

POLYPHONY: USE OF CLASSICAL MUSIC AS AN IDEOLOGICAL DEVICE
IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

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This main scope of this study is to analyze how polyphonic music in Turkey was conceptualized in the reformist paradigm of the Republican perspective, resulting in an ideology. Polyphonic music tradition firmly established by the Musical Reforms in Turkey which took place as a part of total modernization process whose repercussions in the cultural sphere were shaped by notions of westernization and nationalism. The polyphonic music tradition in Turkey was appropriated ideologically by the state in an ideological way, in terms of attributing positive qualities to it as well as ideological and repressive measures taken against music traditions that were conceived undesired. Conceptualized as a cultural ideal by the Republican ideology, polyphonic music has become an indicator of social and cultural identity linked with a modern and western lifestyle. This study aims to contribute to the analysis of the ideological conception of polyphonic music in Turkey, emphasizing on its ideological roots, the extent of its practice and its reproduction.

Keywords: polyphony, ideology, cultural capital, self-orientalism, nationalism

ÖZ

ÇOKSESLİLİK: TÜRKİYE’DE KLASİK MÜZİĞİN İDEOLOJİK BİR ARAÇ OLARAK KULLANIMI

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Bu çalışmanın temel kapsamı, Türkiye’de çoksesli müziğin Cumhuriyet ideolojisinin reformist paradigması içinde kurgulanarak nasıl bir ideoloji oluşturduğunu incelemektir. Türkiye’de çoksesli müzik geleneği, öz-oryantalizm ve ulusalcılık düşünceleri tarafından şekillenen bir kültürel batılılaşma projesi olan Musiki İnkılâbı ile kurulmuştur. Çoksesli müzik geleneği, hem kendisine olumlu nitelikler atfedilmesi hem de arzu edilmeyen müzik biçiminde tanımlanan müzik geleneklerine karşı alınan ideolojik ve baskıcı önlemler kapsamında Türkiye’de devlet tarafından ideolojik biçimde kullanılmıştır. Cumhuriyet ideolojisi tarafından kültürel bir ideal olarak kavramsallaştırılan çok sesli müzik, modern ve batılı bir yaşam tarzıyla ilişkili bir toplumsal ve kültürel kimlik göstergesi haline gelmiştir. Bu çalışma, Türkiye’de çoksesli müziğin ideolojik kurgulanışının analizine; kökenlerine, uygulama alanlarına ve yeniden üretimine vurgu yaparak katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: çokseslilik, ideoloji, kültürel sermaye, öz-oryantalizm, ulusalcılık

To my father

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ISA	Ideological State Apparatuses
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television
CSO	Cumhurbaşkanlığı Senfoni Orkestrası (Presidential Symphony Orchestra)
İDSO	İstanbul Devlet Senfoni Orkestrası (İstanbul State Symphony Orchestra)
İzDSO	İzmir Devlet Senfoni Orkestrası (İzmir State Symphony Orchestra)
DOB	Devlet Opera ve Balesi (State Opera and Ballet)
CHP Party)	Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's
DP	Demokrat Parti (Democratic Party)
AP	Adalet Partisi (Justice Party)
DYP	Doğru Yol Partisi (True Path Party)
ANAP	Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party)
AKP	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
SHP	Sosyaldemokrat Halkçı Parti (Social Democratic Populist Party)
DSP	Demokratik Sol Parti (Democratic Left Party)

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“Polyphony” (çokseslilik) is a controversial word in the Turkish language. Other than being a musical term that has its origins in Western art music tradition, polyphony in Turkish language also has extra-musical connotations, most of which attribute polyphony positive social qualities such as its association with democracy, or the idea of collaboration or progress. These associations are native to the Turkish language, as they are by-products of the intensive modernization process that Turkey have had in the last 200 years and they provide valuable insights to the spirit of the Turkish modernization process, which began with Tanzimat Reforms in 1839, and later intensified with the Republican Reforms in 1920s and 1930. The scope of these reforms was to eliminate the sense of “backwardness” that Ottoman Empire and later Turkey have felt against the West, and to make the society compatible with the modern world. Apart from the institutional and technical measures taken in political, military, and economic spheres; such an idea also included a large-scale westernization in the cultural sphere, as the West was taken as an ideal, and especially within the Republican ideology, the idea of westernization has become synonymous with becoming contemporaneous. In this regard, music was one of the main fields wherein the cultural westernization in Turkey have had its impacts, and the concept “polyphony” has been essentially characteristic to the debates that have taken place in musical sphere ever since.

Turkish modernization process has been essentially characterised by its political nature. Ottoman Empire, once the most important political and military power of Europe in the 16th century, had experienced a decline for two centuries beginning with the 17th century, whose failure as a state had become evident especially in terms of military defeats. By the 19th century, Ottoman rulers had accepted the necessity of

establishing certain reforms and took western institutions and norms as models; and carried out their ideas through the redesign of the state bureaucracy. This particular notion has been central to the Turkish modernization, as it underlines the importance of bureaucracy, i.e. centralized state power as the main actor of modernization in Turkey, unlike in Europe, where local political powers, or clear segregation between different social classes, have had significant roles as modernizing forces. Given that, Turkish modernization depended on the reforms carried out by the bureaucracy within a reformist mindset and cultural westernization efforts as well have been carried out in the same paradigm.

In the musical sphere, the notion of cultural westernization in Turkey has manifested itself most apparently in the problematization of the concept “polyphony”. Polyphony, as a music theoretical concept that has been a governing principle of Western art music tradition, has functioned as a point of difference in the musical sphere of cultural westernization efforts in Turkey on the basis that, it was conceptualized as an indicator of progress and as well as the ultimate stage of musical evolution. According to this view, the traditional Turkish music had not historically possessed such a quality, therefore it was backward and not suitable for a modern society. Such a perspective, which gained prevalence especially with the Republican reforms, can be considered as a reflection of the feeling of “backwardness” in the musical sphere. Having set this view as a paradigm, the reformist mindset in Turkey sought to establish a new polyphonic music tradition in the country and therefore carried out certain reforms, and attributed socially transformative characteristics to music.

Given the essentially political nature of Turkish modernization; cultural westernization in Turkey has essentially been an ideological process. For the case of music, this ideological character has been clear in the sense that, the debates that have taken place around the problematization of “polyphony” as a musical concept, were not originated in musical sphere, but rather stemmed from political arguments of the reformist paradigm. The introduction of the idea that, traditional Turkish music was backward because it was monophonic was not a result of the aesthetic or artistic crises of the traditional Turkish music scene, but it has been a repercussion of the general sense of “backwardness” or “being late” in the musical sphere; and

adopting the notion of distinguishing between appropriate/ inappropriate, advanced/ backward etc. music traditions had particularly been a political decision. The ideological essence behind the conceptualization of polyphonic music as a superior tradition in the reformist perspective has also started to have political qualities with the Musical Reforms that were carried out in 1920s and 30s in Turkey in order to establish a new national music tradition which is compatible with universal norms, i.e polyphony but also representative of the newly established nation-state of Turkey. In this regard, westernization and nationalism have been two main notions that have characterized the ideological conception of the polyphonic music in Turkey. Beginning with the Musical Reforms, the polyphonic music tradition has established a particular ideology in Turkey, which manifested itself in terms of creation of polyphonic music institutions with the support of the state, adoption of discourses that favour polyphonic music; but also through measures taken against undesired music traditions in repressive or ideological manners. Such an ideology has maintained its upperhand position over other music traditions, even after its conceptualization as a social transformative instrument by the Republican reformist agenda was left after 1950, as it has already established itself as a legitimate culture through functioning as an indicator of a social identity associated with a western, modern and elite lifestyle in Turkey.

The literature regarding the sociological studies of polyphonic music in Turkey, as well as analyses of its ideological appropriation has grown significantly especially in the last years. Güneş Ayas, Özgür Balkılıç, Gönül Paçacı, Fırat Kutluk, Yiğit Aydın and Okan Murat Öztürk are among main contributors. Ayas' 2014 book, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi* is the most elaborate study about the theory and practice of Musical Reforms, and how the traditional Turkish music developed its own defence strategies in that period. Balkılıç's 2015 study, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*, on the other hand is a meticulous work about how folk music has been re-invented and appropriated for the nation-building process during Musical Reforms. *Cumhuriyet'in Sesleri* (1999) edited by Gönül Paçacı, included various articles not just about polyphonic music, but how the entire musical sphere in Republican era has evolved. Fırat Kutluk edited two major books, namely *Cumhuriyet'in Müzik Politikaları* (2018) and *İllüzyon: Cumhuriyet'in Klasik Müzik Serüveni* (2016) include collections of significant articles from various

authors. Yiğit Aydın in his master's thesis *Repercussions of the Nationalist Thought on Music During the Early Republican Period in Turkey (2000)* analyzed the roles of orientalism and nationalism in Musical Reforms, and later in an article which he co-authored with Ali Ergur, investigated the modernization of traditional Turkish music theory. Okan Murat Öztürk in his several articles analyzed the ideological scope of Musical Reforms and the impact of the official ideology on the development of the traditional Turkish music theory in the 20th century. In addition to these studies; Cem Behar, Bülent Aksoy, Gökmen Özmenteş, Onur Şenel, Uğur Küçükkaplan, John Morgan O'Connell, Orhan Tekelioğlu, Cenk Güray, Meral Özbek, Martin Stokes and Uğur Zeynep Güven have also provided valuable contributions to the music studies in the Republican era from a sociological perspective.

The aim of this study is to enlarge the extent of the theoretical framework that is established by previous studies but mainly for an examination of the Musical Reforms, in order to elucidate how the conception of polyphonic music in the Republican reformist perspective has constituted an ideology in Turkey; and how the polyphonic music tradition in Turkey conceptualized in the reformist paradigm has maintained its ideological conception until this day. It is claimed that, still today, the polyphonic music tradition in Turkey possesses an ideological quality, especially in terms of its social and cultural reception as a superior, modern, and elite tradition which is identified with western, modern lifestyles and associated as a mean for upward social mobility, as well as in its nationalistic conceptions, apparent in commissions for new works with nationalist narratives as well as discourses which promote polyphonic music artists as national representatives. The scope of this study, therefore, is to reveal, through which means and measures, the polyphonic music tradition as an ideology in Turkey has operated and maintained its upperhand position. For doing so, methods of content and discourse analyses have been used to examine the structures that the polyphonic music tradition have been appropriated.

In the second chapter, perspectives and key arguments of Terry Eagleton, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and Pierre Bourdieu are emphasized in order to establish a theoretical background for analyzing the relationship between culture and ideology mainly on the basis of how ideology possesses a function in governing social relations, how certain groups claim intellectual leadership in society, how ideological

and repressive tools are distinguished from each other, and how culture could be conceptualized as a form of capital. The perspective of Jacques Attali is briefly discussed for how music specifically has been historically related to politics; and an evaluation of the western cultural hegemony and establishment of polyphonic music tradition as a “fine art” has been made. The emergence of Eurocentric music scholarship, mainly examining the theories of Max Weber and Guido Adler has also discussed, especially in terms of its relationship with the orientalist perspective, in the sense as it was coined by Edward Said.

The third chapter discovers the ideological roots of polyphonic music tradition in Turkey, as how they are established through Musical Reforms. First, the essential characteristics of the total modernization efforts in Turkey are presented mainly around the theories of Şerif Mardin and Niyazi Berkes; and the role of music in these efforts are stressed. Secondly, the differences between western and Ottoman music traditions are explained, as those differences have later been ideologically appropriated. Thirdly, the three main ideological notions that characterized Musical Reforms, which are namely self-orientalism, nationalism and modernization, are analyzed in a framework whose terminology provided by studies of Güneş Ayas, Okan Murat Öztürk and Yiğit Aydın.

The fourth chapter investigates the practice of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey, through distinguishing between repressive and ideological ways it has used. Firstly, the discursive polyphonist elitism which has been one of the most manifest ways where the reformist mindset operated is analyzed through emphasizing the qualitative changes it has experienced in the last 100 years. Secondly, repressive measures taken against other music traditions, namely traditional Turkish music and *arabesk* after 1970s, in terms of their conceptualizations as “undesired” types are stressed. Thirdly, the impact of the polyphonist ideology in essentially musicological debates in Turkey through its function as an epistemological paradigm is evaluated. Lastly, the nationalist conception of polyphonic music in contexts where it has been appropriated as a tool for national representation, or as a mean for celebrating or commemorating nationally significant days as well as its adoption by Turkish composers through narrative and musical means are examined.

The fifth chapter focuses on the reproduction of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey. It starts with an analysis of the conception of polyphonic music as a cultural capital in terms of its function to have maintained the ideological qualities of polyphonic music tradition through its social and cultural reception, even after the socially transformative role assigned to it by the reformist paradigm during Musical Reforms was left by the later governments as state support for polyphonic music was diminished after 1950 in Turkey. Then, the contexts in which the ideology of polyphonic music has reproduced itself in terms of institutions are examined through evaluating the music curriculum in education system and the design of the conservatories. Lastly, the extent of how musicians have individually contributed to the reproduction of the ideology via internalizing the widely accepted beliefs and norms is discussed, by taking their working conditions and characteristics of certain composition competitions into consideration.

CHAPTER 2

MUSIC AND IDEOLOGY: A GENERAL APPROACH

2.1 Ideology, Culture and Different Forms of Capital

Prior to build a theoretical framework for analyzing the ideological conception of polyphonic music in Turkey; it is essential to be acquainted with the relationship between ideology and music, or culture in general. The theoretical start point of this particular study is designed through discussions and arguments of Terry Eagleton, Louis Althusser, Antonio Gramsci and Pierre Bourdieu, since it is believed that several key concepts used by these authors, such as ideology, repressive and ideological state apparatuses, doxa, cultural capital etc. have significant explanatory potent for understanding the relation between music and politics.

Ideology is a term that has different meanings and conceptualizations. In his study about the theory of ideology, Eagleton demonstrated that the history of debates in the theory of ideology includes different conceptualizations of the term, some of which also conflict with some other definitions as well. The widely accepted descriptions of ideology can be given as such:

- The process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life,
- A body of ideas characteristic of a particular group or class
- Ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power
- False ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power
- The conjuncture of discourse and power¹

¹ Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London ; New York: Verso, 1991), 1.

Eagleton underlines that all widely accepted meanings attributed to ideology have in fact resulted from the two main streams which have contributed to the theory of ideology: namely epistemological and sociological. In this regard, an evaluation of ideology emphasizing the process of generating knowledge, false cognition or mystification of reality as it has been discussed in line of thinkers such as Hegel, Marx and Lukacs; can be given as the epistemological conception of ideology. Whereas analyzing ideology in terms of the function of ideas within social life represents the sociological perspective in the theory of ideology, wherein an emphasis on practice is central.² In terms of this second perspective, Althusser's approach is given as an example on the basis that, ideology represents the way that how relations within the society are lived and influenced by unconscious, affective relations with the world; therefore it is not simply a matter of the question of truth or falsehood with an emphasis on the rationality.³

Through referencing the both epistemological and sociological perspectives in the theory of ideology, Eagleton starts discussing ideology in the context of its references to the question of power, the qualities through which ideology is perceived as a legitimization process for the power of a dominant social group, which is the most accepted definition of ideology according to him. He clarifies six main strategies that have been used for such a legitimization process, which include *promoting* beliefs and values congenial to it, *naturalizing* and *universalizing* such beliefs so as to render them self-evident and apparently inevitable, *denigrating* ideas that might challenge it, *excluding* rival forms of thought, and *obscuring* social reality in ways convenient to itself.⁴ Having said that, he also acknowledges that, not all ideologies necessarily take place through legitimization of a dominant political power, given that non-dominant thoughts and set of ideas that carry an oppositional character can be ideological as well; so the conception of ideology simply cannot be reduced to its role for legitimizing the dominant power.

² Ibid, 2-3.

³ Ibid, 18-19.

⁴ Ibid, 5.

At this point, Eagleton underlines one particular essential characteristic of ideology, which is its discursive quality. Rejecting the belief that every idea can be ideological, Eagleton claims that ideology is a matter of discourse, rather than language; as it operates through actual uses of language between particular human subjects for the production of specific effects. In this regard, ideology is a matter of who is saying what to whom with what purposes. Nonetheless, he adds that, the context is very significant for the production of these effects, as the same language unit might be ideological in a one particular context, and not in another.⁵ In this regard, Eagleton's this particular emphasis can be regarded in the same line with Althusser's conception of ideology in terms of social relations; yet Eagleton also acknowledges the epistemological prevalence of beliefs and assumptions that impact relations; and adds that, also for Althusser, ideologies contain a kind of knowledge, but they are not primarily cognitive, and the knowledge in question is less theoretical than pragmatic.⁶ Having said that, Eagleton approves the criticisms made to the conception of ideology as a false consciousness or a mystification, as for him, ideology should be recognized also as a material force that have enough cognitive content to organize practical lives of human beings, and many of the propositions that ideology brings in are actually true in certain contexts.⁷

The conception of ideology in terms of relations that organize practical lives is the start point of the theory of Louis Althusser, as he stressed the function of ideology and ideological apparatuses for the legitimization of a social order. Having developed his arguments in a Marxian approach based on class differences, Althusser's study is significant in terms of its emphasis on the significance of superstructure for ruling classes' maintenance of power, as it elucidates that universal and self-evident depiction of the values and norms that favour ruling classes are as important as their possession of means of production. In his study, Althusser analyzes the ways of domination and coins two type of state apparatuses which function as instruments of domination: ideological state apparatuses (ISAs)

⁵ Ibid, 9.

⁶ Ibid, 21-22.

⁷ Ibid, 26.

and repressive state apparatus (RSA). The repressive apparatus of the state is namely the unity of government, administration, military, police, courts, prisons etc.; whereas there are certain different ideological state apparatuses (ISA) such as religious ISA, educational ISA, family ISA, legal ISA, political ISA, cultural ISAs. According to Althusser, two characteristics separate repressive and ideological state apparatuses. The first is that, there is one repressive state apparatus in a unified way, whereas ideological state apparatuses are in multitude, and even if they feature in a unified way, they are not perceived unified directly. The second is that, the repressive state apparatus is limited with the public sphere solely, whereas ideological state apparatuses control the private sphere as well. Althusser states that, both repressive and ideological state apparatuses use means of repression and ideology; but ideology has secondary importance in the exercise of repressive apparatus, in the contrary, repression has secondary importance in ideological state apparatuses. The key emphasis of Althusser is that; no social class can maintain the state power without exercising their ideology through ISAs; and changes in ISAs take more time and effort, than changes in repressive apparatus.⁸ A new government can issue a new law easily in accordance with their ideology, but traditions and common beliefs in a society do not change with the same rate.

Althusser's this particular approach in terms of practical qualities of ideology, resembles Gramsci's conception of the hegemony to some extent. Hegemony for Gramsci is the "intellectual and moral leadership" of a social group in a society.⁹ For Gramsci, the state is controlled by the ruling classes and history of states is actually the history of ruling classes. Having that in mind, Gramsci distinguishes between domination and hegemony on the basis that, domination is associated with repressive elements of the state such as police and governmental power whereas hegemony is established through the exercise of indirect power in civil institutions such as schools, the church. etc. Given that, hegemony can be described as the ruling class' exercise of indirect power through consent of subaltern classes to their leadership.

⁸ Louis Althusser, *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*, tr. Yusuf Alp ve Mahmut Özişik (İstanbul: İletişim, 2002). 33-37

⁹ M. G. Durham & D. Kellner, "Media and Cultural Studies: Key Works" (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2012).

Both approaches by Althusser and Gramsci are actually elaborations of the Marxist thought, through going beyond its mechanical economism, which was considered by Gramsci to be inadequate to explain the “sphere of complex superstructures”.¹⁰ In this regard, understanding superstructures and particularly culture itself become an essential feature, acknowledging that ruling classes do not only exercise domination through repressive measures but also through ideological means that provide universality and legitimacy to the existing order in the cultural sphere, in a way perpetuating their own conceptualizations of the world to be seen valid by the whole society. The significance of these approaches is that, socio-economic changes themselves are not adequate to prepare certain political changes as the ideology of the ruling classes continues to persist. The ruling class does not only accumulate wealth and power, it also reproduces itself through institutions.¹¹ Within the cultural sphere, the existing social order, the values and norms of the ruling classes are legitimized. In this regard, the worldview of the ruling classes become universal and operational for the reproduction of the social order.

The impact of ideology in the cultural sphere takes place through assigning different social statuses to different cultural practices and goods as well as conceiving certain cultural practices with additional meanings. A certain cultural artefact, or piece of music might not be created deliberately by their creator in a pure ideological essence; yet the way how they are socially perceived, what social functions they possess, and which social roles their creators assume through act of creation and presentation make cultural sphere subject to ideology, in terms of how they are appropriated by the ideological state apparatuses. In this regard, cultural sphere possesses a key significance for the exercise of ideology, as it consolidates the tastes, beliefs and norms of the ruling class through claims of universality and subordinates other tastes, beliefs and norms.

¹⁰ Antonio Gramsci, *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935*, ed. David Forgacs (New York: New York University Press, 2000). 189.

¹¹ Marcia Landy, *Film, Politics, and Gramsci* (Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 1994). 25.

For the ideological conception of culture, the work of Pierre Bourdieu is quite significant, especially on the basis of new terms he coined, mainly *habitus*, *field*, and *different forms of capital* etc. Bourdieu's social analysis is built upon three concepts: *habitus*, *field*, and *capital*. For Bourdieu, all social interactions among people take place in various fields, in which certain types of capital are more important than other capital types. Bourdieu argues that there are four essential different types of capitals, which are namely economic (money and assets), cultural (forms of knowledge, taste, aesthetic and cultural preferences, language etc.), social (affiliations and networks; family heritage etc.), and there is also symbolic capital which stands for all the other forms.¹² All individuals possess a portfolio made up with certain amount of these capital forms, whose importance is dependent on the field in which the social interaction takes place. In this regard, Bourdieu deviates from the materialist conception of power and inequality in the Marxian understanding; as for him, power does not solely derive from possession of material sources but also from possession of cultural and social resources.¹³ Indeed, in Bourdieuan methodology, no concept of the trio *field*, *capital*, and *habitus* is given a causal or dominant character, on the other hand all these concepts are inter-dependent.¹⁴

The actions of individuals in the context of Bourdieu are characterized by their *habitus*. *Habitus* means the ways of acting, feeling, being and thinking of individuals, and conceptualizes the "social" embodied.¹⁵ For Bourdieu, the aspirations and expectations of individuals and their sense of what is reasonable and unreasonable, or likely and unlikely are conditioned by their *habitus*.¹⁶ In other words, *habitus* can be described as the operative force that governs the everyday practice of individuals in an unconscious manner.

¹² Michael Grenfell, ed., *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (Stocksfield: Acumen, 2008), 69.

¹³ Ibid, 88.

¹⁴ Ibid, 69.

¹⁵ Ibid, 52-53.

¹⁶ Ibid, 58.

Bourdieu's conceptualization of *field* is also insightful, as the term makes the analogy of social life with a competitive game; in which various social agents enter the game with an initial portfolio of different capital types and use certain strategies to maintain or improve their position in way of acquiring more capital. In this context, players who start to game with particular forms of capital are advantaged over others from the start. In this analogy, each field has its own rules, histories, star players.¹⁷ People simultaneously engage in various fields, such as economic field, education field, the field of arts, bureaucratic fields, etc.; and these fields are inter-dependent, as acquisition of certain capital in a field might contribute to another field engaged in.¹⁸

According to Bourdieu, each field is organized around a set of beliefs that provide the "logic of practice" to the field, with which social agents understand implicitly how to behave in the field. This set of beliefs is called "*doxa*" and determine "natural" practice and attitude in the field, through making individuals to internalise a certain "sense of limits". In other words, *doxa* refers to pre-reflexive intuitive knowledge shaped by experience and characterizes "what is taken for granted".¹⁹ In this regard, *doxa* can be considered as an epistemology that is native to a field. Alongside *habitus* and *field*, the other significant tool that Bourdieu uses for analysis is his conceptualization of capital. Bourdieu sees the social world as accumulated history and capital as accumulated labor in embodied form. For him, there are other capital forms than the notion of capital that had been developed by the economic theory, and it is impossible to understand the social world without taking all forms of capital into consideration.²⁰

As it has been briefly discussed above, in Bourdieu's understanding, capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as *economic capital*, which is convertible

¹⁷ Ibid, 69.

