1900's the recording industry also turned towards this new concept of folk music. There were thus two fundamental groups with a stake in the folk music practice of this period. On one side was the musical practice founded on the control principle of radio stations, which highlighted Turkish identity and heeded local styles; and on the other was commercial folk music, which behaved completely according to market demands (Duygulu). The market demands in turn provided a wild card in the establishment of pure Turkish identity since they operated largely out of government control. Thus began an evolution in style that represented in many ways a continuation of Ottoman musical styles that were adapted to suit the tastes of the new Turkish middle class. This more Ottoman-friendly style of music became characterized as *alla turca*, as opposed to the Western *alla franca*, and was censored by the government within their spheres of influence. The overall social change imposed upon these musicians not only created new musical practices such as how and where music is made, but

also the audiences. Music was not the preserve of cultural elite anymore, it was now being heard in social clubs, concert halls, and commercial establishments (“Songs of Passion”, p. 8). These changes were being recorded and disseminated throughout Turkey.

This process of change taking place within the *alla turca* style ultimately gave way to new and popular genres that had their basis in Ottoman musical tradition. However, the decline of Ottoman Classical music had been underway for decades before the establishment of the Republic. This, coupled with the shift in patronage from the court to the middle class population of Turkey necessitated certain adjustments to the music. These adjustments included moving from the meter of *divan* literature to the syllabic meter of folk literature, leaving the classical forms of the *fasıl* and moving towards simpler forms in an effort to address large audiences rather than an elite class (“Songs of Passion”, p. 11). The transformation of the *fasıl* from a courtly to a bourgeois tradition resulted in the reinterpretation one of the more popular forms in Turkey, the *şarkı*, or song form.

Şarkı represents the synthesis of folk content and Ottoman tradition. While *divan* literature of Ottoman times employed couplets, this form was based on stanzas (“Songs of Passion”, p. 9). A highly problematic characteristic of this genre from the nationalist point of view was its adherence to principles of *makam* as it related to the structure of the song. *Makam* has had a long history within Turkish musical tradition, dating back as long as the fifteenth century, when a *fasıl* suite of compositions was used to explore all the possible melodic aspects of a single *makam*. In the more modern sense, a typical *şarkı* usually consisted of stanzas of four verses, each of which revealed a different segment of a given *makam*. In a song that has four verses, the first verse displays the characteristic melody of that *makam*, the second verse is patterned with the most striking melodies of the *makam*, the third verse is the locus of transition or at least, expansion, and the fourth verse is again refrain, based on the melody of the second one. Thus, in terms of simplicity of lyric content and song structure, the *şarkı* offered an accessibility and lightness appreciated by the general public. In terms of its remaining situated within the *makam* tradition, it provided a way of reconnecting with an Ottoman past.

In the early twentieth century, these folk style *şarkı* that were performed by *fasıl* musicians became increasingly popular. This established a musical movement that in many ways countered and balanced the extreme Westernization and nationalistic music supported by the early Republic. The records of Münir Nurettin, a singer who performed as much in the old *divan* lyrical meter and *fasıl* tradition as he did the more popular *şarkı*, were in great demand (“Songs of Passion”, p. 9). There also existed a faction within Turkish musical intelligentsia that wanted to use the Western style conservatories to promote Ottoman music. Foremost among these people were scholars and musicians like Rauf Yekta, Mildan Niyazi, Dr. Suphi Ezgi, Husein Saadettin Arel, and Rusen Ferid Kam, who sought to catalog the *makam* and transcribe Ottoman classical compositions (“Songs of Passion”, p. 9). At the same time, the spread of recordings from the West introduced waltzes, mazurkas, fox trots, jazz bands, and fantasies, elements of which found their way into the *şarkı*. In these ways, the recording industry’s responses to bourgeois popular taste facilitated its own musical identity, one that operated outside of government censorship yet had the ability to interact with and affect the nationalist style of music.

CONCLUSION

From the founding of the Turkish Republic in 1923, we observe a period of intense

musical metamorphosis from a music that had its basis in the Ottoman style to one that was systematically extracted from these roots and supplanted within a Western idiom that was more aligned with the politics of the new regime. This shifting of foundations during the tumultuous first half of the twentieth century was largely successful, as evidenced by the coming to fruition of nearly every one of Ziya Gökalp's ideas concerning Turkist musical reforms. An orchestral tradition accompanied by an academic institution to support and expand it was established along Western lines, while a sense of pride in Turkish culture and folk tradition came to the fore with research institutions and performance entities such as *Yurttan Sesler*. However, to say that the Turkist philosophy was all encompassing would be inaccurate. The development of the *şarki* was subversive to this political agenda in the sense that it went against the official policy of the Republic to reject Ottoman influence on moral and historical grounds. In any case, the creation of a government funded national music had significant consequences on a musical culture that had been significantly altered from its form just a few decades prior. The landscape thus became a blank canvas onto which the struggle for identity and individual expression was played out for the most part between Western, Eastern, and folk idioms.

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