

KEMALIST VIEWS AND WORKS ON TURKISH FOLK MUSIC  
DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

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ÖZGÜR BALKILIÇ

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Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata  
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

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Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya  
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

---

Dr. Barış Çakmur  
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Dr. Barış Çakmur	(METU, ADM)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan	(METU, ADM)	_____
Assist. Prof. Dr. Nesim Şeker	(METU, HIST)	_____

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Name, Last name: ÖZGÜR BALKILIÇ

Signature :

## ABSTRACT

### KEMALIST VIEWS AND WORKS ON TURKISH FOLK MUSIC DURING THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

Balkılıç, Özgür

M. Sc., Department of Media and Cultural Studies

Supervisor: Dr. Barış Çakmur

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The main aim of this thesis is to examine the characteristics of Kemalist views and works on Turkish folk music during Early Republican Period. Kemalism, as a modernization project, aimed to transform the Turkish social formation totally. In this respect, one of the indispensable dimension of this project was cultural reforms. The music policies, as a part of the cultural reforms, were given considerable attentions by the Kemalist cadres since the music, according to them, was one of the area to reflect the developmental level of a society. Their views and efforts on Turkish folk music were a significant part of these music policies. In this sense, Kemalist folklore acts are of crucial importance to understand the features of Kemalist ideologic paradigms. Besides, this thesis will deal with the Kemalist folklore acts in order to understand two main principles of Kemalism; nationalism and populism which were the important ideological paradigms of Kemalism. In other words, one of the main *ab inito* of this thesis is to comprehend the nationalism and populism principles which constituted the general framework of Kemalist folklore acts. The thesis also pays attention to the inconsistencies and unmethodological works in folk music acts during the Early Republican Period.

Keywords: Kemalist Nationalism and Populism, Hegemony, Music Policies, Folklore, Folk Music

## ÖZ

# ERKEN CUMHURİYET DÖNEMİNDE TÜRK HALK MÜZİĞİ ÜZERİNE KEMALİST GÖRÜŞLER VE ÇALIŞMALAR

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Bu tezin temel amacı Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemi'nde Türk halk müziği üzerine Kemalist görüşler ve çalışmaların özelliklerini incelemektir. Kemalizm, bir modernleşme projesi olarak Türk sosyal formasyonunu tamamen değiştirmeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu minvalde, bu projenin başat öğelerinden biri kültürel reformlardır. Kemalist kadrolar kültürel reformların bir parçası olan müzik politikalarına ciddi bir önem atfetmişlerdir; zira, müzik, onlara göre, bir toplumun gelişmişlik seviyesini yansıtan bir alandır. Onların Türk halk görüşleri ve çalışmaları bu müzik politikalarının önemli bir parçasıdır. Bu bağlamda, Kemalist folklor edimleri Kemalist ideolojik paradigmalarda özelliklerini anlamak açısından önemlidir. Bunun yanı sıra, bu tez Kemalist folklor edimleri ile Kemalizm'in iki önemli ilkesini anlamak için ilgilenecektir; milliyetçilik ve halkçılık; bunlar Kemalist önemli Kemalist ideolojik paradigmalardır. Bir başka deyişle, bu tezin önemli bir niyeti de Kemalist folklor edimlerinin genel çerçevesini oluşturan milliyetçilik ve halkçılık ilkelerini kavramaktır. Tez Erken Cumhuriyet Dönemindeki folk müzik edimlerinin metodolojik olmayan boyutuna ve bu çalışmalarda tutarsızlıklara dikkat çekecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kemalist Halkçılık ve Milliyetçilik, Hegemonya, Müzik Politikaları, Folklor, Halk Müziği

*to my mother, my father, my sister and my darling  
from whom I have discovered the deep sea inside the human-being*

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Finally, I would like to thank to J.R.R. Tolkien whose books have taught me that sharing of knowledge and goods will prettify this world. But, its preservation for the purposes of dominion will provide the envy, haste and malice in the world. Magic of this world lie in the crafts of mankind, but not in any kind of supernatural things.



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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

*“Conheces o nome que te deram, não conheces o noem que tens.”<sup>1</sup>*

Livro das Evidências

The aim of this study is to analyse the Kemalist views and works on the folk music of the Early Republican Period. It intends to scrutinize the characteristics of the folkloric activities and seeks to find out their position among the dominant ideological paradigms of this time period. It will focus on the impact of their populist and nationalist comprehension on the folkloric works, and dwell on some of the methodological problems as well as the inconsistencies among Kemalist cadres.

During the Early Republican Period, cultural issues were given considerable importance since they were considered the vital parts of the new modern individual. The creation of a new kind of Turkish nation, who would be aware of their national traits and essences consistent with the requirements of modern life, was aimed at. In a way, a nation state was founded, and its legitimation basis would also be founded. However, the problem was not merely the necessities or the legitimacy of the state. With the impact of newly developing social relations with the effects of capitalism, which were different from the pre-capitalist ones, a new type of social order had to be founded. In other words, the enforcement of a modern life was tried to be imposed on people. The old existing relationships, which represented the old structure, were strived to be replaced with the new ones. On the other hand, the past could not be completely neglected since the feeling of being a Turk had to be given to people; in other words, the old was tried to be restructured in the name of the new. The past as a

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<sup>1</sup> “Sana verilen ismi biliyorsun, bilmediğin sahip olduğun isim.”

tradition which had almost perished was recreated and imposed on people. In this sense, the inconsistencies and dualities of national-populist thought can be seen in Kemalism and these also reflected in their cultural policies. There is a mutual relationship, either the cultural issues were aimed to be used by Kemalism to create a nation or they carried the effects of the characteristics of Kemalist populism-nationalism. In conclusion, the aim was to create a nation around a nation state and the cultural paradigms and policies would be indispensable part of this process.

In this sense, the music policies were thought as one of the most crucial parts of this process. It was thought that the modern Turkish people would listen to both national and modern music which would be created by the Kemalist composers by using the national themes and Western techniques. Of course, by saying the national themes, they were referring to folk music. According to the Kemalist cadres, the Ottoman Classic Music was a kind of backward music since it was monophonic (music). For them, the sign of development in musical issues was the existence of polyphonic music. In addition to this, the Ottoman Classic Music was a strange music for Turkish people as it was the music of the palace but not the people (in this sense, the great distance between the Ottoman administration and people were stressed once again.) and it came from Byzantines, Arabs or Acems. Therefore, according to the Kemalist cadres, folk music and the Ottoman Classical Music was completely distinct from each other and while the former would be elaborated for the creation of new music, the latter would be excluded as the result of the above mentioned reason. In other words, it can be said that they completely neglected the Ottoman Classic Music's tradition and institutions. On the other hand, in practice this neglect was not completely applied. For example, this music was broadcasted on the radio, and sometimes the span of its broadcasting time was even more than that of folk music, the Turkish composers used some of its themes in their compositions. Thus, Kemalism only excluded the Ottoman Classical Music from the educational process, but even this attitude did not continue very long. This unwanted music was gradually integrated into the curricula by mid 1940s. In other words, these music policies expose very serious oscillations.

As opposed to the Ottoman Classic Music, folk music is the real music of Turkish people, according to Kemalist cadres. Turks expressed their pure, noble emotions and opinions by means of folk songs. The folk songs that have some

improper words or expressions could not be accepted as the examples of the Turkish folk music. Furthermore, the folklore/folk songs were written in pure Turkish language; that is, the Kemalists considered folk music as one of the most important sources to create a national homogenized language, which was one of the Kemalist nationalist aims. In this sense, the local dialects and languages were not heeded by them as the characteristic of the Turkish folk music. Moreover, the Turkish folk songs were developed, according to Kemalism, in terms of the technical issues. It was argued that, for example, the polyphonic elements could be seen in the Turkish folk music, and even the existence of the polyphony in the world could be brought back to the roots of the Turkish folk music. Therefore, the folk songs that have some weakness in terms of their techniques were seen as improper or deficient by the Kemalist cadres. Another important point regarding the folk songs is that these developed melodies were tried to be elaborated or re-developed in accordance with the western musical techniques or rules. In this context, the reflection of the Kemalist populist comprehension can explicitly be seen in folklore acts, on the one hand, the folk songs were the real, noble and developed music of Turks; on the other hand, they were not necessary in order to reach civilized level of modern times in the cultural sense and thus, they should be elaborated or transformed. In addition to this, the folk music works during that period did not take into consideration some important aspects of this music; such as its local characters or its playing techniques etc; the collection acts or the radio works have mostly standardized the folk songs. Besides, the assumption of the lack of methodology was definitely valid in folklore acts. In short, Kemalist folk music acts were loaded with a kind of social engineering that was formed according to the dominant ideological paradigms of that period. However, it should be added that this social engineering process has many inconsistencies in itself.

Culture can not merely be seen as an educational problem as contrary to what Kemalist tried to do. The concept of ‘culture’ has a historical context, and for this reason, it can not be analyzed as something that will be refused totally or created completely as a result of indoctrination or educational process. However, the concept of culture has a complex and obscure social history. It is a process that refers to the life of people. As Eagleton (2005) argues, this concept refers to a dialectic relations between the world and humanity, it refers to the people’s acts on the world and

world's effects on Man. In this context, culture concerns the whole dimension of people's life, so it can not be taught to people by means of education. In fact, it originates from within the life of people. This feature of culture is also valid for the folk culture. The folk culture is strictly intermingled with the daily life of people; the folklore materials emerge as a result of daily life of people, they are the results of the painful or joyful incidents, the wedding or death ceremonies, the loves, the endeavours to make their children sleep, the efforts that are spent in their lands etc. In other words, the folk culture refers to the people's sub-consciousness. In sum, they are the products of people; they reflect the good manners in people's life as well as the bad ones. In this sense, it can not be analysed from within the dualities such as; 'good' and 'bad' or 'deficient' or 'adequate' in terms of technical dimension since it is an unelaborated, fragmented as people himself. The folk songs, for example, have not a regular lyrical and melodic structure. As Boratav (2000c) claims, the search for the unity in terms of subject is meaningless in the folk songs since the singers or composers order the lines as they wish. They also frequently demolish the regularity of the lyrical structure by expressing the incidents or stories as different from the real events in their songs. Kemalist music policies and folklore acts neglected the intermingling characteristic of culture with people's life. According to them, the culture of a nation could be created from a zero sum point. The Ottoman music culture could totally be erased and the existing folk music culture could be given to people after completely transforming it in terms of both lyrical and melodic structure. That is, the folk songs were completely elaborated by the Kemalist regime; Kemalists tried to make them as part of 'high culture'.

In this sense, to grasp culture as totally an educational problem is the main reason of the weakness of the attempts of Kemalism in the music policies. In other words, the music policies is an area in which the characteristics or weakness of Kemalism can be clearly seen. To put the point differently, the resistance to Kemalist principles can clearly be seen in the music policies. In this sense, through music policies, the peculiar features of the Kemalist ideologic paradigms can clearly be analysed.

The literature on the music policy during the Early Republican Period generally deals with the exclusion of the Ottoman Classic Music and the story itself. Either, the Kemalist cadres' attitudes toward the Ottoman Classic Music is analyzed

or, the story of the deeds that were made in the radios or conservatories are observed. On the other hand, the works and opinions of the Kemalist cadres, which were one of the most important aspects of the music policies on the folk music, are expressed in shorter sentences as compared to the above mentioned parts. In fact, it can be said that most of the Kemalist folklore acts and collections remain untouched. On the other hand, the main directions of the music policies or folk music act continue to affect our cultural life. It can be said that although these policies were failed conjecturally, if we take the whole history of the Turkish Republic into consideration, they seem to be highly successful. For example, Sertab Erener's success in Eurovision was presented as one of the most vital issues in the Turkish cultural life. At last, we gained the right to be a member of the European cultural life with this orientalist melody including the dances during the competition and we have showed the strength of Turks to the Europeans. Or, the folk music programmes both on the radio and TV (TRT), which are perpetuating the tradition of *Yurttan Sesler* choir (Voices From the Country)<sup>2</sup> affected most Turkish people's opinion on the folk songs. We know the folk songs as they are played and sung in these programmes. They are still tried to be sung in a polyphonic form; local characters are still absent. We listen and teach some Kurdish or Armenian folk songs in their Turkish form. In conclusion, it can be said that the Kemalist music policies or folklore acts are effective in our cultural life, even today.

In this study, an attempt will be made to examine the Kemalist folk music acts within the framework of their music policies. In this sense, the main characteristics of these works will be focused on. Thus, an analysis will be made of the inconsistencies among the Kemalist works and opinions themselves and with the essential characteristics of folk music. Moreover, another point to be analysed is that the relations of Kemalist populist and nationalist comprehension with the folk music works. The relations between the Turkish History Thesis and the language reform and the assumptions on the pentatonic/polyphonic folk songs will be stressed. In other words, the Kemalist folklore acts will be analysed within the framework of the dominant ideological paradigms. Therefore, the reflection of the Kemalist populist understanding especially its double narration on the folklor works will be tried to be

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<sup>2</sup> This choir was founded in 1941 on the Ankara Radios by Muzaffer Sarısözen, who was one of the leading names in folklore acts during the Early Republican Period.



looked at. Then, the focus will shift onto the works themselves. The purifications and transformations regarding both lyrical and melodic structure will be looked into, and analysis will be made of the methodological problems concerning the folk songs' collections. Furthermore, some stories of the folk music collections will be scrutinized since these can give us either meaningful knowledge about the Kemalist comprehension of people and folk culture or the tactics of the subaltern classes that can rarely be seen in the Turkish cultural history. In this context, the method of this study will be the analysis of related articles and speeches in the journals of People's Houses, in the music journals of that period etc. relying on the works of Başgöz and Boratav, which convey very important knowledge about the Turkish folk culture/music and on the works of De Certeau, Erdoğan, Hobsbawm, Gellner, Smith, Zubaida, Burke, Bhabha and Chatterjee which equipped with important background information about both the concept of culture and folk culture and characteristic of the folk culture acts that prevailed in the construction of the national identity in general and the Turkish national identity in particular.

The second chapter will try to examine the features of the Kemalist nationalist-populist comprehension. The focus will mainly be on the construction of national identity and the importance of the Turkish History Thesis and the language reform in this construction. The essentialist dimension of this construction will be another point to be stressed. The relations between the Kemalist principles of nationalism and populism will be emphasized in order to grasp the crucial sides of these principles. An attempt will also be made to analyse the features of the Kemalist populism and the double narrative aspect of this paradigm will especially be stressed. Furthermore, I will look at the functions of the institutions such as the high schools or the People's Houses in the Kemalist populism.

The third chapter is devoted to the story of the music policy. First of all, some of the characteristics of the Ottoman Classic Music that point to the unsuitable vision of the Kemalist cadres on the Ottoman Classic Music will be dwelled on. The relationship between this music and folk music will be focused on. Subsequently, an attempt will be made to express the initial attempts of westernization on music during the last period of the Ottoman Empire in order to show the effects of those attempts on the Kemalist music policies. Then, I will examine the music policies during the Early Republican Period.

The fourth chapter will analyse the Kemalist outlook on folk music. I will first deal with some preliminary characteristics of the Turkish folk music. Then, I will try to examine the improper opinions of the Kemalist cadres with the indispensable features of the folk music. It should be remarked here that the Kemalist opinions and acts on the folk music are not unique. Therefore, in this chapter, I will try to look at the inconsistencies of the Kemalist cadres on the folk music acts in themselves.

In the last chapter, an analysis will be made of the works of the Kemalist cadres on the folk music from within the dominant ideological paradigms and the characteristics of the music policies. The collections that were realized by the State Conservatory, the People's Houses or the individuals who dabbled in the collection acts, will be mentioned. Moreover, the works which were realized by the State Conservatory, the People's Houses, and the radios will also be tried to be analysed.

And lastly, in the appendixes I will firstly give a map which shows the dissemination of pentatonism from Central Asia. Then, I will give a table which presents the numbers and locations of folk songs collection. Thirdly, I will give the originals of my translations from Turkish language.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KEMALIST NATIONALISM-POPULISM PRINCIPLE AND MUSIC REFORM**

After the National Independence War, the Kemalist regime had to legitimize its rule politically, culturally and economically. Just as every new state has to construct its role in the economic sphere, so the cadres of the young republic mostly established capitalist relations in the Turkish social formation. In other words, their policies developed the capitalist relations which had begun to sprout in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Ottoman Empire. This does not, however, mean that the other spheres, such as the cultural realm, were ignored by the new regime. In this sense, in addition to the efforts exerted in the economic sphere, the Kemalist cadres tried to consolidate their power in the political and cultural spheres as well. However, all of these attempts, including those in economy, exhibited certain very serious oscillations because of the pragmatic character of the Kemalist leadership. It can also be claimed that the establishment of the single party regime was mostly realized in the 1930s, and the roots of the ideological paradigms of Kemalism can be found in these years (Ahmad, 1995; Karpat, 1988; Tunçay, 1999; Zürcher, 1998). In other words, the marks of the culture and music policies can clearly be seen in those years.

In cultural issues, the Kemalist cadres attempted to provide a legitimate ground for the new regime. In other words, nationalism-populism principles of the Early Republican Period and the cultural reforms were inseparably linked together. As Eagleton (2005: 36) argues, nationalism adopts primitive ties to the modern life. According to him, culture is one of the most important tools for nationalism to unify society. In this sense, the cultural reforms of Kemalism can be seen as glue to unify the people. The main aim of these cultural reforms was to impose a high Western

culture on people. Contrary to the Ottoman culture, this new culture would be the real culture of Turks. It would be national; the constituents of it would already be found within the life of Turkish people. This new culture would be written in the Turkish language. Furthermore, it would be compatible with the Western civilization; the national culture of Turks would be created by a kind of synthesis with the Western culture. Because the roots of the Western culture could already be traced back to the Turkish culture, this synthesis would mean returning to the roots for the new Turkish culture. In sum, the imposition of a kind of high culture which would be both national and modern was aimed at.

One of the cultural reform attempts of Kemalism was to produce both a “national” and a “civilized” music. The Kemalist cadres wished to create a kind of modern individual who would abide by the mantra of the new regime and become a citizen who could appreciate civilized and national music. The new regime’s music policy depended on three practices: the Ottoman music, which the Kemalist order strived to exclude, classical Western music and the Turkish folk music, whereby the latter two would be the two primary elements of a new music for modern Turks<sup>3</sup>.

The music policy of the Early Republican Period can only be understood within the framework of the ideological paradigms of that era. The Kemalist cadres of the Early Republican Period tried to establish a kind of social structure to achieve its goals of modern state and modern nation. In this sense, it can be claimed that the Kemalist nationalism-populism and their components, which would be the essential basis of this structure, constituted the main directions of the music policies. Thus, in this chapter the Kemalist nationalism-populism and their components will be analysed.

The music policies were highly related with the Kemalist nationalist comprehension. The Kemalist cadres tried to eradicate the effects of Islam and the East in the national and modern identity of individual and conveyed the roots of

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<sup>3</sup> These attempts are not peculiar to Turkish nationalism, they can be found in the creation of the Afghan national identity:

Many urged that Afghanistan’s folklore and traditional music be collected and called for the development of a new literature reflecting both the nation’s historical legacy and its present social realities, needs and aspirations. Poets and writers were exhorted to see themselves as vehicles of social change and their role as awakening the Afghan people. (Gregorian quoted by Baily, 1994: 56).

national identity and culture to Anatolia and Central Asia<sup>4</sup>. In this sense, the Ottoman Classical Music was seen as ‘ill’ and ‘alien’ for Turkish people. There was a desire to erase it from the history, traditions and consciousness of Turkish people. In addition to this, the ambivalent boundaries of nationalism, which includes “recollection and forgetting, force or dependence, exclusiveness or sharing” (Said quoted by Bhabha, 1993: 300), can be found in the Turkish nationalist discourse. To illustrate, on the one hand the folk songs were praised as the ‘real music of Turks’, on the other hand, those which were not suitable to the high characteristics of Turks were eliminated. As Gellner claims, nationalism tries to impose a high culture on the society; an invented and shared culture replaces the “previous complex structure of local groups, sustained by folk cultures reproduced locally and idiosyncratically by the micro groups themselves” (1994: 65). He adds that this is realized in the name of putative folk culture. In other words, a local high culture is revived or invented (1994: 65-66). According to him, in reality the peasants and their culture are seen as a barrier to overcome in the establishment of national unity (1998: 239-240).

In this context, the Turkish History Thesis, which was one of the main dimensions of the process of constructing the national identity, is an important issue to be examined. Attempts were made to erase the Ottoman history from the minds and consciousness of the new Turkish people by means of this thesis. In line with this, the exclusion of the Ottoman music was a logical outcome of this intention. Moreover, this thesis was used to show the effectiveness and prevalence of the Turkish folk music. In other words, the Turks who brought their high civilization to the places they had invaded, spread their ‘high’ and ‘modern’ music, folk music, to the other nations. Shortly, the modernization of the Turkish folk songs meant returning to their roots. In this sense, another issue, which was the idea of synthesizing the Turkish and Western identity, will be discussed under the title of the Turkish History Thesis in which Kemalists music reformers, on the one hand, argued for the synthesis of the monophonic Turkish folk music with the polyphonic Western music, and, on the other hand, they mentioned that the polyphony already existed in the Turkish folk songs. To sum up, as Ersanlı (2003: 103) maintains, the history thesis of Kemalism was an attempt for a cultural revolution. In other words, a

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<sup>4</sup> Parla claims that the Kemalist comprehension of history and language does not accept continuity. Kemalism behaved like that history can be stopped at a point and then restarted to flow as if it begins anew (1997: 121).

nationalist reading of history was one of the most important elements of Kemalism's cultural project, especially in music reforms.

The essentialist dimension of the Kemalist nationalism in connection with the Turkish History Thesis is another important point to be stressed because the Kemalist music reformers defined the Ottoman Music as 'ill', 'sluggish' and 'alien' for the Turkish people. Therefore, they had to depict the 'high' and 'noble' characteristics of Turks, which they succeeded in doing. In this sense, Turkish folk music was found to be compatible with these features and the examples which were found to be incompatible with the characteristics of Turks were excluded or censured. Moreover, they tried to transform the folk songs in accordance with the techniques of the Western polyphonic music. In other words, the essentialist feature of the Kemalist nationalism is vital in the music policies of the single party regime.

The language reform and the Sun-Language Theory were other important attempts, which also influenced the music policies. Kemalist nationalists tried to create a standardized and homogenized language, which was very crucial in the construction of the national identity. Therefore, according to them, the Ottoman language was an unknown language for most of the Turkish people; their daily speech was very different from the Ottoman language. The noble, pure words<sup>5</sup> of the real Turkish language could be found among the high and noble Turkish people. In line with this, the Ottoman Music, which was written in the Ottoman language, was incomprehensible for the Turkish people. Thus, it had to be replaced with a new and national music. Moreover, the folk songs which did not contain the pure, noble Turkish words or a structured lyric were ignored by the Kemalist music reformers. Furthermore, the local dialects and accents of the folk melodies were replaced with the real Turkish language both in their collections and interpretations on radios or the People's Houses in order to create a national language. In conclusion, the language reform of Kemalism was highly effective on both their opinions on the Ottoman Classical Music and the folk music policies.

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<sup>5</sup> One of the main attempts of the language reform was to replace the words which were claimed to be originally Arabian or Persian in the Ottoman language with the words which were regarded as deriving from the Turkish language of Central Asia. Although, this attempt was not perpetuated so long, it is important to grasp the language reform. In this sense, by saying pure-Turkish words I'm referring to this purification attempt.

The Kemalist populism<sup>6</sup> principle will be another issue to be covered in order to comprehend the music reforms. According to the Kemalists, the fundamental elements of a nation could be found within the life of people. Discovering the life of people could give important clues to comprehend the pure, unspoiled national characteristics. However, according to them, people resembled children to be educated, modernized, civilized etc. In other words, although they regarded folk life as the source of a 'nation-to-be', they tried to give it a new form. The People's Houses approached people in order to find the sources of national identity, but they did not see this source as sufficient for a modern life and thus tried to replace it by means of some pedagogic methods.

In the same vein, according to Smith, the concept of people is important in ethnic nationalism; even if people are not activated practically, they are important rhetorically. (2004: 29). These performative and pedagogic characters of the Kemalist populism can be clearly observed in the music reforms, especially in the folklore acts; on the one hand, they regarded folk music as the source of the new Turkish music, and, on the other hand, they tried to elaborate and transform it completely.

This point is very important to grasp how the national symbols and myths are invented and then used to construct the nationalist vision of people and show the two faces of this construction which he calls double narrative, as pedagogic and performative, which make very explicit the opinions and wroughts of the Kemalist cadres on folk music.

To sum up, the music policies were regarded by the Kemalist cadres as one of the most important attempts to create a desired national and modern individual. In this sense, the framework of the music policies was drawn by the features of the nationalism and populism principle of Kemalism.

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<sup>6</sup> According to Parla, the principles of populism and nationalism were just analytically separated in the 1931 Republican People's Party Program (1995: 31).

## **2.1. Kemalist Nationalism: A Common Origin and Common History Among the Turkish People**

*We have created Italy and now we should create Italians.  
(Mazzini quoted by Hobsbawm, 1993a: 110).*

Kemalism was a project of establishing a nation state, which was the main target of the republican cadres. In this sense, the Kemalist cadres tried to create a national identity or imagine a political community, which would unify people around the nation state (Anderson, 1995: 20). As Hobsbawm (1995: 24) claims that the debates on nationalism is highly related with the existence of modern national state.

Hobsbawm adds that nationalists and the nation state use and transform the existing cultural formations in order to create a nation. In this sense, the nation state is the primary actor in elaborating, purifying and moulding the existing heterogeneous cultural formations to create a national identity.

In Turkish nationalism, it is clear that while in some periods the legal or cultural aspects were emphasized, in some other periods the Kemalist nationalists shifted their focus onto ethnic or geographical dimensions. In this sense, Smith's analysis of nationalism, which divides nationalism into two categories as territorial and ethnic, can be helpful. The former is defined by geographic boundaries and thus, requires the concept of sovereignty. In other words, it has a legal aspect; that is, being a member of a nation is defined by the allegiance to a common code. According to Smith, the invented common culture is another characteristic of this type of nationalism. In the latter, ethnic nationalism is mainly based on ethnic ties. In other words, Smith claims that the assumption of a common origin is very crucial in forging an ethnic nationalism; the nation is consisted of those who had common ethnic ties (1989: 135, 136-137 and 2004: 28).

In this context, one of the main goals of Turkish nationalism was to provide a common origin, which is a common history and language for the Turkish people, the two key elements of a proposed common origin:

Pure nationalism brings together within the boundaries of the Turkish country commitment to unity in language and culture as well as to past memories and future ambitions. (Peker, 1935: 11) [1]



In other words, Kemalist nationalism intended to create a common history<sup>7</sup> and language within a clearly defined country, a motherland where irredentist inclinations were not observed. For example, according to Tekin Alp, a prominent nationalist figure of the era, one of the mystical symbols of Turkish nationalism, *Kızıl Elma*<sup>8</sup>, which refers to Turks' Central Asian roots, was incorporated into Anatolia with the National Independence War. Thus, Alp criticized the pan-Turkist desire which regarded Central Asia as the heart of the Turkish nation, but claims that the *Kızıl Elma* should be found in the noble soul of the members of Turkish nation as opposed to any geographical location (1936: 34-35). Similarly, it can be argued that in the Turkish nationalism of the 1930s, the irredentist desires were rejected, and the relations with Turks who dwelled in other regions were merely seen as a cultural issue. In other words, the focus on the Central Asian roots can be seen as a result of the desire to invent a common culture among people. Though the emphasis on Central Asia can be seen as merely a cultural issue, this does not imply that the ethnic dimension of Turkish nationalism is neglected. On the contrary, it should be added that in Turkish nationalism, the ethnic roots and the common language and history were both emphasized simultaneously. The intellectuals, artists, historians were of crucial importance in this national uniformity.

In this context, the invention of both the tradition-culture and history in the construction of Turkish nationalism was very important. Nationalism, on the one hand, is a vital discourse of modern ages; it is one of the main outcomes of modernism, and on the other hand, it strongly refers to myths, symbols and thoughts of the past; that is, it tries to ensure its effectiveness with the elements of the past. As Hobsbawm (1993b: 8) asserts, the existing traditional elements are searched, elaborated and reconfigured for national purposes. This term of invention is highly essential in the analysis of Turkish nationalism since, as Smith (1989: 136) claims, nationalism mostly creates the elements of common culture –myths, symbols, meanings and values. These myths and symbols “... can restore the collective

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<sup>7</sup> In this common history, as Renan says, the national idea rests on a heroic story (1994: 17). An example of this epic history in the Turkish nationalist discourse is the Legend of Grey Wolf (Bozkurt Destanı).

<sup>8</sup> By this term, the nationalists, who supported the re-unification of all the Turkish races in Central Asia, referred to Central Asian roots of Turks.

heritage and explain who we are to ourselves and to others...” (Smith, 1989: 202). On the other hand, this is not a pure fabrication, rather it is a reconstruction.

As a conclusion, in the construction process of national identity, the creation of a common history and language was very crucial to create a national culture. By the same token, Gellner (1994: 63-64) claims that nationalism apply to the pre-existent cultures for its purposes, but it cannot use them all.

In other words, a common origin was tried to be founded since it might give the sense of unity to people. This common history and language are tried to be realized with the selective use of memory. In other words, some historical facts are forgotten, some others are remembered and reinvented. In Kemalist nationalism, the Turkish History Thesis was used as a main tool in order to create a common origin among people.

## **2.2. The Turkish History Thesis**

Turkish historiography was very important for the nationalist cadres to create both national and modern citizens:

Our party attaches utmost importance to teaching our citizens the deep-rooted history of the Turk. This insight, which would cultivate the Turk’s faculties and strength, his self-confidence and his unbreakable endurance against any currents that may harm our national existence, is a sacred essence. (CHF, 1931: 79) [2]

According to the Turkish History Thesis of the 1930s,<sup>9</sup> which was one of the most important Kemalist attempts to invent the nation and to create a national history, the cradle of civilization lay in Central Asia where Turks once sojourned. The result of such logic saw Turks tantamount to the creators of the civilization<sup>10</sup>. The cultural cradle of humanity was Central Asia where a brachycephalic race has

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<sup>9</sup> By saying the 1930’s, I do not claim that the elements of this thesis are neglected after that period. On the contrary, by taking into account the hegomonical position of Kemalism in the whole history of the Turkish Republic, most of the elements of this thesis can be found in the discourse of the Turkish State, fascist movements or popular nationalist discourse. For example as Aydın argues, academic historicism ignored this history thesis at first, but then it appropriated its main elements (Aydın, 1996: 137).

<sup>10</sup> Kemalists did not see the civilization as a process; on the other hand, according to them, it was an abstract thing which could easily be replaced, erased or created. Therefore, the relations between Kemalism and the concept of civilization should be considered within this context.

once lived (İnan, 1932a: 24-25). Therefore, the Turkish nationalist comprehension attached importance to a common ethnic tie in the creation of a common history. In other words, for Kemalist nationalists common history was not enough to create a national identity. In addition, there was an emphasis on a common ethnic origin, the members of which would be the actors of this history (İnan, 1932a: 31).

In this region, those who were the members of brachycephalic race used to speak the same language. Although, the Sun-Language theory was mostly formulated in 1936, the first traces of this theory can be seen in the Turkish History Thesis. The emphasis on a common language highlighted the importance of language in the creation of the civilization. In the Turkish history thesis, the discourse on the existence of high Turkish civilizations was used to spread the Kemalist modernization attempts among people. According to this thesis, when the rest of the nations all over the world were living in primitive conditions, Turks took the very first steps towards civilization as they, for instance, began to exploit natural resources (Alp, 1936: 142). Europe acquired all the components of its civilization from Central Asia. In other words, the Kemalist modernization attempts were merely a retrospection into “our roots.” On the other hand, the emphasis on the Anatolian peninsula was not neglected in this thesis. Accordingly, the Hittites -Central Asian Turks- carried the centre of Turkism and civilization from Central Asia to Anatolia (İnan, 1932a: 30-31, 41 and Karal, 1980: 101). In other words, the ties between Central Asia and Anatolia were tried to be strengthened in this thesis.

Due to certain geographical difficulties, mainly water scarcity, Turks had to leave their dwellings in Central Asia and later they were able to spread to other regions, such as India, Mesopotamia, Macedonia and Anatolia. They also brought their civilizations together with them (Alp, 1936: 143- 144; Cemil, 1932: 209; Galip, 1932: 117; İnan, 1932a: 24-25). This ethno-history is reinvented to provide a common cultural and historical root for the nation, while on the other hand this history was used very selectively since a deliberate amnesia regarding some parts of this common history is of great importance (Smith, 2004: 197). In the Turkish History Thesis, the period that was mostly neglected was the Islamic period (Yıldız, 2001: 120-121).

In this thesis, three points are of crucial importance. The ethnic dimensions of Turkish nationalism were formulated by establishing certain links between the brachycephalic race of Central Asia and Europe, Mesopotamia and Anatolia (Kansu, 1932: 277).

In this way, imagined ties between Turkism and civilization were tried to be fortified once again. As a counter argument to the many European anthropologists who assumed that Turks belong to the Mongoloid races, the ethnic identity of the Turkish race was tried to be proved in the way that Turks were a part of the brachycephalic races of Central Asia (Alp, 1936: 133). In fact, as Kansu claimed, the origins of the brachycephalic Europe could be traced back to the Turks of Central Asia.

Another important point in the Turkish History Thesis is that it was supposed that the original founders of civilization, that is the Western civilization, were Turks, but because of certain reasons, Turks had to hand this civilization and its ideas over to the Europeans<sup>11</sup> (İnan, 1932b: 444). The civilization was carried to the Anatolian peninsula by Turks. In fact, Turks have constituted the main race of Anatolia<sup>12</sup> (Galip, 1932: 1223, 123, 132, 134, 135, 153). In this sense, the Anatolian roots of Turks were tried to be strengthened since the elements of the common culture would be found in this region as a practical necessity. According to Kemalist cadres, Anatolia has been the dwelling of Turks for thousands of years (Alp, 1936: 95).