¹⁸ Ibid, 70-71.

¹⁹ Ibid, 120.

²⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital", ed. John Richardson, *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, 241-58.

into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as *cultural capital*, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and as *social capital*, made up with social obligations, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital, and may be institutionalized in the form of nobility.²¹

The conceptualization of culture in a form of capital in Bourdieu's framework is insightful as it provides a solid ground for analyzing culture through relations of power in a society, which is essentially dynamic in character as it underlines that capital is important because of the role it assumes in the portfolio of individuals as they engage in different social fields, or games if we speak in Bourdieu's terminology, and the *doxa* of each *field* favors a different portfolio made up with different forms of capital. A certain portfolio which is strong in a particular social *field*, might be very weak for another *field*. In this regard, culture and social networks are given essential roles in Bourdieu's framework, as they act as determinants of social class alongside economic capital; a certain point which distinguishes Bourdieu from the economic determinism of the Marxist tradition.

Cultural capital, for Bourdieu, exists in three forms: in the *embodied state* that is the long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in *objectified state*, that is in the form of cultural goods, such as pictures and books; and in the *institutionalized state*, such as educational qualifications that guarantee the possession of cultural goods. The cultural capital in the embodied state, can also be called as cultivation, and requires a process of embodiment, in which the investment must be made by the investor. This embodied capital, external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a *habitus*, cannot be transmitted instantaneously. As this state of the cultural capital is limited with the biological capacity and memory with its bearer, its existence as a form of capital is invisible. For Bourdieu, the logic of transmission of cultural capital in embodied state demonstrates a powerful principle: The time necessary for person to embody cultural capital depends on the cultural capital of his/her own family. In

²¹ Ibid, 242.

this regard, the link between the economic capital and cultural capital is established through the mediation of the time needed for acquisition.²²

Cultural capital in its *objectified* state, that is in the form of cultural goods, is in certain conditions, in a relationship with the cultural capital in its *embodied* state; that are the means of acquiring cultural goods, such as taste or other possessions of consuming. According to Bourdieu, the cultural goods can be appropriated both materially, through use of economic capital, and symbolically, through means of cultural capital. Cultural capital in its *institutionalized* state, on the other hand, is the socially accepted academic qualifications that make cultural capital in its *embodied* state visible by everyone. The possessor of cultural capital in its *institutionalized* state, through a certificate, carries a guaranteed, constant value that is broadly accepted; a feature which distinguishes its possessor from an autodidact, who might have the same cultural capital in *embodied* state but without *institutional* recognition.²³

A fourth form of capital, *symbolic* capital, operates as a representative for the three capital types discussed. Symbolic capital is associated with prestige, status, and positive reputation and is objectified in awards and recognitions.²⁴ Symbolic capital in this sense underlines the significance of social recognition of a prestige or honour; and presupposes the perception of cultural, economic and social capitals. Symbolic capital is linked with cultural capital in terms of its embodiment to the individual as well as the necessary time to acquire it.²⁵

Bourdieu's conceptualizations of *habitus*, *field* and *capital* provide the ground on which he develops his class analysis. As emphasized in *Reproduction*, the presentation of the school curricula in a universally valid manner conceals the extent

²² Ibid, 243-46.

²³ Ibid, 246.

²⁴ Tobias Pret, Eleanor Shaw, & Sarah Drakopoulou Dodd, "Painting the Full Picture: The Conversion of Economic, Cultural, Social and Symbolic Capital", *International Small Business Journal: Researching Entrepreneurship* vol.34, no.8 (2016): 1008-9

²⁵ Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu*, 109-10.

of means of arbitrary power of socially and culturally dominant classes to sustain absolute legitimacy.²⁶ For Bourdieu, the education system reproduces the structure of the distribution of cultural capital among masses and sections of a class, in a way that the culture which it transmits is closer to the dominant culture and in fact the class which is richest in cultural capital become more and more over-represented.²⁷ In this regard, the educational system fulfils a function of legitimization that is necessary to perpetuation of the “social order” through converting social hierarchies into academic hierarchies that are hierarchies of gifts, skills and merits.

The most famous contribution of Bourdieu to the sociology of culture, is his arguments that are presented in his *Distinction*; wherein he emphasizes the relationship between the taste and social class. Elaborating his arguments in *Reproduction*, in the opening of *Distinction*, Bourdieu stresses that cultural needs are product of upbringing and education, thus they are linked with educational level and secondarily to social origin, and consumption of a cultural good is an act of deciphering or decoding, which presupposes a mastery of a cipher or code, wherein the capacity to see is a function of knowledge. Given that, a work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence.²⁸ Social subjects distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar. The essential character of this distinction is that, the denial of lower and vulgar enjoyment implies a superiority of distinguished pleasures. In this regard, art and cultural consumption fulfil a social function of legitimating social differences.²⁹

According to Bourdieu, there is a distinction in every social field. Examples of this distinction can be seen as such: elite avant garde vs. populist forms in literature, hard sciences and soft arts in academic disciplines, art in galleries vs. art in family

²⁶ Derek Robbins, “Framing Bourdieu”, *Cultural Theory*, ed. Tim Edwards, , 141.

²⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, “Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction”, *Knowledge, Education and Cultural Change*, ed. Richard Brown (Routledge, 1973), 80-84.

²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Harvard University Press, 2002), 1-2.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 6-7.

photographs.³⁰ The rate of legitimate taste among individuals increases with educational level and is highest in those who are the richest in educational capital.³¹ In this context, music taste for Bourdieu, is the most effective element of classification of one's social class; as music is the most "spiritual" of arts with no expressive function as opposed to drama which makes it the purest art par excellence.³²

Bourdieu's approach to music taste is influential as it provides a perspective for an analysis of how "legitimate" music taste in a society might possess a ideological quality through functioning in the form of cultural capital. As the ruling class in a society establishes its cultural ideology in various fields, certain type of music taste becomes "legitimate" and claims superiority over other music preferences. In this regard, the role of state is also significant; as when the cultural institutions owned and operated by the state are designed in accordance with the "legitimate" cultural taste in a society and the social order in which they are created is reproduced through the educational system, it is clear that both cultural institutions and the educational system act as ideological state apparatuses.

2.2 Music as an Ideological Device: Attali's Political Economy of Music

Making an analysis of music in a context how it is situated within relations of power in a society is challenging. Indeed as how Jameson states that, music seems to be the most abstract of all social realities and counts among the most rarefied, abstract and specialized of all superstructural activities, if Marxist terminology to be applied. Given that, proposing intelligible links between economics, the base or infrastructure in this context, and music, the superstructure require the production of intermediary connections that are not obvious.³³ Having said that, the study of Jacques Attali,

³⁰ Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu*, 72.

³¹ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 16.

³² Ibid, 18-19.

³³ Frederic Jameson, "Foreword to Attali's Noise", *Noise* (University of Minnesota Press, 1985).

Noise: The Political Economy of Music is quite significant as it offers a political history of music, analyzing how music in specific epochs has been related the economic realities and political structure of the epoch. In this regard, *Noise* is a politico-economic history of music organized around one particular thesis: Music sees the future.³⁴ This essential argument of Attali implies a reversification of the Marxist conceptualizations of basis and superstructure through considering music, as a superstructure have anticipated new social formations in history; an argument which Jameson considers as Attali's most original contribution.³⁵

Attali associates noise with disorder and music with order. The ability to cause noise is a symbol of power, and politics have always listened to the subjects of noise carefully hence noise functions both as an administrative tool and also as a source of rebellion. Because of that, for Attali, totalitarian theoreticians have always desired to give the rights of transmission of noises to their masters. Noises, when they are shaped through means, used in part of rituals and spheres of entertainment and contemplation, become music and the performance of music functions as a tool for controlling society through establishing an illusion of access to forbidden pleasures.³⁶ According to Attali, noises are weapons and the function of music is the formation, domestication and ritualization of this weapon³⁷, therefore music symbolizes the channelization of violence and underlines the possibility of collective living in a society.³⁸

Having defined the separation of music from noises as a social process, Attali writes his history of music in four phases, whose characterizations have been made according to in what specific social role music functions in certain historical conditions. These four phases are as such: “*sacrificing*” that characterizes the period

³⁴ Jacques Attali, *Gürültüden Müziğe*, tr. Gülüş Gülcügil Türkmen (Ayrıntı, 2021), 11.

³⁵ Jameson, “Foreword to Attali's *Noise*”.

³⁶ Attali, *Gürültüden Müziğe*, 16-18.

³⁷ Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, v. 16 (University of Minnesota Press, 1985), 42.

³⁸ Attali, *Gürültüden Müziğe*, 35.

before invention of notation, wherein music primarily had a ritualistic function; “*representing*” that refers to the period after invention of notation, in which printed music become a commodity and have gradually transformed into a separate social praxis; “*repeating*” that defines the period after the invention of recording that replaces the notation as the general mean of transmission of music; and “*post-repeating*”, which captures a futuristic period in which each individuals will compose his/her music.

In Attali’s context, music as a way of forming, repressing, or transforming noises, which are considered as symbols of violence hence power possesses a regulative social quality; therefore the ability to create music or to decide what type of music would be allowed to be performed clearly has ideological characteristics. Each social group or class develop certain types of music and music tastes, which function as binding social forces for the group through channelizing violence outside. Given that, in a multi-class or multi-group society, different music types and tastes emerge. As certain classes claim dominance in the whole society in political, economic and cultural ways through use of ideological state apparatuses, their music tastes also become “legitimate” and imply a higher level of cultural capital than those of subaltern classes. It can be said that, in an Attalian approach, stark cultural hegemonies perpetuate their “legitimate” music through institutions designed for it: the Church have produced its own music and trained its own musicians, cities have possessed their own settled ensembles first supported by the aristocracy and then by the bourgeoisie, conservatories were founded as the profession of music had gradually become more complex and specific, etc. It is possible to evaluate these institutions as ideological state apparatuses, as they represent the preservation of the music taste of a certain class and have been funded by the same class. As Gramsci states that, subaltern classes are not unified, cannot be unified until they become a “state”, and their history is limited with civil society; they had also lack the opportunity to use state apparatuses, i.e. institutions for their music.

In this regard, institutionalization of a certain music type through excluding other types is in fact a ideological act, wherein a distinction of music taste is reproduced. The operative forces for such a distinction are ideological state apparatuses, namely

cultural institutions and educational system. In certain occasions in history, it is also possible to see some repressive measures taken ideologically by the administrative forces against the so-called “undesired” types of music such as censor of music composed by Jewish composers in Nazi era, the condemnation of “bourgeois” labelled music in Soviet Union, and the forbiddance of the traditional Turkish music in the Turkish state radio between 1934-36, a point which will be stressed in this study. In such a context, type of music of subaltern classes evolve and continue to be transmitted in small scale, locally and non-unified ways and sometimes disappear.

2.3 Eurocentric Musical Ideology: Polyphony and Orientalism

In context of institutionalization of the legitimate taste, the ideological mindset for analyzing culture appears also embedded in scientific approach. In terms of socio-cultural study of music, certain foundational texts are abundant with these features. Herbert Spencer in *The Origin and Function of Music* makes his analyses about creation of music through distinguishing song from speech on the basis of law of progress³⁹, which is in fact a construct of Western thinking that become ideological from on 19th century. Building his arguments in a similar evolutionary framework, Georg Simmel states that in its course of evolution music more and more rejects its natural characteristics, thus gets closer to the ideal of art and polyphonic music constitutes the end of development of music. He also adds that the foundation on which composers create their work are national in character, dependent to non-musical realities of the society in which the composer lives.⁴⁰ Simmel’s conceptualizations provide very clear insights about the paradigm of the initial phase of musico-sociological scholarship as well as the 19th century way of thinking and are problematic in certain ways:

First of all, the gradual distancing of music from nature, in other words from its embedded role in society which could be considered as ritualistic phase in Attalian

³⁹ Herbert Spencer, “The Origin and Function of Music”, *The Routledge Reader in Sociology of Music*, ed. John Shepherd and Kyle Devine (Routledge, 2015), 28-31.

⁴⁰ Georg Simmel, “Psychological and Ethnological Studies in Music”, *The Routledge Reader in Sociology of Music*, ed. John Shepherd and Kyle Devine (Routledge, 2015).

framework, to the ideal of art underlines the conceptualization of art as an independent sphere, that is presented as a universal concept. Yet, as Shiner demonstrates in his influential study *The Invention of Art*, the modern concept of art is a European invention based on the gradual separation of crafts and arts beginning with 18th century through appropriating the act of disinterested contemplation which has been applied to God and religion before, and this new concept of “fine arts” has become an arena of spiritual investment for the cultural elite.⁴¹ Having Shiner’s conceptualization in mind, it could be stated that “fine arts” have evolved in their institutionalized forms as novel ideological state apparatuses for influencing spiritual spheres. It is understandable for the emerging middle class to establish their own ideological apparatuses for the spiritual sphere which was subject to ideology of the Church before the gradual secularization processes have started. In this regard, the institutionalization of polyphonic music as a fine art which is liberated from its practical social functions could be seen a substitution of religion.⁴²

Secondly, the opinion that the way composers create their output is dependent on their perception of the world shaped by their upbringing therefore their nationality; could be considered as an overgeneralization. Such a view might have an explanatory power for the trends in 19th century and early 20th century polyphonic music tradition; but it is not convenient to set this idea as a general principle hence a lot of musical works might be considered aesthetically independent from the nationality embedded in the worldview of their composers as well.

Yet, the most problematic issue of Simmel’s analysis, a feature that is also very central in Spencer’s approach, is its teleological conception of development of music based on the notion of progress. The idea that music progresses until it reaches its pure art phase in form of polyphony implies all other music types than polyphonic tradition are backward and still yet to progress. This notion of progress has a particularly characteristic role also in one another foundational study for the

⁴¹ Larry Shiner, *The Invention of Art* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 3-6.

⁴² Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 157.

sociology of music, which is Max Weber's *Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, wherein Weber examines the development of music under the light of his well-known analytical tool rationalization. Weber argues that as how rationalism laid the foundation for capitalist production, it has also enabled the Western music tradition to become unified and standardized around certain codes and practices, namely development of written notation, standardized instruments and chordal harmony which are products of an organized society.⁴³ In this regard, the conductor-led orchestra can be seen as the most rational form of music, hence all aspects of performance are in clear hierarchy and demonstrate a high organization.⁴⁴ As how it is situated in Simmel's approach, also in Weber, polyphonic music appears as the pinnacle of a line of progress, as it has developed through certain processes of demystification and elimination of irrational elements, implying that those features still characterizes other music types. Given that, non-polyphonic music traditions are assumed as primitive therefore irrational.⁴⁵

The notion of progress, in these studies, has a paradigmatic character and has been assumed as a universal law. This law features in a way in which polyphonic music exercises ideology over other types of music, via establishing dichotomies wherein it positions itself superior through using its own qualities as measures of evaluations. In other words, its ideology lies in the epistemological inquiry that has been used for understanding the essence of music in general, through constructions that suppose a teleological outcome in which polyphony represented as the end of progress, or the ideal. This representation is a result of the establishment of the notion of progress as a universal law, which according to Lévi-Strauss, transforms the cultural differences into cultural inequalities.⁴⁶

⁴³ Max Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*, tr. Don Martindale, Johannes Riedel, and Gertrude Neuwirth (New York: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958).

⁴⁴ Alan C Turley, "Max Weber and the Sociology of Music", *Sociological Forum* Vol.16, no. 4 (2001).

⁴⁵ Güneş Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi* (İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları, 2014), 78.

⁴⁶ Güneş Ayas, *Müzik Sosyolojisi: Kuramsal Bir Giriş* (İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları, 2020), 107.

The dominance of polyphonic music becomes clearer as musicology emerges as an independent field. In his foundational article *The Scope, Method and Aim of Musicology*, Guido Adler distinguishes between historical musicology and systematic musicology. In his understanding, all studies regarding to the history of western polyphonic music take place in the field of historical musicology; whereas systematic musicology is divided to sub branches as theory, aesthetics and pedagogic of tonal music and studies of ethnological sources.⁴⁷ Given that, it is clear that musicology as a science emerged firstly to study Western polyphonic music, a characteristic that can be exemplified by the fact that, the historiography of music has limited itself with the story of the western canon.⁴⁸ In this framework, all other music types or cultures was regarded as “Other”. The growing interest about the music of “other people” and studies made in 18th and 19th centuries accordingly, can be considered as the roots of modern ethnomusicology, yet it should be remembered that most of these efforts were essentially imperialist and colonialist in character.⁴⁹ For the early phase of ethnomusicology, called comparative musicology then, the idea of finding similar features among different cultures and musical practices was paradigmatic.⁵⁰ To some extent, this can be seen as the result of the desire of finding universal laws governing the development of music among different cultures, an idea which has been left apart in modern ethnomusicology in favour of more anthropologically descriptive approaches.⁵¹

One significant perspective in imperialist and colonialist approaches for the perception of “Other” is orientalism, as how Edward Said coined the term. For Said, orientalism is a way of thinking which makes an epistemological and ontological

⁴⁷ Erica Mugglestone, “Guido Adler’s ‘The Scope, Method, and Aim of Musicology’ (1885): An English Translation with an Historico-Analytical Commentary”, *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 1-21

⁴⁸ Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-One Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 42-43.

⁴⁹ Timothy Rice, *Ethnomusicology: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 13.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 17-18.

⁵¹ Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, 42.

distinction between the Occident and the Orient presupposing the superiority of the Occident through applying inaccurate representations of the Oriental world. In other words, it is a Western style of restructuring the Orient as other and has been instrumental for the Occident to define itself by attributing certain qualities to the Orient. Given that, orientalism functions as a discourse in Foucaultian sense⁵², hence it is a method to generate knowledge, wherein the idea assuming the supremacy of the Occident is embedded in the method itself. According to Said, orientalism is an extensive cultural ideology in Gramscian sense, founded on the notion of supremacy of a unified European identity over non-European identities. It operates through a strategy of positional superiority, by which the Westerner conducts its relationship with the Orient without losing the upper position. In this regard, the Orient is a construct of the Western conscience.⁵³

The cultural ideology of orientalism lies in its potent to generate knowledge about the Orient, and the knowledge created in the Orientalist paradigm presents itself as the reality.⁵⁴ Said also distinguishes between latent and manifest orientalisms.⁵⁵ In this sense, attributing positivity to Occident through relating it with concepts such as science, rationality or civilization is an example of latent orientalism, whereas attributing direct negativities to the Orient is an example of manifest orientalism.⁵⁶

There are numerous examples for the case of music, in which the orientalist discourse demonstrates itself. In *Paralleles des Anciens et des Modernes*, a source belonging to 17th century, Ottoman music had been described as lacking of notation and harmony, therefore could not be compared with European music⁵⁷; whereas Jules Rouanet coins the term Muslim music and attributes Eastern despotism and the idea

⁵² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 1-4.

⁵³ Ibid, 7-8.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 32.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 206.

⁵⁶ Ayas, *Müzik Sosyolojisi: Kuramsal Bir Giriş*, 110.

⁵⁷ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 77.

of lacking of pluralist thinking with it, and additionally states that long melismas in Muslim music represent the incapability of Muslim people who could not liberate themselves. In Rouanet's thinking, polyphony has been considered as related with democratic-pluralism and free thinking, which are seen as lacking features in the Orient.⁵⁸ Such an attribution could be found also in Bernard Lewis's evaluations, wherein he argues that polyphony could be seen in the same line with democratic politics and team games, both of which require cooperation and harmony of different performers playing different parts for a common purpose. Polyphony for Lewis, requires the ability to synchronize and to measure time exactly which is an essential feature of modernity and a requirement of modernization.⁵⁹ Lewis' views are striking since they seem to possess a certain level of explanatory potential, yet his appropriation of polyphony as a feature of democracy is essentially anachronistic, given that emergence of polyphony as a musical paradigm in the 13th century was actually parallel to the emergence of scholasticism as an intellectual movement⁶⁰, therefore presenting polyphony related to democracy is historically inaccurate.

To sum up, the institutionalization of polyphonic music as the legitimate taste in the Western world and the emergence of its self presentation as a "pure art" form distinguished from ordinary crafts and other music traditions which were labelled as primitive, constitute the first phase of conception of polyphonic music as a cultural ideology. The second phase, in this regard, is the phase of consolidation of the established cultural ideology through paradigms that shaped the early musicological scholarship and in general the perception of culture of "Others", wherein ideology operates in an epistemological way. One particular approach to the perception of the "Others", embedded with the notion of Western supremacy, has been Orientalism, which also had certain repercussions in music scholarship.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 77-78.

⁵⁹ Bernard Lewis, *What Went Wrong? Western Impact and Middle Eastern Response* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 129.

⁶⁰ J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, & Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 9th edition (New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company), 84.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF MUSICAL REFORMS IN TURKEY

3.1 Musical Reforms as a part of Total Modernization Efforts in Turkey

The motivation behind Musical Reforms in Turkey is not a product of discourses and debates that originated in the musical sphere. On the contrary, Musical Reforms should be considered as a part of the total modernization efforts that started during the 19th century in Ottoman Empire and later intensified with the establishment of the Republic. Belonging to a broad project of country-wide modernization whose cultural aspects could be described as have been carried out with the idea of westernization, Musical Reforms have a lot in common with other reforms in other fields, as all these efforts were designed within the same agenda, whose *raison d'être* was essentially political.

The failure of Ottoman Empire as a state, both in economic, military, political terms can be considered as the main reason behind the decision of the Ottoman ruling elite to initiate wide reforms. According to Berkes, during the 18th century, Ottoman rulers gradually accepted the necessity of reforms and redesigning of important institutions after certain military defeats, and eventually gave up the idea of renovating existing institutions through reinstating old values.⁶¹ In this regard, military defeats created an urge of "modernization" among Ottoman rulers, given that since the beginning of the 18th century bringing the Western military strength to Ottoman army had been a state problem.⁶² Later, during the reign of Mahmud II, the scope of Ottoman modernization was extended to outside of military realm, to bureaucratic and cultural spheres and execution of these reforms carried out during

⁶¹ Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma* (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2002), 39-40.

⁶² Şerif Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1991), 12.

the 19th century had relied on the strength of the absolutist monarchy of Ottoman state which used "bureaucracy" as its main tool.⁶³ Berkes argues that, in Ottoman state and society structure; society would not act as the creator of the state through a social contract therefore state does not reflect the interests of the social classes. In this understanding, political sovereignty does not stem from social roots but from outer sources, such as divinity.⁶⁴ In this framework, modernization in Ottoman Empire had taken place through westernization of bureaucrats via newly structured schools modelled after French *Grand Ecoles*, a feature eventually resulted in emergence of certain ideological groups, some of which eventually distanced themselves from the Sultan.⁶⁵ This notion has vital significance for understanding the essential characteristics of the modernization efforts, that rulers needed a strong bureaucracy for establishing reforms, since people were not represented in the government. In this framework, it is safe to consider that Ottoman modernization had taken place as a bureaucratic modernization.

The 19th century modernization in the Ottoman Empire was characterised by the Tanzimat reforms. Tanzimat Bill issued in 1839, was the first document in Turkey which had very novel characteristics for its attempts to set certain principles regarding government, protection of property rights and citizenship; and it could be considered as a result of the motivation for unifying all Muslim and non-Muslim subjects with an identity of Ottomanness.⁶⁶ In context of wide range of reforms that took place after 1839, Western norms and practices had begun to have significant transformative impacts in Ottoman cultural life. Establishment of newspapers and journals, opening of theaters and exhibitions, emergence of Western forms of literature could be named as a few novelties of this particular period. Yet, in spite of the emergence of West-oriented culture and reforms, the spirit of Tanzimat era could be described to lack homogeneity, as traditional cultural norms and practices also persisted, even though not esteemed by the state as before. This characteristic of

⁶³ Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, 169.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 30-31.

⁶⁵ Şerif Mardin, *Türkiye’de Toplum ve Siyaset* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1990), 46-47.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 40.

