



THE DEADLOCK OF NATION-STATE: THE PROBLEM OF NATIONALISATION OF MUSIC DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

From the early 1930s onwards, there has been an evolution of policies concerning music in Turkey based on the ends, which were targeted through cultural planning and national cultural building. The new republican regime that stood distant to tradition, tried to establish a national music, carrying the legacy of *Tanzimat reform era*; a music that is nationalist in character but based on major western influences. This period also reflects a time, which a major debate started within the intelligentsia regarding the place of music in state policies, radio broadcasting and education. In fact, this debate had surfaced the bitter discussion upon the cultural evolution, which started during the mid-19th century. Direct intervention by Mustafa Kemal in the search of a national music revealed this art form, in fact, was a major symbol in the process of building the new national character. The so called “*Music revolution*” as appeared in the written texts of the time, left deep influences on both public life and musical culture of the new nation. This paper aims to present the building of the nationalist character of the music during the early republican era of Turkey in relevance with the usage of political instruments and their reflections on public life. The article will also assess the Turkish experience in terms of 20th century nationalist culture building processes.

Keywords: Nationalism, Culture, Music Politics, Early Republic, Turkey

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ULUS DEVLETİN KÜLTÜREL AÇMAZI: TÜRKİYE’DE ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE ULUSAL MÜZİK SORUNSALI

ÖZET

1930’ların ilk yarısından itibaren Türkiye’de de Cumhuriyet’in kültürel planlamacılığı ve ulusal kültür yaratma hedefleri arasında müzik politikaları dikkat çekici bir şekilde dönüştü. Yeni rejimin gelenekle olan mesafeli ilişkisi ve Tanzimat’tan gelen sürecin de etkisiyle müzik Batılı ancak ulusal karakterde şekillendirilmeye çalışıldı. Bu dönem aydınları arasında, devletin resmi politikalarında, radyo yayıncılığında ve eğitimde müzik konusunda canlı bir tartışma ortamı oluştu. Aslında bu ortam 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren daha belirgin hale gelen kültürel dönüşümler üzerinden bir hesaplaşmayı beraberinde getirmekteydi. Bizzat Mustafa Kemal’in tavrında yansıyan yeni ve ulusal karakterde bir müzik arayışı yeni toplumun inşa sürecinde müziği kültür alanındaki en simgesel unsur haline getirdi. Dönemin metinlerinde “*müzik devrimi*” ifadesiyle karşılık bulan resmi politikalar müzik yaşamı üzerinde köklü etkiler bıraktı. Bu makalede erken Cumhuriyet’in ulusal müzik inşa süreci, bunun araçları ve toplumsal yansımaları ele alınacaktır. Söz konusu süreç 20. yüzyılda milliyetçiliğin kültürel kurumlar üzerindeki dönüştürücü etkisini dikkate alarak değerlendirilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Milliyetçilik, Kültür, Müzik Politikaları, Erken Cumhuriyet, Türkiye

INTRODUCTION

“Nationalism closes the gap between music and culture more than any other form of identity. In so doing, it heightens the disjuncture created by conflicting musical processes for constructing the nation”³

Nationalism was the most successful political force of the 19th century. It emerged from two main sources: The Romantic exaltation of "feeling" and "identity" and the liberal requirement that a legitimate state is based on a "people" rather than, for example, a dynasty, God or imperial domination. The German Confederation was a loose association of 39 German states in Central Europe, which was created by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, to replace the Holy Roman Empire and to coordinate mainly the economies. Later in the 19th and 20th centuries, the Austro-Hungarian, the Ottoman and the Russian Empires succeeded by the former Soviet Union, dissolved into nation-states (Rice, 2005, pp. 117-122).

It stands to reason to interpret the 20th century with its dissolution of empires and the foundation of nations based on the paradigm of a nation-state. While building borders, institutions and public relations, nation-states aimed at fictionalizing their cultural structures due to their revisionist or “nationalistic” characters. The regimes evolving from the Balkans,

³ Bohlman outlines the comprehensive model of the relationship between music and nationalism relation that fits the Turkish case well. Güray, C. (2015). “A Change of Perception: The Rapprochement of the State with the Colours of Anatolia Through Traditional Musics”, In Which Direction is Music Heading? Cultural and Cognitive Studies in Turkey Edited by Firat Kutluk and Ugur Turkmen, Cambridge Scholars Press, p. 110.

Eastern Europe and also in the Near East tried to establish their neo-patrimonial national characteristics on Habsburg, Ottoman and Russian imperial legacies which also implied a multinational heterogeneous cultural pragmatism. While building up a national culture, music was a major phenomenon with direct impact on the nation-state. Therefore, music became an instrumental art including both the socio-cultural and ideological presentation of the nation-state (Barkey and Hagen, 1997).

