

**REPERCUSSIONS OF NATIONALIST THOUGHT ON MUSIC
DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD IN TURKEY**

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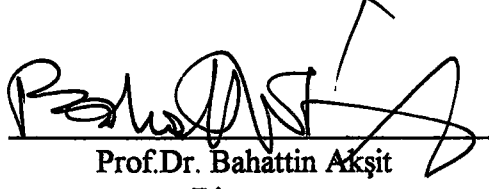
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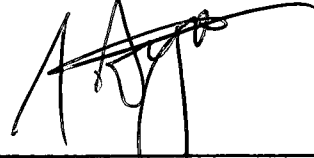
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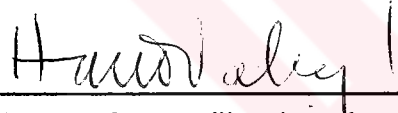
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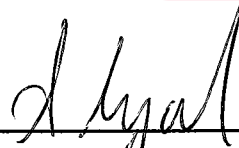
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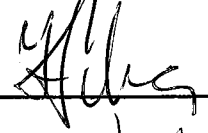

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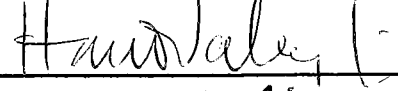
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ABSTRACT

REPERCUSSIONS OF NATIONALIST THOUGHT ON MUSIC DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD IN TURKEY

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This study examines the aesthetic project of Turkish School of polyphonic music and the worldview of Turkish musicians in the early republican period in Turkey. The reformation in the field of music envisioned a cultural modernisation and the strengthening of the Turkish identity in the newly founded Turkish Republic (1923). The output of a certain musical elite of polyphonic music performers was thought of as the symbol and representative of the modern Turkish nation which was projected by the state ideology. In that respect, nationalist ideology can be said to be the most decisive impact on the foundation of a school of polyphonic music in Turkey. The nationalist thought prevalent during the early period of the Turkish Republic was shaped by Ziya Gökalp's works flourished in 1920s and Mustafa Kemal's speeches in the foundation period. According to them, the modern Turkish identity must be born of a combination of Western science and Turkish national character. Consequently, the new music which is capable of representing Turkish nation in the international arena, is a synthesis of Western polyphony with Turkish

folk music. This synthesis was also thought of as a source for the new Turkish identity. The line of thought prevalent in this cultural reformation can be thought as the continuation of a certain worldview constituted in the previous Orientalist literature. In this literature, Western civilisation was depicted as the highest level, whereas Eastern civilisation was equalled with backwardness. Similarly, Turkish nationalism as proposed by Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal envisioned a modernisation movement in which Eastern elements must be eliminated from the Turkish society. However, in the process of appropriating Western thought and abandoning Eastern way of living, the unique Turkish essence must be researched and exalted, otherwise Turkish people would lose their own identity. In that respect, reformation attempts in the early Republican period can be seen as a combination of two social forces, which are traceable in the unique output of Turkish school of polyphonic music; modernisation and Turkification.

Keywords: Polyphony, Turkish music, nationalism, Orientalism, modernisation.

ÖZ

ERKEN DÖNEM CUMHURİYET TÜRKİYESİ'NDE ULUSALCI DÜŞÜNCENİN MÜZİK ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİLERİ

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Bu çalışma, erken dönem cumhuriyet Türkiye'si'nde Türk çoksesli müzik okulunun estetik alandaki projesini ve Türk müzisyenlerinin dünya görüşlerini incelemektedir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin (1923) ilk yıllarında müzik alanında gerçekleşen devrimlerde kültürel çağdaşlaşmayla beraber Türk kimliğinin de güçlendirilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Çoksesli müzik üretmekte olan belli bir seçkin sınıf ve ürünleri, devlet ideolojisinin hedeflediği çağdaş Türk ulusunun sembolleri ve temsilcileri olarak görülmüşlerdir. Bu açıdan, Türkiye'deki çoksesli müzik okulu üzerindeki en önemli etki ulusculuk ideolojisi denebilir. Türkiye'de cumhuriyetin ilk dönemlerinde çok etkin olan ulusalcı düşünce Ziya Gökalp'in 1920'li yıllardaki eserleri ve Mustafa Kemal'in kuruluş dönemindeki söylevleriyle şekillenmiştir. Onlara göre çağdaş Türk kimliği Batı bilimi ile Türk ulusal karakterinin birleşiminden ortaya çıkmalıdır. Benzer bir şekilde Türk ulusunu uluslararası arenada temsil edebilecek bir müziğin de Batı çoksesliliği ile Türk halk müziğinin sentezinden oluşması gerekmektedir. Bu sentezin, aynı zamanda yeni Türk kimliği için de bir kaynak

oluşturduğu düşünölmüştür. Kültürel devrimlerde etkin olan bu düşünme biçimindeki temellerin Batılı Oryantalist literatürde beliren belli bir dünya görüşünün devamı olduğu düşünölebilir. Bu literatürde Batı uygarlığı ulaşmış en yüksek düzey olarak tanımlanırken, Doğu uygarlığı ise geri kalmışlıkla özdeşleştirilmiştir. Benzer bir şekilde, Ziya Gökalp ve Mustafa Kemal tarafından öne sürölen ulusalcılık da Doğulu unsurların Türk toplumundan uzaklaştırılmasını öngören bir çağdaşlaşma hareketi hedefler. Bununla beraber, Batılı düşünce kendine mal edilirken Doğulu yaşam tarzının terkedilmesi sürecinde, biricik Türk özü araştırılmalı ve yüceltilmelidir. Aksi taktirde Türk halkı kendi öz kimliğini kaybedecektir. Bu açıdan, Türkiye’de erken cumhuriyet dönemi sırasında gerçekleşen devrim hareketleri, Türk çoksesli müzik okulunun ürünlerinde de izlenebilen iki toplumsal gücün bileşkesi olarak görölebilir; çağdaşlaşma ve Türkleşme.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çokseslilik, Türk müziğı, ulusçuluk, Oryantalizm, çağdaşlaşma.



To Sercan

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Republican era in Turkey is generally considered as the enlightenment period of the Turkish people. Reforms took place in all areas of social life in early years of the Turkish Republic. Theocratic-multinational formation of the Ottoman Empire was abandoned and a secular-nation state was built. System of politics, economy and law were all reconstructed according to European models. The Caliphate was abolished in 1924 and the government of the Ottoman dynasty came to an end. In the cultural sphere, also, several reforms came about. Latin alphabet was put into use in place of the Arabic one. Dressing style has changed according to the Western type. In 1930s some higher officers of the Cultural Ministry and prominent musicians were working on how “reform of music” is to be realised. However, as far as the field of music is concerned, the attempts of reformation were not for the sake of just imitating or exalting the Western examples. On the contrary, the national character and the “sublime spirit” of the Turkish people were accentuated in all actions. The point is that the previous musical styles and artistic standards of the Ottoman period were regarded as not only inferior to the Western ones, but inappropriate to the sublime Turkish spirit.

Cultural reformation during the early days of the Republican period points out to an important task of the nationalists: Construction of a new individual identity in accordance with the new society. This individual, on the one hand, is descended from a people which has a glorious past and had given rise to distinguished civilisations. However, in the course of history, Turkish people has lost this prime status under Eastern influences. It has fallen a few steps behind the most advanced Western civilisation, which is now valorised as representing the universal norms. Turkish people, though not lost its sublime spirit, must appropriate the higher Western standards for its future existence. That is why new citizen of the Turkish Republic, on the other hand, must dress in the Western way, use the Latin alphabet and listen to the Western Classical music or music that is composed by Turkish composers which conforms to the Western standards. The product of art presented to the new individual must be on the same artistic level with the European ones, with national character. Western art, science, law, system of economics and politics, way of dressing, etc., and the standards corresponding to them, are welcomed not only as peculiarities of the most elaborate society throughout the world, but as fundamental elements of a universal civilisation to which Turkish people is willing to contribute.

In his speech for the opening of the Parliament House in 1934, Mustafa Kemal stated that improvement in music is a criterion for the general progress of a nation. The objective of progress is to catch up with the highest level of civilisation, i.e. that of Western civilisation. This cannot be simply achieved by directly imitating Western music, but by using its methods in handling materials from Turkish folk culture. Turkish folk music expresses sentiments and thoughts of the Turkish nation in its purest form. Turkish musicians must make use of the recent and the most elaborate

contemporary techniques, whilst putting elements of music from Turkish folk culture into musical compositions. In several of his speeches Mustafa Kemal made the point that music performed and composed in Turkey should be suited to the exalted nature of Turkish spirit. In other words, assigning it an emblematic value, Mustafa Kemal gave a certain priority to the music in Turkey for it is, firstly, a measure of how much Turkish nation is civilised and, secondly, an immediate representation of the Turkish essence.

The path which Mustafa Kemal indicated was taken very seriously by musicians and some state bureaucrats. In 1920s and 1930s Talented young musicians were sent to Europe to study music in prestigious musical institutions. In 1930s broadcasting strategies of Ankara Radio were revised. Broadcasting of traditional Turkish music was even banned for a short period in 1934. The first opera¹ by a Turkish composer was composed and performed in the presence of Mustafa Kemal and Iranian Shah in 1934. In 1936 Ankara State Conservatory was founded. From this period to our day, several articles and books have been written and many speeches have been delivered by musicians on how to interpret Mustafa Kemal's words in formulating a national strategy of musical composition, or how to interpret his thoughts on music.

Besides Mustafa Kemal's speeches, another source for such musical conception is Ziya Gökalp's writings. With his writings Ziya Gökalp became, in a sense, the nationalist ideologue of the Republic. His social theory, upon which his nationalist thought is based, is essentially based on a basic distinction between *culture*

¹ "Özsoy" by Ahmet Adnan Saygun.

*and civilisation*². For Gökarp, the essence of a people is culture which bears the national character. It is expressed in the folk heritage, traditions, common and unique manners, folk culture, and folk music. Culture is something unequalled, which cannot be imitated by another community. In this respect, civilisation is the opposite: It can be and is imitated. It is the science, the conceptual framework that a people owns. In other words the technical equipment which can be adopted or directly borrowed from another. As far as the social conditions in the Ottoman period are concerned, it was the East constituting the frame of civilisation for the Turkish community. However, for Gökarp, Eastern civilisation has become backward when compared with the recent advancements of the West and is a handicap for the future Turkish society. On the one hand, the Turkish people must adopt Western civilisation for civilisation is something reproducible. On the other hand, Turkish culture, which lives in Anatolia in its purest form, must be combined and flourished with the Western science. Such a synthesis determines the true path for the Turkish nation: it is both civilised and expressive of Turkish essence. Tekelioğlu explains this standpoint with a three-term formula; West/Origin/East. East is the taboo. Symbolising the unfavourable past and backwardness, it always conveys a negative sense. Origin is the Turkish folk culture, expressive of purity and sublime Turkish spirit. West is the target, representing universal ideals and the future of Turkish society. (Tekelioğlu, 1996; pp. 164-5)

Under this perspective, in his book *The Principles of Turkism* (1968), Gökarp explains the true music of the Turkish nation as a combination of Western polyphony and Turkish folk music. Polyphony is the most advanced technique in music in this

² *Hars ve Medeniyet*.

present phase of humanity. Monophonic Turkish folk music, which exposes Turkish culture, will be the source for such a synthesis. However, monophony of the East is the taboo, a mark of backwardness. In Gökâlp's terms, the solution is simply to polyphonise Turkish folk songs by the Western technique of polyphony. In this way they are both civilised and expressive of Turkish essence. Gökâlp declares this combination as the genuine "national music" for the future Turkish society. Moreover, the strategy of creating it through collecting and polyphonising folk songs, must be the fundamental program of Turkish nationalism in the field of music.

On the part of Turkish musicians, the importance given to music in Turkey has paved the way for a great motivation to improve the musical life in Turkey and develop a national as well as contemporary style in the universal art of music. They have a mission not only to create, perform and spread polyphonic music over the country, but to convey contemporaneity to Turkish people. Young students had their musical education in the state conservatory with a fever to realise this ideal. In their eyes, monophonic Classical Turkish Music³ is something to be preserved in museum, and its performers are disgraced as supporters of backwardness. However, polyphonic music in Turkey is accepted as an evidence of the improvement that Turkish nation had achieved. Therefore, what their performers do has a political significance as opposed to that of monophonic music players. A Turkish musician who performs polyphonic music is without doubt, a Kemalist, secularist and defender of Turkish nationalism. Even in our day, when secularism in Turkey is open to question, symphonic concerts or performances of ballet dancers are shown on some

³ Also known as *Ottoman Music*.

TV channels to prove that Turkey is a part of contemporary world and religious reaction cannot demolish that. International Turkish musicians are accepted as “our ambassadors of art” as they successfully perform Western classical music which is one of the most refined outcomes of Western civilisation. In Turkish political jargon the term polyphony is even used as a synonym to democracy.

The mission proposed to Turkish musicians includes not only a task to spread polyphonic music over the country, but a design of a musical language which is a combination of Western and Turkish elements. In the 19th century Ottoman Empire, Western polyphonic music could be heard performed in İstanbul or İzmir alongside Ottoman music. However, Eastern monophony and Western polyphony were viewed as distinct musical realms. Even if there were some practices of polyphonising Eastern music according to Western methods⁴, they did not seem to have any ideological background. With the impact of the nationalist movement in the early Republican era, several composers began to compose music as described in Mustafa Kemal and Ziya Gökalp’s thought. The group of first five composers who were trained in France and Germany according to the Western tradition of music, are named *Turkish Five*⁵. They composed polyphonic music including motifs from Turkish folk music. However, after a short period of practice they began to think that a musical language compromising of both Western and Turkish elements cannot be so simple as described in Ziya

⁴ Several operettas performed in İstanbul in 19th century can be thought of as examples of such applications. Their melodic background is dance-like songs from Ottoman music which are polyphonised in the Western style. It must have been thought that those melodies would be more familiar to the İstanbul audience.

⁵ Cemal Reşit REY (1904-85), Ulvi Cemal ERKİN (1906-72), Hasan Ferit ALNAR (1906-78), Ahmet Adnan SAYGUN (1907-91), and Necil Kazım AKSES (1908-99).

Gökalp's writings. Later generation of composers also believed that Turkish folk music polyphonised with Western polyphonic rules has a confusing taste: That is simply because *Western polyphony is for Western music*. Melodies of Turkish music are completely different in character, from those of Western ones. Although the Turkish composers did not dismiss the idea of polyphony, a debate on how to realise polyphony in folk songs was at stake. Many thought that there cannot be any systematic way to polyphonise Turkish Folk songs. Most of the 20th century composers in Europe and America also abandoned strict rules of traditional Western polyphony and each developed their own personal approaches. Similarly, some Turkish composers decided to acquire their own taste and attitude in polyphonising folk songs. Moreover, in the course of time, many quitted polyphonising folk songs as a style of composition. They began to compose under both Western and folk music influences, but did not directly make use of long quotations from folk songs. Among the second generation composers, there were even ones whose music had no relation to Turkish folk music. However, one of them, Kemal İlerici, thought that there should be a *unique* system of polyphony applicable to Turkish folk songs. For him this method could evolve from the heart of Turkish folk music and *Turkish spirit*.

Turkish spirit, which was punctuated by İlerici, is the main issue around which Mustafa Kemal and Ziya Gökalp's thoughts about music differ. In the surface, both of them state that a synthesis among Western technique and Turkish folk culture must be reached. For Gökalp Western polyphony is a technical requirement to be contemporaneous. However, for Mustafa Kemal monophonic music which is under Eastern influence, first of all, is incapable of satisfying the developed *spirit* of Turkish man. Music and spirit have a reciprocity, the first being the mirror of the latter.

Mustafa Kemal perceived a metaphysical association among music and spirit. Aural acquisition is an unmediated communication to the human spirit. Therefore, change in listening habits of a nation is a measure for its appropriation of a social change in its own spirit. Under this perspective, it is not surprising that Turkish musicians took the mission of spreading polyphonic music all over the country, aiming to change the listening habits of a nation. In fact, it was assumed that Turkish people was willing to accept this sort of music because of their *exalted nature*. Many musicians repeatedly said that “our people is hungry for polyphonic music”⁶. One of the prominent Turkish orchestral conductors, Gürer Aykal, stated the importance of polyphonic music in Turkey as follows: “[Polyphony] is a tremendous public education. Because polyphony brings democracy.”⁷ (in Durgun, 1999; p. 20)

Mustafa Kemal describes a new music which not only expresses the highest spirit of Turkish nation, but effects the so-called high spirit in the direction of republican reforms and contemporaneousness. Field of polyphonic music in Turkey, as well as its performers and composers, its institutions, talented young musicians such as İdil Biret and Suna Kan, ballet dancers, and opera singers, has acquired an iconic value. Along other symbols of the early Republican period polyphonic music has become visualised as an embodiment of the nationalist ideals. Main concern of the present study may be stated as the worldview or the *weltanschauung* of Turkish

⁶ Recently, BASSO (Academic Symphony Orchestra of BİLKENT University) travelled the eastern and south-eastern part of the country and gave several concerts. The dean of the “Faculty of Music and Stage Arts” in BİLKENT stated that they do it because people living in those provinces are hungry for it. This statement led to discussions in the Turkish media whether it is so or not.

⁷ In a time when Turkey declares its willingness to enter into European Community, the way democracy is going in the country has become an issue of debate. Aykal finds a parallel between to what extent Turkish society is democratic and how much Turkish people listen polyphonic music.

composers in the Republican era. That is, first of all, a product of the process beginning from the Tanzimat era onwards. Tanzimat is the period in which several reforms were carried out taking Western societies as reference by the Ottoman State. It was when Westernisation movements first began in the Ottoman Empire and the superiority of Western civilisation was acknowledged. On the one hand, a new consciousness of dividing the world into two parts, namely West and East, arose in the imagination of the Ottoman elite. On the other hand, a feeling of Turkishness began to evolve which led to a nationalist movement. In many respects, the first was a rediscovery of the World, while the second was another one concerning who Turkish people were, what their origin was and how their traditions and language were.

As Edward Said states in his book *Orientalism*, the distinction between West and East, and the generalisations as regards it, are deep rooted in the Western thought. Said proposes it as a discourse, in which those generalisations are quoted, multiplied and disseminated within Western language, science, literature, art, philosophy and daily habits. Main premise of the discourse is the belief that Western civilisation is the highest level reached throughout the world history, so that Western thought proposes its values as universal and exalted norms. Things and thoughts Western always have upper hand as regards those of the East, the backward counterpart of the West. This is a hierarchical relationship in which the West enjoys an authoritative position in the face of the East.

The work of Derrida provides us a theoretical ground to visualise this mechanism of hierarchy. For Derrida, Western languages are structured by an oppositional frame. Terms within the language are grouped as couples, in which one

term is the opposite of the other: West/East, Man/Woman, Presence/Absence, etc. However, this is not a peaceful coexistence but a hierarchical one; the first term has always been the upper hand while the second is a decadent form of the first. What gives way to such grouping is the differential structure of language, as it is viewed in the structuralist theory about linguistics. As it comes to things musical, the mechanism of binary oppositions is similar; polyphony/monophony, written music/oral (unwritten) music, tonal/modal⁸, etc. The first term pertains to the West, that is why it is thought of as developed, refined and contemporary. The second term refers to the East, a fall from the Western standard, backward and decadent. It is quite remarkable that in 1940's Kemal İlerici develops his system of polyphony in Turkish music, after a close examination of Western polyphony. In that study, he explains Western music as a system of opposites. Therefore, to flourish a system of polyphony in Turkish music, a definition of similar oppositions in traditional Turkish music is presupposed. His book *Turkish Music and Its Harmony* (1981) is based on that premise, that which İlerici has realised in his own right. By this achievement, he believes that Turkish nation takes one step forward in the history, in the field of music. In Adnan Saygun's terms, it is to pass from one *tradition*, i.e. monophonic and Eastern, to the other, i.e. polyphonic and Western.

Such an achievement should be done, because on the time scale Eastern music represents a stage of the history beyond which Western music had gone. Eastern music is monophonic, a style which Western art music had left aside at the end of middle ages. Eastern music cannot be written, i.e. can only be performed and

⁸ In tonal music rules of polyphony are in effect. However, in modal music, traditional laws on the movement of monophonic lines of modes are prevailing.

transferred from one generation to another by memory, while, on the other hand, its Western counterpart has been notated for thousands of years. With what, as Said calls, Orientalist discourse supplies us is a frame of content through which we can grasp things and give meaning to them. Here, as far as music is concerned, it is true that Eastern music is monophonic or performed by memory. However, the reason why it is evaluated as a backward style and it has to evolve to polyphony as a historical necessity is a result of such mode of thought.

Orientalist discourse has not always functioned disdainfully, that in many cases the East is regarded as exotic, full of fantasies, origin of the Western civilisation, etc. An example of this perspective is the book *Les Turcs anciens et modernes*⁹ by the polish author Constantin Borzecki. In his work Borzecki states that Turkish people has a glorious past and is a source to the present Western civilisation as it is the origin of the Latin language and civilisation. Another example is the conference delivered by the french author Léon Cahun in the *First Congress of Orientalists* in Paris, 1873. For him, Turks are the most ancient, therefore were real inhabitants of the European lands. These two writers claim, even before Turkish thinkers, that Turkish people has a great potential for the future, for which its past is a proof. In the domain of Turkish history, ethnicity, and language, their works became main points of reference for Turkish writers. For decades that succeeded, they were accepted as the principal—Western—authorities in the field. Conforming Said's theory, some part of Western thought again obtains an authoritative position on the claims about the East in this current of thought. In 1930's two theories came about in Turkey, by the application

⁹ *The ancient and modern Turks.*

of some methods so similar to those of the two European writers: The first one is *Sun Language Theory*¹⁰, in which Turkish is accepted as the origin of all languages: The second and less known one is a report presented to Mustafa Kemal by Adnan Saygun, one of the *Turkish Five*, in which it is claimed that Turkish music is the origin of all musical cultures throughout the world.

The thesis concerning the highness of Turkish people has an important impact on Turkish nationalism, which is another construing element of the Weltanschauung of Turkish composers in addition to the Orientalist discourse. For Chatterjee “nationalism is essentially a cultural phenomenon”, as is the case in the Turkish one (Chatterjee, 1989; p. 1). Nationalists in Turkey, first of all, refuse the Ottoman identity which is multi-ethnic and multi-religious, for it is heterogenous and impure. On the one hand Ottoman culture, as well as its language, includes Arabic and Persian elements as indications of backward Eastern civilisation. On the other hand, in Anatolia lives Turkish people who is thought of as pure and homogenous, sharing common traditions and daily habits. This community will be a *natural* ground for a nation—and a corresponding modern nation state—which is self-determined, expressive of the national character and serving its unique quality to the common heritage of humanity. That is why Kemal İlerici, or another Turkish composer, talks of a single thing called Turkish Folk music spreading over entire Anatolia, and a single polyphonic system concerning it. It is an idealisation lying at the background of all nationalist movements, like the examples in the West, that a natural core exists as a combining component.

¹⁰ *Güneş Dil Teorisi*.

However, Turkish nationalists also feel a disadvantage for the part of Turkish people as compared to the developed Western nations. European nation states are several steps forward with their industries, modern state institutions, high level of sciences and arts. The West represents the universal norms which have to be realised for an ideal improvement. Nevertheless, that should be accomplished without losing our essence. Our civilisation should be scientifically equal to, but, as regards national character, essentially different from that of Western. This ideal is embodied in Kemal İlerici's system uniquely; a system of polyphony that is technically on the same level with, but fundamentally distinct from the Western one. It has born out of a close examination of Turkish folk songs and is designed for them so that it reflects Turkish essence. Western polyphony is for the Western melodies, as İlerici's polyphony for the Turkish folk songs.

In the present work, the Republican era in Turkey is considered as a period of reformative attempts not only in material aspects of social life but on the mentality of Turkish man as well. In his speeches Mustafa Kemal states that the exalted nature of Turkish spirit cannot be satisfied by the Eastern manner of life: It is like covering an essence with mud. Moreover, he views music as the mirror of human spirit, so that the reformation in Turkish music has a priority. In this study, Mustafa Kemal's identification of spirit with music is considered as a metaphysical association, which leads to a significant republican project on the part of Turkish people; *construction of ear*. The term, in its usage here, does not mean only a reconstruction of aural habits of a nation by taking Western societies as a model, but a remaking of the Turkish mentality or spirit, in a time when Turkish nation has chosen its direction towards the Western civilisation. Practically, this resulted in state's intervention in the field of

music in Turkey and its firm support to polyphonic music. Nevertheless, both the worldview and aesthetic experiences of Turkish musicians are intensely influenced by Kemalist and nationalist views, and the consecutive state policies. They take the mission of creating and spreading a music that is as much developed as the Western art music, but essentially different from it by expressing the matchless Turkish spirit. Under this perspective, it is proposed that Turkish composer Kemal İlerici's system of polyphony of Turkish music may be viewed and analysed as a unique idealisation of Kemalist and nationalist ideals, within the realm of music.