Another repercussion of the emphasis on Anatolia would be the importance of the comprehension of the village life of Anatolia (Öztürkmen, 1998: 97). That is, this focus is the result of the intentions of the modernization of the village life. In addition to this, the emphasis on the historical dwellings in Anatolia underlined the

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<sup>11</sup> At that point, İnan argues that the main reason to abandon civilization was the intermingling of state and religion (1932a: 44). In other words, attempts to exclude the Islamic period of Turkish history can be seen once again. For Kemalist cadres, the noble souls of the Turks were spoiled by Sharia rules (Engin, 1938: 255). Islam was the main reason of underdevelopment of Turks (Bozkurt, 1940). Here, besides the principle of nationalism, Kemalist cadres also stressed the importance of secularism to reach contemporary civilization level by focusing on the separation of religious and state affairs. Islamic tradition is refused by Kemalist cadres due to the assumption that it was inconsistent with the ideological paradigms of the new regime (Sakallıoğlu, 1998: 7, 9; Subaşı, 2003-2004: 139). According to Toprak: "...A paralel effort was made to destroy folk Islam." (1981: 46). Also see, Mardin, Şerif. "Religion And Politics In Modern Turkey." in *Islam In A World Of Nation States*. Edited by J. P. Piscatori. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. On the other hand, in practice, as most scholars claim that Turkish secularism is not characterized by the separation of the two but the control of religion by the state (Mardin, 1986; Toprak, 1981; Tunçay, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> This argument is also effective in the Turkification of Anatolia.

geographical dimensions of Turkish nationalism<sup>13</sup>. To sum up, as Smith (1989: 148-149) claims, all nationalism requires a homeland where the national roots can be traced back and no 'nation-to-be' can survive without a homeland. The historical homeland, Central Asia in the case of Kemalist nationalist comprehension, and the existing homeland – Anatolia – was the high and spiritual dwellings for the members of the nation; the unification of nation was tried to be provided with this nostalgia (Smith, 2004: 25).

In this sense, the Republican People's Party attached special importance to the Turkish History Thesis as it was one of the most vital tools to endow Turkish citizens with a sense of national identity. In this history, there could be doubts over details but most of the writers had to fit into the general pattern of development of the course of events. Moreover, the story must have been rich to allure and stir national sentiments. In this thesis, the Turkish identity was represented as omnipresent; it was dateless, and Turks were the members of a leading nation<sup>14</sup> (Bora, 1996: 179). On the same track with Smith's argument (1989: 183), which is that the origins of the community are inherently mysterious in the Turkish nationalist

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<sup>13</sup> According to Özdoğan, while the geographical location of national identity was Anatolia, historically speaking, the settlement of Turks in this region was a limited time period. Thus, the history of Anatolia was rediscovered and the roots of Central Asia as a cradle of civilization was emphasized in this rediscovery (2002: 84-85). However, Bora claims that such a rediscovery and mystification was superficial (1996: 187).

<sup>14</sup> All of these attempts can be thought as ways to insert a kind of self-confidence to the Turkish people (Oran, 1999: 273). For example, İnan said:

Today's Turkish children who decide to lighten their mind and conscience with the latest flames of progress, knows and will declare that they do not come from a tribe consisting of 400 tents, they come from a high quality nation which is civilized, noble, Arian race of thousands of years. (1932a: 41) [3]

This self-confidence is frequently underlined and the Turkish national identity was exaggerated. It can be claimed that the words of M. Kemal regarding the characteristic of Turkness and Turkish nation aimed to develop the self-confidence of Turkish people rather than a kind of chauvinistic manner. Although, for Kemalist cadres there was a high and qualified character among the Turks, as in all other dilemmas of Turkish nationalism, the characteristics of Turks were seen as insufficient by Kemalist cadres. On the one hand, the natural characteristics of Turks were exaggerated, on the other hand, the insufficiencies in the members of the nation were explicitly said (Bora, 1986: 189-190). This paradox can be seen distinctively in their analysis on village and peasants which were supposed to represent the unspoiled and thus the real souls of Turks, which will be mentioned below. Besides, this paradox can be seen in the act of collection. While Kemalist cadres tried to collect folk songs, they also tried to eliminate some of them due to the fact that some folk themes were considered to be inconsistent with national identity. According to Agah Sırrı Levend the broadcasting of folk songs of bandits which is indispensable elements of folk songs, in radio was incorrect (Boratav, 1991a: 132). On the other hand, Boratav claims that it is meaningless to search for good and meaningful emotions in folklore supplies. Rather, in folklore supplies, the collector should search for the affects of events on people (1991b: 477).

discourse, these common origins showed the same mysterious characteristics. In this sense, Öğün claims that Mustafa Kemal strived to realize a unique experience which aimed to construct a spurious past to establish a modern political society (1999: 111). On the other hand, these attempts can not be considered as a pure fabrication; on the contrary, some historical elements were remembered and others were not. That is, the invention was engineered through the selective use of the existing historical facts<sup>15</sup>.

If we follow Smith's argument (1989: 182-183), turning back to our roots provides a chance to find out the true destiny of our community. In this sense, for Kemalist cadres, this nationalist reading of the history would endow the individuals with a national identity by unifying them around a common past. In this past, the features of the community were highly exaggerated, the Turks were the members of a noble and pure nation; they were the first creators of civilization; they affected all other cultures around them etc. Therefore, the modernization of the members of a nation means the rediscovery of those which had existed in the past.

However, it should be added that the opinions of the Turkish History Thesis reminds us of the famous notification of Sherlock Holmes, who is a well-known hero in a novel created by Sir Arthur Canon Doyle. According to him, it is a big mistake to create a theory without sufficient evidence. People begin to distort the facts to make them compatible with the theory instead of trying to make the theory consistent with the facts (Doyle, 2003: 8). In this sense, the Turkish History Thesis tried to reinvent the historical facts in order to make realities consistent with its opinions.

### **2.3. The Turkish History Thesis and the Idea of Synthesis**

In the nationalist comprehension of the Early Republican Period, the idea of synthesis was important. For example, Engin claims: "We are both Turks and Europeans." (1938: 19) [4] On the other hand, this approach was not only a synthesis; in fact, as Chatterjee (1986: 2) argues, the situations of the nation are analyzed in terms of standards set by Western Europe. This way of thinking can be seen as a self-colonization. That is, the foreign colonisers are replaced by the native ones. On the other hand, since the nationalists aware of the fact that these standarts

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<sup>15</sup> As Williams claims: "...The tradition and past is always used and selected and incorporated to dominant cultural mode" (1991: 413). In this context, I think, one of the problems of Kemalism stems from the weakness of their selected tradition.

come from an alien culture, they try to keep the distinctiveness of the indigenous culture. Therefore, while the nationalism imitates the foreign culture, it involves a hostility to it.

This contradictory character of Eastern nationalism is valuable to understand the synthesis of Kemalist nationalism. For example, according to İnan (1932a: 28) Europe has become the most pathetic of all; even, the oldest Paleolithic arts would probably be transferred to Europe from the continent of Africa. These words are one of the examples of this hostility. In fact, the idea of synthesis showed some oscillations between the sources of synthesis; sometimes the emphasis on the Westernization and universality were strengthened. For example, according to Kemalism the Turkish revolution is universal (Peker, 1984: 55) or Engin claims that the Turkish revolution is a Europeanism in its complete sense (1938: 23); but at others the weight of the native character was waned. For example, the uniqueness of the Turkish nation was frequently emphasized by Kemalist cadres. For example, İnan claims that there is no other nation in the surface of the earth which is greater, older, purer than Turkish nation (1969: 18). In this sense, in Kemalist understanding, the concept of nationalism was presented as a part of civilization<sup>16</sup>.

In fact, the nationalism of Turks couldn't be compared with that of the other nations (Alp, 1936: 291). This means that idea of synthesis in Turkish conception of nationalism could easily be replaced with the uniqueness of the Turkish nation. It was strictly claimed that the party [RPP] would try to keep the distinctive characters of Turkish nation (CHF, 1931: 130).

In this sense, here, a parenthesis is required for Turkish nationalism which represents its universality by claiming the origin of civilizations that could be found in the Turkish history and tried to find its validity in this universality. This intention of universality can be thought in line with the intention of the nation's eternity (Bhabha, 1993: 299). In other words, the arguments on the universality of Turkish nationalism can be seen as providing a historic stance and thus promising eternal

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<sup>16</sup> According to Kadioğlu, this point is one of the paradoxes of Turkish nationalism which both tried to imitate the West and felt hostility to it. These kinds of dilemmas are frequently seen in Turkish nationalism (1996: 185-186). Turkish identity was equalized with Western identity and Eastern identity is excluded. In this sense, the national identity was produced within a tension between the East and the West. Moreover, according to Bora there was no external enemy beyond xenophobia. In Turkish nationalist understanding, Europe was defeated but European thoughts won the victory. The origins of West were already created by Turks. The image of other was the past of Ottoman, Islam and the Arab (Bora, 1996: 182, 183-184). This point will be important in the analysis of music reforms.

identity to people. On the other hand, as Chatterjee argues, (quoted by Bhabha, 1993: 293) it is a trap of self-destruction, since when, it found itself as universal, the concept of 'other,' which was one of its most important components, would vanish. In sum, the idea of uniqueness and universality as well as the idea of synthesis co-exist in Turkish nationalism. In fact, one important aspect of the Kemalist history thesis was equivalent to the idea of westernization by referring back to the real roots of Turks. In other words, reaching a civilized level of West was defined by Kemalism as rediscovering those which essentially existed in the features of the Turkish nation.

#### **2.4. The Turkish History Thesis and the Essentialist Dimension of Turkish Nationalism**

The emphasis on the national character in the relationship between Kemalist history thesis and nationalism was vital since the Turkish History, by the Kemalists, was taken into consideration to comprehend the national characteristics of Turks.

For example, the democratic imagination and behaviour was one of the national characteristic of Turks. Or, the secularism was transferred to Christians from Turks (Bozkurt, 1940: 431 and 450). But, these features were despoiled under the effects of Islamic religion which loosened the national ties and feelings of Turks (İnan, 1969: 20-21). In other words, with these emphases, Kemalist cadres tried to fix the national traits of Turks in a historical moment, which mainly refers to the pre-Islamic period.

Nevertheless, in Kemalist nationalism, the natural characteristics of Turks remained secret, especially in the rural areas. In this context, as Smith emphasized, the ethnic character is a compulsory element to complete the nation-to-be (2004: 73), and in the Kemalist nationalist understanding, this aspect of the nationalist discourse was frequently stressed. In this sense, according to the Kemalist cadres, the national characters and ethics of Turks were incomparable to those of other nations. The main aim of nationalism was to construct a pure national will, since, as Smith (2004: 126) suggests, nationalists largely strived to eradicate the foreign effects which spoiled the national characters; that is, in nationalist discourse, as in Kemalist nationalism, the national features could only be degenerated via foreign effects. On the other hand,



these features were indispensable parts of the nation, i.e. of Turks, and thus, it remained hidden among the Turkish nation:

While human history at last entered the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the western part of extensive Turkish masses which covered the world was sleeping in the calmness of the Ottoman Empire, which had become ridiculous, weak and in a complete chaos in every respect, and there were not any affiliations between those which consisted it. Thank God, a single thing, the blood of Turk, the corruption of which is impossible under even the greatest destructive tools and crushing events, remained clear during these uproars. The Western Turks preserved and protected the purity of their blood in this ruin. (Peker, 1984: 16) [5]

At this point, the already existing national characteristics of Turkish people needed to be rediscovered and made ready for the Turkish nation. In these endeavours, as Smith (1989: 138) argues, the existing cultures of the folk are seen as a place for national uniqueness. In other words, according to nationalist views, the ‘real national identity’ can be found among the folk life of people.

To sum up, the national characteristics of Turks were high, spiritual and pure. But, they were somehow lost in the historical process. In the Turkish nationalist understanding, these national elements and consciousness were lost because of the effects of the Islamic religion. Similar to Smith’s argument, which maintains that the nationalist believe in the eternity of the nation and its cultural elements, which had somehow fallen in a deep sleep (2004: 76), the national features of Turks should have been regained by Kemalist cadres for the modernization of Turkish people. The only thing to do would be to imitate the ancestors, who had created the first civilizations in the historical process:

Thus, the proud soul and culture of Turks, which was inherited from their ancestors, could be found in the folk life and materials of people. If we follow Smith (1989: 171-172), who claims that these elements are tried to be given back to people in modern and scientific form.

Therefore, in the Turkish nationalist comprehension, the national characteristics began to be searched in the ethnic past to rediscover the authentic identity of Turks by means of history, philology and archeology. Finally, Benedict Anderson’s metaphor of ‘sleep’ can be helpful. He claims that, according to

nationalists the characters of any nation has fallen into a deep sleep and thus, nation should be awakened from this (1995: 216-217)

Likewise, the national characters of Turks, which had fallen into a deep period of sleep, were tried to be re-discovered or invented by means of ‘scientific methods’. The main places of this process were the villages, where these features remained secret.

## **2.5. The Language Reform and the Sun-Language Theory**

The language reform is another attempt for the creation of the Turkish national identity, national culture and a standard language since, as Williams claims, “language is a constitutive element of material social practice.” (1992: 165). Hobsbawm (1995: 55-56 and 72-73) argues that during the nation-building processes in Italy and Germany, the national identity was strongly related with the national language. On the other hand, a small majority of the people could speak this national language. This means that the national languages don’t exist ‘nation-wide’; on the contrary, they are invented. The important problem is to choose a dialect which would be the source of homogenized and standardized language. In other words, the creation of the national language is not a fabrication; on the contrary, a dialect is selected among the existing ones and this is the source of the national language. In this sense, Turkish language was seen by Kemalist cadres as one of the most important elements in the creation of a national identity. For example, according to İnan the Turkish language is the heart and mind of Turkish nation (1969: 19). The language reform had mainly two aims; the first aim was to decrease differences to provide national unity, one of the results of this differentiation was the distinction of the language within the country, between villages and cities, and between peasants and intellectuals, and the second aim was to cut the heritage of the Ottoman past off by purifying the languages from Arabian words. As Başgöz and Wilson claim, the language reform was realized in order to purify the culture of Anatolian Turks (1968: 134). The Ottoman language once again damaged the Turkish language, which had been the product of the proud-worthy civilizations of Turks. The peasants were speaking the real Turkish language; on the other hand, the intellectuals ignored it. Therefore, the high culture of the Ottoman social formation was written under the

influence of a foreign culture. In sum, Turks have lost their own language in the historical process.

In this sense, the pure and uncontaminated Turkish words were tried to be collected from the Anatolian peasants by the Ministry of National Education and the People's Houses. The 'pure Turkish words' were also searched among other languages of civilizations since they were essentially seen as the products of Turks.

The intellectuals and the governors tried to employ pure Turkish in their writings and speeches. The attempt to purify the language reached its peak in 1933 and 1934. On the other hand, words deriving from European languages weren't eliminated. Besides, the new words resembled those of the French language (Çağaptay, 2002: 255). According to Atay, attempts to create a self-Turkish language caused a deadlock in the language reform; he acknowledges this deadlock as he quotes Atatürk's words on the problem: "... We have forced our language into a swamp." (1969: 476) [6] Then, Atay states that a commission was set up to deal with the problem, but no one was satisfied with the solutions proposed by the commission (1969: 477-478). As a result, as Alp claimed, the language reform and the Turkish History Thesis were tried to be unified, and as a result, the Sun-Language Theory emerged in 1936.

In the same vein, Safa claimed that the language reforms are merely the realization of the Turkish History Thesis on the language (1997: 207). In this theory, the basic language in the human history was the Turkish language which had been constituted within the necessity of the worship to the Sun. The other languages have been derived from the Turkish language since the first language all over the world was the Turkish language (Engin, 1938: 151).

Likewise, Engin (1938: 146) claimed that the ancient people's emotions and opinions on the sun, and the necessity of expressing them have become the most important reasons of the existence of languages. Then, according to him, the first voice of the Turkish language and thus, of all other languages was *ağ* which means the sun. With this theory, the problem of foreign words in the purification of language was easily eradicated; the foreign words were already Turkish in terms of their linguistic roots (Çağaptay, 2002: 256). According to Zürcher (1989: 52), this theory is the result of a deadlock between purists who tried to eliminate language

from foreign words and strived to construct a superficial language<sup>17</sup> and moderates who tried to keep transformed words which derived from either Arabian or Persian languages. Also, the theory was tried to be depended upon some evidences of sociological and anthropological works, but not linguistic works. The main thesis of this theory was that the origin of all the languages around the world can be traced back to the Central Asian languages; in other words to the Turkish language. Related with the Turkish History Thesis, languages were spread from this region (Engin, 1938: 151). On the other hand, the evidences were very weak and the theory was gradually abandoned after 1938<sup>18</sup> (Zürcher, 1989: 54-55). For example, the usage of the pure-Turkish words was abandoned in the brochures of the People's Houses (Yeşilkaya, 1999: 83).

In fact, as Yıldız claims, there is an inconsistency<sup>19</sup> in the theory since, on the one hand Kemalists analyzed the Turkish language as the source of all languages, and on the other hand, they were trying to purify the language from some foreign words, such as Arabian or Persian (2001: 192). As a dimension of this reform, in the collection acts, the words that were not consistent with the pure-Turkish words or the words that were thought to be inconsistent with the proud characteristic of Turks were eliminated or transformed. In fact, the language of minorities and local dialects were totally neglected since the main aim was to create a homogenized and standardized language.

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<sup>17</sup> Such an approach to cultural issues seems highly problematic since, as Raymond Williams states: "...culture can be understood as the system of meanings and values and as the whole way of life (1992: 13, 15 and 17). The fatal error of the Kemalist cadre lies here as they wanted to change culture and its implications on people in whatever direction they wished. This point will be focused on during the analysis of music reforms.

<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, Engin suggested that the most important elements in cultural reforms were historical and language related ones (1938: 25).

<sup>19</sup> This anecdote of Atay is very meaningful in comprehending the characteristic of language reform:

After leaving, my friend Abdülkadir came to me. He once said once that he knew the dialects of most Asian Turks. He said he understood mine and Yakup Kadris' dialects as well. However if there was a dialect beyond his comprehension, it was the dialect of the Turkish Language Society. (1969: 478) [7]

## 2.6. Kemalist Populism

Kemalism defined the Turkish society as a homogeneous, classless and unified nation to reach the goals which were laid down by the Republican Peoples Party. By emphasizing that the sources of national identity and culture should be sought among the Turkish people, especially peasants, Kemalist nationalism situated itself close to the German nationalist understanding<sup>20</sup>. In the Early Republican Period, as in German nationalism, the true roots of national identity were seen among Turkish people, especially peasants and their folkloric materials, as emphasized above. The peasant was exalted; they remained pure and thus, they constituted the true sources of the Turkish nation<sup>21</sup>:

Our peasants, who were considered illiterate and who claimed not to know anything, were actually sensing and perceiving everything using their clear and sharp feelings, which existed in the nature of Turks. (Ergin, 1936: 32) [8]

The national characters of Turks were tried to be invented among the peasants. In reality, these characters of Turks were defined by the Kemalist cadres. Bora and Erdoğan (2003: 639) claim that Kemalist populism invented its own subject; in other words, the people was invented while it was presented in Kemalist discourse.

In this context, as Chatterjee contends, the nationalist understanding expects from the popular consciousness to adopt the idea of synthesis; the popular consciousness is tried to be transformed (1986: 51). In other words, the folk materials which are the product of the collective sub-consciousness of people were tried to be transformed. In this context, as Burke claims, folk supplies would be collected and a

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<sup>20</sup> Herder founded the theory of romantic and cultural nationalism which provides the ideology and theory of national identity (Özdoğan, 2002: 48). This nationalism exalted the tradition of nations and nations themselves. Moreover, as in Turkish nationalism, in romantic nationalism a tension between universalism and particularism emerges (Ersanlı, 2003: 30-31). Ersanlı claims that, such romantic nationalism and its history writing was effective in the eastern countries due to its emphasize on the specific character of national identity (2003: 44).

<sup>21</sup> In fact the Kemalist cadres frequently asserted that the populism had emerged in Turkish states of Central Asia (Engin, 1938: 150 and Bozkurt, 1940: 450). Thus they tried to give the principle of populism a historical background by showing the roots of it once again in the Central Asia and Anatolia.

new modern national culture would be created by “processing,” in other words, by eliminating them<sup>22</sup> (1976: 76 and 1996).

In this sense, the populism principle of Kemalism shows a kind of ambivalent character. On the one hand, Kemalist cadres presented the peasant and their culture as the real source of nation; on the other hand, they did not trust their knowledge. They continuously tried to provide them with ‘scientific knowledge’. Similarly, on the one hand, Kemalism presented folk materials as the source of national culture; on the other hand, it did not trust the appropriateness of these supplies and eliminates the “harmful” elements in them. In other words, as Zubaida (1989: 117) maintains, popular culture was purified in this process.

The purification of popular culture was valid for the deeds of the Early Republican Period. As Erdoğan claims (1998: 117-118), Kemalist cadres submitted folk culture as a kind of social engineering. He argues that in this engineering process, people, on the one hand, were the historical objects of the nationalist pedagogy, and on the other hand, they were the subject of a meaning process to construct themselves as a civilized nation<sup>23</sup>. In the same vein, Mutman (1994: 16) argues that people were continuously established and processed as a root of national identity in nationalist discourse. Thus, people were the subject of the meaning process and the object of pedagogy. In this sense, the nationalist discourses have two separate time conceptions: one pedagogic and the other performative. That is, on the one hand, people already exist; on the other hand, they should be ‘reformulated’<sup>24</sup>.

In this framework, the national education of people and training<sup>25</sup> were very important in the nationalist understanding of Kemalism: “The training should be far from every kind of strange opinion and superstition and should be excellent, national

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<sup>22</sup> In the same vein, De Certeau claims that collection of folk materials means the elimination of supplies which are not seen as proper to exalted national features (1986).

<sup>23</sup> Similarly, De Certeau argues:

The people are another Japan; their taste for music must be recultivated. They are a river; their waters should quench the thirst. And, of course, they are like a woman who should be revealed as what she is (1986: 125).

<sup>24</sup> During that period, on the one hand the peasants were exalted as the real source of nation, on the other hand, they were not permitted to the streets of Ankara (Bora and Erdoğan, 2003: 639).

<sup>25</sup> In this training process the vision of the streets would be tried to be transformed as part of the creation of the civilized individuals. As Alp claimed that, after the reforms, the vision of street completely changed (1936: 104). Mardin claims that one of the important aspects of the cultural reforms of Kemalism was the attempt to eradicate the effects of Islam in the wards. They tried to replace the culture of wards by means of schools (2000: 74-75).

and patriotic.” (CHF, 1931: 79) [9] In this sense, the characteristics of national education were defined in terms of the nationalist and populist approaches of Kemalism. The schools would be the centers of the production of national citizens. The primary discourse of educational process was nationalism. In addition to this, the education process would teach people the codes of the social behavior. The educational process in the villages was directed to modernize these locations; the main aim was to realize the principles of the republic in the villages.

Similarly, Hobsbawm (1995: 115) argues that the nation states strived to use the educational institutions to impose the national sentiment on people. On the other hand, the attempts of the national education did not seem successful as opposed to Kemalist cadres’ hopes in the case of schools. For example, Szyliowicz (1966: 57) notes that few children attended schools in Erdemli and Koyuncu and a large majority of them were male since the parents considered children as an important part of labor force and they were reluctant to pay the burden of the school necessities. In same vein, Tonguç claimed that students did not show any enthusiasm towards schooling. Moreover, the same lack of interest could be seen among school teachers (quoted by Başgöz and Wilson, 1968: 130). One of the main reasons of this lack of interest was the teachers’ ignorance of village life. In addition to these, as Üstel argues, there was no unity in the contents of the school books due to the differences and some time conflictions of the populism and nationalism principle (2004: 157-158). In this sense, in addition to the economic and social difficulties in transforming villages by means of education, the ideological difficulties could be seen in this project. On the other hand, the schools were grasped as one of the most important tools to disseminate the ideological paradigms of the Kemalist regime.

In conclusion, Kemalism defined people-peasants as the source of nation. Although it exalted the life, traditions and customs of people in order to create a national culture, it saw these elements as insufficient to reach a civilized level. In this sense, Kemalist cadres tried to transform them completely; they did not trust the existing knowledge of people; they would teach people the codes of modern life ranging from sports to health; in the cultural context, they strived to unify the different local cultures under a homogenized high culture. In this respect, the education of peasants was important to modernize the village life. In a nutshell, as

Bora and Canefe (2002: 639-640) contends that Kemalism is a strategy to instruct people nation-to-be.

## 2.7. The People's Houses: Towards People

Another important institution in the training of people was the People's Houses,<sup>26</sup> which were established to bridge the gap between the Kemalist order and the people<sup>27</sup>. Besides closing the gap between the elites and people and cultural functions to create the national identity, these institutions strived to mobilize the intelligentsia, most of whom did not show any enthusiasm towards the revolution at large (Karaömerlioğlu, 1999: 70).

The activities of the People's Houses were organized and controlled by the Republican Peoples Party. In this sense, it can be claimed that the People's Houses were tried to be controlled and connected to the center. As Öztürkmen claims, the Ankara People's House was the model for other People's Houses (1998: 77). Similarly, the journal of *Ülkü*, which was issued by the People's House of Ankara branch, functioned as a controlling mechanism of other journals. Although, it was frequently emphasized that these institutions were not political but cultural ones<sup>28</sup>, the People's Houses tried to spread the ideological paradigms of the Early Republican Period<sup>29</sup>. Smith claims that the nation state tries to make the citizen

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<sup>26</sup> The People's Houses were founded to fill the gap which was created by the abolishment of the Turkish Hearts. For the reasons underlying the abolishment of Turkish Hearts look at Üstel, F. *İmparatorluktan Ulus-Devlete Türk Milliyetçiliği: Türk Ocakları (1912-1931)*. İstanbul: İletişim Publications, 1997. Karpat argues that M. Kemal didn't believe in the Turkish Hearts to disseminate the ideological paradigms of the Early Republican Period and thus decided to close them (1963: 57). According to Kirby, People's Houses were the successors of The Society of Peasantism (*Köycülük Cemiyeti*) (1962: 70). In the same vein, Üstel claims that *Köycülük Cemiyeti* gave the very first examples of village monographs, which were frequently published either as a separate brochure or within the journals of the People's Houses (1989: 14).

<sup>27</sup> “[The People's Houses] purpose was to bridge the gap between the intelligentsia and people by teaching the first of these national culture which lay among Anatolian masses and, the second, the rudiments of civilization, and an indoctrination of the nationalist secularist ideas of the Republican regime” (Karpat, 1963: 55).

<sup>28</sup> For example, the CHP Talimatnamesi. *Halkevleri Çalışma Talimatnamesi*. Ankara: Zerbamat Matbaası, 1940. Baltacıoğlu argued that a nation state was a state of culture. The People's Houses were the houses of culture, revolution and training. It covered the entire population. These houses had to spread the national culture especially in its most original and ideal form (Baltacıoğlu, 1950: 29, 33).

<sup>29</sup> “... The selective tradition depends on institutions and formations. Because of requirements of socialization for human being, institutions are vital but these processes can not be reduced to state apparatus. It is more than this. An affective culture is more than the sum of institutions.” (Williams, 1992: 117, 118-119).



participate with their conducts by means of various organizations (2004: 183). In this sense, for example, according to Recep Peker, these institutions would try to organize a nation around a unified and homogeneous mass (quoted by Özacun, 1996: 88).

The members of this nation became civilized individuals; they would be fond of arts, sports and sciences. They would be educated in all aspects of life, health, literacy, agriculture, etc. (Öztürkmen, 1994: 166-167). In addition to this, the People's Houses tried to inject self-confidence in people. It can be said that the problems of the self-confidence of the Kemalist nationalism-populism can be observed in the People's Houses works. For example, in the village monographies the lack of trustworthiness of the knowledge of people can clearly be seen. Öztürkmen claims that one of the main roles of the People's Houses was to ensure the flow of the information about the provinces to the centre; in other words, not only did they try to disseminate the party's ideological paradigms but also, contributed to the process of shaping these paradigms.

In this framework: "Many popular tales, folk songs and proverbs were published in the periodicals issued by the People's Houses" (Başgöz and Wilson, 1968: 134). The Peasantism Branch seems to be the most significant part of the People's Houses.

In addition to this, the folkloric performances were under the control of People's Houses. In other words, the People's Rooms did not intervene in these acts (Karpat, 1963: 63). Another important branch of the People's Houses was the branch of Language-History-Literature by means of which the folklore collections were tried to be realized. These collections were published in the journals of People's Houses, which remained unpublished and were put into archives (Öztürkmen, 1998: 79). However, in these collections, the ambiguity of the populism of Kemalist cadres emerged once again; on the one hand, they saw the folk materials as the source of the national culture; on the other hand, they eliminated them for their artistic weakness:

As Öztürkmen claims, this approach saw the folk painter, who is an indispensable part of folklore, as stunted stance (1998: 82). Another branch to realize the collection of the folk songs was the branch of Fine Arts (CHP, 1940: 10).

Furthermore, the History-Museum Branch participated in the collection of folklore. In sum, the folklore studies were not organized around a single branch; on the contrary, these were distributed to various branches.

Besides the deeds on folk culture, the village trips reveal important points about the characteristics of Kemalist populism. The village monographs published in the local journals of People's Houses could not reach beyond the superficial knowledge about village life; moreover, some of them were merely impressionist narratives (Öztürkmen, 1994: 171). In other words, these were monologic acts in which the voice of peasants could not be heard. In fact, most of the monographies turned out to be merely the opinions of those who wrote them. Besides, the doubts on the peasants and their knowledge could be clearly seen in some examples of these monographs:

When they see that a man planted a vineyard and ate its grapes, that another planted a fruit tree and benefited from its yields, that yet another cultivated wheat and grain depending upon the soil, they rush towards these spots. But, it leads to a waste of time...Especially our peasants are in the need of good manners (Akşit, 1938: 38-39) [10].

In spite of the all of the attempts of the People's Houses, it cannot be said that they were able to modernize the villages and spread nationalist sentiments among the peasants:

...Sir, I understand what you said about the health and wealthiness of peasants. But, I can not explain them to the peasants. I will now gather the peasants to this square by telling them that you have come (It is inferred from these words that the headman alone gathers the peasants in difficulty). (Köymen, 1935: 24) [11]

In fact, they contributed to enlarge the abyss between the state and peasants. As Tütengil argues, the peasantism of the People's Houses failed to understand the village life. They tried to analyse the village externally and could just propose some advice which was very superficial (1969: 93). Similarly, Başgöz and Wilson claim that peasants were not interested in the People's Rooms. Also, the works of the People's Houses were not successful. They could not aid the peasants as they wished. According to them, the peasants did not participate in the acts of the People's Houses; mostly the bureaucrats participated in the activities of these centers (1968: 157).

As a conclusion, it can be claimed that the Kemalist views and acts were not effective in rural life. As well as the experience of the People's Houses, the rules and laws of that period were neglected by peasants. For example, the Village Act, which was enacted in 1924, was not heeded by most of the peasants; in other words, Kemalists could not penetrate into their social life: "...the law had almost no influence on rural life, its impact being limited administrative and legal matters" (Szyliowicz, 1966: 37). In addition to this, as Szyliowicz claims, this law was an example of the Kemalist cadres' lack of comprehension of the rural conditions (1966: 38). Shortly, although the Kemalist views and acts attempted to transform the village life in social, cultural and economic aspects, the village life remained unchanged<sup>30</sup> due to the features of the nationalist and populist approaches and statist economic policies<sup>31</sup>. In this sense, on the one hand, they analysed the peasants as the source of the new nation; on the other hand, they were not able to grasp their real conditions and thoughts. This can be seen in their economic and social views and attempts as well as their cultural attempts. For example, according to them, the radio was the most important tool to impose the new national-modern music on people. On the other hand, most of the people in rural life were not able to buy the radio receiver due to their economic conditions!

## **2.8. Conclusion**

After briefly analyzing some of the ideological paradigms of the Early Republican Period to create a national culture, the role of music and music reform in this attempt can be analyzed within this framework. As it is said in the 1931 Congress of People's Republican Party, the music reform was accepted as the most important aspect of the cultural revolution (CHF, 1931: 81). The proud culture of Turks were spoiled under the reign of the Ottoman Empire. In this sense, according to them, the high and proud music of Turks began to vanish under the sick and alien Ottoman Music. The real music of Turks remained hidden among the peasants.

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<sup>30</sup> This assumption was especially valid for women. As Szyliowicz argues that despite of the new codes, the position of women remained unchanged in rural areas (1966: 50).

<sup>31</sup> The agricultural policies in the war years caused the enlargement of the abyss between the state and peasants (Margulies and Yıldızoğlu, 1998: 295).

Therefore, this should have been searched and then elaborated for the creation of a new national music.

In this sense, the collections of the local folk songs were considered important in the construction of the national music and thus, national identity. Then, it can be claimed that the music policy was comprehended around this national pedagogy. For example, Arık says that the creation of national musical culture was a part of the national education (1947: 112). On the other hand, the culture should be comprehended as the representation of people's entire life as Williams suggest; in other words, it cannot be induced merely as part of a pedagogic issue. In fact, the characteristics of the Kemalist pedagogy are highly debatable since this pedagogy was totally founded on the assumption that refers to people as a kind of *tabula rasa*. In other words, the knowledge of people is totally neglected.

In other words, according to Kemalist cadres, the folk materials would be sources of the desired national culture. In this context, they exalted the role of folk culture and peasants as the source of the national culture and the Turkish nation<sup>32</sup>. That means, on the one hand, Kemalism presents itself as new and unique. On the other hand, it tries to find something in the past which is in the brink of vanishing as

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<sup>32</sup> As Özdoğan argues, such a position can easily evolve to a reactionary attitude and an opposition to industrial society which is supposed to represent the artificialness of civilization (2002: 264-265). In this sense, as Bora and Erdoğan suggest that there is a narrow gap between Kemalist populism and reactionary populism (2003: 638). As Karaömerlioğlu (1999) claims that, most of Kemalist cadres intended to such a position. As against the urban discourse of Kemalism in general, to protect the purity of national souls among peasants, they opposed to industrial and modern society. They claimed that cities were the exploiters of villages and they were the sources of degeneration (Karaömerlioğlu, 1999: 74 and Üstel, 1990: 48-49). Thus, these cadres tried to prevent the migration to cities. They also glorified the village life. Peasants were noble, pure and unspoiled; they were the true sources of nation. Real national culture remained intact in the villages. Also, agricultural economy was superior to urban economy. They held a critical position towards westernization which was one of the main aims of Kemalism (Karaömerlioğlu, 1999: 76-77, 78). For them, cities were the locations of spread of materialism and communism (Üstel, 1990: 50). According to Karaömerlioğlu, peasantists argued for the importance of education to transform the society. But this education should have been realized in the villages. They were strictly voluntarists (1999: 81-82). In this context, the Village Institutes can be thought for their aims. In addition to the People's Houses, this can be thought as another attempt to spread ideological paradigms of Kemalism. On the other hand, if the gap between ideological paradigms of Kemalism and thoughts of peasantists is taken into consideration, to comprehend the position of the Village Institutes becomes difficult. But still it is clear that in those institutes some ideological aspects of Kemalism were tried to be given. For example, folk music consisted an important part of curriculum (Kirby, 1962: 62-63). But, it should be added that the Village Institutes faced with many obstacles. For example, scarcity of money and proper land or teaching personel or technical services can be listed (Kirby, 1962: 206, 208-209). Moreover, collecting students from peasants was very hard because of some reasons. Also, various ministries did not make things easier for teachers. On the contrary, they made some difficulties for them (Başgöz, 1995: 235, 242-243). In addition to this, the peasants were reactive against compulsory works in the establishment of institutes. In sum, as Karaömerlioğlu emphasizes that Kemalism found its active defenders in cities (1998: 65 and 71).