Early Republic, Kemalist Nationalism and Music Life in Turkey

The Republic of Turkey was officially proclaimed on the 29 of October 1923 in Ankara. From the early 1930s onwards, the new republican regime under Mustafa Kemal Atatürk made a huge effort to reorganize culture politics and to adapt it to the needs of the young nation. The new republican regime kept distance from the Ottoman tradition and tried to establish a national music. Pursuing the legacy of the prior Tanzimat period (1876), the aim was to create and support a music which has indeed a nationalist character but is based on major western influences. Also, during this period a major debate started within the intelligentsia about the state's policy on radio transmissions. In fact, this debate mirrored the bitter discussion upon the cultural evolution which had started during the mid-19th century (Berkes, 1964, pp. 144-155).

Atatürk's direct intervention in the process of creating a national music shows that this art was regarded as a major corner stone of success during the process of building the new national character. The "Music revolution" as it was called in the publications of the period, deeply affected both public life and musical culture of the new nation.

During the 1930s worldwide economic crisis, Turkey pursued a liberal economic policy. Considering the political atmosphere of the period, this was not surprising. The opposition had been restricted, and educating the masses according to the principles of Kemalist revolution, had priority for the government (Tunçay, 1981, pp. 282-293). The single party system facilitated the process of forming the new Turkish citizen. The control over the musical life was also included in this new political system (Ahmad, 1993, pp. 63-64).

During the same time, the arts have also been controlled and regulated by the authorities in certain European countries. Germany, between the two World Wars, could be the most evident example for this kind of policy. The measures of Hermann Göring and Joseph Goebbels, filled in the people about the music regime and was regarded to be convenient and quite successful. The 'Reichsmusikkammer' was founded in 1933 and promoted "good German music". This means music composed by Aryans was seen as consistent with Nazi ideals, while 'degenerate music', which included atonal music, jazz and music by Jewish composers was suppressed. The institute extolled and promoted 'good German music', specifically those of Beethoven, Wagner, Bach, Mozart, Haydn, Brahms and Bruckner to legitimize the claimed world supremacy of Germany in terms of culture. 'Deutsche Musikkultur' was founded in 1936 by Peter Raabe, Fritz Stein and Christhard Mahrenholz, to head the music policy of the Third Reich. Composers like Paul Hindemith, Anton Schönberg and conductors like Otto Klemperer and Bruno Walter were some of the numerous victims of discrimination (Kutluk, 1997, pp. 19-21). Italy pursued a similar policy with the Syndicate of Fascist Musicians. Composers like Goffredo Petrassi advocated a

musical style which formed a strong ideological relationship with the regime (Kutluk, 1997, p. 28).

Although the political ideology in Russia differed from Germany and Italy, the communist regime pursued the same strategies to control the arts. Both the Association of Contemporary Music (ASM) and the Russian Association of Proletarian Musicians (RAPM) were founded in 1923 in Moscow to create and promote a proletarian music culture. The associations were unified in 1932 with the Russian composers association. Those impacts on the musical life and the arts have also been successfully completed. Composers like Dmitri Shostakovich, Sergei Prokofiev and Aram Khachaturian faced the criticism of the regime for not supporting enough of the ideology.⁴ As Howard S. Becker points out, political hymns and revolution songs have been essential for the development of the movement. Patriotic songs and movies strengthened the class consciousness. Music and art approved by the regime were used to inculcate the people (Becker, 2013, p. 211). In the Republic of Turkey, the introduction of Western classical music grew from a reform that comprised the very understanding of officially promoted culture, “resulting in conversion almost on a civilizational level” (Pohlit, 2010, p. 5).

During the 1930's, music became the most important propaganda material besides tournaments, cinema and propaganda posters. This development had already started during the First World War. One of the most serious problems with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Ottoman Empire was to show the Allies during the First World War that they are a civilized nation. The public opinion in the West towards the Ottoman Empire was generally negative. To improve the image, an advertising campaign was started. Part of this campaign was to organize concerts and exhibitions abroad. The Mabeyn-i Hümayun (the orchestra of the Imperial Palace) under the direction of Zeki Bey, went with 80 musicians on a concert tour to Vienna, Dresden, Munich, Budapest and Sofia to perform works by Beethoven, Wagner, Schubert and Haydn. The ministry also organized exhibitions was headed by Celal Esad in Vienna and Berlin. The founders of the Turkish Republic pursued later the same image policy (Arseven, 1993, pp. 20-21).