Many of the writers focusing on the early years of Turkish republic take political, economic or military aspects of the period as their main concerns rather than artistic field. Though several important sociological works came about concerning the field of music, which also includes state's intervention in musical life and the vision of a state supported elite in the artistic life of the young republic. Works of Cem Behar, Martin Stokes, Orhan Tekelioğlu and Meral Özbek can be cited among them. However, none of them take polyphonic music in Turkey as their main subject of study. Even some works step in this specific field partly, writers do not consider musical discourse and aesthetic debates among musicians as their chief points of reference. They are generally dominated by ex-discursive material such as speeches delivered by Mustafa Kemal or writings of Ziya Gökalp, etc. In the present study, elements of musical discourse are sought to be articulated with that of sociological perspective, which is thought to be a necessity for such a study not to be alienated from its main subject matter. Moreover, working of artistic issues is proposed as a powerful point of view for a complete understanding of, firstly the reformation period in the foundation years of the Turkish republic and, secondly the mental change that is

projected by Mustafa Kemal and some other nationalists. The organisation of the argument in the present study will be as follows. Firstly, the foundations of the hierarchical relationship between the West and the East will be analysed. The effects of Orientalism in the context of Turkish music will be elucidated in that section. Secondly, a general survey of the nationalist theory will be made. In the same section, the nationalist movement in Turkey and its impact on cultural policies will be examined. Thirdly, the debates among Turkish musicians will be analysed. Finally, Kemal İlerici's system with regard to polyphony will be examined, as a specific example for the nationalist ideology as projected by Mustafa Kemal and Ziya Gökalp.



CHAPTER 2

ORIENTALISM AND ITS IMPACT ON THE FIELD OF MUSIC IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD IN TURKEY

2.1 Introduction

How such a geographical awareness is formed, that the World is divided into two in the form of the West and the East? For Said, this is not simply an inert fact of nature but man-made, however, is not an innocent one either. Firstly, the two poles are taken as opposite essences in which the West has the priority. Secondly, this world view has been produced and disseminated for centuries, so that, acquired a rank of reality. With the growing power of the West and prevalence of its thought, such a world view penetrated into national discourses, such as cultural debates in the newly established states. In this chapter, the main premises of the Orientalist discourse and its impact on the perspectives and the debates regarding Westernisation movement in Turkish Republic is analysed, considering the field of music in Turkey.

2.2 Orientalist Discourse

In his book about Turkish theses of history *From Turkish Thesis of History to Turkish Islamic Synthesis*¹, Etienne Copeaux makes use of the term *Turkish Orientalism*. At a time when Turks are considered to be barbaric and uncivilised in the West, a literature begins to appear at the end of 19th century which defends the opposite image: Throughout the history, Turkish people has always been capable of founding glorious and durable states and been source to many great civilisations. In the intellectual climate of the late 19th and early 20th century, Turks rediscover their own past and regain self-confidence in the middle of the ruins of the Ottoman Empire. A national sentiment is born which now refuses the Ottoman culture, and sometimes even the Islamic one, as a base for self-recognition. Turkish past and culture has to be inquired into, by way of which historical importance of the Turkish civilisation and its imprints on the mankind can be revealed. Future importance and continuity of the Turkish people is guaranteed by its own past.

This literature multiplies and gains wider acceptance after the announcement of the republic in Turkey in 1923. It reaches its peak in 1930s with *Sun Language Theory*², in which Turkish language is thought to be the prototype of all languages throughout the world. An immediate impact of such attitudes can be seen in the field of music in Turkey. In 1934, Adnan Saygun, a young Turkish composer who had his musical education in Paris by a state scholarship, presents a report about Turkish

¹ Copeaux, E. (1998) *Türk Tarih Tezinden Türk İslam Sentezine*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

² *Güneş Dil Teorisi*.

Music to Mustafa Kemal. In this report, it is stated that imprints of Turkish music is observed in music of many different cultures, such as that of Celtic, Scottish, etc. Therefore, a scientific study on Turkish folk music will bring to light the historical significance of Turkish civilisation which had spread over the world beginning from the ancient times. Moreover, such an influential musical heritage can be a firm ground for contemporary Turkish composers, whose music will be the new voice of the Turkish nation.

However, Copeaux states that at the origin of this literature which begin to emerge around 1870s lie works by two western writers; Borzecki and Cahun. They were to be the first two to tell that Turks have a magnificent past and their culture is a source to western ones. In their works, certain patterns of thought have been introduced which will be so wide spread in texts by Turkish writers. In *First Congress of Turkish History*³, which is held in 1932 in Ankara, there are 300 quotations from and references to western scientists. Therefore, with the term *Turkish Orientalism*, Copeaux points to a literature that is not only produced generally by Turkish writers, but a continuation of a certain perspective which had been created in some Western orientalist texts. For Copeaux, western Orientalism is not simply a starting impact on Turkish history writing, but is the authority upon which many written works have been based until 1950s. That is why he makes claim of a *Turkish Orientalism* in which a certain *mode of thought*, that had essentially been designed in the Orientalist literature of the West, is reproduced and disseminated. As far as the centrality of

³.*Birinci Türk Tarih Kongresi*.

national history writing in nationalist movements are concerned, Copeaux's argument gains significance on the part of Turkish nationalism.

Without doubt, works of Borzecki and Cahun are a part of an extensive literature that is not only flourished in the West but specialising on the Orient. Such literature includes a wide variety of genres and styles, comprising literary works, scientific studies, travel accounts, artistic works, biographies, official writings, linguistic and anthropological studies, etc., about the Orient. Most of the time those works do not have a favourable approach towards things Oriental as in works of Borzecki and Cahun, although they share a common ground which is analysed by Said in his work *Orientalism*.

From the 18th century on, as the correspondence between the Ottoman Empire and the European states developed, Western thought, of which the literature about the Orient is a part, had a significant impact on the Ottoman social life. Libertarian and nationalist opinions, occidental way of thinking and living begin to flower in the Ottoman higher classes and intellectual circles. Leading writers, bureaucrats, political figures of the period and then young students of *The School of Political Science*⁴, *The Army Academy*⁵ and *The School of Medicine*⁶ are influenced by the Western thinking. This influence is a decisive step through which, not only libertarian thinking or way of living *à la franque*, but Western perspective on the Orient gained a prevalence in the Ottoman intellectuals' conceptions and daily lives.

⁴ *Mülkiye*.

⁵ *Harbiye*.

⁶ *Tıbbiye*.

2.2.1 Said's Orientalism

In his work *Orientalism*, Edward Said examines the huge Western literature about the Orient and the features of the discourse constituted by it. Orientalism is, in general, “a way of coming to terms with the Orient” in which the Orient is depicted to serve as the “contrasting model” of the West (Said, 1979; p. 1). Western civilisation not only traded with, colonised and sometimes ruled the Orient, but researched, analysed, aesthetically or scientifically represented it through forms as antithesis of the Occident itself. In this respect, the Orient and the Oriental are inseparable elements of Western civilisation and culture, in materialising the image of the Other:

The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles (Said, 1979; p. 2).

For Said, Orientalism has particular meanings which are interdependent. Firstly, it is an academic designation. The academician who studies the Orient, historically, anthropologically, sociologically, philologically, etc., is an Orientalist, while his or her act is called Orientalism. In this sense, with many theories and doctrines about the Orient, Orientalism can be considered as an academic field. Secondly, it is “a style of thought based upon an ontological and epistemological distinction made between ‘the Orient’ and (most of the time) ‘the Occident’ ” (Said, 1979; p. 2). Therefore, the specialist who produces a scientific or artistic work about the Orient, starts with a basic distinction made between it and the Occident, concerning anything mental or material. Thirdly, from the late 18th century on,

Orientalism is a Western domination of the Orient, by colonising, ruling, having authority over and making statements about it.

For Said, Orientalism is a systematic discipline which can be conceived when explored as a discourse. Firstly, it divides the world into two halves through geographical sectors as the Occident and the Orient, which are, in fact, man-made facts. For example, Japan stays to the West of the United States but is thought to be a part of the far East. Secondly, Orientalism produces a wide range of definitions and generalisations concerning the Orient, without the West losing the upper-hand. Within the oppositional frame-work in which such geographical awareness supplies the West with a positional superiority, things Oriental always point to a *lack* or an *absence*: The Orient, being the antithesis of the Occident, constantly connotes a fall from its counterpart, a backward or primitive form of the latter. Therefore, as Said puts it, Orientalism is not simply a consciousness producing and defining the Orient, but, more than that, the Occident and the world in its entirety.

Orientalism not only functions within Western culture by managing and even producing the Orient scientifically, artistically, ideologically, and politically, but imposes intellectual limitations to the one visualising or acting on the Orient and the Oriental. Many generalisations and approaches following the Orientalist discourse have been quoted from one text to the other, disseminated and multiplied throughout

the centuries, and have been established within daily lives and languages⁷. In other words, the Orientalist mode of thought and the corresponding insight regarding the Occident and the Orient have acquired the order of reality, i.e. accepted as the reality concerning the Occident and the Orient. Such knowledge, surpassing any judgements or generalisations, turns out to be indisputable, universal, or even scientific. The West is the authority (the universal subject of knowledge) in the face of its counterpart (its object of knowledge), i.e. it has the positional superiority that it acquires knowledge of the Orient.

Here, the language operating through such discursive forces, i.e. those structuring the oppositional framework in which the Orient is depicted as the backward counterpart of the West, is supposed to be universal. On the one hand, the conception about the Orient is presented to be a universal fact as if it has not been produced in the Western discourse. On the other hand, in its claim to universality the West effaces its own subject behind such form of knowledge, i.e. the so-called universal subject of knowledge. Through this effacement, the language seems to freely operate as if the knowledge produced and disseminated within Western discourse is neutral, universal or scientific (Mutman, 1996; p. 32). For a musician educated in a state conservatory in Turkey, the backwardness of the monophonic traditional Turkish music, or the Eastern music in general, and the need for it to evolve in the direction of

⁷ In daily Turkish when we use an expression like “what you have done is just *alaturka*!” (from Italian *alla turca*, which means “in the Turkish-way”), it generally has a pejorative sense. This meaning is achieved through the opposition *alafranga/alaturca* (in the European way/in the Turkish way), in which the former has a laudatory sense. The more interesting point is that such a statement can be used by a Turkish nationalist, as we can see in the debates concerning musical issues. Many of the Turkish composers, even Mustafa Kemal, criticised being *alaturka* or the music that is *alaturka*, in the name of Turkish nationalism.

polyphony is an indisputable or *scientific* fact. No one can claim that it is merely a Western prejudice!

For Mutman, this is an operation of *centring*, in which the West is produced as a political, economic, and cultural unity, that elevates the Western civilisation to the level of being the universal and the central norm (Mutman, 1996; p. 30-1). The Occident and the knowledge Occidental is centralised, while the Orient is pushed to the periphery for its identity contrasts the former. That is also an act of *homogenisation* in which, on the one hand, the West is a *unity* characterised by universality, progress, and that it is experiencing the last stage in the historical advancement. On the other hand, locations other than the West and the cultures corresponding to them are homogenised under *cultural essences* such as the “Orient” or the “Islam”, so that they have become a unity representing the opposite qualities as regards the Western ones. As a consequence of the centralising strategy, oriental qualities are to be evaluated according to the higher Western norms, and those norms become the ends for the Orient.

In *Orientalism*, Said states three qualifications regarding Orientalist discourse. Firstly, Orientalism must not simply be thought of as a misconception about the Orient that its claims have nothing to do with the reality. Taking, here, the Orient “*essentially* [as] an idea, or a creation with no corresponding reality” is doing injustice to the complex organisation of thought within the Orientalist discourse. The main concern must be that organisation, in which a prevalent world view is produced, radiated, and established itself in the language-whether that language is daily, scientific, nationalist, literary, or musical. Therefore, Said explains his academic effort

as dealing “not with a correspondence between Orientalism and Orient, but with the internal consistency of Orientalism and its ideas about the Orient” (Said, 1979; p. 8).

Secondly, Said states that certain ideas or currents of thought cannot be understood without examining their *configurations of power*. Here, Said employs the Foucauldian theory about the relation between knowledge and power: The subject of knowledge, who is capable of knowing or making statements about its object of inquiry, has a positional prevalence in the face of the latter. The world-fiction, that is centring the West as regards the East which is depicted as a decadent form of its counterpart, is certainly a mark of Western power or dominance over the East. Western knowledge about the Orient is, not only a result of its political, economic and military power over the latter, but, at the same time, the cause of the so-called power. In other words, that knowledge production is inseparable from the Western hegemony over the East. However, taking the Orient completely passive in its adoption of the role in the drama will be misleading:

...ideas, cultures, and histories cannot seriously be understood or studied, without their force, or more precisely their configurations of power, also being studied. To believe that the Orient was created—or, as I call it, “Orientalised”—and to believe that such things happen as a necessity of the imagination, is to be disingenuous. The relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of domination, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony...The Orient was Orientalised not only because it was discovered to be “Oriental” in all those ways considered commonplace by an average nineteenth-century European, but also because it *could be*—that is, submitted to being—*made* Oriental (Said, 1979; pp. 5-6).

Thirdly, Orientalism is not simply a sum of Western prejudices about the Orient that if the truth was told, the misconception would be eliminated. In stating that, Said stresses the discursive character of Orientalism. Many generalisations and stereotypes inherent to Orientalism are articulated with political and economic

conditions, which are the imprints of Western dominance. The frame of thought, with which Orientalism supplies us in concerning or giving meaning to things Oriental, is constituted through an integrity by all mentioned above. "...Orientalism is more particularly valuable as a sign of European-Atlantic power over the Orient than it is as a veridic discourse about the Orient..." (Said, 1979; p. 6) Therefore, it is not merely within the limits of a rational act by which the system can be reverted, that once you know the fact about the Orient this structure of thought dissolves.

2.2.2 Western Civilisation as the *End of History*

History writing regarding Western modernism, in which Western civilisation is represented with a progressive model, is fundamental in the bipolar-hegemonic world view of the Orientalism. In this paradigm of history writing, historical process is conceived as a linear and evolutionary progress. Historical conditions are explained by causality, so that they form a chain demonstrative of cause-effect relationships. Here, the evolution is an advancement through which a certain *teleology* is expressed and realised. Therefore, the mechanism behind social processes or processes of social change are explained by an end-state, which is a result of, for example, successive modes of production, rationalisation, the necessity to evolve to higher and higher states of civilisation, or technological development. Although the elements of evolution differ from one theorist to the other, it is principally immanent to Western society. Marx's economic determinism in which historical development is analysed by certain modes of production; Weber's implicit claim of rationalisation as the master trend of Western capitalist society; Comte's positivist sociology viewing society in a

necessity to evolve to higher states of civilisation; or Parson's theory of functionalism offering teleological accounts of social organisation, all employ social forces exclusively Western in their progressive perspective.

Currents of thought staying within this paradigm, which are so basic to Western thinking, not only recognise certain aspects of Western society or Western society in general as the end and the intention of history, but, in doing so, universalise the West. For Western society represents the last stage attained in the course of history, consequently, the Eastern one characterises a backward state beyond which the former had passed previously. The Orient is pushed back in the time scale. It is produced to be the *other*, in its reciprocal and oppositional relationship with the West. Therefore, history writing must be taken as a part of the operation which is centring the West. This situation reminds us that, in many respects, Orientalism is more about with the West than the Orient.

Eastern societies, bearing the stamp of backwardness, face a necessity to catch up with their counterpart symbolising universal norms. This proposition is central not only in legitimising imperialist or colonialist acts, but to the nationalist thought as well. Nationalist discourses also certify the universality of Western norms and the evolutionary perspective that Western nation-state is the most developed state formation. In his book *Nationalist World and the Colonial World*, Chatterjee states that "nationalism is primarily a cultural phenomenon" which depends "upon the acceptance of a common set of standards by which the state of development of a particular national culture is measured" (Chatterjee, 1986; p. 1). The West European countries founded the nation-states for the first time, so that they are the pace makers.

Political, economic, and cultural standards of progress were set by them who felt themselves ahead of all the others. Then, for the part of newly born nationalist movements, nationalist sentiment comprises “the feeling that the nation is at a disadvantage with respect to others.” (Chatterjee, 1986; p. 1) However, for the non-Western countries, that also leads to what can be called the nationalist dilemma; the attempt which tries to adopt those Western standards, while retaining the national character.

2.2.3 How Orientalist Discourse Works Within Linguistic Terms

As it is mentioned above, in the Orientalist discourse, the West and the East are depicted as antitheses of each other. Moreover, this mechanism is established in Western literary, scientific, artistic, political, etc., discourses and language in general, and operates through an oppositional frame. Within this oppositional frame, things Occidental have always the upper-hand, while things Oriental regularly point to lower qualities. Having been quoted from text to text, the mode of thought generated by this mechanism is quoted from text to text, disseminates and proliferates. Its basic premises, such as the supremacy or the centrality of the Western civilisation, are reproduced or enforced by historical writing, economic and political theories, conceptions of society and social change, and by nationalist views which are specifically more important for the present study.

How this mode of thought operates and establishes itself within language, whether it is daily or that of a certain field, can be analysed with reference to linguistic theory. Saussure, in his work *Course in General Linguistics* (1966) explains how

meaning arises and linguistic terms operate for this purpose. 'Sign' in this theory is said to have two components. In its simple form, there is a concept (meaning) and a physical representation of it. We can say that they form a linguistic element when coupled with each other. First of all, Saussure opposes the view of classical linguistics that the concept exists before its physical representation. The classical view can be illustrated as follows: If we take the word "tree" as an example, the concept of tree is immanent to itself therefore exists before its physical representation, i.e. the physical form of the word "tree". In other words, there is an immanent idea of tree, prior to its representation by a word. However, for Saussure, thought is vague and formless without its physical counterpart. Therefore, we cannot talk of a meaning that arises immanently before the linguistic term is formed.

Before explaining how meaning arises according to Saussure's theory, elements of linguistic term must be elucidated. Saussure indicates the linguistic term with *sign*. There are two constituents of a sign; *signifier* and *signified*. Signifier is the physical designation of a sign, while signified corresponds to the concept as regards it. The most important point of Saussure's theory is that meaning is not achieved simply by the correspondence of the signifier and the signified, but through the relation of the single sign with the other signs. Then, language appears to be system of signs, in which meaning is achieved through the *difference* of one sign from the others. In other words, meaning is not achieved *positively*, i.e. possessed by or immanent to a sign, but *negatively*, i.e. a result of its relation to or its difference from other signs. Therefore, according to Saussure's theory, language is a *differential* system, in which a sign has its value not actively, but passively, through its difference from other terms.

Language is conceived by the differences among its constituent elements, i.e. signs, not by a sum of single objects that can be handled and analysed distinctively.

As far as the Western thought is concerned, for Derrida, it is constructed by relations more than differential ones. According to him, Western thought is structured on the basis of *binary oppositions*. Derrida gives rise to his theory through a close examination of Western philosophic tradition, from Plato, Rousseaux, etc., to thinkers of our day. A binary opposition is a term pair, in which a term couples with the one representing its opposite image. This oppositional relation establish itself within the differential structure of the language. The value of a term included in a binary opposition is the outcome of not a differential but an oppositional relationship. However this is not a “peaceful coexistence”: It is a “violent hierarchy”, in which one term always has the upper-hand.

For Derrida, the fundamental opposition in the Western metaphysics is the binary couple presence/absence. Western thought always valued presence over absence. In other words, in its search for the question of *being*, Western philosophy gives priority to the presence; being at hand. In a binary opposition like presence/absence, the priority of the first term is in both qualitative and the temporal sense of the word. The second term represents a derivative of the first; it is a decadent form of the former, distant, mediated, differed and deferred. The pattern is similar for an endless series of oppositions; good/evil, being/nothingness, truth/error, identity/difference, mind/matter, life/death, nature/culture, soul/body, immediate/mediated, oral/written, man/woman, and the Occident/the Orient.

If we return to Orientalism, under Derrida's light, we can conclude that the Occident and the Orient are reflected within an oppositional structure, in which things Occidental always take their places on the privileged side while those Oriental are devalued. The oppositional frame supplies us with a pattern of thought through which we can judge mental or material things. The Occident is portrayed by a supremacy, that it supplies universal norms: The Orient is inscribed by the lack or the absence of those qualities. Through this operation, the Western qualities become norms to judge the East and to point to what the East lacks. For example, polyphony is what Eastern music could not have achieved until present times. Polyphony is the criterion for to depict, or to *know* the Eastern musical culture. Another example will be the non-existence of civil societies or secondary structures within Eastern civilisation. It is quite important that why the East is evaluated and judged by a criterion that is peculiar to the Western society. It is so, because the West produces itself as the universal norm. Therefore anything at all would be defined and, consequently, evaluated with respect to the Western norms. What Western thought has achieved is not simply proposing itself as the central norm, but effacing its own subject behind this act and claiming that the evaluation is *objective* and universal.

2.2.4 Derrida's Deconstructionist Attitude

Under heading non-European traditions, in *The Larousse Encyclopedia of Music*, the most peculiar and common aspect of those musical cultures is stated as their being oral traditions. Besides, some prevailing qualities of non-European styles are asserted within a general discussion of non-European music:

The oral tradition is, as a matter of fact, the strongest link binding together all the types of music which may be considered as belonging to the historical beginnings of music, and it is the most important single feature which the traditions studied here have in common. The very existence of this unwritten music depends entirely on oral acquisitions and preservations which are not the fruit of bookish intellectual speculations. The music of the advanced cultures that we shall examine, and which has some form of original schematic notation, does not invalidate this proposition, since these notations consist of summary forms of inscription which merely serve as a guiding line and as an *aide mémoire* for initiates.

A further characteristic shared by the primitive music of the oral tradition is that it is essentially a utilitarian music, with magical, symbolic or social functions. Such music is more than an entertainment, and even when it survives after the attitudes and customs that inspired it have vanished, its significance goes beyond that of mere aesthetics. Indeed, this music is considered by the players themselves to be the property of a specific human group and one of its important spiritual manifestations (ed. Hindley, 1971; p. 1).

Like many other encyclopedias of music and works on the history of music, the first chapter of this famous encyclopedia is also reserved for the non-Western music; then follows “[t]he music of the advanced cultures that [they] shall examine...” Preparing a comprehensive work on music requires, first of all, drawing the demarcation line between what is advanced and what is primitive, which turns out to be the one between what is European and what is not. For this purpose some propositions are made: In the first of the sentences cited here, it is stated that oral tradition of music is observed not only in *the historical beginnings of music*, but in all of the present non-Western musical styles. In other words, a qualitative similarity or equivalence among the past music—of the West—and the current non-Western music is emphasised. Even, it leads to a meaning which is further stressed in the following pages of the encyclopedia that music of the past still survives, like it once were, in those oral cultures as if time is frozen. In the second sentence, orally transmitted music is delineated as untouched by the theoretical reasoning, so that preserving its pure, natural form. Thirdly, *the music of the advanced cultures* is defined as having “some form of schematic notation.” However, this advanced music does not deny oral

acquisition completely, for written musical text in fact “serve as an aid to memory.” Therefore, the formal and the most apparent difference among the advanced and the primitive music is the musical notation which also provides the advanced cultures with the theoretical consideration of music. However, in the advanced musical forms, musical notation serves as a supplement in the absence of the author of that music or an aid to memory. Therefore, for the European music as well, face to face musical performance is fundamental. In the second paragraph cited, “the primitive music of the oral tradition” is told to be preserving its ancient social functioning. Not distinct from other social functions it is natural in its naive manners. So that, Oral tradition of music is not an elaborate form or a certain field of art that is governed by *aesthetic* rules.

The whole argument on how we can differ the advanced music from the primitive one depends on a basic distinction made between the oral and the written cultures. Such a depiction of non-Western musical cultures as primitive but natural, because of the lack of musical notation, is a familiar one. Cultures without writing, which are non-Western, generally thought to be primitive, uncivilised, and even barbaric. Some anthropologists, such as structuralist Levi-Strauss, took such cultures as innocent, pure, and natural as opposed to an evaluation as barbaric. However, a standpoint of that kind also shares a common ground with the previous one in accepting the opposition oral versus written culture. In fact this is a position following the Western tradition of thought which asserts speech as primitive but direct, writing as civilised but mediated. Derrida criticises this theorisation in a quite powerful way

and through a close reading of certain Western philosophers, shows how this claim is undermined by its defenders themselves.

For Derrida, the dichotomy of *speech* versus *writing* is one of the basic binary oppositions within “the Western metaphysics”. In using the term “Western metaphysics”, Derrida not only means Western philosophy but everyday thinking and language as well. Derrida, first of all, points to Plato’s condemnation of writing as a corrupted form of speech. In speech, the speaker and the listener are both *present* at the moment of utterance. Both meaning and comprehension are constituted at the same instant. There is no spatial or temporal distance between the speaker and the listener. The speaker has the potential to correct or prevent any misapprehension. However, writing is put to use in the *absence* of the speaker. Therefore, it can lead to confusion. The *presence* of the speaker in the act of *speech* is privileged over his *absence* in the act of *writing*. Then, Plato’s philosophical writing is contradictory. He condemns writing as a corruption, but restores it to formulate his philosophy.