Benjamin claims (2001: 80) and thus, it reinvented the tradition which they tried to abolish. In this sense, it resembles one of the most famous heroes, Jose Arcadio Buendia, in a well-known book of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. While this character searches everything, even God, by means of science, he unceasingly speaks with those who had lived in the past. For Kemalists, the national culture of Turks, which in a way remained hidden, would be tried to be revived after the Kemalist revolution. On the other hand, their attempts to create a national culture in such a framework were not successful since these attempts embedded many inconsistencies in themselves and they were spurious.

On the other hand, it can be said that the Kemalist nationalist comprehension neglected this contradictory feature of folklore; on the contrary, it analysed folklore within some dualities, such as good or bad, or undeveloped or developed. However, the folklore is strictly tied with the people's conceptions of life. In this sense, according to Başgöz, as opposed to the beliefs of Kemalist cadres, folk materials could not give moral lessons (1986: 310). It should be added that as Boratav claims, the folklore studies of the People's Houses were not systematic and scientific (Boratav, 1945: 253; Boratav, 1991a: 80, 87-88). Also, it can be said that these folklore texts of the Early Republican Period did not include the voices of subaltern classes mainly because of the monologic conceptualization of the folklore acts of Kemalism (Erdoğan, 1999-2000: 12).

## CHAPTER 3

### THE MUSIC POLICIES OF THE EARLY REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The characteristics of Kemalist populism and nationalism had a significant impact on the cultural policies of the Early Republican Period. In other words, cultural policies were regarded as an indispensable component of the process of constructing the national identity, and one component of the cultural policies of Kemalism was music policies.

In this chapter, the general characteristics of the music policies will be examined. Special focus will be attributed to the opinions and works of Kemalist cadres as regards the Ottoman Classic Music. Therefore, the essential characteristics of the Ottoman Classic Music will initially be dwelled on.

Secondly, the modernization attempts of the Ottoman Classic Music and the initiation of relations with the Western music during the last period of the Ottoman Empire will be covered. This is noteworthy to expose the origin of the opinions of Kemalist cadres concerning the music policies.

An examination of the first period of the music policies, which covers the period between 1923 and 1934, will then follow. The first attempts to create a national music policy during this period will be focused on. Within this scope, issues such as the abolishment of the Turkish music education in the *Darülelhan* (The House of Songs), and the attempt to establish a national opera will be analysed. Moreover, the first attempts to collect and harmonize the folk songs during this period will be examined.

Next, the works regarding the music policies in the second period will be scrutinized. More institutional attempts can be seen during this period. The music policies were tried to be implemented under the collaboration of various institutions. Turkish music was banned on radios; the dissemination of Western music by means of the radio or the People's Houses was aimed at, and folk songs were tried to be collected by the State Conservatory. In addition to this, some signs of failure or success of the music policies during the second period can be found. In brief, this part will focus on the more intense endeavors of Kemalist cadres and some characteristics and outcomes of the music policies.

Prior to the examination of the music reform, some characteristics of the Ottoman Classic Music which are not consistent with the opinions of Kemalist cadres, and the development of the Western Classic Music in the last period of the Ottoman Empire should be emphasized. In this sense, it can be claimed that some features of the music reform during the Early Republican Period can be seen in the development of the Western Music during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### **3.1. Some Preliminary Aspects of the Traditional Ottoman Music**

The most important characteristic of the Ottoman Classic Music was that there was no system whatsoever of notation in this music. Instead of notation, it was the performance of the music that provided its continuity. Since there was no system of notation in this music, *meşk*<sup>33</sup> sessions provided not only the continuity of this music but also its internal integrity (Behar, 1987: 68-69 and Behar, 1993: 11). Referring back to the characteristics of this music, as important as the performance of a new composition was the transferring of the existing composition, which was vital for the survival of this music. In this sense, memory came to the fore in the Traditional Ottoman Music<sup>34</sup>. Thus, people who had the ability to retain a lot of music products in their memory were considered important in the perpetuation of this

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<sup>33</sup> The concept of *meşk* meant a kind of pedagogy, but it was not any kind of pedagogic method. Rather, it meant a kind of traditional institution in which musicians learnt the products of the Ottoman Classic Music and those products were passed on from one generation to another (Behar, 1992: 6).

<sup>34</sup> This feature cannot be seen as memorizing in its pejorative sense. On the contrary, as Behar argues, every musician recreated the existing compositions to record them into his own memory. In this sense, compositions were not considered as untouchable (1987: 68-69, 80).

music (Behar, 1987: 31). Furthermore, because of the importance of the transferring system, every musician had to pass over whatever they knew to the students. In other words, every musician had to participate in the *meşk* sessions. (Behar, 1987: 40-41). It can be said that although the various aspects of the Traditional Ottoman Music changed in various ways, the institution of *meşk* remained as the essential structure of this music. In this sense, notation was found insufficient by the leading figures of this music and it was not given recognition for a long period of time<sup>35</sup> (Behar, 1987: 38-39, 42-43 and Wright, 1994: 525). It is true that there were some attempts to write the notes of this music. For example, Ali Ufki Bey (Albert Bobowski) initially tried to realize the notation of the Classic Ottoman Music in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Similarly, Kantemiroğlu (Demetrius Cantemir) has used his own system in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The most prominent figure was an Armenian, Hamparsum Limonciyan; in fact, his system is known as the note of Hamparsum. However, in spite of these attempts, writing the notes of the Classic Ottoman Music was not accepted by the leading composers of this music. Furthermore, the works of Ali Ufki, Hamparsum, Kantemiroğlu and some others included only a small part of this music tradition (Behar, 1987: 23-24 and 25-26). Nevertheless, it should be added that the encounter with the system of notation was mostly put into practice during the westernization attempts in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The institution of *meşk* was very widespread to provide the continuity of this music and *meşk* was not realized only in the Sublime Port. Another important characteristic of the Traditional Ottoman Music, as claimed by Behar (1993: 36, 37-38), is that there was a small minority of musicians who earned money by giving lessons and these professional musicians were not tolerated by the vanguard musicians of the Ottoman Classic Music. According to Behar, this music tradition resembled the system of trade guild in the Ottoman Empire. He maintains that the educational process –the circle of apprenticeship and mastery- reminded that of the trade guild. However, there was a major difference between this tradition and trade guild in that there was no hidden knowledge in the institution of *meşk*. In other

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<sup>35</sup> Behar claims that in this system, the reactionary aspects can be seen, too. The tradition hardly changed. Besides, the instrumental compositions developed very rapidly in comparison to verbal compositions, which were rarely lost or changed (Behar, 1998: 116-117, 118-119). This can be seen as the main difference of this music from the folk music (Yıldırım, 1999: 25). For Behar, other important problems emerged in educational processes because of the indivisible unity of repertoire education and technical education (Behar, 1993: 69).



words, since the most crucial dimension of this music was the transferring of the existing knowledge, the musicians who tried to keep their lore secret was not tolerated by the tradition itself. The *usuls* (procedures), *makams* (modes) forms and rules were definite to a large extent. These features were passed over by means of *meşk* sessions and as a result of the prevalence of this tradition in the cities, they were widely known (Behar, 1987: 29-30).

In this respect, the Classical Ottoman Music was the music of the cities and its education and performance was realized in every part of the cities. The act of *meşk* could be found in palaces, houses, mosques and coffeehouses and *mevlevihanes*<sup>36 37</sup> (Paçacı, 2002: 10 and Tanrıkorur, 2003: 22). In other words, it was not alien to people; it developed within the cities. In other words, it was not merely the music of the palace.

As Aksoy claims, some forms of the Traditional Ottoman Music can just be seen as the property of people. For example, the mosque music or *tekke* music. According to him:

The *Bektaşî* music<sup>38</sup> illustrates a very typical feature in this respect. In the samples of *Bektaşî nefeses* that still remain today, a very interesting synthesis can be observed of classic music taste and folk music taste (1987: 44) [1].

On the one hand, the Ottoman Classic Music developed in the cities, and on the other hand, it had mutual relations with the folk music in the cities by its various forms, especially in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In brief, the Ottoman Classic music was not alien to people; they affected each other in various ways.

According to Başgöz and Boratav, the Classic Ottoman Music had some mutual relations with folk music. In other words, these two have affected each other in the historical process especially after the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Başgöz, 1986: 289 and Boratav, 1991a: 30, 36). As Bakhtin claims, the culture of lower classes develops

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<sup>36</sup> Berker claims that *Mevlevihanes* –a kind of lodge used by dervishes- developed and provided depth in Turkish music (1986: 118).

<sup>37</sup> The music in *Mehterhane* (Janissary Band) is also important in the development of the Classic Ottoman Music. It motivates the Turkish troops against enemies and creates a kind of psychological warfare (Rice, 1999: 46-47). Aksoy claims that *Mehterhane* was not merely a military organization. Besides its military functions, it was an outdoor orchestra. Nevertheless, all repertoire of this establishment is neglected after 1826 (1985: 1214-1215). After the abolishment of *Janissaries* in 1826, most of its repertoire was destroyed (Tanrıkorur, 2003: 26).

<sup>38</sup> Both *tekke* and *Bektaşî* music are the parts of religious music.

within the relationships with the culture of the higher classes (1984). In the same vein, Gramsci argues that folklore is tied to dominant culture and its fragmentary and contradictory characters:

The minor arts have always been tied to the major arts and have been dependent upon them. Thus folklore has always been tied to the culture of the dominant class and, in its own way, has drawn from it the motifs which have then become inserted into combinations with the previous traditions (1985: 194).

However, the relations were very limited as the birth place of the Ottoman Classic Music was the cities. It developed and was performed in the cities. Behar argues that this music was not widely seen except in some the prominent cities, such as İstanbul, Bursa, Selanik, and İzmir (1987: 19). The relations between these two music genres were developed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There had been a limited relationship between these two music genres before the 19<sup>th</sup> century. For example, Başgöz argues that in the poems of *Karacaoğlan*, for example, the theme of love was affected by the literature of the high classes. Likewise, he claims that *Nedim* who was one of the leading figure in the *divan* literature<sup>39</sup> tried to apply some of the elements of the folk literature in his poems (1986: 137). In the same vein, according to Neubauer:

Instrumentalists that are considered to be among the first generation of palace musicians and who play the *kopuz saz*<sup>40</sup> could be considered as the representers of the Turkish folk tradition in the palace. They were playing an instrument which was called the *ozan* (*kopuz-ı ozan*) by the *saz* poets<sup>41</sup> (1994: 524) [2].

On the other hand, the relations were very limited. There were some common points between these two, namely their lyrics and instruments. But, the affinities increased during the last period of the Ottoman Empire. As Tanrıkorur maintains:

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<sup>39</sup> Another name for the Classical Ottoman Literature

<sup>40</sup> The name of a lute-like instrument played by the medieval Turkish bards

<sup>41</sup> The name of minstrels who improvised songs, accompanying themselves with their *saz* –a stringed instrument resembling a lute

Whereas the Classic ottoman composers had compositions in the forms of folk song, *koşma*, *semâi*<sup>42</sup>, epic song, the folk poets, most of whom had a tariqat contact, wrote classic *divans* in which they presented their *tekke* literature pieces. (2003: 14) [3]

According to him, the tekke music, which is one of the important parts of the Classic Ottoman Music developed in parallel with the folk music (2003: 27).

In other words, in contrast to the Kemalist conception, which claims that folk music is the pure music of Turks<sup>43</sup>, the Turkish folk music has been affected by some elements of the Ottoman Classic Music. To put the point differently, any music genre can not be seen as pure music. The analysis of Kemalism is ideological rather than musical; that is, their analysis of folk music as pure Turkish music was an outcome of their nationalist-poulist comprehension but not of a musical examination.

As a conclusion, the institution of *meşk* was the most essential dimension of the Ottoman Classic Music. This music provided its continuity by means of the *meşk* sessions. Although there were some lyric pamphlets, no note pamphlets could be seen in this tradition. That is, notation was considered unnecessary by the prominent figures of the Ottoman Classic Music. Another important characteristic of this music was its relations with people. The Ottoman Classic Music was not merely the music of the Ottoman Palace; it had a serious basis in the cities. In fact, it can be said that after its exclusion from the Sublime Port in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, these relations have become more intense. In addition to this, an increase in its limited relations with the folk music can be seen in that period.

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<sup>42</sup> The name of a poetic form favored by the folk poets

<sup>43</sup> This Kemalist conceptualization can also be seen in their language theory, which is mentioned above. Like language theory, they tried to find a music which was not affected by any kind of music; in other words, a music that remained pure. It can be said that they tried to analyse the cultural-music issues from their nationalist and populist perspectives. However, no impact of musicology can be seen in this analysis.

### 3.2. The Relationships between the Ottoman Classic Music and the Western Classic Music before 1923

The westernization attempts had triggered in the pre-Republican era. Although the development of the Classic Western Music in the Ottoman Empire could largely be observed in the last periods of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries owing to modernization attempts; according to Tanrıkorur, the first official contact was established in 1543 (2003: 80). The first encounter with the word opera was realized by the Ottoman ambassadors in the Western countries (Altar, 1989: 255). From that time to the last period of the empire, no significant impact of the Western Classic Music upon the Ottoman Classic Music<sup>44</sup> can be mentioned.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as an important sign of westernization in music, *Mehterhane* was replaced by the *Mızıkay-ı Humayun* (The Music Band of State), and the polyphonic Western Music began to develop (Aksoy, 1985: 1212; Berker, 1986: 128; Oransay, 1983: 1528). *Mehterhane* was one of the most important music institutions of the empire; it resembled an outdoor orchestra and had an abundant repertoire (Aksoy, 1985: 1214). Thus, with the abolishment of *Mehterhane* this affluent tradition was destroyed. For Aksoy and Pekin this westernization process in music was unfavorable for the Classic Ottoman Music (Aksoy, 1985: 1216; Pekin, 2004: 6). In the same vein, Tura claims that the abolishment of *Mehterhane* can be counted as the first event by which the foundation of the division between Turkish music and Western music was created<sup>45</sup> (1988: 39). Instead of *Mehterhane*, a band was established during the period of Mahmud II, and opera and operettas began to be played extensively both in the palace and in various concert halls. It can be claimed that mostly the Italian operas were tried to be imitated. On the other hand, western compositions can rarely be seen except for Donizetti Pasha's efforts<sup>46</sup> (Aksoy, 1985:

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<sup>44</sup> In fact some unimportant attempts can be seen; for example, Selim III brought an opera group in 1797 (Altar, 1989: 257).

<sup>45</sup> After that a *mehter* band was established in 1914 but then, it was banned during the music policies of the Early Republican Period (Rice, 1999: 54).

<sup>46</sup> Giuseppe Donizetti, who was the brother of the famous opera composer Gaetano Donizetti, worked as a band chief in the French and Italian armies. After the foundation of the first band, it was thought that a Western music composer could teach the Western music and the ambassador of Sardunya was applied to for help. Then, Guiseppe Donizetti was sent to the Ottoman Empire by the government of Sardunya on account of this application. He founded the *Muzikay-ı Humayun* and

1218-1219). He was the general educator of the Ottoman bands. The first trials of the opera performances in the palace could be realized by the musicians who were educated by him. These attempts ceased in 1885 due to economic and political events (Altar, 1989: 260-261). After Donizetti Pasha, there were not any systematic works. In these periods, some sultans of the Ottoman reign tried to compose various works and learn the Western Classic Music (Kosal, 1998: 17). In fact, some sultans tried to refuse the Ottoman Classic Music in this century and, thus, they didn't permit the performance of this music in the palace.

In this period, attempts were made to play the light products of the Western Classic Music. Among them, the Italian operas and operettas occupied the largest place. Moreover, a kind of popular music began to develop in İstanbul under the influence of the operettas which were tried to be composed in the Turkish language and performed in the theatres that were open to people. In this sense, various forms of popular music such as *kantos* emerged, the most important aim of which was to entertain people. These forms began to dominate the music pleasure as they were being played in the public places (Aksoy, 1985: 1223). In other words, only the 'light' examples of the Western music became effective in the music life of the Ottoman society, but these 'light' products contributed highly to the emergence of the popular music forms. In fact, the Ottoman Palace accepted the Western music in order to imitate the Western life style; it did not seriously take this music into consideration. Dikran Çuhacıyan<sup>47</sup> was one of the leading figures who tried to synthesize Turkish Music and Western Music. He also paved the way for another fashion; the Turkish operets (Aksoy, 1985: 1220 and 1225-1226). It should be noted that Ahmed Midhat was another figure who supported such a synthesis and Çuhacıyan's works. He also positioned himself as an advocate of harmonization and polyphony:

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taught the Western notes to his students. Moreover, he ordered some western instruments from Italy and composed the March of *Mahmudiye* for Sultan Mahmud (Aksoy, 1985: 1216).

<sup>47</sup> Dikran Çuhacıyan was educated in Italy and became familiar with the opera and operettes. He was the first person to compose opera and operettes in Turkey. He also founded the first operette theatre. He initiated the age of Turkish operettes (Aksoy, 1985: 1222).

Before anything else, our music should be reformed because even five or six centuries ago our music was unison like it is in European music – a music produced at a single tone. Harmony was not adopted yet. (quoted from, Okay, 1975: 355) [4]

Preceding the debates in the Early Republican Period, the problems of harmony and monophony can be encountered during this period. In sum, operas were regarded as the most important form of the Western Classic Music. This attitude continued in the Early Republican Period, during which one of the most important aims was to write a national opera. In spite of all these attempts, during the last period of the Ottoman Empire, except for the palace, the westernization attempts in music were not seriously taken into consideration by the public. Nevertheless, during this period the musicians of the Ottoman Classic Music rarely heeded these attempts. But later, they found these efforts very odd. New forms were tried out in the classic style of the Ottoman music. Therefore, some rules were spoiled and the form of singing came to the fore. As a result, the seriousness of the old styles was abolished (Aksoy, 1985: 1229, 1230-1231 and Tura, 1988: 50). In this sense, Tura argues that the Traditional Turkish Music was seriously damaged when it encountered of the musics of the East and West (1988: 39). For example, the conditions of this performance, if we follow Benjamin's concept of 'aura', was largely made obsolete by modernization since, for example, a new type of listening in which the relation with the audience would be radically different, was tried to be inserted. Furthermore, according to Aksoy, the Ottoman Classic Music expanded out of the palace owing to the westernization attempts there; in other words, it became the music of the cities in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>48</sup>. After this period, most of the musicians of the Traditional Ottoman Music were not interested in music played in the palace any more. (1985: 1228).

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<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, Behar maintains that in every period the Ottoman Classic music was close to people. According to him, the assumption claiming that the Classic Turkish Music began to spread to the cities after relations with Western Music began is not true. Moreover, he does not see the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries as centuries of corruption of the Ottoman music. Rather, the real corruption, he asserts, occurred with the Kemalist music reforms (1993: 28 and 129). In parallel to Behar, Stokes claims that the corruption of Ottoman Classic music began in the 1920s. In fact, he calls this period as the onslaught of this music (1995: 681). Nevertheless, in addition to Aksoy, Tanrıkorur sees the emergence of singing form as a corruption (2003: 44).

It can be said that the institutional endeavours were initiated in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and thus, the 19<sup>th</sup> century was very weak in this sense. The first official music school, *Dar-ül-bedayi* (The House of Wonderfals), was established in 1914, but it was closed due to the First World War in 1916. In the same year, *Dar-ül-elhan* was established<sup>49</sup> (Paçacı, 1994a: 48-49 and Tanrıkorur, 2003: 811). Both *Darülbedayi* and *Darüelhan* gave lessons in both Ottoman music and Western music. After the war, this organization was able to make some important contributions to the developments of the Turkish Music. It was the first organization to publish the notate pamphlets. It is important to note that the first folk song collection was realized by *Dar-ül-elhan*. In fact, according to Paçacı the *alaturka* music curriculum of *Dar-ül-elhan* entailed the teaching of folk music. The name of the collected album was *Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri* (Songs of Our Country). Besides the works on folk music, including collection acts, and the Ottoman Classic Music, *Darüelhan* strived to present and teach the Western polyphonic music (Paçacı, 1994a: 48). In this respect, a choir and a symphony orchestra were established under the organization of this instution (Altar, 1989: 276). This instution was able to maintain its activities in the first years of the Republic.

To sum up, the modernization attempts in music during the last period of the Ottoman Empire was not very effective in both institutional and social spheres. On the other hand, the idea of synthesis, and the opinions and acts on folk music it entailed, began in that period as the real music of Turks. But, it should be claimed that these attempts were mostly neglected by Kemalist cadres. In other words, their outlook and their music policies were highly eclectic. They excluded or neglected whatever they wished for the sake of their populist and nationalist comprehension. In conclusion, the westernization attempts in music during the last period of the Ottoman Empire were not important for them.

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<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, according to Oransay and Aksoy, *Dar-ül-elhan* was established in 1917 rather than 1916 (Aksoy, 1985: 1235; Oransay, 1983: 1519). Paçacı further claims that *Dar-ül-elhan* was established by a committee which had been organized by Ziya Paşa (Paçacı, 2002: 12-13).

### 3.3. Music Policies of the Early Republican Period

Music policies of the Early Republican Period can be separated into two phases<sup>50</sup>: 1924-34 and 1934-45. Although the music policy in the first phase was mostly regarded as the creation of the national opera, as a result of the failure of this attempt, more institutional attempts can be observed in the second phase. For example, the invitation of the foreign musicians, the gathering of a music commission, the foundation of the State Conservatory etc. were realized in the second period. In the same vein, although there were some efforts made on folk music in the first period, activities began to be implemented more seriously in the second period.

#### 3.3.1. The First Period

Until 1926, there were no strict policies of music to be implemented. Various kinds of regulations were processed, but not implemented. For example, Filiz Ali indicates that *Musiki ve Temsil Akademisi Kanunu* (The Law of Music and Drama) was processed by the Turkish National Assembly in 1924 but it began to be implemented five years later in 1929 (1987: 119). On the other hand, it is impossible to claim that there was anything regarding music policies until 1926. According to Gökyay, another example is the first regulation on conservatory, dated 1925, but this was not valid in practice. According to him, the predecessor of the State Conservatory which was founded in 1936, was the *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* (The School of Music Teacher) in 1924 (1941: 3). The most important aim of this school was to train the staff who were to give the Western Classic Music education in schools (Paçacı, 2002: 14). On the other hand, the physical structure of the building of this school was highly criticized in Hindemith's reports in 1937 due to the ignorance of the ear training in the construction of that building. Furthermore,

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<sup>50</sup> Of course, these two phases were not distinct from each other. On the other hand, this differentiation is valid since after the disappointment experienced because of the failure of the first samples of Turkish operas, Kemalist cadres realized that a long period was necessary for their aims and institutional aspects came to the fore gradually for education (Oransay, 1983: 1520, 1521-1522). Moreover, it is true that after 1945, debates and efforts continued but they seemed to lose their speed in large scale and thus inconsistencies reached a peak among Kemalist cadres. Then, in the 1950s nobody could speak of those policies except for a small minority. To put it differently, these are no longer state policies.



Gökyay asserts that this school could be seen as unsuccessful in music education (1941: 1-2).

In 1923, *Musiki Encümeni* (The Music Commission) in İstanbul was abolished and *Darüelhan* was separated from the Ministry of Education and tied to *İstanbul Valiliği* (İstanbul Governorship) (Paçacı, 1999a: 13). The abolishment of *tekkes* and *zaviyes*<sup>51</sup> in 1925 and the department of Turkish Music in *Dar-ül-elhan*<sup>52</sup> were the first serious policies of this period. Furthermore, in 1927 the monophonic music education was prohibited in both private and public schools. As Tekelioğlu claims, the abolishment of *tekkes* and *zaviyes* destroyed the tradition of *tekke* music, which was the vital element of the Ottoman Classic Music in the empire (1999: 146).

For the Turkish music, the two committees *Şark Musikisine Ait Tarihi Eserleri Tedkik ve Tesbit Heyeti* (The Committee of Determination and Selection of Alaturka Music) and *Türk Musikisi İcra Heyeti* (The Committee of Performance of Turkish Music) were established; however, these committees were not permitted to teach music<sup>53</sup>. On the other hand, the former committee wrote important classic works and the latter read them to the records. In this sense, according to Paçacı, the Turkish music has lived its most productive period regarding the transition to the written era with the efforts of this commission (1994b: 81 and 86). In the same year, various trips were organized to collect folk songs. The musicians tried to collect songs by means of the phonograph.

It can be said that, after a speech of M. Kemal in 1928, which had indicated that the Turkish music was not in conformity with the national identity, reforms of the Turkish music gained acceleration. One of the main aims in this period was the creation of a national opera. In this sense, *Opera Cemiyeti* (The Opera Association) was set up in 1931 with the permission of the government (Üstel, 1993: 43). In fact, the composers who were expected to create the national opera were called as the Turkish Fives inspired from the Russian Fives:

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<sup>51</sup> The name of the small dervish lodges

<sup>52</sup> Its name was changed to *İstanbul Bedediye Konservatuvarı* (The Conservatory of İstanbul Municipality) (Paçacı, 1994a: 54)

<sup>53</sup> This committee tried to notate the compositions of the Ottoman Classic Music (Paçacı, 1994b: 81).

...The Russian music school, the harbinger of which is Glinka, appear with its Mussorgski, Borodin and Korsakof. This is the expression of that great Russian world in those three artists; this is a new manifestation of folk art (Koşay, 1939: 54-55) [5].

Then, the first samples of the national operas were represented in 1934 in the Ankara People's House. In 1934, M. Kemal commissioned Ahmed Adnan Saygun<sup>54</sup> to compose a national opera for Iran Shah, who was on a visit. In other words, the duty to compose an opera was appointed to Saygun, but he encountered major obstacles<sup>55</sup> in his efforts to do so (Saygun, 1987: 42). This work was loaded with the effects of the Turkish History Thesis:

History bids us: The civilization river/It found the essential sources in brachycephal/This race originated in Asia, and spread here and there/This date was deemed as the beginning of development/In Europe, Anatolia, Iran and Middle West/Copper entered the civilization with this great race. (quoted from Yalçın, 1995: 42) [6]

However, this work was far from being an opera because of its editing (Aracı, 2001: 75 and Yalçın, 1995: 41-42). Therefore, its performance caused a total disappointment among Kemalist cadres and this was seriously criticized. Burhan Asaf Belge published an article to criticize this work and afterwards efforts for the composition of an opera ceased. In this article, Belge emphasized that Turkish musicians were not able to compose an opera due to lack of education. He argued that the operas of Bayönder and Taşbebek showed that it was impossible to create

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<sup>54</sup> Ahmet Adnan Saygun was one of the prominent figures in the music policies of Kemalism. He was born in 1907 in İzmir. He took his music education from some important figures in the Turkish Music such as, İsmail Zühtü Kuşçuoğlu, Hüseyin Saadeddin Arel. He was appointed as a music teacher in the elementary schools of İzmir in 1925. He became successful in an exam in 1928 and was sent to Paris for music education. In 1931, he was appointed as music teacher in *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* and directed *Riyaseticumhur Filarmoni Orkestrası* (The Philharmony Orchestra of Presidency) in 1934. In 1936, he continued his lessons in the Conservatory of İstanbul Municipality and he organized a collection trip with Bela Bartok. He was appointed as an inspector of the People's Houses in 1939. He became a teacher in the Ankara State Conservatory in 1946. After 1973, he began to give music lessons in the İstanbul State Conservatory. He composed some orchestral works and published some articles and books on the Turkish folk music (Büyük Larousse, 1992a: 10244).

<sup>55</sup> The major obstacle was the scarcity of time, according to Saygun. He claims that he had to write the libretto and then make some rehearsals with the artists and orchestra just in a month. Furthermore, there was no suitable orchestra in those years. He also claims that the working conditions of The Ankara People's Houses were unsuitable (1987: 38).

even the most basic samples of opera in Turkish literature. He emphasized on the necessity of more institutional efforts (quoted from Oransay, 1985: 35)

Belge's word can be seen as a measure to the haste of Kemalist cadres<sup>56</sup>. To sum up, it can be said that Özsoy, Taşbebek and Bayönder Operas created this feeling of disappointment among Kemalist cadres. So, after the failure of the attempts to create the national opera, music policies were once again overlooked. Thus, a music committee was set up to determine the directions of music policy and establish the substructure for the music reform and as an outcome of the second period some foreign musicians and music educators were invited to Turkey (Gökyay, 1941: 6-7 and Üstel, 1993: 44).

In this period, another important aspect of the music reform was tried to be realized in folk songs. The works on folk songs during the last period of the Ottoman Empire remained very limited. In 1924, collection cards to collect folk songs were distributed to teachers by means of the Ministry of National Education. As a consequence, the notes of almost one hundred folk songs were published. But, there were too many methodological problems in these acts. For example, most of the teachers did not have any music knowledge. Therefore, a phonograph was brought and the first trip to collect folk songs was realized by *Darülelhan* with the participation of Yusuf Ziya Demirci, the chief director of this school, in 1926. The trips lasted until 1929 and fifteen notate pamphlets were published. *Türk Halk Bilgisi Derneği* (The Turkish Folklore Association) was another important institution regarding the works of folk songs. The works on the search and collection of folk songs began two years before the foundation of this association in 1927<sup>57</sup>. This institution published some brochures and books which consisted of a selection of folk songs. The center of the association was İstanbul (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 37-38 and 39 and Başgöz, 1998: 47). It was a private organization but it was extensively supported by the official institutions. The Turkish Folklore Association began to publish a journal in 1928, the name of which was *Halk Bilgisi Haberleri* (The Journal of

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<sup>56</sup> "How much time passed until the Western music reached this phase? –Nearly four hundreds years passed. –We do not have enough time to wait for such a period. In this sense, you see that we are imitating the Western Music." (M. Kemal quoted from his repertoge with Emil Ludwig from Oransay, 1985: 32) [7]

<sup>57</sup> Its original name was *Anadolu Halk Bilgisi Derneği* (Anatolia Folklore Association) (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 37).

Folklore News)<sup>58</sup> (Başgöz, 1998: 47). Only 19 issues were published by this journal, but subsequently, the People's House of Eminönü began to publish it. The total number of issues was 124. This association was transferred to the People's Houses in 1932. The trip in 1932 could be organized with the aids of the Turkish Folklore Association and the first phase of these acts ended with this trip. Ülkütaşır claims that after 1929 the collection acts ceased because of some financial problems (1972: 34).

In addition to these attempts, in the radio broadcasting, initiated in 1927, folk songs started to be broadcasted on the radio in 1927. Furthermore, in 1931, *Halk Şairleri Koruma Derneği* (The Association of the Protection of Folk Poets) organized the first *Halk Şairleri Bayramı* (The First Festival of Folk Poets) in Sivas (Paçacı, 1999b: 124). In sum, the total number of the folk songs in the collection acts of the first period was two thousand melodies (Başgöz, 1998: 46). It can be claimed that the serious attempts for the collection of folk songs were initiated after the foundation of the Ankara State Conservatory.

In conclusion, it can be said that the endeavours of the first period seemed very inadequate and unsuccessful. Except for some decrees and bans, there were no institutional efforts; the main endeavor was the creation of the national opera. On the other hand, as a result of the disappointments of this attempt, it was claimed that more institutional efforts were necessary to realize the music reforms. In other words, the perspectives of Kemalist cadres remained unchanged, they still analysed the Turkish music tradition from their nationalist and populist perspectives, but their efforts were more institutional during the second period.

### 3.3.2. The Second Period

In 1934 a music commission, which held some debates on music education or some controlling/banning measures, was established. As Üstel emphasizes, this commission was not successful due to the fact that they had no systematic opinions on what to do (1993: 41-42 and 50-51). As Rey claims:

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<sup>58</sup> Its original name was *Halk Bilgisi Mecmuası* (The Folklore Journal) (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 39).

After a while, upon Atatürk's order, Abidin Özmen, the Minister of Education, brought us eight musicians (Cevat Memduh Altar, Halil Bedii Yönetken, Hasan Ferit Alnar, Necil Kazım Akses, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Nurullah Şevket Taşkıran Cezmi and me) together in Ankara. After the opening of the gathering and the delivery of delicate speeches, when the Minister of Education with his cute accent said 'Lo, come on, we will make a music revolution, how will we do that?', an atmosphere of surprise began to emerge in the gathering. It lasted for almost four hours. In the meantime, the Minister of Education was occasionally called for a phone talk. After the last phone, Abidin Özmen told us with excitement 'Several calls were made by Pasha from Çankaya. He asked how the music revolution was going.' We were completely bewildered. We could not determine the decisions to be taken (quoted from Oransay, 1985: 79) [8].

It is obvious that although the main direction of Kemalist music reform was definite - the idea of synthesis - there were no definite and systematic works about what to do to reach this aim. After the summons of this commission<sup>59</sup> and the speech of M. Kemal in the Grand National Assembly<sup>60</sup>, broadcasting Turkish Music on the radio was prohibited<sup>61</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that, in this commission the prohibition of monophonic music throughout the country was proposed, but C. Reşit Rey opposed this proposal by claiming its impossibility (quoted from Oransay, 1985: 79).