Tanzimat period stems from the conflict between traditional and modern values, and reflects itself in the general popular hesitation for embracing the reforms.⁶⁷

It is safe to consider this popular hesitation as a reaction to the qualitative shift that was taking place in characteristics of the “center-periphery relations” in Ottoman society. According to Mardin, the modernization of the bureaucracy and acceptance of certain Western norms had intensified the segregation between centralized bureaucracy and rural *eşraf* (gentry) as well as peasantry, which existed for a long time. Mardin argues that such an outcome was the result of center’s inability to integrate the periphery to the new cultural framework, and thus the provincial world, increasingly articulating the cultural patrimony of Islam, eventually became the places of “reaction” to the bureaucratic center.⁶⁸

In cultural sphere, such a cultural segregation manifests itself through conceptualization of new terms *alaturka* (Turkish style) and *alafranga* (Western style). *Alaturka* as an adjective referred the traditional aspects of the culture and increasingly became a pejorative term, associated with an outdated past, whereas *alafranga* referred to a preferred taste especially among upper-classes.⁶⁹ Mardin’s influential essay *Over-Westernization after Tanzimat*, provides insightful perspectives for the development *alafranga-alaturka* dichotomy in cultural sphere and its social impacts, through giving extensive references to Tanzimat literature. According to Mardin, wealth has always been a symbol of political power, not as a separate concept which was sought for accumulation as capital and accordingly, any sort of conspicuous consumption demonstrating personal status was incompatible with traditional values. This feature was in fact one of the rare unifying factors of the Ottoman culture.⁷⁰ Extravagant cultural westernization of certain fragments of Ottoman upper-class had negative impacts on the very basis of their superior social position and they faced opposition, particularly stemming from the incompatibility of

⁶⁷ Berkes, *Türkiye’de Çağdaşlaşma*, 172.

⁶⁸ Mardin, *Türkiye’de Toplum ve Siyaset*, 45-46.

⁶⁹ John Morgan O’Connell, “In the Time of Alaturka: Identifying Difference in Musical Discourse”, *Ethnomusicology* vol.49, no. 2 (2005): 177.

⁷⁰ Mardin, *Türk Modernleşmesi*, 57.

Western cultural norms with the values of Islam. For Mardin, this process had consolidated the cultural separation between the Ottoman upper-class and the people, and led to emergence of *alaturka* and *alafranga* cultural spheres strongly distinguished from each other, a feature which has been an essential part of the debates in the music sphere that have been taking place in Turkey since then.

Even though there were some acquaintances with Western music also before, Westernization as a policy in Ottoman musical sphere began with the establishment of *Mızıka-yı Humayun* by Mahmud II in 1826 after abolishment of Mehterhane. *Mızıka-yı Humayun*, initially founded as a military band and led by Giuseppe Donizetti for 28 years, had become the essential music institution in Ottoman Empire and gradually contributed to the development of an orchestral tradition as well as a taste for opera and operetta.⁷¹ Reflecting the dualistic spirit of Tanzimat era, *Muzika-yı Humayun* structurally consisted of different branches, some of which, namely *Fasl-ı Atik* and *Fasl-ı Cedit*, continued to perform traditional Ottoman music. Yet, throughout 19th century, during the reigns of Abdulmecid, Abdulaziz and Abdulhamid II, the taste for Western music or *alafranga* as how it was named then, among members of Ottoman palace and upper-class replaced the taste for traditional Ottoman art music. In addition to orchestral and operatic events, Ottoman upper-class showed also a growing interest for piano and chamber music, a feature which manifested itself in the increased number of purchases of pianos and scores after 1850.⁷² Given that, the taste for *alafranga* had become a symbol of higher social class in this period and had gradually claimed superiority over *alaturka*.⁷³ In this regard, certain features of Tanzimat literature, in a similar way to the approach taken by Mardin before, can be given as examples, as *alafranga* music appeared more refined and serious.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Gönül Paçacı, "Cumhuriyet'in Sesleri", *Cumhuriyet'in Sesleri*, ed. Gönül Paçacı (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 10-11.

⁷² Ibid, 11.

⁷³ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 87-90.

⁷⁴ Ayşe Melda Üner, "Tanzimat ve Servet-i Fünun Romanında Musiki Teması" (unpublished PhD thesis, Marmara University, 2003).

Even though Signell suggests that Ottoman art music had been a type of music for the elite, as all performers and composers of traditional music were supported by sacred or secular centers of power,⁷⁵ yet more recent studies reject such an idea on the basis that it had emerged as a urban music tradition, with different groups living in city demonstrating a common taste for it.⁷⁶ Given that, Ottoman art music was socially distinguished from the folk music not by its aristocratic but by its urban characteristics. The important point here is that, the emergence of *alaturka-alafranga* dichotomy had intensified the social class characteristics of music taste in Ottoman society, as western music had gradually become associated as an upper-class symbol, following adoption of cultural westernization as a state policy, whereas *alaturka* music, as how Ottoman art music began to be called as such, lost its social value after gradually having lost the interest of palace and upper-class. Ayas claims that, after having lost the privilege of upper-class support, Ottoman music had sought new support in popular classes; a feature according to Ayas had eventually lowered the quality of Ottoman art music and made it possible for proponents of *alafranga* music to present themselves as idealists that wish to elevate the common music taste.⁷⁷

Having emphasized the development of the background of *alaturka-alafranga* debate, it is possible to sum up the social importance of music as a part of total westernization efforts in Turkey as such: Westernization in cultural sphere as a state policy in Turkey have intensified the class differences in Ottoman society and made them more visible. In terms of music taste, such a change resulted in a qualitative shift in the traditional differentiation between art music and folk music in Ottoman music which was based on distinguishing between urban and rural characteristics, towards a differentiation between newly emerging concepts of *alaturka* and *alafranga*, which has been an issue of the adoption of westernization as a state policy and its imitation by the upper-class and bureaucracy. Having discussed that certain features of Westernization was perceived incompatible with some traditional and

⁷⁵ Karl Signell, "Turkey's Classical Music, a Class Symbol", *Asian Music* 12, no.1 (1980): 164

⁷⁶ Uğur Küçükkan, *Türk Beşleri: İdeolojiden Tahayyüle Bir Cumhuriyet Ütopyası* (İstanbul: Ayrıntı, 2022), 36-37.

⁷⁷ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 87-90.

religious values, such a differentiation in music taste began to reflect the increasing distance between the official culture that presents itself in Western way, and the traditional culture in which religious values have been strongly embedded. The most important outcome of this transformation process could be seen as the intensification of the hierarchy of taste for music in Ottoman society and appropriating western music as a cultural and symbolic capital. Indeed, as Western music became the preferred music style by the state, it also resulted in a certain distinction between those who have taste for it or not. In this regard, it is possible to state that having a taste for western music gradually has become a class symbol, therefore it became appropriated as symbolic capital.

Even though western music started to enjoy great privilege in Ottoman society in the course of 19th century, its superiority over traditional Ottoman music could not be considered firm. As mentioned, the historical conditions that resulted in the Tanzimat Period was mainly in political and military grounds. Westernization in this regard was seen as a cure to the decline of the empire. Even though the acceptance of the superiority of Western technology and institutions among Ottoman society was unanimous, extension of the idea of Westernization also to the cultural sphere was not embraced by all society, mainly on the basis of incompatibility Western cultural norms with traditional Ottoman values as mentioned. In this framework, cultural sphere of Tanzimat Period was characterized by a certain heterogeneity made with co-existence of traditional Ottoman norms and newly emerging Western manners and perspectives. Music was also no exception. Given that, Ottoman art music had evolved mainly as an urban and not only an aristocratic art form, decline of its support by the Ottoman upper-class did not cause its extinction but rather resulted in a shift of its scene, making it paradoxically more popular.⁷⁸ Given that, Ottoman music sphere in the 19th century, reflecting the spirit of Tanzimat, demonstrated multicultural characteristics as traditional Ottoman music became more integrated with popular taste and Western music in its various forms such as art music, operetta, chansons and tangos started to emerge in urban life.

It was not until the Republican reforms that westernization in cultural sphere has solidly established an ideology. Indeed, for music, it has been the Republican

⁷⁸ Ibid, 38.

mindset that introduced the idea of necessity of carrying on reforms in musical sphere. The motivation behind Republican cultural reforms was clear: to create a new national culture. Such an agenda required overcoming the dualities of Tanzimat spirit, that manifested itself in conceptualization of *alafranga-alaturka* terms, as well as the multicultural social tissue of Ottoman society for the sake of creation a fresh, unanimous, and national cultural entity that aims to be part of the modern world. In this regard, rejection of the Ottoman imperial heritage especially on its emphasis on traditional values as well as the over-Westernized way of living that emerged in Tanzimat Period was crucial for the Republic ideology for legitimizing itself. This particular framework has constituted the ground on which Musical Reforms in Turkey took place beginning in 1920s and later intensified in 1930s, through implementing a state music policy which sought for transforming the society through various means, if necessary by force. With the Musical Reforms, western musical understanding was conceptualized as an ideology in Turkey via various institutional measures taken against the traditional Ottoman music in both repressive and ideological manners; as well as promoting western music institutionally through state radio, People's Houses, and in education system; constituting western music as the legitimate cultural capital, resulting in its appearance also as a symbolic capital. Even though the potent of Musical Reforms influencing cultural policies has weakened after 1950, the end of one-party-era; its impacts in various fields of cultural sphere continued to persist and maintained its cultural ideology over other music types, thanks to its status as a cultural and symbolic capital.

3.2 Differences between Ottoman and Western Musical Traditions

As explained in the chapter before, the motivation behind the necessity of carrying out Musical Reforms in Turkey had its roots in the political domain. Given that, the Republican perspective, on the contrary of Tanzimat dualities, tried to establish its principles through reforms; it also aimed to provide convincing explanations for legitimizing their reforms in the cultural sphere. As mentioned, since certain western qualities of the changing cultural sphere was incompatible with the traditional and religious values of the society, it had been essential for the Republic political ideology to present these reforms in a way which appears compatible. For the case of

music, such a presentation of the necessity of Musical Reforms took place around certain principles, which will be analyzed in detail in the next section. Since all the arguments produced by the Republican ideology in this framework have been centered on “the lack of certain qualities” in traditional art music as well as folk music, and since western music have been presented as the model for the creation of new Turkish music; it is necessary now to emphasize on the differences between Ottoman and Western musical traditions as these differences have been appropriated politically by Republican reformers to provide legitimacy to their efforts.

It is possible to name three features that historically characterized the western music tradition: Notation, polyphony and standardization. The development of music notation in Europe in 10th century eventually led to differentiation of composers and performers through objectifying the musical work as a separate entity. The existence of notation enabled creation of more complex works; and between 11th and 14th centuries polyphony emerged as a compositional device. Initially developed in church music, polyphonic thinking later also dominated secular forms. Exploration of the limits of the technique of polyphony required simultaneous performance of different number of melodic lines which required high level of collective action, a feature led to establishment of standardized choirs and later instrumental ensembles. The idea of composition as distinct from performance, the centrality of notation and polyphony as a governing principle based on counterpoint, that is combination of multiple independent lines and harmony, that is the regulation of simultaneous sounds have been the main characteristics of the Western music.⁷⁹

From 15th century onwards, the competition among Italian cities and also between other European political centers manifested itself also in the demand for skilled musicians, resulting in higher interaction as musicians frequently travelled from one center to another. The musical work objectified as a separate entity, independent from its creator, eventually became a commodity, through claiming an economic value in a market that gained depth after high interaction among different political centers. In this regard, increasing demand for music and musicians eventually led to differentiation between professional and amateur musicians, as professionalism resulted in more complex works that required virtuosity.

⁷⁹ J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, & Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 84-85.

High level interaction and professionalism resulted in standardisation in western music. Tonality based on major and minor modes became the music theoretical paradigm in 17th century and standardized the polyphonic approach. Accordingly different tuning systems disappeared over time and equal-temperament became the standardized way of organizing pitch materials. Setting a fixed tuning system enabled establishment of larger ensembles organized with standardized instruments with differentiated functions in an ensemble. According to Weber, such standardization has been possible due to a rationalization process that characterized Western societies.⁸⁰

Since its emergence until the 18th century, the core repertoire of the Western polyphonic music mainly consisted of vocal music. With the standardization of instruments and subsequent establishment of orchestras, instrumental music gained prominence over vocal music 18th century onwards as sacred vocal music lost its social significance due to gradual secularization of Europe. In addition to pieces for solo instruments and chamber music forms, larger forms such as *symphony* and *concerto* developed which required much higher organization. Vocal music too appropriated the establishment of orchestras, and evolved through *opera* and *oratorio* forms. Development of these forms resulted in the birth of the concept of concert hall which was designed for the sole purpose of performance of music. Such developments marked an alienation process in which music gradually became a disembedded social practice in Western societies, as music increasingly became a complex profession on its own with its own institutions such as conservatories, opera houses and concert halls wherein musicians made their living through music.

As a separate tradition, Ottoman music had emerged mainly as an urban tradition, mainly in major cities of the Ottoman Empire such as İstanbul, Edirne, Bursa, İzmir, Salonika, Urfa and Diyarbakir, beginning in the second half of 16th century.⁸¹ Until the 20th century, Ottoman music possessed a multiethnic and multi-religious character, as Turkish, Greek, Armenian and Jewish musicians were among its

⁸⁰ For detailed inquiry about standardization and rationalization in music, see Weber, *The Rational and Social Foundations of Music*.

⁸¹ Cem Behar, "The Ottoman Musical Tradition", *The Cambridge History of Turkey vol.3 "Late Ottoman Empire, 1603-1839"*, ed. Suraiya N. Faroqhi (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 393-94.

performers and composers.⁸² Since its emergence Ottoman music had developed as *musica practica*, as a collective act in which concepts composition and performance have not differentiated from each other, and two specificities of the Ottoman music differentiates it from Western practice: the lack of notation and the existence of the institution of *meşk*.⁸³ According to Çakmur, the lack of notation could be seen as a symptom for the existence of a dealienated musical practice, given that objectification of the work concept as a commodity in Ottoman music did not take place, as it happened in Western practice.⁸⁴ The *meşk*, on the other hand, was the institution of oral teaching and transmission of music, which did not involve only the teaching of musical theory or techniques of performance, but also a means of transmitting the whole musical repertoire through memorisation and reproduction in a face-to-face relationship between the master and the pupil. *Meşk*, within time, became much more than a pedagogical method and created a social/ethical and musical code of conduct.⁸⁵ In *meşk* tradition memory was considered as one of the most important gifts for a musician⁸⁶ and knowing large number of compositions by memory was seen as the sign of musical mastery. Earning income through *meşk* was considered unethical, that is why for musicians, sources of income other than palace were limited.⁸⁷ Given that, the number of musicians who made their living solely through music was few and the separation between professional and amateur musicians was not clear.⁸⁸

Ottoman music has essentially been a chamber music, whose performance was intended for a small and intimate audience. There were no pre-established settings

⁸² Ali Ergur & Yiğit Aydın, "Patterns of Modernization in Turkish Music as Indicators of a Changing Society", *Musicae Scientiae* 10, no. 1 (2006): 94.

⁸³ Barış Çakmur, "Music Industry in Turkey: An Assesment in the Context of Political Economy of Cultural Production" (unpublished PhD thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2001), 114-16.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 26-52.

⁸⁵ Behar, "The Ottoman Musical Tradition", 395.

⁸⁶ Ergur & Aydın, "Patterns of Modernization in Turkish Music as Indicators of a Changing Society", 94.

⁸⁷ Behar, "The Ottoman Musical Tradition", 405.

⁸⁸ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 39.

for musical performance such as stages or concert halls. Ensembles were made of one or two singers as well as a couple of instruments, based on the understanding that performing and singing were individual affairs and singing had primacy over instrumental performance. *Ney*, *ud*, *tanbur*, *kemençe*, and *kudüm* especially for *tekke* music, were the main instruments. The emphasis of the performance was not collective action, rather individual virtuosity and personal creativity; and the absence of notation and concept of reproducing a musical model excluded standardization and development of an orchestra as how it has been in the Western practice.⁸⁹

As mentioned before, the scene of the Ottoman music was not limited to the palace. The venues in which performance and training took place in Ottoman music tradition were private homes, mosques, dervish lodges (*tekkes*) and coffee houses. The tradition was sufficiently ingrained in the social urban tissue that, it survived difficult periods such as the reigns of sultans who disliked music. Especially after the 17th century, sufi lodges became important centres of musical training that was accessible to all classes of people. In this regard, *Mevlevihanes*, a certain sufi lodge for the followers of the thought of Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi, became the most important venues for music and eventually became considered as de facto music schools. In *Mevlevi* music tradition developed the *Mevlevi ayin*, the most complex and longest musical form in the Ottoman music tradition and challenged all master musicians and composers. Apart from religious music that developed in sufi lodges and culminated in the *ayin* in its most mature form, the development of secular music resulted in *fasıl* program, which was structured with different secular music forms that were selected accordingly to their particular *maqam*.⁹⁰

Maqam has been the essential music theoretical feature of the Ottoman music. Generally referring to the mode of a piece, *maqam* is not simply a scale; rather it can be defined as a travel through different steps and scales, employing some characteristic melodic contours. *Maqams* comprise certain micro-tonal varieties nonexistent in Western tempered scale, yet these micro-tones do not share a fixed-sound as an individual performer can vary the sound during the performance. In

⁸⁹ Behar, "The Ottoman Musical Tradition", 402-5.

⁹⁰ Ibid, 396-407.

Ottoman music tradition, the ability of one performer to modulate to other *maqams* in an attractive and sophisticated manner is a significant determinant of the quality of the performance. The rhythmic aspect of the music, on the other hand, is called *usul*. *Usuls* consist of regular and irregular rhythmic groupings of beats and there are a variety of *usuls*, some of them are extremely complex.⁹¹ Ottoman music has been characteristically a monophonic tradition as its pitch system was characterized by *maqams*, and its rhythmic understanding shaped by *usuls*, both of which incorporate much more detailed materials than Western tones and rhythms. In this regard, the richness of the melody in terms of pitch and rhythm has been the main characteristic of the Ottoman music tradition; given that emphasis was on individual creativity and not on collective action.

Notation, polyphony and standardization, as distinctive qualities of western music constitute the ground on which Ottoman traditional music was considered lacking by the Republican ideology. In this framework, the concept of polyphony especially became the central topic for arguments that advocate the necessity of reforms in musical sphere, as polyphony was considered as a mean of progress and civilization and Turkish music has not developed into the stage of polyphony, therefore remained backward.⁹² As polyphony became the main focus of the Musical Reforms, other two qualities of Western music, notation and standardization, were problematized too. Notation was essential for a separate work concept to develop independent from its composer and performer; and through notation polyphony as a compositional technique could develop. Standardization as an idea, especially standardization of the pitch material in Turkish *maqams* through eliminating microtones that were incompatible with the Western scales has also been central issue in Musical Reforms.

⁹¹ Ergur & Aydın, "Patterns of Modernization in Turkish Music as Indicators of a Changing Society", 95.

⁹² Yiğit Aydın, "Repercussions of Nationalist Thought on Music During Early Republican Period in Turkey" (unpublished masters thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2000), 52.

3.3 Ideological Roots of Musical Reforms: Self-Orientalism, Nationalism and Modernization

The theoretical framework of Musical Reforms in Turkey was founded on two important aspects: Westernisation and Turkism. The unity of these two aspects as an ideology was in fact the essence many cultural reforms that took place in the early Republican period, and through this unified ideology, Republican understanding has tried to differentiate itself from the Tanzimat Period, which was characterized by heterogeneities, and consolidate the foundations of the new Republic. For music in particular, two figures in the early 20th century have widely considered to have provided the foundational ideas of the theory of Musical Reforms: Necip Asım and Ziya Gökalp. Even though Ziya Gökalp has been more known as the pioneer of the ideas to Musical Reforms, same ideas were also noted by Necip Asım before him, almost in exact same words.⁹³

The arguments of Necip Asım and Ziya Gökalp that were later appropriated by Republican reformers were based on that, there were three different music traditions in Turkey as of the early 20th century; namely western music, oriental music and folk music. Oriental music in this understanding refers to the Ottoman art music tradition that has developed in urban areas and is considered non-Turkish in essence based on the claims that it was a tradition that possessed Byzantine, Arabic and Persian characteristics. Besides, it was considered also artificial because of the quarter-tones⁹⁴ (referring to microtonal elements) in its pitch material; a feature does not exist in western music and polemically claimed that not to exist also in folk music. In comparison to western music, oriental music was artificial and lacked harmony. Additionally it was not also Turkish, as true Turkish music in this perspective was only existed as folk music, neglected by the Ottoman elite as it remained distant from urban areas, therefore maintained its true essence for centuries. Culture and civilization are two distinguished spheres. Each nation has its own particular culture, which is most visible in their folk culture; yet aspects of civilization are universal. Even though there is one standardized polyphonic technique; German music, Italian

⁹³ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 92.

⁹⁴ As Behar states, there is no such concept as quarter tones in Ottoman music tradition. (...) Such a conceptualization is musicologically incorrect

music, French music etc. demonstrate different qualities based on their nationality. Given that, Ottoman music, conceptualized as oriental music in this framework, was not suitable for the Turkish culture and the new Turkish music should emerge through harmonizing folk melodies in according to rules of the Western polyphony.⁹⁵

Although this understanding represented as such, was based on multiple musicological misconceptions, deliberate or not, it has been ideologically very effective and powerful as it provided a simple prescription to debates of identity in music.⁹⁶ Even proponents of Ottoman music had to develop their arguments for defending tradition in this particular framework.⁹⁷ It is significant that neither Necip Asım nor Ziya Gökalp had adequate knowledge about music, yet their ideas shaped the way of how musicians and musicologists from both *alaturka* and *alafranga* sides created their arguments during the debates from 1920s onwards. In this regard, the understanding of Asım and Gökalp can be considered as have become the *doxa* of the musical sphere in early Republican period.

The key point of this framework is that it offers a program, which later tried to be realized through Musical Reforms: Combining the folk spirit with Western technique. According to Öztürk, this program has been characteristically utopian and structured on three principles: marginalization of Ottoman culture as a distopic and oriental civilization, acceptance of Western cultural superiority through its representation as the universal civilization and invention of “Turkish” and “popular” elements for providing a ground of political legitimacy.⁹⁸ The utopian aspect of this program reflects itself in the depiction of Ottoman music as oriental through establishing a latent self-orientalism in which orient is associated with backwardness,

⁹⁵ For detailed inquiry:

Ziya Gökalp, *Türkçülüğün Esasları* (İstanbul: Kültür Bakanlığı Devlet Kitapları, 1976), 138-40;

Fazlı Arslan, “Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türk Musikisi Siyasetinde Necip Asım”, *Doğu Araştırmaları*, no. 3 (2009): 35-58;

Güneş Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı’nın Sosyolojisi*, 91-96.

⁹⁶ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı’nın Sosyolojisi*, 100.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 98.

⁹⁸ Okan Murat Öztürk, “Milli Müzik Ütopyası: ‘Halk Ruhunu Garp Fenniyle Terkib Etmek’”, *İllüzyon: Cumhuriyet’in Klasik Müzik Serüveni*, ed. Fırat Kutluk (İstanbul: H20 Kitap, 2016), 18.

artificial, non-Turkish and elitist can be considered as the main reasons why it was not appropriate for the new Turkish culture. Indeed, specifically, representing Ottoman music non-Turkish and elitist makes it incompatible with *nationalism* and *populism* principles, whereas portraying it backward through a latent orientalism makes it uncompromising with *reformism* principle of the Kemalist ideology that characterized the early Republican period. The utopia of the new Turkish music in this model is constructed as the exact opposite, attributing it popular, national and contemporary values. For Öztürk, the utopian totality of this model has given the ideological music discourse in Turkey its potent which has been shaped around dichotomies such as modern-traditional, contemporary-archaic, developed-backward, polyphonic-monophonic, universal-domestic ever since.⁹⁹

Having its background in ideas articulated by Gökalp and Asım; the ideology that governed Musical Reforms in Turkey has operated through three essential aspects: self-orientalism, nationalism and modernization. Through these phenomena, the ideology as a whole could function in a utopian manner whose totality has even persisted long after the Musical Reforms.

3.3.1 Self-Orientalism: Fetishism of Polyphony

Self-orientalism can be described as the voluntary adoption of orientalism as an epistemological and ontological tool by certain non-Western parties in cultures in relation with the West. Self-orientalism emerges as a strategy against colonialist practices in cultures that have been targeted by colonialism; and firstly adopted by intellectuals of that culture in context of modernization. Within self-orientalist approach, definition of the self and the native culture take place according to Western norms. In short, self-orientalism is the internalization of the Western orientalist way of perceiving the world by the non-Western subject and emerges within a modernization process.¹⁰⁰ In this regard, the notion of superiority of the West, which is embedded in Orientalism, is also operational in self-orientalism.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 10.