Derrida’s readings of Saussure and Rousseau are more fruitful as regards the dichotomy of speech/writing. On the one hand, both of the thinkers privilege speech over writing. On the other hand, certain elements of their discourse undermine the philosophy on which they depend, i.e. Western metaphysics. Derrida defines this method of reading as deconstruction, in which the way a discourse threatens its founding philosophy is exposed. Before observing details of Derrida’s reflection on the two writers, firstly, the method of deconstruction is to be described here. Deconstruction not only critically tackles with the philosophy with which it deals, but

attempts at a reversal and a displacement of the terms establishing the dichotomous relations immanent to it:

...in a classical philosophical opposition we are not dealing with the peaceful coexistence of a *vis-a-vis*, but rather with a violent hierarchy. One of the two terms governs the other (axiologically, logically, etc.), or has the upper hand. To deconstruct the opposition, first of all, is to overturn the hierarchy at a given moment (Derrida, 1987; pp. 56-7).

This reversal of the hierarchy is an essential step to deconstruct the system of thought at hand, yet, a second one is needed not only to interfere in the classical system but to open up a new intellectual space. Therefore, for Derrida, deconstruction must,

through a double gesture, a double science, a double writing, put into practice a *reversal* of the classical opposition and a general *displacement* of the system. It is on that condition alone that deconstruction will provide the means of *intervening* in the field of oppositions it criticises and which is also a field of non-discursive forces (quoted in Culler, 1983; p. 85-6).

In other words, deconstruction acts within the terms of a philosophical discourse, but not to show that they are false or to be discarded in favour of new ones. Deconstruction reveals what is excluded and concealed by that very discourse by using its own terms. Derrida's attitude is not a sceptical or falsifying one, on the contrary, it is one which confirms to the basic concepts in the discourse.

For example, a deconstructive perspective on the Orientalist discourse may examine the concepts of the West and the East seriously. Deconstruction, by proving that the East is not a primitive form of the West, attempts at removing the "violent hierarchy" among the binary couple. This step is what Derrida calls the *reversal* of the terms. To prove that the devaluation of the East is fictive, deconstruction would critically analyse how the mechanism of generalisations and stereotypes about the Orient operates in the Orientalism. Then, it brings under light the evolutionary

perspective which qualifies the East as backward. It unveils the ideological aspect of the Orientalist literature, by examining the imaginary boundary set among the West and the East. Moreover, deconstruction shows how the West and the East are homogenised and thought of as essences which are fictional. However, this is performed not to claim that there is nothing as the West or the East, in other words, to falsify these notions; nor does it propose another essentialist system in which the East dominates the West⁸. Nevertheless, for Derrida, this first step alone, i.e. that of *reversal*, leaves method of deconstruction incomplete and the former philosophic realm untouched. It has to move to a second stage in which the oppositional terms are displaced. Derrida uses the term *displacement* when producing new concepts that are inconceivable within the previous system of thought. In other words, by displacing the terms a new conceptual space is opened up in which the former discursive and hierarchical mechanism is abolished. To understand Derrida's so-called strategy of reading and to identify the steps in it more clearly let us examine his readings of Rousseau and Saussure about the speech/writing dichotomy.

Both Rousseau and Saussure state that speech is prior to writing. Speech is the complete form of linguistic communication, and writing is used when the former is not available. Writing is a representation of speech; a copy. A copy of the spoken word cannot present the *idea*, which is constituted in and present to the act of speech, in its complete form. As far as the immediacy of meaning in the spoken word is concerned, the speech is *complete* in itself: "in the spoken word we know what we

⁸ The task of "Islamic fundamentalism" can be viewed as defending another essentialism which is the mirror image of the one in Imperialism. Here, Islam and its corresponding social organisation are thought to be dominating all other forms of thought and society.

mean, mean what we say, say what we mean, and know what we have said.” (Derrida, 1981; p. viii) The writing is *incomplete* though: In the absence of the speaker the representation of his speech, the writing, can lead to misapprehension. Therefore, the writing is the corrupted form of and the derivative of the speech. Both writers privilege presence over absence in the communication of ideas.

For Rousseau, writing is a *supplement* to speech. Derrida makes use of this word and inquires into its formal meaning; a supplement is an *addition* to something else. Derrida states that the word supplement already points to an incompleteness or a lack in the first term, the speech, so that it is supplemented by the second term, the writing. In other words, although Rousseau privileges speech for its completeness he also marks it with a lack. Elsewhere, Rousseau explains why he writes although he condemns it:

I would love society like others, if I were not sure of showing myself not only at a disadvantage, but as completely different from what I am. The part that I have taken of *writing and hiding myself* is precisely the one that suits me. If I were present, one would never know what I was worth (quoted by Derrida, 1974; p. 142).

Rousseau writes and hides himself because if he was *present* to society and expose himself directly by speaking, there would be a risk of expressing himself “as completely different from what [he is].” He states that *presence* of himself or his speech, would confuse “what [he was] worth.” Then, speech as well can lead to confusion or misapprehension. The spoken word is also inscribed with *absence*, an absence of the true expression of the speaker or of the true meaning. Writing is marked by absence; so is the speech! For Derrida, the opposition between speech and writing is now elevated by employing Rousseau’s own terms and logic. In fact, he himself does it. In both of the formulations about the dichotomy of speech and

writing, there is a contradiction inherent to Rousseau's own argument. Through a close and critical reading, this contradiction leads to a reversal of the dichotomous terms which Rousseau himself set forth. For Derrida, Rousseau's own argument itself undermines his own philosophy.

For Saussure, the linguistic object par excellence is just spoken language or speech. For writing is a representation of speech, it is not an original source for linguistic analysis. As it comes to explaining the object of language par excellence, the spoken word, Saussure proves that it acquires its meaning not positively but negatively. In the differential structure of the language, a word accomplishes its meaning not by what is inherent to it but through its relation to other elements, i.e. words, in the linguistic system. If we transform this statement to another level, Saussure claims that a linguistic element arrives at its value, not by a meaning which is *present* to it, but by the mark of the *absence* of other terms which is inscribed on it at the instance of speaking. Although Saussure praised speech for its immediacy to mean, he also explains the mechanism grounding meaning with negative relations, i.e. absence. In both speaking and writing acts differential structure governs. At that point, Derrida reverses the priority of the speech in the speech/writing dichotomy; if speech is structured as writing, i.e. marked by *absence*, then writing is the general model of linguistic process. There have never been a complete *presence* of meaning in the speech, in anything else. For differential structure is the guiding principle, meaning have always been a *difference* marked with absence: There is nothing but difference, writing, or text.

For Derrida, the model of writing is essential to the linguistic mechanism. By doing that Derrida not only reveals what is suppressed or excluded in the Western thought (suppression of *absence* or of differential structures inherent to any communicative act whether spoken or not), but open the way for new concepts inconceivable in the former thought. Then Derrida steps to the second operation by displacing the concepts of speech and writing in the previous thought. He uses vocal writing and graphic writing in place of speech and writing, which considers the linguistic system in general as a mode of writing or a textual organisation. Derrida's theory, lifting the opposition between speech and writing, and gathering those concepts under a new notion of writing (generalised writing) is groundbreaking as far as the classical perspective of anthropology or ethnomusicology is concerned, for those disciplines conceive a demarcation line among oral and written cultures. In the light of Derridean theory, we are to take the so-called "oral culture" as another form of written culture. The argument that any oral culture is primitive becomes seriously controversial and, consecutively, the oral/written opposition problematic. Now we are in need of a new framework, new concepts and a new perspective. Deconstruction seems to be a powerful method for that purpose.

In the present study, it is thought that Derridean theory equips us with so powerful a stance that his method of deconstruction is not only applicable to musical concepts and aesthetic issues, but helps us for a deep understanding of the hierarchical mechanism immanent to Westernisation movement. There is also a possibility, it is believed, to open up a new space in musical discourse through a strategy following deconstruction. By the term "a new space", it is meant, on the one hand, a musical criticism in which those hierarchical relations are not blindly accepted but revealed, on

the other hand, such hierarchy can be intervened in musical criticism or in musical terms by producing new concepts and perspectives.

2.3 How Turkish Music is Evaluated Before and in the Republican Era: The West/East Confrontation in the Field of Music

Although the first musical relations between Europeans and Turks are known to date back to the time of the Crusades, the earliest western sources mentioning Turkish music are some travel accounts from the 14th and 15th centuries. From that time on, the European interest in Turkish music and the number of written sources on the topic have gradually increased. Earlier, Turkish music had more influence on the Western one: Some of the percussion and wind instruments of Turks are borrowed by the Western musicians. A section of percussive instruments were introduced in the Western symphonic orchestra of the 18th century. Themes in the manner of Turkish music and subjects inspired by Turkish culture were treated by European composers in their works in the 18th and 19th centuries. The 19th century was also marked by works of Orientalist writers who generally flourished their opinions with reference not to live observations but to other written sources in the West. With the developments in the Ethnomusicology, 20th century witnesses increasing musicological studies on Turkish music.

Beyond its aforementioned interest, the Western influence on Turkish music can be traced back to the early 19th century. An orchestra in the Western style was founded in the Ottoman court in 1826. Western music could be heard for entertaining purposes in the bigger cities of the Ottoman Empire. Even some of the classical styles

in Turkish music were influenced by this trend: Instruments like violin, violoncello, etc., found their place in some musical ensembles performing Turkish music. Some Western influenced musical forms like *longa*, *sirto*, etc., were born. However, the sincere Western impact was felt in the Ottoman social life. Many writers take *Tanzimat Era*, or some military reforms prior to it, as the beginning of the Westernisation movement in Turkey. The former military system was abandoned for the sake of a Western oriented one. In the Tanzimat Era, new systems of education, law and administration were put into use, taking Western examples as model. Moreover, Western manners widely influenced Ottoman daily life: Fashion, furniture, style of houses, humanly relations, etc., became *Avrupai* (European style) among a certain elite. First criticisms stating that some or many of the actions in the Westernisation movement in Turkey are superfluous date back to the mid 19th century.

In the republican period, Westernisation movement operated more radically. Reforms came about in all areas of social life. Ottoman culture was condemned for being a sign of corruption. Therefore, reformation in the cultural sphere became a central task in the early years of the republican period. Arabic alphabet was replaced with the Latin one. Dressing in the Ottoman way was changed according to the Western style. Towards mid century, many Ottoman originated words used in the daily Turkish were disappeared. Mentality behind the Westernisation movement, have come to depend on a qualitative distinction made between the West and the East. In his essay *The Historical Background of Turkish Music*, Tekelioğlu explains such frame of mind as follows:

The West, far from being a mere geographical description, was considered the domain of modernity and was therefore taken as a model, its putative value

measured against an 'East' which was considered as standing for backwardness itself (Tekelioğlu, 1996; p. 195).

As far as the field of music is concerned, such a depiction of the West and the East acquired a wide acceptance in the republican era. Musical qualities of the West were welcomed while those of the East were degraded. Moreover, this evaluation led to an aesthetic perspective which is exemplified in works of certain Turkish composers. Those musicians established themselves in some state supported musical institutions, which were founded in the early years of the republic according to the Western examples. By the state policies and a certain elite, Turkish music which has existed for centuries was pronounced to be backward for it is Eastern. However, in the prolific Western works about the Turkish music, such a description had been produced for centuries. It seems that as Western thinking prevailed in the state bureaucracy and in the nationalist elite in Turkey, those Western oriented judgements about the East were disseminated and gained wide acceptance. Such judgements penetrated not only to sociological and nationalist works of Ziya Gökalp, to the speeches of Mustafa Kemal or to state policies regarding Turkish culture, but to the aesthetic perspective of Turkish musicians as well. Such a perspective found its artistic reflection in the works of the new *polyphonic* school of Turkish composers.

2.3.1 Turkish Music Through Western Eyes

Aksoy, in his short essay "Ottoman Music Through Western Eyes", states that there are numerous Western sources about the Ottoman civilisation, also including impressions on Turkish music: "Europeans, who have actively dealt with Turkish

history, Turkish state, legal, social, military system, Turkish culture, and customs as a matter of investigation throughout the centuries, did not fail to consider Turkish music either” (Aksoy 1995; p. 39). Aksoy classifies those sources into three categories; works of “(a) general historians and orientalists; (b) historians of music and musicologists; and (c) travellers and observers” (Aksoy 1995; p. 39). Aksoy also emphasises the works of travellers and observers, as their enterprises were based on impression of live performances in the Ottoman lands. In contrast, many of the Western studies on Turkish music were prepared without hearing any original example and only with reference to the formerly written material available in the Western libraries⁹.

The first musical examples of observation for the Western writers were Ottoman military music, as the foremost contacts among the West and the Ottomans were military. Ottoman expeditionary forces were accompanied by *Janissary Band*¹⁰ which also performed its loud music during actual battle. For the 14th or 15th century Europeans, janissary music was not only noisy and ill tempered for the Western ears, but was deprived of harmony¹¹. However, it was a symbol of Ottoman military power which was in its peak in that era and respected. Works on Turkish music increased in the 16th century, which also focused on other forms of Ottoman music.

⁹ This is generally the case for the Orientalist writers of the 19th century.

¹⁰ *Mehter Takımı*.

¹¹ The term harmony has two senses as far as the Western polyphony is concerned. First is the word's normal meaning as being in agreement or in tune. The second and the more crucial one for the present study is a technical definition: It is the technical aspect or simply the method of polyphonic music. This sense of the term will be widely investigated in the fifth chapter of this study.

In the 17th century, some more serious works on Ottoman music appeared, which we may take as musicological. Writers (some of whom were Orientalists, tradesmen, travellers, geographers, etc.) observed several secular or religious forms also and some of them praised Ottoman music. The most important work of this period is, according to Aksoy, Perrault's *Parallels Among the Ancients and the Moderns*¹². Aksoy states the main point of this book, which will become quite widespread in the studies of European and Turkish musicologists in the 19th and 20th centuries, as follows:

The Turkish ear is pleased by the natural scale¹³, which is different from the Western scale; since the Orientals are accustomed to the natural scale their ears are more sensitive, therefore, they have more talented performers; the Turks are unaware of consonant sounds, hence have cultivated only melodic music which lacks harmony of several parts; although Turkish music is incomparable with that of the Europeans, the great variety of Turkish melodies and instruments may contribute to the Western music (Aksoy, 1995; p. 41).

First of all, for Perrault, there is a fundamental difference between aural habits of Orientals and Occidentals. Orientals are accustomed to the natural scale, i.e. the musical scale which is more closer to the nature than the Western one. On the contrary, Western scale is tempered or evolved therefore has become distinct to the nature. Especially in the 19th century, this argument became central in comparing the Western and Eastern music. For example Fétis, in his work *General History of Music*¹⁴ (Paris, 1869), states that Eastern scale is composed of *quarter tones* which are nonexistent in the tempered Western scale composed of *semi tones* (Rauf Yekta Bey, 1986; pp. 19-28). That is to say, as far as musical habits are concerned, there are

¹² *Parallels des Anciens et Modernes*

¹³ Series of tones founding a mode or *makam*.

¹⁴ *Histoire Général de la Musique*.

two *essential* characteristics to be found on the world; that of the West and the East. Secondly, as Turks are unaware of polyphony, and its respective technique *harmony*, they cannot discern consonant or dissonant sounds which are of fundamental importance for the polyphonic music. Here, Orientals and Occidentals are compared with respect to an opposition of nature/culture which is similar to that of speech/writing: Orientals are more natural (they use natural scale) therefore less civilised (unaware of polyphony.) This phase of considering the East marks a turning point in the Western literature: What is meaningless until now (noisy, grating on one's nerves) becomes intelligible (natural, monophonic). However, this intelligibility is acquired through an oppositional frame of mind in which Western and Eastern musical styles are reflected as *essences* opposite to each other.

In the 18th century, Turkish music was more welcome on the part of the West. Some of the Turkish instruments, such as percussions, became permanent in the Western symphonic orchestra. Aksoy explains this reception as follows:

The broadening horizon of European culture had an impact on the reception of the observers visiting Turkey. The conviction directing this new tendency was the assumption that the vestiges and remains of legendary Ancient Greek music still survived within the musical tradition of the Middle-Eastern peoples, i.e. in Ottoman music. Some observers tried to draw resemblances between Turkish attitude towards music or Turkish taste and that of the Ancient Greeks, others looked for the antique echoes of the Ancient Greek music in Turkish tunes and instruments (Aksoy, 1995; 41).

This new perspective points to another aspect of Ottoman, or Middle Eastern music: It technically resembles to an early stage in the history of music, which means it does not change or evolve as if course of time is stopped. Moreover, for this very quality, traces of the Ancient Greek music could have been survived within the Ottoman music until that day. For example, for Pierre Augustin de Guys, the Turkish

musical form *köçekçe* must have been originated from the Bacchus rites of the Ancient Greeks.

Another writer from the 18th century, Fonton, in his book *Essay on the Oriental Music Compared with the Western Music* (1987), also states that ruins of the music of the Ancient Greeks and the Romans are still alive within Eastern music. As far as the qualities of the Eastern music is concerned, he tells that it is sensitive and touching, but lifeless and monotonous. It can depict only a small portion of the humanly impressions and sensations as contrary to the Western music, which is much more advanced with its power to represent different mental states and sensations. Therefore Eastern music makes a Western listener feel sleepy, which is, for Fonton, a result of contrasting characters of the Western and the Eastern cultures:

What causes us feel sleepy is especially the effeminate softness of Eastern music to which we are not accustomed. European ears need more potent, energetic and mannish tunes, joy rather than grief, as a stimulation. However, Eastern nations please with the opposite feelings. The difference of character and taste between us and the Easterners can naturally be observed in art and music either (Fonton, 1987; p. 58).

All of the above reflections of the Western authors about the Turkish music, have a significant effect on the Turkish writers in the 20th century. Ziya Gökalp, in his work *The Principles of Turkism* (1968), states that Ottoman music is backward for it lacks polyphony. He also uses the argument that Ottoman music includes Greek and Roman elements, so as to condemn it because such a music is heterogenous and impure. However, it must be discerned from the homogenous and pure Turkish folk music living in rural places of Anatolia. Moreover, Mustafa Kemal claimed in his speeches his belief that Ottoman music is monotonous which does not coincide with the cheerful character of the Turkish spirit. However, Turkish people expresses this

spiritual quality in its own folk music performed in Anatolia. The first Turkish musicologist Rauf Yekta Bey, in his essay under the entry *Turkey* in the *Encyclopedia of the Music and Dictionary of the Conservatory*¹⁵ (1922), employs the argument that Turkish scales are natural and Turkish music theoretically shares the same ground with the Ancient Greek music. Musicologist and theoretician Hüseyin Saadettin Arel and composer musicologist Adnan Saygun also applied Ancient Greek theory of music in explaining or making theoretical considerations of Turkish *makams*. The most interesting point is that, both defenders and opponents of Westernisation in Turkey referred to the same Western arguments. For example, Hüseyin Saadettin Arel and Rauf Yekta Bey, who can be cited among the second group, describe Turkish music as natural and do not consider it as backward. However, it is thought that all of the Western arguments summoned above operates under the same logic which is explained clearly in Said's oeuvre. In other words, Western writers, from the Enlightenment era on, always understood and depicted the Turkish music, praising or devaluing it, within an oppositional frame in which it is compared with and subordinated to the Western music.

2.3.2 Why Turkish Music is Backward

One of the first and the most significant claims about the backward qualities of Turkish music is included in Ziya Gökalp's work *The Principles of Turkism* written in

¹⁵ The entry *Turquie*, in the *Encyclopédie de la Musique et Dictionnaire du Conservatoire* published by Albert Lavignac in 1922.

1924. He devalued *Eastern Music*¹⁶, which was then the music of the Ottoman higher classes and performed in the big cities, because of several reasons: Firstly, it is a heterogenous style, i.e. a combination of cultures foreign to the Turkish culture. Secondly, it is monophonic. However, Ziya Gökalp rehabilitates monophonic *Turkish Folk Music*, which is performed in rural places, to the extent that it represents Turkish culture in its purest form. The third style under consideration is the Western music which is praised by Ziya Gökalp for it is polyphonic and therefore the most civilised musical form throughout the World. The basic premises of Ziya Gökalp's argument have significant parallels with the Western conception about the Eastern music, which has been elaborated in the Western literature for centuries. In fact, as explained in the previous sections of the present study, the claim about the backwardness of the East as compared with the Western civilisation had been firstly suggested by the Western writers. The approach employed by Ziya Gökalp in comparing Western and Eastern musical cultures has become the prevailing conceptual framework for the defenders of the music reformation in Turkey. However, because of its devaluation of Classical Turkish Music (Eastern Music in Ziya Gökalp's terms), a powerful resistance and criticism was flourished on the part of its performers within a few decades. Debates were generally focused on two subjects; the problem of oral transmission in the Classical Turkish music; the opposition of polyphony and monophony.

¹⁶ Nowadays, this style is generally designated as *Classical Turkish Music*.

2.3.2.1 The Problem of Oral Culture in Classical Turkish Music

In his essay *Notation in Classical Turkish Music*¹⁷, Behar gives a detailed analysis of the problem of lack of notation in the Classical Turkish Music. Behar supports the belief that inexistence of musical documentation leads to a difficulty in examining the past of this style. However, Behar opposes the evaluation that Classical Turkish Music is a primitive form because it *resists* writing. Moreover, for Behar, oral nature of Classical Turkish Music is, rather than a lack, one its peculiarities and powers.

Behar cites some Western travel accounts from the 18th century in which writers found it noteworthy that masters of music in Turkey did not feel a need to notate their music. Memory absolutely governed this musical field. Some western writers thought that lack of notation was a sign of backwardness so that Eastern music could not make use of scientific aspects to improve their music. Another group thought that lack of notation had not obstructed Turkish music to become an advanced style. Those writers also witnessed that Turkish musicians viewed writing of music as a magical act. Although there had been several attempts to notate Turkish music, such efforts did not gain acceptance either. On the contrary, as Behar states, Turkish musicians thought of musical notation as an “enemy of the science of music”¹⁸ (Behar, 1987; p. 20).

Until the beginning of the 20th century, this resistance to writing has a long history. Albert Bobowski (1610-1675) and Demetrius Cantemir (1673-1723), who

¹⁷ In *Klasik Türk Musikisi Üzerine Denemeler*, Behar, 1987; pp. 19-63.

¹⁸ *Fen-i musiki düşmanı*.

were European in origin but lived in the Ottoman Empire, invented their own systems of musical notations to notate the Turkish music. By their efforts many works of that period were put in notation. However, like many following attempts, the idea of writing music were not approved by Turkish musicians until the end of the 19th century when the Westernisation began to dominate other areas of social life in Turkey. Nevertheless, Behar does not think that this reception is an artistic improvement on the part of Classical Turkish Music:

It is more suitable to view the gradual entrance of the usage of "Western" musical notation into the Classical Turkish Music Tradition, without giving this process an artistic meaning, as "merely" a small part of the Westernization movement after the Tanzimat era (Behar, 1987; p.50).

Behar arrives at this argument and his rejection of the idea that Classical Turkish Music is primitive, through several steps: First of all, Behar points that Ottoman culture is not generally an oral one. Moreover, makers of Classical Turkish Music cannot be considered as a guild of artisans that they only repeated what they had learned from their masters. Many of its performers were literate persons that, for example, Ottoman sultan Selim III. was among prominent composers of this style. Classical Turkish Music was very close to the Ottoman higher class, whose cultural domain cannot be taken as oral, and must be considered as one of the so-called *liberal* arts. Therefore, it cannot be visualised as a folk style or an anonymous folklore of the lower class either. Composers of the musical works in Classical Turkish Music are generally known, as opposed to the situation in anonymous or folk styles. In the light of the considerations above, Classical Turkish Music must not be considered as one of oral or primitive musical cultures which are objects of inquiry for ethno-musicological research. Secondly, the conviction that Eastern music is without theory or does not

include theoretical works is simply wrong. Analysis of the modes, their scale degrees, interpretation, meanings, and of the rhythmic patterns, their peculiarities and performances, etc., are included in the *written* works from the 10th century on. Such treatises are called *Edvars*¹⁹, that first one of which is by Alfarabi²⁰. Alfarabi followed the Ancient Greek philosophy in formulating not only his social thought, but his theory of music of which first examples are by Ancient Greek writers. However, *Edvars* do not include the so-called musical notes but descriptions of the music. Thirdly, *memory* means more than a mode of transmission for the musicians of Classical Turkish Music. The method of acquiring skills to perform this music is *meşk* which primarily depends on the memory. Literal meaning of *meşk* is *a written sample*, a term which is borrowed from the art of calligraphy²¹. By applying *meşk*, student of music appropriates his musical skills. Behar explains this process as one of which modes²², rhythmic patterns²³, singing and/or playing skills, and the repertory of music is engraved in student's memory. Memory is the most important talent a student of music can have. *Meşk*, and its motor memory, is more than one of any means of musical transmission but a structural element of the culture of the Classical Turkish Music. "...the elements *meşk* and memory had all but transformed into a sort of ideological cast for the whole musical strata" (Behar, 1987; pp. 50-1). Then, musical

¹⁹ For musicologists, *Edvars* are comparable to the works of theory of music in the West.

²⁰ Alfarabi (*Turkish*. Farabi) (870-950) is a Turkish-Islamic philosopher.