The Turkish Republic had aligned itself with the West. But the beginning of the Westernization can already be tracked back to the Tanzimat era (Hanioğlu, 2008, pp. 94-96). The debate about ‘alaturka’ and ‘alafranga’ in music – the latter means ‘civilized’ Western music- was not a new topic in the young Turkish Republic which preferred the Western music (Hanioğlu, 2005, pp. 60-62). To finish the age-long debate, Muzaffer Reşid wrote 1933 in the *Varlık* that ‘alafranga’ would clearly be the winner in this debate. The term ‘alaturka’ would get automatically associated with the music of the mosques, Dervish lodges, Byzantine churches and other deeply symbolic sources of Ottoman arts (Hacıbrahimoglu, 2012, p. 267). So it would be impossible to consider ‘alaturka’ which reflects the multiculturalism and multireligiousness of the Ottoman Empire as a national music for the new Turkish civilization. He reasons that this music would be kept far from the people and could not cause any nationalist feelings in them (Güray, 2015, p. 4).

⁴ Şostakoviç D. (2010), *Bir Sovyet Sanatçısı Olarak Tarihe Tanıklığım*, çev. Volkan Terzioğlu, İstanbul: Yazılama Yayınları, also see Surovtsev Y. & Karagonov A. & Anastasyev A. (1978). *Sosyalizm ve Kültür Sovyet Sanat Tarihi Enstitüsü*, İstanbul: Konuk Yayınları.

The reform of Turkish music during the republic's early years and into the 1940s is a very interesting case. Reforms in music can be first detected in the idea of the 'imposed synthesis', developed by the young republic's leading ideologue Ziya Gökalp. In his well-known book 'Principles of Turkism' (1923), Gökalp provided the ideological foundations for the new republic, and to a certain extent was a manual for implementing 'the fusion' of Turkish ideas 'with those of the West'. He spoke of how Turkish music could become national and outlined a program for its future development. Gökalp divided existing music in the main Turkish lands into three classes: Eastern, Western and folk. 'Eastern' is the music of the elite during the pre-Republican era, although the peak of Ottoman cultural achievement in terms of music, was essentially Byzantine. The only 'healthy' music can be found in the folk music of Anatolia. 'Alaturka' could not be transformed into 'Alafranga' music because their essentials and souls would be completely different (Gökalp, 1339, p. 131). Simply to adopt Western music, according to Gökalp, is not a sufficient solution as it would not be possible to call it 'our music'. He writes: 'In order to create our own international music, we should work on our own melodies...and then polyphonize them according to the rules of Western harmonic music.' So it would not be a contradiction to be both Western-orientated and nationalist (Gökalp, 1959, p. 268). Cem Behar points out that this approach was already made before Gökalp and refers to Necip Asım's publication in the 'Türk Yurdu'. In his essay 'Our language' (Dilimiz), Asım suggests to collect the folk music of Anatolia and to make national operas out of it. He seconds the way Hungaria was establishing a national music style and advices to bring experts from Hungary to Turkey to receive necessary tools for creating a national music (Behar, 1987, p. 94-95). The idea of Anatolian folk music polyphonized with Western harmonies was supported broadly by the intellectual elite of the young Turkish Republic. The 1926 program of the 'Türk Ocakları' (Turkish Hearths) organization seizes the ideas of both Gökalp and Asım (Üstel, 1997, pp. 223-225). From Atatürk's direct environment, Falih Rıfki Atay also divides Turkish music into the three classes, Western music, early music and folk music. He claims that 'our music should be the Western music merged with the folk music'. Kemalists could never be able to name the Ottoman or early music a 'nationalist music' (Atay, 1938, p. 4).

Sadri Ertem, takes the composer Dede Efendi as an example to flesh out this thesis. Born in 1778, Dede Efendi was one of the musical geniuses of the Ottoman Empire and belonged to the Mevlevi order. Ertem compares the composer and his work with hut and garment of the Mevlevi dervishes. As the clothes of the dervishes would be inappropriate for going out, the old Ottoman music could not reflect the republican soul, he claims. For Halil Bedii, the case is very simple: Folk melodies should be enriched with Western harmonies. The Western composition technics according to him are the tools to educate the new nations soul (Ertem, 1941, p. 7). Halil Bedii is not free of orientalist ideas. Without giving names, he writes about an Ud player who tried to bring a musical reform on the way (Bedii, 1340, pp. 129-132). But Bedii blames the Ud player for his efforts. Such behavior makes it easy to understand why virtuosi of the Ottoman music like Şerif Muhiddin Targan emigrated to the United States (Işıktaş, 2013, pp. 49-50).

During the 1930's "Alaturka" was constantly downgraded. The most striking example, is the ban placed on Alaturka music from the radio in November 1934. "The model for Turkey should not be Radio Cairo, it should be a Western Radio", said the supporters of the ban (Üstel, 1993, p. 40). According to them, Turkish music would not help to learn

Western music. Chamber music and choirs performing polyphonic music should take over the place of Alaturka and Fasil (Mahmut Ragıp, 1935, p. 342). Radio was considered to be the most powerful tool to educate the ears and taste of the young generation. In the course of time, the sound of Ud, Ney and Kemeñçe would be replaced in the ears of the nation with the music of Bach, Mozart and Beethoven (Yolcu, 2014, p. 204). So the polyphonic music would be the music of the Turkish nation in the end.