¹⁰⁰ Bünyamin Bezci & Yusuf Çiftci, "Self Oryantalizm: İçimizdeki Modernite Ve/Veya İçselleştirdiğimiz Modernleşme", *Akademik İncelemeler Dergisi* 7, no.1, 139-43.

Given that, Said coined orientalism as the cultural hegemony of the west; self-orientalism takes place with the exercise of western cultural hegemony by local actors, taking western cultural supremacy as pre-given. The distinction between the West and the East occurs not only in geographical terms, but also has a temporal signification: the West is associated with progress and the East has remained backward. The self-definitions of non-Western actors are significantly determined by “being late”.¹⁰¹ Thus, in self-orientalist perspective, evolutionism appears as a central theme among intellectuals as it underlines the necessity of progress for a backward society for becoming a competitive force.

All cultural westernization efforts since Tanzimat in Turkey demonstrate a self-orientalist character in a very particular way as Turkey became westernized without being colonized. Turkey has never become a Western colony; on the other hand Ottoman Empire itself was a colonizing force itself. According to Ahiska, such a process could be considered as colonization of the colonizer.¹⁰² Self-orientalism as a worldview in Turkey developed as a direct result of voluntary decisions of the Ottoman rulers, unlike other orientalisms in other societies that emerged as an outcome of a colonized past. The impact of Western cultural norms in the Ottoman cultural sphere increased in the 19th century in the context of modernization efforts and Western culture became privileged among Ottoman intellectuals and bureaucracy establishing a cultural ideology. The conceptualization of the terms *alaturka* and *alafranga* in this period are the first examples of self-orientalism in cultural sphere, operating within the orientalist mindset of dichotomies. *Alaturka-alafranga* dichotomy, characteristically being a Tanzimat aspect can be considered as an example of manifest orientalism as *alafranga* is positioned in an upper position. The Republican ideology on the other hand appropriates self-orientalism in a latent manner in its stance towards cultural matters. In Republican discourse, the notion of west appears in disguise of concepts such as *civilization*, *contemporary civilization*, or *universalism*.¹⁰³ This approach in fact strengthens the Republican

¹⁰¹ Meltem Ahiska, “Occidentalism: The Historical Fantasy of the Modern”, *The South Atlantic Quarterly* vol.102, no.2/3 (2003): 353-54.

¹⁰² Ibid, 359-60.

¹⁰³ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 72.

ideology. The West although presented as a model, was also considered as a threat to indigenous national values¹⁰⁴, as cultural westernization in Tanzimat period was opposed based on their incompatibility with traditional values. In this regard, Republican ideology represents its cultural goals in the form of civilization which is considered universal, and therefore necessary; and aims to provide a solution by not naming the essence of cultural reforms as westernization efforts.

Self-orientalistic way of thinking has been the start point of the ideology that shaped Musical Reforms. By the early 20th century, self-orientalism had established a strong position in Turkish musical sphere wherein after Tanzimat, concepts of the western music shaped the urban music tradition. It was after the emergence of western music in Ottoman society that, notation gradually entered to the traditional music and attempts of making a standardized theory of Ottoman *maqams*, similar to Western tones were made. In this period, the idea of Western orientalist about Ottoman music that Ottoman music could not renovate itself without a relation with the Western music, was also started to be internalized by intellectuals. One of the significant aspects of self-orientalism in musical sphere in 19th and early 20th centuries manifested itself in the feeling of a necessity to develop a taste for western music among intellectuals who in fact genuinely loved traditional music, yet since western music appeared as the rational music tradition they felt obliged to follow their reason over their emotions.¹⁰⁵ In this regard, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the best example, as he is known to like traditional music a lot, yet meanwhile also led the Musical Reforms, whose official measures against traditional music also included its ban in public places as well as the state radio in 1930s. According to Ayas, this particular example of Atatürk is significant as illuminates the contradictions in the spirit of Musical Reforms, as Atatürk's *habitus* was mainly determined by *alaturka*, yet his political ideology was projected towards *alafranga*.¹⁰⁶ It is noteworthy that on this particular issue, Atatürk had defended himself through making an analogy between his alcohol consumption and his personal taste for *alaturka*, responding a

¹⁰⁴ Ahiska, "Occidentalism: The Historical Fantasy of the Modern", 353.

¹⁰⁵ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 84-91.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 168.

criticism coming from his fellow Nuri Conker regarding the inconsistency between his public and personal musical decisions.¹⁰⁷

In the theory of Musical Reforms which supposed the harmonization of Turkish folk songs according to rules of polyphony; self-orientalism manifests itself as an ideology dealing with music theoretical issues. Modernization in music could be possible only through use of universal means.¹⁰⁸ Universal means in this context refers to Western technique, therefore demonstrates a latent orientalism. In this framework, the distinguishing feature of the Western technique was polyphony and therefore in self-orientalistic perspective, both Ottoman music, claimed as an oriental non-Turkish tradition and Turkish folk music, regarded as the essence of Turkish spirit were backward on the basis that they lacked polyphony. Even though it is possible to name different polyphonic music traditions in different cultures, the term polyphony in this context refers the polyphony as a compositional device in Western art music tradition. In this framework, self-orientalistic perspective establishes a distinction between polyphony-monophony concepts, which are essentially music theoretical terms, and attributes positive qualities to polyphony, and negative qualities to monophony; most of which demonstrate non-musical characteristics. Through these attributions, self-orientalistic conception of polyphony possesses a discursive quality.

3.3.2 Nationalism & Collection of Folk Music Sources

Nationalism has been an essential characteristic of Republican cultural reforms on the basis that it distinguished Republican ideology from previous cultural westernization efforts. As “the West” presented as a cultural goal, undertake of efforts in order to reach that goal must be conducted through preserving national essence and the aim is to create the modern individuals that are also tied to their

¹⁰⁷ Küçükkaplan, *Türk Beşleri: İdeolojiden Tahayyüle Bir Cumhuriyet Ütopyası*, 85.

¹⁰⁸ Gökmen Özmenteş & Onur Şenel, “Türkiye’de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi” (Uluslararası Etnomüzikoloji Sempozyumu “Müzik ve Politika”, Bursa, 2018), 389.

national customs.¹⁰⁹ Nationalism is very significant in this context, as it appears as a balancing force, smoothing the perception of cultural westernization efforts as a capitulation to Western culture. Conceptualized in Gökalp's understanding that differentiates *culture* from *civilization*, nationalism is associated with the idea that most characteristic cultural aspects of a nation lays in the folk culture, that has developed in non-urban areas without interaction with foreign influences. In this regard, there is a strong dependence between the concepts of "nation" and "folk", as in certain Western languages they are conceived identical, as in the case of *narod* in Slavic languages and *volk* in German.¹¹⁰

The ideas of Gökalp are in fact not original, but they are repercussions of the romanticist nationalism emerged in Europe in the 19th century. Developed in its mature form especially by Herder on the basis of his claim that poetry in ancient times had a particular effect on the morals of people and in modern times it was lost; folklore had become a subject of study for European intellectuals, emerged first in Germany and then spread to central and northern Europe. Burke conceptualizes this emerging interest as "the rediscovery of people", and argues that this process initially started with aesthetic and intellectual concerns in the late 18th century, namely dissatisfaction with classicist ideals of Enlightenment and an increasing praise for primitivism.¹¹¹ De Certeau conceptualizes this feature as "rusticophilia", a movement began among enlightened aristocracy and later shared by the members of bourgeoisie.¹¹² Later in 19th century, the wide interest in folklore became associated with nationalist sentiments, becoming a part of the self-definition movement. Folksongs in particular were considered as having a potential for evoking a sense of solidarity, as Arnim argued that folksongs "unite a divided people".¹¹³ In this

¹⁰⁹ Özgür Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği* (İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009), 3.

¹¹⁰ Peter Burke, "We, the people: popular culture and popular identity in modern Europe", *Modernity and Identity*, ed. Scott Lash ve Jonathan Friedman (Wiley-Blackwell, 1992), 294.

¹¹¹ Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1978), 3-12.

¹¹² Michel De Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, tr. Brian Massumi, vol.17, Theory and History of Literature (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 119-23.

¹¹³ Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, 3-12.

understanding, collection of folk songs, poems and stories were significant efforts and appropriated in various contexts as a part of the nation-building process in different countries in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹¹⁴

Nationalism is an operative ideology for building nation-states, which tries to establish a historical and cultural continuity through invention of traditions, as how Hobsbawm coined the term. For Hobsbawm, invented traditions attempt to establish continuity with a suitable past.¹¹⁵ In this framework, the goal of nationalism is to establish a national high culture that is created through reanimated and invented folk culture.¹¹⁶ This implies that only certain portions of folk culture, whose detailed knowledge acquired through collection of folk sources, could be appropriated in creation of this national high culture in accordance with their eligibility with the ideals of nationalist ideology. Indeed, the act of collecting folk sources in a nationalist agenda includes deliberate manipulation of the sources in certain occasions for making them compatible with the ideal conceptualization of the national high culture. Particular elements of tradition are valued, taken and converted by nationalists, whereas certain other elements are ignored and omitted.¹¹⁷ Given that, such an “elimination of harmful elements” of folk culture exists also in the practice of populism in Republican ideology in Turkey.¹¹⁸ In the case of music, it characterizes efforts of collecting folk songs during Musical Reforms, wherein folk songs that were considered inappropriate or inadequate for the high Turkish culture desired by the reformers were omitted in collections meanwhile other folk songs that were though eligible were esteemed.¹¹⁹

Nationalism functions through four particular aspects in the theory of Musical Reforms. First, it rejects the Ottoman music tradition through its depiction as an

¹¹⁴ Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye’de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*.

¹¹⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, “The Invention of Tradition”, *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm & Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 1.

¹¹⁶ Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye’de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*, 3.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 12.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, 32.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 3.

essentially non-Turkish oriental music. Secondly, it argues that true Turkish music essence exists in Anatolian folk songs and they should be collected, studied and used as sources of the contemporary Turkish music. Thirdly, it argues the necessity of absorption of new Turkish music by the people via using various policies. Lastly, it develops an alternative musical history claiming that western music too had origins in ancient Turkish music, for providing a ground for legitimizing its efforts.

The rejection of Ottoman music tradition by reformers has been exercised through discursive and institutional methods. In the reformist discourse, it manifests itself through trivialization of Ottoman music tradition in arguments produced by bureaucrats, journalists and musicians close to the regime. In the reformist discourse, Ottoman music has been mocked as “dümtek music”¹²⁰, “meyhane music” or “music of alcoholics” and its listeners were caricaturized as alcoholics.¹²¹ Atatürk himself described Ottoman music in different conversations or speeches as “lacking qualities that would make Turkish nation to be proud of”, “lacking the voice for representing the potent of reforms”¹²² and “remains of Byzantine culture”¹²³. Institutional measures taken against Ottoman music, on the other hand, included closure of dervish lodges (*tekkes*) in 1925, closure of Ottoman music department at Darü'l-elhan in and abolition of its instruction in state institutions in 1926 and most significantly, the ban of its performance in state radio and in public places between 1934 and 1936.¹²⁴

Ottoman music once marginalized as non-Turkish via discursive and institutional measures, nationalist notion of Musical Reforms aimed to provide and conceptualize “the essentially Turkish” elements for the creation of new Turkish music in “contemporary” thus, “western” style. In order to achieve this goal, a folk music collection program was created for acquiring musical material. In this program; people’s houses (*Halkevleri*), state conservatory (established in 1936) and state radio

¹²⁰ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı’nın Sosyolojisi*, 169.

¹²¹ Ibid, 124.

¹²² Küçük Kaplan, *Türk Beşleri: İdeolojiden Tahayyüle Bir Cumhuriyet Ütopyası*, 82.

¹²³ Ibid, 72.

¹²⁴ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı’nın Sosyolojisi*, 124-32.

were given primary roles.¹²⁵ Regular tours for collecting folk songs were organized regularly after 1925 to different rural parts of Anatolia and continued intensively until 1953. After these tours, a lot of folk songs were notated and published in volumes of *Anatolian Folk Songs*. In certain occasions recording of folk songs were made with phonograph, yet especially in early tours collections were made with hand writing based on Ottoman music theoretical means, a feature which was later criticized by Adnan Saygun.^{126 127} The folk song collection efforts became mostly associated with the personality of Muzafer Sarısözen, who has been the emblematic figure for the research of folk music, having participated in numerous tours, directed the folklore archive at the state conservatory and Ankara radio and established the Choir for Songs from the Country (*Yurttan Sesler Korosu*).¹²⁸ It is clear that, these collection tours were structured in ideological ways and lacked scientific design¹²⁹ as these efforts also included a standardization process through elimination of certain local musical elements¹³⁰, which will be examined as a feature of modernization later in the next section.

The nationalist agenda of Musical Reforms also emphasized that people need to embrace the new Turkish music. In this framework, state radio and People's Houses (*Halkevleri*) were considered as main tools. Broadcast of western music on the radio had the aim of creating an acquaintance with polyphony, whereas a specific music

¹²⁵ Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*, 90.

¹²⁶ Ibid, 132-35.

¹²⁷ Saygun was one of the pioneers of polyphonic music tradition in Turkey alongside Necil Kazım Akses, Cemal Reşid Rey, Ulvi Cemal Erkin and Hasan Ferit Alnar; a group of which was referred as the Turkish Five. Saygun was a leading figure particularly for folk music studies in Turkey; having participated in numerous tours. According to Öztürk, among first generation composers, Saygun was the only figure who was genuinely interested in the collection project, whereas participation of other figures in tours did not go beyond fulfilling their assigned duties. Öztürk, "Milli Müzik Ütopyası: 'Halk Ruhunu Garp Fenniyle Terkib Etmek'", 25.

¹²⁸ Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*, 147-48.

¹²⁹ For Öztürk, even collection tour organized in 1967 by TRT demonstrated similar features, operating in Eastern European paradigm of music folklore and problematic in scientific design. Öztürk, "Milli Müzik Ütopyası: 'Halk Ruhunu Garp Fenniyle Terkib Etmek'", 30-31.

¹³⁰ Cenk Güray & Ali Fuat Aydın, "Muzafer Sarısözen'in Kişiliğinde Ülkemizdeki Batılılaşma Sürecinin Geleneksel Müzikler Üzerindeki Etkisinin Tartışılması: Bir Dönüşümün Öyküsü" (Muzafer Sarısözen Sempozyumu, Sivas: Sivas 1000 Temel Eser), 67-71.

program was developed to be exercised in People's Houses, an institution to which assigned a state apparatus function for the ideological-cultural reconstruction of masses. People's Houses acted as side organizations of CHP, the founding political party of the Republic and operated between 1932 -1951. Three guides for describing how music studies and events should be organized in People's Houses were published in 1932, 1940 and 1946. Headlines of these guides included instruction of national marches & songs, organization of western music events as well as instructions for establishing local ensembles and choirs for music performance. Yet, the success of this program is debatable as later reports do not provide reliable evidence.¹³¹

The last nationalist conception that shaped Musical Reforms was the creation of a particular history of music in accordance with the needs of the Republican ideology. This notion of an alternative history of music can be considered as related with other similar efforts such as development of Sun-Language Theory as well as Turkish Thesis of History.¹³² One particular aspect of Turkish Thesis of History had been the claim that westernization, represented as "becoming civilized" was not against national spirit as roots of entire civilization in fact had historically laid in the past of Turkish people. A similar attitude also manifests itself in the folk music reforms on the basis that, efforts of polyphonizing folk music were legitimate since roots of polyphony existed also in ancient Turkish music. Here, the main assumption was that polyphony had its roots in pentatonicism, which was claimed by reformist ideology to have been the essential characteristic of Turkish folk music. Influenced by Bartok's arguments on pentatonicism, these preconditioned studies for evaluating Turkish folk music as a pentatonic tradition mainly conducted by Gazimihal, Yönetken and Saygun.¹³³

¹³¹ Emrah Zıraman & Fırat Kutluk, "Hars ve Medeniyet Ekseninde Cumhuriyet Dönemi Müzik Politikalarının Kitlese Uygulama Alanı: Halkevleri", *İllüzyon: Cumhuriyet'in Klasik Müzik Serüveni*, ed. Fırat Kutluk (İstanbul: H20 Kitap, 2016).

¹³² Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 117-19.

¹³³ Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*, 109-13.

3.3.3 Modernization & Obsession with Rationalization

Modernization appears as a unifying tool between self-orientalist and nationalist conceptions of musical aspects, and has been applied for a comprehensive practice of the ideology. As the necessity of polyphonization established through the self-orientalist conceptualization of polyphony as the tool that defines contemporary music, and the essence of the ideal new Turkish music provided through reinvention of folk music in nationalist perspective makes; only remaining phase, in this regard, was to create a comprehensive synthesis. Theorized easily in views of Asım and Gökalp, practice of such notion of synthesis had to solve different music theoretical problems, wherein approaches such as rationalization and standardization were taken, which can be seen as essential features of modernization.¹³⁴

The pitch material of Turkish music in the form of both Ottoman art music and folk music had developed in a different way than the Western scales, on the basis of the conceptualization of scales and tonal center as *maqams*. Maqams included microtonal elements, as how they referred in Western terms, some of which extremely characteristic for defining the identity of particular *maqams*. The pitches in *maqam* tradition, however, were not standardized and could vary slightly from performance to performance. These specific characteristics of the traditional music were causing a problem for the practice of new national music prescription. Western polyphony heavily depended on the exercise of standardized intervals between different melodic lines that can be transposed to every tonality without causing a qualitative change, a feature which was considered as a result of rationalization by Weber. In this regard, the non-standardized and more detailed pitch material of Turkish music was a problem to be solved by reformers to make it compatible with polyphonic understanding. Another problem for the synthesis was the rhythmic aspect of Turkish music. Rhythmic diversity in Turkish *usuls* was vast and had made it possible to compose long musical phrases. This feature was also not coinciding with the conceptualization of rhythm in western polyphonic tradition which has been simpler for the sake of simultaneity of different melodic lines.

¹³⁴ Ergur & Aydın, "Patterns of Modernization in Turkish Music as Indicators of a Changing Society", 89.

In this framework, the idea of modernization manifested itself in efforts for standardizing *maqam* and *usul* system of Turkish music. Such a procedure operated through a perception bias through eliminating *maqams* and *usuls* that were less compatible in polyphonic understanding. According to Oransay, *maqams* such as *Rast*, *Hicazkar*, *Nihavend*, *Kürdilihicazkar*, *Uşşak*, *Hüzzam* and other similar ones that are technically susceptible to be transposed onto Western scales with the least possible micro-tonal deterioration, became the favourite or at least privileged modes used by the composers. In case of *usuls*, longer forms characterized by complicated rhythms were eventually abandoned for simplified patterns explainable in Western rhythmic understanding such as *düyek* (8/8), *Türk aksağı* (5/8) and *curcuna* (10/16). Ergur & Aydın associate the extensive use of these rhythmic patterns with two features of social change namely, the increasing speed of social life and joy and lightness, which are reflections of modernization.¹³⁵

The notion of standardization has been present also in the folk song studies. In addition to manipulation of folk songs for presenting them closer to the ideal of national culture through omitting certain folk songs, changing certain words etc.; elimination of local musical and linguistic characteristics too was an essential aspect as it is exemplified in the case of the *Choir for Songs from the Country* established by Muzaffer Sarısözen, folk songs from different regions of Turkey were rearranged in a uniform style¹³⁶ with an emphasis on pure and clean Turkishness.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Ibid, 96.

¹³⁶ Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye’de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*, 153.

¹³⁷ Cenk Güray & Ali Fuat Aydın, “Muzaffer Sarısözen’in Kişiliğinde Ülkemizdeki Batılılaşma Sürecinin Geleneksel Müzikler Üzerindeki Etkisinin Tartışılması: Bir Dönüşümün Öyküsü”, 70.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRACTICE OF THE IDEOLOGY OF POLYPHONIC MUSIC IN TURKEY

4.1 Introduction: Repressive and Ideological Ways

Having its notion and scope structured within the theoretical framework of Musical Reforms which were essentially conceived as a part of total modernization efforts in Turkey; “polyphonic music” how it has been conceptualized in Turkish case, exercises its ideology through institutional and discursive measures. Such measures include public and also private support, after a certain period, for polyphonic music tradition in terms of institutional subsidies, commissions and scholarships as well as perpetuating the Republican discourse of superiority of polyphonic music with some minor modifications. In this regard, the practice of ideology through institutional and discursive means include not only attribution of positive qualities to polyphonic music and its conceptualization as the legitimate tradition through state support, but also include the application of measures taken against music types that were considered illegitimate as well as depicting these music types with pejorative terms.

In this framework, the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey has been exercised in repressive and ideological ways. Repressive means include the ban of traditional Turkish music in 1930s, and later *arabesk* in 1970s and 1980s in the state radio, exclusion of the instruction of traditional Turkish music in music institutions as well as melodic and verbal changes made in folk songs whose original versions were found “non-suitable”. Ideological means on the other hand include the establishment of an elitist discourse in favor of polyphonic music through labeling traditional Turkish music until 1970s and then *arabesk* and other popular music types as “undesired” types¹³⁸, the feature of reformist discourse as a “*doxa*” in musicological

¹³⁸ Özmenteş ve Şenel, “Türkiye’de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi”, 387.

debates¹³⁹, the conceptualization of polyphonic music performers as national icons¹⁴⁰ or representatives, and the relationship between the polyphonic music tradition and the state in terms of use of nationalist narratives as themes in works by Turkish composers, as well as specific events organized by polyphonic music institutions for celebrating and commemorating nationally significant days.

4.2 Discursive Polyphonist Elitism

The most apparent ideological feature of the polyphonic music tradition in Turkey has been its elitist discourse. Musical elitism in this context takes place by positioning polyphonic music superior to other music types, as well as attributing negative qualities to certain music traditions, that were conceived “undesired”. In Turkey, as it has been discussed in the theoretical framework of Musical Reforms, during the first decades of the Republic, traditional Ottoman art music (later conceptualized as Turkish art music) was conceived as illegitimate on the basis of the claims regarding its so-called “non-Turkish”, “aristocratic” and “monophonic” character, therefore considered “undesired”. Yet, it can be seen that, within time, the negative gaze of the ideological musical perspective in Turkey has become projected to different music types, namely popular genres and particularly *arabesk*.

Özmenteş & Şenel argue that, musical elitism in Turkey had two historical phases. In the first phase, creation of national polyphonic music has been the priority and main discourse whereas in the second phase, beginning with 1970s, the elitist perspective has adopted the discourse in which success of popular music genres and *arabesk* were considered as “cultural corruption”. According to Özmenteş & Şenel, the first phase of musical elitism in Turkey was structured by reformist conceptions of polyphonic music with notions of development, progress, universalism and contemporariness. It defines itself as an advanced music tradition, disguises its elitism with its conception of polyphonic music as universal, and provokes false

¹³⁹ John Morgan O’Connell, “Fine Art, Fine Music: Controlling Turkish Taste at the Fine Arts Academy in 1926”, *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32 (2000): 123-24.

¹⁴⁰ Aydın, “Repercussions of Nationalist Thought on Music During Early Republican Period in Turkey”, 103.

music theoretical discussions on the basis of polyphony-monophony dichotomy.¹⁴¹ These qualities mentioned, evidently underline the self-orientalist aspect of the elitist discourse.

Polyphony as a discourse in its ideological conception has different attributions. Arguments regarding to the necessity and significance of polyphony have their roots in non-musical domains which are mainly political as it can be seen in cases wherein polyphony especially is associated with democracy and universal values; and this is the exact feature which makes the understanding of polyphony in Turkey ideological. Conceptualization of polyphony in this particular self-orientalist perspective through regarding polyphony as a universal musical concept establishes a cultural ideology in favor of polyphonic music tradition in Turkey and creates a discourse that non-polyphonic music traditions are not suitable for the ideal Turkish culture.