²¹ *Hat Sanatı*.

²² *Makam*.

²³ *Usul*.

notation, which helps and guides the memory, is a way of cheating. Principles of art must not lie on the paper so as to be used in need, but be immanent to the brain:

Therefore, the written music, the musical note, has never been received as a musical text which is to be researched and analysed. Then, it is not hard to imagine the musical and historical problems caused by the acceptance of something as a document, which is in fact not a text (Behar, 1987; p. 34).

Behar's essay is one of the most powerful works within the literature of Turkish musicology and musical criticism. However, Behar cannot overcome a controversy in his thought which is a result of his implicit approval of the opposition between speech and writing. Although he makes anything, maybe unconsciously, to prove that *meşk*, or oral transmission in Classical Turkish Music, is itself *a mode of writing* and what it produces is in fact a musical *text*, he never pronounces as so. As far as his general output is concerned, he accepts the general belief that oral cultures are primitive (so that he conforms the field of ethnomusicology) and that there is the opposition of speech and writing. Overall, he also interprets the non-existence of musical notation in the Classical Turkish Music as a lack or a serious musicological problem²⁴.

Besides, his essay is a superb example which Derrida might admire for it undermines the philosophy or the oppositional frame on which it is based. In fact we can read Behar's text as a deconstructive one: The discourse about the backwardness of oral transmission in the Classical Turkish Music and the oppositional perspective founding it are elaborately criticised and problematised in his work. He does it by explaining the unique *text* in this musical form, i.e. *meşk*, which is in fact what is

²⁴ Especially the introduction part in and throughout his work *Klasik Türk Musikisi Üzerine Denemeler* (1987).

inscribed on the body and the memory of the student by his master. Meşk, which operates textually, is the non-text for the previous Western understanding of the musical notation: For that former understanding, the text is what aids to the memory or the body, not the memory or the body itself. Behar's thought leads to a wider conception of the musical text, a new intellectual space that is also valid for the Western music, which leaves us with so little contribution to make but only to open it.

2.3.2.2 The Polyphony/Monophony Debate

As far as the position of the supporters of the state's intervention in the field of music is concerned, whose academic extension got established in the State Conservatories and other state institutions, the central argument is that Turkish music is backward because it has not evolved to a stage of polyphony. Within this perspective, the stage of polyphony is thought to be an historical necessity, and the supremacy of Western music is expressed on any level. Especially forms in Turkish Music, which had been performed for the Ottoman higher classes or in the Ottoman religious institutions, are thought to be representing the opposite qualities as regards universal values flourished in the West. In that respect, monophonic Turkish music would only serve as a *past* or a source for the polyphonic, therefore universal, voice of the future Turkish nation.

This perspective is apparent in a certain classification of Turkish musical forms, which is widely accepted within this milieu. Say, who is a well known musicologist and music publisher, and also the father of the famous Turkish pianist Fazıl Say, classifies them as follows in his work *The Music Makers in Turkey* (1995);

(1) Turkish Folk Music; (2) Traditional Art Music; (3) Military Music; (4) International Art Music; (5) Popular Music. With the term *Traditional Art Music*, Say means the urban music flourished in the Anatolian Seljuk State and the Ottoman Empire, that is what Behar calls as Classical Turkish Music, and the religious music in the Ottoman period. On the one hand, in spite of the fact that Turkish Folk Music is several centuries older than it, Say qualifies only that form as *traditional* but not the folk music. On the other hand, Say describes exclusively the polyphonic music which has been composed by Turkish composers in the Republican era as *international*. In doing so, Say not only characterises Traditional Turkish Music with an earlier step in history, but values music of Turkish polyphonic school both as capable of internationally representing the Turkish nation and as a music of our time. In other words, while Traditional Turkish Music is a musical style belonging to a certain *past*²⁵, International Turkish Music is an evolved or developed form *of our day*.

The paper delivered by Ertuğrul Oguz Fırat in the *First Music Congress* held in Ankara in 1988, who is one of the second generation Turkish polyphonic composers, clearly delineates the perspective of Turkish polyphonic school. For Fırat, the process of being contemporaneous, which is the major project of republican reformation in Turkey, can only be understood with regard to an evolutionary perspective. As far as the art of music is concerned, the evolution when a second different melody is added to the former one, i.e. with the beginnings of the polyphony

²⁵ Here, the problem is not simply belonging to an earlier historical stage or not. In a perspective similar to that of Say's, for example, Beethoven has the priority to represent the German nation internationally although he composed about two hundred years ago. However, a composer of Traditional Art Music from the 18th or 19th century does not have the right to do so on the part of Turkish nation. This aspect will be examined in the following chapters for it sprang from nationalist standpoint.

in the 10th century Europe, is a decisive step. This change is in fact an accomplishment from a sensational level to an intellectual one. It is an achievement of being multi-directional, or on the social level, of being democratic. The Western thought, because of the necessity of evolution, has always gave an end to what has become tradition. In fact what tradition teaches us is what to exceed or, ironically, not to do. Therefore, from its beginnings, polyphonic music has always meant a fight against tradition and conservatism on the part of progressivist composers. Contemporaneity is a continuous process of renewal and change, like the Western thought itself which is structured by evolution and progress. For Firat, Western thought signifies an indisputable superiority by such peculiarities without appropriation of which a nation is incapable of having its own place in the universal culture: Repetition is not art but can only be craftsmanship!

If we combine the arguments of Say and Firat, we end up with the figure of *other* for the Turkish Modernisation in the field of music: *Traditional Turkish Music*. As in the evolutionary process explained by Firat, the struggle is declared against a tradition (the other in the form of traditional musical styles) through which Turkish nation would prove its maturity or mature voice and become universal. This position is quite interesting under two aspects: Firstly, Western tradition of art, claims to be progressive in an evolutionary scheme from Baroque to Classicism, then to Romanticism, to Impressionism, to Expressionism, and so on. Turkish polyphonic school takes this process as universal and then engages itself in it. However, the School takes all the so-called universal stages as *a priori*, i.e. it has nothing to do with those evolutionary, therefore opposing positions other than accepting them, but defines its other in another sphere, i.e. Traditional Turkish Culture. This led to two

consequences: The first one is that, in the musical life of Turkey, polyphony is thought of as the equivalent of the universal and the contemporary. That means any form of music which is polyphonic is thought to be universal and contemporary, otherwise local and backward: The second consequence is that Turkish polyphonic school has isolated itself from the Western musical domains of our day, because it turned into itself and took the evolution as merely from the monophony to the polyphony.

Secondly, around the debate of polyphony/monophony a polarity grew in which one pole defends the polyphony of the West and the other supports the monophony of the East. The first group claims that polyphony is a necessity to adopt the universality against a backward locality. The second group asserts that monophony is not backwardness and the task of Westernisation in Turkish music as polyphonising Turkish melodies is superfluous. Moreover, traditional Turkish culture is more than something to be conserved in the museum. It must be kept alive for the sake of preserving our national character. However, each of the two poles, too, has always referred to Western sources to strengthen their arguments, and claims to be nationalist. In other words, they have stayed within the vocabulary of a certain discourse of the West whose “culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient”, of which Turkish culture is supposed to be a part, “as a sort of surrogate and even underground self” (Said, 1986; p. 3).

2.4 Conclusion

At the first sight, Copeaux’s term *Turkish Orientalism* seems to be illogical: How can Turks be actors of a literature that is Western in essence? By *Orientalism*,

following Said, a Western originated discourse is meant which produces a world image made up of two opposite poles; the West and the East. However, the West has always the upper hand in this relation, in which the East is depicted to be a fall from its counterpart. Employing the Western thought in general, Orientalism established a world view in which the West is central and the East is subordinate. For Said, this perspective and its corresponding views of the West and the East had been produced, quoted, disseminated, and proliferated from the Enlightenment era on. With the growing dominance of the Westernisation movement in Turkey, both the defenders and the opponents of the republican reforms took elements of an oppositional world view as reference. Therefore, consciously or unconsciously, different modes of nationalist perspectives, especially the one supported by the state, have always reflected the superiority of the West, even in aesthetic terms.

CHAPTER 3

NATIONALISM IN TURKEY AND THE REFORMATION OF MUSIC IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA

3.1 Introduction

The nationalist project in the Turkish Republic visioned a cultural reformation which aimed at transforming not only the daily life but the mentality of its citizen. The goal of the change was to catch up with the level of Western civilisation. In other words, progress was at the heart of the reformation. However, Turkish essence was to be preserved in the process of improvement, otherwise Turkish identity could disintegrate. In that respect, Mustafa Kemal gave a special importance to Turkish music, as he believed that it would be functional in both improving and exalting the Turkish spirit.

3.2 Nationalism and Its Discontents

In *The Sociology of Nationalism*, David McCrone (1998) points to two counter-views in the nationalist theory. The first one is the *modernist* view, among the prevailing defenders of which McCrone cites Gellner, Anderson, and Hobsbawm. The second one is critical of the modernist perspective and this view is represented in the writings of Smith and Chatterjee. For the modernist perspective, nationalism and

nation states are the historical products of the processes of industrialisation and modernisation. In other words, they are the outcomes of the transition from *traditional* societies to the *industrial* or *modern* ones. Within this process nationalism became the major force in unifying the society on a secular basis, the function which had been previously performed by religion. In this respect, nationalism is not something deep rooted in the historical ages of human groups, but is contingent and something invented towards the end of the 18th century. Contrary to this perspective, the opponents of the modernists state that nationalism predates the so-called historical stages of industrialisation and modernisation, rather than being a the end of such developments. For the second view, nationalism is embedded in mythical and symbolic mechanisms specific to human groups. On the other hand, it leads to more complicated situations in the Third World which the first view does not explain adequately.

McCrone illustrates the modernist line of thought with five premises, which are the major discontinuities between the modern and the pre-modern forms of nationalism: First, as opposed to the former governmental forces, nationalism inverted the dominant position of the religion and “derived its legitimacy from the will of the people rather than from God” (McCrone, 1998; p. 10). Second, after the break-up of large scale empires under the influence of industrialisation, nations were inclined to form smaller territorial entities. These were more manageable political units in which a national economy was carried on. Third, nation state is conceptualised as the coincidence of the political unit with the national one. This means that the borders of the territory embraces the whole national community, in which a particular language and common cultural traits exist. Fourth, following Anderson’s statement, the

concurrent diffusion of capitalism and print technology serves the fabrication of an *imagined community* which strives for a nation state. With the advancement of print technology, printed materials, especially daily newspapers, strengthened a certain vernacular within the boundaries of a community where a nation became imaginable. The original term used by Anderson to describe this process is *print capitalism*. Fifth, cultural agreement is of utmost importance among the members of a modern nation which constitutes a high level of economic and cultural integration. Therefore, in Gellner's perspective, a centralised education system is basic to the formation and continuity of the modern nation state.

To inquire deeply into the modernist perspective, we can refer to Gellner's work. In the chapter named "Nationalism" in his book *Thought and Change* (1965), he formulates the key points of his analysis. Gellner puts forward three aspects as regards both the defenders and opponents of nationalism. First of all, nationalism is taken as something *natural* or *universal*. In other words, it is assumed that all individuals have a *nationality* as they have undebated physical peculiarities like sex, height, and weight. According to this conception, having a nationality or being part of a nation is natural and unquestionable. Secondly, a person who possesses a nationality, wishes to be in the same political unit with those who share the same nationality. Thirdly, a nation covering the ones sharing the same nationality is a legitimate and a commendable exigency. However, for Gellner, all these three "assumptions are so much part of the air we breathe that they are generally taken for granted quite uncritically" and form the central mistakes in the debates concerning nationalism:

The truth is, on the contrary, that there is nothing natural or universal about possessing a nationality; and the supposition that a valid political criterion can

only be set up in terms of it, far from being a natural or universal one, is historically an oddity. But; there are undoubtedly overwhelmingly powerful factors in the contemporary and recent social conditions which do make these suppositions, in those particular conditions, natural and probably irresistible (Gellner, 1965: p. 151).

Gellner, then, analyses the historical and social conditions which makes nationalism natural and inescapable. Firstly, the relationship between *culture* and *structure* has a significance in understanding nationalism. In the pre-modern society, which is small and simple, identity of an individual is determined by the structure, i.e. roles imposed by the community to its members. In such a small-scale society, the role is directly ascribed to a person which circumscribes his or her activities and relationships to others. The culture, i.e. the social position and relationships expressed in manner, conduct, ritual, and dress, in a pre-modern society is incompatible with the structure but reinforces it. On the contrary, in a large-scale modern society culture does not reinforce structure, rather, replaces it. For most of the time, relationships in a wider society are non-repetitive and optional. An individual can have different roles within such a social organisation, then his identity is inscribed on him with symbols, his style of communication or, in the broadest sense, his language. This is “a shift from the context to the communication itself”, in other words, the identity of an individual is determined not by structure, which is inexistent in modern society, but by his culture. (Gellner, 1965; p.155) This evaluation by *culture* turns out to be, of course, an evaluation by nationality, for a distinctive culture is the stamp of a certain nationality. For Gellner, that is why nationality seems to be natural, as it is inherent to anyone in a modern society.

Secondly, there is a significant relationship between nationalism and industrialism. The uneven development as a consequence of industrialisation disrupted

the previous political units, problems of which can be remedied by the political order constructed by the national secession. Expansion of industrialisation broke up small tribal orders or large but loose imperial states, so did the nation states. As a result of this process, nationalism becomes irresistible at a certain stage of history. Thirdly, Gellner states that modern societies do not permit deep irregularities among its members. In this respect, education mechanism is central to modern nations. Every individual obtains a basic education and acquires fundamental qualities to have a citizenship. Modern society is, on the one hand, more homogenous as a consequence of the basic training. On the other hand, it is more diversified as a result of the division of labor emanating from higher level of education and more complex social organisation. Under the light of these three assumptions, Gellner views nationalism not as being *universal* or *natural*, but as a constructed entity and a consequence of modernisation. In other words, a nation is not a natural and pre-given whole, so that it waits to be turned into a nation state by giving way to nationalism. For Gellner the truth is as follows: "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist - but it does need some pre-existing differentiating marks to work on..." (Gellner, 1965: p. 168)

The modernist perspective on nationalism is criticised notably by Anthony Smith. As in the work of Gellner, writers such as Hobsbawm and Anderson also viewed nations as constructions or inventions which are imaginary rather than natural. However, for Smith, there are many cases in which nations predates modernisation. Moreover, modern nation is distinguished by an organisation of myths, symbols and cultural practices, which Smith calls the *ethnie*. The *ethnie*, shaping the nation with common myths, a common memory and a set of symbols, has its roots in the pre-

modern stages. The common sense of history, for Smith, has become a substitute for the religious belief for many of the individuals within a nation. McCrone calls the defenders of this position in the nationalist theory as *ethnacists*. With the importance given to the ethnic elements, *ethnacists* oppose *modernists* who put industrialisation and modernisation at the centre of nationalism:

...Smith and other 'ethnacists'...argue that the myth of the 'modern' nation greatly exaggerates the impact of industry, capitalism and bureaucracy in shaping the modern state. Modernism fails to locate the nation in a historical sequence of cultural shaping, and hence overdraws the distinction between the 'tradition' and 'modernity', frequently missing the deep roots which nations have in an ethnic substratum (McCrone, 1998; p. 12).

Another significant attack against the modernist perspective has flourished in the work of Chatterjee. For Gellner, Western examples has become models for the Third World experiences of nationalism. Chatterjee criticises this 'modular' perspective regarding Eastern cases which, in fact, strive for an *essential* difference with respect to the West. Chatterjee views this effort "the most creative and historically significant project to fashion a 'modern' national culture which is nevertheless not 'Western'. If the nation is an imagined community...then it is here where it is brought into being." (Chatterjee, 1993; p. 6) Such quality, that of being modern but non-Western, is achieved through a strategy of cultural resistance. In many forms of the Third World nationalism, the world is divided into two domains as *material* and *spiritual*. The West is superior to the East at the level of science and technology, i.e. materially. However, the East has a spiritual greatness and therefore must not permit the Western mentality to conquer this realm. In sum, the Third World perspective of nationalism is depicted by Chatterjee as an effort to combine the material aspect of Western culture with the spiritual aspect of the Eastern one, which

is, at the same time, its most creative attitude. This line of thought can be followed not only in the writings of Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal, but in the aesthetic and/or theoretical works of the Turkish musicians like Kemal İlerici, Cem Behar, and Muammer Sun.

3.2.1 Nationalist Paradox

In the first two chapters of his work *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, Chatterjee carries out a theoretical analysis of the problems and specificities inherent to the Third World nationalism. First of all, with respect to Plamenatz's work, Chatterjee puts forward two types of nationalism, namely the Western and the Eastern types (Chatterjee, 1986; p. 1-3). "Both types depend upon the acceptance of a common set of standards by which the state of development of a particular national culture is measured." The first type represents Western Europe, whereas the second one represents Eastern Europe, Asia, and Africa. In both types, for Plamenatz, nationalism is essentially a cultural phenomenon rather than a political one. On the one hand, in British and French nationalisms, as they have formed the first examples of nation states, the nationalist sentiment is blended with a sense of being ahead of other nations. They are the pace makers, therefore set the standards for a universal scheme of progress. On the other hand, for the others, nationalist thought is marked by a disadvantage in the face of the British and French improvement. However, Plamenatz classifies the West European countries other than England and France in the first type of nationalism, that of the West. Although they have a feeling of disadvantage with respect to the pace makers, they also know that they are culturally equipped for to

immediately catch up with these more developed forms. They are as well a part of Western civilisation of which nationalism is a consequence.

The second type of nationalism, the Eastern one, also accepts and aims to catch up with the standards set by the "pace makers." It is likewise marked with a feeling of disadvantage. Nevertheless, Eastern nationalists know that Eastern society lacks the cultural equipment to actualise this progress. Their culture, inherited from their forefathers, is quite foreign to the progressive, dynamic Western civilisation. Therefore, they have to transform the Eastern society to be able to adopt Western standards, and culturally provide their people with higher norms. However, this cannot be achieved by directly imitating Western culture, as it means losing their own distinctive features, i.e. the Eastern culture or identity. "The search therefore was for a regeneration of the national culture, adapted to the requirements of progress, but retaining at the same time its distinctiveness." (Chatterjee, 1986; p. 2)

For Chatterjee, as well as for Plamenatz, this position is completely contradictory: "It is both imitative and hostile to the models it imitates..." (1986; p. 2) Eastern nationalism both imitates and rejects the Western model which is welcomed for representing higher standards. This is, in fact, a twofold and paradoxical rejection. On the one hand, in order to save the distinctive native culture, it rejects the Western culture whose norms are nevertheless accepted as an ideal. On the other hand, for the sake of a higher status of civilisation symbolised with the Western standards, it rejects its own indigenous culture whose peculiarities are, on the contrary, appreciated as a mark of identity. For Chatterjee, the nationalist dilemma of the Third World is quite contradictory but, at the same time, original and creative with regards to such

premises mentioned above. It can be said that the discourse of Eastern nationalism opens up a new space and creates new concepts. It does this with its claim at being distinctive, i.e. non-Western in essence, within a Western originated discourse as *nationalism*.

In the following sections, Chatterjee carries his argument to a more elaborate level and calls attention to another paradox in the discourse of Eastern nationalism. This paradox provides him with a perspective in analysing political as well as aesthetic texts. He makes use of two terms developed by Abdel-Malek: *thematic* and *problematic*. For Chatterjee, these are the two aspects of the discourse within which Eastern nationalism operates. The relationship between *thematic* and *problematic* resembles the distinction made by structural linguistics between *langue* and *parole*. For Saussure, on the one hand, *parole* is the utterance made by an individual, the concrete speech act of speakers. On the other hand, *langue* is the system of language that is common to a community of people, the structure which constitutes meaning. Although the speaker under consideration has subjective intentions in the act of speaking, the meaning which arises has a strict relationship with the conventions making up the language.

For Chatterjee, *problematic*, which is comparable to *parole*, represents the statements made within speeches or texts, whether political, aesthetic, and economic, created as a product of the Eastern nationalist discourses. In them, the Eastern subject strives to establish itself, produces knowledge of itself, and becomes active and expressive of its essence. *Thematic*, which is associated with *langue*, is the intellectual framework, therefore, the source of grammatical and syntactical elements in which

these statements acquire meaning. However, it is “the theoretical framework of post-Enlightenment rational thought” (Chatterjee, 1986; p. 39) in which such vocabulary exists and its grammar is constituted. As a part of Western thought, whose concern with the East is produced by the Orientalism as explained by Said, nationalist thinking derives its basic features. On the one hand, in the Western thought, the East is represented and produced as passive, non-participating, as an object of inquiry for the Western subject, and as a fall from the higher norms of the West. On the other hand, the East claims its own subjectivity and its will to power through a nationalist discourse whose elements essentially reflect the opposite view because of its philosophical background.

In Chatterjee’s perspective, the dilemma of Third World nationalism and the dialectical unity of *problematic* and *thematic*, are the platforms on which Eastern nationalism produces its different tone, i.e. a discourse of *difference*. The mechanism through which nationalism asserts this difference is explained by Chatterjee with the term *moment of departure*, which is one of ideological moments in Eastern nationalism. In the moment of departure, nationalist consciousness encounters the post-Enlightenment rationalist thought and conforms to Western superiority. However, there is an essential cultural difference between the West and the East; while the West is provided with progressive virtues, the East lacks them so that Eastern societies fell into poverty and subjection. Consequently, higher qualities of the West must be adopted by the East. Nevertheless, this should not lead to a degeneration as regards to its own identity. At this point the nationalist discourse of the East makes a qualitative distinction between the power of the West and the

morality of the East. Taking this difference as a starting point, nationalism formulates its strategy:

...the superiority of the West lies in the materiality of its culture, exemplified by its science, technology and love of progress. But the East is superior in the spiritual aspect of culture. True modernity for the non-European nations would lie in combining the superior material qualities of Western cultures with the spiritual greatness of the East (Chatterjee, 1986; p. 51).

After this decisive step, two more ideological stages are put forward by Chatterjee, namely the *moment of manoeuvre* and the *moment of arrival*. The former is the one in which nationalism conducts a struggle or a fight to be able to form the nation state. The combat is declared, by an ideological move, against imperialism. However, the target is, in fact, the appropriation of capitalism in the national boundaries, which can be interpreted as “the development of the thesis by incorporating a part of the antithesis.” (Chatterjee, 1986; p. 51) In the last stage, the *moment of arrival*, nationalism achieves its complete form. Now it attains a homogenous national discourse and a single order within the state, prevailing over any contradictions during its formation.

As far as the field of aesthetics is concerned, the first stage defined by Chatterjee, i.e. *the moment of departure*, seems quite a significant point. In the Turkish Republic, the contradictions of nationalism as described by Chatterjee are discernible after the penetration of nationalist thought in the realm of art. With reference to Chatterjee, it can be said that works, theories and debates regarding music in Turkey exemplify the contradictory yet creative project of Turkish nationalism in one of its striking forms. It is thought this way, not only because of the easily manipulatable nature of the aesthetic elements with respect to the social ones, but also because of Mustafa Kemal’s assertion that Turkish music, more than anything

else, is the direct reflection of the exalted Turkish spirit. In other words, one can assert that Turkish nationalism in the early Republican period acquired its most elaborate and complete form in the musical discourse, taking account of the emphasis on music in the ideology of the state.

3.2.2 Symbols of a Nation and the Ideological Mould within Which They are Cast

It is the intellectuals — poets, musicians, painters, sculptors, novelists, historians and archaeologists, playwrights, philologists, anthropologists and folklorists — who have proposed and elaborated the concepts and language of the nation and nationalism, and have, through their musings and research, given voice to wider aspirations that they have conveyed in appropriate images, myths and symbols (Smith, 1991; p. 93).

In the quotation above Smith tells how the narration of nation is actualised. It is in national histories, symbols, and art. that the national identity is produced and presented to its citizens. National history writing plays a significant part in this action. As crystallised in Smith's term *ethnie*, shared myths and common historical memories are the key elements for the identification process in a given society. The feeling or consciousness of 'from where we came' and 'from which origin we are' has a close relationship with the one concerning 'who we are' and 'what our future is'. To have something common in the present rests on sharing a past. It also tells us that the past is conceived for the present or for the future purposes. As far as national art is concerned, for many artists, themes from the national past constitutes a good starting point. In fact, having symbols, stories, epics, myths, icons, and melodies, stemming from a common past is the main mechanism lying behind the concept of nation, which also motives the people to make their future together:

A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. Two things which are really only one, go to make up this soul or spiritual principle. One of these things lies in the past, the other in the present. The one is the possession in common of a rich heritage of memories; and the other is actual agreement, the desire to live together, and the will to continue to make the most of the joint inheritance... To share the glories of the past, and a common will in the present; to have done great deeds together, and to desire to do more—these are essential conditions of a people's being (Renan, 1995; p. 153).