<sup>60</sup> "Fellows, I know how you want to advance the national youth in all of the fine arts. This is being realized. However, it is Turkish music that has to be the most urgent one and given top priority. The scale in the new transformation of a nation is the ability of comprehension and adaptation of the transformation in the music. The music which is intended to be listened to by the foreigners is not our music. In this sense, it is far from the value that will bleach the face. We should explicitly know this. It is a necessity of collecting the noble *deyiş*, -another name of folk poems- songs which express the delicate, national emotions and opinions and of elaborating them in terms of the last general music rules as soon as possible." (quoted from Oransay, 1985: 26) [9]

In these words, the double narration of Kemalist populism as both pedagogic and performative, can be seen in addition to the idea synthesis. According to M. Kemal, our real music is the folk music, on the other hand, it is not enough as it is, it should be developed, in other words, transformed.

<sup>61</sup> There is too much debate on this prohibition. Most of the writers claim that M. Kemal was misunderstood by the authorities of this period (Saygun, 1987). In fact, M. Kemal says:

Unfortunately, they misunderstood my words, this song that was sung is a very beautiful work. I listened with pleasure, you did, too. But, is it possible that a European is given any pleasure by singing this song in this way? I wanted to say that the means should be founded to listen to the Turkish compositions which we listen with pleasure with their science, instruments, orchestras, anything that is the mean. I said that we make the Turkish music as an international art. I did not say that we throw the Turkish songs away, we make the music of western nations where it is ready as their own, we only listen to them, they misunderstood my words,

The main reason of this prohibition was the aim to cut off the cultural relations with the Ottoman past since the radio was thought as the most important means to create and disseminate the national and modern music. In the Turkish History Thesis, the Ottoman past was defined as the period of the corruption of Turkish mighty tradition and high culture. Therefore, everything related to this period was tried to be deleted in order to turn back to mentioned mighty times. In other words, this prohibition can be seen as a logical consequence of the ideological aspect of the music reforms. According to Kemalist cadres, the natural characteristics of Turks which had fallen into a deep sleep would be made explicit. Therefore, the alien elements- the Ottoman Music- had to be abolished and the remaining parts reinvented.

The ban on Turkish Music was lifted nearly two years later. The Turkish music, especially the Turkish Classic Music, began to be broadcasted on the Ankara and İstanbul radios. In fact, although the ratio of the Western music broadcasts was longer compared to that of Turkish music, the broadcasts of the Ottoman Classic Music was dominant among the programmes of Turkish music between 1937-40 on both İstanbul and Ankara radios (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980: 163). Kocabaşoğlu contends that the main reason of this was people's realization of the harmful effects of listening to the Arab radios (1980: 94). According to Üstel, this is a result of the comprehension that the creation of the national modern music requires a long time as opposed to the haste of Kemalism (1993: 40). In other words, the Ottoman Classic Music, on the one hand, was analyzed as defiled music, and on the other hand, it was continued to be published on the radios. Saygun claims that as much as the western music, the Turkish Classic Music, named as the 'Tarihsel Türk Müziği' (Historical Turkish Music) was extensively broadcasted on the Ankara radio during the 1940s (1987: 89).

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they cried such blue murder that I could not open my mouth once more  
(quoted from Ataman, 1991: 20) [10].

In this issue, Oransay claims that V. Nedim Tör was the main reason of this misunderstanding (Oransay, 1985: 49).

Shortly, the radio could not be used effectively by the Kemalist regime as contrary to their aims<sup>62</sup> and music policies. This is a noteworthy example since it exposed the limits of the Kemalist modernization attempts.

Another important characteristic of the second period is the role played by foreign musicians. Most important of them were Paul Hindemith and Bela Bartok<sup>63</sup>. Paçacı claims that Hindemith made important contributions on the establishment and works of the State Conservatory of Ankara, which was founded in 1936; to state the point more correctly, the building of *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* was used as a conservatory (2002: 15). Nevertheless, Bartok<sup>64</sup> and the People's Houses organized some trips to collect the folk songs in 1936. In other words, he mainly dealt with folk music. Like Hindemith, he wrote a report:

After Bela Bartok claims that the foundation of a folk music archive is highly wanted in terms of Turkish music and from the international perspective, he defines the aim of the archive as follows: a) To record and maintain the peasant songs on records by means of mechanical devices in its place and locality, that is, in the villages. b) To note the songs

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<sup>62</sup> It should be noted that Kocabaşoğlu claims that on the contrary to the efforts of the Kemalist cadres, the radios could not be effectively used and the aim to spread the ideological paradigms of the Kemalist regime by means of the radio was not successful. According to him, the first obstacle to tackle with was economic ones. In other words, Kemalist cadres were not able to disseminate the radio equipment and receivers to the localities (1980: 120-121). He also claims that although some interventions were made in terms of price in order to disseminate the radio among people and the People's Houses, these institutions were not effectively benefited from the radios. In fact, the ratio of radio that was given to the People's Houses was lower compared to the total amount of the People's Houses and People's Room (1980: 252-253).

<sup>63</sup> Üstel claims that these visits of foreigners were criticized in that period. For example, Gazimihal asserted:

...such imports should not definitely get the shape of mass migration of the foreign music emigrant to us and the tight conditions that should be about not getting any individual jobs except for the jobs for which they came, should be put to the contact of the fine artists who have come (quoted from Üstel, 1993: 44) [12].

In these criticisms, the untrustfulness to 'other' and the xenophobia of the nationalist comprehension seems very affective. Another example of these emotions can be seen in a brochure of the People's Houses. It is said in this brochure that all products which were taken by the People's Houses from the foreign sources should immediately have been sent to the party before they were put into the library (CHP, 1940: 26).

<sup>64</sup> Bela Bartok was a Hungarian composer. He was born in 1881 in Nagyszentmiklos. He especially dealt with the Hungarian folk songs with his friends Zoltan Kodalye and made a lot of folk songs collections. He was a piano teacher in the Music Academy of Budapest between 1904-1934. He was invited by the Turkish government in 1936 and came to Ankara. He made some propositions on the folk music collection acts and made a trip to Adana with Ahmet Adnan Saygun. He collected ninety folk songs from this trip. He reacted against fascism and escaped from his land in 1938. He began to abide in the United States (Büyük Larousse, 1992b: 1338).

taken in their original form as much as possible. c) To arrange this material systematically. d) To publish this material which was systematically arranged (Gökyay, 1941: 11-12) [11].

In addition to him and the People's Houses, various organizations, such as the Ankara State Conservatory, tried to collect the folk songs in villages and strived to harmonize them.

In addition to his contributions to the State Conservatory of Ankara, Hindemith<sup>65</sup> supported the main thesis of Kemalism. According to him, *alaturka* music seemed to be extinct and the aim of polyphonic music could not be realized by using this music. On the other hand, folk music was appropriate for polyphonic music. He claims that a man who believed in the necessity of the polyphonic music inevitably began to deal with folk music (quoted from Gökyay, 1941: 13). Thus, composers had to go to the villages and collect folk songs since folk songs were very convenient for polyphonic music of their own accord regarding both their forms and rhythms. Already, the collections of folk songs were reinitiated in 1937 by the Ankara State Conservatory. According to Hindemith, these pure folk songs had to be synthesized with the harmonic and formal criterion of the Western music. He read and confirmed the reports of Bela Bartok on folk music.

In conservatory, harmonization of the folk songs has begun with the participation of Hindemith; but, there was not enough supply. Thus, the folk songs were selected from the archives of the İstanbul State Conservatory.

Then, in 1937, some music machines were bought from Germany and the process of collecting songs gained acceleration (Gökyay, 1941 : 13, 14-15). A folklore archive was created in the State Conservatory of Ankara<sup>66</sup> (Altar, 1989: 286). The main duties of this archive were as follows:

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<sup>65</sup> Another foreign composer to visit Turkey was Joseph Marx. According to him, music needed to be encouraged and protected by laws. He also argued that polyphonic music had to be created without damaging the essential characteristics of the national music (Gökyay, 1941: 33, 36). He claimed that the Turkish music had an advantage which was the lack of the contact with the Western music; therefore, the Turkish music was able to protect its pureness (Üstel, 1993: 38).

<sup>66</sup> Taha Toros interestingly claims that in those years the works on folklore, especially folk songs were neglected. These works were seen meaningless (1991: 16). In the same vein, Kocabaçoğlu claims that between 1927 and 1936 the ratio of the folk music programmes were very low on both the İstanbul and Ankara radios (1980: 89).



The selection of the folk music products that are collected scientifically and the arrangement of their index cards, the arrangement of a library which consisted of the national and foreign folk music publications, the determination of the folk dances and their costumes with photographs and films, the arrangement of the collections of the various kinds of folk instruments and folk costumes, the realization of the folk music publications (Gökyay, 1941: 15) [13].

The trips, the total of which was 14, continued until 1951 in 57 cities. The total number of the melodies was 8426 (Türk Folklor Araştırmaları, 1951: 337-338).

Besides the deeds on the Ankara State Conservatory, the efforts made by the People's Houses were important. After the establishment of the People's Houses, these organizations tried to collect folk songs, besides the deeds of the conservatory. Furthermore, Aracı also says that for Saygun it was important to establish choirs and most of his works consisted of the folk songs which were rearranged for the choirs in the People's Houses (2001: 98). The People's Houses were accepted as being important institutions in the development of music pleasure of people.

It should be said that the deeds of both the People's Houses and the Ankara State Conservatory were not systematic. Moreover, when the relation of folk music with the experiences undergone is taken into account, it can be said that these works were not in conformity with the essential characteristics of folk music, folklore. Besides the attempts realized by the Ankara State Conservatory and the People's Houses, various other associations and foundations tried to collect folk songs. In addition to the collection acts, the radio programmes on folk music were an important aspect of the music reform in the Early Republican Period.

In spite of these attempts, it can be said, as claimed by Üstel, that there was no firm position of music policies in that period. While it is true that the ideas of synthesis of Ziya Gökalp<sup>67</sup> constituted the main direction, even Saygun says that it

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<sup>67</sup> In this synthesis, the Ottoman Classic music was seen as ill and alien to Turks (Gökalp, 1999). On the other hand, there was no agreement on this issue among Kemalist cadres. Even M. Kemal himself happened to make different speeches on this issue, as I showed above. Also, H. Bedii Yönetken argued that Turks processed *alaturka* music and created a special type of it. But, this was not ill or alien to Turks, this was only old because of its monophonic character. According to him, our national music would be created by the synthesis of folk music and the Western Classic music (1992: 439-440 and 445). Furthermore, it is very interesting to note that, in 1932, pieces of "the ill and alien" Ottoman Classic music were mostly broadcasted on the radio. On the other hand, pieces of folk music were rarely heard on the radio (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980: 87-88, 160). Also, Hasan Ferid Alnar indicated that besides folk music, the Traditional Turkish Music was very convenient for polyphonic music; therefore, it should have been developed (1988: 16). In addition to this, Hüseyin Saadeddin Arel

was a deadlock to harmonize folk songs in this way. According to him, the traditional music of Turks should not have been spoiled by attempts for polyphonization (quoted from Aracı, 2001: 98-99). In other words, no systematic opinion was held among Kemalist cadres.

The endeavors for the creation of a national opera persisted in that period. For example, A. Adnan Saygun tried to polyphonize various folk songs during this period. Furthermore, he composed the Yunus Emre oratorio and in this work he used some folk tunes<sup>68</sup> by transposing or harmonising them (Aracı, 2001: 93 and 118). It is interesting that in this oratorio Saygun used some Classic Turkish Music themes which were refused by Saygun himself. This usage cannot be limited to Saygun; other composers, such as Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Cemal Reşit Rey, Necil Kazım Akses, Ferit Alnar, used some elements of the Ottoman Classic Music (Aksoy, 1999: 32). The inconsistencies can be seen even among the most leading figures of the Kemalist music reform. They, on the one hand, refused the Ottoman Classic Music totally, and on the other hand, they used some of its elements.

In this period, the various popular music forms of West and East were completely neglected by Kemalists. In fact, they did not tolerate the popular music form of west, such as jazz<sup>69</sup> (Tekelioğlu, 1999: 22-23). This attitude can be seen in the journals of the People's Houses:

To expose the jazz music which has recently covered our youths as an illness and has quickly spread as the high and desirable music should be averted. Playing this music in the shindings should be permitted but listening to it should not be permitted. An intense struggle with this is a necessity (Vuruşkan, 1947: 12) [14].

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argued that the roots of *alaturka* music lie in Central Asia. As opposed to Gökalp's thesis, this music highly affected Arab and Greek music and so Byzantine music. Thus, it is an intrinsic characteristic of Turks (1990). In this sense, Arel takes a different position on the music debates. As Aksoy (1987: 46) claims, he used the Turkish History Thesis in his arguments; in other words, he applied the history thesis on the behalf of the Ottoman Classic Music. The music traditions of other societies, such as the societies of the Middle East, Balkan or Near East, are the parts of the Turkish Music. According to Arel, the music of the Turkish nation has affected all other nation's music. This 'reality' could be seen in the music of regions such as Hungary, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Bulgaria, India, Romania etc. (1990: 10). In sum, by claiming that the Turkish Classic Music is the self-product of Turks, it was not under the affects of Byzantine or Arab music; on the contrary, it affected the music of society which encountered with Turks in various ways; Arel opposed one of the main thesis of Kemalism which argued that the Classic Ottoman Music was ill and alien to Turks; therefore, it should have been replaced with the national and modern music.

<sup>68</sup> The parallel efforts of Cemal Reşit Rey were highly criticized in that period (Üstel, 1993: 39).

<sup>69</sup> By claiming jazz, they were referring to the noisy or cacaphonic music.

In the same vein, Turkish operettas were seen as the products of the same subjacent music pleasure (Üstel, 1993: 45). This approach seems paradoxical since the Kemalist cadres' emphasis on the sluggish characteristics of the Traditional Turkish Music is taken into consideration. Furthermore, Tekelioğlu argues that the Kemalist cadres were unsuccessful in producing any form of popular music for the Turkish people and, therefore, they showed little interest in the music reform (2001: 97). The various forms of popular music were neglected, humiliated or transformed as a part of high music.

It is not impossible to claim that Kemalist music reforms were accepted by the most of Turkish people. For example, Yüksel (1996: 172-173) claims that a classic music concert was organized in the Merzifon People's House, but it ended up being the first and last concert. Then, various *alaturka* music concerts were organized and they became very successful. People's lack of interest can also be verified with in the majority of people's listening to Egyptian radios and watching Egyptian films. Tekelioğlu attributes the popularity of Arab and Egyptian radios to the lack of people's interest in music reforms (1995: 170-171). According to Özbek, one of the main reasons of this fact is the prohibition of Turkish Music on radios (2000: 143).

To overcome the ban imposed on singing in the Arabic language, an adaptation period was set in. Cantek claims that even broadcasting Egyptian films with Arabian lyrical songs was banned. But, this led to an increasing demand for such films since to overcome the ban these songs were rewritten making use of Turkish lyrics and these were sung by famous artists. In other words, the ban, as opposed to the aim of Kemalism, functioned indirectly as being against the official discourse (2003a: 1). According to Tura, when the ban on the Turkish music was applied, people began to listen to Arabic music. Thus, the music pleasure of Turkish people was largely spoiled (1988: 41-42). The act of listening to the Arab radio and the impact of Egyptian films showed people's lack of interest in the music reforms of Kemalism. Although they tried to spread the Western Classic Music and folk music in its transformed form, people did not have any will to listen to this transformed form of folk music and the high music of West.

Then, in 1943, limited permission was given to the education of the Ottoman Classic Music in the Conservatory of the İstanbul Municipality. This could be

realized by the appointment of Hüseyin Saadeddin Arel as the head of this institution. This appointment can be regarded as a slack in the music policies. On the other hand, he gave up this position after five years (Paçacı, 1994b: 83). In addition to these, after 1944 the scope of the debates on the *alaturka-alafranga*<sup>70</sup> music expanded. Moreover, in various journals the radio programmes were highly criticized due to the waning of the Classic Turkish Music programmes:

They are killing the *alaturka* music day by day. Although 40 percent of the broadcasts used to be *alaturka* music in the past, today this percentage is reduced to 20-22. They are trying to replace the Turkish music with the *alafranga* music and they are implicitly humiliating us (Fenik quoted from Cantek, 2003b: 3) [15].

In fact, the Kemalist cadres were complaining about people's listening to the Arab radio. To sum up, after this year the music reform was highly criticized by most of the society. Another repercussion of the enlargement of the debates on the music reform can be seen on the radio broadcasts. According to Kocabaşoğlu, between 1947 and 1960 the amount of the Western music broadcasts was decreased gradually. In fact, there was no music group to perform the Classic Western Music on radios. The programmes were realized by means of records. Furthermore, the percentage of the broadcasts of Classic Western Music programmes was decreased among the foreign music, in general. In this sense, the percentage of the broadcasts of the divan music was increased from 19 to 25 within the total amount of the broadcasting time (1980: 297-298, 299-300). It will be interesting to note that in 1948 a public survey was conducted among people. According to the results of this survey, most of the people were content with the Turkish music programmes on the radio and wished to waxing the time of those programmes (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980: 339). In short, the music policies which were not accepted by people, began to be seriously criticized by the dominant power block itself.

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<sup>70</sup> The name of the Western music

### 3.3.3 The General Characteristics of the Music Policies

In general context, it can be said that the music policies of the Early Republican Period found their roots in the ideas of Ziya Gökalp. For example, M. Kemal claimed that it was a necessity to reach the level of the civilized music of the West. Thus, folk songs should be developed in accordance with the western music techniques (quoted from Ataman, 1991: 13). According to Gökalp, after acquiring the Western techniques the intellectuals should have turned to people to create national music. The roots of the Turkish national music could be found in folk music. Owing to the fact that the Ottoman Classic Music was the music of the palace or Arabs and that folk music was the music of people, the Turkish national and modern music could only be created by a synthesis of folk music and the Western Classic Music. (Gökalp, 1964 and Gökalp, 1999). It should be noted that such an approach towards the Ottoman Classic Music is not peculiar to Gökalp. It firstly emerged in the last period of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>71</sup>. For example, Necib Asım, in 1893, argued that the original music of Turks was folk music; on the other hand, the Ottoman Classic Music was the music of Arabs or Acems and therefore, the new music should have been created by the synthesis of the Western music and the folk music. In fact, Sultan Abdulhamid, in 1918, said that *alaturka* music was the music of Greeks and Arabs, and the real music of Turks; on the other hand, the real music instrument of Turks and of folk music was the *saz*, which was played in the villages of Anatolia (quoted from Aksoy, 1987: 42-43). It is obvious that the views of the Sultan were consistent with the general framework of the music reform in the Early Republican Period.

In this attempt, the Ottoman Classic Music was analyzed as the music of the palace and also it was the music of Arabs, so it was not national<sup>72</sup>. It was not consistent with the soul of the Turkish revolutions. In this sense, M. Kemal bade that:

The Ottoman music is not powerful enough to sing the great reforms in the Turkish Republic. We need a new music and this music, the essence of which shall originate from folk music, will be polyphonic music. When we consider what is

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<sup>71</sup> In fact, in 1868 Ziya Paşa argued that the divan literature had developed with the influence of Arab and Acem literature; therefore, it was alien to Turks. According to him, the original poem literature of Turks would be the folk poem literature (Aksoy, 1987: 43).

<sup>72</sup> On the other hand, Behar argues that the Ottoman Classic music was very extensive out of the palace, in the cities (Behar, 1993: 28-29). In other words, some elements of the Ottoman Classic Music were transferred to folk songs in various ways.

named as culture, will the Anatolian peasants listen to your Ottoman music? Have they ever listened to it? They do not possess the culture of that music (quoted from Oransay, 1985: 89) [16].

Moreover, the Turkish Classic Music was seen by Kemalist cadres as a monophonic music and thus it belonged to the Middle Ages<sup>73</sup>. In addition to this, the Ottoman Classic Music was a slow and sluggish music in its style and instruments. The sluggish Ottoman Music was not consistent with the joyful characteristics of Turks. Besides, the Ottoman Classic Music was seen as stagnant and thus could not be changed. Another important dimension of these policies was the language reform. According to Kemalist cadres, the Classic Ottoman Music was alien to Turkish people since the words of the songs had been written in the Ottoman language, which were not comprehended by most of the people. For example, M. Kemal called Adnan Saygun to Çankaya for a summon. He transformed the words of an Ottoman Classic Music song into the new Turkish alphabet and wanted Saygun to compose a lied from these words.

However, Paçacı argues that the language reform devastated the inner structure of the Classic Turkish Music since the verbal and music elements, in this music, were very well-adjusted (1999a: 22). To sum up, by not neglecting the above mentioned inconsistencies, according to Kemalist cadres, the Ottoman Classic Music was monophonic, and thus obsolete and primitive, ill and alien to Turks. Therefore, it had to be deleted from the consciousness and life of people.

On the other hand, attempts for the exclusion of the Ottoman Classic Music exposed some oscillations. For example, Kemal Ünal published two articles in 1938 with the instruction of M. Kemal. In one of these articles, he claimed that polyphonic music was the sign of development, but the Ottoman Classic music was monophonic. Also, it did not belong to people. Our real music was folk music. So, it had to be harmonized with the techniques of the Western music. On the other hand, in the second article, it was stated that the Ottoman Classic music entertained Turks; but,

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<sup>73</sup> At this point, the Kemalist conception of nation can be remembered. In this concept, the Ottoman was made the “other” and so the cultural heritage of the Ottoman was rejected. Nevertheless, a different type of synthesis could be tried to be realized in that time period. For example, Tekelioğlu indicates that a magazine, *Nota*, supported a different synthesis. According to this magazine, Turkish Music, including the Ottoman Classic music, should have been polyphonized. In this sense, they criticized official policies. But, after the eleventh issue, *Nota* became more defensive and less critical of the official policies (Tekelioğlu, 2001: 96-97 and 98-99).

besides these simple emotions, Turks needed a kind of music which would be in harmony with the high feelings of Turks (Oransay, 1985: 36-38, 40, 42, 44). These two articles show the undecided character of the analysis of Kemalism on the features of the Ottoman Classic music. Another example, as Üstel quotes, is that M. Kemal implies that the works on the polyphonization of *alaturka* music would be supported by the state (1993: 40). This thesis was also supported by Hasan Ferid Alnar as mentioned above. However, the Traditional Turkish Music was a *makam* music. In other words, the most important dimension of this music was mostly criticized by the Kemalist cadres. Tura claims that this music would have vanished in the structure of any polyphonic music; the monophonic style was an indispensable part of this music. Making the songs of this music polyphonic means the creation of another type of music, which is far from the Traditional Turkish Music (1988: 30-31). In the same vein, he argues that the fact that Turkish music was a monophonic music was supposed to be regarded as a deficiency, as result of being in an uncivilized position. On the other hand, the Turkish music was consisted of the peculiar melodies which would vanish in a polyphonic structure. In fact, these melodies consisted of various modes and these would also be destroyed by polyphonization (1988: 45). In addition to this, it can be said that for the sake of their policies, they neglected the richness of the Ottoman Classic Music, such as the mosque or the *tekke*. For example, Yönetken argues that the music tradition of *Bektashis* and *Alevi*s was negatively affected by the prohibition of *tekkes* and *zaviyes* (1999: 131).

In the music policies of the Early Republican Period, folk music and folk songs were important. The main reference was the nationality in the music reform. Gazimihal<sup>74</sup> argued that our real music was folk music, which was neither the voice of a single organization nor that of a social group; it was the voice of our national conscience. He argued that while instruments such as the *ud* of the Ottoman music was newly known by people, the instruments in folk music had been known for

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<sup>74</sup> Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal was one of the leading figure in the music policies of the Early Republican Period. He was born in İstanbul in 1900. He was a music teacher in the various high schools of İstanbul. He participated in the collection trips of the Conservatory of İstanbul Municipality. He was appointed as a music teacher in the *Musiki Muallim Mektebi* in 1932 and gave some music lessons in the *Gazi Eğitim Enstitüsü* (The Gazi Education Institute). He participated in the various trips began in the 1937 and published some articles and books on the Turkish folk music (Büyül Larousse, 1992c: 4439).

centuries (1947: 43-44). Also, Kemalist reformists tried to analyse folk music from their perspective of the history thesis. The Turkish folk music, they said, consisted of pentatonic tones. In fact, in most of folk music these kinds of tones were widely used. In Hittites samples of pentatonic tones could be found (Gazimihal, 1936b). Also, Saygun suggested that collected folk songs included pentatonic tones and this structure also existed in the Hungarian and Finnish folk songs. But after that, Saygun confessed that the pentatonism in the Turkish folk music was highly exaggerated in that period (1987: 46-47). Furthermore, the main aim of Kemalist cadres was to collect them and then harmonize them with the techniques of the West.

By the same token, Burhan Asaf Belge claimed that Turkish music should be developed by accepting folk music as the original music (quoted from Oransay, 1985: 34). On the other hand, as Stokes claims, this attempt is the purification of the folk tunes:

Modernist reformers associated with the dominant nationalist ideology of Kemalism attempted to ban art music as the relic of a tainted Ottoman past, offering in its place a purified 'national' folk music genre (1996: 1).

Similarly, Üstel argues that the Kemalist cadres tried to create a homogenous cultural unity from the fragmentary cultural structure of Anatolia and then, they strived to make the folk songs as the cultural product of the state. In this sense, the folk songs started to be comprehended as a codified music of power (1994: 49). For such an aim, numerous trips were organized, as emphasized above, and some efforts of polyphonization were made, such as the conducts of Hindemith and those of the People's Houses. On the other hand, these attempts were strongly criticized. For example, Boratav argues that the works of the People's Houses were not systematic and scientific (1991a: 80). Moreover, this collection accommodated too many problematic aspects in itself. Firstly, in the villages the words of folk music were changed by peasants because of their fear of the state and its intermediaries. Especially elder people either gave some songs by changing their words or gave nothing at all (Başgöz, 1986: 306). Then, these collections were standardized in their playing and singing techniques<sup>75</sup>. Moreover, it can be said that the collections have

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<sup>75</sup> As Tokel argues, the preliminary characteristic of folk music lies in the variety of singing and playing techniques (2000: 85). Moreover, collective performance destroys the nuances and different dialects, which are other characteristics of folk music (2000: 131, 132-133).



standardized folk music. In these efforts the individual styles of *aşiks*<sup>76</sup> have been lost. In addition to this, some words were changed by the collectors in order to modernize them as they were not “proper” for high and national emotions of Turks<sup>77</sup>. Furthermore, some music problems could be seen in those collections since the notation acts were tried to be realized within the system of the Western models. In addition to this, their opinions on folk music were not consistent with its historical developments; for example, folk music was considered completely separate from the Ottoman Classic Music during this period (Oransay, 1985: 42). On the other hand, as both Başgöz and Boratav claim, there were many relationships with these genres as in other genres of folk literature and the *divan* literature (Başgöz, 1986; Boratav, 1991a; Boratav, 1991b). The Kemalist comprehension of people as the source of nation, and the ambivalent characteristic of that comprehension can be seen in their understanding of folk music. Folk songs, they claim, were our real national music<sup>78</sup> but not as they were. On the contrary, they had to be found, selected and made appropriate for modern Turks. In this sense, the folk songs belonged to the Middle Age. In this issue, as an example, M. Ragıp Gazimihal claimed that a new kind of national-modern music had to be created since monophonic music, which was the essential characteristic of both the Traditional Ottoman Music and folk music, belonged to the Middle Ages (1947: 76).

### 3.4. Conclusion

In this framework, music policies were considered very important in the construction of national identity and culture in Turkey. For example, M. Kemal claimed that the music reform was the sign of a nation’s development:

A nation can make reforms in many issues and can succeed in all of these; yet, it is the music reform that is the sign of high development of a nation (quoted from Kocatürk, 1999: 158) [17].

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<sup>76</sup> The wandering minstrels

<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, as Boratav claims, it is pointless to search for meaningful and propitious words in the folklore materials. On the contrary, the effects of events on people should be studied (1991b: 477).

<sup>78</sup> Folk music is the conscience of our nation since it is far away from the impact of of foreign cultures and thus it is uncontaminated and pure (Gazimihal, 1947: 47-48).

In the same vein, Atay (1969: 10) says that Atatürk loved *alaturka* music but believed in the necessity of the Western Music for the development of the Turkish nation. Remembering the oscillations and debates among Kemalist cadres, it can be claimed that such reform had three music aspects: The Classic Ottoman Music, which should have been excluded, folk music, which should have been synthesized with the Western music, and as a result, our national and modern music would come into existence.

During the Early Republican Period, the cultural issues and especially music policies were completely taken up pedagogically<sup>79</sup> (Üstel, 1993: 38). As Stokes argues:

[Kemalists] defined Ottoman Music as the relic of the barbarous past and tried to reconstruct folk music. All attempts were tried to be realized by the state (1996: 2-3).

In this sense, as mentioned above, those policies were not consistent with an preliminary characteristic of music, which represents, in a way, the various dimensions of the experiences people underwent; that is, the culture-music is embedded in the life of people. Therefore, the music pleasure of people could not be transformed by some decrees or laws. During this period, the characteristics of efforts were mostly determined by the nationalist-populist comprehension of Kemalism. The roles and functions of music in the society, and music as a genre were not taken into account. Therefore, some distorted assumptions were tried to be implemented on both the Traditional Ottoman Music and folk music. That is, the debates and efforts on music in that period were inseparably linked with the dominant ideological paradigms of that time period.

In addition to the inconsistencies of the analysis and works as mentioned above, the analysis of the Kemalist cadres of the Classic Turkish Music seems highly problematic. According to them, this music was alien to Turkish people and the music of the palace, or it was completely different from folk music; these opinions

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<sup>79</sup> There is an anecdote which makes the approach of Kemalist cadres to cultural issues plain. In 1934, a committee was assembled to make music reforms!. This was realized by the call of the then Ministry of Culture. The committee-member artists were confused since they had been educated in western Europe and had never come across such an approach to cultural policies. Then, in the midst of gatherings, M. Kemal called and asked how the music revolution was going (Sun, 1980: 68-69). However, culture refers to a historical process and a whole way of life as Williams suggests and thus it can be said that such an approach of Kemalism neglects all important aspects of culture.

were parallel with their history thesis and language reform. On the other hand, these opinions were not consistent with the historical developments of the Classic Turkish Music.

Furthermore, these oscillations and their unsuitable outlook can also be seen in their analysis of folk music. On the one hand, folk songs were the real and uncontaminated tunes of Turks, and on the other hand, they were to be selected, purified and given back to people; in other words, the folk songs were tried to be completely elaborated. This process was highly consistent with the double time narration of the Kemalist nationalist-populist discourse. Also, it can be said that, in addition to the way folk music was collected and elaborated, Kemalist cadres' analysis of the Ottoman Classic Music, the roots of which were considered as "ill" and "alien" presents a good example of their understanding of culture since cultural forms are not imposed to people from above; on the contrary, they are intrinsic aspects of people's lives; they live in these forms and shape them. But, it should be added that the mentioned inconsistencies were not the result of the lack of Kemalist music reformers' knowledge about the Traditional Ottoman Music; on the contrary, these were the consequences of their populist-nationalist comprehension. That is, an ideological distortion emerged in their acts and opinions.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE KEMALIST CONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE TURKISH FOLK MUSIC

Folk music was an indispensable component of the music policies of the Early Republican Period since folk songs were believed to be the real songs of Turks. Their lyrics reflected the noble soul of Turks and their melodies signified the civilized level of Turks or their inclined characteristics to the high modern art. In this sense, it was regarded as one of the important constituents of the Turkish national identity.

In this chapter, Kemalist cadres' views on Turkish folk music will be examined. Special focus will be devoted to the reflections of their arguments regarding the Turkish History Thesis and language reforms on the folk music acts. Furthermore, the lack of any systematic opinion concerning folk music among the Kemalist cadres will be shown.

In this sense, the first issue to be covered will be some important characteristics of the Turkish folk songs. These are noteworthy to be mentioned of as they will exhibit the inappropriate position of the Kemalist conceptualization of folk music.

Then an attempt will be made to examine the importance of folk music as regards the idea of synthesis of the Kemalist cadres. Therefore, the opinions on the relations between the high characteristics of Turks and the features of the folk songs will be analysed. The Kemalist cadres' comprehension of folk music from the point of modern aesthetic will be dwelled on. Furthermore, the lack of consistency in the synthesis of folk music among the Kemalist cadres will be emphasized.

Thirdly, this chapter will try to look into the tools of the idea of synthesis. In this sense, the views of Kemalists on what to do in the People's Houses and on radios

will be analysed. Thus, the analysis of folk song in these institutions by the Kemalist cadres will be scrutinized.

Another important point to be covered will be the issue of pentatonism. The vital aspects of this issue regarding the Turkish History Thesis and the essentialist dimension of Kemalist nationalism will be examined. In addition, some repercussions of the debates concerning the existence of pentatonism on Kemalist views will be covered, such as the location of the collections and the resource people.

Then this chapter will dwell on the debates on polyphony in the Turkish folk music connected with pentatonism. In this context, it is of utmost importance to examine once again the relation between the inclination of Turks to polyphony in music and the history thesis. Besides, an analysis will be made of the position of Vahid Lütfi Salcı<sup>80</sup>, who was one of the leading figures in the deeds on folk music during the Early Republican Period and of his opinions on the mysterious part of the Turkish folk music.

Finally, the reflections of the language reforms on the Kemalist views on folk music will be studied. In this sense, the inconsistency between the Kemalist aim to create a homogenised and standardised national language and the local characteristics of folk songs will be mentioned. Furthermore, an emphasis will be laid on the exclusion of some of the sections of folk songs, such as erotic ones, which are regarded as being incompatible with the noble soul of Turks.

In sum, in this chapter, an analysis will be made of the opinions of Kemalist cadres as regards Turkish folk music. An attempt will be made to dissect the ideas of Kemalist cadres on folk music around the dominant ideological paradigms of that time period and show the blurriness and heterogeneity of their mind. In this sense, the lack of a method emerges as another important problem to be discussed. But, firstly, the explanation of some preliminary characteristics of Turkish folk music will be necessary to clarify the ideas and efforts of Kemalist cadres due to the fact that both their deeds and ideas were not convenient with these characteristics.

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<sup>80</sup> Vahit Lütfi Salcı was a prominent name in the Kemalist folklore acts. He was born in İstanbul in 1883. He was educated in İstanbul. He mostly interested in the folk songs of Alevis. He especially focused on the manuscripts of the folk songs in the Alevi villages (Büyük Larousse, 1992d: 10099).