Discursive polyphonist elitism in its reformist conception attributes positive qualities to polyphonic music. Most famous of these attributions is referring polyphony as a symbol of democracy. In Turkish political jargon, the term polyphony is used as a synonym with democracy. According to Gürer Aykal, prominent Turkish conductor; polyphony is a tremendous public education, because polyphony brings democracy.¹⁴² In words of Salih Aydoğan, author of several music education books, the number of choirs that perform polyphonic works can be seen as an indicator of how democratic a society is.¹⁴³ Uyar states that, monophonic music is for monophonic governments and the evolution of democracy in Europe has been take place thanks to the evolution of polyphonic music.¹⁴⁴ There are also other attributions of polyphony. For Nurhan Cangal, an important Turkish music educator, polyphony is the gate to the universe, and one must produce more polyphonic works

¹⁴¹ Özmenteş ve Şenel, "Türkiye'de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi", 387.

¹⁴² Aydın, "Repercussions of Nationalist Thought on Music During Early Republican Period in Turkey", 6-8.

¹⁴³ Özmenteş & Şenel, "Türkiye'de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi", 392.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, 389.

if desires to become contemporary, whereas according to Durak, polyphonic music is beneficial to mental and body health.¹⁴⁵ The common aspect of these arguments is that, none of these arguments have music theoretical origins. Instead, they are repercussions of the view wherein polyphony is represented as the music theoretical point of difference between Western and Turkish music traditions without providing music theoretical explanations for the necessity of its usage.

In addition to attribution of positive qualities to polyphonic music, the ideological view also depicts the “undesired” music types in negative ways. For the case of Ottoman art music in 1920s and 1930s, certain approaches were taken, what Ayas considers as “discursive attacks and symbolic violence”. According to Ayas, the these discursive attacks had taken place in six main categories, which are namely marginalization of Ottoman music on reactionary, oriental, non-Turkish, aristocratic grounds, as well as strategies to consider it as a music tradition of the past whose place is in museums and to depict it as banal, drinking music in order to eliminate its social groundings.¹⁴⁶ In this context, marginalization of Ottoman music on the basis of its reactionary and oriental characteristics is related to the notion of self-orientalism, whereas its presentation as non-Turkish and aristocratic has ties with the nationalist aspect of the Musical Reforms.

The portrayal of Ottoman music as reactionary occurs in terms of its incompatibility with the so-called scientific principles. In this discourse, the defense of Ottoman music is presented as resistance to principles and methods of universal science. Zeki Üngör¹⁴⁷ argued that oriental music cannot be explained scientifically whereas İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu¹⁴⁸ claimed that defense of Ottoman music is a reactionary

¹⁴⁵ Ibid, 389.

¹⁴⁶ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 174-99.

¹⁴⁷ Zeki Üngör (1880-1958): director of Musiki Muallim Mektebi and the principal conductor of Presidential Symphony Orchestra. Composer of the Turkish national anthem

¹⁴⁸ İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1886-1978): pedagogue, author, politician. Member of 1926 commission that forbade the education of Ottoman music

movement (*irtica hareketi*). Falih Rifkî Atay¹⁴⁹ made an analogy regarding to the matter and stated that the idea of reclamation of *alaturka* is equal to reclamation of *medrese*, *şeriye* courts and *mecelle*.¹⁵⁰ The potent of this particular discourse has continued long after the end of Musical Reforms. In 1971, Suna Kan¹⁵¹ had opposed to Talat Halman, minister of culture of the time, in a famous public letter for Halman's intention to organize a concert of *Itri*'s works, stating that such an act was in fact a reaction to Atatürk reforms. After this opposition, the *Itri* concert was cancelled and the project to establish a conservatory for Turkish Music was postponed.¹⁵²

The reactionary depiction of *alaturka* has also been tied to its orientalist conception, as science and universal values feature those of the West in this discourse, demonstrating a form of latent orientalism. The orientalist marginalization of Ottoman music in this discourse takes place by associating oriental music with eastern despotism and inertia in a context western music defined by dynamism and liberty; as well as conceiving Ottoman music as groaning that anesthetizes people and lacking of qualities of western music which reflect the development of individualism as an outcome of division of labor.¹⁵³

The nationalist character of the ideology of polyphonic music also manifests itself in the discourse used against traditional music. As mentioned, since the Republican reformist utopia was constructed with ideas of creating a new modern nation and a classless society; the discourse against Ottoman art music was also characterized in this framework. The words of Peyami Safa¹⁵⁴ in *Ulus* newspaper on 28th December

¹⁴⁹ Falih Rifkî Atay (1893-1971): journalist, author, politician. Close friend of Atatürk, and his chief author.

¹⁵⁰ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 174-78.

¹⁵¹ Suna Kan (1936-...): violin virtuoso. State artist of Turkey.

¹⁵² Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 174.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 179-83.

¹⁵⁴ Peyami Safa (1899-1961): novelist, journalist.

1946 provide a striking example to how nationalist understanding of polyphonist ideology has operated against traditional music, as Safa argued that the biggest mistake of *alaturka* defenders had been their misconception of *alaturka* as Turkish, since music techniques have some international expressive dignity and *alaturka maqams* lack this dignity. Another form of the nationalist discourse included the claim that Turkish nation had no musical tradition in the present yet it had a strong tradition in the past which also constituted the roots of western music itself. This notion was constructed through making parallelisms to Turkish Thesis of History. Ali Rifat Çağatay¹⁵⁵ had stated that the origins of Western music lay in the old Turkish music, whereas Mesut Cemil¹⁵⁶ provocatively claimed that violin and saxophone were Turkish instruments.¹⁵⁷

The nationalist notion also included the marginalization of Ottoman art music tradition on the basis of its aristocratic conception and depiction as detached from “the people”. As the true essence of a nation had thought to exist in villages and rural culture in the nationalist framework, in the nationalist discourse *alaturka* was presented through various names such as “palace music”, “*Enderun* music”, “Divan music”, “*Saltanat* (royal) music”, “*Edvar* music”; which emphasize to characterize traditional music as an upper class form, detached from the national culture living in the rural area.¹⁵⁸

The ideological discourse against traditional music also adopted an approach to define it as a certain tradition that belongs to the past. Ayas considers this approach as a strategy to place traditional music in a museum, a proposal made by Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal¹⁵⁹ in 1937. The discourse characterizes traditional music as a

¹⁵⁵ Ali Rifat Çağatay (1869-1935): udi, kemençe player, cellist, composer

¹⁵⁶ Mesut Cemil Tel (1902-1963): cellist, tambur player, choral conductor

¹⁵⁷ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 183-88.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid, 188-92.

¹⁵⁹ Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal (1900-1961): musicologist

legacy to be proud of but that of a past, as it possesses a historical value and not a present value.¹⁶⁰

The last discursive category of the symbolic violence against traditional music was the defamation of its popularized branch as “*meyhane* (tavern) music” or “vulgar music”. In this regard, the approach of Gültekin Oransay¹⁶¹, distinguishing between *fasıl* music (refers to the sophisticated branch of Ottoman music) and *piyasa* (market) music reflects the ideological mindset. Presented as *piyasa* music, the popularized branch of traditional music was associated with alcohol consumption and *meyhanes*. Peyami Safa pointed that *meyhanes* were the graves of *alaturka*, whereas Nadir Nadi¹⁶² depicted *alaturka* as “dead, meaningless *meyhane*” music and claimed to become sick after hearing it. *Yeşilay Cemiyeti* (Turkish Green Crescent) had proposed a ban on *alaturka* on the basis that it encouraged alcohol consumption.¹⁶³

This particular notion of the ideology in its stance against popular music through its depiction as vulgar is essentially significant as it has become the central discourse of polyphonist elitism later in 1970s. Indeed, its discourse had gradually changed its focus towards popular music types, and particularly to *arabesk* after the rise of these popular genres. Musical corruption and vulgarity have been the essential themes in this novel perspective, featuring as characteristics that define these new genres. A particular elitist argument against the popular genres was that they were produced by commercial urges, an idea in musical sphere has its roots in Adorno and Frankfurt School and concepts used in that paradigm such as culture industry, mass culture, commodification and commercialization.¹⁶⁴ The intolerance of polyphonist elitism in Turkey against *piyasa* music too, can be considered to be in the same approach.

¹⁶⁰ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 192-95.

¹⁶¹ Gültekin Oransay (1930-1989): musicologist, historian. Author of *The History of Divan Composition* (1982)

¹⁶² Nadir Nadi (1908-1991): journalist. Son of Yunus Nadi, founder of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. After 1945, chief editor of *Cumhuriyet*

¹⁶³ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 195-99.

¹⁶⁴ Özmenteş ve Şenel, “Türkiye’de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi”, 403.

In the popular music debate, *Arabesk* particularly has been the new target of the elitist discourse, as it has represented almost the exact opposite what Republican reformist agenda wanted to achieve and subsequently perceived as a cultural threat to the ideology of polyphonic music. Having its roots in the “free style performance” (*serbest icra*) music which emerged in 1950s as an urban popular music tradition with the contribution of former *tekke* musicians, namely Sadettin Kaynak, and the increasing influence of Egyptian music and cinema in 1940s; *arabesk* established itself as the leading popular music genre and also becomes a musical discourse in 1970s, as major other popular musicians such as Zeki Müren and İbrahim Tatlıses, either started to include *arabesk* elements in their music or changed their style to *arabesk*. Developing as an urban tradition, *arabesk* can be considered as a west-east synthesis as it includes elements of popular music, Turkish music, as well as its openness to polyphonic music instruments.¹⁶⁵

Arabesk was problematized within the ideological paradigm as a cultural corruption. It has been subject to debates in extra-musical grounds, specifically perceived as a reaction of a periphery which was excluded from economic and cultural participation to the central reformist tradition.¹⁶⁶ On musical grounds, it was defined as a music mentality characterized by “alienation” and “incompatibility”, and represented the problem of integration of migrants from Anatolian rural area to urban culture.¹⁶⁷ The name “arabesk” actually was coined by the elitist perspective and included pejorative connotations.¹⁶⁸ Conceptualization of *arabesk* in this particular approach in the ideological view, made it to be labeled as an “undesired music”.

¹⁶⁵ Orhan Tekelioğlu, “Ciddi müzikten popüler müziğe musiki inkılabının sonuçları”, *Cumhuriyet’in Sesleri*, ed. Gönül Paçacı (Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1999), 146-53.

¹⁶⁶ Martin Stokes, *Türkiye’de Arabesk Olayı*, tr. Hale Eryılmaz (İletişim Yayınları İstanbul, 1998), 22.

¹⁶⁷ Meral Özbek, *Popüler kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski* (İstanbul: İletişim, 1991), 15.

¹⁶⁸ Tekelioğlu, “Ciddi müzikten popüler müziğe musiki inkılabının sonuçları”, 152.

The ideological discourse against *arabesk* adopts various ways. *Arabesk* has been presented as a cultural and musical *regression* by Öztuna¹⁶⁹ and Kongar¹⁷⁰ and a pseudo-rebellion to the established culture by Eğribel¹⁷¹, a perspective which, according to Dellaloğlu, demonstrate remarkable similarities with Adorno's conceptualization of jazz in the same fashion. Ozankaya¹⁷² considered *arabesk* an indicator of social and cultural corruption and advocated its ban not just in TRT but also in the police radio. Ali¹⁷³ had described the situation of Turkish music scene as pathetic through referring to *arabesk* music and stressed the ignorance of *arabesk* musicians; whereas Say¹⁷⁴ has claimed that liking *arabesk* is nothing but treason.¹⁷⁵ Özbek stated that her choice of *arabesk* as the subject of her PHD dissertation was initially found "too vulgar" for an academic study.¹⁷⁶

Özmenteş & Şenel point out essential themes of the discursive polyphonist musical elitism in Turkey as its eurocentric evolutionary paradigm, clear separations between high-low culture, depiction of people as uneducated, backward masses whose sensibilities have been exploited by market powers. In this regard, the place of *arabesk* in criticism of popular music has been particularly significant for the ideological perspective in Turkey, as all popular genres were considered as corruptions, yet most of them were actually imported from the West, the cultural ideal of the polyphonist ideology, however, *arabesk* was considered as an essentially Turkish corruption, therefore was criticized much more intensely.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁹ Tahsin Yılmaz Öztuna (1930-2012): historian, musicologist, politician. Author of *Encyclopedia of Turkish Music*

¹⁷⁰ Emre Kongar (1941-...): sociologist.

¹⁷¹ Ertan Eğribel (-...): sociologist

¹⁷² Özer Ozankaya (1941-...): sociologist

¹⁷³ Filiz Ali (1937-...): musicologist

¹⁷⁴ Fazıl Say (1970-...): pianist, composer.

¹⁷⁵ Özmenteş ve Şenel, "Türkiye'de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi", 404-10.

¹⁷⁶ Özbek, *Popüler kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski*, 7.

¹⁷⁷ Özmenteş ve Şenel, "Türkiye'de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi", 406.

4.3 Repression of Undesired Music

The most direct and manifest tool of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey has been the institutional measures taken against certain music types which have been conceived as “undesired” within the ideology. In both phases of the musical elitism mentioned, the ideology of polyphonic music had taken repressive measures against these “undesired” music types, which demonstrate dystopian qualities within the ideological perspective.

Repressive measures taken against the traditional Turkish music during Musical Reforms included the abolishment of religious lodges and cloisters (*tekke ve zaviyeler*) in 1925¹⁷⁸, abolishment of traditional Turkish music department at Darü'l-elhan and exclusion of education traditional Turkish music in schools in 1926 and the ban on Turkish music in state radio between 1934-36.¹⁷⁹ Ayas states that, particularly two of these institutional measures have been associated with the ban on Turkish music during Musical Reforms: exclusion of education of Turkish music from state institutions and the ban on Turkish music in radio. For Ayas, even though the outcome of the first decision on the continuity of Turkish music tradition has been more severe; the ban on Turkish music in radio had resulted in more controversy in social memory.¹⁸⁰

The abolishment of religious lodges and cloisters in 1925 had not been an official measure taken directly against the traditional music, even though its outcome had been huge especially in terms of transmission. Alongside with *palace meşkhane*, and *Mehterhane*; *tekkes* had been the major centers of education, performance and transmission of traditional music. Particularly, *Mevlevihanes* were essential institutions for Turkish music, as they functioned as main centers of instruction after the closure of *Enderun* and *Mehterhane* in 19th century and pioneers of traditional music in the 20th century such as Rauf Yekta, Sadettin Arel and Suphi Ezgi were all

¹⁷⁸ Orhan Tekelioğlu, “Modernizing Reforms and Turkish Music in the 1930s”, *Turkish Studies* 2, no. 1 (2001): 95-97.

¹⁷⁹ Özbek, *Popüler kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski*, 140-41.

¹⁸⁰ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 125.

educated in *Mevlevihanes*. In these religious lodges, transmission of not only religious works but also secular pieces had taken place in *meşk* tradition. The abolition of religious lodges had resulted in a serious discontinuity in *meşk* tradition, particularly in terms of repertoire, whose outcome is dramatically apparent in the eradication of *Mevlevi ayin*, which had been most sophisticated form of Turkish music.¹⁸¹ According to Tekelioğlu, the abolishment of *tekkes* had left many talented *tekke* musicians without a livelihood and after 1930s, some of these musicians began to secularize their music and commercialize their work to earn a living.¹⁸²

The first repressive measure directly taken against traditional Turkish music was the abolishment of the Turkish music department at *Darü'l-elhan* in 1926. Founded in 1917, *Darü'l-elhan* had two departments, namely western and eastern music departments. Abolishment of the *alaturka* department at *Darü'l-elhan* in 1926, after the abolishment of religious lodges in the previous year meant the elimination of the major part of the public sphere wherein the education and transmission of traditional music could take place. By 1927, the extent of the decree of *Sanayi-i Nefise Encümeni* which abolished the *alaturka* department at *Darü'l-elhan* had been expanded to all official institutions and instruction of traditional Turkish music was banned countrywide.¹⁸³ For 50 years after 1926, the state radio had been the only major official institution wherein traditional music could survive until 1976.¹⁸⁴

Even though the traditional Turkish music could survive in official settings only within the state radio (TRT) until 1976; initially the role of radio as a repressive tool against Turkish music was essentially significant. Following Atatürk's indications in his opening speech of the parliament on 1st November 1934, Ministry of the Interior had announced the abolishment of *alaturka* from radio programs. The repercussions of this decision in daily life were also striking. According to Ayas, after the ban, entertainment places had adopted a certain auto-censor for traditional Turkish music,

¹⁸¹ Ibid, 115-17.

¹⁸² Tekelioğlu, "Modernizing Reforms and Turkish Music in the 1930s", 95.

¹⁸³ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 121.

¹⁸⁴ Paçacı, "Cumhuriyet'in Sesleri", 31.

performing *alaturka* was socially conceived as a crime as newspapers of the time encouraged *alaturka* musicians to learn western instruments, and sales of traditional instruments drastically dropped.¹⁸⁵ The outcome of this repressive measure was striking as most people tuned their radio to Egyptian radio stations broadcasting Egyptian music¹⁸⁶ and people in urban centers began to enjoy popular songs composed and played by former *tekke* musicians.¹⁸⁷ The ban on traditional Turkish music in radio was lifted after 20 months in 1936. Ayas interprets the decision to lift the ban as a necessity felt by the state for protecting the effect of radio as a propaganda device, given that a lot of radios were tuned to foreign radio stations following polyphonic music broadcasts in 1934-36, as well as preventing the spread of Arab taste among people as a result. Even though the ban was lifted, the number of hours in broadcast of traditional music remained very few with respect to hours of broadcast of polyphonic music for many years.¹⁸⁸

Another repressive measure has been the melodic and verbal changes made in the collected folk songs for making them suitable for the idealized Turkish nation, as well as omission of certain “non-suitable” folk songs in collections. The essential characteristic of this procedure was standardization, and can be exemplified mainly by the work of folk song collections led by Muzaffer Sarısözen, which ignored the local singing characteristics and styles, changed certain themes, excluded folk songs that were incompatible to the classification criteria based on geographical zones, and added arbitrary microtones to folk songs. A similar approach was adopted also for the words of folk songs. Since it was expected from folk songs to be representatives of pure Turkish, verbal interventions were also made to the collected songs. Such interventions included elimination of local dialect elements, exclusion of “non-suitable” words, omission of obscene themes, change of foreign words with Turkish ones, rewriting of certain lines, and omission of Kurdish folk songs. In addition to

¹⁸⁵ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 125-29.

¹⁸⁶ Stokes, *Türkiye'de Arabesk Olayı*, 139.

¹⁸⁷ Tekelioğlu, “Modernizing Reforms and Turkish Music in the 1930s”, 96-97.

¹⁸⁸ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 131.

these, several melodic and verbal additions to folk songs were also made in order to elevate their aesthetic qualities.¹⁸⁹

The role of the press during these repressive measures taken in 1920s and 1930s had also been instrumental for the Republican reformist mindset in terms of efforts to establish favorable public opinion for the Musical Reforms. Özdemir underlines the particular emphasis put on musical issues by Turkish press, namely *Cumhuriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Akşam* newspapers, during the last two months of 1934, just exact after the announcement of the ban on *alaturka* in the radio. The content appeared in those newspapers during this period was fully in accordance with the reformist discourse, as featured themes were namely the creation of new national music rooted in folk songs (*Milliyet*, 6th & 29th November 1934; *Cumhuriyet*, 8th November 1934), folk song collection efforts (*Akşam*, 16th November 1934), musical events of People's Houses (*Milliyet*, 12th November 1934; *Akşam*, 22nd December 1934), presentation of newly composed Turkish operas (*Milliyet*, 17th November 1934; *Cumhuriyet*, 18th November 1934; *Akşam*, 20th November 1934), *alaturka* musicians learning western music (*Akşam*, 5th November 1934; *Milliyet*, 21st November 1934).¹⁹⁰ In addition to the press' function of legitimizing repressive measures, auto-censor was also apparent, most significantly in the case of *Nota*, a music magazine which was closed in 1935 after its 37th volume without prior farewell. According to Tekelioğlu, the closure of *Nota* reflects the authoritarian "from above" characteristic of the reformist perspective, as the magazine's content included emerging popular monophonic songs, articles written by former *tekke* musicians, as well as a questionnaire on the future of Turkish music for collecting views the east-west synthesis debate. Tekelioğlu argued that, the "from above" strategy of the 1930s, inevitably produced "from below" counter-movements and resistance in years to come.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ Balkılıç, *Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği*, 150-63.

¹⁹⁰ Sinem Özdemir, "Türk müziği radyo yaşağı ve 1934 medyası.", *Cumhuriyetin Müzik Politikaları*, ed. Fırat Kutluk (İstanbul: H20 Kitap, 2018), 165-202.

¹⁹¹ Tekelioğlu, "Modernizing Reforms and Turkish Music in the 1930s".

Such “from below” counter-movements manifest themselves in the development of urban popular music genres and most significantly the emergence of *arabesk*. Having established itself as the leading popular music genre in 1970s and subsequently marginalized by the discursive polyphonist elitism, the ideological mindset took also repressive actions against *arabesk*. It was banned in state radio (TRT) in 1970s and this strict position has continued until 1988 Music Congress. Even in the 2001 General Broadcast Plan of TRT, a similar stance can be seen as *arabesk* was planned to be excluded.¹⁹²

The popular success of *arabesk* can be seen as the failure of Musical Reforms.¹⁹³ Having ties with *tekke* tradition, popular music, and influences from Egyptian and Arab culture; *arabesk* includes various elements that were perceived dystopian, in Republican ideology that advocated polyphonic music. In this regard, its success can be considered as the exact opposite of the scope of Musical Reforms. Even its ban on the radio could not prevent the rise of *arabesk*, and after 1980 *arabesk* itself began to have ideological qualities, as it was appropriated on political grounds.¹⁹⁴ By 1990s, *arabesk* had lost its countercultural character after its political and economic appropriation and the conflict between the state and *arabesk* had come to an end, an outcome which can be exemplified by Orhan Gencebay acquiring the title of state artist in 1998.¹⁹⁵

4.4 Setting the *Doxa* of Musical Debates and Approaches

The ideology of polyphonic music has been apparent also in essentially musical debates and theoretical approaches and has operated as a *doxa* for that field in Bourdieuan terms. The *doxa* in this field particularly signifies that all music should be explicable in so-called scientific terms, referring to western norms and should be

¹⁹² Gülay Karşıcı, “Müzik Türlerine İdeolojik Yaklaşım: 1970-1990 Yılları Arasındaki TRT Sansürü”, *Folklor/Edebiyat* vol.16, no.61 (2010): 169-78.

¹⁹³ Tekelioğlu, “Ciddi müzikten popüler müziğe musiki inkılabının sonuçları”, 152
Stokes, *Türkiye’de Arabesk Olayı*, 17.

¹⁹⁴ Özbek, *Popüler kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski*, 22.

¹⁹⁵ Tekelioğlu, “Ciddi müzikten popüler müziğe musiki inkılabının sonuçları”, 153.

in accordance with Republican ideals. Given that, in the sphere of polyphonic music, certain efforts were made in order to create a specific harmony of Turkish music for reaching to the goal of polyphony. The most famous undertaking was Kemal İlerici's study *Turkish Harmony*. Yet, the ideology of polyphonic ideals has manifested itself also in the Ottoman/Turkish music sphere, resulting in a tendency among traditional musicians to defend Ottoman/Turkish art music within the dominant paradigm for establishing a ground of legitimacy and develop a theory of Turkish music within western norms. In this regard, approaches taken by Rauf Yekta and Hüseyin Sadettin Arel can be given as examples.

Kemal İlerici developed his theory of Turkish Harmony in 1940s, after studying Western harmony and Turkish folk music. İlerici had believed the importance of combining national spirit with the universal technique and had advocated a uniform method for polyphonizing Turkish music. His approach was similar to the western system, yet significantly differed in terms construction of chords by the use of fourths above and below a specific pitch chosen as a root unlike western theory wherein chords are constructed with juxtaposition of thirds above a root, as well as invention of a sort of tonic-dominant relationship which is the essential feature of contrast in western tonal system. The system of İlerici has been used by composers such as İlhan Baran, Ertugrul Bayraktar and most famously by Muammer Sun.¹⁹⁶ The approach taken by İlerici provides a good example of how the *doxa* of the ideology had resulted in an urgency to provide solutions to the problem of polyphonizing folk music, as it had been outlined by Gökalp and Asım. Even though it was adopted by a few composers mainly due to aesthetic reasons, the model İlerici supposed has been important as it represents a direct reflection of the ideological arguments made on polyphony in the aesthetic realm.