In their essay *The Nazi Myth*, Lacou-Labarthe and Nancy gives an account of how German nationalism achieved its identification process in the Nazi regime. In fact this was the formation of a certain historical consciousness, but a complicated and an oppositional one. Before all, the European culture, in its entirety, found its roots in the Ancient Greek civilisation. In the Renaissance era, the European philosophers, writers, artists, and architects, were deeply interested in the Ancient Greek thought. The Ancient Greek thought was based on a duality. It is a combination of both rational and mystic elements, which was symbolised by God Apollon (in English Apollo) and by God Dionysus (in English Bacchus). Alongside science, philosophy, and mathematics, rituals, dance, intoxication, and magic were equally important for the Ancient Greek society. For Lacou-Labarthe and Nancy, it was the French nationalism which identified itself with the rational side of the Ancient Greek thought. It, on the one hand, celebrated rationalism, modernisation and universalism as higher values of civilisation. On the other hand, it depended upon equality, cosmopolitan perspective, and individual liberty.

There was no action on the part of German nationalism until the 19th century. Moreover, the first important works in German literature had not appeared until the 18th century either. It was with the German Romanticism, which was contrary to the French Rationalism, that German identity began to rise. This was the time when the German thinkers, writers, and musicians, appropriated the German character as

opposed to the French one. The Germans, in fact, once again referred to the Ancient Greek thought, but this time focused on the opposite side of the above mentioned duality; the mystic, ritualistic, and irrational qualities inherent in the Antiquity. For example, Richard Wagner's lyric drama and his musical language were based on the German epic; Richard Strauss's operas took antique tragedies as their subjects; Nietzsche's philosophy was characterised with nihilism and irrationalism, all derived from the Ancient Greek thought. Therefore, discovering the 'other' side of the Ancient Greek thought, provided new sources of identification for the Germans.

Germany...was not only missing an identity but also lacked the ownership of its means of identification. From this point of view, it is not at all surprising that the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns should have been kept up so long in Germany - that is to say, at least until the beginning of the nineteenth century. And it would be perfectly accurate to describe the emergence of German nationalism as the appropriation of the means of identification. (That, in fact, may at least partially define the content of the "conservative revolution" whose hate of "cosmopolitanism" must not be forgotten.) (Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy, 1990; p. 299)

This explains the *Volkish* character of German nationalism which is contrary to the French *voluntarism*, and the accentuation of the (German) *soul* against (French) *civilisation*. German nationalism turns out to be 'a revolution of the soul', a sanctification of the 'culture', which was achieved without reforming the social 'structure'. That is why it is characterised with the paradoxical rejection and approval of 'civilisation' at the same time. In the Nazi regime, German nationalism came to a radical point. For Lacoue-Labarthe and Nancy, it was not myths (such as *swastica*) or rituals constructing the nation but the nation itself becoming a myth or a ritual. Speeches delivered by Hitler are quite interesting in this respect, in which symbols operate, speak, and mean. Hitler's words were symbolically very influential. In his

speeches, German nation, state, and leader (Hitler himself), all turned out to be a myth: “*eine Staat, eine Nation, ein Führer!*”

Like symbols and myths, *icons* are also important in defining, vitalising, and activating a nation. Under the heading “National Iconography”, McCrone cites national heroes or icons such as Jeanne D’Arc and Marianne of the French, John Bull of the Germans, and Uncle Sam of the Americans. These historical figures were simple characters but they represented what a Frenchman or a German was capable of doing. However, for Renan, next to many myths, symbols, icons, and common histories, to be remembered there are also others to be forgotten. A national memory is composed of these two opposing actions. The process of becoming a nation or making a nation cannot be separated from making its symbols, reshaping or inventing its traditions, and most of the time, producing its past according to some present intentions. The identification process of a nation, therefore, produces its culture, in which writing and erasing are performed simultaneously with respect to both its past historical references and its present nationalist ideology.

3.3 Nationalist Thought in Turkey and Its Projection of Cultural Policies

The early years of the Turkish Republic (proclaimed in 1923) witnessed a great change in the musical life in Turkey: *The Sultan’s Orchestra*¹ was renamed as the *Presidential Symphony Orchestra* and was moved from İstanbul to Ankara, the

¹ *Muzika-i Humayun*: Founded in 1826, it was the first orchestra to perform western music in the Ottoman period. During the period from 1826-28 it performed the ceremonial march of the army. In 1828, Guiseppe Donizetti (1788-1856; elder brother of famous Italian opera composer Gaetano Donizetti) became the general director of the orchestra and westernised it. 1840s stringed instruments were added to the ensemble. Famous western composers such as Liszt, Vieuxtemps, and Guatelli, performed with the orchestra as soloists or conductors.

new capital city of the republic, in 1924. The same year *School of Music Teacher Training*² was founded in Ankara. The aim was not only to train musicians for the state orchestras and music teachers for the secondary schools, but to “make research concerning the musical problems of the country” – Westernisation in music and its dissemination were of primary concern. In 1927, the Turkish Music department in *Darülelhan*³ was relinquished “giving way to a much wider and comprehensive study in Western music” (Say, 1995; p. 278), which had formerly consisted of Western and Turkish music sections. In 1936, *Ankara State Conservatory* was founded, which is depicted by Say as “the most influential symbol of westernisation and Western music”, in his encyclopedic work *The Music Makers in Turkey* (1995; p. 278). In 1934, broadcasting of “Eastern music”, including any form of monophonic Turkish music, was banned for a two-year period (Oransay, 1985; p. 93).

These measures taken by the government reflect not only the rigid distinction made between Western and Eastern music – the latter also including forms of monophonic Turkish music – but also the reform of music as a consequence of state’s cultural policies which is to be executed ‘from above.’ The reform music aimed at reshaping the musical life of the new republic and changing the former listening habits of the Turkish people. This new approach needed a reconsideration of the then existing musical forms in Turkey and projected a modern style that is to be the *new*

² *Musiki Muallim Mektebi*.

³ *Darülelhan*, was the first conservatory in Turkey, and the origin of today’s *İstanbul University State Conservatory*. It was founded in 1917. Until 1921, it served with two sections, Western and Turkish music departments. In 1923 it was reopened and, from 1924 onwards, only the education in Western music continued.

voice of the Turkish nation. For both Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal, the two⁴ previously existing styles were the Folk music and the Eastern or Ottoman⁵ music which are monophonic. The second style, namely the Eastern Music, represents the characteristics of the Ottoman Empire against which Turkish nationalists fought. Thus what this music symbolises contradicts with the contemporary values which the new Turkish nation claims to represent. The first style, on the contrary, although technically backward as regards to the contemporaneous norms, personifies the true Turkish soul. Therefore, it can constitute a source for a musical form which must technically be contemporaneous. Only such a musical synthesis may internationally represent the Turkish nation.

3.3.1 Currents of Thought in the 19th Century Ottoman Empire: Impact of Westernisation

The diffusion of the Western thought in the Ottoman Empire in the early 19th century was, at the beginning, a result of practical reasons. In other words, the origin of Westernisation in the Empire was not completely a result of an affection for the Western thought. Ottoman administrators of the period felt the weakness of the Empire in the face of Western powers. For the Ottoman ambassadors working in the capital cities of Europe, the cause of the weakness was the administrative system of

⁴ Today's musicologists classify four forms of music in the Ottoman period: *Military or Janissary Music (Mehter Mûziği)*, *Religious Music*, *Art Music*, and *Folk Music*. The first three forms can also be classified under the general heading *Ottoman Music*, whereas the last form can be identified as *Turkish Folk Music*.

⁵ The most widely accepted name for this second style is *Classical Turkish Music*. However, its designation differs from one writer to another: Oransay uses *Court Music (Divan Mûziği)* removing the religious forms from it, Bayraktar employs *Ottoman Music*, and Say uses the term *Traditional Turkish Art Music*.

the Empire. Developed European states were governed by centralised authorities. However, the administrative authority in the Ottoman Empire, on the contrary, was loose and multi-central. The reformation in the *Tanzimat Era*⁶ (1839-78), in which Ottoman social system was regulated according to the Western examples, was, in fact, an effort aiming to save the Ottoman state. However, after a short period, the Western influence was also felt among the wider sections of the Ottoman population and especially among the intellectuals.

For Mardin, Şinasi (1826-71) is the first Ottoman thinker “to realise the deepness of Western thought and to conceive secularism” (Mardin, 1991; p. 84). *Liberalism* had a significant impact on Şinasi’s thoughts. For Şinasi, printing technology plays an important part in the spread of the liberal perspective. Written culture is open to discussion and it is impersonal. However, traditional Ottoman culture was transmitted and acquired through a master/apprentice relationship which means that it was essentially personal. As the *book* meant liberalism for Şinasi, for Ebüzziya Tevfik who was a follower of Şinasi (1859-1913), *literature* meant a consciousness of forming a national whole. Nevertheless, Şinasi, as a member of *New Ottomans*, attacked the *Tanzimat* reforms and the consequent Westernisation movement. The criticisms of the *New Ottomans*, among whom were Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa, and Ali Suavi as the leading figures, can be grouped into three levels: Firstly, they all argued that the *Tanzimat* reforms were to save the Ottoman State rather than supplying its citizens with liberty as in the case of European states. On the contrary, the *New Ottomans* defended libertarian thoughts and a constitutional parliamentary system. Secondly, they criticised the economic reforms carried out in

⁶ Regulation period.

this period for opening the way to imperialist practices in the Ottoman lands. Thirdly, the *Tanzimat* reforms were criticised as being imitative of the Western culture. During the *Tanzimat* period the daily life of the Ottoman higher classes was deeply influenced by the Western life style. The *New Ottomans* viewed this change as a degeneration. For them, the *Tanzimat* movement had no serious cultural policy therefore there was no philosophical and ethical base to it. In that respect, the *New Ottomans* proposed an Islamic world view as a firm ground on which liberal intentions were to be elevated. To this end, they visioned mobilising the Muslim masses living in the Ottoman Empire. For Mardin, it was for the first time that Muslim religion acquired an ideological status (Mardin, 1995b; p.88). In the thought of the *New Ottomans*, on the one hand, a cultural resistance against Westernisation could be followed. On the other hand, they approved liberalism and the idea of progress that existed in the Western thought.

In the period when the Ottoman Sultan II. Abülhamit was in role (1876-1918), several intellectual movements became significant. One of them was *pan-Islamism* in which principles of Islamic law, the Shari'a, were defended implicitly against the mentality of the *Tanzimat* movement. Another one was Turkism which had its origins in the orientalist texts written by Western authors on Turkish ethnicity and language. Some examples are as follows: *General history of huns, mongols and other western tatars, etc.*⁷ (1759) by Joseph de Guignes, *Turkish Grammar* by Lumley Davids, works of Hungarian Turkologist Arminius Vambery, *The Inequality of the Races* by A. de Gobineau, *Introduction to the history of the Asia*⁸ (1896) by Leon Cahun, and

⁷ *Histoire général des huns, des Turcs, des mogols et des autres tartars occidentaux, etc.*

⁸ *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie.*

The *Ancient and the Modern Turks*⁹ (1870) by Constantin Borzecki had an extraordinary and long lasting impact on Turkism movement (Stokes, 1992; pp.22-3; Copeuax, 1998; pp.16-20). Turkism movement had a decisive impact on Ziya Gökalp's thought and, consequently, on the ideology of the Turkish State. Turkism was one of the sources of Turkish nationalism. However, until the 19th century a consciousness of Turkish nationalism had not developed. In the early writings of Namık Kemal, only an ideal of Ottoman nationalism could be traced. After 1890's, *Young Turk*¹⁰ movement became the source for Turkism giving rise to the formation of the *Committee for Union and Progress*¹¹. For Mardin, the intellectual foundations of the *Young Turk* movement were materialism and positivism. They appreciated western organisations, discipline, and ideological grounds on which identities were based in the West. Similar to the state ideology in the Republican era, the political teleology of the *Young Turk* movement was *development* (Mardin, 1995b; pp.97-101).

3.3.2 Ziya Gökalp's Nationalism and His Distinction of Culture and Civilisation

Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924), who was also a poet and an influential writer, is accepted to be the first Turkish sociologist. Western writers such as P. J. Proudhon, H. Bergson, C. Bouglé, H. Höffding, R. Gasston, John Dewey, Alfred Fouillée, and especially Emile Durkheim influenced his thought. At first, he defended Ottoman nationalism and then 'Turkism in language'. After 1915, under the influence of

⁹ *Les Turcs Anciens et Moderns*.

¹⁰ *Jön Türkler*.

¹¹ *İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti*.

Durkheim's works, he constituted his social theory about Turkism and Turkish nationalism. In this context, he gave original definitions to the concepts like nation, culture, civilisation, and national ideal. His theory is based on a distinction of culture and civilisation. However, in his nationalist attitude, he tried reach to a reconciliation among these two different aspects of society.

For Ziya Gökalp, culture is the unity of distinctive features of which the identity of a nation is made up. These distinctive features are the essential characteristics of a nation, therefore natural and not imitable. The peculiar language, customs, traditional manners, folklore, and folk music of a nation are expressive of its culture. Culture is a result of the collective memory and habits of a nation, therefore impersonal and conventional. Civilisation, on the contrary, is the totality of social elements which is the product of individual consciousness. It is, in other words, knowledge or science regarding any field of social life like religion, ethics, politics, economics, and art. Civilisation is artificial and can be transferred from one society to another or from one individual to another, which means that it can be imitated. For Ziya Gökalp, science, with such properties, is produced by individuals through the positivist method and with reasoning.

For a nation to become a political unity, it has to incorporate both its cultural features pertaining to its essence, and technology and science as the highest levels of civilisation. For Gökalp, the culture of Turkish nation can be traced in the past, but the Western civilisation which is the highest level of civilisation should be adopted. Nationalism, with these premises, includes elements of both *populism*¹² and

¹² *Halkçılık*.

progressivism. In that respect, Ziya Gökalp's nationalist attitude can be viewed as a coalition among contrasting nationalist perspectives of German and French thoughts (Kadioğlu, 1996; p.183-4). Liberalism, voluntarism, and rationalism of the French nationalist thought, which are the basic features in Ziya Gökalp's definition of civilisation, are reconciled with spiritualism, populism, and romanticism of the German thinking, which are, for him, necessary for conserving a national identity. In his book *Turkification, Islamisation, and Modernisation*¹³ (1974) Ziya Gökalp explains these three trends not as mutually exclusive, but as affecting one another. In spite of his efforts to reach to a balance or to a 'golden ratio' among these three trends of thought, debates on *Turkification, Islamisation, and Modernisation* have never ended in the Republican era (in Akşit, 1991; pp. 145-170).

Ziya Gökalp's conception of art is chiefly explained in his book *The Principles of Turkism* (1968). It is, first of all, based on his distinction of culture and civilisation. Secondly, notions of populism and progressivism are indispensable in the field of art. Therefore both of them must be projected in music with respect to the above mentioned distinction of culture and civilisation. As regards to civilisation, Turkish nation encounters two possibilities; the Eastern and the Western civilisations. Until the 20th century, the Turkish people, who had not yet formed a nation, was in the domain of Eastern civilisation. However, as compared with the Western one, the Eastern civilisation, which for Ziya Gökalp was represented in the Ottoman identity and the Ottoman way of life, was quite backward. In fact, anything pertaining to the East symbolised backwardness in essence for him. Therefore, in the process of becoming a nation, the Turkish people must step into the Western civilisation which typifies the

¹³ *Türkleşmek, İslamlaşmak, Muasırlaşmak.*

future. To become a part of the Western civilisation will also help to eliminate any knowledge, language, practice, and style that is Eastern, i.e. Ottoman.

However, this does not mean leaving the Turkish essence aside which lives in Turkish folklore and which exists in its purest form in Anatolian lands. Turkish folklore represents a unique culture as opposed to the heterogenous Ottoman civilisation. The latter is a blend of non-Turkish elements, such as Persian, Arabic, and Byzantine, which are also part of Eastern civilisation. In that respect, the new art in the Turkish nation must be a combination of the Western technique with Turkish folklore. Moreover, Turkish artists and their works of art must also be didactic to familiarise the Turkish people with this new project which will the realisation of Turkish nationalism in the field of art. Ziya Gökalp, himself being also a poet, used themes from Turkish folklore in his works. In his poems, he stopped using *aruz vezni* (meter used in Ottoman poetry) for the sake of *hece vezni* (syllabic meter) which is characteristic of Turkish folk poetry. His poems composed of syllabic meter were thought to be more simple and easy to understand. Consequently, it was assumed that these poems would contribute to educating the people by spreading Gökalp's ideas.

3.3.2.1 Cultural Policies in the Turkish Nation State According to Gökalp's Thought

If national art did not exist, then it was the role of artists to invent it, or at least discover or recover it from the fragments of the people's culture (hence the interest in folk song and folk art.) Many artists became in turn synonymous with national culture...examples being Chopin, Liszt, Dvorak, Bartok, Elgar, Verdi, Wagner, Grieg, and Sibelius (McCrone, 1998; p.55).

Before explaining how contemporaneity should be achieved in the field of music, Ziya Gökalp discusses the current situation in Turkish music at the beginning of the 20th century. There are three styles of music; Eastern music¹⁴, Western music, and folk music. Then, Ziya Gökalp discusses which style is the national one suitable for the Turkish people. First of all, Eastern music is the music of the *previous civilisation* of the Turkish people, i.e. the music of Eastern civilisation. Eastern music, which is produced and transmitted according to Eastern science of music¹⁵ and which is an individual style, is made up of elements borrowed from Byzantine and Persian musical cultures. Byzantine and Persian forms of music, in turn, contain elements from the Ancient Greek civilisation, which is the historical origin of both Western and Eastern music. Thus, for Gökalp, Eastern music is heterogeneous as it includes Persian, Arabic, and Byzantine elements, which means it is non-national and degenerate. As far as its technique is concerned, it is backward because of the lack of polyphony. Moreover, it includes quarter tones¹⁶ (*çeyrek sesler*) which is another sign of backwardness (in Behar, 1987; pp. 93-8).

Secondly, according to Gökalp, Western music is now the most elaborate musical civilisation throughout the world. It achieved this status for Western composers make use of the most advanced musical technique, i.e. polyphony. As the Turkish nation has turned its face to the West, Western musical technique will now be

¹⁴ Here, with the term 'Eastern Music' (*Şark Müziği*) Ziya Gökalp means the music performed for the Ottoman higher classes in the big cities. Today, widely accepted name for this style is 'Classical Turkish Music' (*Klasik Türk Musikisi*).

¹⁵ Here, Ziya Gökalp seems to consider the musical theory of Ottoman music, which is explained in *Edvars*. The first Eastern works about musical theory are those of Farabi, flourished under the influence of Ancient Greek writers.

¹⁶ Ziya Gökalp must refer to the comparison that Western musical scale is tempered, i.e. composed of half tones, while Eastern musical scales are not, i.e. composed of quarter tones.

an important element of the music of the new Turkish nation. In other words, Western civilisation will become the technical source for the new Turkish nation. Thirdly, the Turkish people, through their folk music in Anatolia, reflect their essence. Folk music is not the outcome of individual efforts but it is collectively created. It is not performed and composed according to any science or method, but springs from the heart of Turkish people. It is not only the music of our culture, but will be the second source for the new Turkish national music, next to the Western polyphony.

For Ziya Gökalp, as in other fields of art, Turkish national music must be born out of the unification of Western technique with Turkish folklore. Abandoning the Eastern techniques which are considered to be the remnants of Ottoman music, Turkish musicians must now direct their attentions to the most developed technique of 'polyphony'. Method of polyphony was not only flourished in the West, but today it is representative of the highest qualities in the art of music. Since civilisation is imitable, the method of Western polyphony can also be imitated. Moreover, Turkish folk music, which is pure yet monophonic, can be the source for such a synthesis in which the Western technique and the Turkish essence are reconciled. Turkish folk melodies must be harmonised, i.e. put into polyphonic works, in the Western manner. This means they can now be both civilised and expressive of the Turkish essence. In other words, Turkish musicians must create (invent) the national music, which has been non-existent until now. For this end, Turkish musicians should collect and write down the folk melodies in the rural areas, and apply the rules of polyphony to develop them into advanced musical works.

Tekelioğlu explains this attitude with a three term formula; West/Origin/East. “It gave the elements with which union was sought (the West and the Origin) while also referring to the territory with which unification was absolutely taboo, the East.” (Tekelioğlu, 1996; p. 195) The strategy by Ziya Gökalp, which is summarised in Tekelioğlu’s terms, was taken very seriously by Mustafa Kemal and by the state bureaucrats in the early years of the Republic. In this period Classical Turkish Music was intensely devalued, while folk music and polyphonic music were sanctioned. About the mid-century, a critique on the part of Classical Turkish Music performers flourished and a debate of polyphony versus monophony came on the agenda. Even today, such a controversy is discernible. Besides, the performers of polyphonic music in Turkey, more than performers of other styles, seem to be closer to the official circles. For the official ceremonies polyphonic music is performed and this style is almost only executed in the state institutions such as conservatories, state symphonic orchestras and opera houses¹⁷.

Imprints of both Orientalism and nationalism are discernible in Ziya Gökalp’s thought. First of all, he defines two essential unities as the West and the East, and consequently two opposite identities corresponding to them. In their relationship, the West is depicted as the symbol of progress and higher values, while the East is taken as a sign of backwardness and evil contents. Statements that Eastern music includes quarter notes and that it is a continuation of Ancient Greek Music seem to have diffused into his thought from the earlier Western sources about Eastern music. However, performers of Classical Turkish Music and musicologists argue that the

¹⁷ In the recent years, some private institutions also found symphonic orchestras and support the spread of polyphonic music in Turkey.

theory of quarter notes is untrue (Behar, 1987; pp. 96-7; Rauf Yekta Bey, 1986; pp. 24-8). Moreover, they state that Turkish folk music has the same tone organisation with the Classical Turkish Music and is ethnically heterogenous as much as the latter. There are about forty different ethnic groups in Anatolia each with a different style depending on the geographical region. Considering the above mentioned criticisms, Gökalp's comparison of the Eastern Music, i.e. Classical Turkish Music, with the Folk Music becomes problematical.

Ziya Gökalp valued Western polyphony as a mark of progress. In fact, it was originally in Western sources where Western polyphony and Eastern monophony are compared under a progressive perspective. Ziya Gökalp thought that it was essential to elevate Turkish music to the level of polyphonic performance. Polyphony was thought to be the succeeding and inevitable stage after monophony. Within this evolutionary framework the West never loses the upper hand in relation to the East, for the latter is depicted to be exercising a previous historical stage as compared with the former. Here, the crucial question is whether it is legitimate to evaluate Turkish music according to Western standards like polyphony and tempered scale. In other words; how can features of Western music like polyphony and tempered scale, which are ex-discursive to the non-European musical languages, become a criterion to judge Turkish music? In the present study, it is proposed that first the Orientalist texts and then the nationalist discourses, which are thought to be interconnected, operated to strengthen such a problematical worldview.

Secondly, Gökalp's nationalism compromised both the progress and nationalisation of the Turkish people. As a result of the acceptance of Western

superiority, Turkish people were thought to be backward. The remedy was to pursue a progressive policy. However, the critical point was to protect the Turkish essence. These two processes were theorised through a distinction of civilisation and culture. Civilisation represented the technical level that the Turkish nation must achieve by adopting from West. Culture, on the contrary, symbolised the essential characteristics of the Turkish nation which must be grasped by inquiring into the past. This project could be realised through nationalisation of Turkish people. The Turkish people must not only search for its essence and preserve it, but progress to a higher level of civilisation in which it will progress and effectively express its own essence. The disposition visualising both the progress and the preservation of distinctive cultural elements appears to be the contradictory yet creative aspect of the nationalist ideology in Turkey. In that respect, the artistic attitude envisaged by Ziya Gökalp is quite similar to Chatterjee's formulation of Eastern nationalism. In other words, according to Gökalp, Turkish music should technically be Western but its essence should be non-Western, i.e. Turkish.

3.3.3 Mustafa Kemal: Cultural Reformation and Turkish Enlightenment

For Mustafa Kemal (1881-1938), the founder of the Turkish Republic, development of Turkish people will be achieved not only through political, economic, and legal regulations, but at the same time through cultural reformation. According to Mardin, reformation envisaged by Mustafa Kemal can be schematised with respect to four social facts (Mardin, 1995a; pp. 204-41). Firstly, 'individual honour' of a citizen does not derive from the divine authority of a sultan, but is based on a concept of

‘liberty’ regulated and protected by law. In other words, social rights and position of an individual are not determined personally but impersonally. Secondly, the conception of the world and worldly order is not interpreted according to a religious worldview, but according to a scientific one. This is symbolised by a famous slogan by Mustafa Kemal: “The most true guide in life is science”¹⁸. Thirdly, a transformation from a society based on a structure of higher-lower classes¹⁹ to a new one depending on a single entity, i.e. the Turkish people, is visioned. This is summarised in the principle of *populism*²⁰. Fourthly, a change from a religious *community*²¹ to a nation state was accomplished.

In many respects, Mustafa Kemal followed Ziya Gökalp in cultural issues. A ‘common identity’ was viewed as a requirement to unify the individuals living on a shared territory. According to Ziya Gökalp, for an individual to become a citizen did not simply mean accepting the laws which are valid within the boundaries of a state; a collective cultural essence is needed. As progress is indispensable for Turkish people a national sentiment is also required to integrate the masses. It seems that economic and political development was the rational side of the project of Turkish modernisation, while cultural reformation was the sentimental side. Therefore, Turkish history, folklore, and origins of Turkish language must be scientifically researched, and presented to its members through education and art. This meant reshaping and producing the Turkish citizen mentally, in which Turkish essence would be presented to the individual member at a technically higher level. In that respect, Mustafa Kemal

¹⁸ ‘Hayatta en hakiki mürşit ilimdir!’