#### 4.1. Some Vital Characteristics of the Turkish Folk Music

Folk poems and songs were anonymous and the distinction between folk songs, minstrels, tales and plays were impossible<sup>81</sup>. Başgöz classifies folk poems into two: *aşık* poems and folk songs<sup>82</sup>. While the creators of the first group were certain, they were subsequently transformed and people seemed to be as their original creator. On the other hand, the creators of the second group were uncertain (1986: 252). According to Nida Tüfekçi:

It is seen that Turkish folk music depends upon two great sources: 1- *Aşıks*, 2-Those who compose folk songs. These two groups of folk artists causes the emergence of new folk songs by unconsciously combining various old songs with different words that have remained in their mind. While realizing this, they cannot think of applying the already existent rules, they cannot apply them because they have do not have any musical knowledge. They realize this process intuitively. Most of the *aşıks* sing the folk melodies of great poets who lived in the past with the music of the place where they grew up (1983: 1483) [1].

*Aşıks* can be placed between folk poets and *divan* poets, but they were closer to the folk poem tradition (Başgöz, 1968: 7). In this sense, it will not be correct to claim that folk music and the Ottoman Classic Music were completely separate from each other as discussed in the third chapter. According to Tanrıkorur, the Classic Ottoman Music and folk music continuously affected each other in the historical process (2003: 13). But, it should be added that these relations were very limited until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Also, Başgöz argues that in the poems of *aşıks*, for example, in those of Karacaoğlan, the love theme was affected by the literature of the high classes (1986: 137). *Aşıks* who went to the cities were more likely to be influenced by the literature of the high classes in the Ottoman social formation. In other words, *aşık* poems and *divan* poems affected each other (Köprülü, 1940a: 323 and 1940b: 455). As Başgöz claims:

*Aşık* poetry was shaped by various cultural factors. There is the impact of the *dervish* literature of Anatolia, the impact of the Shamanism of Asia, and the influence of the city

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<sup>81</sup> As Başgöz claims, examples of folk songs can even be found in riddles (1986: 249).

<sup>82</sup> Başgöz adds to this classification another genre, which was *dervish* poetry (1998: 53).

literature. It is the synthesis of all of these. Classic literature has also influenced the theme of love, which is the main theme of *aşık* poetry (1986: 254-255)<sup>83</sup> [2].

In conclusion, it can be said that *aşıks* acted as a steering wheel between folk music and the Classic Ottoman Music.

It is important to note that initially the songs of *aşıks* were individual products. On the other hand, they lost their individuality in time and became the products of people since they emerged and developed in oral tradition and they were transferred orally from one generation to another (Atılğan, 1996: 144; Boratav, 2000a: 81 and 2000c: 34):

Their (folk songs') most important feature is that they completely belong to people. Although these are individual products in their origin, they lose their individuality not only because their first creators are forgotten, but also because their structures and subjects undergo continuous change in the hands of new and unknown artists while they circulate among people. Moreover, individuality is at a very small scale in some of these products. For example, a man who composes a folk song about any event in a village, creates a new folk song by combining the already existent patterns which he heard until that time after making the necessary necessitated by time and place (Boratav, 2000b: 3) [3].

In this sense, Tahir Alangu indicates that it was not people who were the producers of folk songs but individuals. People adapted and made folk songs as their own products; in other words, people transformed them constantly (1983: 100-101). In this transformation process, the most important source of people was the experiences they had in life.

In line with Propp (1998: 14) who argues that there is no writer in folklore artifacts; there was not a single arranger of folk songs; they emerged and developed in oral traditions. They always changed both in melodic and lyrical structure and they should be taken into consideration in parallel with the various melodies that might be mixed with folk songs. As Burke claims:

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<sup>83</sup> In fact, Köprülü claims that *aşıks* in villages tried to imitate *aşıks* who had tried to copy the songs of the *divan* poems in cities (1986: 177).

In communities or subcultures, namely the places where music was not written, singers, violonists or pipers did not have the notes of the songs in their memories; they were doing their jobs by improvisation. On the other hand, they could not completely sing and play by improvisation as they wished; they would make some variations upon a theme. They would add some trimmings or additional notes to the basic melody; they would garnish songs by musical transitions and repetitions, or by playing two notes consecutively or making unimportant changes in rhythm or voice range. Thus, folk songs were exposed to diversity, that is, plenty of change. There is no true interpretation, because the idea of true interpretation is meaningless if the songs are not written, or transcribed into notes. In the oral tradition, songs only exist with the changes they undergo.... (1996: 145) [4].

Alangu (1983: 102) argues that folk songs underwent transformation while they were circulating among people owing to the misunderstandings, misheard elements and the weakness of the memory; thus, new motifs were always added to folk songs. In addition to this, it is very absurd to search for totally meaningful elements in the lyrical structure of folk songs. The fragmentary characteristic of folk life influenced the lyrical structure of folk songs. Furthermore, the vital point was not the lyric structure of the folk melodies, but their relations with the experiences people had in life. As Boratav says:

As in *aşık* poetry, in folk song a connection between opinions and a unity of topic are not sought; the paragraphs, and sometimes even the lines, are not connected with a tight link of meaning, but mechanically; they can be independent from each other in terms of the development of subject. Quite often, the narration is blur and incoherent; the order of narration is usually spoiled by exposure of unusual, unexpected opinions, observations or incidents; because of the lack of order and sequence of the narration which is logically incoherent, it is possible for the composer of the song to rearrange the paragraphs as he wishes, and because the composer usually behaves as such like the first singer of the folk song, the chain of events, which are barely felt with the vague signs inherent in them, may be inverted, and chronologically an event may be mentioned first, instead of last. (2000c: 186)<sup>84</sup> [5]

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<sup>84</sup> “[In folklore] logic is possible but not obligatory. The artistic logic of narration does not coincide with the logic of causal thinking. Action is primary, not reason.” (Propp, 1998: 45) [6]



In other words, folk music and *aşık* music were directly related with people's daily life experiences. Boratav claims that folk poets were the interpreters of people's feelings, wishes and emotions. In other words, folklore was the interpretation of the collective sub-consciousness of people (1991b: 30 and 277). In this sense, their main function was to express incidents in the daily life of people; their love, wedding ceremonies, their deaths or the joyful or painful events occurring in the life of people. That is, the elements of folklore were vague, unelaborated like the consciousness of people in its Gramscian sense. In fact, these blurriness emerged in some of the folk songs which were critical to social order. The criticisms, in these poems, did not directly forget the existing social order; it pointed at the people who occupied a mid position in the state structure as the subjects of "corrupt order" (Başgöz, 1986, 256). Besides, some folk poems and songs directly expressed the reasons of inequalities that lay in the structure of social order (Yıldırım, 1999: 26).

In addition to this scattered and unelobared structure, it is not meaningful to claim that the folk songs were pure and simple. In fact, their lyrical structure was relatively simple. Furthermore, some of them could not be differentiated from *divan* poems (Boratav, 2000a: 83). Besides, this scattered structure, another important characteristic of the folk songs was that there was no standardized technique in both singing and playing. In other words, every genre in folk songs had its own playing style or technique, which varied from region to region. Moreover, in folk songs, the local dialects were very important. The Turkish folk songs consisted of local dialects, cultural and musical forms (Tokel, 2000: 85 and 131-132, 133). In sum:

The so-called folk music is an ever-complex and profound music which constantly refreshes and changes itself in time, appearing in different styles, modes and techniques according to the region, people and the instruments used... (Tokel, 2000: 14) [7].

Shortly, the folklore elements presented a scattered, unelaborated and heterogeneous structure. In the same vein, Boratav criticizes the Kemalist conception of folklore and claims that it is wrong to treat everything produced by *saz* poets as good and pure (1991a: 33). He adds that, contrary to the Kemalist analysis<sup>85</sup>, the life

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<sup>85</sup> "In short, these *manis* are mostly beautiful, unique and most of them are very spiritual. Some of them are very poetic and express the social troubles and constant complaints of people." (Yanıkoglu, 1943: 29) [8]

and wishes of people could be found in folk songs but not the high art of a nation (1991b: 361-362). The folk songs were strictly tied with the daily life of people. They were embedded with the various aspects of people's daily life. The aesthetic elements did not constitute the preliminary characteristics of the folk songs as opposed to what Kemalists claimed:

The value of our folk music is enormous. They are not simple folk songs woven out of the same clauses; each is a masterpiece garnished with various sounds and precious melodies which can be listened to with utmost pleasure. There are strong elements which complete the meaning between composition, actions and *manis* (Salman, 1938: 415) [9].

The concerns for an aesthetic characteristic were secondary in folk songs. As Yıldırım claims:

The lyrical structure when compared to the musical element, seems dominant in folk music. It expresses orally and in a melodic style the life and problems of people within their traditional life (1999: 25) [10].

Besides, men and women tried to express the aspects of their lives by means of folk songs. The main characteristics of the Turkish folk songs lay in their various lyrical character, and the techniques employed in playing and singing them. In other words, they included various local dialects and musical forms. In addition to this, folk songs were exposed to the many transformations in the historical process since they were transmitted orally. Another important characteristic of this music is that folk songs were directly the products of the daily life of people. In this sense, they reflect the fragmentary characteristics of folk life consciousness in terms of both their lyrical structure and melodies. Therefore, the aesthetic inclinations are the secondary characteristic of this music, the primary one being the expressions of folk life and consciousness. On the other hand, it can be said that the Kemalist comprehension of folk music was slightly different from the above mentioned features of folk melodies.

## 4.2. The Idea of Synthesis and Folk Music

### 4.2.1. The Double Time Narration in the Kemalist Conceptualization of Folk Music

Folk songs would become the sources of new music for the cadres of the Early Republican Period:

As for why we are collecting these melodies, it is undoubtful that our folk songs, *zeybeks* and national folk dances deriving from the national identity of our people will represent the foundation of our music revolution. To be beneficial for such an aim, we, also, assumed the duty of taking note of the folk songs which we have heard in our vicinity and compiling them in a brochure (Çakmak and Şemsi, 1935: 4) [11].

According to Kemalism, they were the ‘real music’ of Turks<sup>86</sup> and thus, they could precisely reflect the pure ‘soul’ of Turks. On the other hand, they should have been synthesized with the Western Classic Music for realizing a vital Kemalist aim, which was to reach the civilized level of the western societies. However, as well as some methodological problems to accomplish their aims of synthesis, there was no agreement over the features of folk music or among the opinions of Kemalist cadres on folk music. Besides, Kemalist opinions were not compatible with the

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<sup>86</sup> In this sense, the Ottoman Classic Music was seen as alien to Turks as mentioned earlier:

The formalistic *divan* poets who get their strength and originality from the madrasah sciences and *tasavvuf* have never been the interpreters of the spirit of the great Turkish people. In addition to there being no outlook to society in general in this literature, the comprehension of habit and the existence of natural state is said to be absent. And, the *divan* poets could not escape from being the prisoners of their own outlooks and aims even in the most objective depictions. On the other hand, the voice of folk poets’ echoes in every social and natural arena with utmost divine melodies and always managed to keep their hearts in their eternal places (Doğudandoğan, 1944: 20) [12].

In the same vein, Salcı argues that while the folk songs meaningfully expressed the intricate opinions of people, the *divan* literature did not extract such a deep content (1935a: 8). The Ottoman Classic Music was already the music of the Byzantine. Thus, Turkish people did not listen to this music (1935c: 15-16). The Ottoman –*divan* literature was corrupted and spoiled, it was not the literature of Turks (Refet, 1933: 10). In fact, the pure Turkish language was desolated under the reign of the Ottoman Empire (Kendi, 1942a: 53). Besides the lyrical characteristics, the real meter of Turkish music was the syllabic meter but not *aruz*. The ‘real *aşiks*’ didn’t write according to the *aruz* meter. If they had written in this meter, these poems would have been very invaluable when compared to those which were written according to syllabic meter. In addition, the poems which were written in syllabic meter were sincere and unostentatious (Aşkun, 1942: 17-18; Can and Gökçe, 1936: 65; Kemal, 1945: 59; Hasan, 1934: 1 and Oral, 1936: 35-36).

characteristic of that music due to the aspects of their populist and nationalist ideologies.

For Kemalist cadres, folk songs, on the one hand, were the real songs of Turks, but on the other hand they had to be developed in accordance with the western techniques and styles<sup>87</sup>. The obsolete nature of the Turkish culture and music was the result of old styles and methods. For example, the monophony was one of the features of these old styles. In reality, folk songs were suitable for the soul of Turks. Therefore, folk songs needed to be refrained from the effects of the old styles and given back to people to provide national unity. As it was expressed in a brochure of the People's Houses:

The People's Houses is realizing a vital act by perpetuating the national traditions under their roofs. People are finding themselves; they are reuniting with their self essence and merriment; in this respect, the continuity of music and dance tradition is providing national education and unity. The role of the People's Houses is not only the prevention and perpetuation of tradition. The People's Houses, at the same time, have the duty of promoting people around the framework of civilization, which we attached and forced people to step forward. This is a matter of education in that our initial point will be again tradition. People cannot enjoy the melody and dance which do not attract them. For the new vaccination to be effective, it should be compatible with the structure that will be vaccinated and it is necessary that this vaccination be made skillfully (CHP, 1946: 6-7) [14].

The methods of the Western music would bring about the real sounds of Turks (Küçük, 1982:202). In the same vein, Kansu claimed that the polyphonic music was the music of our age and so our feelings and emotions could only be expressed through polyphonic-classic- music. Therefore, folk songs needed to be interpreted with the Western techniques and then people would become familiar with

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<sup>87</sup> In the People's Houses, the efforts to collect folk songs were processed in the same vein:

The harmonization and composition of these beautiful songs of *Elaziz* – around the principle of not losing their essences- in conformity with the technique of the West is also among our programme (Altan, 1937: 13) [13].

But, it is clear that if the folk songs were elaborated with the techniques of the Western music, its preliminary characteristics would inevitably disappear.

the polyphonic music<sup>88</sup> (quoted in Saygun, 1940: 5-6). In the same vein, Muhittin Sadak argued that the Turkish composers had completed the polyphonization of folk songs and, thus, from then on our music was both modern and national (1945: 10). Likewise, Vahit Lüdfi Salcı claimed that there were too many Turkish folk songs which were in romantic and dramatic styles and these were suitable for making polyphonic music (1935a: 8). Similarly, Halil Bedi Yönetken argued that the national operas were the most important tools in the music education of people. Then, he claimed that we should have created various national operas, the subject of which should have come from the history of Turks and the main elements of which were folk songs as Turkish people should have listened to their self-voices (1934: 203-204). In the same vein, Yusuf Ziya Demirci indicated that the folk songs were the primary sources to create national music because of their simplicity, souls and closeness to Turkish people. To bring them to the foreground via scientific methods was a national duty (1938: 16-17). This means that Kemalist cadres did not trust the musical form of the folk songs. In other words, folk music was the initial point of reaching the civilized level. It was seen only as a source to be developed and elaborated. Folk songs were regarded as a kind of element from which some symphonies, orchestral works or symphonic poems would be derived:

...This melody is one of the most original melodies of Turkish folk music, every piper knows and plays it. One of the most beautiful symphonic poem may be created from this melody in the hands of a composer (Yönetken, 1966: 54)<sup>89</sup> [15].

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<sup>88</sup> In some examples of the idea of synthesis, as opposed to the dominant beliefs among Kemalist cadres, the Ottoman Classic Music was not seen as an archaic music. The acceptable examples of that music should have been praised; they would even be inspired. On the other hand, the foundations of music revolution should have been searched among folk songs (Nişbay, 1942: 1). In fact, this contradiction can be seen in the ideas of M. Kemal himself. Sometimes, he criticised The Classic Ottoman Music as archaic and alien to Turks (Aksoy, 1996: 75); other times it was the music of Turks, but couldn't promote the Turkish music to the civilized level of western societies (Oransay, 1985: 25).

<sup>89</sup> Like him, Gazimihal asserts:

We buckled inwards by the melodies of mystic art. We also sufficiently enjoyed the burbles of *şıkultms*. Now, we must set off towards the ideal of great art with a foresight and enthusiasm; we must understand the belief which began to be assumed by youth. While a day will come when we will subtract resolute and awesome adagios from the old sober mystic works and joyful and robust vivaces from the merry dance rythmes, the spirit of Turkish art will have awakened by the means of new aesthetic cadres (1947: 71) [16].

The ambiguous structure of Kemalist populism as Bora and assert can explicitly be seen at that point. To put it differently, the pedagogic and performative characteristic of Kemalist populism can be seen in their opinions on folk music; although this music was the real, proud music of Turks, it would in a way be transformed; it would be reinvented. In this sense, this anecdote of Yönetken was very meaningful in comprehending the approach of Kemalist cadres:

While folk artists were singing and playing their *saz* in the People's House in Bucak, an interval of about a quarter of a note occurred. The hundreds of people gathered in the hall suddenly screwed up their face and displayed an expression of discomfort. This event is noteworthy since it demonstrated our people's musical ear, and their skill in listening to and comprehending music. There are a lot of observations on the emotions of our people expressed towards music. It is definite that, the Turkish nation is a musical nation. The delicate and advanced musicality which we expose in the various arrangements of the *saz*, in the richness of modes and rythms, and in the various folk dances is far beyond of all appreciations. We know some nations in Europe that although they have not such a richness of folklore and such a delicate musical culture, they call themselves as a musician nation. It is a necessity to see the musicians in the Turkish people. In fact, the children of tribes...If we give them a civilized culture, we will have a great artists (1966: 130) [17].

The ambiguity was too explicit; on the one hand, as it was claimed, the musical pleasure of the Turkish people and the techniques of folk songs were highly developed, and on the other hand, people had to be educated in parallel with the civilized cultures. In other words, people were glorified as they exist, on the other hand, they were seen as defective to be completed; they were tried to be reconstructed; this reconstruction would be realized by a kind of synthesis in folk music.

#### **4.2.2. The Lack of a Coherent Opinion in the Idea of the Synthesis of Folk Music**

Before analyzing the repercussions of such an approach which, on the one hand, regarded folk songs as the 'soul' of Turks, and on the other hand, folk songs had to be developed and elaborated, that means that they were the symbols of the

obsolete nature of Turkish people; they were archaic in form and content<sup>90</sup>, it should be noted that the methods of this synthesis were not clear among Kemalist cadres. For example, most of them claimed that folk songs had to be synthesized in accordance with the Western techniques; however, Ahmed Adnan Saygun contended that two aspects of music revolution were important; referring back to the real music of Turks, that is, folk music, and realizing polyphonic music. In this sense, the strivings on polyphonic music necessitated taking its sources from folk songs. Music education could not be set only on the themes of Anatolia, but at the same time it could not refuse them (1941b: 9-10 and 1942a: 10). The Western technique to realize polyphony was not consistent with the Turkish folk songs. A different system of harmonization needed to be created and this system had to come into the foreground from within the folk themes. On the other hand, the music pleasure of people would become worse (Saygun, 1936b: 422-423 and 1942a: 9). It was clear that Saygun's proposal was different from the main direction of most of Kemalist cadres. In this sense, it cannot be said that the components of the idea of synthesis was clear-cut and definite among Kemalist music reformers. But still, the idea of the synthesis constituted the main direction of the music policies.

It should be added that Kemalist cadres could show different positions on the acts of folk music as I below mentioned. In other words, it is not possible to claim that their opinions and acts on folk music were unique. For example, V. Lütfi Salcı argued for the existence of polyphony in the folk songs but, as different from the other musicians he made a division between hidden and open parts of the folk music. According to him, the 'real music of Turks' should have been searched in the hidden part (1936: 7). Furthermore, some cadres (Yönetken, Sarısözen<sup>91</sup>, Gazimihal)

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<sup>90</sup> For example, Taha Toros claimed that in those years the efforts on folk songs were found meaningless and folk songs were not heeded (1991: 16). In the same vein, as quoted from Elçi, the folk musicians in the time of *Yurttan Sesler* (Sounds from the Country) choir carried their *saz* by hiding them. In this period, folk music was not seen as seriously (Elçi, 1997: 44). That is, although folk music was presented as the real music of Turks, the performers of that music tried to veil their instruments.

<sup>91</sup> Muzaffer Sarısözen was one of the leading figures in the folklore acts during the Early Republican Period. He was born in 1899. He was educated in the Conservatory of İstanbul Municipality. Then, he became a music teacher in the Sivas High School. After his support for a collection act of the Ankara State Conservatory in Sivas, he was appointed to a chief position in the archive of the Ankara State Conservatory. He participated in all collection trips until 1953. He also interested in the folk dances. He was appointed as chief in the choir of *Yurttan Sesler* in 1946. He firstly initiated the performance of choral folk music and the tradition of collective playing of *bağlama*. He died in 1963 (Elçi, 1997: 23-39).

claimed that the villages which were not influenced by the effects of cities should have been searched to collect the folk songs, on the other hand, some other (Can, Aşkun) made some collection acts by calling the *aşiks* or reciters to the cities. Another inconsistency can be seen in the issue of local accents and dialects. That is, as I will show below, on the one hand, some writers, for example Saygun, contended that the local accents and dialects should have been kept in the folklore collections, on the other hand, some writers, for example Salcı, refused the existence of local accents in the folk songs. In fact, it was frequently stressed that the folk song performances in the radios or the People's Houses were implemented by the folk songs which were purified from their local characters. In other words, it can be said that there existed an inconsistency between the collection acts and the performances. But, it will be wrong to claim that all collection acts were respectful for the local accents and dialects. In a nutshell, there was no unique stance between Kemalist cadres on the folk music.

#### **4.2.3. Folk Music and the Aesthetic**

The idea of synthesis had serious impacts on the works of folk music. Since the characteristics of the Western music were taken as the main criteria for the new Turkish music, folk music began to be analyzed from the modern aesthetic point of view. Folk songs were analyzed within the framework of the aesthetic values of the high art or classic music:

Except for some, our folk songs are generally immeasurable art products, in terms of the delicacy in their structure, the beauty in their rythmes and the magnificence in their meanings and effects, which are succeeded with little clauses (Sarisözen, 1944a: 10) [18].

As another example, Yönetken resembled some genres of the folk songs to the styles of the western classic music (1966: 59). In the same vein, Gazimihal gave an example of folk songs and regarded it as a masterpiece. And he added:

It is nonimitative that the melodies which are thrown away to the abysses are used by the composer to search for unknown darling in the stars of space (1930: 11-12) [19].



Similarly, in the notates of a collection of folk songs, the technical expressions of the Western Classic Music could be seen (Çakmak and Şemsi, 1935). The logical outcome of this approach would be the exclusion of some folk melodies which were seen incompatible with the high characteristics of Turks in terms of their technical features. For example, Naci Kum asserted that he had collected an abundant amount of folk songs, and that some of them were highly valuable (1941: 18). Then, logically the others were not seen as unworthy to be taken into account. In another example, Kemal Özer stated that the folk songs of *Yörüks*<sup>92</sup> were the interpretations of their emotions, pains and joys, and on the other hand only some of them were the valuable examples of folk literature (1940: 35). Likewise, Taha Toros classified folk songs in accordance with the aesthetic criteria of the high art by contending that some epic poems did not have any artistic quality (1937: 29). In another example Mustafa Hoşsu argued that:

According to the opinions of some, folk songs consist of haphazard and spoiled rhythmic clauses that talk about *Ayşe* or *Fatma*. But, if we search for the truth we see that this is not reality. Albeit, there are a lot of folk songs which consist of those names that have been used for a long time. When we take a look at them, we see that most of them are strong in terms of lyric, some of them are strong in terms of music and some of them are also strong in terms of art. The folk songs which do not have at least one of these features were forgotten their place of origin after they were sung for a while (1945: 12)<sup>93</sup> [20].

According to İshak Refet, Karacoğlan was not finicky in the technique of his poems. Refet regarded this as a deficiency and attributed this deficiency to the lack of education or ignorance (1933: 51-52)<sup>94</sup>. To put it differently, Refet dissected the

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<sup>92</sup> One of a nomadic shepherd people of Anatolia

<sup>93</sup> It was interesting that the same figure was confessed in the same article:

The main aim of most of folk composers is to express the goal well. To realize this aim, they do not go far away from their goal by worrying about the rhyme and the meter. And thus, the assonance is seen in most folk songs. Moreover, sometimes folk songs which consist of three or four verse emerge, sometimes the meter of the second line may not be convenient with the first line. In spite of this, they carry strong meanings with themselves (Hoşsu, 1945: 12) [21].

<sup>94</sup> In the same vein, İsmail Hakkı Akay argued:

lack of technique as a fault and ignorance. Similarly, Vehbi Cem Aşkun claimed that most of the folk songs which were sung in wedding ceremonies were simple and vulgar and thus they were not noteworthy to speak of. He also claimed a folk song to be highly deficient because of the differences in its verses (1940: 65 and 316). Like Refet, for him one of the *aşık*s –*Mesleki*- poems were scanty in terms of the techniques they lacked. On the other hand, he added:

The miserable moanings which are rising from his (*Mesleki*'s) clipped and an obsolete language are more friendly, congenial and touching than the melodies of *rûpabs* of the *divan* poets, which moan for the unknown darlings (1940: 345-346) [23].

This text considered the technical problems as a fault; moreover, it once again attributed the approach to the tradition of the Ottoman literature; for Aşkun, even the deficient examples of the folk poems were closer to people than the samples of the Ottoman literature. This example was meaningful in showing the approaches of Kemalist cadres towards folk songs since it examined the majority of folk melodies and found them to be lacking any technique, in fact, lacking any noble emotion:

Thousands of *manis* have been collected in the last years in the works realized to gather the dispersed and oral products of national literature. Among them, most did not refer to any value of idea or emotion. The reason of this should necessarily be sought in the easiness of their pronunciation and structure in the verse. As well as the lack of idea and emotion, the deprivation of any technique is explicit in those collected *manis* since folk literature is very convenient to the technical fastidiousness, which is the primary element of real art. Those *manis* have lost their nobility and departed from their identity (Okan, 1938: 14) [24].

The folk pieces that lack technique was considered far from their essential features; this meant that once again folk music was approached from the aesthetic perspective. In the same vein, Sıtkı Can claimed that some of the folk songs were deficient in their techniques (1940: 2). Some examples of a genre in the folk music were seen as insufficient and unnecessary due to the technique they lacked. Furthermore, some of them could be considered to lack any peculiarity (Kalkanoğlu,

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...I think, it is naturally wrong to search for the meter and the rhyme in *manis* as their meaning is intended for uninformed young men, illiterate women and young ladies (1942: 78) [22].

1948: 17). Another problem emerging in this text lay in the paradigm that folk songs were classified in terms of their necessity.

On the other hand, they all reflected the feelings, emotions and incidents in the daily life of people as mentioned before. Furthermore, this anecdote of Saygun was important since it showed that techniques remain secondary in folk music:

Offering to remodulate the instrument after distracting the attention of the *kemence* player whom I had met by chance during my trip and thus weakening his ear memory was a notable experience for me. In this way, I found out that the man who had played and sang at a certain elevation a short while ago played the same folk songs after a relatively short time with an instrument he modulated in deeper or softer forms without finding it strange and unaware of this shift in voice (1937: 17) [25].

As it can be explicitly seen from all the examples, the analysis of the folk music from such a perspective led to the fact that some folk pieces were worthy to be taken into account and others were not. However, this was not consistent with the essential feature of folklore since the vital point to be analyzed in folklore materials was their relations with the incidents in the daily life of people, but not the criteria of the high art. On the other hand, as Williams contends, the word aesthetic is the production of modern times (1966: xiii-xiv and 1993: 121). He adds: "It is an element in the divided modern consciousness of art and society..." (1976: 28). Therefore, to ponder on folk songs from the perspective of aesthetic values meant the ignorance of their intrinsic characteristics. It can be claimed that the authenticity of folk songs were neglected in the idea of synthesis. In other words, the folk songs were classified as some of them were loaded with the elements of high art, which would be consistent with the lofty and elevated characteristic of Turks, but some others were invaluable and thus they could be excluded<sup>95</sup>.

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<sup>95</sup> For example, in a village trip of a People's House, as it was claimed, there was no national song in that village:

The wedding ceremonies in the village were basic. There were not any instruments except for the *Davul*, the *Zurna*, and the *Saz (Bağlama)*. There are not any men who play the *kaval* even the *düdük* among the people of the village. In fact, it can be said that there are not any men who sing the national song (Kırşehir Halkevi, 1940: 5) [26].

On the other hand, such an attitude towards folk songs was not consistent with their intrinsic characteristics, which meant that the artistic quality of expression of the life of people was not so important as the expression itself.

#### 4.2.4. Folk Music and Turkish National Identity

For Kemalist music reformers, the folk music that passed the features of high art reflected the noble, pure soul of Turks. In other words, the essentialist nationalist comprehension of Kemalism can be seen in Kemalist cadres' opinions on folk songs. Some of the folk songs, that is, the valuable ones from the perspective of the artistic quality, reflected the spiritual and lofty characteristics of Turks; these expressed the pure and nice emotions of Turks (Kum, 1941: 18)<sup>96</sup>. The folk songs nicely stated the pure and uncontaminated soul and opinions of Turks<sup>97</sup> (Akşit, 1941: 16). They were a part of our national feelings and emotions (Hoşsu, 1945: 12). For example, *Karacaoğlan's* poems were highly powerful in showing the ethics and good manners of Turks (Refet, 1933: 7). In another example, for İbrahim Aczi Kendi, an example of the folk songs expressed the hard working characteristic of Turks (1942c: 47). The folk melodies which did not express the pure soul of Turks were logically excluded or eliminated. This text was important in this issue:

These folk songs are the displays of the aesthetic elements in the spirit of people and the opinions and the emotions of our ferment in face of life, love, nature and people. It is necessary for us to seek and find something in the taste of every word. To think about the existence of bad, disgusting, harmful and even useless aspects in them means doubting the existence of any defect in terms of comprehension and thinking in the spirit of people. We should not replace the strength of comprehension and thought, which is gained by the spirit of people over years and centuries of experience, with the idea that a crowd may be very prone to positive and especially negative influences in an incident of moment. The spirit of people which gets an essence by filtering and a capacity by accumulating in a long social life, completely carries this essence and capacity in all its anonymous products, such as proverbs. .. Some folk songs in radio became an issue of debate between two members of literature. One side argues that those will foster the heroic emotions of people; the other side, as contrary to this, argues that those will lead to a sense of banditry and robbery in the spirits of people. The former is

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<sup>96</sup> In fact, some of them were originally created by Turks such as lullabies. The world had learned the lullabies from Turks (Pamirli, 1943: 100).

<sup>97</sup> "The reflection of the radiance of the beautiful face of lovely *Ayşe* on the hills while she comes upon the grasses is not a simile that can be found and expressed frequently." (Salcı, 1935a: 8) [28] According to Demirci, folk songs were the most important sources for the creation of national music due to the fact that they consisted of the real soul of Turks (1938: 16).

very positive, and on the other hand, the latter is negative thinking. Arguing that people will misunderstand like a child neglects firstly the psychology of a child and secondly the psychology of people. Neither children nor people can be deceived (Tolga, 1942: 5-6) [27].

In other words, folk songs were pure products of Turkish people, unspoiled as a child. Once again, the populism conceptualization of Kemalism, which exalted people as the true source of nation, can be observed. In this context, the folk songs which embedded various kinds of harmful and disgusting elements should have been eliminated or these elements themselves should have been purified<sup>98</sup>.

In conclusion, Kemalist cadres saw folk songs as an indispensable component of the idea of synthesis. In this sense, it can be said that also in line with the Kemalist populist comprehension, the folk songs were not accepted by Kemalist cadres in their original form. Rather, they were seen as an element to be developed and restored (Çakmak and Şemsi, 1935: 6). They needed to be purified, selected or developed and made appropriate for the civilized level. They needed to be collected from people and then given back to them. In this transformation process, both the form and content would not be the same. In fact, as Remzi Oğuz Arık indicated, folk songs would be collected, they would be made precious and they would be given back to people (1947: 112). In the same vein, the folk song collections should have been beautified for the radio listeners (Radyo, 1942: 21). For example, Gökyay (1941: 14) claimed that Hindemith tried to harmonize the folk songs in the Ankara State Conservatory and he selected these songs from the archives of the İstanbul State Conservatory. But, Saffet Arıkan was doubted the ‘correctness’ and ‘health’ of them; therefore, this attempt of Hindemith was cancelled. People and their folklore elements, which constituted the real source of nation and national culture, were considered as untrustful by Kemalist cadres. Also, Saygun claimed that the folk songs which would be broadcasted on the radio had to be selected cautiously. For example:

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<sup>98</sup> “Because by searching the origin of our entity, they find and sort out all the inconsistent and strange unevens which became conspicuous in our entity.” (Kendi, 1942a: 55) [29] Another dimension of finding pure and uncontaminated folk songs appeared in the acts of collection. For example, according to Saygun, the folklor researchers should have gone to the villages which had not been affected by cities (1937: 12). In addition to the aim to find pure folk songs, this approach was affected by Bela Bartok’s opinions but this is debatable among Kemalist cadres as I will mention below.

I was surprised when I heard the same melody which I formerly knew in a work-*Petruška*- of Stravinski from the *tulum zurna*, which is the instrument of that region while I was collecting folk songs in *Artvin*. I wonder if people find the broadcasting of *Petruška* strange after the broadcasting of this dance melody and speaking about this issue and the work of Stravinski. I do not think so (1942b: 6) [30].

When Kemalist cadres started considering folk music as the source of a new high art music, they began to analyse it from the perspective of art music or modern aesthetic intentions. Moreover, they wished to see the pure, noble soul of Turks in the samples of folk melodies. Thus, some folk songs which were seen as deficient or unsuitable to express the noble emotions of Turks were excluded. In other words, the repercussions of the essentialist dimension of Kemalist nationalism can be seen on folk music. On the other hand, it can be said that there was no clear-cut and definite opinion on folk music concerning the idea of synthesis among Kemalist cadres. The reflections of the features of Kemalist folk music analysis can be seen in the views in terms of the efforts made in the People's Houses and radios.

#### **4.3. The Place of the People's Houses and Radios in Folkloric Acts**

One important organization to realize the appreciation and selection process of folk music was the People's Houses. These institutions, as mentioned earlier, would try to develop the tradition within the framework of the civilization. In other words, they would try to polyphonize folk songs and teach the folk songs to people in that form. The People's Houses had to be cautious in teaching folk songs. All examples were not to be instructed. In this sense, Saygun argued:

It is a necessity that the works which will be given to people should be carefully analyzed in the People's Houses, which have the duty to increase the level of musical pleasure of people. In fact, it is more accurate to say that a programme should be made for this aim and this programme should be carefully applied on condition that the result of this should be constantly kept under control (1937: 71)<sup>99</sup> [31].