The repercussions of the *doxa* have been more striking and influential among traditional musicians. As Ottoman art music was conceptualized undesired through the use of a certain ideological discourse; the most effective way of defending the traditional music, for some, seemed to build arguments without rejecting the

¹⁹⁶ Aydın, "Repercussions of Nationalist Thought on Music During Early Republican Period in Turkey", 127-29.

presuppositions of the ideological orthodox discourse, especially the political ones.¹⁹⁷ In other words, the arguments for the defense of traditional music were developed in accordance with the *doxa* and resulted in establishing heterodox discourses.¹⁹⁸ In this regard, it is possible to name two different approaches taken, namely by Rauf Yekta and Hüseyin Sadettin Arel, in the construction of the heterodox discourses for the defense of traditional music.

The impact of the *doxa* in Rauf Yekta's arguments begins with his view that defending Turkish music is actually a national duty, whose outline had been structured by Republican principles. Yekta had clearly emphasized the musical differences between western and Ottoman music traditions and argued that Ottoman music tradition was adequate on its own and did not require borrowing from Western tradition. In order to provide legitimacy to his arguments, Yekta also had given references to western musicologists and used the western musicological terminology to benefit from their scientific status. He also suggested that creation of a new national music would take time. Yekta used the names "Ottoman music", "Eastern music", and "Turkish music" interchangeably in his articles and considered this tradition as the most sophisticated music of the entire East, and rejected the separation between folk music and art music, on the other hand he acknowledged them as sub-branches of the same tradition.¹⁹⁹ In this regard, the position of Rauf Yekta is influential, as he neither admitted the superiority of polyphonic music nor he emphasized the folk music for the creation of a new national music, as how orthodox discourse suggested. What he did was, attributing a national importance to traditional art music through naming it Turkish music for the first time, as well as using Western music theoretical tools which have provided legitimacy to his works.

Unlike Yekta, the position of Hüseyin Sadettin Arel had been ideologically closer to the orthodox discourse, and had appropriated the nationalist and self-orientalist elements of the reformist ideology more intensely. Arel used Gökalp's framework

¹⁹⁷ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 215.

¹⁹⁸ O'Connell, "Fine Art, Fine Music", 123-25.

¹⁹⁹ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı'nın Sosyolojisi*, 214-23.

and had suggested that Ottoman music had its roots in Central Asia, never influenced by oriental music traditions, on the other hand influenced them, and therefore it had been purely Turkish. He also speculated that all music traditions originated in Sumerians, linked Sumerians with ancient Turkish people and claimed that all music traditions had their origins in the ancient Turkish music in the Central Asia; a reasoning stems from the Turkish Thesis of History. Essentially a modernist raised within Tanzimat culture, Arel accepted the necessity of westernization in music and stated that his interest in Turkish music originated in his preference of Western music, an emphasis he enlarged also by his vision that traditional music was actually suitable to polyphonization. For Arel, there is no way other than borrowing western technique for preserving tradition.²⁰⁰ Arel's views are striking as they almost entirely reproduce the orthodox discourse, as he employs the formalized language of the established system and therefore served to maintain the ideology.²⁰¹ Öztürk argues that the mindset of Arel was characterized by nationalism, occidentalism and utopianism; as Arel did not care the existing form of Turkish art music, rather he was more focused how it would be after interacting with western music.²⁰²

The work of Rauf Yekta and Hüseyin Sadettin Arel were not limited only to the defense strategies of traditional music within the ideological paradigm. Their main contributions were in the field of actual music theory, as they have tried to incorporate tools of polyphonic music into Turkish music. The most apparent of this notion is evident of their "scale oriented" approach to conceptualize Turkish maqams as modes in the Western approach, through use of concepts originated in polyphonic tradition such as range (ambitus), *durak* and *karar* (dominant & tonic), *seyir* (melodic progression), *tam karar* (complete cadence). Even though, Rauf Yekta had a leading role in the development of such an approach, the complete form of this model was achieved by Hüseyin Sadettin Arel²⁰³ with the aid of Suphi Ezgi, and

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 224-31.

²⁰¹ O'Connell, "Fine Art, Fine Music", 124.

²⁰² Okan Murat Öztürk, "H. S. Arel'in Türk mûsikîsine bakışında ütopyacılık, Garpcılık ve Türkçülüğün yeri", *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi* 6, no.2 (2018): 1859.

²⁰³ Okan Murat Öztürk, "How Was the Traditional Makam Theory Westernized for the Sake of Modernization?", *Rast Müzikoloji Dergisi* 6, no. 1 (2018): 1778-79.

within time became the quasi-official theory of Turkish music especially in the second half of the 20th century.

The discourses of some Turkish popular musicians can also be seen as the repercussions of the *doxa* of the ideology of polyphonic music. Erol Büyükburç had stated that his approach has been arranging and polyphonizing the well-known modes and *türkü*s in order to make polyphonic music approachable by the public. Similarly, Selmi Andak argued the necessity of using folkloric material and modern norms to reach a universal identity.²⁰⁴

4.5 Polyphonic Music in Nationalist Contexts

4.5.1 The appropriation of polyphonic music as a tool for national representation

One of the most apparent features of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey has been the role assigned to it as a mechanism of national representation. Performance of polyphonic music in an international environment has been regarded as an act of national representation, and any sort of international success of a Turkish musician has been applauded through its perception as national pride. Such a notion of national representation through performance does not belong solely to polyphonic music, on the contrary, the idea of representation of Turkey abroad is apparent also in other fields, namely sports, and it has become a discourse in Turkish language.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ Özmenteş ve Şenel, “Türkiye’de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi”, 408.

²⁰⁵<https://www.aydinlik.com.tr/haber/piyanist-ve-akademisyen-cagdas-soylar-piyano-calmadan-bir-gun-dahi-geciremiyorum-303045>
<https://www.goal.com/tr/haber/caglar-soeyuencue-premier-ligde-uelkemi-temsiletmekten-cok-mutluyum/1n9xf6syf34i31cwgsxfz3qwkf>
<https://kulturveyasam.com/yurt-disinda-bizi-temsileden-9-genc-sporcumuz/>
<https://www.trtspor.com.tr/haber/futbol/spor-toto-super-lig/ulkemi-en-iyi-sekilde-temsiletmek-istiyorum-241688.html>

The conception of polyphonic music as a tool of national representation in Turkey has its roots of the theoretical framework of the Musical Reforms, as Atatürk himself had articulated the need for the creation of a new national music through describing traditional music as “lacking qualities that would make Turkish nation to be proud of”.²⁰⁶ This view underlines the reformist emphasis given to polyphonic music, as a tradition to make Turkish nation to be proud of abroad, through conceptualizing musicians of polyphonic music as cultural ambassadors, and if they are very successful, as national icons. McCrone stated that the promotion of national figures serves as a mobilization of national history and geography and national icons are redrawn according to the political and cultural needs of the day.²⁰⁷ In this perspective, Aydın argued that especially two figures in Turkey have been considered as national icons of polyphonic music, namely Suna Kan and İdil Biret, who were protected and encouraged by a special law designed for them. Kan and Biret were considered as international ambassadors of art of Turkish people and proclaimed to be State Artists.²⁰⁸

The emphasis on national representation through polyphonic music can be considered as an outcome of the conceptualization of the performance of polyphonic music as a cultural capital in a Bourdieuan framework. Once polyphonic music, being a western musical tradition, set as a cultural goal of a westernization project; any praise from a foreign, namely western, source or any international success in this field possess an affirmative function. In this regard, an individual success on an international scale becomes a national success through a certain effect of amplification, as it appears to have achieved in spite of the limited *cultural capital* in a cultural *field* which is dominated by the west, the cultural ideal. In other words, foreign measures and praises are considered particularly valuable in *fields* whose *doxa* have foreign origins. In terms of western norms, such a view includes a particular self-orientalist stance, as the gaze and opinion of the west has taken willingly superior to domestic evaluation. Given that, the amplification effect of a

²⁰⁶ Küçükkaplan, *Türk Beşleri: İdeolojiden Tahayyüle Bir Cumhuriyet Ütopyası*, 82.

²⁰⁷ David McCrone, *The Sociology of Nationalism* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1998), 47.

²⁰⁸ Aydın, “Repercussions of Nationalist Thought on Music During Early Republican Period in Turkey”, 102.

success narrative can be seen as a result of a need of an approval from the West for the westernization project. This particular need can also be linked to the feeling of disadvantage that characterizes Eastern nationalisms according to Chatterjee.

In this framework, appropriation of any sort of an international success in the form of a narrative of national representation, becomes an ideological mark. In the case of the ideology of polyphonic music, it occurs as a latent feature of the discursive polyphonist elitism, through affirming the function of polyphonic music as an asset to be nationally proud of in the global sphere of polyphonic music what is taken as a competitive field. The discourse of national representation is still widely used for and by musicians of polyphonic tradition in Turkey in interviews as well as news that describe or promote certain artists.²⁰⁹

4.5.2 Celebration or Commemoration of Nationally Significant Days through Polyphonic Music

The use of polyphonic in a nationalist context also includes the specific concerts organized by polyphonic music institutions for nationally significant days in Turkey. These include official days such as 29th October (Republic Day), 23rd April (National Sovereignty and Children's Day), 19th May (Youth and Sports Day), 30th August (Victory Day) as well as not-official but still nationally significant days such as 18th March (Day for Commemoration of Çanakkale Martyrs) and 10th November (Day for Commemoration the death of Atatürk). It is customary for state polyphonic music institutions (state symphony orchestras and state opera & ballet) to organize regular

²⁰⁹ Examples of this discourse are numerous:

<https://www.trthaber.com/haber/kultur-sanat/iki-kardes-turkiyeyi-basariyla-temsil-ediyor-404512.html>

<https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/egitim/13-yasinda-dunya-ikincisi-oldu-40920128>

<https://www.gunes.com/yasam/15-yasinda-piyano-dahisi-1114823>

<https://www.aa.com.tr/tr/kultur-sanat/piyanonun-genc-yetenekleri-uluslararasi-alanda-basaridan-basariya-kosuyor/2221863>

<https://www.trthaber.com/haber/yasam/4-yasinda-piyano-calmaya-basladi-7-yilda-4-birincilik-kazandi-453448.html>

<https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/turkiye/7-uluslararasi-piyano-yarismasi-ve-festivali-izmirde-basladi-1947213>

<https://www.sesgazetesi.com.tr/haber/6640185/notalarin-prencesi>

thematic concerts for these days each year.²¹⁰ For certain occasions, the entire program is devoted to famous pieces by Turkish composers of polyphonic tradition and orchestral arrangements of certain popular tunes. Selections from the soundtrack of TV series *Kurtuluş* and *Cumhuriyet*, composed by Muammer Sun are particularly used especially for the celebration of the Republic Day.

In addition to the specifically designed events for nationally significant days, certain other concerts with specific titles exist too for commemoration of particularly important figures for the polyphonic music tradition in Turkey. The most important examples of this case are the concerts for the memory of İsmet İnönü, the 2nd president of Turkey, who was a strong supporter of polyphonic music and a devout visitor of the regular concerts of the Presidential Symphony Orchestra.²¹¹ Another important figure had been Adnan Saygun, and certain concerts are organized also for his memory, although it is not customary for most of the institutions.²¹² State symphony orchestras also organize events with diplomatic titles that emphasize the friendship and collaboration between foreign countries, usually including a piece by a composer or inviting a conductor or a soloist from the other country as a gesture.

These features demonstrate the instrumentalization of the polyphonic music institutions with nationalist notions by the state. The customary emphasis on the celebration or commemoration of nationally significant days, and important national figures as well as diplomatic notions attributed to the stately owned polyphonic music institutions underline the ideological position of polyphonic music in a nationalist context.

²¹⁰ For programs at different institutions:

<http://cso.gov.tr/konser-arsivi/>

<https://izmirsenfoni.gov.tr/etkinlik-takvimi/>

<http://www.idso.gov.tr/etkinlikler.aspx?ID=26086>

<https://www.operabale.gov.tr/tr-tr/Sayfalar/workdetail.aspx?EserKodu=1072>

²¹¹ <http://cso.gov.tr/cumhurbaskanligi-senfoni-orkestrasi-ismet-inonuyu-anma-konseri-3/>

<https://izmirsenfoni.gov.tr/events/conductor-can-okan-ismet-inonuyu-anma-haftasi/var/ri-0.1-L2/>

<http://www.idso.gov.tr/etkinlikler.aspx?ID=26090>

²¹² <https://senfonikankara.com/post/672449167975677952/saygunu-anma-konseri-6-ocak-2022-per%C5%9Fembe-2000>

4.5.3 National styles and nationalist narratives used by Turkish composers

The nationalist quality of the ideology of polyphonic music manifests itself also in worldview of the Turkish composers, as well as musical styles and narratives they have used in their works. Aydın emphasized the role assigned to composers in the framework of Musical Reforms, through their perception as *action-man* musicians supported by the state and stated that Adnan Saygun and his student Muammer Sun had been prevalent figures, as they wrote several works and many essays to defend Atatürk's thoughts on music.²¹³ Indeed, composers were given particular importance especially during the Musical Reforms, since they were expected to realize the nationalist polyphonic music ideal of the Republican reforms. In this regard, the study of Nurcan & Güner Canbey provides valuable insights about how different Turkish composers of the polyphonic tradition from different generations have developed their musical styles and to what extent they have used nationalist narratives.

Nurcan & Güner Canbey stressed that, the first generation Turkish composers namely the *Turkish Five* and Kemal İlerici had focused entirely on creation of a national music school, whereas certain aesthetic frictions had began to take place among the composers of the second and third generations. Some figures, namely İlhan Usmanbaş, Bülent Arel, İlhan Mimaroglu and Cengiz Tanç had distanced themselves from the nationalist discourse of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey and followed the innovations and trends in the emerging new music in the Western countries, as all of them either studied or lived abroad. On the other hand, the other part of the second and third generations of composers continued to compose pieces within the paradigm of national style as they borrowed materials from folk music or invented similar tunes and wrote even more plain textures than the first generation composers. Ferit Tüzün, Muammer Sun, İlhan Baran, İstemihan Taviloğlu and Nevid Kodallı can be given among these figures.²¹⁴

²¹³ Aydın, "Repercussions of Nationalist Thought on Music During Early Republican Period in Turkey", 105.

²¹⁴ Onur Nurcan & Ebru Güner Canbey, "Geleneksellik-Çağdaşlık İkileminde Cumhuriyetin 'Milli Musiki' Politikası ve Türk Besteciler", *İllüzyon: Cumhuriyet'in Klasik Müzik Serüveni*, ed. Fırat Kutluk (İstanbul: H20 Kitap, 2016).

The musical approach that includes local musical characteristics, *maqam* elements, folk tunes, and specific rhythmic patterns and traditional forms has been an essential paradigm in which a lot of Turkish composers worked and composed their pieces. In this regard, these elements constituted the technical essence of the idea of a national school of composition. The adoption of certain musical devices such as use of modal vocabulary, *aksak* rhythms or use of traditional Turkish instruments in classical western forms such as concerto by later composers can be considered as features of a continuity of the idea of a national school of composition. It is important to state that, however, the use of particular musical elements that refer to the national style does not necessarily make a composer's attitude nationalist, yet it underlines their tendency to remain in the to the established musical discourse of the national style. A lot of Turkish composers have written works in which identification of the national elements is clear, as well as works that use more abstract musical material and within the aesthetics of new music.

Even though, the classification that Nurcan & Güner Canbey made about the musical approaches of the Turkish composers is mostly true, this does not mean that a particular composer in this classification ignored the approaches in other spheres. Most of the composers had a prolific style, and worked in various understandings. For example, musical elements of national style are clearly identifiable in woodwind quintet “*Demet*” by İlhan Baran²¹⁵, yet his variations for the orchestra “*Töresel Çeşitlemeler*” is certainly much more abstract in musical style. Cengiz Tanç²¹⁶, from the same generation, has also works in different aesthetic frameworks. His *Cello Concerto* is in a very different understanding than his *Folk Songs Suite*. A contemporary composer, Onur Türkmen²¹⁷, uses a new technique he developed called “*Hat*” in his works, and explores the extended playing techniques of traditional Turkish instruments such as *kemençe* and *ney* and combines them with western instruments, within the aesthetics of new music. His work “*Havuz*” on the poem by Ahmet Haşım for soloist and ensemble can be given as an example to his

²¹⁵ İlhan Baran (1934-2016): composer, teacher at Ankara State Conservatory

²¹⁶ Cengiz Tanç (1933-1997): composer, professor at Istanbul State Conservatory

²¹⁷ Onur Türkmen (1972-...): composer, assistant professor at Bilkent University

style, in which traditional references are clearly identifiable yet in a new music aesthetic.

The notion of nationalism for Turkish composers of polyphonic tradition manifests itself mainly in the works with specific titles that emphasize narratives in nationalist understanding or articulate the “Turkishness”. In this regard, operas, oratorios or program music can be regarded as main genres that are structured around nationalist narratives. Examples are as such, *Epic for Atatürk and Anatolia* by Adnan Saygun, *Atatürk Oratorio* by Nevid Kodallı, *Turkish Army Symphony* by Çetin Işıközlü, *Turkish Capriccio* by Ferit Tüzün, *symphonic poem “Turkey”* by Cemal Reşid Rey, *the oratorio “From Troy to Çanakkale”* by Hasan Uçarsu, *Mukavemet Oratorio* by Levent Kuterdem.²¹⁸

Both the promotion of a national musical style and the use of nationalist narratives by Turkish composers of polyphonic tradition are the repercussions of the ideology of polyphonic music in its nationalist conception. This particular notion of nationalism has been operative in structuring of the worldview of the composers as it determined their preferences of music style and choice of narratives, which contributed to the establishment of a musical discourse that even today possesses a potent, mostly apparent in the guidelines of some composition competitions.²¹⁹

²¹⁸ For more information: Evin İlyasoğlu, *71 Turkish Composers* (İstanbul: Pan, 2007).

²¹⁹ Kadıköy Belediyesi Süreyya Operası Ulusal Beste Yarışması, Şartname 2023

CHAPTER 5

THE REPRODUCTION OF THE IDEOLOGY TURKEY

5.1 Introduction: The Constitution of Polyphonic Music as Cultural and Symbolic Capital

As it is discussed in the previous chapters, the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey has its roots in political rather than aesthetic realms, given how it had been conceptualized as an ideological tool via Musical Reforms and has been appropriated by the state in context of westernization, modernization and nationalism. Musical Reforms can be considered to have finished by the 1950s after the right-wing Democratic Party (DP) took over government from People's Republican Party (CHP) finishing the 27 years of one-party rule of the latter. It has been apparent that, the role attributed to polyphonic music by Republican ideology through in CHP governments has not been articulated in the same level by during the government of Democratic Party and in later right-wing governments, whose agenda was mainly designed by conservative values with an emphasis on economic progress. The paradigm shift in government policies has also had impacts on the qualities of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey, as its elitist discourse has witnessed certain qualitative changes through years, namely against popular genres.

The polyphonic music tradition in Turkey had lost its socially transformative role given by the state after 1950s, as in this period westernization of the society was not taken as a cultural priority anymore in government programs.²²⁰ In spite of this new position, in which the polyphonic music tradition had lost the political support of the new governments, it has maintained its cultural ideology mainly through its elitist discourse, and preserved its perception as the legitimate culture as it reproduced itself. In this regard, the views of President Erdoğan about his AKP government are

²²⁰ For detailed inquiry, see: Cenk Güray, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarından Günümüze Hükümet Programlarında Müzik: Eleştirel Bir Bakış", *Illüzyon: Cumhuriyet'in Klasik Müzik Serüveni*, ed. Fırat Kutluk (İstanbul: H20 Kitap, 2018), 231-56.

insightful, as in 2017 he stated that nonetheless AKP maintained its political power for 14 consecutive years, he acknowledged that in cultural and social fields they still could not establish their authority.²²¹

Erdoğan's emphasis on their lack of success for establishing their cultural ideology is significant, especially when it is thought in the *center-periphery* framework that Şerif Mardin used for analyzing Turkish politics. Mardin had argued that the dynamic that characterized Turkish politics has been the conflict between the center and the periphery, wherein the reformist modernization made by Kemalist bureaucracy constituted the *center*, and other parties such as local notables and peasants constituted a fragmented *periphery*. According to Mardin, the Turkish modernization has essentially been the westernization of the bureaucrat through modernizing schools. Entrance to the modernized schools was far easier for children of reformist officials and members of bureaucracy²²² and education investments in the first years of the Republic were made to the institutions that would shape a generation of true Kemalists at the *center*.²²³ In political sphere, Democratic Party had unified such a fragmented *periphery* that possessed a common anti-bureaucratic identity and thus came to power in 1950.²²⁴ Mardin's approach is applicable to also later Turkish politics, given that Justice Party (AP) and its successor True Path Party (DYP), Motherland Party (ANAP) and most lately Justice and Development Party (AKP) can all be regarded as representatives of the *periphery* as they have positioned themselves with conservative values and in opposition mainly to Republican People's Party (CHP) and in certain periods to Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), and Democratic Left Party (DSP). In this framework, President Erdoğan's views imply that, the *center* still possesses a certain ideological superior position in the cultural sphere, although the representatives of the *periphery* had leading roles in the most part of the freely elected governments in Turkey.

²²¹ <https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/cumhurbaskani-erdogan-sosyal-ve-kulturel-iktidarimiz-konusunda-sikintilarimiz-var-40472482>
<https://www.voaturkce.com/a/erdogan-siyasi-iktidar-olduk-ama-sosyal-ve-kulturel-alanlarda-iktidar-degiliz/3874608.html>

²²² Mardin, *Türkiye'de Toplum ve Siyaset*, 45.

²²³ *Ibid*, 54.

²²⁴ *Ibid*, 45.

The continuity of the ideology of polyphonic music can also be considered in this framework. Even though, the polyphonic music had lost its privileged position in cultural policies of the governments after 1950, it has maintained its prestigious social status thanks to having its source of legitimacy in its Kemalist reformist conception. In this perspective, the continuity of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey has been possible due to its constitution as a *cultural capital* as well as a *symbolic capital*. Through its conception as *cultural and symbolic capital*, the polyphonic music tradition in Turkey has maintained its superior position respect to other music traditions and functioned as an indicator of identity. This is apparent mainly in shift in the discursive elitism of the practice of the ideology, as the utopia of a classless society in which the new national polyphonic music preferred by all was replaced by a common discontent towards emerging popular genres, namely *arabesk*, and an articulation of the *distinguished* quality of polyphonic music. Such a shift can be considered as a reaction of the reformist mindset to the unaccepted failure of their “for the people, but the people” cultural policies, through reemphasizing their position. In this framework, once polyphonic music was given up as a cultural necessity for the state; it has become a point of difference, as it functioned as symbol of cultural identity of the *center*, once the *periphery* had claimed its dominance in politics. Given that, the shift of the negative gaze the polyphonist discursive elitism from the traditional Turkish music towards popular genres can be seen as a reaction to the political rise of the *periphery*, which was reflected by the popular genres in the ideological understanding.

The constitution of polyphonic music as a *cultural capital* can be explained in Bourdieu’s theoretical approach, though some clarifications in the same framework are needed. As mentioned before, in Bourdieu’s conceptualization, the legitimate culture is defined in accordance with the cultural capital of the dominant classes through trivializing the cultural capital of subaltern classes. At this point, Ayas stresses that, the history of Ottoman-Turkish music and the background of musical reforms actually does not fully fit to Bourdieu’s framework, as Ottoman society was not made of strictly separated classes as it was in the West, therefore it is not possible to speak of strict differences in music tastes.²²⁵ As it has been exemplified

²²⁵ Ayas, *Musiki İnkılabı’nın Sosyolojisi*, 166-67.

with the case of Atatürk before, the tendency to legitimize polyphonic music was seen as a duty and not as an outcome of *habitus* of the Ottoman bureaucrats; therefore the decision of embracing polyphonic music was based on political motivations, rather than common taste of the dominant classes in Turkey.