This ban placed on Turkish music has an exciting history of its own. Mustafa Kemal made his second public assessment of Turkish music in his opening speech at the 1934 session of parliament. He asked for a rapid program: “What is required is the collection of national expression that conveys fine thoughts and feelings, and without delay, putting it into music along the lines of the most modern rules. Only in this way can Turkish national music rise to take its place among the music of the world.” The impact of Ziya Gökalp is evident here. The connection made between the so called “Kemalist Renaissance” in Asia and the music in the early years of Turkish Republic deserves closer attention (Atatürk, 1989, p. 396; Atatürk, 1987, pp. 212-213). According to Selim Sırrı Tarcan, a nation would always own its own music and to superimpose the music of other cultures would cause a loss of identity. A possible solution would be to compare Western music with Turkish music, look what is missing there and make the necessary adaptations (Tarcan, 1935, p. 204).

This strategy was also assumed to help create a national Turkish opera. Adnan Saygun’s 1934 composed opera Özsoy is the earliest example for this kind of adaptation. The basic condition shows how authentic Turkish folk melodies can be woven together with the Western music system and becomes evident in the score. Or as Muzaffer Reşid says: “The harmony of the national soul was created by the young generation with Western technics within the first ten years of the republic and this is the way the basics of modern Turkish art were created.” (Yolcu, 2014, p. 205).

Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, the musicologist and folklorist is not as dogmatic as Ziya Gökalp and his supporters (Mahmut Ragıp, 1340, p. 154). He seconds indeed to complete the pureness of folk music with Western harmony. But the way to do it should be more flexible and not only be limited to Western music (Ayas, 2014, pp. 104-105). In his article, published in Milli Mecmua, he emphasizes that the Western harmonization of the folk songs (Türkü) should be an option. Inspiration for composers could come from other cultures and sources too. To impose restriction by only using Western techniques, creativity and flow in the arts would be blocked. Besides, he points out that incesaz, the music of the urban Ottoman upper class, could also be national music. “Alaturka” might have its roots in Byzantine culture and in Iran, but this music always had its audience. So a possible solution for creating a national music would not only be limited to research about the music of the village and its adaptation. The music of the urban elite could be adapted too. Gazimihal might not agree completely with Ziya Gökalp but he also sees the pureness of the folk music and its pentatonic system and certain national character. Cemal Reşit Rey experimented in 1926 and 1927 with the harmonization of Turkish folk music, he praised it to the skies and treaded in Belá Bartóks footsteps (Behar, 1987, pp. 98-103; Ayas, 2015, p. 161). In his latter published book, he claims the harmonization of the folk repertoire to be the best solution for a national music (Gazimihal, 2006).

Folk Music and Turkish National Identity

The connection between folk music and national music is the sense of creating a nationalist character, which deserves a closer look. Herder, argued in the 19th century that national identity and spirit was most authentically expressed in rural speech, folk tales, and folk songs.⁵ Supporting the search for a nation's patrimony, "musical folklorists" began to collect "folk songs" from villagers in the countryside. Transcriptions of these songs in musical notation were compiled in books that took their place alongside the ostensibly great works of literature and art music in the national libraries. Classically trained composers, often, collectors themselves, used the peasants' melodies to write "national music", typically orchestral tone poems, rhapsodies and operas expressed the national spirit for an urban bourgeois audience. This political impetus generated enormously valuable researches under the premise of urbanization, education and industrialization.⁶

So, "Invention of the tradition" could be selected as the keyword for describing the development of national music.⁷ All national culture is rooted in the folk culture. So researches about folk culture has priority. The reanimation of the ethnic roots and the village culture was a characteristic for the first years of the young Turkish Republic (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 10). Gellner, however points out that nationalism tends to develop a feeling of supremacy whose base would not be the real folk culture. Nationalists would rather put an invented folk culture over the real traditions (Balkılıç, 2009, p. 22). The cultural space of folk music responds to two broadly conceived sets of metaphors, temporal and spatial, respectively. By their very nature, the temporal and spatial metaphors of folk music's cultural space are mutually dependent. Folk music's temporal spaces are made possible because of its numerous narrative qualities, in other words, the capacity of folk music to tell stories. These stories may be tales about individual or communities, and they may generalize the moments that together form the narrative of human life. They employ fantasy to make characters and events larger than life, or they may take specific historical occurrences as points of departure. There are repertoires of folk songs that function in tandem with rites of passage, and there are others that, removed generations from historical events, create a narrative qualities are, they transform folk song and dance into stages on which the complex events that define a community, region or nation are performed (Bohlman, 2002, p. 71).