¹⁹ *Avam-havas*.

²⁰ *Halkçılık*.

²¹ *Ümmet*.

also thought that 'nationalisation', i.e. the process through which Turkish people would be transformed to an 'ideal' Turkish nation, was the central project of Turkish revolution. For Mardin, the notion of ideal state or nation, and a certain utopianism is traceable both in Ziya Gökalp's and Mustafa Kemal's thoughts (Mardin, 1995a; pp. 204-41). Besides, Mustafa Kemal believed that cultural reformation must not be gradually realised, but should be acquired in an immediate and revolutionary manner. He stated his disposition several years before the foundation of the Republic, in 1916:

...if I have a great authority and power, I guess that I immediately realise the desired reformation in our social life. Because I do not think like some others who believe that this can be achieved smoothly in the course of time. I cannot accept that the conceptions of the people and literate persons slowly elevate to the level of my thought. My soul revolts against such a disposition (quoted in Oransay, 1985; p. 25).

Mustafa Kemal was a determined reformist. Most of the time the reforms were accomplished 'from above', in a manner of imposition. He believed that Turkish people have a higher spirit. In his view, this exalted essence could not be gratified with the elements of a backward civilisation; "it is like covering an ore with mud." (Pamuk, 1999; pp. 4-5) In many of the reforms carried out during the early Republican period, e.g. the reform of dress, alphabet, language, and music, the so-called backward elements which were thought to be remnants of the Ottoman or another Eastern civilisation were eliminated. The new elements, substituted for the previous ones, would represent the higher Turkish spirit through Western means. Before all, Turkish spirit must be reflected in the right manner. Consequently, these unique components of new Turkish cultural life seem to educate the Turkish spirit in turn.

3.3.3.1 Mustafa Kemal's Thoughts About Music and Musical Reformation

...Life is music. The creature which has no association with music is no human being...Life without music does not exist either...Music is life's joy, spirit, happiness and everything. However, the style of music is worth considering (quoted in Saygun, 1987; p. 5).

These previous words by Mustafa Kemal set his conception of the art of music, in which a metaphysical relationship between music and soul is observable. Music is the soul of man, or, to put it in another way; what is a man without music (soul)? In the old philosophical opposition of *body and soul*, music seems to be pertaining to the second term, i.e. without it a human being is indiscernible from an animal. If the main difference between the humans and the animals is civilisation which is possessed only by the former, then, for Mustafa Kemal, it is music which represents civilisation in the most direct manner. As far as the civilisation or the soul of Turkish people is concerned, Mustafa Kemal gave priority to the musical issues. In a social gathering in which both Western and Eastern music were listened successively, he stated his impression as follows:

...This evening I had the chance to listen to two outstanding groups of musicians of the East. Especially Mrs. Müniret-ül Mehdiyye was very successful in her art. However, from now on, according to my Turkish sensibility, this music does not satisfy the developed spirit and the sense of the Turk. Afterwards, in front of me, the music of the contemporaneous world has also been heard. The people who had seemed to be bloodless under the influence of the Eastern music now began to move. They all danced, and were cheerful and happy. They behaved according to their nature. In fact, Turkish man is cheerful in temperament. If this subtle nature of him has not been noticed until now, it is not of his deficiency. Faulty acts lead to painful, disastrous consequences. Having not realised this is a fault. That is why Turkish people are laden with grief. Nevertheless, Turkish people corrected these mistakes with their blood. Turkish people are now in peace, and cheerful. From now on, the Turk will be as he was in his genesis (quoted in Saygun, 1987; p. 6-7).

For Mustafa Kemal, there was a distinct soul pertaining to the Turkish people, which was quite developed. However, this higher soul did not respond to the Eastern

music but to the Western one. If the Turkish people had not appreciated the Western music until then, in fact it was not their own fault; the higher music that conforms to the Turkish spirit had never been presented to them. After abolishing the backward Ottoman state and its representatives, the Turkish people now had the chance to enjoy the new form of music which suited to its spirit. In an interview with a foreign journalist, Mustafa Kemal's comment on Classical Turkish Music paralleled Ziya Gökalp's thought on the topic.

These are all remnants of Byzantium. Our true music can be heard in Anatolia (quoted in Saygun, 1987; p. 9).

In his speech in the opening of the Parliament in 1934, Mustafa Kemal explained the State's cultural policy in the field of music:

I know that how much you want the Turkish youth to be progressed in all of the liberal arts. Nevertheless, according to me, among these arts, Turkish music should occupy the leading position. The measure for the new transformation of a nation is its appropriation and apprehension of that transformation in field of music. Today, the style of music which is intended to be presented to us, is not our music. That is why it is far away from satisfying us. We have to know that clearly. The poems and songs which tell national, refined sentiments and ideas, must be collected and be immediately worked up into compositions, according to the latest musical rules. Only in this way, Turkish national music can be elevated and take its place in the universal music (quoted in Oransay, 1985; p. 26).

For Mustafa Kemal, the progress in the field of Turkish music is the criterion for how much the Turkish nation appropriated the values of the contemporaneous society. The change was to catch up with the contemporaneous level of civilisation. For him, Turkish music would be the symbol of the entire transformation that the Turkish nation had achieved. Moreover, Turkish music was considered as a part of the education and progress of the Turkish youth. He also delineated the aesthetic frame for such music, which was quite similar to that of Ziya Gökalp: The new music which is capable of representing the Turkish nation universally, must take its themes

from Turkish folk culture while organising them with the most recent techniques of contemporary music. He added that this process should also be aided by state institutions, which meant that it was at the same time an official policy to transform Turkish music. Although he reserved a special place for music, in many of his speeches and actions he stressed the importance of bringing the exalted Turkish spirit to light not only by researching it in Turkish history and folklore, but by representing it in art works. In the 1930s Mustafa Kemal devoted most of his time and effort to the researches working in the field of Turkish language and history. *Sun Language Theory*²², in which Turkish language was thought of as the origin of all languages throughout the world, emerged during this period. A similar thesis was developed by Adnan Saygun in the field of music²³.

3.3.4 Dissimilarities Among Mustafa Kemal's and Ziya Gökalp's Thought As Regards Cultural Issues: Reformation in Sprit or in Technique?

Mustafa Kemal's vision of art and the cultural policies as a consequence of it can be viewed as a continuation of Ziya Gökalp's thought. In the early Republican period, reformation of music was considered under two aspects: Firstly, a progress from a backward tradition to a developed civilisation was projected. This presupposes acquiring the means to actualise polyphony in Turkish music. Secondly, the distinctive Turkish essence, which resides in the exalted Turkish spirit, is to be inquired into and represented in artistic works. For this purpose Turkish folk music must be researched

²² *Güneş Dil Teorisi*.

²³ This thesis will be analysed in chapter four.

and notated to be made use of in the polyphonic works. As far as the field of music is concerned, Mustafa Kemal's vision of art and the state policies in the early Republican period reflected the same worldview with that of Ziya Gökalp which is discussed above. However, their positions seem quite divergent about the issue of religion which is not within the confines of the present study.

The most striking difference between the perspective of Mustafa Kemal and that of Ziya Gökalp is the spiritual side of music which was emphasised by Mustafa Kemal. For him music has a direct relationship with human soul. However, in Ziya Gökalp's thought, reform of music seems only as a technical requirement for the modernisation project, i.e. the music of a contemporaneous society should be polyphonic. In other words, Ziya Gökalp made no parallel between the modernisation of the Turkish music and the exaltation of the Turkish spirit. For Mustafa Kemal, on the contrary, the change in Turkish music would represent the change and, therefore, the elevation of the Turkish soul. Consequently, the reformation in music happened so fast. *Muzıka-i Humayun* under its new name *Presidential Symphony Orchestra* and moved from İstanbul to Ankara in the first year of the Republic. In 1924 *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* was founded in Ankara in which Western music was taught, and the section of Eastern music in *Darülelhan* was closed in 1927. The musical life in Turkey changed faster than other fields of art in the early Republican period, as a consequence of Mustafa Kemal's thought.

It is thought that the cultural reformation in the Turkish Republic was projected by Mustafa Kemal as the remaking of the Turkish spirit which is in essence exalted. For there is an immediate relationship between human spirit and music,

transformation in Turkish musical life meant transforming the Turkish soul. This can be seen as a project for the *construction of ear* through a new art of music. By constructing the Turkish ear, i.e. reshaping the listening habits of Turkish people, not only the spiritual greatness of Turkish nation will be revealed, but its spirit will at the same time be reconstructed to the highest level of civilisation in the contemporary situation of our age. This project of Mustafa Kemal via Ziya Gökalp, with many of its discrepancies, is uniquely as original and creative as an example for what Chatterjee claims for Eastern nationalism.

3.4 Conclusion

After the proclamation of the Republic in Turkey, cultural reformation acquired a central position in the state policies. Cultural policies projected the reconstruction of the Turkish people with respect to both the mental and the material aspects social life. For Mustafa Kemal, music, as being the mirror of the human soul, represented a metaphysical aspect. With the reformation in music, he visioned a mental change on the part of Turkish people. Turkish music composed according to the advanced techniques would not only represent the higher Turkish spirit with its contemporaneous level, but transform the soul of the Turkish people in the direction of contemporary civilisation.

CHAPTER 4

THE WORLDVIEW OF THE TURKISH MUSICIAN IN THE EARLY REPUBLICAN ERA

4.1 Introduction

...it is impossible to think the work of art, in its specifically aesthetic existence, without taking into account the privileged relation between it and ideology, i.e. *its direct and inevitable ideological effect*. Just as a revolutionary philosopher, like a great revolutionary politician, takes into account in his own thought the *historical effects* of his adoption of a position, even within the rigorous and objective system of his own thought - so a great artist cannot fail to take into account in his work itself, in its disposition and internal economy, the *ideological effects* necessarily produced by its existence (Althusser, 1971; p. 242).

If we consider that the first examples of polyphony were the religious music performed in the central-European churches about the 10th century, and that its unique technique was called *harmony*, can we separate the emergence of such a style from the then religious worldview of the Christianity? Or was it just a necessity? Or did it exist by chance? Whatever form it has taken nowadays, it seems that church musicians in those days tried to embody in their music the Christian conceptions of divine harmony and the harmony in nature. To them, the God had already given the clues for it in the nature of sounds. Even in Ancient Greece, thinkers spoke of a musical harmony which reflects a balance among dual forces or certain spiritual states. For the ancient Greek philosophers, harmonious music is a part of education, and for Platon

certain musical forms which represent a harmful state of mind are not to be allowed into the ideal state.

As far as the nationalist ideology of Ziya Gökalp is concerned, the Turkish nation state is ideally composed of a homogenous society which is not only expressive of Turkish essence but is as civilised as the Western one. This ideal end-state, for him, can be achieved by a nationalisation process. It is, then, not surprising for us to confront artists who reflect such a social ideal in their works with a unique aesthetic perspective. In fact, many debates in the field of music implicitly or explicitly discuss which style is proper to the Turkish nation state, as Platon did for the ideal state thousands of years ago. Both the defenders of polyphony or of monophony in Turkey, conduct their argument on the basis of certain nationalist views. However, it is thought that, as Chatterjee puts it, they always face a dilemma, i.e. the dilemma of non-Western nationalism. Although each of the opposing views claims exalting the Turkish spirit with respect to nationalism, at the core of nationalism as a Western discourse does not lie the sanctification of the non-Western spirits. Aesthetic projects as a consequence of nationalism include a hard task which visions both providing the progress and the preservation of the national distinctiveness.

4.2 A National Iconography with Respect to the Art of Music in the Turkish Republic

Anthony Smith uses the term 'ethnie' for "the set of myths, symbols and cultural practices" which bind the members of a nation together. "The nation is an ethno-cultural community shaped by a common myth of origins, a sense of common

history and way of life.” (McCrone, 1998; p. 12) In many respects, the ‘ethnie’ of Turkish nation was set forth in the early years of the Republican era. 1930s were marked with the studies on Turkish history and language. Historical and cultural roots in the central Asia were researched in detail. New words from the central Asian origin were introduced, or similar ones were invented by ‘the movement of pure Turkish’¹. Consequently, many Ottoman words were discarded from the Turkish vocabulary which reminded heterogenous Ottoman culture. The Turkish thesis of history also came forth in those years, on which Mustafa Kemal gave emphasis.

Apart from historical ones, some modern myths as well emerged in the early Republican era. Polyphonic Turkish music, its composers and performers, and the institutions in which it came about, became some of the leading symbols of the Turkish nation. They were the icons who/which represented how much Turkish people had appropriated the most civilised standards. As far as Mustafa Kemal’s speeches are concerned, in which he stressed music as the spirit of life and as the chief criteria for the progress of the Turkish nation, importance of the issues concerning polyphonic music becomes lucid. It was also thought of as an education for the masses. For example, one who internalises the taste of polyphony may also appreciate democracy. Although those icons and symbols do not seem to serve to a large community of people, at least for the elite they represented the contemporary values.

Here, the term icon has a similar sense as it had in the Orthodox Christian Art. In an icon there lies not the depiction of a religious story but its embodiment; The story is there, in it, and vital. The icon is a realisation surpassing a representation.

¹ *Öz Türkçecilik Hareketi.*

Such *value* of the icon is confirmed by the Orthodox Christian authorities. In other words, the artistic discourse of the icon painter is grounded on the Orthodox Christian ideology².

It is quite obvious that the musical acts in the foundation period of the Turkish Republic have an ideological background shaped by Turkish nationalism and the state policies. At this point, one crucial question must be asked. How is this ideological position internalised by Turkish musicians and appropriated in their works, or, to ask it differently, in what way has it been fruitful in terms of their compositional power? Such a perspective necessitates evaluating a musical work on several levels, of which the formal approach is only one. Here, by formal approach, we mean analysing a musical piece only by considering its musical elements and the relations among them, separating it from its social context of production. Art historian Panofsky, in his essay *Iconography and Iconology: Introduction to the Analysis of the Renaissance Art* (1993), states that a proper analysis of a work of art must be carried out on three levels. First one is the formal analysis; second one is the analysis of subject matter and the third is the analysis of its content and meaning. An analysis of content and meaning, i.e. the third level, includes the *cultural symptoms* which are expressive of the *Weltanschauung*³ of the artist. *Weltanschauung* is constructed by philosophy, social structure, psychology, religious medium, political and economic state of the period in which the work is produced. In other words, Panofsky defines the level of *content* and *meaning* for a work of art, which is a product of the social context in

² Here the term ideology is used as a *worldview* which is a source of meaning given to things, concepts, acts, and events.

³ *Worldview*.

which the work is brought about. By this, a meaning that is the natural result of formal relationships within the work is not intended. As far as the works or the activities of polyphonic music performers in Turkey are concerned, the *meaning* is hidden in the values which they represent, such as democracy, the level of contemporary civilisations, and the exalted spirit of Turkish people. Therefore, the *Weltanschauung* of the polyphonic music performers in Turkey, within which this *meaning* is constructed, is a consequence of the state ideology in the early Republican period in Turkey.

4.2.1 Worldview of Turkish Musician in the Republican Era

In Art, the theory never precedes the pratique...(Falk, 1959, p. 1)

Cemal Reşit Rey (1904), a young Turkish musician in the beginning of the century, showed an inclination to musical composition in his early ages. He had his first musical lessons from his mother in İstanbul. His first composition was a “waltz”. With his family he went to Europe, to Geneva and Paris, where he continued his studies in music. Paris, in those days, had a leading position in the artistic life of Europe. After the great German Romanticism of the 19th century, new currents flourished in the city which influenced all musical centers over the world. It was a time of great personalities; composers such as Debussy, Ravel, and composer-theoreticians such as Dubois, D’Indy were shaping the path of 20th century music. Even Stravinsky came to Paris for the first performance of his most shocking works.

Cemal Reşit Rey first composed a few songs in the form of *Chanson Françaises*⁴. However, he seemed to be alien to this medium as he is not French, not even European. But how could he prove his own musical personality in the face of these artists who have their roots in the great Western heritage?

When he came back to the motherland, Cemal Reşit Rey found the Turkish Republic in place of which he left as the Ottoman Empire. The new Republic aimed at reforms in all areas of social life to catch up with the most “civilised” Western societies. In the beginning of 1920s Ziya Gökalp, who was considered to be the first Turkish sociologist, put forward a new frame for this social reconstruction in which Turkish music plays a significant role. His views had a great impact on government policies and implementations, and public opinion in those days. In his book *The Principles of Turkism*⁵ (1968) Gökalp described the new *cultural identity* of Turkish Nation as a synthesis of Western and Turkish elements. At the core of this synthesis lied Turkish Folk culture as it represents the essence of Turkish Nation. However, until then it was influenced by the Eastern civilization which was considered as backward or uncivilised as compared to the Western one. Now, with the formation of a new national identity the Turkish nation must turn its face to the West without loosing its essence. For Ziya Gökalp, the Western civilisation was remarkable for its polyphonic style in the art of music. ‘Polyphony’ symbolised the most progressive style in the art of music, so that Turkish musicians had to internalise its technique in their art. For Ziya Gökalp, with respect to his conception of the new cultural identity of the Turkish nation, national Turkish music must be born out of a synthesis of the

⁴ French Songs.

⁵ *Türkçülüğün Esasları*, which was first published in 1924.

Western polyphonic technique, i.e. the technique representing the highest level of civilisation in the art of music, and the Turkish folk songs, i.e. the music reflecting Turkish essence.

Cultural concerns occupied a central place, similar to Gökalp's social theory, in the nationalist thought of Mustafa Kemal and the statesmen of the newly founded republic. For them, the formation of the nation state necessitated not only a political but also a cultural transformation, in which reforms concerning the alphabet, dressing, and last name followed one another. Turkish people sought their new national identity in confrontation with the great Western civilization. On the other hand, individual artists like Cemal Reşid were also after their own artistic identity in the face of the Western art. For Cemal Reşid and for most of the other Turkish composers in the Republican period, such an artistic identity meant a *nationalist* one. This artistic position turned out to be, not only a social mission for the musicians by which the Turkish nation would be a part of European civilization, but also an opportunity for them to create and elaborate their unique musical personalities. This process gave way to a new perspective in evaluating the West and the East, the art music and the folk music, and it utilised a new jargon of its own; polyphony versus monophony, *à la franque* versus *à la turca*. Within this milieu, Cemal Reşid's previous attention on French *Chansons* now turned to Turkish *Türküs*⁶. The first generation of Turkish composers⁷, all appropriated the same perspective. They believed that they

⁶ Turkish folk songs.

⁷ Cemal Reşit REY (1904-85), Ulvi Cemal ERKİN (1906-72), Hasan Ferit ALNAR (1906-78), Ahmet Adnan SAYGUN (1907-91), Necil Kazım AKSES (1908-99).

were the founders of a new national style in the universal art of music⁸. Their music, on the one hand, carried a flavour of traditional Turkish music, on the other hand, was structured by western techniques and forms of musical composition. So that symphonies, concertos, oratorios, and operas composed by the Turkish Five, were essentially western musical forms. However, a composer from the second generation, Kemal İlerici, stated that their music must reflect more than Turkish flavour. For him, in the historical necessity for the transition from monophony to polyphony, an ideal method of harmony reflecting Turkish spirit had to be devised. As there had been a unique method as *Western harmony*⁹ which had evolved centuries ago and which reflected the Western essence, another one could evolve from the heart of Turkish folk music. After a close examination of Turkish folk songs, Kemal İlerici proposed his system of harmony which was, for him, *Turkish* in essence, i.e. *non-Western*. Kemal İlerici systematised his system of harmony through the unique structural elements inherent to the Turkish folk music.

These two examples about Cemal Reşit Rey and Kemal İlerici, have something in common which is contrary to the quotation from Falk noted above: “In Art, the theory never precedes the pratique...” In both of the examples, some sort of theory precedes the musical composition practice of the composers: Cemal Reşit Rey leaves aside composing songs in the French way. He makes himself familiar with Anatolian folk music to work them up into musical compositions although composers of

⁸ In the present study, this new musical style in Turkish music is called as *Turkish School of Polyphonic Music*, to stress its remarkable usage of polyphony. However, descriptions like “Contemporary Turkish Music” or “International Turkish Art Music” are widely used in musicological works.

⁹ From about the 16th to the beginning of the 20th century, it can be said that only one method of harmony was applied in the West.

Classical Turkish Music have not had such a tendency before. Kemal İlerici, on the other hand, thinks that it is a *necessity* for Turkish folk music to integrate into the polyphonic language of music—of the West—, although folk musicians in Anatolia do not complain that their music lacks polyphony. Indeed, there has not been such a distinction of polyphony/monophony at all, that would enable classifying Turkish folk music or Classical Turkish Music as monophonic, therefore backward. Kemal İlerici's way of thinking is remarkable in formulating or inventing such a specific peculiarity of Western music, i.e. polyphony, within elements of the Turkish folk music which, for him, is essentially non-Western.

In some way or other, all composers of Turkish polyphonic school organised their aesthetic discourses, whether in their musical works or in their speeches and essays, according to Turkish nationalism as pronounced by Mustafa Kemal. Nearly all of them were established musicians in state institutions, such as the State Conservatories, State Symphonic Orchestras, Opera and Ballet Houses, Turkish Radio and Television, and Cultural Ministry. Nevertheless, a critique against that position was flourished about the mid-20th century, which could not localise in those state institutions. They were the defenders of Classical Turkish Music which is seriously degraded in their counter discourse. They opposed to the view that Classical Turkish Music is backward, besides they believed that it can continue to live on as it had throughout centuries. They were also nationalists and, in many instances, followers of Mustafa Kemal.

These two counter positions, too, alluded to certain nationalist perspectives. Moreover, both of them referred to Western sources and to Mustafa Kemal's

speeches to prove their own viewpoints. Most of the time, they explained how Mustafa Kemal was misunderstood by the counter camp and how can he be comprehended in the right way. As reflected in Chatterjee's term-couple *the thematic* and *the problematic*, it seems that each group tried to save and reveal Turkish essence, but acquired its position to speak within the nationalist discourse which had hitherto devalued that essence by a certain vocabulary, i.e. polyphony/monophony, written/oral, art work/folk song, universal/local, á la franga/alla Turca. In the present study, it is thought that elements of this vocabulary were firstly produced in Orientalism and later diffused into nationalist discourses. Besides, those elements pertained to a certain ideology producing the West and the East as counter essences, in which the former never loses the upper-hand or its authoritative position.

4.2.2 Icons of the Turkish Nation

In his works *Republic* and *Laws*, Plato asks what kind of music can be let into the *ideal state*?: "...Plato decries musical excess as the ruin of the state; musical degeneracy leads to degeneracy in morals." (Lippman, 1964; p.81) A similar question has sometimes been asked in the context of Turkish *Republic*: Arabesk, Classical Turkish Music, polyphonic music? In Ahmet Say's classification of musical types in Turkey, names of two styles are striking: *Traditional Art Music* and *International Art Music* (Say, 1995; p. 19). Say adds that the latter is often called as "Universal, European, Western or Classical Music." For many of the Turkish composers, as for Say, the former represents a historical style which completed its age. It has no chance to develop or subsist under the new social conditions. Even for Mustafa Kemal, Ziya

Gökalp, and some others, it is a heterogenous degenerate style. However, the latter has the right to represent the Turkish nation, so that it is called as ‘international’ or ‘universal’. It seems that, as in Renan’s reflection, the making of a nation requires collective *forgetting* as well as collective remembering, which helps us in interpreting the evaluation of Ottoman language and music in the early Republican era. In that period, the institutions in which Classical Turkish Music had been performed, broadcasted, and educated were either closed or ceased to function in that way.

In the process of collectively forgetting Classical Turkish Music, another attempt was in the agenda; the collective remembering of the folk music which resides in the Anatolia. In Say’s classification, as compared with *Traditional Art Music*, *Turkish Folk Music* has a particular importance. For him, as for the musical elite in Turkey, Turkish Folk Music *is* the music of the Turkish people living in Anatolia, while the Traditional Art Music *was* the music of Ottomans. Until that day, musicians in big cities like İstanbul and İzmir, whether performers of polyphonic or monophonic music, had not directed their attention to the folk music. Folk music was, in fact, an invention of nationalism. Both Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal stated that Turkish musicians must go to the rural places and collect folk music: “Our real music can be heard from the Anatolian people.” (Mustafa Kemal, quoted in Saygun, 1987; p.9) The process of inventing Turkish folk culture was a part of the nationalisation process in Turkey. Until then, Turkish people had been deceived by the degenerate musical styles. Turkish musician would discover the real Turkish music which represents the real Turkish essence. “...from now on [the Eastern music] does not satisfy the developed spirit and the sense of the Turk....If this subtle nature of him has not been noticed until now, it is non of his deficiency....Having not realised [the developed

spirit of the Turk], is a fault....From now on, the Turk will be as he was in his genesis.” (Mustafa Kemal, quoted in Saygun, 1987; p. 6)

While the symbols of backwardness were eliminated, new ones were in the process of emerging. The new symbols of the Turkish nation would be born of the synthesis between the folk music and the Western polyphony, which has been called as *International Art Music* by Say. The synthesis that is reached, in fact, is the essential project of nationalism for the entire social field. Therefore, *International Art Music* and its performers represent something further than what is expected from an artistic project: They represented the new form that the Turkish nation and its spirit have taken. They are the modern myths and icons of the Turkish people. Under this perspective, Say’s characterisation of the Ankara State Conservatory as “being the most influential symbol of westernisation...” seems explicable (Say, 1995; p. 281).