Ayas had been right to note that legitimization of the polyphonic music in Turkey was not in accordance with the *habitus* of reformist officials and bureaucrats, who conducted the Musical Reforms. For some, such a view can be regarded as valid also for considering the polyphonic music preference of contemporary Turkish audiences even today. Yet, it is important to note that, in Bourdieu's framework as it has been mentioned before, the *habitus* is mostly related with the *embodied state* of the *cultural capital*, as a non-transmittable individual entity that is made up with dispositions of mind and body; and the cultural capital has also two other forms, namely *objectified* and *institutionalized* states. In the Turkish case, wherein the ideological qualities attributed to polyphonic music stems from its ideological conception as a political tool for westernization and nationalism, the constitution of polyphonic music as a cultural capital has taken place mainly in *objectified* and *institutionalized* states and as a symbolic capital, which are more solid and visible spheres.

For the constitution of polyphonic music as a cultural capital in Turkey, the possession of goods of polyphonic music such as CDs or vinyl records as well as the perception of concert attendance as an indicator of social status can be given as examples of the *objectified state*. Güven regards the *possession* of well-known works at home and *appearance* in concerts as repercussions of the desire for upward social mobility and relates these behaviours with *culture consumer* typology²²⁶ conceptualized by Adorno, as one of the main characteristics of this typology was respecting music as a cultural asset, often as something a man must know for the sake of his own social standing²²⁷, an indicator of its perception as symbolic capital.

²²⁶ Uğur Zeynep Güven, "Popüler Kültür ve Senfonik Müzik Karşılaşması: 2000'li Yıllarda Bir Sınıfsal Gösterge ve Pazarlama Mekanizması Olarak 'Popüler Klasik Müzik'", *Sosyoloji Dergisi*, no. 36 (2017): 152-53.

²²⁷ Theodor W. Adorno, *Introduction to the Sociology of Music*, tr. E. B. Ashton, A Continuum Book (New York: Seabury Press, 1976), 6.

Establishment of private orchestras, organization of scholarships or competitions with the support of members of private sector through carrying the name of the funder can also be regarded as forms of the *objectified state*, as such organizations can be considered as conversions of the *economic capital* of the funder to *cultural capital*. Borusan İstanbul Philharmonic Orchestra, Tekfen Philharmonic Orchestra, Akbank Chamber Orchestra, National Reassurance Chamber Orchestra (Milli Reasürans Oda Orkestrası), Borusan Music Scholarship, Eczacıbaşı Music Scholarship, Eczacıbaşı Composition Competition, concert series at İŞ-Sanat can be given as examples to such conversion.

Institutionalized state, on the other hand, has been apparent in the form of conservatory graduation as a symbol of *approved qualification* for the musicians of the polyphonic tradition in Turkey, which distinguishes them from other musicians who do not possess a diploma. This feature, existent also in fields other than music in the form of *alaylı-mektepli* (those who have learned a craft by experience versus those who have learned it in school) discussions in Turkey, underlines the legitimacy of polyphonic music through emphasizing its qualities as a fine art, and not just a craft. It is insightful to recall that, institutions in which the instruction of polyphonic music takes place have been called conservatories in most of the western languages, as well as in Turkish; a feature that underlines the idea that polyphonic music is a tradition that should be conserved. In this framework, graduates of the conservatories identify themselves as artists, emphasizing that being an artist signifies something more than being simply a musician, thus they position themselves superior to the musicians of other genres.

In this regard, the constitution of polyphonic music in Turkey as a cultural capital, mainly in its objectified and institutionalized states and as a symbolic capital in terms of its function as a class symbol and as a superior music tradition has provided continuity to the ideology of polyphonic music, even after it has lost its privileged position in government programs. The elitist conceptualization of the polyphonic music, which has been apparent in the form of discourse in the practice of its ideology, stems mostly from the social status attributed to polyphonic music, and its appropriation by different social agents, individuals as well as private institutions, to acquire upward social mobility or prestige.

The conception of polyphonic music as a cultural and symbolic capital in this sense has been the essence of the reproduction of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey in social conscience. Yet, institutional means also have been instrumental as they have contributed to the reproduction of certain contexts and conditions wherein polyphonic music could maintain its privileged status; and this is mainly through general education system, the design of the conservatories as well as musicians' internalization of the dominant ideology on a personal level.

5.2 Reproduction through Education

Music education has been one of the essential fields in Turkey wherein the ideology of polyphonic music has reproduced itself through the design of the curricula of the music courses in schools. The role of education in the Republican reformist mindset has been significant for the creation of the individual of the new nation. Such perspective has also characterized the field of music education, as it can be exemplified with certain features of the music education in Turkey have become canons.²²⁸

Halil Bedii Yönetken had been an essential figure as he emphasized on the scope of music education in Turkey, as he stressed “the school” could be the only place where a certain preference for polyphonic music can develop, and therefore the it has the responsibility of making Turkish individuals as individuals of the Western civilization, in terms of their music taste. In this framework, development of the music taste of individuals was conceived as the responsibility of the music teacher, and such a view had become canonical through its repetitions with minor additions or modifications.²²⁹ In this regard, the ideological understanding manifests itself through its approach to music taste of individuals as a goal to be achieved through music education, ignoring the fact that numerous factors determine music taste.

²²⁸ Gökmen Özmenteş ve Onur Şenel, “Türkiye’de Hegemonik Bir Araç Olarak Müzik Eğitimi ve Kanonik Söylemleri”, *Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi* 2, no. 1 (2019): 50-85.

²²⁹ Gökmen Özmenteş, “Müzikte Beğeni Hiyerarşilerinin Nahifliği: Sosyal Teorilerden Bir Eleştiri”, *Etnomüzikoloji Dergisi* vol.2, no. 2 (2019): 139-78.

The ideology of polyphony has been influential in the conception of the scope of music education. Two different music books for high school curricula, the first written by Ahmet Adnan Saygun and Halil Bedii Yönetken, and the second written by Ziya Aydınlan and Saip Egüz provide examples how the content devoted to polyphonic music vastly outnumbered the emphasis on other music traditions. The book by Saygun & Yönetken, written in 1955, includes monophonic and polyphonic songs and marches, courses in music theory, music history and knowledge of instruments. Large sections of the book deal only with polyphonic music tradition, yet, a brief section (12/ 189 pages) on Turkish music is also included. In the music theoretical section on Turkish music, the paradigm of Rauf Yekta was used. On the contrary of the biographies of the well-known western composers, as well as those in the Turkish Five, no biographies of traditional composers were given, and Turkish art music was described to have lost its classical status after the influence of European civilization.²³⁰

The book by Aydınlan & Egüz, accepted as curriculum in 1984, uses more direct ideological discourse. Almost the entire book is devoted to instruction of polyphonic music. Traditional art music was called *alaturka* and presented as a historical music tradition that could not make progress parallel to the developments in the world art music. A similar approach has been taken also for the folk music. Folk music was described as it could not still reach its real value because of its primitive instruments and not included polyphony until very recently. The total information devoted to Turkish art and folk music constitutes only two pages the entire book (231 pages). This section also includes a certain musically elitist discourse as it warns against the emerging market music, which is described as imitations of *türkü* form, but has no real artistic value and has a bad influence on public.²³¹ It can be said that, in the recent years, the ideology of polyphonic music in music education has weakened. As how Güray demonstrated that, cultural policies in Turkey until 1971 was characterized with the idea of integrating national and Western elements, whereas

²³⁰ Ahmet Adnan Saygun & Halil Bedii Yönetken, *Lise I-II-III Müzik Kitabı* (AK Kitabevi, 1972), 163-64.

²³¹ Ziya Aydınlan & Saip Egüz, *Lise 1-2-3 Çok Sesli Müzik Eğitimi* (Helvacıoğlu Kitap Yayın Dağıtım, 1984), 156-57.

between 1971 and 1991 the priority was given to the preservation of national identity and after 1991, certain cultural diversities have also started to influence the notion of nationalism.²³² The reflection of this view in music education can be seen in the study of Satır & Reyhan, in which they focused on the construction of Turkish national identity in music curricula. Satır & Reyhan have found that, the number of children songs and marches which were polyphonic in the curricula gradually diminished after 1950s, as a result of the shift in the paradigm from the unity of westernization and nationalism towards solely nationalism due to different political trends.²³³ This feature can be interpreted as the common urgency to have a national polyphonic music tradition in the first years of the Republic was diminished in time and after the change of political agenda. Yet, the study of Satır & Reyhan also show that, regardless of the number of polyphonic children songs and marches, even the monophonic songs were written in accordance with the qualities of polyphonic music such as tonality and rhythm, as 83 percent of all songs were tonal and only 14 percent of the songs demonstrate *maqam* characteristics, whereas only 3 percent of the songs were original *türkü*s. Given that, according to Satır & Reyhan, the idea of Turkishness was constructed in the framework of polyphonic music in all periods of the Republican era, and both Turkish folk and art music structures were ignored.

In spite of the diminishing position of the polyphonic songs in the curricula, polyphonic music still maintains its operational ideological quality in music education. Teacher training programs include Turkish music polyphonization courses, as it is expected from teachers to develop polyphonic material for children using Turkish music.²³⁴ Additionally, even in current music education paradigm, it is expected from the music education to equip students with a music taste for

²³² Güray, "Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarından Günümüze Hükümet Programlarında Müzik", 249-51.

²³³ Ömer Can Satır & Hakan Reyhan, "Yürü Türk Oğlu! Bir Cumhuriyet İdeolojisi Olarak Türk Kimliğinin İnşasında Marşlar ve Çocuk Şarkıları", *Cumhuriyetin Müzik Politikaları*, ed. Fırat Kutluk (İstanbul: H20 Kitap, 2018), 227-228.

²³⁴ Özmenteş ve Şenel, "Türkiye'de Müzikal Elitizm: Geleneksel ve Popüler Müzik Eleştirisinin Kültürel Evrimci Perspektifi", 396.

Erdal Tuğcular, "Eğitim Müziği Bestelemede Kullanılan Yöntemler (Gazi Üniversitesi Örneği)", *Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi Akademik Müzik Araştırmaları Dergisi* vol.1, no. 1 (2015): 1-12.

distinguished music types in time, after acquiring the behavior of being open to all music types in the beginning.²³⁵ In this sense, music education is the major contributor to the reproduction of the conceptualization of polyphonic music as the most valuable cultural capital, through which polyphonic music maintains its ideological conception in Turkey.

5.3 Reproduction through the Formation of the Conservatories in Turkey

As it is mentioned, conservatories are the main institutions in Turkey for the instruction of polyphonic music. The Turkish conservatories, once founded as separate institutions, have been attached to particular universities after the establishment of the Council of Higher Education (YÖK) in 1981 and they have the same status with university faculties. The oldest conservatories are Ankara and Istanbul State Conservatories, which are today parts of Hacettepe University in Ankara and Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University in Istanbul respectively.

Conservatories have a significant role in the reproduction of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey in terms of their structure. Through the formation of the conservatories, the elitist discourse that assigns polyphonic music a superior position is reproduced. Such a reproduction does not solely mean the maintenance of the monopoly of approved qualifications of the conservatory graduates in the form of institutionalized state of cultural capital, but also include a perpetuation of the worldview about the superiority of polyphonic music respect to other music types. This is due to the design of curricula and entrance exams of the conservatories, which strengthens the idea of differentiation among musicians through emphasizing the role of *natural talent* and *abilities* over *work*, as well as ignoring other music traditions.

The structure of the entrance exams in most Turkish conservatories provides a good example of the emphasis given to *musical talents* over the *main subject performance*. In this regard, the entrance exam for the bachelor programs includes two phases.²³⁶

²³⁵ Özmenteş, "Müzikte Beğeni Hiyerarşilerinin Nahifliği: Sosyal Teorilerden Bir Eleştiri", 153-54.

²³⁶ https://adk.hacettepe.edu.tr/tr/menu/ozel_yetenek_giris_sinavlari-22
<http://uludag.edu.tr/konservatuvar/default/konu/3753>

The first phase is a general musical hearing and theory exam, that includes exercises in musical dictations, prepared singing pieces, sight-singing, demonstrating rhythms, harmonic analysis and general music theory questions, whereas the second phase includes the actual main subject exam such as live performance on instrument for instrumental subjects, presentation of compositions for the main subject composition etc. The significant point here is that, the second phase of the exam is not available to candidates who do not pass the first phase. Given that, an inadequate performance in sight-singing or musical dictation results in the failure of a candidate without the possibility to present his/her performance in the main subject, irrespective of the artistic level of the candidate. This quality of the exams is actually an outcome of the structure of these conservatories, which is made of a secondary school level, high school level, and higher education level; and the minimum level expected for the entrance to the bachelor program is therefore equal to the high-school graduation level. Yet, it is clear that, such a design brings in a discrimination for the external candidates who can perform well in their main subject, yet do not possess adequate sight-singing or musical dictation skills. It is needless to say, such skills are important, yet they are auxiliary subjects, and in this case they act as a discriminative measure. The outcome of such a design is that, entrance to conservatories becomes much more difficult for external candidates in older ages, as they are more likely to perform poorly in auxiliary musical subjects and therefore lose their opportunity to demonstrate their skills in their main subject.

The over emphasis given to auxiliary subjects, and their use in a way that excludes musicians outside of the conservatory environment is an example the elitist attitude of the conservatory structure in Turkey, as it limits the access to education to candidates who decide to study music later than those who have already entered to the conservatory in early ages. The ideological quality of this approach is that, the performance in the auxiliary subjects has been conceptualized as the measure for musical talent and musicality, without a reference to actual music making and thus, served as a tool for the classification of those who were seen fit or not for a career in polyphonic music. This approach is not in use in conservatories of modernized

design, mainly institutions in Germany, Netherlands, the UK and the US, wherein the evaluation of a candidate is mainly based on the performance in the main subject. In Turkey, the method used at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University (MSGSÜ) Istanbul State Conservatory can be given as an example to this second approach, as the exam in auxiliary subjects is required after the exam in the main subject is passed by the applicant.²³⁷

For this particular aspect, I personally can give an example from my own experience in the 2019 entrance exam for the composition department of Ankara State Conservatory at Hacettepe University, where I have encountered a 18 year-old male candidate from İstanbul who was a regular high-school graduate with no prior conservatory education, yet had composed at least 100 pages of music but was not available to show his work to the exam jury because he could not pass the sight-singing section of the first phase of the entrance exam.

Another exclusive measure for the access to the conservatory education is the age limits set by certain institutions, as a result of the common belief that acquiring a proficiency in polyphonic music becomes less likely. The entrance exam guidelines of Uludağ University State Conservatory are well detailed in this regard, as for the bachelor programs the maximum age limit set for piano and strings applicants is 20, for wind and percussion instruments is 22, and for Turkish music is 25.²³⁸ The guideline of MSGSÜ Istanbul State Conservatory sets the maximum age limit as 25 to applicants for strings, piano, percussion and winds instruments, and 26 to applicants for composition and conducting.²³⁹

The elitist mindset of the conservatories is apparent also in the design of the curricula of the programs.²⁴⁰ The curricula of the instrumental studies are essentially made of

²³⁷ Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi İstanbul Devlet Konservatuvarı Müzik Bölümü Lisans Giriş Sınavı Kılavuzu

²³⁸ <http://uludag.edu.tr/konservatuvar/default/konu/3753>

²³⁹ Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi İstanbul Devlet Konservatuvarı Müzik Bölümü Lisans Giriş Sınavı Kılavuzu

²⁴⁰ <https://bilsis.hacettepe.edu.tr/oibs/bologna/index.aspx?lang=tr&curOp=showPac&curUnit=470&curSunit=483#>
<https://msgsu.edu.tr/akademik/istanbul-devlet-konservatuvari/bolumler/muzik-bolumu/>
<http://bilgipaketi.uludag.edu.tr/Programlar/Index/33>

courses of individual performance, chamber music, orchestral studies, auxiliary music courses such as ear training, music theory and music history and do not include courses regarding to other music traditions such as Turkish music, jazz, or electronic music courses. Composition programs, on the other hand, in most cases include traditional Turkish music as a restricted course, yet the theory of western music dominates the entire curriculum. The Turkish music courses in these cases are namely introductory courses to the theory of Turkish music to the extent how materials of Turkish music can be used in the framework of polyphonic music, and does not include practice or dialogues with actual music environment.

The design of the curricula with heavy emphasis on polyphonic music and few opportunities provided to students to get in touch with other music environments, namely popular genres is repercussion of the elitist perspective that reproduces itself through conservatories. Yet, this quality of the design of the curricula is essentially significant also for its negative impact on conservatory graduates in the job market after their graduation, on the basis of inadequate experience or knowledge about other music genres. In this regard, the lack of improvisation courses in the curricula has also significant effects, as classically trained musicians develop a feeling of inadequacy for improvisation, which is also an outcome of the ideology of classical music, in which the idea of *Werktreue* and separation of the concepts of composition and performance are clear.²⁴¹ For settings wherein the cooperation of musicians from different genres is required, improvisatory skills are essentially important. In this framework, inadequate knowledge about music types other than polyphonic music and inadequate improvisatory skills might have a negative effect on job opportunities for conservatory graduates as freelance musicians in non-polyphonic music settings.

Even though the formation of the major conservatories in Turkey contributes to the reproduction of the ideology of polyphonic music, there are also music education institutions which have more balanced programs regarding their emphasis on

<https://konservatuvar.deu.edu.tr/tr/egitimogretim/muzik-bolumu/muzik-bolumu-egitim-ogretim-planlari/>

²⁴¹ Jonathan Ayerst, "Are Classical Musicians Excluded from Improvisation? Cultural Ideology and the Effects of Ideology on Musicians' Attitudes Towards Improvisation", *Contemporary Music Review* 40, no.4 (2021): 440-52.

traditions other than polyphonic music. Some of these institutions are also called conservatories, such as the Turkish Music Conservatory at Istanbul Technical University (ITU). Other notable institutions are Centre for Advanced Studies in Music (MIAM) at ITU, Ankara Music and Fine Arts University, music departments of Istanbul Bilgi University and Yaşar University. Established in 1975, ITU Turkish Music Conservatory can be regarded as the leading institution in Turkey for the instruction of traditional music and has been an example for other institutions founded later, namely Ankara Music and Fine Arts University. The approaches of other institutions are mixed. MIAM provides opportunities in sound engineering, music management and sonic arts and its curriculum a lot of courses other than polyphonic music tradition is present; whereas music departments of Istanbul Bilgi University and Yaşar University puts an emphasis on jazz and music technologies in their approach.²⁴² The methods of these institutions can be regarded outside of the reproduction of the polyphonist ideology.

5.4 Reproduction through Internalization of the Ideology by Musicians

The reproduction of the ideology also takes place through musicians of the polyphonic tradition internalizing the ideology. Such an internalization process includes the individual consent given to the continuity of the ideology, in addition to the reproductive function of the conservatories. In this regard, this process can also be regarded as individual contributions to the reproduction, and mainly stems from the working conditions of the musicians of the polyphonic tradition.

The increasing precariousness for musicians of all music genres is an important aspect that has characterized Turkish music scene. Güven, in her study about the working conditions of musicians in Turkey, emphasized that, all freelance performers and composers would prefer to seek a stable job with social insurance. She also underlined that, higher income and popularity were found to be the main

²⁴² <https://tmdk.itu.edu.tr/ana-sayfa>
<https://www.mgu.edu.tr/tr>
<https://www.miam.itu.edu.tr/uzmanlik-alanlari/>
<https://www.bilgi.edu.tr/tr/akademik/sosyal-ve-beseri-bilimler-fakultesi/muzik/program-yapisi/>
<https://music.yasar.edu.tr/>

determinants of the higher status of a job, the number of established institutions that recruit classical musicians is insufficient, the orchestras have been lacking support, and seniority as well as experience is a ground of internal hierarchy in institutions.²⁴³ Güven's findings are parallel to those of İmİK & Hařhař, as they also underline the precariousness of Turkish musicians and demonstrate that working conditions at state institutions such as TRT, ensembles that operate under the roof of Ministry of Culture, and universities are significantly better than the private sector, in terms of stable income and social security.²⁴⁴

As İmİK & Hařhař point out, eligibility for working as a musician at state institutions require a diploma from a music education institution; and this is an important dimension in the reproduction of the ideology of polyphonic music, hence stable jobs with social security at state institutions are available mainly to conservatory graduates, and discriminate against those who do not possess a diploma regardless of their musicianship skills. Yet, even in such condition, precariousness exists also among the conservatory graduates. In Turkey, there are 40 conservatories or music faculties as of 2020, whereas the number of polyphonic music institutions is much fewer. Currently, there are six state opera and ballet institutions in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Samsun, Mersin and Antalya; five state symphony orchestras in İstanbul, İzmir, Bursa, Antalya, Adana; Presidential Symphony Orchestra, State Polyphonic Choir and TRT Radio Choir in Ankara. Eskiřehir Municipal Symphony Orchestra, Muęla Municipality Orchestra, Cemal Reřid Rey Orchestra are the most known orchestras supported by local administrations. There are also certain private orchestras such as Borusan İstanbul Philharmonic Orchestra, Bilkent Symphony Orchestra, Tekfen Philharmonic Orchestra, Gedik Philharmonic Orchestra and Olten Philharmonic Orchestra. Some of the members of these private orchestras have also stable positions at the state institutions mentioned above or as lecturers at conservatories. Given that, the number of available positions is limited, precariousness is an important aspect for conservatory graduates.

²⁴³ Uęur Zeynep Guven, "Hoping for the best, preparing for the worst: A sociological study on being a musician in Turkey", *Journal of Economy Culture and Society* 61, no. 1 (2020).

²⁴⁴ Ünal İmİK & Sinan Hařhař, *Türkiye'de Müzisyen Olmak* (Ankara: Gece Kitaplığı, 2016).

In this framework, pursuing a career as a performer at state institutions at Ministry of Culture, TRT or municipalities or an academic career at conservatories can be described as the most desired choice for musicians of the polyphonic tradition, in terms of its advantages mentioned. This particular fact also results in another type of reproduction of the ideology, namely on an individual ground, given that state institutions have operated actively in the practice of ideology as it is discussed before, and a good working environment for conservatory graduates in these institutions is generally possible through internalizing the values and norms of the existing order, especially when the internal hierarchy in these institutions is taken into account. For young conservatory graduates, the price of not cooperating within the existing norms and values is high, as it would diminish their chances for stable positions in state institutions, whose number is already limited. This particular quality, stemming from the precarious nature of the market for polyphonic music in Turkey, can be regarded as the reproduction of the ideology through motivating musicians to internalize the ideology willingly on an individual level in order to acquire a stable position at state institutions.

Another dimension of the reproduction of the ideology through the internalization of the ideology by musicians can be seen in the stylistic approaches of Turkish composers. In this regard, Mithatcan Öcal's²⁴⁵ provocative article "New Music Animal" published in the journal *Akademie der Künste* provides a good start point. In his article, Öcal argues that, in Turkey the aesthetic tasks given to composers by the state has never changed since 1920s, as the necessary mechanisms to provide artists to develop their own identity have not been established. He also adds that, the official ideology is still operative in organizations and competitions for young composers under the guise of "promoting new talents", "providing performance opportunities and financial support", yet what is expected from composers, is actually the reproduction of the aesthetics of the Turkish Five. Öcal speculates that, professors of composition motivate their students in this fashion and the composition competitions set their evaluation criteria according to what Öcal conceptualizes as "the recipe of Ziya Gökalp". For Öcal, this method is effective, since the

²⁴⁵ Mithatcan Öcal (1992-...): Turkish freelance composer of contemporary music and the recipient of the Ernst von Siemens Förderpreis in 2019 among other international prizes, founding member of Istanbul Composers Collective

competitions are the only sources for some Turkish composers to have an opportunity to listen an actual performance of their pieces and earn money.²⁴⁶

Although speculative, Öcal's arguments emphasize on the reproduction of the idea of a nationalist school of composition in Turkey. In this framework, the conditions for young Turkish composers, articulated by Öcal, can also be regarded as factors that result in the internalization of the ideology by musicians. The guidelines of two composition competitions, in this regard, provide good examples to what is expected from Turkish composers. The guideline of the National Composition Competition organized by Süreyya Opera each year states clearly that, compositions are expected to be works that are demonstrate the influence of traditional elements²⁴⁷; whereas the guideline of the 4th Choral Composition Competition organized by the Ministry of Culture in 2020 expects from participants to present works in Turkish language that are in accordance with the polyphonic music tradition in Turkey and contribute to this tradition.²⁴⁸ Both of the competitions are available only to Turkish citizens. From my own experience as a composition student, I have known several people who have gained prizes in the competitions mentioned above, yet remained critical of their successes because of the feeling that they have not composed as they have wanted to but worked in a way they thought that the competition jury would like. This particular quality of the guidelines of these competitions can be considered as a factor that has been contributing to the reproduction of the nationalist notion of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey.