Studies about folklore and ethnography supported the development of a new Turkish identity. So the Türk Dil Kurumu (*Turkish Language Council*) and the Türk Tarih Kurumu (*Turkish History Council*) were founded in the 1930's and contributed to the growing Turkish national identity (Katoğlu, 2009, pp. 42-45). The Turkish identity has to

⁵ There is considerable evidence to support a view that Herder was able to develop an sustained interest in folk. Herder's role as an inventor of World music has music has also acquired significance because of its influence on several critical areas of Enlightenment thought and then beyond on the Romantic and modernist development of that thought. To Herder are attributed several fundamental critical formulations of nationalism; 19th-and 20th-century scholars extended his arguments about folk music to national music and ethnic music (Bohlman, 2002, pp. 40-41).

⁶ Each nation had its indefatigable collectors and activists, among the most famous of whom were Cecil Sharp (1859-1924), Ralph Vaughan Williams (1872-1958), and Percy Grainger (1882-1961) in England; Nikolay Rimsky-Korsakov (1884-1908) in Russia; and Belá Bartók (1881-1945) and Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967) in Hungary (Rice, 2014, pp. 14-15).

⁷ For the invention of tradition, see Hobsbawm, 2006, pp. 1-18.

be defined according to the official meaning of the regime with the rural folk culture of Anatolia while Istanbul is still considered to be the symbol of the multiethnic Ottoman Empire (Ahmad, 2003, pp. 88-89). The researches about folk culture and language during the first years of the republic seem to have been without limit. The folksongs were researched with the technics of Western musicology. So Turkish national music was born out of the research of local traditions and Western musical knowledge. According to 'Çığır' and 'Varlık', young composers should be urged to visit Anatolia, and collect the folk songs and create a national music for the Turkish youth, following the path of Atatürk. According to Kösemihal, the development of Turkish national music would be empowered as more young composers produce and also criticize each other. Music would be the tool to show and teach the principles of the Kemalist revolution, like a bonfire, it would help to adapt to the new life style in the new republic. So national music would teach the correct behavior to the people. Dance was considered to have the same impact and strategies needed to develop a national Turkish dance which are similar to those of music (Yolcu, 2014, p. 206). In the process of making the Zeybek a national dance, the connection between Atatürk and Selim Sırrı Tarcan is worth a glance. Because national music is a music that a nation could perform together, the Zeybek is assumed to be a "social dance" that can be danced by the whole nation (Öztürkmen, 2006, pp. 128-129). According to Tarcan, the main characteristic of a national dance is a collective concept and not an individual improvisation. Tarcan's favorite dance is the Sarı Zeybek for which he also made a new composition. As Sarı Zeybek is danced both by men and women, it also fits the needs for a national dance of a modern republic.

Until the year 1957, several trips were made every year to Anatolia to collect thousands of folk tunes. Yusuf Ziya Demircioğlu from the Istanbul Conservatory travelled in 1927 four times to Anatolia and took the notation of 850 folk songs. The collection has been published in the 15 volumes "Halk Türküleri." The most serious effort was made in 1937 from Ankara Conservatory. The institution published a total of 10.000 folk songs by 1957 (Ülkütaşır, 1973, pp. 30-31). Muzaffer Sarısözen in Ankara and Sadi Ataman in Istanbul created two choirs named Memleket Havaları (Songs of the Country) and Yurttan Sesler (Voices of the Country) for the radio which made it easy to spread the new national music throughout the country (Üstel, 1999, p. 46). The radio had become the most important tool for people's education since the early 1930s. With the effort of collecting folk repertoire, the content of the radio program became more versatile, Western music and folk music appeared abreast. After the radio ban, some people could not find "their music" anymore and turned to radio transmitters in Cairo, Tehran or New Delhi. This case had an effect on the people's music tastes in the next period (Kütükçü, 2012, pp. 48-49).

The programs of the People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) mirrored the regimes cultural policies and served to fill in people with new ideas in the arts. It mostly happened through music or theatre (Tunçay, 1981, p. 299; Zürcher, 2003, p. 180). A speech from Necip Ali Bey emphasized this aim, claiming that the old Fasıl music has a lack of rules and a new musical style would catapult the national melodies finally to the international musical world (Alp, 1936, p. 184). In the end, Turkish music would have its own character like Russian or Hungarian music. Joseph Marx, director of the Vienna Music Academy, spoke at a conference, held in the Eminönü Halkevi in November 1932. Marx advised the people to add new and progressive elements to the national music without destroying its original

character. But it seems that his report did not get enough interest from people in power in culture politics.