McCrone, in his work *The Sociology Of Nationalism* (1998), gives certain historical personalities as examples for national icons. Many of them are women and quite effective in defining the national identity in some European countries. In that respect, two figures, who are quite famous musicians in Turkey, are of importance. They are the symbols of the improvement, refinement, and contemporaneousness that the Turkish man has achieved. However, they are not nuns, naive virgin girls, or someone who fought against dark Gods either. One of them is a pianist named İdil Biret and the other a violinist Suna Kan; two musically talented young girls. They were protected and encouraged by a special law designed for them to be educated and promoted in Europe. They are visualised as the international ‘ambassadors of art’ of Turkish people, and proclaimed to be State Artists. The musicians performing

polyphonic music, in fact, personally represents the synthesis proposed by Turkish nationalism. As Panofsky thought of the Orthodox icon as an embodiment of a certain religious myth, those musicians reveal the Turkish myth with their body and soul.

4.3 Construction of the Ear and the Action-man-Composer

Mustafa Kemal's thought had the most decisive impact on the actions and the artistic perspective of the Turkish polyphonic school. Almost all the musicians performing polyphonic music in Turkey referred to his perspective. Some of them made an effort to explain Mustafa Kemal's statements in their essays and speeches. The whole project in the field of music became, in many respects, an attempt to realise his thought in art works as well as in transforming the society. Prevalence of polyphonic music throughout the country was the central goal for the musicians of the early Republican era. Muammer Sun gives a striking example to explain the atmosphere in which the students of the *School of Music Teacher Training*¹⁰ were educated. Their professor Zeki Üngör, who is also the composer of the Turkish national anthem, spoke to them as follows: "You are my germs. You will spread the Western music throughout the country." (in Sun, 1969; p. 1) This priestly dedication to educate Turkish people would be taken as an ordinary responsibility by the Turkish musician. In that respect, the most important impact of nationalism and its corresponding state policies in the field music was the emergence of a new musical elite in Turkey.

¹⁰ *Musiki Muallim Mektebi*.

The worldview reflected by this musical elite is similar to the one which is prevalent in the nationalist discourse as constituted by Ziya Gökalp. Turkish nation envisioned a political and economic reformation, as well as a scientific and cultural enlightenment. The progress was from a traditional society to a modern one, in which Turkish musician would reconstruct the field of music in the new Republic. This necessitated a transition from the monophony of the past, to the polyphony of the contemporary civilisation. Former aural habits of the Turkish people were to be changed, for which education was quite important. The Turkish musician was an action-man supported by state policies and established in the state institutions. Adnan Saygun and one of his students Muammer Sun, who are also prevalent composers, wrote several works and many essays to expose and defend Mustafa Kemal's thoughts in the field of music. Adnan Saygun was among the first musicians to formulate the nationalist tendencies in the art of music. He wrote a thesis about the origins of Turkish music when studies in Turkish language and history were at their peak. He composed the first Turkish opera and is the most widely known Turkish composer abroad. Muammer Sun's thought is, however, marked by a certain critical tone concerning the early republican policies in the field. Sun's position seems to have some parallels with the tradition of criticism against Westernisation from the mid-19th century onwards, although his reference to Mustafa Kemal never perishes.

4.3.1 Political Culture in Turkey and the Role of the Intellectuals (*Aydın*)

An intelligentsia is a class which is alienated from its own society by the very fact of its own education. This precisely is the condition of 'transitional' societies: what is implicitly or explicitly admitted to be the best of education—in fact, western type education—at the same time makes its recipient incapable of believing, feeling, acting in the traditional manner (Gellner, 1965; pp.169-70).

A transitional society, for Gellner, visions a transformation from a previous state of living, where norms can no longer hold and institutions can no longer be maintained, to a more progressive one sustained by a powerful foreign world. Education gains a centrality in that project. The educated have acquired the skills and means to conduct their lives in the new social order, as they have internalised the new norms through a distinctive education. On the one hand, they have a passion to spread this progressive worldview out, as thinkers of a modernising attempt. On the other hand, intelligentsia, with such skills and intentions, encounters a rejection. Nevertheless, for Gellner, their position is marked by a dilemma of selecting between a 'rational' modernising attempt and a 'romantic' affection for the local culture. The intellectual not only dreams for its society to progress, but desires its essence to be retained. Gellner calls the first disposition as '*westernising*' and the second as '*narodnik*', among which the intellectual is reluctant to choose. However, for him, the dilemma as described above is in fact spurious: "By the twentieth century, the dilemma hardly bothers anybody: the philosopher-kings of the 'underdeveloped' world all act as westernisers, and all talk like *narodniks*." (Gellner, 1965; p. 171)

As far as the relationship between the *Aydın* (enlightened person) and Turkish people is concerned, Gellner's general and, at the first instant, logical argument has to be questioned. In the Ottoman society there was a certain 'intellectual' strata, i.e. *ulema*, which had a direct relationship with the 'ordinary' people, i.e. *avam*. The world order was explained according to a religious perspective, therefore social rules were regulated according to God's and/or the prophet's 'word'. The interpretation and presentation of the divine 'word' was carried out by the *ulema*, the Muslim theological strata, whose attitude towards the *avam* was deductive. This one way

deductive relationship, i.e. from the *ulema* to the *avam*, can be observed to persist in the Republican period.

In their essay *Religion, Education and Continuity in a Provincial Town*, Richard Tapper and Nancy Tapper give an account of how “republican and Islamic values and forms are juxtaposed in complex ways such that they can best be understood as parts of a single ideological structure.” (Tapper and Tapper, 1991; p.67) The people in rural places accommodate to or legitimise the Republican worldview, in many cases, through a religious perspective. A striking example by Tapper and Tapper is as follows: “...stories from early republican local history label as ‘atheists’ (*dinsiz*) those who fought *against* Atatürk and *for* the Sultan-Caliph and traditional Ottoman-Islamic rule...” (Tapper and Tapper, 1991; p.65) On the other side of the relationship, the communicative manners of intellectuals seems to be a continuation of the former *ulema*. For Turan, the mode of social interaction between the *ulema* and the *avam* has been preserved in the alliance between the *aydın* and the *halk* (Turkish people). In their comparable positions, both *ulema* and *aydın* is thought to be as ‘enlightened’ about the truth, that would shape the society in the right way. In both of them,

...the logic was one of political élitism: the possession of education and knowledge would entitle a person or a group to have a greater say in how the affairs of their society would be run. It is likely that the role the Ulema played, or were expected to play, provided a model for the Westernists, guiding their evolution towards becoming essentially a Westernist Ulema (Turan, 1991; pp. 49-50).

Moreover, for Kemalists, speeches and writings of Mustafa Kemal served as if divine words. What is left on the part of a Kemalist, in many of the cases, is to interpret Mustafa Kemal’s ‘word’ or to make it lucid. In other words, the *ulema*-

avam relationship to some extent persists not in the content but in the manner of communication. As far as the field music is concerned, such a discursive organisation is discernible in most of the speeches and written works. Defenders of polyphony or writers critical of the present situation in music, all quoted words by Mustafa Kemal again and again to explain what he meant or which of his words had been incorrectly interpreted (works by Adnan Saygun and Muammer Sun are examples for this position.) Nevertheless, for Turan, it seems that the *aydın* intentionally chooses taking the *ulema* as a model. Whether so or not, Gellner's claim that education in the Western way "makes its recipient incapable of believing, feeling, acting in the traditional manner" becomes problematic (1965; pp. 169-70). As far as the relationship of Turkish intelligentsia with the less-educated masses is concerned, *aydın* follows a certain line of action which is in essence remnant of the traditional way. In that respect, the other statement by Gellner that the intellectuals "of the 'underdeveloped' world all act as westernisers, and all talk like *narodniks*" (1965, p. 171) acquires a different level of concreteness in the Turkish case. Turkish *aydın*, who claims at the rational worldview as a counter form of the Islamic one, may organise his discourse in quite a religious way, i.e. 'in the traditional manner'.

4.3.2 Adnan Saygun: Transition From One Tradition to Another.

Ahmet Adnan Saygun's thought is distinctive concerning his elaboration of the concepts of 'evolution' and 'national spirit', the latter being central to Mustafa Kemal's nationalist perspective of culture. Apart from the other writers on music in Turkey, his thought comprises philosophical reflections. In his essay *Tradition, Nation and Music*, (in Refiğ, 1991; pp.90-9) he explains his standpoint in regard to the

concept of tradition and its relationship with nation. For Saygun, evolution is one of the most distinguishing aspects of a society, in which advancing from one tradition to another is natural. In the course of time, a tradition may lose its peculiarities, consequently its function for the society. It freezes and abandons its qualities as a tradition. Now, it has become a part of the past. As far as the evolution of Turkish society in the art of music is concerned, for Saygun, it will be an advancement from the tradition of monophony to that of polyphony. It is a progress that the European civilisation accomplished about the 10th century. The evolution from monophony to polyphony, however, is not an isolated progress of the mankind but a mark of its settling in a realm of higher values and conceptions. In other words, it is inseparable from the total and historically inevitable evolution of the mankind, which is at the same time a stream from the human subconscious to the consciousness reflecting an intuitional progress.

In another essay *Atatürk's Conception of Art and Music and Its Explanation in Our Day*, Saygun explains the notion of 'National Culture' (in Refiğ, 1991; pp.75-90). Here, he tackles the problem of how to acquire national culture and to spread it throughout the country. He elucidates his conception of culture as follows:

Culture is the utilisation of religious or secular accumulations inherited unconsciously from forefathers, with science, reason, and liberal arts which exalts the human soul. It can also be interpreted as a quality which regulates the future oriented behaviours (in Refiğ, 1991; pp. 75-6).

For Saygun, the primary aspect of culture is evolution. The musical evolution from monophony to polyphony, as a mark of the total social progress, represents for the Turkish nation the transformation from the regional to the universal qualities. However, the "universal spirit" is inseparable from the "national spirit", which means

that the national is the seed in the direction of the universal. Only an artist, who builds himself on the ground of his nation's common heritage, achieves the universal level in art. However, the second element to attain the status of universality is the principle of progress, that which Mustafa Kemal stated with his words "...we will elevate our national culture over the level of contemporary civilisation." (in Refiğ, 1991; pp.80-1) For Saygun, the project of national culture must include not only the creation of progressive works on the basis of national spirit, but its diffusion throughout the country which can be accomplished essentially by education. Besides, national art and music will turn out to be the real apparatus of education, through which Turkish nation will internalise contemporaneous and universal qualities.

4.3.2.1 *Sun Language Theory and The Report on Turkish Music*

Studies in the area of Turkish language and history gained a dominance in 1930s, which were effectively supported by Mustafa Kemal. According to Etienne Copeaux, the efforts of Turkish intellectuals for discovering the Turkish past had a deep relationship with some Western sources printed in 1870s. It was a time when the Ottoman Empire was in the process of decline and Turkish identity was considered with denigration in Europe. In the middle of such convictions some Orientalist authors began to defend the counter image with regard to Turks. In his book *The ancient modern Turks*¹¹ the polish author Constantin Borzecki stated that Turkish people had a glorious past and that this constituted a source to the present Western civilisation as Turkish language and culture were the origins of the Latin language and civilisation.

¹¹ *Les Turc anciens et modernes.*

Another example is the conference delivered by the French author Léon Cahun in the *First Congress of Orientalists* in Paris, 1873. For him, Turks were the most ancient, therefore the real inhabitants of European lands. These two writers claimed, even before Turkish thinkers, that Turkish people had a great potential for the future, for which its past was a proof. In the domain of Turkish history, ethnicity, and language, their works became the main points of reference for Turkish writers. For many years, they were accepted as the principal—Western—authorities in the field. Conforming Said's theory, some part of Western thought began to obtain an authoritative position on the claims about the East in this current of thought. In 1930s two theories came about in Turkey, by the application of some methods so similar to those of the two European writers. The first one was *Sun Language Theory*¹², in which Turkish is accepted as the origin of all languages: The second and less known one was a report presented to Mustafa Kemal by Adnan Saygun, in which it is claimed that Turkish music is the origin of all musical cultures throughout the world.

In these theses, a certain logic can be observed whose roots lie in the works of Borzecki and Cahun. For Borzecki, Turkish language is the source of Latin language and civilisation. He demonstrated this with some lingual similarities. For example, the resemblance between the Turkish word *ciğer* (liver) and the latin word *gigeria* (Roman soothsayers); *yasa* (law) and latin *jus* (law); or *kurultay* (general assembly) and *curules* (curule), prove that Turkish is the origin of Latin. For Copeaux, Borzecki benefited from the lack of scientific knowledge about the origins of Latin language which would disprove his logic. In other words, in Borzecki's logic, something which cannot be disproved must be taken as true. In the 1930s, a similar logic governed the

¹² *Güneş Dil Teorisi*.

studies in the field of Turkish language. In them, Turkish was proved to be the source of all languages by providing some similarities between the words in Turkish and in other languages. The 1934 report by Saygun, which was prepared to be presented to Mustafa Kemal, made use of a similar logic. For Saygun, firstly, pentatonic scale¹³ was the main construing element of the Turkish folk music (in Refiğ, 1991; pp. 67-75). Therefore, it was the stamp of Turkish qualities in music. Secondly, there were the effects of Turkish culture where *pentatonism* could be observed. In Chinese, Celtic, Scottish, Hungarian, Ancient Greek, and American Indian musical cultures, *pentatonism* could also be seen. Therefore, it was assumed that the Turkish culture had a remarkable impact on the genesis of these cultures. Thirdly, a study had to be conducted by collecting and researching Turkish folk music in Anatolia to scientifically prove this theory for the world's attention. Like the *Sun Language Theory*, Saygun's report was also thought of as a proof for the greatness of Turkish past and culture in those days.

4.3.3 Muammer Sun: Becoming Western or Contemporaneous?

Suppose that we have spread the Western music throughout the country....So what? Would we have become Westernised? (Sun, 1969; pp. 1-2)

Muammer Sun, who is a student of both Adnan Saygun and Kemal İlerici and the prevalent practitioner of Kemal İlerici's system of Turkish music harmony, is critical of the Westernist attitude of the early republican period. For him, cultural policies were wrongly projected because Mustafa Kemal's words were not interpreted

¹³ The scale consisting of five tones. Generality of the scales are consisted of seven tones. So that some accepts it as a primitive scale which can be a former state to more developed ones.

in the right way. The project must have been that of *becoming contemporaneous not Western*. Sun criticises the overemphasised attempt to spread the Western music throughout the country. For him, such policies could not be able to interpret the global and local conditions of the universal culture. Moreover, they have led to a chaos in the Turkish musical life. The way to be a part of universal culture cannot be obtained only through the promotion of a foreign culture, whether it is Western or not, but through the elevation of the national culture with a special emphasis.

Muammer Sun explained his thought in many essays and two books. The first of the two books is the *Problems of Culture, Music and Theatre in Turkey* (1969), and the second *Becoming Contemporaneous While Staying Turkish* (1993). In these works, he stresses that Mustafa Kemal's point 'to catch up with the contemporary civilisation' must be interpreted as something surpassing Westernisation. Although Sun accepts that Western civilisation is the superior one, its level of progress cannot be achieved simply by imitating it. Becoming contemporaneous is something more deeper which necessitates understanding the Western culture in its deepest sense. In that respect, Sun criticises the Westernisation movement at two points. Firstly, there is the lack of a philosophy or a fundamental view. Secondly, Westernisation has transformed to an imitative attitude.

For Sun, the lack of philosophy is a result of misinterpreting the global and the local conditions of modernisation. As far as the global situation of modernisation is concerned, he states that every nation must acquire its own means to become modernised. Each country has its specific circumstances within which modernisation must be realised. To tackle with these specific circumstances makes imitative

solutions inappropriate. Moreover, great artists, therefore great art works, are known to belong to their own national traditions. Those great artists did not take different national traditions as a model for them, on the contrary, they produced their works according to the conditions of their own countries. As far as the local conditions in Turkey are concerned, neither state policies nor artists were able to consider our national conditions. For example, the foreignness of Western music to Turkish people was not considered. In spite of this fact, Western music was tried to be imposed on Turkish people. For Sun, as a reaction to this imposition, new and degenerate styles emerged and gained popularity. As a result of the misinterpretation of global and local conditions, imitative attempts prevailed in the reconstruction of the cultural life of Turkish people. Consequently, they failed.

For Muammer Sun the chief goal in the field of music is: "Polyphony; that our people experiences polyphony at large and, consequently, that we have a respectable place in the art of universal music." (Sun, 1969; p. 43) However, this can be achieved not by an imitative attitude, but through solutions which are specific to Turkey. The appropriation of universal music by Turkish people depends upon "the existence of qualified art works which are rooted in national sources; the continuous presentation of those works (next to other works of universal music) to the masses." (Sun, 1969; p. 6) Then, for Sun, the objective is "...the attainment of a radical artistic progress all throughout the motherland." (Sun, 1969; p. 43) As a result of this progress, "music will be functional throughout Turkey..." while its function is "to be beneficial in the advancement of our nation." (Sun, 1969; p. 35) As Mustafa Kemal states, Turkish music must have utmost effectiveness in the "progress of Turkish nation." (Sun, 1969; p. 38)

4.4 Resistance to the Republican Project

The early Republican policies in the field of music has been acutely criticised by the defenders of Classical Turkish Music. Their main point is that Classical Turkish Music is not a degenerate and heterogenous style as stated by Ziya Gökalp. A group of them again referring to Mustafa Kemal's speeches, claim that he was misunderstood. They cited the same speeches of Mustafa Kemal which Adnan Saygun quoted to explain the backward qualities of Classical Turkish Music, but asserted the opposite. For them, Mustafa Kemal, who was a lover of Classical Turkish Music, criticised the deficient interpretations of this style. He did not mean to degrade it. In Gültekin Oransay's book *Atatürk and Music*, a section is reserved for such views in which several speeches by Mustafa Kemal is told and interpreted in a quite different way with respect to the standpoint of the defenders of state policies (Oransay, 1985; pp. 93-106). However, as a Kemalist, Oransay gathered those descriptions under the heading "Sources depending upon doubtful evidences".

Another group of writers enumerated the unique qualities of Classical Turkish Music to explain that it is quite distinct from Persian or Arabian music. Hüseyin Saadettin Arel, in his book *To Whom Does Turkish Music Belong*¹⁴ (1969), follows a similar logic to the *Sun Language Theory*. In this book, Arel analyses Arabian, Persian, Byzantine, and Ancient Greek music with respect to Turkish music. For him, Classical Turkish Music, which originated in the Central Asia, was the origin of these four styles rather than being influenced by them. According to Doğrusöz, the

¹⁴ *Türk Musikisi Kimindir* (1969).

‘chauvinist’ approach of Arel was a defensive response to Ziya Gökalp who debased Classical Turkish Music (Doğrusöz, 1995; pp. 195-200).

A counter image of Arel is Rauf Yekta Bey, who is accepted to be the first Turkish musicologist. He was one of the prevailing performers of Classical Turkish Music of his time. In 1913, he wrote an essay in French under the heading “Turkish Music”. It was written in a quite different atmosphere from Arel’s book *To Whom Does Turkish Music Belong*. If the publishing date of Ziya Gökalp’s *Principles of Turkism* is considered (1924), it seems logical why Rauf Yekta Bey did not employ a polemical tone in his book. The essay was printed in the *Encyclopedia of the Music and Dictionary of the Conservatory* by Albert Lavignac in 1922 and printed in Turkish in 1986. In this essay, he states that all musical styles are of the same origin which cannot be known. However, today’s styles like European, Turkish, Persian, or Arabic music were originated from the Ancient Greek Music. Consequently, Turkish music was originated from Ancient Greek music.

Rauf Yekta Bey cited many Western sources from the 18th and 19th centuries. In some respects he is parallel with the Western writers. First of all, he admits that there are essentially two musical styles throughout the world; the Western and Eastern music. For him, different kinds of Eastern music are basically the same but quite different from those of Western music. He approves the Western writers’ vision that Turkish music is a continuation of Ancient Greek music and that tones within Turkish scale is natural as compared with the Western one which is tempered but artificial. However, as a performer and theoretician of Classical Turkish Music, he falsifies the view that Turkish or Eastern scale is composed of quarter tones. Although

he appreciates the polyphonic style in the Western music, he never privileges it over Eastern one or otherwise. For him, while Western music is striking of the polyphony, the richness of modes and rhythmic patterns in Eastern music is an important advantage. Therefore, the two styles must vision an interchange of musical elements among them. For Rauf Yekta Bey, through this exchange a unique and universal style will be attained through the course of time.

Cem Behar, nevertheless, is critical of both the defenders and the opponents of the early Republican cultural policies. On the one hand, he criticises the first group because of its political, rather than aesthetic, perspective in considering musical styles. On the other hand, he accused the second group because of its conservatism. For Behar, the second attitude is unproductive and introverted, longing nostalgically for a lost past. In acquiring his criticism, Behar closely examines the musical theory of Classical Turkish Music, as well as its education and performing practices. For him, Republican impact in the realm of Classical Turkish Music is quite destructive. Through a certain musical elite's '*a priori* positive or negative choices', Classical Turkish Music was oppressed in the early Republican period to reshape the musical life in Turkey. According to Behar, the shock of the 1920s and 1930s in the musical realm in Turkey has not been overcome yet.

4.5 Conclusion

As far as the musical life in Turkey is concerned, the early Republican period is marked with the state's intervention in the field. A certain worldview predominated the state cultural policies, in which the course of history is explained as a single

progress. The direction of the progress is the Western civilisation. In that respect, the Turkish Republic aimed at transforming the social life in Turkey through cultural reformation, as Turkish nation chose its future civilisation as the Western one. The system of values created by this worldview appreciate certain musical styles while devaluing others. The mechanism of this evaluation is one which is created in the Orientalist discourse of the West. According to this perspective, anything pertaining to the East represents backwardness, while things Western symbolise progress.

It can be said that Ziya Gökalp was quite faithful to this framework in constructing his social theory. However, he refused losing the national essence in the process of modernisation. For him, like Mustafa Kemal, national spirit had to be researched and would be the source to the progressive culture of the future Turkish nation. Under this perspective, folk music was favoured as a symbol of Turkish essence. Besides, the Western music was also appreciated as a progressive form and a representative of the highest level of civilisation. However, forms reminding the Eastern past were marked as backward and degenerate. State policies regulated according to this classification of styles, led to debates within and between the defenders and the opponents of those policies. However, it is thought that this contradictory position, in which some part of national culture is exalted while another part is devalued, is essentially inherent in the nationalist project. According to Chatterjee, this paradox is sustained by the vocabulary of nationalism as a Western discourse which evaluates the East as a backward civilisation. In other words, the nationalist discourse of the third world aims at elevating its own culture, in a philosophical framework which implicitly or explicitly devalues that culture.

CHAPTER 5

MUSIC-SPIRIT RELATIONSHIP AND THE SYSTEM OF KEMAL İLERİCİ

5.1 Introduction

The most specific goal of Turkish nationalism in the field of art was to combine the Western technique with the Turkish spirit. The composers in the early Republican period aimed at composing music representative of both the Western technique and Turkish essence. Mustafa Kemal stated that the prevalence of such works of music in the cultural life of the Turkish people meant the true change both in mind and in daily life. For him, that is how the Turkish nation will progress and the Turkish spirit will be revealed and exalted. Kemal İlerici, one of the second generation Turkish composers, projected to combine these two attitudes in his method for polyphonising Turkish folk songs. It is thought that his method is the most striking attempt in Turkish music, formulated according to the nationalist conception of art. What is particular about it is the combination of the Western polyphonic technique with the musical elements from Turkish folk music, to acquire a unique system of polyphony representing Turkish essence.

5.2 Music-Spirit Relationship

The immediate relationship of music with spirit is a conception that we can encounter in the Ancient Greek perspective on music. For the philosophers in the antiquity, music is thought not as a depiction of a psychological state, but its *embodiment*. Through music, a certain spiritual condition is not communicated as something to be decoded for making it conceivable, but the so called condition which is now a concreteness in music is *immediately* perceived without any intermediate steps (Lukács; 1988, pp. 80-1). The basic duality of Ancient Greek thought can be a good example for this purpose. God Apollon is the symbol of science, knowledge, and reason in the antiquity. He is represented by instrument flute. With the sound of flute, rational mentality of Apollon penetrates into our spirit. God Dionysus, characteristically opposite of Apollon, enchants our minds with the mystic sound of aulos¹. In antiquity tribes are also symbolised by certain musical modes. “Phrygian” is the mode² of Phrygians, which is expressive of the spirit of people living in Phrygia. “Dorian” is the mode used by the Dors. The mode “Lydian” musically presents the essence of Lydians.