²⁴⁶ Mithatcan Öcal, "Yeni Müzik Hayvanı", *Journal Der Künste*, no. 6 (2018).

²⁴⁷ The 2023 Guideline of Kadıköy Municipality Süreyya Opera National Composition Competition.

²⁴⁸ The 2020 guideline of the 4th Choral Composition Competition organized by Turkish Ministry of Culture

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This study attempted to elucidate how polyphonic music as a tradition in Turkey was conceptualized in an ideological way beginning with the Musical Reforms through attributing it social transformative qualities, and how such an ideology of polyphonic music still has potent, thanks to its social and cultural reception as a mean of western, modern and elitist lifestyle as well as the position of the polyphonic music tradition superior to other music cultures. The discourses and measures that have been taken by the reformist mindset in favor of establishing polyphonic music as a legitimate tradition and labeling some other music traditions as “undesired” are evaluated on the basis of their repressive and ideological qualities, and the extent of how the ideology of polyphonic music reproduces itself in social conscience and through institutions are examined. In necessary parts, such as the exploration of the discursive polyphonist elitism that have governed the practice of this ideology in Turkey and the examination of the music curricula in terms of their impact on the reproduction of the ideology; discourse and content analyses have been used.

Having built its theoretical framework around the conceptions of Eagleton, Althusser, Gramsci and Bourdieu; first it was discussed that ideology could be analyzed on the basis of its function that governs social relations, particular classes claim intellectual and moral leadership in a society through representing and misrepresenting certain cultural aspects as legitimate, use ideological and repressive means accordingly, and culture itself can be conceptualized as a form of capital, acting as a determinant of one’s social class, rather than simply being a symbol. The theories of Attali regarding to historical phases of music, are also mentioned, as they provided valuable insights to how music has been an ideological tool through the history. In this perspective, the rise of western polyphonic music tradition through establishing itself as a “universal” art tradition and the notion it had about its superior

positioning over other music traditions in a Eurocentric, evolutionist and orientalist paradigm have been evaluated as well, especially under the light of the arguments provided by Edward Said.

After such an introduction for a general understanding of ideology, culture and orientalist aspects of idea of the superiority of polyphonic music tradition; an analysis of the role of music in the total modernization efforts in Turkey has been made, revisiting certain key arguments of Şerif Mardin and Niyazi Berkes. Mardin's emphasis on the center-periphery relations, and the role of modernizing the bureaucracy in Turkish modernization and Berkes' ideas about the conception of the state in Turkish society was not an outcome of a social contract as it has been in the West, were discussed as it is believed that, these arguments have described the essential characteristics of the total modernization efforts in Turkey. In this perspective, the development of the western music tradition in Turkey is examined as well, and later the qualitative differences between Ottoman and western music traditions from a historical perspective are introduced. After that, the ideological roots of the Musical Reforms in Turkey are analyzed on the basis of how they have characterized polyphonic music tradition within a political agenda and established the ideology of polyphonic music. These ideological roots were namely self-orientalism, nationalism, and modernization; and have been operational notions for the practice of the polyphonist ideology in Turkey.

The practice of the ideology of polyphonic music in Turkey has been taking place namely through institutional and discursive devices, which appropriated ideological and repressive measures in favor of the polyphonic music and against the music traditions that have been considered "undesired" by the official perspective. In this regard, a certain discursive polyphonist elitism has been operational for the representation of the polyphonic music as an higher cultural form compatible with the ideals of the Republican reformist agenda; as well as attributing negative qualities to certain other music traditions. Such a perspective was in certain periods was enforced also by some repressive measures taken by the state against music traditions that have been conceptualized as "undesired", namely traditional Turkish music and *arabesk*. The practice of the ideology of polyphonic music, has been visible also through its function as a *doxa* for the essentially musical developments in

the 20th century, as the harmonic theory developed for Kemal İlerici in order to polyphonize folk music, as well as shaping the theory of the traditional Turkish music pioneered by Rauf Yekta, Sadeddin Arel and Suphi Ezgi and arguments produced by these figures for the defense of traditional music. In another dimension, the ideology of polyphonic music has been continuous also in nationalist contexts, given that; the polyphonic music performers have been considered as national representatives, a feature most apparent in the discourse of “representing Turkey abroad” which is frequently used in daily life as well as in news; polyphonic music institutions have customarily organized specifically designed events for commemorating and celebrating nationally significant days, as well as national narratives and musical ideas have been influential for Turkish composers, resulting in a paradigm.

The ideology of polyphonic music has been reproducing itself in Turkey both in terms of its social and cultural reception, but also through institutional means. In this perspective, the maintenance of the polyphonic music as the legitimate culture, even after its intensive appropriation by the state has diminished after 1950 when one-party era has finished, has been possible mainly thanks to its status as a cultural capital in objectified and institutionalized states and a symbolic capital, in Bourdieuan terms. Through such a conception, polyphonic music has been an indicator of a social identity and have been appropriated by some as a device for upward social mobility. Given that, it is stated that polyphonic music functioned as a sphere wherein the “center” that have characterized the modernization efforts tried to consolidate its social and cultural upper position, after the “periphery” has claimed political and economic superiority after 1950, a feature which is also apparent in the qualitative shift took place in the discursive polyphonist elitism from attributing polyphonic music ideals of a classless society to a position in which a growing discontent about the popular music genres emerged and polyphonic music began to appear more as a form of distinction. The institutional reproduction of the ideology of polyphonic music includes the reproduction of the social representation of polyphonic music as a superior tradition, which has taken place through music curricula in schools, but also through the design of conservatories in Turkey in whose entrance exams include certain discriminative regulations and whose curricula have designed through ignoring other music traditions. Institutional means have had

also particular indirect impacts on the reproduction of the ideology, resulting in the voluntary internalization of the dominant beliefs by musicians on an individual level. In this regard, working conditions for musicians of the polyphonic tradition are discussed in terms of the precarious conditions of freelance musicianship, the mainly state-subsidized nature of polyphonic music scene in Turkey, and the necessity of being collaborative with the official paradigm for young musicians to acquire fixed positions in state institutions such as conservatories and orchestras. The structures of certain composition competitions are also briefly discussed, as their regulations have suggested the reproduction of the nationalist notion of the ideology.

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GUIDELINES

Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi Devlet Konservatuvarı Lisans Programları Özel Yetenek Sınavları Yönergesi

İstanbul Üniversitesi Devlet Konservatuvarı Müzik Bölümü Programları Özel Yetenek Giriş Sınavı Yönergesi

Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi İstanbul Devlet Konservatuvarı Müzik Bölümü Lisans Giriş Sınavı Kılavuzu

The 2023 Guideline of Kadıköy Municipality Süreyya Opera National Composition Competition.

The 2020 guideline of the 4th Choral Composition Competition organized by Turkish Ministry of Culture

APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Kkeni Batı sanat mzięi geleneęine dayanan *okseslilik* Trkede tartıřmalı bir szcktr. Aslen bir mzik terimi olmasının yanı sıra, Trkede okseslilięin mzik dıřı aęrıřımları da vardır ve bunların oęu okseslilik kavramında demokrasi, uyumlu birliktelik ya da ilerleme fikri vb. gibi pozitif sosyal nitelikler atfeder. Bu aęrıřımlar, Trkiye'nin son 200 yılda geirdięi yoęun modernleřme srecinin yan rnleri olarak Trk diline zgdr. 1839'da Tanzimat Reformları ile bařlayan ve daha sonra 1920'ler ve 1930'larda Cumhuriyet Reformları, Osmanlı İmparatorluęu'nun ve daha sonra Trkiye'nin Batı karřısında hissettięi "geri kalmıřlık" duygusunu ortadan kaldırmak ve Osmanlı-Trk toplumunu modern dnyayla uyumlu hale getirmek amacıyla yrtlmřlerdir. Siyasi, askeri ve ekonomik alanlarda yapılan kurumsal ve teknik yenilik hareketlerinin yanı sıra, bu reform dřncesi kltrel alanda da geniř aplı bir batılılařmayı iermiřtir. Bunun temel nedeni Batı fikrinin bir btn ideal olarak ele alınması olarak gsterilebilir. zellikle Cumhuriyet ideolojisi iinde batılılařma fikri aędařlařmakla eř anlamlı kullanılagelmiřtir. Mzik de bu baęlamda, Trkiye'de kltrel batılılařmanın etkilerini gsterdięi bařlıca alanlardan biri olmuř ve "*okseslilik*" kavramı o gnden bu yana mzik alanında yapılan tartıřmaların merkezinde durmuřtur.

Trk modernleřme srecinde esasen siyasi bir nitelięin aęır bastıęını sylemek mmkndr. 16. yzyılda Avrupa'nın en nemli siyasi ve askeri gc olan Osmanlı İmparatorluęu, 17. yzyıldan itibaren iki yzyıl boyunca gerileme yařamıř ve bir devlet olarak siyasi ve ekonomik alandaki bařarısızlıęı zellikle askeri yenilgilerin de sıklasmasıyla iyice belirginleřmiřtir. 19. yzyıla gelindięinde, Osmanlı yneticileri devletin sreklilięini korumak amacıyla bazı reformlar yapmanın gereklilięini kabul etmiřlerdir. Bu reformlar iin Batılı kurum ve normları model alınmıř ve reformların devlet brokrasisinin yeniden tasarlanması yoluyla hayata geirilmesi hedeflenmiřtir.

Bürokrasinin yeniden tasarlanarak reformları yürütücü unsur olarak ele alınması fikri Türkiye’de modernleşme sürecin esas unsuru olmuştur. Bu açıdan, Türk modernleşmesinin, yerel siyasi güçlerin ya da farklı sosyal sınıflar arasındaki belirgin modernleştirici güçler olarak önemli rol oynadığı Avrupa'dan farklılaşmaktadır, Türkiye'de modernleşmenin ana aktörü olarak bürokrasi, merkezi devlet gücünün vurgulayarak Türk modernleşmesinin merkezinde yer almıştır. Bu bağlamda, Türk modernleşmesinin ruhunu teşkil eden bürokrasinin reformist zihniyetinin kültürel batılılaşma çabalarının ele alındığı paradigmayı da ciddi şekilde belirlediğini söylemek mümkündür.

Türkiye'de müzik alanında kültürel batılılaşma kavramı kendini en belirgin biçimde "çokseslilik" kavramının sorunsallaştırılmasında göstermiştir. Çokseslilik, Batı sanat müziği geleneği müzik teorisi kavramı, olarak Türkiye'deki kültürel batılılaşma çabalarının müzik alanında ele alındığı tartışmaların eksenini oluşturmuş; bir ilerleme ve çağdaşlık göstergesi, müzikal evrimin nihai aşaması olarak kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Bu bakımdan, geleneksel Türk müziği ve Batı müziğini sadece müzik teorik olarak değil aynı zamanda bir gelişmişlik-geri kalmışlık ekseninde de ayıran bir işlev olarak kurgulanmıştır. Bu görüşe göre, geleneksel Türk müziği tarihsel olarak çoksesli bir niteliğe sahip değildi, dolayısıyla geri kalmıştı ve modernlik iddiası olan bir toplum için yakışsız olarak görülmekteydi. Özellikle Cumhuriyet reformlarıyla birlikte yaygın olarak kabul edilen bu bakış açısı, modernleşme düşüncesinin arkasındaki bir "geri kalmışlık" duygusunun müzik alanındaki yansıması olarak değerlendirilebilir. Bu görüşü bir paradigma olarak belirleyen Türkiye'deki reformist bakış açısı, ülkede yeni bir çoksesli müzik geleneği oluşturmaya çalışmış ve bu amaçla birtakım reformlar gerçekleştirmiş, buna ek olarak müziğin toplumu dönüştürmesi beklenen bir güç olarak ele almıştır.

Türk modernleşmesinin esasen siyasi bir nitelik taşıdığı göz önüne alındığında, Türkiye'de kültürel batılılaşmanın esasen ideolojik bir süreç olduğunu söylemek mümkündür. Bu ideolojik karakterin, müzik alanında "çoksesliliğin" bir tartışma konusu olarak sorunsallaştırılmasının esasen saf müzik alanından kaynaklanmadığı, daha ziyade Cumhuriyet reformlarını şekillendiren kurucu paradigmanın siyasi argümanlarından kaynaklandığı açıktır. Geleneksel Türk müziğinin tek sesli olduğu

için geri kalmış olduğu fikrinin ortaya atılması, geleneksel Türk müziği ortamının estetik ya da sanatsal krizlerinin bir sonucu değil, tüm toplumdaki genel "geri kalmışlık" ya da "geç kalmışlık" hissinin bir yansıması olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bağlamda uygun/uygunsuz, ileri/geri vb. gibi kategoriler ekseninde müzik gelenekleri arasında ayırım fikri benimsenmesi esasen siyasi bir karar olmuştur.

Cumhuriyet Reformlarının ideolojisi içerisinde, çoksesli müziğin kültürel olarak üstün ve evrensel bir müzik geleneği olarak kavramsallaştırılmasının kökenindeki fikirler, Türkiye’de 1920’li ve 30’lu yıllarda gerçekleşen Musiki İnkılabı’na zemin hazırlamıştır. Musiki İnkılabı, evrensel normlara uygun, yani çoksesli ama aynı zamanda yeni kurulan Türkiye ulus-devletini temsil eden yeni bir ulusal müzik geleneği kurmak amacıyla yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda, batılılaşma ve milliyetçilik, Türkiye’de çoksesli müziğin ideolojik kavranışını şekillendiren eden iki ana düşünce olmuştur. Musiki İnkılâbı ile yerleşmeye başlayan çoksesli müzik geleneği, Türkiye’de devletin desteğiyle çoksesli müzik kurumlarının oluşturulması, çoksesli müziği destekleyen söylemlerin benimsenmesi ve aynı zamanda resmi ideoloji tarafından istenmeyen müzik gelenekleri olarak görülen türlere karşı baskıcı veya ideolojik tavırlarla alınan önlemler şeklinde kendini gösteren belirli bir ideoloji oluşturmuştur. Bu çokseslilik ideolojisi, Cumhuriyet reformları tarafından çoksesli müziğin toplumsal dönüştürücü bir araç olarak kavramsallaştırılması fikri 1950’de çok partili hayata geçişten sonra terk edildikten sonra bile devamlılığını korumuştur. Bunun temel nedeninin çoksesli müziğin, Türkiye’de batılı, modern ve elit bir yaşam tarzıyla ilişkili bir toplumsal kimliğin göstergesi olarak işlev görerek kendini meşru bir kültür olarak kurması ve kendini diğer müzik gelenekleri karşısında üstün bir şekilde konumlandırmasıdır.

Türkiye’de çoksesli müzik geleneği ve Musiki İnkılabı’na dair müzik sosyolojisi perspektifli çalışmaların sayısı özellikle son yıllarda önemli bir artış göstermiştir. Güneş Ayas, Özgür Balkılıç, Gönül Paçacı, Fırat Kutluk, Yiğit Aydın ve Okan Murat Öztürk bu çalışmalara katkıda bulunan başlıca isimler arasındadırlar. Ayas’ın 2014 yılında yayımlanan *Musiki İnkılabı’nın Sosyolojisi* adlı kitabı, Musiki İnkılabı’nın teori ve pratiği ile geleneksel Türk müziğinin o dönemde nasıl savunma stratejileri geliştirdiği üzerine yapılmış en ayrıntılı çalışmadır. Balkılıç’ın 2015 tarihli çalışması

Temiz ve Soylu Türküler Söyleyelim: Türkiye'de Milli Kimlik İnşasında Halk Müziği ise Musiki İnkılâbı sürecinde halk müziğinin nasıl yeniden icat edildiği ve ulus inşası sürecinde nasıl kullanıldığı üzerine detaylı analizler içermektedir. Gönül Paçacı'nın editörlüğünde derlenen *Cumhuriyet'in Sesleri* (1999) ise sadece çoksesli müziğe değil, Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet döneminde tüm müzik alanındaki değişimlerin ve gelişmelerin detaylı incelemelerini içermektedir. Fırat Kutluk, *Cumhuriyet'in Müzik Politikaları* (2018) ve *İllüzyon: Cumhuriyet'in Klasik Müzik Serüveni* (2016) adlı iki önemli kitabın editörlüğünü yapmıştır. Bu iki kitap, Türkiye'de çoksesli müziğin farklı ideolojik yönlerine dair çeşitli yazarların önemli makalelerini içermektedir. Yiğit Aydın, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi'nde 2000 yılında tamamladığı yüksek lisans tezi *Repercussions of the Nationalist Thought on Music During the Early Republican Period in Turkey* (Erken Dönem Cumhuriyet Döneminde Ulusal Düşüncenin Müzik Üzerindeki Etkileri) başlıklı tezinde, Cumhuriyet dönemi müzik reformlarında oryantalizm ve milliyetçiliğin rollerini incelemiştir. Buna ek olarak, daha sonra Ali Ergur ile birlikte yazdığı bir makalede geleneksel Türk müziği teorisinin modernleşmesini araştırmıştır. Okan Murat Öztürk ise çeşitli makalelerinde Musiki İnkılâbı'nın ideolojik kapsamını ve resmi ideolojinin 20. yüzyılda geleneksel Türk müziği teorisinin gelişimi üzerindeki etkisini analiz etmiştir. Bu çalışmaların yanı sıra; Cem Behar, Bülent Aksoy, Gökmen Özmenteş, Onur Şenel, Uğur Küçükkaplan, John Morgan O'Connell, Orhan Tekelioğlu, Cenk Güray, Meral Özbek, Martin Stokes ve Uğur Zeynep Güven de Cumhuriyet döneminde müzik alanındaki gelişmelerin sosyolojik bir perspektiften analizine değerli katkılar sağlamışlardır.

Bu tez, önceki çalışmalarla kurulan kuramsal çerçevenin kapsamını genişletmeyi ve Cumhuriyet'in inkılâpçı perspektifiyle kavramsallaştırılan çoksesli müzik anlayışının, Musiki İnkılâbı ile başlayarak, Türkiye'de nasıl bir ideoloji oluşturduğunu ve bu ideolojik anlayışın bugüne kadar nasıl sürdüğünü ortaya koymaktır. Türkiye'de çoksesli müzik geleneğinin bugün de, özellikle batılı, modern bir yaşam tarzlarıyla özdeşleştirilmekte ve bir toplumsal sınıf atlama aracı olarak; üstün, modern ve seçkin sıfatlarla değerlendirilmektedir. Türkiye'deki çokseslilik ideolojisi, bahsi geçen kültürel konumlanmanın yanı sıra, milliyetçi anlatılara sahip yeni eser siparişlerinde ve çoksesli müzik sanatçıların ulusal temsilciler olarak öne çıkaran söylemlerde de

belirginlik kazanmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın kapsamı, Türkiye'de bir ideoloji olarak çoksesli müzik geleneğinin hangi araç ve ölçütlerle işlediğini ve üstün konumunu koruduğunu ortaya koymaktır. Bunu yaparken, çoksesli müzik geleneğinin ideolojik olarak kurgulandığı yapıları incelemek için içerik ve söylem analizi yöntemleri kullanılmıştır.

İlk olarak, kültür ve ideoloji arasındaki ilişki, temel olarak ideolojinin toplumsal ilişkilerin düzenlenmesinde nasıl bir işleve sahip olduğu, belirli grupların toplumda nasıl entelektüel liderlik iddiasında bulunduğu, ideolojik ve baskıcı araçların birbirinden nasıl ayrıldığı ve kültürün bir sermaye biçimi olarak nasıl kavramsallaştırılabileceği ekseninde ele alınmıştır. Bu kapsamda, bir teorik bir arka plan oluşturmak amacıyla Terry Eagleton, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser ve Pierre Bourdieu'nün bakış açıları ve temel fikirleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Özellikle müziğin tarihsel bakımdan siyasetle ve toplumsal gelişmelerle nasıl ilişkilendirilebileceğine dair Jacques Attali'nin görüşleri kısaca ele alınmış; Batı'nın kültürel hegemonyası ve çoksesli müzik geleneğinin bir "güzel sanat" olarak kavramsallaştırılması üzerine bir değerlendirme yapılmıştır. Özellikle Max Weber ve Guido Adler'in çalışmalarının kurucu metinleri olduğu Avrupa-merkezci müzikoloji biliminin ortaya çıkışı da, Edward Said'in kullandığı anlamıyla oryantalist bakış açısıyla ilişkisi açısından tartışılmıştır.

Daha sonra Türkiye'deki çoksesli müzik geleneğinin tarihsel gelişimi, ideolojik kökleri ve Musiki İnkılâbı'nın bu ideolojik kökenler üzerinde nasıl kurulduğunu incelenmiştir. İlk olarak, Türkiye'deki topyekûn modernleşme sürecinin temel özellikleri, esas olarak Şerif Mardin ve Niyazi Berkes'in teorileri etrafında tartışılmış ve müziğin bu süreçteki rolü ele alınmıştır. İkinci olarak, Batı ve Osmanlı müzik gelenekleri arasındaki farklılıklar irdelenmiş ve bu farklılıkların daha sonra nasıl ideolojik olarak kurgulandıkları incelenmiştir. Üçüncü olarak, Müzik Reformlarını karakterize eden üç ana ideolojik kavram olan öz-oryantalizm, milliyetçilik ve modernleşme fikirleri; Güneş Ayas, Okan Murat Öztürk ve Yiğit Aydın'ın çalışmaları tarafından sağlanan bir terminoloji içerisinde analiz edilmiştir.

Dördüncü bölümde, Türkiye'de çoksesli müzik ideolojisinin pratiğini, kullandığı baskıcı ve ideolojik yöntemler ekseninde ele alınmaktadır. İlk olarak, Cumhuriyetçi reformist perspektifin en belirgin bir şekilde etkisini hissettirdiği olan söylemsel çokseslilik elitizminin son 100 yıldaki gelişimi yaşadığı niteliksel değişimler vurgulanarak analiz edilmiştir. İkinci olarak, 1970'lerden sonra geleneksel Türk müziği ve arabesk gibi diğer müzik geleneklerine karşı alınan baskıcı önlemler ve bu müzik türlerinin "istenmeyen" türler olarak kavramsallaştırılmaları ele alınmıştır. Üçüncü olarak, çokseslilik ideolojisinin epistemolojik bir paradigma biçiminde Türkiye'deki esasen müzikolojik ve müzik teorik tartışmalardaki etkisi değerlendirilmiştir. Son olarak, çoksesli müziğin ulusal bir temsil aracı ya da ulusal olarak önemli günlerin kutlanması veya anılması için bir araç olarak kullanılması bakımından milliyetçilik bağlamında kavranışı ve bu ulusalcı anlayışın, Türk besteciler tarafından anlatsal ve müzikal yollarla benimsenmesi incelenmiştir.

Beşinci bölüm, Türkiye'de çoksesli müzik ideolojisinin yeniden üretimine odaklanmaktadır. Türkiye'de 1950 sonrasında çoksesli müziğe devlet desteğinin azalmasıyla birlikte, Musiki İnkılâbı dönemindeki reformist paradigmanın çoksesli müzik geleneğine atfettiği toplumsal dönüştürücü rolün sonraki hükümetler tarafından terk edilmiştir. Buna rağmen, çoksesli müzik geleneğinin ideolojik niteliklerini toplumsal ve kültürel anlamda bugün de süreklilik göstermektedir. Bu bölümde, çokseslilik ideolojisinin sürekliliğinin, onun bir kültürel ve sembolik sermaye olarak kurgulanmasıyla sağlandığı belirtilmektedir. Buna ek olarak, eğitim sistemindeki müzik müfredatları ve Türkiye'deki konservatuvarların kurumsal yapısı ve ders programları değerlendirilerek, bu kurumların çoksesli müzik ideolojisinin yeniden üretildiği bağlamlar oldukları irdelenmiştir. Son olarak, müzisyenlerin çalışma koşulları ve belirli kompozisyon yarışmalarının temel özellikleri göz önünde bulundurularak, müzisyenlerin, yaygın kabul gören inanç ve normları bireysel olarak gönüllü bir biçimde içselleştirerek ideolojinin yeniden üretimine ne ölçüde ve nasıl katkıda bulundukları tartışılmaktadır.

B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

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