The people's houses have also been a platform for experts from Europe to share their experiences about national music. So Belá Bartók took part in these conferences in the Halkevi in Ankara in November 1936. He shared altogether in three conferences his researches about Hungarian and Turkish music. The young Turkish composers Ahmet Adnan, Ulvi Cemal and Necil Kazım made field studies especially in the area of Ankara and Adana. The report of the Folk Music archive focuses on the pentatonic character of the Turkish folk music. At the same time, the theories about the "Asian pentatonism" in the Turkish folk songs, rooted in Central Asia, became popular and got a wide range of support among the Turkish intellectuals (Bartók, 1991, pp. 13-14).

"After looking at the repercussions of the double narration of Kemalist populism-nationalism on the acts of folk music during the Early Republican Period, another important reflection of Kemalist populist-nationalist comprehension should be analyzed, which is the issue of pentatonism. In other words, another important debate to shape the opinions and efforts of Kemalist cadres was seen in the issue of the pentatonic characteristic of folk songs. This point is very important to understand the acts of Kemalist cadres on folk music in terms of the fact that the opinions on the pentatonic characteristic of the Turkish folk music was highly related with the Turkish History Thesis. On the other hand, it should be claimed that the historical and theoretical backgrounds of the pentatonic features of the Turkish folk songs were very weak." (Balkılıç, 2005, p. 87; Balkılıç, 2009, p. 138)

As a conclusion, the pentatonic elements, whose place of origin was Central Asia, could be found in the Turkish folk songs. Already, the existence of pentatonism was strictly related with the high civilizations of Turks in Central Asia. Compatible with the logic of narration in the Kemalist history thesis, these elements were disseminated to various parts of the world with the expansion of Turks; in fact, these elements could be found in the ancient civilizations of Anatolia (Balkılıç, 2005, p. 92-93; Balkılıç, 2009, p. 140).

The performance of songs and working in choirs and bands together and also instrumental education in the Halkevleri was supported by the government. Especially the march which plays a chief part in the political and ideological education (Karpas, 2004, pp. 401-402). The topics of the marches helped to develop a sense of community. Examples are the Ziraat marşı (March of agriculture), Çiftçi marşı (March of Farmers) or Sanat ve İktisat marşı (March of Arts and Economics). According to Domenach, musical phrases can effect people deeply, even in very advanced and educated individuals (Turan, 1998, pp. 143-144). That enthusiasm reaches the highest point in national marches of the ruling party or the nation's iconic songs. Each sound is heard directly in the chest and repeated in a religious sense in the collective of the choir. Singing in the choir is equivalent to combining and coordinating the masses.⁸ According to Benedict Anderson the best tool to create a

⁸ The nation joins together as a singing nation. The Communal experience of music-making generates a feeling of cultural intimacy, what Michael Herzfeld describes as the "social poetics" of the nation-state. Significantly, it is not one genre or repertory of music that lends itself to cultural intimacy, but virtually all kinds. As concepts such as unisonance and cultural intimacy make clear, national music

corporate identity would be the march.⁹ Music could make the people feel equal for a while. Especially the military and religious institutions, they used the power of music as an indispensable tool during the foundation of nation-states (Fischer, 2010, p. 184).

The Creation of a National Opera

The year 1934 was the most important in the musical debate. Atatürk's speech before the parliament had, without a doubt, the strongest impact. The most important result was the foundation of Music Commission on 26th of November 1934. "*The Academy for National Music and Performance*" was founded on 25th of June according to the law 2541. "The national music in our country has to be raised and propagated according to academic principles and the performance has to be trained efficiently in all branches, and music teachers have to be educated." The foundation of the Ankara Conservatory is also an outcome of this law and began in 1935. In the same year, Cevat Dursunoğlu made a contract in Berlin with the composer Paul Hindemith who had been declared persona non grata by the Nazi regime. Turkish government consigned Hindemith with the establishment of a Western conservatory to help with the organization of the musical life in the country. In addition, Hindemith's reports "Suggestions on how to emancipate the musical life in Turkey" were published in March and May 1936, the Ankara conservatory was founded in the same year (Hindemith, 1983, p. 33; Kahramankaptan, 2013).

The process of establishing a Turkish national opera was also accelerated. Mahmut Ragıp writes about it: "*The opera... the national opera... it will be the first measure in Turkish music, the first step on a new way, everyone has to compose. This is a necessity.*" (Okuy, 2013, p. 52). Gazimihal brought up the need for the national opera since 1930 in his publications in Türk Yurdu: "*Symphonic concerts will bring honor to the country*". The Cellist Bedri writes in an article that all civilized countries will focus on the development of dramatic music so it will be a necessity to create a national opera as soon as possible (Vişyonist Bedri, 1930, pp. 31-32). He recommends that the Turks should also promote a national music as the Russians would do. So the value given to the opera by the national elite becomes evident. There is a parallelism with the development of the 19th century opera in Europe (Hutcheon, 2006, p. 242). Mustafa Kemal pointed this out on the occasion of his visit in Sofia when he connected the achievements of the Bulgarian nation with opera performances he attended there (Kinross, 1964, p. 60).