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<sup>99</sup> The importance of the control was also emphasized by Gazimihal. According to him, the collections of the People's Houses would be controlled by a center, that is, the Ankara People's House (1939a: 69).

In this context, folk songs had to be selected; for instance, folk songs which entailed some erotic words would not be proper:

Sometimes while folk songs are taught to youth, the necessity to make a selection from among those songs emerges. From among the folk songs, it is always essential to make a selection of those that are proper in terms of their melodies and lyrics and disperse them. It is not right to spread among young people the folk songs which have some obscene words. The words which are improper should be abolished. The People's Houses is the house of people but it is the house that has the characteristic of a decent family home. Our people will experience a good and artistic life in its true sense in the People's Houses. The good life is experienced in a clear and disciplined setting and atmosphere (CHP, 1946: 10-11) [32].

In this example, the emphasis on pure and uncontaminated folk songs once again comes to the foreground.

The other issue in the music education of the People's Houses was the importance of the emergence of chorus. In other words, besides the necessity of the change in the verbal characteristics of folk songs, the necessity of the change in the musical form was emphasized. The existing singing and playing techniques of folk music were not trusted; they were tried to be transformed. The courses to teach folk music needed to be organized in the People's Houses. In these courses, the selected folk songs were sung collectively. At first, this act had to be realized in the monophonic forms, but in the pure voices. To sing the folk songs in a chorus was very weak in the traditions of Turks and thus this characteristic first of all required development (CHP, 1946: 10-11). Similarly, Saygun claimed that in the musical tradition of Turks, the examples of collective singing was very weak<sup>100</sup>. In this sense, to reach the polyphonic music, it was important to create the folk chorus. In this chorus, folk songs would be arranged purely(!) and sung by the choir (1940: 13-14-

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<sup>100</sup> "The style of collective singing practice does not exist in the other parts of Anatolia. It is very notable that maybe as the result of religious influences and social conditions the peasants of Anatolia did not enjoy the act of collective singing. We do not mean the singing of several voices by claiming the collective singing. We can claim that even the tradition of singing in monovoice with several people does not exist in Anatolia. Albeit, it is true that sometime while a people sings the other participates him in a community. But, this is a coincidental situation and it is a haphazard participation with which we encountered in *Rize* region in other words it is not realized as a result of rule, it is just made as a result of excitement." (Saygun, 1937: 21) [33]

On the other hand, some figures among Kemalist cadres commented that this tradition existed in the Turkish folk songs (Ataman, 1951a: 343 and Çaylı, 1945: 53).

15 and 1942a: 9). Furthermore, the People's Houses should have tried to teach the folk songs to everyone and strived to make them sung by all the Turkish people during national ceremonies (Ankara Halkevi, 1935: 4). After that phase, the polyphonic music education had to begin and the polyphonic folk songs be taught. In this phase, the folk canons needed to be taught initially. And then, the folk songs which would be rewritten for two voices were given to the choir. At this phase, the Turkish people would begin to learn civilized music. On the other hand, in this phase the composers had to be very careful while rewriting the folk songs in order not to lose the national characteristics of folk music. The new compositions should have been appropriate with the national characteristics of Turks<sup>101</sup>. The main aim of the efforts was to reach the polyphonic music. For this aim, the method of harmonization of the folk songs for chorus was very suitable (Halkevi, 1946: 14-15-16 and Saygun, 1940: 72 and 75)<sup>102</sup>. Shortly, the folk songs which were seen as real and pure music of Turks were tried to be transformed in various ways in the People's Houses.

Besides the People's Houses, the radios can be analysed as a tool for Kemalist cadres to transform the Turkish folk music. In addition to the efforts to sing the folk songs in choir in the People's Houses, the attempts for the creation of the choir in the radio was also important. Muzaffer Sarısözen founded<sup>103</sup> the choir of

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<sup>101</sup> Of course, the elements of this characteristic were decided on around the nationalist paradigms of Early Republican Period.

<sup>102</sup> In this sense, another important issue is the Classic Ottoman Music. For example, Saygun argued:

[In the People's Houses] Either folk music or folk dances are interpreted only with folk instruments. As well as it is certainly wrong that our folk songs are played with *ud*, *tanbur* and some newly created instruments, it is definitely not true that our folk dances are interpreted by accompanying with such instruments. As conclusion I said that the existence of such instruments in the People's Houses is not true. But, I am not against that a group which has the ability to interpret the Classic Turkish Music rightly, can interpret this our old precious products in the People's Houses, on the other hand, this should be done as an expert musician, in the center, should select these groups and the permission of the General Secretariat should be taken.... (1940: 39 and 6) [34].

On the other hand, the modern music tools could be used:

The international modern music and our national folk songs will be taken as primary in the music times and demonstrations of the People's Houses and the international music techniques and instruments shall be used. Our target in the new music is that modern and international music (and the style of singing) shall be taken as primary and this shall be applied and assured (Ankara Halkevi, 1935: 3) [35].

<sup>103</sup> The appointment of Muzaffer Sarısözen was realized by Vedat Nedim Tör who was the chief director of the radio of Ankara. He asked Mesut Cemil to develop the folk songs and teach people.



*Yurttan Sesler* in the radio; in other words, he initiated the choral performance of the folk songs. Sarisözen claimed that the most important aim of this choir was the realization of the emotional unity of Turks (1944a: 10). The folk songs were restored and then sung by the choir of *Yurttan Sesler*. This choir selected folk songs according to their being ‘good’ or ‘bad’, ‘right’ or ‘wrong’ ones since the main aim of this institution was to ensure national unity among Turkish people (Radyo, 1947: 10). It was explicitly stated that folk songs had been selected and restored! Nevertheless, the emphasis that only some examples of folk songs were developed indicated that this analysis was not made within the framework of the characteristics of folk music. It differentiated folk songs as valuable and invaluable ones. In the same vein, in the various programmes of the radio, the most difficult folk songs to be sung were made very easy (Sarisözen, 1944a: 10). On the other hand, there were some counter arguments in this issue, such as:

Such examples of folk songs, which are comprehended as unelobared folklor elements, exist that we can proudly expel them to the international arena as examples of Turkish music; they are embellished with such delicate and original themes and motifs (Radyo, 1947: 10) [36].

Although this emphasis seemed to be against the observance of the folk songs to be elaborated, once again, it analysed the folk music from the perspective of the aesthetic criteria. Moreover, it should be added that the majority of the music reformers saw the folk pieces as raw materials to be developed. For example, Tör argued that the most important task of the radio was to rescue the folk songs from their local characters and made them ready to be listened to by all the people (1942: 10).

In conclusion, according to the Kemalist cadres, folk songs, which, if we use Anderson’s metaphor, had been in a deep sleep would be found, selected, elaborated and transformed in both the People’s Houses and on radios in terms of their lyrical structure and melodies. Since these institutions were founded to provide a national unity among people, these processes needed to be implemented very carefully. In this sense, lyrics of folk pieces which were thought to be unsuitable for the high soul of

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But, Cemil gave the name of Muzaffer Sarisözen to succeed this aim. Then, Sarisözen made a programme called as *Bir Halk Türküsü Öğreniyoruz* (We Are Learning a Folk Song) and found a choir the artists of which was the performer of the Classic Ottoman Music. After six months the choir of *Yurttan Sesler* was founded (Tör, 1999: 53-54).

Turks were tried to be purified. Moreover, the abolishment of the the local accents and dialects constituted an important dimension of this process in these institutions since they were seen as barriers for a standardised and homogenised language. In addition to this, the musical form was tried to be changed into the western form. The emergence of the choir practice and the implementation of this on folk music in both the People's Houses and radios were important for Kemalist cadres. On the other hand, this was not consistent with the intrinsic characteristics of folk songs. For example, Tokel claims that the efforts to sing the folk songs collectively destroy the nuances. However, the local dialects are very important in folk songs. Besides, the attempts to harmonize folk songs has standardised them since there is no single and definite style of singing or playing in Turkish folk music tradition (Tokel, 2000: 131-132-133). And lastly, it should be added that Kemalist cadres completely opposed to the performance of the Ottoman Classic Music especially in the People's Houses. In conformity with the Turkish History Thesis, this musical tradition was considered as harmful for the national unity and culture.

#### **4.4. The Issue of Pentatonism in the Turkish Folk Music**

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

The opinions of Kemalist cadres on the pentatonic were highly affected by Bela Bartok's ideas on the peasant music of Hungary. According to him, the peasant music of Hungary mostly consisted of the pentatonic ones, and the roots of this music lay in the Central Asia (Bartok, 1991: 270-271). To research the truthfulness

of this hypothesis, he came to Turkey in 1936 as a guest on the invitation of the Ankara People's Houses. He made some speeches in Ankara about pentatonism and the closeness of Turkish and Hungarian folk songs. In these conferences, he claimed that pentatonic music was found in peasant music, and the roots of the pentatonic music lay in the region of Central Asia (Quoted from Gazimihal, 1937a: 134). The Ankara People's House organized a trip to Adana for Bartok's research. Gazimihal asserted that Bela Bartok's trip to Turkey was very important since this trip could trigger the efforts on folk music, which had been neglected in Turkey for long years (1936a: 221).

With the influence of Bela Bartok, Kemalist cadres tried to search for the pentatonic characteristic of Turkish folk music. It could not be refused that the roots of the Turkish folk songs were pentatonic<sup>104</sup> (Saygun, 1936a: 9). In the same vein, Gazimihal asserted that thousands of pentatonic folk songs existed in the Turkish musical tradition. It was certain that there were pentatonic elements in the Turkish folk music. Central Asia was the cradle of this music<sup>105</sup> (1936b: 5-6). Similarly, Mesut Cemil indicated that the initial location of most of the music tools had been

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<sup>104</sup> In this context, Yönetken argued that in the songs of Turkish folk plays, the pentatonic music could be seen:

*Baş bar* is a slow dance with 9 times, *Temirağa* is a two-hit folk dance which has several variations and exposes a pentatonic character. *Daldalan* is a five-hit folk dance which circulates in a small septet and once again exposes a pentatonic skeleton (1966: 67) [37].

<sup>105</sup> As Saygun, according to Gazimihal there were some relationships between the migration events and the existence of the pentatonic music. On the other hand, the existence of this music could not be reduced to the racial characteristics:

For example, although encounter of the pentatonic melodies in the most diverging regions such as the Far East, the Scotland and the İnkas of America can be recently analyzed as the result of the events which are related with the migrations of people and races in pre-historic times, the theory that argues systems are related with the scale of intelligence of the races has completely died; now, we will not be able to try to resurrect the improvable and wrong hypothesis which claims that the quarter tones are the invents and the products of the *brakisefal* race. Because, the tonal system, as according to contemporary idea, is nothing except for a technique tool, a tone palette the gradual transformation of which according to ages, means and new necessities can be possible and which was exposed to metamorphoses in the middle of ages for many times (1936b: 10) [38].

Central Asia<sup>106</sup>. From that region, they expanded to other parts of the world (1943: 8). In the same vein, İzettin Tuğrul Nişbay claimed:

...We can find our music among the place of national elements in the unity of land, language, history, ideal as well as in the unity of emotion. Our music in the unity of history with the unity of emotion coeval with the history of Turkism. According to our history thesis, somehow the homeland of Turks is Asia, the major source of Turkish music is Asia, too (1943: 4)<sup>107</sup> [39].

Compatible with the Turkish History Thesis, Turks had conveyed their civilizations from Central Asia to the domains of other societies which they had entered. In this sense, Turks dominated and determined the cultural aspects of all the regions that they had invaded. In fact, Turkish music had an impact in the entire regions of Central Asia, the Middle East, Anatolia and the Balkanic peninsula. In this sense, Saygun claimed that the roots of the pentatonic music could be seen in Central Asia, which had been the motherland of the Turks. While Turks were disseminating to various parts of the world, they expanded their pentatonic music. In this sense, the existence of pentatonic music was highly related with the national culture of Turks. In fact, the dwellers of the location where there were samples of pentatonic music were Turks. This music remained hidden in the folk songs of the Turks in the Anatolian peninsula (1936a: 5-6). In addition, Gazimihal claimed that pentatonic music also existed in the old civilizations of Anatolia such as Hittites. Therefore, the links between Central Asia and Anatolia were constructed by means of folk music, once again. An archeological picture of a music tool was shown as the proof of this theory:

...this is the most precious instrument since the number of string it has is exactly five, the melodies which are played with them is inevitably five tones –i.e. pentatonic (1936b: 51) [40].

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<sup>106</sup> In this sense, Reşit Tanriktut claimed that the most part of the national and local folklore elements of Turks could be found in the Central Asia. And these were conveyed to Hittites in Anatolia and Sumers in Mesopotamia (Quoted from Yönetken, 1966: 63).

<sup>107</sup> Likewise, Taha Toros claimed that the most important aspect of the music revolution was the unity of history and language (1938: 5). His book's name was The Hittites (Etili) Folk Poets in Çukurova. Of course, Hittites referred here to Turks.

Besides, according to him, the old Greek scriptures told us about the existence of the pentatonic music in Anatolia and this was the result of the migration from the Central Asia to Anatolia. This migration also affected some societies in Europe. For example, the Hungarian folk music carried the impression of the Central Asian pentatonic music (1936b: 54 and 58-59).

However, Koşay suggested that the number of pure pentatonic melodies in Anatolia was very few. The melodies resembled the pentatonic style but it could not be said that they were not pure pentatonic songs. He indicated that the elements of the pentatonic music had declined in the Turkish folk songs; they were rather a kind of mixed music. According to him, this was verified by Bela Bartok, who had given some examples from the Turkish folk songs and suggested that the scale of these melodies were not the pentatonic styles but were rather ‘eolyen’<sup>108</sup> and ‘doryen’,<sup>109</sup> but it was not impossible to claim that the roots of these were pentatonic tones (Koşay, 1939: 56-57 and 59-60). In the same vein, Saygun claimed that samples of pentatonic melodies were very few and remained only in the examples of folk songs. For him, while samples were very few, this scale was still being used in Anatolia (1936a: 5 and 9). In this sense, according to Gazimihal, the result of the decline of the usage of the pentatonic scale was the usage of the heptatonic scale<sup>110</sup>:

To understand why pentatonism has decreased in most of the Turkish regions today, it is necessary to know how heptatonism, which is the sole suffocating element and enemy of pentatonism, has emerged as a religion and in what power it has disseminated to the interior places; the experts of this new sect has treated the centennial pentatonics which remained in the hands and tongues of folk minstrels who had sheltered in the villages, as despicable, spoiled and miserable; the theoreticians were not allowing just a little sheet to observe that (1936b: 12) [41].

The original pentatonic melodies which had emerged in Central Asia were influenced by the music of the East and West. Subsequently, a kind of hybrid pentatonic style emerged. The pentatonic music existed in the entire regions of Caucasia, India and Iran, but then the cultural impacts of the Hellen civilization,

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<sup>108</sup> The name of the scale which was used in the ancient Greek music

<sup>109</sup> The name of the scale which was used in the ancient Rome music

<sup>110</sup> The scale consisted of seven tones.

followed by Islam, limited the wideness of the pentatonic music. Therefore, the heptatonic music had largely caused of the pentatonic music in Anatolia to wane (1936b: 34 and 52-53). In this context, Gazimihal asserted that a kind of ‘secret’ pentatonic melody could be felt in the Turkish folk songs. The melodies of the folk songs might be seen as heptatonic; on the other hand, their essence consisted of the pentatonic melodies. To find these examples, the collectors had to go to the villages that had not been influenced by the culture of the big cities<sup>111</sup> (1936b: 36-37). Then, he gave some examples of folk songs and tried to find the pentatonic scale in them. He commented that pentatonic tones were not seen in these examples at first but later the impacts of the pentatonic scales were understood intuitively! (1930: 10-11 and 1936b: 42-43). In this sense, Koşay gave an example of a folk song and claimed:

Although it is possible that the pure pentatonic examples which I gave in my book, the name of which is the Pentatonism in the Turkish Music, can be the remainders of the pure pentatonic music of Anatolia, this issue needs to be studied (1939: 57) [42].

In other words, he, firstly, claimed that this was the example of pure pentatonic tones but then he was not sure about the pentatonic character of the sample. In conclusion, according to Kemalist music reformers the pentatonic frame which could be felt in the folk pieces of Anatolia was the form of those which had been traced back to Central Asia and spoiled by the heptatonic scale. Therefore, those examples had to be investigated to expose the national characters of Turks. On the other hand, it can be said that Kemalists were not sure about this issue. In fact, afterwards, Saygun confessed that the pentatonism was slightly exalted during the Early Republican Period as mentioned earlier.

As mentioned above, it is clear that the debates on the pentatonic character of the Turkish folk songs were highly related with the Turkish History Thesis. The roots of the Turkish folk music were strived to be based on Central Asia and Anatolia as in the case of national identity. In fact, the maps of the expansion of the pentatonic music and Turks from the region of Central Asia were demonstrated similarly<sup>112</sup> (Saygun, 1936a: 10). In this sense, they argued that the musical origins of the folk

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<sup>111</sup> This opinion was clearly shaped in parallel with Bartok’s views on the roots of folk songs which I will try to mention below.

<sup>112</sup> See Appendix A

songs consisted of the pentatonic scale and it was a national duty for musicians to make an effort to find these samples (Gazimihal, 1936b: 37). One of the most important tasks of folk song collectors was the demonstration of the prevalence of the pentatonic melodies in the Turkish folk music (Gazimihal, 1937b: 297). In other words, the national-cultural roots of the Turkish citizen were tried to be strengthened with the emphasis on the pentatonic characteristic of the Turkish folk songs. In fact, Gazimihal (1936b: 29) gave some examples of the pentatonic melodies that were collected from those who had migrated from Central Asia in the 1930s. As a result, the folk songs which did not have any pentatonic character was neglected by some Kemalist cadres. For example, according to Gazimihal, a folk music genre –*uzun hava*- which was composed from the long pieces and lacked rhythmic patterns, was not related with the pentatonic music; on the other hand, the important task was to search for the existence of pentatonic tones (1937b: 296-297). Its sources might have come from the Arabian peninsula. In addition to this, since the roots of folk music were tried to be traced back to Central Asia, some examples were not seen as ‘real’ folk songs due to their blend with the Ottoman Classic Music:

Calling every song that people play and sing as folk music should be avoided since folk songs today, just like in the past, are not only willing to protect the traditions which remained from the ancestors but they also include the imitations of the high social classes (Demirci, 1938: 7) [43].

As a conclusion, the pentatonic elements, whose place of origin was Central Asia, could be found in the Turkish folk songs. Already, the existence of pentatonism was strictly related with the high civilizations of Turks in Central Asia. Compatible with the logic of narration in the Kemalist history thesis, these elements were disseminated to various parts of the world with the expansion of Turks; in fact, these elements could be found in the ancient civilizations of Anatolia. However, by the impact of Islamic culture and the Ottoman Classic Music, pentatonic elements almost vanished; they became very few in the Turkish folk songs. Therefore, according to Kemalist cadres, musicians needed to expose these elements in folk music, which was a field of research in a deep sleep, in order to show the civilized level of the Turkish folk music. These narrations were highly suitable for Kemalist nationalism, which argued that the characteristic of the Turkish nation could only be spoiled by foreign effects; thus the characteristics of folk music, which reflected the noble

characteristics of Turks, had been eradicated under the influence of heptatonic or the Otoman Classic Music. Furthermore, this attitude towards the folk songs was plainly inappropriate with the dynamic character of folk culture. It neglected the dynamic characteristics of the folklore elements, which never remained in the same form; they have always changed in both form and content and made some synthesis with other forms. This was also the result of the oral cultural traditions. As Tuğrul contends, the folk songs have constantly transformed:

A little difference is seen between when lyrics of the folk songs are slowly bidden and then written and when they are sung. The folk minstrel sings the same folk song differently in its structural characteristic or by making some additions to it in his/her every act of singing. This is mostly done in the long folk songs and especially in the melodies of folk dances (1945: 12) [44].

Similarly, Alangu claims that one of the most important characteristics of folklore materials is their dynamic character (1983: 29). Başgöz argues:

The folklore of the Turkish people, like that of any nation which has had long historical and geographical contact with alien civilizations, consists of a synthesis reached by the contribution of the interacting components: local, national and foreign. In the synthesis of Turkish folklore the remnant of various civilizations, close or distanced in time and space, are recognized (1998: 166-167).

The debates on pentatonism could be directed to the neglect of some important genres of folk music, such as the *uzun hava*. On the other hand, as Tokel argues, this genre is one of the most important elements of Turkish folk music (2000: 83). In sum, according to Kemalists, the examples of the pentatonic scale could be seen in some Turkish folk melodies. On the other hand, the problem is that Kemalists defined this dynamic process of folklore as degeneration. In this sense, Kemalist reformers' search for the uncorrupted folk songs were consistent with their essentialist nationalism, which referred to the pure and noble Turkish national identity, which remained unveiled in Anatolia. In other words, this debate was not the result of any musicologic research; it rather emerged as a result of the Kemalist nationalist comprehension. Also, this debate was highly related to the existence of polyphony in the Turkish folk music.



#### 4.4.1 The Pentatonism and the Location of Collection

Another important issue in the debates on the existence of the pentatonic melodies was the problem of the location of collection. That is, as a result of the decline in the number of the pentatonic melodies which only remained in the folk songs, the collectors had to go to the villages which were not influenced by the culture of the cities:

To travel for searching such melodies in the places of Anatolia such as *Konya* (it has kept its company with the classic *alaturka* or the city *mevlevi* music) would have been wearied in vain; it is required that it should be travelled to the places which is in the middle of east such as *Eğir*, *Erzincan* or the villages in the mountains which is near to the *İzmir* region (Gazimihal, 1936b: 37)<sup>113</sup> [45].

This idea was clearly affected by Bela Bartok again. He commented that folk songs remained untouched in the villages. Therefore, the villages which had little relations with the cities and which were distant from the influences of the aliens needed to be selected for the truthfulness of the collections (Gazimihal, 1937a: 136-137). Similarly, Saygun claimed that for any folk research trips would be organized to the villages which were far away from the influences of the cities (1937: 12). In the same vein, Ataman<sup>114</sup> argued that the sources of the folklore could be found in the villages which had little relations with the cities (1951a: 343). Also, he added:

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<sup>113</sup> In some examples, this attitude was shaped by some adverse opinions towards the cities. In this sense, the conservative elements can also be found in the Kemalist analysis of the folk songs. As Bora and Erdoğan (2003: 637-638) argues this example is too meaningful to show the thin line between Kemalism and conservatism:

Because, the city dialect may harm his sincere lines. Already, he is not a city poet. He is an impetuous and profound *aşık* of the endless plain and stretching mountains that rest each other, of Anatolia, incessant separation, yearning and homesick emotions which give pain. He plays those and sings those. The city people will not know him, so be it (Nezihi, 1934: 2) [46].

<sup>114</sup> Sadi Yaver Ataman is another important figure in the folk music acts during the Early Republican Period. He was born in 1908 in Yanya. He was educated in the Conservatory of İstanbul Municipality. He became a music teacher for a while. He made some folk music program with Tanburacı Osman Pehlivan in the Ankara Radios (1938-40) and worked as a folk music expert in the Ankara and İstanbul Radios. He found some folk music choirs in 1948. He was appointed as a member of folklore studies and collections of the Conservatory of İstanbul Municipality in 1963. He wrought the richest folklore archive of Turkey as a culture and art expert of a private institution. He was a member of the Institute of Paris Musicology (Büyük Larousse, 1992e: 947)

The elements which will be collected in the villages that have more contact with the cities is less worthy to be reliable. To be friends with the tribes (such as *Türkmen*, *Yörük*, *Afşar*, *Abdal*, *Çingene*) which dwell in or around the village, is beneficial if they exist. However, the knowledge which they have taken from the places where they wander and the knowledge which have existed in their essence should be distinguished (1949b: 21-22) [47].

Besides the difference between villages, some of which were influenced by the culture of the cities and some that were not, the difference between the peasants' knowledge, some of which was intrinsic to them(!) and some that were learnt, had to be made.

In this sense, it can be claimed that Bartok neglected the tradition of *aşık*, which was one of the important sources of Turkish folk music. According to Bartok, the poems of *aşıks*, who had travelled abundantly, could not be regarded as the pure and real samples of folk songs. In this sense, they could not be trusted<sup>115</sup>:

*Kır İsmail* is indigenous of the village of *Tabaklar* (or *Tabaklar* village?) which was founded in the region of *Düziçi-Peçenek* in the county of *Haruniye*; but, he was in *Osmaniye* by accident. Not only because he was carrying his instrument with him, but also because of the complex structure of the melody which he gave. He resembled a wandering, professional minstrel more than a simple village minstrel. *Kır İsmail* can not be seen as a reliable source for the village folk songs as compared to the interpreters of the melodies which consisted of eleven syllables (1991: 52) [48].

On the other hand, such a methodology was not consistent with the traditions of *aşıks*, who were the main creators of folk songs due to the fact that one of their indispensable characteristics was their trips to the various regions. As Başgöz claims,

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<sup>115</sup> In the same vein, he emphasized the same point and then added:

In this point, we will not collect the melody which, as we know or suppose, a peasant learned and brought taken from outside, especially from city. In fact, it is not necessary to collect the simple melodies which are suitable for everyone (Quoted from Gazimihal, 1937b: 292) [49].

Once again, Bartok did not take into consideration the tradition of wandering minstrels. In this words, the second emphasis are important as well as the first one. The criterias for the simplicity of the melodies were indefinite. Also, the simplicity or complexity of the melodies were the secondary issue in the case of the folk songs. In other words, analyzing the folk songs and then, selecting them in terms of its simplicity was improper with the characteristics of the folk music.

those who created folk songs were the travellers (1968b: 7). Similarly, Boratav comments:

Most of the poets who grow up in the villages have the features of the poets of city-county towns. Since being a folk poet-minstrel means being a traveller at the same time, the minstrel of village was spending most of his time on foreign lands, outside the district of the village where they had grown up. In most of the folk poets, this travelling in the foreign land is linked to a story. The poet wanders to find his beloved whom he has seen in his dream. This life in the foreign land, in most examples, destroyed the rustic character of the poet (2000a: 90) [50].

In fact, in some examples of the collections of the poems of *aşık*s during the Early Republican Period, it was stated that an *aşık* who travelled abundantly to various cities was influenced by the musical culture of those places (Yaman, 1935).

#### **4.5. Polyphony and the Turkish Folk Music**

Another important aspect of the approach to folk songs, connected with the pentatonic melodies, was the existence of the polyphonic elements in the Turkish folk music. According to the Kemalist cadres, the polyphonic tones existed in the Turkish folk music. The polyphonic tones were firstly constituted by the parallel four or five tones, that is the pentatonic melodies, in the music history; and these tones existed in the Turkish folk songs (Sarısözen quoted from Elçi, 1997: 63). The arguments for the existence of the polyphonic characteristic of the Turkish folk songs were highly related with the Turkish History Thesis, like the debates on the pentatonic characteristic, as the initiator of the civilization was Turks:

As it is known the parallel fives and fours are the first form of polyphony as the history of art can record. The history of music writes this as such. It writes but it cannot show any documents which is identical to the strong documents which we present and it only notes that where and how this polyphony had first begun have not been exactly determined, yet. On the other hand, we have written our great share to our history, with our own hands, in the beginning of polyphonic European music which we admire today, by the means of folklore and by depending upon the documents which remained to contemporary times from our ancestors. These documents will remain as such, until they are refuted by some other ones (Sarısözen quoted from Elçi, 1997: 63) [51].

In this sense, the national duty was to expose the polyphonic characters of the Turkish folk songs which was their indispensable element. Like Kemalist cadres' debates about the relations between Turks and civilization in the Turkish History Thesis, they were argued that the polyphonic music of the Turks played the most important role in the development of the polyphonic music of the West.

According to Kemalist cadres, Turks were intrinsictly accustomed to the polyphonic music since their real music was polyphonic. Sarısözen claimed:

These two-tones originals each of which are so important record that stir the emotions in the international folklor arena as well as internal one, was recorded to a disc from *Süleyman Kaya* and *İsmail Oğuz* in the *Pertek* county of *Tunceli*. When we arrived at *Pertek* as a group, a melody the lyric of which belonged to *Pertek* region, was being sung with a *bağlama* and two *kemane* by the folk minstrels who had been gathered in the People's House and waited for us. The lyric of the folk song which we heard astonished us. Since the folk song which was played and sung was not mono voice, but a melody that was rightfully said, was two voice. While the people who played the *kemanes* and a man who sung without any instrument was singing the original folk song, the man who played the *bağlama* was singing the second voice which was moving in parallel five tones. Listening of *Pertek's* people who were ready here, to the difference caused by the participation of the second voice without any reaction and in a situation of entrancement was a noteworthy event. It was explicitly comprehended from this natural situations of the man who played and sang that they were accustomed to listen such folk songs. The encounter of these folk songs in the region like *Tunceli* the relations of where with other regions were very little for obvious reasons, increase their importance more in terms of folklor (1944b: 6) [52].

In this passage, besides the importance of the existence of the polyphonic tones, people's attitudes during the performance of the song were very important for Sarısözen. *Pertek's* folk was accustomed to listening to this kind of music<sup>116</sup>. In this

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<sup>116</sup> In the issue of the familiarity of the Turkish people with the polyphonic folk songs Yönetken also claimed:

Our folk music is very noteworthy in terms of the accompanying of *saz* and *kemane* to the *uzun havas* and *kırık havas*. The enthusiasm and sympathy of Turkish people, Turk folk artists to the polifonic music even the dissonances are praiseworthy. The Turkish peasants have the pleasure of listening of poliphonic music. People in the city is backward as

passage, the national identity of Turks was exalted, once again, by claiming that Turks had habitually been listening to polyphonic melodies. Moreover, Bartok's thesis that argued for the existence of real folk melodies in the places that were far away from the impact of cities was pursued. In other words, Turks' habit of listening to polyphonic folk songs was another proof for the existence of the polyphonic tones in the Turkish folk music, according to Sarisözen. Another important issue was the discovery of these melodies in regions like Tunceli, which was far from the impact of the cities for various reasons. It can be said that this example was very important for Kemalist cadres due to its consistency with their arguments on the pentatonic and polyphonic characteristic of the Turkish folk songs. Like Sarisözen, Ataman argued that the elements of the polyphonic music emerged in the Turkish folk songs. He also claimed that the existence of four or five tones and singing in the multi voices explicitly exposed that characteristic (1951a: 343 and 1951b: 371 and 373). Similarly, Yönetken argued that the Black Sea Region's folk songs which are played with *kemençe*<sup>117</sup> are the examples of the polyphonic music and harmonic melodies. In this sense, the *kemençe* showed the familiarity of the Turkish people with the polyphonic music. It was a national task to search for the polyphonic styles of the *kemençe* like the *saz*. Therefore, in the notation process the collectors had to be very cautious and write the notes in the polyphonic style<sup>118</sup> (Yönetken, 1966: 72). Likewise, according to a brochure of the People's Houses, the most difficult task in the collection of the folk songs was the notation act. There was the necessity of particularly polyphonic hearing in the notation of the folk songs. The monophonic melodies could be collected by everyone, the notation of them was very easy (CHP, 1946: 19 and 22).

It should be mentioned that Vahid Lüdfi Salcı also accepted the existence of polyphony in the Turkish folk songs. On the other hand, Vahit Lütfi Salcı's approach was different to that of folk music. According to him, folk music could be classified

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comparing to peasants in terms of musical pleasure. Our peasants have more developed polyphonic musical culture than our people in the cities have (1966: 122) [53].

In this passage, the thin line between Kemalist populism and conservative populism was lost, once more.

<sup>117</sup> A small violin played like a cello and used by the folk of Black Sea Region

<sup>118</sup> He, also, commented that some folk songs which had been collected in Burdur were samples of the polyphonic melodies (1966: 122).

into two, as hidden and unconcealed ones. The most important cause of this was the secret character of the religious sects of the 'self-Turks'. Almost all folk poets were the members of these sects (1936b: 7). The unconcealed parts of the folk songs have been exposed to the effects of the *divan* literature and some of these were collected in the Early Republican Period (1938: 113 and 121). On the other hand, the majority of the secret parts were neglected. In this sense, the works were insufficient (1936b: 7). The hidden parts of the Turkish folk songs mostly existed in the secret traditions of Alevis (1938: 113). The most vital reason of the necessity of exposing the hidden parts of the folk songs was the existence of the various evidences of the polyphonic songs in this hidden part (1938: 115). He also claimed:

In conclusion, we have nothing about the secret part of the folk music. On the other hand, this part is the one that shall be observed and exposed as the real music of Turks. In such music that has remained secrets for long ages; there are great facts about the history of harmony which are given great consideration by science. Today's science environment says that a music of nation which is not harmonic is obsolete with the nation himself. During the search of this secret part, the folk songs which will save us from such a fault was founded and will be founded. We have encountered very important self-Turkish music pieces which is called as chanon by the two and three sounds music science in the works that we individually realized (1938: 122) [54].

He also argued that Bela Bartok's approach could not be completely applied in the collection of the Turkish folk songs. Bela Bartok was only aware of the unconcealed part of folk music, according to Salcı. Therefore, he neglected the characteristics of the hidden part. For example, he suggested the phonograph and gramophone as important tools for the collection acts. On the other hand, Salcı argued that these tools could not be effective for this task. According to him, phonograph could not be used in the secret ceremonies of Alevis (1938: 115- 116, 117). In sum, according to him, the polyphonic elements existed in the Turkish folk music and these examples remained hidden in the secret traditions of the religious sects of Turkey.

In conclusion, as in the case of the debates on pentatonic melodies, these opinions can be seen as parallel with the dominant ideological paradigms of that time period. The roots of the folk songs were tried to be based on Central Asia and the

civilized cultural structure of that region. For them, if the criteria of the civilization were the existence of the polyphonic melodies in music issues, Turks were already the initiator of this. In sum, the polyphonic music lay in the marrows of the Turkish folk music. Due to the fact that the initial musical scale of the polyphonic music was the parallel four and five tones, the polyphonic style had firstly seen in the east, that is, in Central Asia, and Turks had played the most important role in the formation of that music. In this sense, they gave the samples of the folk songs which had been found in Tunceli (Elçi, 1997: 58-59). On the other hand, as Sadık Uzunoğlu claims, the amount of samples were too few both for the second sound and the polyphonic music. He argued that the polyphony only existed in the high art music. He also claimed:

Sadi Yaver Ataman's act that makes canon in the folk songs or repeats the determined lyric while a tone is being extended can be seen as duophony, but it cannot be an evidence since it does not come from people themselves (1951: 291) [55].