We can elaborate on such a conception of music, also, in semiotic terms. Under the light of Saussure’s linguistic theory, language is thought of as a system of signs. A sign is defined by its two constituting elements; signifier and signified. As far as the spoken language is concerned, while the signifier corresponds to the physical representation of the sign in the form of a sound, the signified represents the meaning

¹ An instrument close to Oboe used in our day.

² *Makam*.

or the concept corresponding to the sign itself. However, when musical language is concerned there is an essential difference: According to Roland Barthes, music is language without meaning. In his polemic against musical expressionism, Stravinsky emphasises the similar standpoint in a sharper way: “[M]usic is, by its very nature, essentially powerless to express anything at all, whether a feeling, an attitude of mind, a psychological mood, a phenomenon of nature, etc... If as is always the case, music appears to express something, this is only an illusion and not a reality.” (in Hansen, 1971; p. 151) If Stravinsky’s statement is combined with Saussure’s semiotic model, we can conclude that the musical signified is not a meaning or a concept, but an embodiment of a spiritual state.

In Lippman’s work *Musical Thought in Ancient Greece*, social and psychological aspects of music in the antiquity are explained in detail. For the spiritual qualities of music as explained above, music was thought of as having political and educational value in Ancient Greece. In Platon’s description of ideal state, music was considered under this perspective and its role in the education of the youth was emphasised. As another example, Lippman explains how increasing dominance of rationality was enlivened in the musical discourse of the antiquity as follows:

The reed instrument was invented in imitation of human suffering, the stringed one in speculative play with a natural object—the tortoise shell—which significantly is common to both animate and inanimate nature. The one is the instrument of Dionysus, of the dithyramb, of ecstatic feeling; the other the instrument of Apollo, of the epic, of the contemplation of the world. In a musical symbol, aulos and lyre express the two fundamental attitudes of Greek musical philosophy, and if the ethical force of music comes to reside in the lyre and to disdain the aulos, this represents to some extent the entrance of the rational element of universal order into human character and emotion (Lippman, 1964; p.87).

5.3 The Concept of *Harmony* as the Founding Principle of Polyphony in the Western Music

Lippman, in his book *The Musical Thought in the Ancient Greece*, analyses the emergence and the development of the notion of harmony in music in the chapter named *Conceptions of Harmony*. The concept of harmony has a deep relationship with the ancient Greek understanding of the nature. For the philosophers of that era, nature consists of a balance among opposing forces such as cold and hot, and wet and dry. The so-called balance in nature is explained with the concept of harmony which is “the unification of disparate or conflicting elements into an ordered whole.” (Lippman, 1964; p. 3) With the ideas of a scientific cosmogony, the elements of nature and the balance among them can be explained. Moreover, this natural harmony is thought to be explicable in mathematical proportions. In other words, this harmony expresses itself with numbers and with the relationships among them.

The concept of harmony in music has a deep association with this worldview so prevalent in ancient Greece. Musical world, i.e. the world of sounds, is visioned as a cosmic whole, in which a certain harmony governs. The rules of musical harmony are expressed in mathematical relationships as in the nature. In that respect, the science of music is seen as part of mathematics. As far as the duality in music is concerned by the ancient Greek philosophers, it is thought to consist of two opposite forces; high and low. The harmonious relationship between a high and a low tone is called the *consonance*. When this relationship becomes inharmonious, it is called the *dissonance*. However, for the quality of a tone as being high or low can only be judged with respect to another tone, the dissonance can only be understood with

respect to the consonance. In other words, although the proportions of the relationship between high and low notes are explicable by mathematics, deciding upon which proportion is consonance or which is dissonance depends upon the *ear* (Lippman, 1964; pp. 150-1).

Nevertheless, the concept of harmony in the ancient Greek music does not entail the polyphony which is achieved by the imposition of several melodic lines. They only meant the harmony among the tones which found a *scale*, or a *mode*³. The music is though monophonic, i.e. consisting of a single melodic line. The ancient Greek theory of art had a deep impact on the musical cultures of both Christians and Muslims. In the third century, a neo-Platonist writer Plotinus, made use of the ancient Greek framework of art and music (Plotinus, 1964; pp. 139-170). For Plotinus, as for antique writers, certain proportions among musical tones reflect the divine unity, i.e. harmony, while others do not. Plotinus gives an account of which *intervals*⁴ in music are harmonious, therefore reflecting the divine unity, and which are not. Consequently, the harmonious intervals are called *consonant*, while the inharmonious ones are called *dissonant*. The God, therefore, gives people certain relationships hidden in nature, which reflect him through the harmony immanent to the cosmos. The philosophy of art of Plotinus had its impact especially on the Christian art, as his vision was a religious one. In the 10th century, another reader of Plato, Farabi inquired into and spread Plato's thought in the Muslim society. For Rauf Yekta Bey, Farabi is

³ A scale or a mode is a combination of several succeeding tones. It is made up of seven tones in general. For example, C (do) Major scale consists of the notes; C, D, E, F, G, A, B (do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si.) For the Turkish modes the term *makam* is employed, while for the Indian modes *raga* is used.

⁴ An *interval* consists of two simultaneously sounding tones. For example, the interval of C and E. However, if more than two tones simultaneously sound, the group of tones is called a *chord*.

the first Muslim theorist of music. Farabi strived for establishing a musical theory for the Arabic music. Many Arabic writers followed him by their *Edvars*, i.e. book of theory of music (Rauf Yekta Bey, 1986; pp. 24-8). The writing of *Edvars* also continued in the Ottoman Empire.

At the end of the middle ages, the first examples of polyphonic style emerged in the churches of the central Europe. Polyphony in this period was based on the harmonious superimposition of distinct melodic lines. If the music consisted of two superimposed distinct melodic lines, it meant that at each instant two different sounds were heard simultaneously. In other words, at each instant a specific interval occurred. If the music consisted of the superimposition of more than two distinct melodic lines, then at each instant a specific group of sounds, i.e. a specific *chord*⁵, occurred. Therefore, the harmony presented itself in the intervals or chords. We can conclude that the structural element of harmony is the chord, and the motion in harmony consists of a movement from one chord to another.

It is generally thought of as a turning point when monophony began to give its place to polyphony. In that period, folk music in Europe was monophonic. At first, certain intervals were not employed in the church as they were thought of as dissonant, therefore seen as reflecting the opposite of Godly order. Later, dissonant intervals were also used which must be resolved into consonant ones. With the development of musical techniques, some new concepts emerged which founded the

⁵ A chord is composed of more than two tones which sound simultaneously. However, the character of a chord is determined by a privileged tone in it. This privileged tone is determined according to the pattern in which a chord is founded. For example in the chord of C, E, and G, which is also called the C Major chord, the note C determines the quality of the chord.

basis of musical harmony. The concepts of *tonic*⁶ and *dominant*⁷ was of importance in that respect. Tonic was the center point or the central scale degree; the movement began and ended there. Dominant degree was the opposite of tonic; it was reached but later quitted for the sake of returning to the tonic. It was the relationship of the center with the periphery. The chords built on this contrasting degrees, i.e. tonic and dominant, were named as tonic chord and dominant chord. Therefore, the motion in harmony was achieved by moving from one level to the other, in which tonic was the starting and the end point. For most of the Western musicians, arriving at the tonic at the end of a musical peace meant the return to God, like everything entailed from and returned to God

About the 16th and 17th century, some books emerged in which Western writers gave a comprehensive explanation of the theory of harmony. As in ancient Greece, Western musicians conceived harmony as a unity of opposing elements. The technique of harmony organises those contrasting forces such as consonance and dissonance, tonic and dominant, and tension and relaxation. Consonant and dissonant chords were employed, as well as consonant and dissonant intervals. However, a dissonant chord or a dominant degree, always *resolves* to the consonant chord or to the tonic degree. It is a system of tension and relaxation but always begins and ends at

⁶ *Tonic* is the name used for the first note of a scale. For example C is the tonic for the C Major scale. The chord, in which the privileged tone is the tonic of a scale, is called the *tonic chord*.

⁷ *Dominant* is the name used for the fifth note of a scale. For example G is the dominant of the C major scale. The chord, in which the privileged tone is the dominant of a scale, is called the *dominant chord*.

the same point, i.e. tonic⁸ and/or consonance, which means that certain qualities are privileged.

The working of harmony is generally explained with respect to an oppositional frame. In fact Western art of music can be visioned in its entirety as a structure of oppositions. For example in a symphonic form, which is composed of two themes, the first theme is called as the male theme while the second as the female. In other words, the themes in a symphony as one of leading forms in Western music, can only be meaningful if they are characteristically in opposition to each other. As far as Western music is concerned such examples can be multiplied. It is thought that the system of harmony in Western music can be adequately understood by Derrida's theory of binary oppositions concerning Western metaphysics. The frame of oppositions is, according to Derrida, an essential part of Western thought from the antiquity to our day. Likewise, the concept of harmony, which lies at the core of polyphony, has been understood as a unity of dual forces. However, Lippman claims that one term of the duality has acquired prevalence in the ancient Greek society in the course of time. In other words, the balance among the rational and mystic aspects of the ancient thought and daily life was disturbed, and reason prevailed (Lippman, 1964; p. 87). This stage, which is traced in the history of ancient Greek music according to Lippman, can be accepted as a turning point in the history of Western thought. The technique of harmony as we understand today is based on some oppositions in which one term always has the upper hand; tonic/dominant, consonance/dissonance, and

⁸ Many of the Western musical works are known of a certain tone, like Beethoven's C minor symphony or Chopin's Bflat Minor piano sonata. Those names of tones are the tonic degrees of those works.

tension/relaxation; like presence/absence, speech/writing, man/woman, good/evil, and reason/myth.

5.4 Kemal İlerici: *Turkish Music and Harmony*

Kemal İlerici was born in 1910. He was a student of Hasan Ferit Alnar and Ahmet Adnan Saygun who were first generation composers. Kemal İlerici stated that “Turkish nation, with the course of history and according to its will, decided to enter into the Western frame of belief leaving behind that of Islam.” (İlerici, 1981; p. 1) The musical language of that ‘new world’ is polyphony. Therefore, the technique of harmony which structures polyphony, must be absorbed by Turkish composers. Only in this way “Turkish music can prove its potency within this new world of belief, as a part of Turkish culture which always had a leading position in all ages.” (İlerici, 1981; p. 1) However, Turkish musicians must know their musical heritage and the values corresponding to it to accomplish such a great progress.

Kemal İlerici defended that there must be a unique system of polyphony for Turkish music. For him, Western society has a specific character and a polyphonic system corresponding to it. Then there must be a unique system of harmony applicable to Turkish folk songs, as the Turkish spirit is distinct from the Western one. In other words, a system of harmony must be devised which is capable of expressing the one and only Turkish spirit. With this statement, Kemal İlerici proposed his specific attitude in the field of polyphonic school in Turkey. Until then, none of the Turkish composers had claimed that there could be a specific harmony applicable in polyphonising Turkish folk songs. Each composer employed techniques

according to his own taste when polyphonising folk songs, there had not been any systematic approach in doing so.

In 1940s Kemal İlerici developed his harmonic approach, through a close examination of both Western harmony and Turkish folk music. In logic, his system is similar to the Western technique. In other words, the notions such as consonance, dissonance, tonic, and dominant are present in İlerici's harmonic method. However, chords are constituted according to a different principle⁹ as compared with the Western practice. For İlerici, this structural difference gives his system the unique character which reflects the Turkish essence. İlerici system was denigrated by some of the Turkish composers including Adnan Saygun, but favoured by others such as Muammer Sun, Ertuğrul Bayraktar, and İlhan Baran. Sun and Bayraktar, being students of İlerici, employed his technique in almost all of their works.

⁹ To understand this point, first of all, the concept of interval and how it is identified must be elucidated. According to the theory of music, each interval is measured and identified by a number. For this purpose, the order of tones in the Western system must be learned, which is as follows: A (la), B (si), C (do), D (re), E (mi), F (fa), and G (sol). After G, again comes A, B, C, etc., and continues in the same manner. If we want to identify, for example, the interval of B and E, we proceed as follows: We take B as the first tone, then proceed; C is the second; D is the third, and lastly E is the fourth. Then we identify the B-E interval as an interval of *fourth*. If the same logic is followed, we can find out, for example, that D-E is an interval of second, B-G is a sixth, F-A is a third, and E-A is a fifth.

As far as the method of the chord constitution is concerned, Western practice is as follows: In the Western music chords are produced by successively imposing the interval of *third*. For example, if the C chord is to be obtained, firstly, an interval of third is builded on C; C-E. Then another interval of third is builded on E; E-G. The C chord is now obtained, the result is the superimposition of the two intervals; C-E-G, which is the C chord. However, the basic interval of Turkish music in the foundation of chords according to Kemal İlerici system is the *fourth*. Then, the C chord in İlerici system is as follows; C-F-B.

5.3.2 *Turkish Music and Its Harmony According to Kemal İlerici*

Turkish folk music is not polyphonic, moreover oppositional relationships like consonance/dissonance, or tonic/dominant are not inherent to it. If someone is to construct a system of harmony in the Western sense out of the elements of Turkish folk music, it seems that one must *invent* similar oppositional relationships within its elements. Before formulating his system of harmony, first of all, Kemal İlerici closely examined both Western harmony and Turkish folk music. In his book *Turkish Music and Its Harmony*, he states that Western harmony defines two poles through which it operates: *tonic/dominant* (İlerici, 1981; pp. 24-5). There are also chords which correspond to those poles; tonic chord/dominant chord. Then, he considers *makams* of Turkish music. In them, there is as well a movement. The movement starts at a certain tone. It moves to other tones. Then, it rests at a certain tone. He calls the rest tone as a *stationary* tone, while the moving tones are *non-stationary* tones. Again the movement begins through other non-stationary tones, then rests at another stationary tone. As a result, İlerici states that each *makam* consists of specific *stationary* and *non-stationary* tones. For him, as each member of a society has a certain temperament, each tone of a scale also has a certain temperament; and as each member of a society wants to be together with those having similar temperaments, then the notes having the same temperament have the tendency to be together (İlerici, 1981; pp. 26-7). In other words, the stationary tones in a *makam* are gathered to build a chord, while the non-stationary tones build another chord. For İlerici, in his system, the first chord is the tonic degree, i.e. the chord founded by the stationary tones, and the second one is the dominant degree, i.e. the chord founded by the non-stationary

tones. After developing this logic, he applies it to many different *makams* and states that the system is coherent.

For İlerici, as for Muammer Sun, his system is a unique system which has naturally flourished from the Turkish scales or *makams*. The chords in his system have a unique principle of foundation which is essentially distinct from that of Western chords in the traditional harmony of the Western music. His system of harmony is applicable exclusively to the Turkish *makams*. Therefore, it represents the Turkish spirit in the world of polyphony, as Turkish folk songs represent Turkish essence in the world of monophony.

5.5 Construction of Ear and the Significance of the System of Kemal İlerici

Every work of art is born of a project both aesthetic and ideological. When it exists as a work of art it produces *as a work of art* (by the type of critique and knowledge it inaugurates with respect to the ideology it makes us to see) an *ideological* effect. If... 'culture' is the ordinary name for the Marxist concept of the *ideological*, then the work of art, as an *aesthetic object*, is no more part of 'culture' than instruments of production ...or scientific knowledges are part of 'culture'. But like every other object, including instruments of production and knowledges, or even the corpus of sciences, a work of art can become an *element* of the *ideological*, i.e. it can be inserted into the system of relations which constitute the ideological, which reflects in an imaginary relationship the relations that 'men'...maintain with the structural relations which constitute their 'conditions of existence' (Althusser, 1971; p.241).

The musical art works in the early Republican period in Turkey, which were composed and performed in the state institutions, are not only structured by the nationalist ideology but functional as well in the reproduction and the diffusion of the same ideology. Firstly, the musical works composed by the Turkish composers of the period can be accepted to be the aesthetic realisations of the nationalist thought as formulated by Ziya Gökalp. In those musical compositions, Western techniques are

combined with the elements of Turkish folk culture to produce art works representing the Turkish nation. Secondly, with the emphasis given by Mustafa Kemal to music, the polyphonic music is thought to be functional in the reconstruction of the daily life and the soul of the Turkish people. This aspect of music was expressed by Mustafa Kemal who visioned music as the immediate reflection of the human soul. The musical project created by the nationalist ideology also imposed a system of values on Turkish musicians and listeners. In it, things pertaining to the Western civilisation and Turkish spirit are appreciated whereas those pertaining to the East are devalued. The practical result of this perspective is that while Western music and Turkish folk music were welcomed, Classical Turkish Music was eliminated from the state institutions as a sign of degenerate Ottoman culture.

The project proposed by Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal was taken very seriously by the musicians who were established in the state institutions. The *Turkish Five* is consisted of the first generation of Turkish composers who became the teachers of the second and third generations. The *Turkish Five* composed the first polyphonic works in Turkey representing the nationalist ideology. Adnan Saygun, one of them, wrote books and reports as well which defended the state policies in the field of music. He also stressed the relationship of soul and music which was a theme taken from Mustafa Kemal. Muammer Sun, who is a third generation composer and a student of Saygun, stated as well the importance of musical reformation in the reconstruction and exaltation of Turkish identity. However, he criticised the Westernising perspective of the reformation process. According to him, the state policies in the early Republican period lacked a philosophy, therefore they were imitative. In that respect Muammer Sun's criticism has some parallels with that of the

Young Ottomans, who attacked the *Tanzimat* reformation for the same reasons in the mid-19th century. Like the *Young Ottomans*, Sun states that Westernisation movement in Turkey was incapable of conceiving the specific conditions of the Turkish society. Moreover, Westernisation movement was even incapable of understanding the deepness of Western civilisation. It only attempted at imitating it. For Sun, the axis of reformation must be becoming contemporaneous not Western, while retaining and absorbing the Turkish essence. Although Sun, like Saygun, accepts Western civilisation as the end-state for the Turkish nation to accomplish, he never gives a comprehensive definition of contemporaneousness or why it surpasses Westernisation.

As Behar puts it, supporters of the nationalist ideology defended their perspective with respect to political thought rather than aesthetic considerations, for which Saygun and Sun are no exception. Arguments of both Saygun and Sun seem to be a continuation of Ziya Gökalp's or Mustafa Kemal's thought. In other words, they did not elaborate their argument aesthetically to explain why polyphony is advanced or why Eastern music is backward. However, the opponents of the state policies did not either. They opposed to the view that Classical Turkish Music is backward or degenerate, but they referred as well to Mustafa Kemal's speeches or Western sources to disprove it. Moreover, Arel defended Classical Turkish Music by claiming that it is the origin of all other musical cultures by using the same method which Saygun employed in his report about Turkish music (1934). It is interesting that the two counter views applied the same framework to oppose each other. As far as the Classical Turkish Music is concerned, Behar criticised both of the positions (Behar, 1987; p. 11). According to Behar, the defenders of Classical Turkish Music are conservatives whose attitude is unproductive and uncommunicative. Because of their

nostalgia for an idealised tradition, i.e. Ottoman Music, they would prefer to freeze music rather than keeping it alive. The defenders of polyphonic music, on the other hand, judge Classical Turkish Music through *a priori* motives. They declare an entire musical culture as backward, for the sake of a principle which necessitates polyphony. For Behar, the conception of defenders of polyphony is based on political choices rather than aesthetic ones. Supported by the state ideology and power, their attitude is not only oppressive but destructive. In his criticism of the early Republican period cultural policies, Behar elaborates on the specificities of Classical Turkish Music which makes his argument powerful. In that way, he formulates an effective critique of the position that oral transmission in Classical Turkish Music is a lack or a problem. Behar's argument tries to comprehend both the particular conditions of production and transmission of Classical Turkish Music and its aesthetic peculiarities which cannot simply be classified as backward or progressive with respect to the Western music.

Kemal İlerici is worth mentioning as another name who founded his argument on the specific nature of Turkish music. His system of harmony is a summary of Turkish nationalism in the field of art which was formulised by Ziya Gökalp and Mustafa Kemal. It represents both the technical qualities of Western polyphony and the claims to be Turkish in essence, i.e. non-Western. Kemal İlerici aimed at reflecting the spiritual greatness of Turkish people through unique musical elements which constructs at the same time a system of harmony. His system of harmony is as if the natural evolution in Turkish music, from monophony to the polyphony. However, he founded his system not through oppositional musical elements as opposed to the Western practice. As explained by İlerici, the movement in his system does not always

obey to a tension/relaxation model. It seems to be a harmony in between. A harmony without oppositional poles seems paradoxical. On the one hand, this paradox is immanent to the nationalist experience of the East as explained by Chatterjee. On the other hand, nationalist paradox helps to define new spaces and concepts which are inexplicable in the former metaphysics of the West as described by Derrida; therefore creative as an art work aims to be.

5.5 Conclusion

In the foundation period and during the early years of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal visioned the creation of a national art which was not only capable of representing Turkish nation universally, but effective in the transformation of the Turkish society. This transformation was projected under two aspects. Firstly, Turkish people must be improved which necessitated the adoption of Western values on the one hand, and the elimination of Eastern values on the other hand. Secondly, Turkish essence must be both revealed and elevated. Such a social transformation, however, was not simply a material one. It required mobilising both material and mental forces in the Turkish society. In that respect, Mustafa Kemal gave a special importance to the art of music. For him, music symbolised an immediate relationship with the human soul. Therefore, he visioned Turkish music as effective in not only representing the Turkish soul but in transforming it as well. The ideological perspective formulised by Mustafa Kemal had a decisive impact on the aesthetic realm of music. Kemal İlerici, in his work *Turkish Music and Its Harmony*, acquires the rules of polyphony which are, according to him, exclusively applicable to the Turkish folk songs. For İlerici, his

system, which is technically on the same level with Western music, reflects the Turkish spirit as it is based on unique elements from Turkish folk music. It is thought that his system can be viewed as reflecting the core argument of Turkish nationalism in the field of art. Like in the nationalist perspective, İlerici strives for a universal discourse representing distinctive features of the Turkish nation while adopting Western techniques.



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The aesthetic project of Turkish school of polyphonic music in the early Republican era in Turkey, can be said to be structured by the ideological project of Turkish nationalism. The so-called ideological project as set forth by Ziya Gökalp strengthens a certain worldview. This worldview, firstly, includes a geographical awareness in which the world is divided into two poles in the form of the West and the East. These two poles represent two opposite essences. However, in the relationship between these two essences, the West always represents a superiority with respect to the East. Secondly, because the West is superior to the East, the latter must vision a modernisation project to catch up with the former. However, in this modernisation project, Turkish nation must not lose its essence but combines this essence with the superior qualities of the West. The Turkish essence not only represents the distinctive characteristics of the Turkish people, but is a spiritual glue which will bind the Turkish society together in the future. Therefore, this essence must be both researched and exalted.

In the early Republican era, several reforms were realised for the sake of both modernising the Turkish society and elevating the Turkish spirit. For Mustafa Kemal, the Eastern qualities remnant of the Ottoman society concealed the higher soul of the

Turkish man. Through cultural reformation, those backward qualities were tired to be eliminated from the daily life of Turkish society. Consequently, the early Republican period was marked with cultural reforms by which a new citizen identity was created in the Turkish Republic. The Turkish citizen was visioned to dress in the western way, listen polyphonic music, think rationally, and use Latin alphabet. For Mustafa Kemal, only in this way, the spiritual greatness of Turkish man could be exposed.

Mustafa Kemal gave a special emphasis to Turkish music in the cultural reformation. For him, music had a direct relationship with the soul. Music was the immediate reflection of the human spirit. Therefore, music had a priority in reshaping the soul of Turkish nation. To transform aural habits of a nation meant, for Mustafa Kemal, its mental reconstruction. Mustafa Kemal, like Ziya Gökalp, explained the true music of Turkish nation as a combination of musical elements from Turkish folk culture and advanced Western civilisation. For this purpose several state institutions were founded immediately. The musicians in those state institutions worked hard to realise the nationalist reform in the field of music.

The state policies in that period supported the actions in the folk music and the polyphonic music, nevertheless, externalised Classical Turkish Music as representing backward qualities. This perspective can be viewed as a contradiction. With such policies, nationalist project becomes both congenial and hostile to its own culture. In spite of its paradoxical aspect, it is also creative in deriving new conceptions. Kemal İlerici's system of harmony can be a good example in that respect. Western sources on styles of Eastern music depict them as primitive and essentially deprived of harmony. However, Kemal İlerici formulise a new system of harmony depending on

the elements from Turkish folk music. His system aims at representing technically the West but in essence the Turkish character in music. Therefore, it entails another view with respect to the general Western conception on the Eastern musical styles. For Kemal İlerici, his system, on the one hand, is expressive of the new level of civilisation that which Turkish nation has chosen as its future. On the other hand, it essentially represents the Turkish spirit with its constituting elements from the Turkish folk music. It is designed to fulfil Mustafa Kemal's idea of Turkish music which represents and transforms the exalted Turkish spirit. With such qualities, the system of Turkish music harmony by Kemal İlerici can be seen as a summary and one of the ideal realisations of the nationalist ideology in Turkish Republic.



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