First serious efforts to establish a national opera have been made in 1934. Three operas by Ahmet Adnan Saygun and Necil Kazım have been performed in Halkevleri. Those operas have been composed with the encouragement of Atatürk. Saygun's first opera *Özsoy* was composed for the visit of Rıza Şah Pehlevi from Persia (Yalçın, 1995, pp. 41-47). It was performed on the 19th of June 1934, in the Halkevi in Ankara and its topic was selected by Atatürk with corrections in the libretto.¹⁰ The mythological topic can be

is also fundamentally collective. It is hardly surprising that choruses often take it upon themselves to perform a music that unequivocally projects nationalism. (Bohlman, 2002, pp. 94-95).

⁹ "It is not only the nation that shapes national music. Music, because of its performativity, can powerfully shape the nation. To explain this performative power of music Benedict Anderson has coined the term, "unisonance", the sonic moment that occurs when people from throughout the nation gather in a shared performance of music." (Bohlman, 2002, p. 94; Anderson, 1995, p. 163).

¹⁰ "İran Şehin Şah Hazretleri'nin Şerefine Verilen Temsil", *Cumhuriyet*, 20 Haziran 1934.

interpreted as a historical emphasis in the relations between the two countries who were considered to be fraternal states (Atabaki and Zürcher, 2004, p. 221). The next opera with the character of a diplomatic mission was Saygun's *Taşbebek* in one act and Akses' *Bayönder*. The libretto for *Taşbebek* was written by Münir Hayri Egeli who also wrote the libretto for *Özsoy*. *Taşbebek* was composed for the celebration of the republic's 15th anniversary and Atatürk himself made the necessary corrections in the libretto. Akses' *Bayönder* was performed for the first time in Ankara on 28th of December 1934 (Komsuoğlu and Turan, 2007, pp. 5-30). So it becomes understandable that opera was unsatisfactory with the expectations from the beginning.

The article "Yarı Siyasal" (Semi-political), published in the *Ulus* newspaper on the 30th of December 1934, states that the current productions of operas would not be authentic. According to the newspaper, a national music has to be created firstly from the original repertoire and should not mingle with modern music. This mistake could be seen clearly in the first two operas. "The national motives can be found in the pure compositions of the shepherds in the mountains. Composers should not add their personal views to the composition." (Üstel, 1999, p. 44). It was clearly a kind of warning. For a successful musical revolution, an institutionalisation would have priority. Paul Hindemith gave in his report dating from 1936, advice on how to establish an opera system: an opera house has to be built first, then after, musicians, dancers, singers, and the technical staff should have a well-grounded education. The composers who create the national opera should be Turks. But the base would be provided by foreign experts (Hindemith, 1983, pp. 65-69). Prominent names among the foreigners who helped Turkey to establish the genre of opera and the education of young artists were from 1936 until March 1947, Carl Ebert, Dr. Praetorius, Eduard Zuckermayer and Markovits (Widmann, 1981, pp. 124-125).

The national operas were unable to meet the expectations. Because of this, Western popular operas were performed in the *Tatbikat Hall of Ankara Conservatory* starting from 1941. After attending Puccini's *Tosca* and *Madame Butterfly*, culture minister Hasan Âli Yücel stated that these performances opened a brand new chapter in Turkish humanism. Yücel had a holistic view about music. According to him, every kind of music would bring the mankind a new way of thinking and a new reception. So all compositions deserve respect. "The author and the composer may not be from us, but when we understand the words and the music, it will revitalize us. So the pieces and operas we are performing in the conservatory are ours too. They are Turkish and national. We actually educate our authors and composers in this way. The young artists and responsible people in the arts show their respect to the whole world". So Yücel wrote: "Although the writer or the composer may have another nationality, we are interpreting and shaping the words which means the dramas and operas performed by the State Conservatory belongs to us. They belong to the Turkish Nation. The writers and composers who prosper from this nation may only follow this lead. Young artists, you will implant the world's well respected names in to the Turkish nation's conscience by your success in art." (Arıkan, 2007, pp. 16-17).

According to Hasan Âli Yücel, the content of the national concept should be extended with humanistic thoughts. The young generation of composers should go abroad and when they return follow the new techniques of Western music and add local elements. As before, in Russia with the 'Russian Five', the composers Cemal Reşit Rey, Ulvi Cemal

Erkin, Hasan Ferit Alnar, Ahmet Adnan Saygun and Necil Kazım Akses formed the 'Turkish Five'. Their common aim was to use the colors of Turkish music while composing in the Western style. Cemal Reşit Rey, after 1926 used Turkish folk melodies, but after 1931, his music shows a more mystical character. Since the 1950s, he dedicated himself to bigger cyclic forms and composed symphonies in the style of an East-Western synthesis. His march for the Republic's 10th anniversary was used as a popular propaganda tool. Ulvi Cemal's Music shows influences of Turkish folk dance music, and traces of traditional modes and ideas of Islamic mysticism. Ferit Alnar's position is the most special one. He studied classical Turkish music and was a famous performer of the instrument called "kanun". After his education in Vienna, he turned to Western techniques and this synthesis is reflected in his work. He keeps the structures of traditional music and long improvised modulations (Taksim). In his 77 compositions, Saygun works mainly with folk songs but he was also inspired by fairy tales, epics and the mysterious chants of the Sufi tradition.