In other words, Ataman tried to make the folk songs sing in the second voice by using the techniques of the west and then claimed that the polyphonic melodies could be seen in the Turkish folk music! In other words, the polyphonic elements in the folk songs were created by the efforts of Kemalist music reformers. Nevertheless, it was explicit that for Kemalist cadres, the folk songs had to be elaborated with the Western techniques. To put the point differently, the (polyphonic) folk songs should have been developed to reach the western civilization- but, the west is debtor to Turks for most part of this civilization! Kemalist music reformers, on the one hand, argued for the existence of the polyphony in the Turkish folk music, and on the other hand, they supported the elaboration of these melodies by the techniques of the Western music. That is, the reflection of the double narration of Kemalist populism can be seen in the polyphonization of folk songs. Like the concept of 'people', in the Kemalist nationalist comprehension, folk music was accepted as it was; however, then, it was tried to be invented in a way. The Turkish nation was accustomed to the polyphonic folk music but then they had to be educated within the framework of this music. It can be said that this argument did not take the dynamic character of the folk songs into consideration. It ignored the relations of the folk songs with the daily life of people by bringing the technical issues to the foreground. In fact, they tried to

distort these technical issues to make them consistent with their nationalist-populist comprehension.

#### **4.6. The Pure Turkish Language and Folk Songs**

Another important approach of Kemalist cadres to folk songs can be seen in the features of the language of these songs. The realization of language-cultural and historical unity of Turks was one of the most important aims of the Kemalist folklore acts (Nişbay, 1943: 4 and Toros, 1938: 5). On the one hand, the importance of the local dialects in folk songs was strictly emphasized by Kemalist cadres (Can, 1940: 2; Gazimihal, 1939b: 24). Similarly, Saygun claimed:

Since as well as the melodies that are interpreted with his/her instrument, it is necessary that the words that are sung by the folk musician who speak and sing folk songs in his/her local accent should be written as it is a sign was a must. I undertook once again the signs that I used before to write the lyrics and I used them with some additions (1938: VII) [56].

In other words, he wrote the words of the folk melodies as they were but he used some signs to correct them. According to them, the language of the folk songs was (might have been) unspoiled and pure. The folk songs reflected the purity of the Turkish language in excellence. That is, although Kemalist cadres claimed that the local dialects had to be respected and folklore elements needed to be collected without any intervention in the folklore supplies, their main aim was to create a standardized language. Folk songs would play an important role in the emergence of a standardised Turkish language. As Tör claimed:

The rescuing of the folk songs from locality and arrogating them to the entire Turkish nation is among the honourable services of the radio. Since the most dynamic features of the national unity is the unity of language and pleasure, the meaning of arrogation of the folk songs which have remained local up until now, to the all nation is very glorious (1942: 10) [57].

Therefore, the lyrical structure of folk songs would be the examples of undiluted Turkish language. In this sense, Salcı claimed that the collections which were made in Harput were said to consist of some hybrid folk songs in terms of



language because of the fact that the dwellers of those regions were Kurds and they did not know the Turkish language. According to him, this opinion was extremely wrong and then, he gave the words of a folk song in the Turkish language: “Now, what kind of hybridity exists in this folk song in terms of language? Is that the pure Turkish language of today?” (1935b: 5) [58] He also argued that Turkish people did not listen to the Ottoman Classic Music, which consisted of a kind of hybrid language; rather they loved the folk songs which were made of pure Turkish language (1935c: 15-16 and 1936a: 10). Like Salcı’s emphasis on Harput, Tuğrul argued that the dwellers of Tunceli were Turks and they spoke in the Turkish language. The folk songs of Tunceli were composed in pure Turkish language<sup>119</sup> (1937: 8).

Shortly, the lyrical structure of folk songs which were written in other languages were neglected or transformed to create a homogeneous and standardized language. Besides, the Turkish language in folk melodies was smooth; the disgusting, unworthy elements could not exist in the folk pieces. In another example, it was stated that the language of folk songs was unspoiled and undefiled like themselves (Çakın, 1936: 7). Similarly, Kendi argued that the ‘real’ folk songs could not include erotic words. They expressed the spiritual and high love: “What can be said about the insensitive poets who talked vulgarly about the breasts and belly of a woman or the *uçkur, çakşır*<sup>120</sup> of a beloved one?” (1942b: 41)<sup>121</sup> [59] In this sense, the folk songs should have been sung in pure Turkish language in the People’s Houses:

After a few folk songs are purely arranged, by means of a conference or some other occasion, they are sung in the choir before the invited audience (Saygun, 1940: 15) [60].

Saygun, also, claimed that it was important to make the folk songs in monovoice but pure in terms of language (1942a: 9). In the same vein, the folk songs which had some erotic words would be selected and eliminated. The inappropriate

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<sup>119</sup> In same sense, the musics of the ethnic groups were refused by Kemalist cadres. For example, Gazimihal contended that the gypsies had not any musical pleasure of their own, all music of the Turkish country were the same (1939b: 35).

<sup>120</sup> These words refer to the sexual organ of a man.

<sup>121</sup> On the other, some writers confessed that the one of the characteristic of the folk songs lay in their erotic words: “One of the interesting side of the *manis* of Trabzon and its region is –majority of them– their erotic style of singing.” (Yanikoğlu, 1943: 27) [61]

words should have been abolished (CHP, 1946: 10-11). In this sense, some folk songs the lyrics of which were not written in pure Turkish language was defined as flawed or corrupted (Aşkun, 1940: 345).

In sum, it is clear that the efforts on the folk songs were tried to be realized in terms of the language revolution, the main aim of which was the creation of a pure Turkish language (TDK, 1936: 8-9). In this sense, the different languages and dialects were either neglected or seen as elements to be altered. For example, Can asserts:

People of Rize completely speak in the Turkish language. There is no one who knows the Laz language in the center of the city. Although people in the Pazar county and its surrounding know the Laz language, this language is being replaced by the Turkish language day by day. The new generation is growing by means of national education. The language of the city people and the students is smooth and perfect. The new generation, especially girls, are rescued from the impact of the local accent. The language condition of the city is improving day after day (1940: 3 and 6) [62].

In other words, the local dialects of folk songs were eliminated for the creation of a pure and harmonious Turkish language. In this act, on the one hand, folk songs were shown as examples of pure Turkish language, and on the other hand, their harmful and inappropriate words were tried to be abolished. In this sense, as Hasgül argues:

...Parallel with the policy of Turkification, either the folk songs which pertain to the various ethnic groups –the ethnic identity of some was expressed in the first period but (still today), they were not published- were neglected or they were published in Turkish words (the content of most of them was changed by some factitious words). The folk songs, the origin which was Kurdish, Greek, Armenian, in the language of *Lazs*, *Çerkes* etc. were being Turkified (1996: 35 and 43) [63].

#### 4.7. Conclusion

The opinions on the Turkish folk music during the Early Republican Period can be analyzed within the frameworks of the above mentioned dominant ideological paradigms and music policies of that time period. Although it was regarded by Kemalist cadres as the source of a new and desired Turkish music, which would be consistent with both the ‘nature’ of Turkish people and the Western civilization, the folk music was seen as an archaic music and thus it had to be modernized according to the techniques of the Western Classic Music. In other words, on the one hand Kemalist cadres considered the folk culture and folk music as the ‘real culture-music’ and ‘high art’ of Turks:

The folk literature which has not been taken into account until contemporary times as it was seen as the words of peasants is one of the most glaring part of the Turkish literature (Peker, 1936: 22) [64].

On the other hand, for them it was one of the symbols of the obsolete situation of Turkey, and hence it needed to be elaborated within the forms of the Western Classic Music. However, it should be said that the main characteristics of that music is not consistent with those of the folk music. For example, they tried to implement the choir performance on the radio and at People’s Houses, but such an act was not seen in the performance of the Turkish folk music. Shortly, the folk acts of the Kemalist regime was mostly realized with a technique which was alien to the folk music.

Compatible with the characteristic of their nationalist comprehension, Kemalist cadres mentioned that the essential features of the Western high art music were passed from the Turkish folk music. According to them, polyphonic and pentatonic, as the founder of polyphony, emerged in the ancient civilization of Turks in Central Asia. These characteristics of folk music have vanished by the external effects and the national task of Turkish composers was to expose them. Furthermore, these characteristics were an indispensable part of the high features of Turks. In other words, their opinions on folk music depended upon their nationalist populist comprehension rather than on a musical background. For example, according to

them, the main function of the folk music was to provide a national unity among Turkish people.

It can be said that their opinions were not consistent with the preliminary characteristics of folk music. For example, they tried to eliminate the local accent and dialects and the inappropriate words in folk songs. The idea of unity in language damaged the local verbal elements of folk songs. That is, the local characteristics of folk music in terms of the lyrical structure were neglected by Kemalist cadres. In addition to the attempts to purify the language, the folk melodies were tried to be standardised in the works regarding the system of notation. Also, some examples of folk music were seen as invaluable or harmful for the national characteristics of Turks or they were seen as lacking pentatonic or polyphonic elements and thus they were excluded or censured. That is, Kemalist cadres decided about the appropriateness of the folk songs and excluded or censured some of them. Doubtless, these acts were made according to their conceptualization on the characteristics of the folk materials. They did not examine the folk songs as the product of the daily life of people; they observed these melodies as loaded with the features of 'high art' or aesthetic criteria of the modern times.

Although the apprehension of the idea of synthesis is important to grasp the vital points of music reform during the Early Republican Period, there is another fact which is that a unique method for this synthesis was not recognized among Kemalist cadres. Their opinions on folk music could be different from each other. Furthermore, there was no agreement on the methods of the collection of the folk music; lack of methodology can be seen in those works. In sum, the whole practices on folk music were marked by the lack of definite plan during the Early Republican Period.

In a nutshell, the opinions of Kemalist cadres on folk songs were not consistent with the characteristics of both the Turkish folk songs and folk materials in general, and they embedded some inconsistencies. The marks of these can be seen from the debates on the pentatonic characteristic of the folk music to the debates on the synthesis of the folk music. These opinions cannot be considered as being separate from the nationalism-populism principles of that time period. In other words, the features of nationalism-populism principle were the reasons of these inconsistencies. In other words, the acts of Kemalist cadres were not coherent and

systematized in the case of folk music. The repercussions of these opinions could be analysed in the works of the notation of the folk songs, in the deeds of writing their words or in the elimination of some folk songs. In this context, besides the folklore acts, some anecdotes on the collection of folk music can give some interesting examples about the characteristics of Kemalist cadres' works.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE KEMALIST WORKS ON TURKISH FOLK MUSIC

Folk music acts were very crucial in the music policies of the Early Republican Period since they were considered to be the source of the new national music by Kemalist cadres. They tried to elaborate and transform the Turkish folk music both in the collection and performance acts.

In this chapter, the wroughts of Kemalist cadres on folk songs and the impact of their conceptualization of folk music upon their efforts will be examined. The repercussions of their populist-nationalist comprehension on these acts will also be dwelled on.

Within this scope, the brief history of folk music acts during the Early Republican Period will be examined and there will be special focus on the collection acts of some institutions, such as the State Conservatories of Ankara and İstanbul, the People's Houses and the Turkish Folklore Association. Furthermore, the musical performances which were realized in the People's Houses and radios will be covered.

Secondly, the melodical transformations made by Kemalist cadres will be looked into. Furthermore, examples will be presented of collection acts in which some restorations or exclusions could be observed. The restorations in the performances of folk music will be analysed.

Another important issue to be covered will be the elimination of local dialects from folk songs as attempts towards a national language. The purification process of folk songs from some words, which were believed by Kemalist cadres to be unsuitable to the noble souls of Turks, will also be dwelled on.

Subsequently, examples which will present the exclusion or elimination of some folk songs in terms of their lyrical structure or lack of musical techniques will

be presented. In other words, the elaboration process which was realized in accordance with the aesthetic criteria of modern times will be examined.

Finally, some examples about the narrative of the collection acts will be given. These samples will give us important clues about the mentality of Kemalist cadres and the lack of methodology among them. Furthermore, they are crucial examples since they will show the positions of people in the folklore acts of Kemalist cadres.

### **5.1. A Brief History of Folk Music Acts**

In this framework, the works on folk songs were tried to be processed by some institutions, such as the İstanbul State Conservatory, the Ankara State Conservatory and the People's Houses. In addition to this, the analysis of the deeds on the radio were of importance. These institutions constitute the most vital tools for Kemalist cadres in creating the new and desired music for Turkish people.

The works on folk songs and folk culture in general can be seen in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. These were mostly debates on some aspects of folk music and its place in the nationalist movements; the practical dimensions were almost non-existent. These opinions were largely inspired by the acts of the Russian Fives. It was claimed that folk songs were important sources in the creation of a new and national music (Şenel, 1999: 99 and 105). The most important figure in this issue was Ziya Gökalp. According to him, the folk culture should have been the source of new culture for reaching the level of modern civilizations. In this sense, he has engaged in some folklore research. Gökalp supported the elimination of the folklore materials that could be harmful for the national unity. He claimed:

...tales should not be collected from every reciter. Only the best traditional reciter should be selected. Folktales are the most valuable treasure of the nation. The ancient character and ideals of our nation are preserved in tales. ...When all the tales are collected, those which are instructive for children and useful for national spirit should be selected, and the remainder must be thrown away (Gökalp quoted from Başgöz, 1998: 45).

As Başgöz claims:

Gök Alp's approach to folktale resembles that of Europe for whom folklore was beautiful and useful as long as it reflected forgotten national virtues and helped promote national unity (1998: 45).

This approach of Gökalp was followed by Kemalist cadres to some extent.

In the first years of the 1920s a public survey was prepared by *Darul-Elhan* to search for the folk songs in Turkey. About two thousand index cards which included fourteen questions about folk songs were sent to the music teachers in Anatolia by the Ministry of Education. In addition to this, the first trip to collect the folk songs was organized by the Ministry of Education in 1925<sup>122</sup>. In 1926, seventy six note pamphlets were published entitled *Yurdumuzun Nağmeleri*. During this year, a hundred and sixty-one folk melodies were published as an outcome of both the collection and public survey. However, these works were highly criticized due to the serious errors in the notation system. Also, no apparatus for recording the voices was used in these works; that is, the notes were directly written. This also led to vital errors in the note pamphlets (Şenel, 1999: 106-107). Therefore, a phonograph was ordered<sup>123</sup> from Cemal Reşit Rey in Paris and a phonograph was sent to İstanbul and, subsequently, trips for collection were organized by *Darul-Elhan*, the name of which will later be İstanbul Conservatory, in 1926, 1927, 1928, 1929 and 1932. During that time period, some folk songs were collected from indigenous *aşıks* who had come to İstanbul (Akbaş, 2000: 60-61; Saygun, 1938: VI and Şenel, 1999: 108-109 and 110). Ülkütaşır claims that after 1929 the collection acts ceased because of financial problems (1972: 34). The trip in 1932 could be organized with the aid of the Turkish Folklore Association and the first phase of these acts was ended with this trip. As a result of the first phase, fifteen books including the notes of the melodies were published (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 36). In sum, the total number of the folk song melodies

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<sup>122</sup> As Başgöz says the Ministry of Education founded a new department –Department of Culture- to collect the folk materials (1998: 46).

<sup>123</sup> On the other hand, as Attali claims, after the appearance of the phonograph record, the music becomes a monologue; in other words:

Just as the street hawker's blue books shaped the reader and supplanted the storyreciter, just as the printer supplanted the copyist, representation would be replaced by repetition... (2002: 88).

That means, with the collection of the folk songs by means of the phonograph record, the authentic relationships between the producer (*aşık* and folk singer), audience and the folk songs had vanished.



in the collection acts of the first period was two thousand (Başgöz, 1998: 46). The Kemalist music reformers themselves regarded these experiences as unsuccessful. For example, Saygun criticised the collections in the first phase. According to him, as a result of the fact that the first two trips had been made by those who were experts in the Classic Ottoman Music but not the Turkish folk music, the researchers did not exactly know what they had to do. Therefore, the folk songs were analysed in accordance with the criteria of the Ottoman Classic Music, which were not compatible with those of folk music. Thus, the works were highly disabled. Although after some time the phonograph began to be used, most of the notation acts were realized by means of writing. After the third book, the notes seemed to be written more properly based on scientific methods but their analyses were once again realized in accordance with the Ottoman Classic Music. For him, the thirteenth book was very important because of the existence of a pentatonic melody. On the other hand, the folk songs in this book and in the fourteenth book were not taken from people using phonograph (1938: III-IV and V). In sum, according to Saygun the first phase could be categorized into two parts; the first step involved:

Sending letters to various parts of the country to request the detection of folk songs and classifying and publishing them as they arrived consecutively (1938: VI) [1].

And, the second step involved:

Setting off on a trip as a committee by debating over the falsity of this style of work and writing folk songs; this work also divides into two; determining by phonograph and writing directly (1938: VI) [2].

He claimed that the method in the collection of folk songs should have been the usage of the phonograph<sup>124</sup>. Furthermore, folk songs would be searched in their localities. On the other hand, according to Gazimihal, the acts of the first phase could not be ignored. For him, they were the products of the initial phase. A lot of important experiences remained from them (1939b: 3).

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<sup>124</sup> On the other hand, he said:

In spite of this, I should write that I did not use a phonograph while I was collecting folk songs, the amount of which equals to one thousand. But, it is because I did not have this apparatus (1938: VI) [3].

The Turkish Folklore Association was an important institution in the works on folk songs. The conducts of searching and collecting folk songs began two years before this association was founded in 1927<sup>125</sup>. The center of the association was İstanbul. It was a private organization but it was extensively supported by the official institutions (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 37-38 and 39 and Başgöz, 1998: 47). This institution published some brochures and books which consisted of a selection of folk songs. Besides, in 1928 the Turkish Folklore Association began to publish a journal, the name of which was The Folklore News. In the first issue of this journal it was stated:

[This journal] include[s] studies and collect[s] materials to both educate the people and promote the cause of national unity (quoted from Başgöz, 1998: 47).

In another article, a map of the folk materials of Anatolia was given and this included:

...the epics, tales, oral poetry, beliefs, language, traditions, and material culture of all Anatolia. By examining such a map, the folklorist could discover any deviation from the national culture and national language; he would then use appropriate means to assimilate the cultural anomaly for the benefit of national unity (Başgöz, 1998: 47-48).

In this sense, as Başgöz maintains, folklore was seen as a tool to provide national unity within a language by this institution (1998: 48). This association published only 19 issues of this journal, but afterwards Eminönü People's House began to publish it. The total number of the issues it published was 124. This association and its journal were transferred to the People's Houses in 1932 (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 40 and 44).

The People's Houses, the first of which was founded in 1932, made a lot of collections. The branch of Fine Arts of the People's Houses strived to search for the 'national folk songs' within villages and tribes<sup>126</sup> (Ankara Halkevi, 1935: 4).

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<sup>125</sup> Its initial name was the Anatolia Folklore Association (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 37).

<sup>126</sup> "The branch tries to determine the folk songs which are sung among people especially in the villages and tribes, with their lyrics and publish them without giving any harm to their original form. The folk songs can only be interpreted with their own dialects and instruments which are; the *bağlama* (saz), the *cura* (the smallest type of saz), the *bozok* (another type of saz), the *meydan saz* (the largest type of saz), the *kabak* (another type of saz), the *kemençe* of the Black Sea Region, the drum, the *zurna* (horn), the *kaval* (shepherds' pipe), the *darbuka* (tabour), the *çifte nara* (double shout) etc. Instruments such as the violin, the *ut* (a kind of Turkish lute), the *cümbüş* (a mandolin with a metal

Furthermore, the branch of Language-History-Literature and History-Museum tried to collect Turkish folk songs as well. These institutions were one of the most important means for the Kemalist cadres in reaching localities. At first, the journals of the People's Houses ignored the folk materials existing in the localities, but then, they gradually began to give importance to them (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 71-72). While all acts were centrally controlled, as Gazimihal claimed, some folklorists could work individually in any People's House. In addition to the deeds of the official institutions, these conducts were vital due to the fact that official conducts might have been unable to reach some local regions (1939b: 3). A special commission was selected for these tasks and this commission collected and sent the folk songs they collected to the center (Ankara)<sup>127</sup>. It also scrutinized the folk songs which had been collected until then (Ankara Halkevi, 1935: 6). In addition to this task, the People's Houses tried to teach the 'selected' folk songs to people<sup>128</sup>. In these institutions, the modern and national music would become important for the music education of people<sup>129</sup> (Ankara Halkevi, 1935: 3-4).

Until 1936, about one thousand folk songs were collected in Turkey. During this year, Bela Bartok was invited and the works on folk music were triggered both in the theoretical and practical sense (Şenel, 1999: 110-111). The Ankara People's House organized a trip for Bartok to Adana to some Turkmen tribes, and he collected about ninety melodies. As mentioned above, these acts were parallel with the debates on the pentatonic character of the Turkish folk music. After Bartok's trip, the Ankara State Conservatory realized seventeen tours and about nine thousand folk songs were collected until 1952. In these acts, Muzaffer Sarısözen and Halil Bedi Yönetken were

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body), the *kanun* (a zither-like instrument with seventy-two strings), the *ney* (a kind of reed flute) can not accompany folk songs." (CHP, 1940: 10) [4]

<sup>127</sup> Also, each journal of the local People's Houses should send the issues to the center: "Every People House that publishes a journal sends one each to the other People's Houses, one to the journal of *Ülkü* and two to the General Secretariat of the Party." (CHP, 1940: 9) [5]

<sup>128</sup> "One of the most prominent duties to be carried out is helping people learn the national marches and local songs and strive to have them sung collectively, men and women altogether, in ceremonies of the People's Houses and on national days." (CHP, 1940: 10-11) [6]

<sup>129</sup> "What was essential in the music works of the People's Houses was as well as the collection of the folk songs which live in the depths of the national spirit as a rich treasure for the future composers, with loyalty and attention by elaborating them within the technique of West and concealment of them, while on the one hand new Turkish music arise, to accustom and domesticate the ears and pleasures to polyphonic music; for realizing these to have listen the products of Western music as benefiting from the various chances." (CHP, 1940: 10) [7]

the most prominent figures<sup>130</sup>. The number of the cities where these acts were performed was fifty-seven. One thousand of them were taught to the performers on the radio (Şenel, 1999: 114-115 and 116 and Türk Folklor Araştırmaları, 1951: 338). The collection acts were realized with the financial aid and support of the Ministry of Education. All these acts were realized by employing phonographs and thus in the regions where there was electricity (Ülkütaşır, 1972: 78 and 82).

In addition to the folk song collection acts, the process of their elaboration and instruction was considered vital. The radio was one of the most important institutions for this aim during the Early Republican Period. Kemalist cadres regarded the radio as one of the most important tools in the education of people<sup>131</sup> (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980: 79-80). In the first years of the Ankara and İstanbul radios the *divan* music was published extensively, on the other hand, the folk songs consisted the small amount of the radio programmes between 1927 and 1936 (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980: 87-88 and 89). The all kind of Turkish music in radio was banned in 1934, but in 1936 the Turkish music was begun to be broadcasted again. After that time, the folk music was emphasized on the radio programmes. But then, the ratio of the broadcasting of the Ottoman Classic Music was more than those of the folk melodies in a short time. In addition to this, the ratio of broadcasting of the western music was more than those of Turkish music (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980: 160 and 162). Before 1938:

The music which was broadcasted on the Turkish radios under the name of folk music consisted of the playing and singing of the local melodies by one or two artists. While the

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<sup>130</sup> The other names were Mahmut Ragıp Gazimihal, Hasan Ferit Alnar, Necil Kazım Akses, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Nurullah Şevket Taşkiran, Ali Rıza Yetişen and Arif Etikan (Elçi, 1997: 16).

<sup>131</sup> But the main contradiction at this point was the expensive price of the radio receiver. As Kocabaşoğlu claims:

The duties of publishment of the official ideology, dissemination of our principals up to the villages are expected from the radio. On the other hand it can be seen that although the state observed the radio as a political and cultural tool of education all over the country, it did not benefited from this tool as seriously and affectively. The first reason is undoubtedly the quantitative factors such as the power of transmitters, the number and the price of receivers, the lack of electrification etc. But, to suppose that the political power was really willing to tend to the masses by means of radio is impossible. If the political power had had such an aim, an affective measures would have been taken such as providing the cheap receiver to people. They understood that the radio is an affective tool to spread the ideology, they planned to decorate the People's Houses with these tools but, they could not never make the radio receivers cheap and spread the radios to the remote places of the villages (1980: 117and 120-121) [8].

folk music acts were in this phase on the radio, the collection acts that were initiated in 1936 showed some important improvements in a short time and the quantum leaps were realized in collaboration with the Ministry of Education, the State Conservatory and the radio. The works of Muzaffer Sarısözen, who had been a music teacher in a high school of *Sivas* and participated in the collection acts in the August of 1937, in the State Conservatory and the radio of *Ankara*, was very influential in the formation of a rich folk music repertoire (Kocabaşođlu, 1980: 161) [9].

In 1940, Muzaffer Sarısözen was appointed by Vedat Nedim Tör as the chief director in the folk music programmes. He has firstly prepared a programme –*Bir Halk Türküsü Öğreniyoruz*- with the advice of Tör (Tör, 1999: 54)<sup>132</sup>. Then, he established a choir, the name of which was *Yurttan Sesler* in 1940 and this choir tried to perform the folk songs (Elçi, 1997: 16 and Şenel, 1999: 116). The members of this choir were those who had been formerly educated in the Ottoman Classic Music at first. But then, they began to be educated in order to sing the folk songs<sup>133</sup>. The most important aim of the folk music programmes on the radio was to provide a unity among Turkish people<sup>134</sup> (Sarısözen, 1944a: 10). It was claimed that the folk songs sung by *Yurttan Sesler* were lovely and listened by Turkish people (Yönetken, 1966:

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<sup>132</sup> Another programme was *Halkevleri, Sanat ve Folklor* (The People's Houses, Art and Folklore) which was initiated in 1943 on the Ankara Radio (Öztürkmen, 1998: 117).

<sup>133</sup> It is doubtless that the repertoire of this choir was carefully selected and the folk songs were made valuable:

It benefits from the materials which were collected in the Folklor Archive of the State Conservatory of the Ministry of Education to find the most beautiful and the most rightly selected examples of our folk songs and benefits from the expert folklorist chief (Muzaffer Sarısözen) of this archive to prettify this material without giving any harm to their originality and essences (Radyo, 1942: 21) [10].

Also, as it was claimed:

Since, the radio and its programme of Sounds from the Country are addressing to the all country, there is a necessity to make a good and careful choice and to differ their bad ones from good ones. Undoubtedly, these jobs should be made by the authorized experts (Radyo, 1947: 10). [11].

Shortly, every folk melody was not taught to people; they were initially selected according to their accuracy.

<sup>134</sup> Another important aim of this choir's programme was as follows:

One of the most important aims of the programme entitled *Voices from the Country* was to fill our ears with the sounds from the country, to pave a new horizon to the composers who would newly be trained (Radyo, 1947: 10) [12].

34). On the other hand, people showed some reactions against this act due to the transformations in folk songs (Radyo, 1947: 10). In sum, the radio tried to expand the folk songs which were collected from the villages. Although the radio was seen as an important means to expand folk songs, either it was not possible to spread them among people or the Ottoman Classic was broadcasted more than folk songs on the radio. In this sense, in that period, the radios were blamed to ignore the real music of Turks (Kocabaşoğlu, 1980: 215-216).

To sum up, although the first debates on the importance of folk songs in the creation of national identity initiated during the last two decades of the Ottoman Empire, serious efforts can not be observed. The practical dimensions of the folk music acts in the history of Turkey were almost completely realized during the Republican Period. In the initial years of the Turkish Republic, some institutions such as the Turkish Folklore Association, *Darülelhan* or the İstanbul State Conservatory tried to compile folk songs. However, these were highly criticised by Kemalist cadres as superficial in terms of lacking any tool, system or usage of the Ottoman Music criteria. Moreover, the People's Houses formerly neglected the folk music acts. After the midst of the 1930s, the folk song attempts regarding both collection and performance were triggered with the effects of the foundation of the Ankara State Conservatory and those of the People's Houses and radios. These attempts were tried to be realized more systematically. The collections of the folk songs were tried to be realized both at the institutional and individual level in the People's Houses.

In these acts, folk songs were elaborated, selected and purified. In addition to the collection acts, the folk songs were tried to be given to people to create a national unity among Turkish people. Shortly, the folklore materials were not trusted by Kemalist cadres; they tried to alter them on account of their inappropriateness. As mentioned above, this approach was highly compatible with the Kemalist nationalist-populist comprehension. As Gellner argues, making folk music a kind of 'high music' was aimed at. Moreover, Kemalist cadres argued that these folklore acts were not systematic and successful. For example, three different branches participated in the folk music collection acts. In fact, it can be said that most of the folk materials which were collected during the Early Republican Period could not be trusted. As Ataman argued:

It is essential to say that since our folklore acts were left uncontrolled, there is very little amount of materials to be trusted in the official collections as well as in the private studies (1949a: 4) [13].

## **5.2. Some Characteristics of the Works on the Folk Songs**

The deeds on the folk songs during the Early Republican Period were made within the framework of Kemalist cadres' opinions on the folk music in both their collections and performances. In this sense, some examples of the endeavor for restoration can be seen in the notes of these melodies. In addition to this, the words of folk songs that were regarded as inconsistent with pure Turkish language were omitted or replaced. To purify the language, the local dialects could also be destroyed. Besides, some of the folk songs were eliminated because of their low quality or disabled or harmful characteristics. In other words, folk songs were completely distorted by Kemalist cadres. And lastly, some examples of the collection efforts are meaningful to illustrate both the lack of methodology and the characteristic of these acts.

### **5.2.1. The Melodical Restorations**

In this issue, the aims for the polyphonization and harmonization of the folk songs might lead to some inappropriateness with the intrinsic characteristics of the folk songs. Also, the efforts made on finding pentatonic and polyphonic folk songs caused similar results. In addition to these, the lack of knowledge about folk songs resulted in a musical mistake or restoration efforts.

In the first phase of the collection acts (1927-36), the performer did not exactly know what to do. In this sense, their analysis of folk songs were made within the terms and concepts of the Ottoman Classic Music:

The modes and the motions of folk songs are being determined in accordance with the art music and the signs of alterations are being added in accordance with them. When it is impossible to claim that some songs which have no constant form in terms of their modes are in a determined mode, the reconciliation of their modification and writing in terms of place of origin are being made (Saygun, 1938: III-IV and V) [14].

Thus, some musical errors or restorations were made:

The one year that is left behind proved that most of the notes that reached us were written by those who was not completely cognizant of the knowledge of musical writing technique and some vital errors were made; for example, a song that should have been written in 9/16 scale was written in 5/8 scale (Saygun, 1938: IV) [15].

In addition to this, in these acts most of the folk songs were taken by only means of writing but not any kind of tool. That means, their notations were realized by the collectors who were not experts on folk music and the most important tool was the memory of those collectors. In this sense, too many mistakes were made in the musical aspect of the folk songs (Şenel, 1999: 107-108).

The melodic transformations and restorations were also made to prove the polyphonic and harmonic character of the folk songs after 1936. As Uzunoğlu claimed:

Sadi Yaver Ataman's act of having canon done in folk songs or the determined lyrics repeated while a tone is being extended can be seen as duophony, but it cannot be an evidence since it does not come from the people themselves (1951: 291) [16].

In other words, Ataman tried to perform some canonic works by using the folk melodies and argued that these restored melodies were the proof of the polyphonic folk songs. In the same vein, in another example Salcı gave an example of a two-voice folk melody and needed to claim that he did not do any restoration or change the notate of this song (1938: 123). Likewise, Saygun took some Black Sea Region's folk songs by using the techniques of the polyphonic music (Yönetken, 1966: 69).

The endeavor for the restoration of folk songs can be seen in the performances of the *Yurttan Sesler* choir. In this choir, it was claimed that every folk song could not be given to people. It needed to be selected and then recreated:

When some people who listened to the folk songs which were sung in various parts of the country in their partially changed or -namely- restored forms, among which there were those published in the programme of *Voices from the Country*, understood that the melodies and musical themes which they



were accustomed to were changed, they became angry protesting that this folk melody was not as such, asking who had shaped it like that and how the song of people could be changed (Radyo, 1947: 10) [17].

This attempts for restoration of the folk melodies could be seen in the attempts for collective singing and playing. The folk songs were tried to be performed collectively. In other words, the folk melodies in this choir were played and sung together (Elçi, 1997: 123). On the other hand, as Tokel claims, such a performance destroys the nuances both in playing and singing (2000: 85 and 131-132). Muzaffer Sarısözen was the leading figure in these works. He also tried to assign some quarter tones for the folk melodies:

Sarısözen prevented the disappearance of the authentic character of the folk music by assigning some numbers to the quarter tones of the folk music. Before the 1940s, the quarter tones had not been used in folk music. There are no signs of quarter tones in the Turkish folk music. A necessity emerges naturally. When five quarter tones are inserted, any artist strikes them as two quarter tones. How will this be shown? For example; an artist who does not know folk songs strikes five quarter tones there but the tone which is necessary in the melody remains unstruck. When we see the ratio of quarter tones there, we strike it by ordering the diaphragm of our *saz* accordingly (Elçi, 1997: 123) [18].

But it is not possible to claim that the characteristics of the folk songs would remain same after the restoration. For instance, Aşkun said:

To keep the folklor of *Sivas* alive, I could not find a woman who could sing the old folk songs in their correct and proper forms on the radio of *Ankara*. All of the existing experts of singing and playing changed both the melodies and the lyrics (1943: 350) [19].

In addition to the samples of the musical restoration of folk songs, the notation acts were mostly made lacking method, or only the words of the folk songs were given because of the collectors' lack of knowledge about musical compositions. For example, it was stated that some folk songs were notated doubtfully (Elaziz Halkevi, 1936: 31). Or, in another example the notes of the folk songs were written by just feeling the pentatonic characteristics of the melodies (Arsunar, 1937: 6). Similarly, Aşkun claimed that he could not give the musical composition of the

melodies that were collected by him due to his lack of knowledge about the notation systems (1940: 64). Likewise, Yücer said that due to the fact that he had no lore on the musical issues, he had not written the notes of the melodies, but just gave their words (1940: 28).