The musical politics in the first years of the Republic spent time developing strategies on how to educate the people. Since the Tanzimat period, an ongoing debate between alaturka and alafranga ended with the victory of alafranga. The 1930s were characterized by the debate over the national music in which Ziya Gökalp's cases prevailed. Those kind of eliminative measures resonated different in the environment of the classical Turkish music. First, the alaturka musicians started to organize themselves, especially about collective agreements. The 'Türk Musiki Cemiyetleri Federasyonu' (The Federation of Turkish Music Associations) which was founded by Ali Rifat Bey who also was the first president of the federation, is a typical example (Üstel, 1999, p. 42). The second reflex was to defend the origins and roots of the music. It is important to emphasize that in those published defenses the debate about Turkishness was excluded. Turkishness was regarded to be an ingredient according the rod of a multicultural empire as the Ottoman Empire was. The discussions in subsequent years are based on these developments (Arel, 1969). When the early Turkish Republic was building its cultural institutions through a national identity concept, musical life in other societies in progress of nationalisation, was transformed into an area of intervention field of the state.

The cultural and musical policy of the early republic era was, an attempt to create a powerful tool for the building of the new Turkish nation. This process symbolized the victory of the westernized elite over the alaturka-alafranga which had been ongoing since the Tanzimat period. During the 1930's, those arguments were replaced by debates over a national music. In the end, debates over the meaning of "national" and the approach of Gökalp's camp who labeled the classical Turkish music as "non national" prevailed. This excluding position caused various attitudes within the Turkish music circles. The first reaction came from the "alaturkacılar" group who had attempted to establish an organisation based on the recognition of common goals and rights of profession. "*Türk Musiki Cemiyetleri Federasyonu*", was formed under the presidency of Ali Rifat Bey in 1928, it constitutes an important example among such attempts. The second reaction was a defensive reflex against the critics that attacked the roots of the music. While such attempts aimed to carry the native Turkish music out of the scope of ongoing arguments, there was a tendency to present Turkish music as the product of the Turkish identity rather than a cultural heritage of a cosmopolitan empire (Ayas, 2014, pp. 289-294). It should be pointed out that the music revolution constituted a basis of the future partition within the music circles. While the early

republic built its cultural institutions over the terms of a national identity, the musical life became vulnerable to state intervention, a practice which occurred almost in any society that is in a process of nation building.

CONCLUSION

Recent studies on nationalism reveal the misleading comprehension of nationalist elite's intentional interpretation of an imposed culture on a passive society or a doubtful interpretation of the idea of nation building. National identity is a process that is embedded in the mechanized relations and routines of the society's interaction during daily life in which it is reproduced and discussed regularly. Nationalism leaves its mark upon many popular cultural practices, from sports to music (Özkırımlı, 2010, pp. 173-174). It affects the common norms that regulate the social behavior. Therefore it is natural to consider music as a part of the national identity. The political elites of the early republic intervened such details of the daily and personal life as a part of their modernization project. There was an attempt to reshape the society in terms of a modern and a nationalist character, not only with materialist symbols like clothing but also with solitary symbols like music. It should be noted that this situation was not only related to Turkey. It was related to a wider geography. Italian, German, British and Russian composers were influenced by romanticist nationalism and pursued the myth of national music. Such composers were searching for a music that was inspired by the "Volksgeist" which was a characteristic for every nation's own being. A naturally but slowly growing quest shaped the nationalistic character of the European music. In Turkey, the creation of the nationalist music was state-oriented. Music was an instrument of the Kemalist regime for creating solidarity and identity. While modernizing the society, its music was also recreated. Music books especially for kids were published after 1928 to spread the new musical style. The relation between music and the national state can be considered as a kind of "social engineering" project. Values have been discussed between the regime and the 'old society'. The debate about music not only mirrors the discussion about new social values, it is even its symbolic expression as Hobsbawm mentions. The modernization of the music is also reflected in the traditional music (Hobsbawm, 2006, pp. 14-15). So the Turkish makam Sultaniyegâh was changed to a Millî Yegâh. As G Minor is similar to the Nihavend makam, it has been called Nihavend Tango. The states' intervention however met a kind of passive resistance in the society. Music has still been produced according to preferences. It cannot be controlled completely by the state as people have their own cultural codes.

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