It is highly doubtful that the folk songs remained the same after this recreation act both in terms of musical sense and societal sense. Besides, the ambiguity of the Kemalist conception of people can be seen in this example. On the one hand, folk songs expressed the real essence of Turkish people, and on the other hand, they needed to be selected, purified and restored. Sarisözen has frozen the folk songs; he has standardized them. However, folk songs had no definite technique of playing; the dynamic structure was their vital dimension. The same melody might be different in each performance. As Tekelioğlu argues, both the collection acts and the radio program of Sarisözen were not consistent with the essential characteristics of the folk songs:

Unfortunately, the program of the Voices from the Country constitute a good example to present how the policies of synthesis may lead to a cultural aridity independent of their good will. Sarisözen while he was writing the notes and classifying the local examples in terms of their places, neglected the individual styles which had been developed by *aşıks* and classified the folk songs in terms of their places how which existed in his mind. The criterion was seven geographic regions and the examples which were not inconvenient were excluded. In addition to this, the folk songs which were sung by an *aşık* with a single *saz* began to be presented by a large choir and under the direction of a chief which did not exist in the tradition of interpretation of folk music. Therefore, the accompany of the choir and instrument which existed in the Western music was applied in folk music and it was thought that it would create an orchestral effect which was led by a chief. This collection act, in whatever perspective, is one of the vital reasons of the abolishment of the traditional '*aşık* style' in folk music (1999: 149) [20].

In the same vein, Hasgül claims that the usage of the Western music models led to serious errors in the collection acts:

The musical notation system was being applied in the collection acts. As a result of the note system that was being made in accordance with Western twelve note system, the quarter tones were being abolished, the lyrics that did not fit

this system were replaced. Therefore, the improvised structure of the folk music that forms the characteristic and peculiarity of the folk music, and the local features in the structure of the *saz* and singing were destroyed. In conclusion, a form of interpretation that is frozen, standard and far away from the local characteristic emerged with the participation of the choir of Voices from the Country (1996: 43) [21].

To sum up, the musical aspects of the folk melodies were largely transposed or harmonised by Kemalist cadres of the Early Republican Period both in the collection and performance acts. Initially, folk music was considered in light of the forms of the Western music and the notes of folk melodies were taken according to these forms. Besides, the lack of method can be seen in that process. In this context, Gökçeoğlu argued that all folklore materials had to be carefully controlled (1951: 370). In the same vein, Ataman claimed that most of the folklore studies were randomly made and these were seen in the writings of the folk songs' notes, which were loaded with many unmethodical works:

When we compare the notes of the majority of collectors with the melody itself, besides melodic errors, we encounter various unforgivable negligence and ignorance in terms of character and style. In addition to the official works, there were people who conducted research on folklore on his/her own accord and published them in our collection acts. Although these publications are very beneficial, those which are related with musical folklore are not satisfactory in terms of their note sheets. In addition to the researchers who did not act in accordance with a standard writing technique called as note, it was seen that most of them destroyed the real value of the materials by some interventions which can not be accepted in folklore; for instance, they embellished or corrected the materials that they had collected (1949a: 5) [22].

In addition to this, in the folk music performances on the radio or at the People's Houses, the local dialects and nuances between playing techniques were eradicated. Besides, the dynamic character of the folk music was not taken into consideration and the folk songs were standardised, which was another cause of the eradication of different playing techniques.

Shortly, it can be said that the acts of Kemalist cadres led to the disappearance of the ‘aura’ of folk music. Moreover, the relations between performance and audience were very different from those inherent in the traditional form. The relationship between folk songs played on the radios and their audiences, and between folk songs played by an *aşık* in a traditional atmosphere was not the same. In other words, Kemalist nationalism-populism tried to invent a cultural form which almost disappeared, but it was exposed in slightly different way from those of the past.

### **5.2.2. Folk Songs and the Pure Turkish Language**

For Kemalists the utterance of the folk melodies were samples of the pure language of Turks. In this sense, their words needed to be looked into for a homogeneous and smooth Turkish language. Henceforth, the words of the folk songs which were not consistent with the new Turkish language were restored, changed or discarded in some examples of both collections and performances. Furthermore, in some other examples the local accents and dialects were abandoned to create the national language.

The words of the folk melodies might have been adopted as they were in some examples. But then, some signs were used to restore them or the correct forms of the words were given in parantheses. For example, Özer claimed that he did not make any changes in the words of the folk songs which were collected from Halil Ağa but he gave the pure forms of the words in parantheses (1940: 37). In the same vein, Saygun said that he was vary cautious in the local accents of the folk songs but he inserted some signs which demonstrated the correct forms of the words or some additions (1937: 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 62, 64, 65 and 1938: 21, 27, 33, 44 and 49). Likewise, Aytuğ and Ergenekonlu presented the corrected forms of the words (Aytuğ, 1946: 292 and Ergenekonlu, 1944: 18).

As Demirci indicated, one of the most important reasons of compiling folk songs was to seek pure Turkish words (1938: 8). Moreover, according to Kemalist cadres, the words of the folk songs were pure and unspoiled. They expressed the emotions of people in their smooth verbal structure (Çakın, 1937: 7 and Yanıkoğlu, 1943: 23). That is, pure Turkish words were tried to be sought among the folk songs

or their words were tried to be written in the pure Turkish language. In fact, Aşkun claimed that the words of the folk songs were changed on the Ankara radio (1943: 350). In other words, the lyrical structure of folk music was not trusted, the lyrics were changed for the creation of a national language:

I collected those which were written in the *cönks*<sup>135</sup> with a beautiful language and correct spelling, those poems that I have seen in two or three *cönks* and those that I perceived to be written in the style of *Aşık Nuri*. I left those about which I had some doubts. There have been many changes in the words and lines of *Aşık Nuri's* poems passing from one person to another for fortyfive-fifty years. Accepting that which was similar in or or two *cönks*, I made only small differences. I did not touch the words of the other ones. I tried to write the rest using pure Turkish (Oral, 1936: 5) [23].

The collectors and artists were most important figures in the purification of language:

In short, the role of the artist is great and their benefits are endless in the purification process of the language, which is collectively and consciously implemented today. It will be the artist who will create and keep alive the pure, good, systematic Turkish language of the future (Saygunışık, 1942: 5) [24].

In addition to this, some words, mostly erotic ones, were taken out or shown by some other signs since pure and smooth folk melodies could not include such words which were harmful for the noble and high soul of Turks. For example, Yanıkoğlu claimed that some erotic words existed in the folk songs of Trabzon and he showed them using some signs (1943: 27-28). Similarly, Tuğrul stated that the erotic words were not given in his collection of folk music (1945: 3). Tolga argued that the harmful, immoral and rude elements could not exist in folk music. To speak about the existence of these meant the humiliation of the folk beliefs and lives (1942: 5). If such elements existed, they were not given to people, they had to be detected and purified (CHP, 1946: 10). Since folk songs could not have immoral reasons and *aşıks* did not write any immoral poems (Kendi, 1942b: 41), some of the folk songs that included such elements were tried to be neglected or these immoral parts were removed. For example, Tuğrul stated: “We did not touch the texts; but, we removed

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<sup>135</sup> The manuscript collection of folk poems.

two lines which could be regarded as erotic and left their place void.” (1945: 3)<sup>136</sup> [25]. As well as the erotic words, some foreign words in the folk songs were replaced with the pure Turkish words. As Stokes (1998: 104) quotes that a folk song which begins as ‘*Prahoda mindim sürdüm seyran*’ existed in the repertoire of TRT (Turkish Radio Television) as ‘*Gemilere bindim sürdüm Samsun’a*’ since the Russian word *prahod* which means train was not accepted and changed with the word *gemi* which means ship in Turkish. Regarding the same example, Hasgül (1996: 43) claims that the word *seyran* was replaced with *Samsun* since it was an Arabian word.

To create a homogeneous and pure language, the local accents or languages were restored, in some samples. As Tör said, on radios, folk songs had to be sung in their purified form for a unified language (1942: 10). In the same vein, it was claimed that folk songs were restored by the radio. Therefore, people reacted to these acts of the Ankara radio (Radyo, 1947: 10). Similarly, Saygun argued that the folk songs were purified and then sung by a choir in the People’s Houses (1940: 15). One dimension of this purification process was related to the local accents and dialects. Can indicated that he tried to preserve the local accents but then he suggested that the local languages and accents of the Black Sea Region’s folk would be replaced by pure Turkish language gradually. He also claimed that he made lyrical restorations in some of the folk songs of *aşıks* (1940: 2-3 and 6).

Similarly, Salcı argued that it was very nonsense to claim that the collections which were made in Harput were hybrid because most of the residents of that place were Kurds, who did not know the Turkish language. He then gave an example of a folk song claiming it to be a pure Turkish one (1935b: 5). Similarly, Tuğrul argued that the dwellers in Tunceli were Turks and they spoke in pure Turkish language. Tuğrul gave some examples of folk songs and claimed that these were the proof of

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<sup>136</sup> In the same vein, Öztürkmen underscores the same point regarding folk dances:

*Kemal Güngör* who inspected the People’s Houses in 1941, made some interpretations on the *halays* of *Sivas* and *Çorum* in his article published by the journal of *Ülkü*. According to this, a folk dance, *Çorum’s halay* [a kind of dance in Turkish folklore], mostly includes many original figures among the six folk dances that he has seen in the *Çorum* region and another folk dance, *İğdeli Gelin*, is a very beautiful dance to be recreated. *Güngör* observes the dance of *Hürümü* as an almost deformed dance since it includes some erotic figures (1998: 255-256) [26].

the pure language of the residents of Tunceli (1937: 8)<sup>137</sup>. In the same vein, Aşkun gave some folk songs from Sivas. In his book, the utterances of people were written in their local accents; on the other hand, the folk songs were written in pure Turkish language (1940: 219 and 223). Likewise, in the monography of a village trip to the Bergama People's Houses, the dialogues between people were written in their local accents; on the other hand, the folk songs were given in pure Turkish language (Bergama Halkevi, 1945: 35-36). Also, the local accents could not be seen in some collections of the folk songs of Giresun (Aksu, 1940: 35 and Pamirli, 1941:30-32).

In sum, the folk songs were considered important in the formation of a homogeneous and pure Turkish language. In this sense, the folk melodies were considered, on the one hand, as consisting of pure Turkish words; on the other hand, in some examples of the collection acts the words were changed or restored. Besides, the words which were inconsistent with the pure Turkish language were eliminated. On the one hand, as above mentioned some writers argued for the preserving the local accents, on the other hand, the local languages and accents were ignored in some examples. The difference was mostly existed between the performances in the radios or the People's Houses and the collections. As Hasgül claims:

The first process was the Turkification of the language. Thus, the archive of the Turkish Radio Television (TRT) closed its gates to the Greek repertoire of the East Black Sea and the Kurdish repertoire of the East Southern Anatolia even though some of the latter existed in their translated form. Likewise, the words which were of foreign origin and were not a dialect were replaced with their Turkish counterparts as much as possible (1996: 43) [28].

Also, in the performance of the folk songs on radios and at the People's Houses, the words of the melodies were once again purified and replaced. The folk songs were tried to be sung purely in those places. In other words, the local accents and dialects which were one of the most important features of folk music were eliminated to create a pure and homogeneous language.

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<sup>137</sup> In fact, the word 'Kurd' in the folk songs written in the Turkish language was erased:

For example, the melody, *Türkmen Kızı*, which is being sung on radios today, existed as *Kürdün Kızı* in the first collections (Bayrak quoted from Hasgül, 1996: 44) [27].

### 5.2.3. The Artistic Quality of the Folk Songs

The elimination or restoration of folk songs derived from the Kemalist analysis in terms of modern aesthetic criteria. In other words, Kemalist cadres considered folk music as possessing the characteristics of an art music in order to prove the highly civilized level of Turks. An arranged sequence of lyrical and melodic structure was expected by Kemalist cadres. For example, Burdurlu gave two examples of folk music and then claimed:

The first of these is a folk song which is sung in the form of a dialogue between a girl and a boy and expresses love, which is the real motif, by showing an apron as an excuse. However, the folk song turns to another direction by losing its essence in the last lines and the real harmony vanishes. The second folk song is sung as a lament by a mother and it expresses in an orderly fashion the characteristics of *Ayşe*, who is shot by his beloved, İsmail (1941: 10-11) [29].

Therefore, some samples of folk songs were considered valuable (Kum, 1941: 18 and Özer, 1940: 35) and some others were seen as unnecessary and invaluable and so it was unnecessary to collect them. Also, some of them were not appropriate to the high and spiritual features of Turks and thus, they were censured. Furthermore, on the radios and at People's Houses, the selection of folk songs had to be done carefully. They had to be selected, restored and given back to people.

In some examples, the implementation of the aesthetic criterion on the folk songs was aimed at. And thus, some folk melodies were regarded as nonsense or unnecessary:

...Thousands of *manis* have been collected. Among them, there are so many that do not convey any value of idea and emotion that it is essential to seek for its reason in the ease of their pronunciation and their structure in verse. As well as the lack of idea and emotion, the deprivation of any technique is very explicit in these collected *manis* since folk literature is very convenient to the technical fastidiousness, which is the primary element of real art. These *manis* have lost their nobility and departed from their identity (Okan, 1938: 14) [30].



And thus, he added that the folk songs were collected, selected and then published by them. Likewise, Ergenekonlu claimed that he collected folk songs and once again published them (1944: 17).

In other words, some folk songs were regarded as lacking technique (Can, 1940: 10 and, 22); therefore, these folk songs were not given (Can, 1940: 11 and 47). Furthermore, according to Can:

Although there are Enes from Mapavri, Zilkif, and Kahyaoğlu, they are not written in this book since no literal value is seen in their works. Those who can not find their names in this book should rather seek deficiency in themselves. I did not see the necessity to write those whose thoughts were vulgar and writings had no literal value (1940: 63 and 101) [31].

Shortly, in this example folk melodies were examined according to the aesthetic criteria and some of them were eliminated. In fact, he added a melody to some pieces:

There are some additions to various parts of this epic poem. It was deformed while it was being orally transmitted, and such lines were corrected. Since the poet of this epic did not answer our question, the necessity to make additions emerged (1940: 63) [32].

On the other hand, folk songs were the products of oral cultures; they have remained alive in society and in the consciousness of people by being transferred orally. In this sense, the changes in folk melodies were very normal. Can, on the other hand, explicitly tried to correct this indispensable feature of the folk materials. Similar to Can, Atilla gave the words of an folk songs and said:

There are one or two more lines which are said to be as sequel of this folk song-lament, which is sung by a son-in-law. But, both as a result of lyricism in these six lines and as a result of the weakness in expression, I did not take them (1945: 276) [33].

He excluded some parts of the folk songs in order not to spoil the lyrical structure of the melodies and the weak expression in the excluded parts. He once again analysed the folk music from an aesthetic view. In the same vein, Toros claimed that he gave the words of an *aşık's* poet but he eliminated some parts of it without presenting any reason (1940: 8). Çelik also removed some pieces of an epic

poem of an *aşık* (1939: 14). Furthermore, Özbaş said that he had collected a lot of songs of an *aşık* but he wrote just some of them which were necessary! (1939: 56).

Some signs of this same comprehension can also be observed on the radios' and in the People's Houses' acts. Every folk song should not have been broadcasted to people on the radio; considering the originality of some folk songs, the *Yurttan Sesler* choir should have made a selection between the valuable and invaluable folk melodies (Radyo, 1947: 10). Furthermore, in the People's Houses, the folk songs to be sung in a choir should have been elaborated carefully. Those folk songs that had some erotic words should have been cancelled to provide people with a pure and clean life (CHP, 1946: 11). In this sense, some collections of folk melodies were sent to the People's Republican Party as a report (Muğla, 1938: 14).

To sum up, folk songs were largely strived to be analyzed by some aesthetic criterion during the Early Republican Period. In addition to the technical structure of producing the songs, a meaningful arrangements of the words were expected. Those folk melodies that were not compatible with this criterion were ignored, selected or cancelled out. Also, some genres of the folk songs were completely neglected due to their inappropriateness with pentatonic features. It was explicitly claimed that simple melodies would not be collected (Gazimihal, 1937b: 292 and 296). On the other hand, it was very absurd to search for integrity in terms of both melodical and lyrical structure. As Boratav claims:

...in folk songs no connection between opinions and unity of topic is necessary between the sections of a certain text; the paragraphs, and sometimes even the lines, are not connected with a tight link of meaning, but mechanically; they can be independent from each other in terms of the development of subject. Quite often, the narration is blur and incoherent; the order of narration is usually spoiled by exposure of unusual, unexpected opinions, observations or incidents; because of the lack of order and sequence of the narration which is logically incoherent, it is possible for the composer of the song to rearrange the paragraphs as he wishes, and because the composer usually behaves as such like the first singer of the folk song, the chain of events, which are barely felt with the vague signs inherent in them, may be inverted, and chronologically an event may be mentioned first, instead of last (2000c: 186) [34].

As a conclusion, if we follow Boratav, the elaboration of folk songs as being simple, and lacking technique and integrity in terms of meaningful expression, and selecting them by taking into account these criteria were not in conformity with their indispensable characteristics. The closeness of people gave the main characteristics of the folk songs but not their techniques. On the other hand, as Williams argues, aesthetics is highly related with modern age. Therefore, the analysis of folk melodies within such a framework was explicitly incompatible with the features of folk music. It was not meaningful to strive to apply the criteria of modern aesthetics to folk songs since, as Williams argues, the word aesthetics is the concept of the modern times (1976: 27-28).

#### **5.2.4. Some Narratives of Collection Acts**

The narratives of collection acts may give us some important details about either the quality of these collections or the behaviours and tactics<sup>138</sup> of people against these acts. In other words, these narratives are very meaningful since they show us the state and peasant relationship in its cultural dimension and, thus, the features of the hegemonical attempts of Kemalism.

In fact, the tactics of the reciters of the folk songs have largely affected the peculiarity of the material. These were realized against Kemalist cadres' acts in the collections since most of the collections were realized by state agents. To illustrate, they get the folk songs from two herders by means of a state official -a *Kaymakam* (Erdem, 1941: 20). In the same vein, in the İstanbul Conservatory collections of the folk songs, it was stated that the collection was realized by means of the governors of the province and teachers (Gazimihal, 1930: 4). Likewise, Bayçın claimed that he collected the melodies with the help of a teacher (1941: 9). Or, in another collection, the folk songs were gathered with the help of a gendarme commander (Arsunar, 1937: 5). Shortly, some state staff who were not trusted by peasants intervened in the collections.

Moreover, the collections were not realized at places which were the dwellings of folk melodies; welded man was called over or brought somewhere by

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<sup>138</sup> Here, I use the concept of tactics similar to Michel DeCerteau's conceptualization.

the force of the state. Therefore, this is another sign concerning the trustfulness of the collections. Saygun (1937: 12) criticized this method by claiming that in the collection tasks it was abnormal to bring the reciter from his/her abode. In addition to this, in some other examples, the collectors do not go to the place where the folk songs originated; on the contrary, the reciters were taken to the People's Houses or somewhere else<sup>139</sup>. In other words, the acts were performed in some artificial way since the folk materials should have been collected in their original places. Thus, the accuracy of the materials, it can be said, were initially spoiled. For example, Aşkun invited an *aşık* to the cities to collect the poems:

He came in with a timid behaviour. I shook his calloused hands. And I showed him a place to sit. He did not want to sit, I insisted. He was from the village of *Mescit of Kangal*. He had apparently come upon the invitation of a teacher *Eflatun Bey*. But, he did not understand why he was invited. Really? What would the masters have to do with him, he is merely a *meydan*<sup>140</sup> poet. His poems are sung in the village coffeehouses and the listeners are peasants. We tried to make him sing (1940: 342-343) [35].

This *aşık* asked Aşkun why they did not come to his village. If they had wanted to understand the peasants and be close to them, they would have come to his village and meet with the peasants<sup>141</sup> (1940: 346). Similarly, Sarısözen claimed that the man who sang folk songs were taken to the Elazığ People's House by the force of gendarme (Quoted from Elçi, 1997: 28). As another example, Sarısözen claimed that the reciters of folk songs waited for the collection committee at the Tunceli People's House (1944b: 6). Likewise, in Bartok's trip to Adana, the committee could not give legal permission to go to the villages at first. But then, they were called to the governor's office and told that the reciters were brought there by the gendarme (Yürür, 2000: 65). Therefore, some folk song collections were not realized in the places of origin. Or, they were not made within the daily life of people. On the other

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<sup>139</sup> It is interesting to note that an *aşık* goes to Sivas People's House and wants to give his poems but nobody pays any attention to him (Aşkun, 1940: 349). On the other hand, one of the most vital tasks of the People's Houses is to search for the folk materials!

<sup>140</sup> A kind of square

<sup>141</sup> These trips are organized with the aims of teaching the peasants instead of understanding their problems, as mentioned above.

hand, the reasons underlying the existence of folk songs were completely connected with people's daily life.

In this sense, the reciters used some tactics in these collection acts since they were very distrustful and doubtful in these acts as confessed by Pamirli (1943: 10). For example, Can claimed that some *aşıks* did not respond to his questions since they were not content with their names being printed in his book (1940: 2). Similarly, a reciter who was taken to the People's Houses escaped:

We went to the *Elazığ* People's House. The windows of the People's House were low, and during a break given to the collection acts to rest in one of the rooms on first floor, when cigarettes were smoked and coffee was being drunk, the resource man escaped, probably as a result of his distress, by jumping out of the window by making use of the discussion the collection commission had indulged in because the period of hard work; it was no time for any special occasion; besides, this resource man was brought by the force of gendarme; of course he will escape! (Sarısözen quoted from Elçi, 1997: 28) [36].

In addition to the problems of the place where the collection was tried to be made, the reciters did not seem willing to give the folk melodies since they were brought by the force of state apparatuses. Therefore, in conformity with Erdoğan's (1999/2000) argument on the tactics of the subaltern in the Ottoman Empire, they tried to apply some tactics; for example, they escape! As another example, the reciters hid some information from the collectors<sup>142</sup>. Tuğrul stated that especially the elder ones either kept some information secret or revealed them but by changing them. In addition to this, women, who had many folklore materials compared to men, did not want to give any songs to the collectors<sup>143</sup> (1945: 10). Besides, some women wanted their folk songs back owing to the fact that they hearkened that the voice of the woman who gave the folk songs to the collectors would be heard in the

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<sup>142</sup> This anecdote is very meaningful and explicatory to display the peasants' distrustfulness to the state apparatuses:

After we left, there was a dialogue in one of the villages where we realized the collection as follows; - Look here, they might be police agents! -Nay, they are all acquaintances -You should actually fear acquaintances. If we do not know them, what will they have to benefit from us? We foolishly grumbled near them; we disguised whatever asset we possessed (Tuğrul, 1945: 10) [38].

<sup>143</sup> Bela Bartok also tried to gather the folk songs from women. However, he was able to find only two women who were reciters of the folk songs (Bartok, 1991: 48).

gramaphones. On the one hand, they tried to get some songs from women, and on the other hand, when a woman gave a folk melody, this was regarded by collectors to be invaluable (Tuğrul, 1945: 10-11). Similarly, in a village trip the peasants claimed that there was no reciter of the folk songs in their village. But then they added that there were some reciters but it was hard to find them (Türk Akdeniz, 1939: 13). Once again, they seemed reluctant to give the folk songs. Similar to Tuğrul's experience, in Bartok's trip to Adana, the reciter who was brought to the governor's office changed the words of the songs:

The gendarme sergeant is ordered: Quick, you have to find all those who play the *saz* and sing folk songs and bring them to the Governor. The gendarme goes to the villages in pursuit of the men who sing folk songs; there is *Ahmet*, *Mehmet*. While a man is working in his fields, he sees that a gendarme is coming with his arm at his back. Are you *Mehmet*, the son of *Ahmet*? Okay, go, directly to the Governor. Of course, either the son of the man is deserter or he did not pay his tax, etc. We are caught, he says, we are finished this time, our end has come. They take them. Neither the gendarme knows why they are being taken nor the man nor the gendarme sergeant. On foot they walk quite a long way, on the hilly roads of Adana's towns, and arrive at the center, and they pass them over to the police. [the folk artist] said: 'The gendarme caught me in this way, and we came and sang the folk songs to you.' In fact, apparently he had sung it differently from how he knew it to be. When we asked why he had sung it that way, he said, 'Well, what is my business. You brought me with the gendarme, and I sang for you by mixing two different folk songs (Yürür, 2000: 65-66) [37].

In short, in addition to the tactics of the reciters, these narratives showed that the materials were compiled in an unhealthy way due to both the above mentioned tactics and the methods of the collectors.

In addition to these problems concerning some methodological problems, some other narratives once again led to some doubts about the trustfulness of the materials. For example, Saygun compiled a melody but not directly from its source. A man listened to it from a woman and then Saygun took it from that man (1937: 30). Similarly, Aşkun gave an example of the folk songs but once again he did not directly take them from their sources:

I do not know the composition of this. It is already a peasant folk song. And I collected it from one of my kins who has many contacts with peasants. Of course, they know its composition (1940: 212) [39].

Likewise, Aşkun did not write the words of a song directly, but afterwards he forgot it and then tried to write it! (1942: 8). In the same vein, Nezihi collected the poems of Sümmani in the following way:

...I saw a man named *Zekeriya Çavuş*, who had written a *koşma* and was bringing it after class in order to show the neatness of his writing. When I asked where he had found it, he said, 'teacher, I know many of them.' After that day, I did not leave *Zekeriya Çavuş* alone. And almost every day, I called him over after class and tried to make note of what he knew. He uttered the lines inaccurately most of the time, and could not remember them. Then, I would make another two people who were there from the same part of the country repeat as well; I corrected some by finding a closeness and according to the sequence of the words. And thus this is how this research took place (1934: 3) [40].

Another methodological problem that may raise doubts on the authentic characters of the folk songs emerges in the collection made from *cönks*<sup>144</sup>. In other words, some folk songs of *aşiks* were collected from written sources and presented as folk songs. On the other hand, as Burke suggests, the mediator has to be noted in these acts; that is, the writers who wrote the *aşık* poems to the *cönks* may have censored, polished and improved them (1976: 76).

These narratives concerning folk songs are important since they demonstrate the tactics of the reciters of the folk songs. They did not give the words, change the words or escape from the collectors! In this sense, these narratives gave significant clues to the implementation and the success of the populism principle of the Early Republican Period. Furthermore, it was understood from these narratives that most of the collections were not trustworthy. It can be claimed that some of the collections of the folk songs were tried to be realized randomly, and thus, this was another reason why the material lacked trustworthiness.

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<sup>144</sup> The manuscript collection of the folk poems

### 5.3. Conclusion

The works on folk songs during the Early Republican Period were tried to be realized within the framework of the dominant ideological paradigms of that time period. Folk music was accepted as a part of the ‘noble’ culture of Turks and thus it would be the source of modern national music. The ambiguity of the Kemalist conception of nationalism and populism can explicitly be seen in this issue. On the one hand, the folk songs which were in a profound ‘sleep’ as Anderson argues were the pure, uncontaminated and the real music of Turkish people; on the other hand, they were a sign of the obsolete nature of the Turkish society, therefore, they should have been synthesized with the developed western techniques. Moreover, on the one hand the elements of polyphonic music and harmonization existed in the Turkish folk music, but on the other hand, they should have been polyphonized. In addition, on the one hand, the folk melodies reflected the lofty and spiritual features of the Turks, but on the other hand, they should have been selected and purified in both stages of vocalization and performance. These lists can be expanded. As well as the problematic sides of the Kemalist folklore and folk music acts of selecting, purifying, elaborating and developing the folklore materials with techniques that were alien to the essential features of the folklore, the analysis of folklore-folk music as the reflection of the pure, noble soul and culture of Turks were also problematic since neither people nor folklore materials had such attributions. Rather, as Gramsci argues, people and folklore have unelaborated and fragmentary characteristics. In other words, Kemalists either totally exalted the folk consciousness/knowledge or completely neglected it; however the folk consciousness/knowledge can not be analyzed within this framework since it reflects all aspects of folk life.

On the other hand, the deeds on folk music were made randomly and most of the works were confessed as being unsuccessful. Besides, it can be said that there was no definite method pursued in these works. For example, in 1933 Salcı argued that the folklore studies had been made without any plan (1934: 6). Also, Pamirli in 1943 said that folklore studies seemed to lack a definite plan:

Therefore, most of the works which were collected were far from possessing a scientific character and they remained to be the products of haphazard works (1943: 8) [41].



He also complained about some of the interpretations made on folk songs (1940: 7). Similarly, in 1945 Tuğrul claimed that the collections were not trustful due to the lack of method (1945: 3)<sup>145</sup>. In fact, some figures supported Bartok's method employed in these studies (Gazimihal, 1937a: 135-136-137-138 and 1937b: 292-293 and 296) and some others found this method as inappropriate for Turkish folk music (Salcı, 1935a: 8 and 1938: 115). In this sense, some collections of the folk melodies were highly criticized (Görktan, 1946: 355 and 1947: 391-392). Furthermore, the vocalizations and broadcasts of the folk songs on radios were denounced (Aşkun, 1940: 84). In sum, as Başgöz (1986: 291-292) and Ataman (1949a: 4-5) claim, the collections of folk music were realized without any method. More importantly, as they argue, serious interferences of the collectors can be observed in these collections.

On the other hand, these interventions must be considered within the framework of the dominant ideological paradigms of that time period. In addition to the collections, the situation of the folk songs at the People's Houses and those broadcasted on the radio can be grasped within these frameworks. However, a more important problem that exists at this point is that, in addition to the methodological problems, both the collections and performances of the folk songs of the Early Republican Period were not appropriate with the features of the folk music. For example, some melodic restorations were applied both in the collection acts and in the performances in the People's Houses or radios. Furthermore, the lyrical structure considered as being deficient by Kemalist cadres was rearranged or some words were abolished. Some folk songs were completely eliminated on account of the techniques they lacked. In other words, folk songs were completely distorted during the Early Republican Period. The principle of populism-nationalism was the main determinant in these acts rather than any musicologic research. In these collections, the voice of subaltern, which can be seen in the folklore materials, was lost since the collectors 'spoke' in these collections not the people. Besides, there was an effort to make it a part of high culture; that is, its connections with folk life was tried to be cut off.

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<sup>145</sup> For examples of these haphazard collections, refer to Leblebicioğlu, 1945: 1597; Ünsal, 1945: 1599-1603; Ertekin, 1939: 430-432; Leblebici, 1939: 433-435; Leblebici, 1938: 21-24; AYTEKİN, 1936a: 23 and AYTEKİN, 1936b: 24-25.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

In this study, I have analysed the Kemalist views and works on the Turkish folk music of the Early Republican Period with respect to the dominant ideological paradigms of that time.

I have briefly examined that the Turkish folk music was highly elaborated, modified and transformed by the Kemalist cadres. In order to create a national homogenised language, the local dialects and accents within the folk songs were tried to be purified. In other words, the local characteristic of the folk music in terms of its lyrical structure was neglected by the Kemalist folklore acts. In addition to this, the improper examples of the folk songs, such as those that had some obscure words or did not have an organized narrative structure were eliminated or modified since the Turkish folk songs would express the noble and pure soul of Turks. In other words, the examples which were not consistent with the high characteristics of Turks were eliminated or modified. In a brochure of the People's Houses, it was explicitly stated that the improper examples of the folk songs would not be taught to people. Furthermore, some notational modifications can be seen in the folk music acts. The acts of singing and playing folk songs by a choir was not in conformity with the preliminary features of the folk songs. The melodies were so transformed that people blamed the radios by claiming that their folk songs did not definitely resemble those broadcasted on the radio programmes. Also, it can be concluded that these practices destroyed the special aura in terms of both the auditors and singers of the folk music as, for example, the folk songs have always undergone change with each different interpretation with respect to their melodic and lyrical structure. On the other hand, the acts of choir and notes standardized the folk songs; they began to be played and sung with only slight variations. In conclusion, the folk music was highly distorted

by the Kemalist music reformers during that period. It can be said that, the folk materials were totally exposed to the interventions of Kemalism during Early republican Period and these interventions can clearly be seen in the wroughts on the folk music.

The music policies as part of cultural attempts during the Early Republican Period can be analysed within the framework of the nationalism and populism principle of Kemalism. In this sense, one can say that although there were many inconsistencies, the main direction of the music policies was a kind of East-West synthesis. This synthesis was tried to be realized in a way that the new music would be composed by using folk music since that was the real music of Turkish people and that of Western music. The folk music was polyphonic music – modern and civilized. On the other hand, the Ottoman Classic Music, which was taken from the Byzantines or Arabs, was regarded as the music of the Palace and, thus, it was an unfamiliar type of music for the Turkish people. In this sense, Kemalist cadres tried to eradicate this music from the consciousness, history and traditions of people. Similar to Simon Bolivar's words<sup>146</sup> in the famous novel of Gabriel Garcia Marquez, *General In His Labyrinth*, for Kemalists the exclusion of the Ottoman Classical Music would be enough for the gleam of sun on Turkish music once again. However, the folk songs which remained pure among the villages and prevailed among the peasants would be elaborated by the Western techniques, and the new national modern music would be taught to the Turkish people in order to help them reach a certain level of civilization. Folk songs, on the one hand, were accepted as being deficient and in need of elaboration, and, on the other hand, they were found to signify the high pleasure of Turks. In other words, as Eagleton argues (2005: 73-74) while nationalism presents itself as universal, it does not neglect the local elements, rather it loads a new meaning to them.

When examined, it can be seen that the Kemalist populism included a pedagogic and performative dimension. According to this double narration, although people are referred to as an empty sign, it was found to be loaded with the high characters of national identity. Likewise, on the one hand, they saw folk music as the real, modern music of Turks, on the other hand, they tried to transform it completely. The modern Turkish citizens would teach their modern folk songs from Kemalist

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<sup>146</sup> "Behold, my departure was sufficient for the gleam of sun once again." (Marquez, 1992: 68) [1]

elites. In sum, the cultural arena including music was seen from an educative perspective, and it was thought that a tradition could be changed or transformed by means of the decrees or rules of the state. In this sense, their opinions on music were shaped by their nationalist-populist comprehension rather than any musicologic research. On the other hand, it can be claimed that the music policies during that period has failed in success, their position on music was not comprehended by the most of people. In sum, the music policies of the Early Republican Period were not successful for that period; in fact, they were gradually abandoned after mid 1940s.

Within this context, it can be claimed that the opinions of the Kemalist cadres were inconsistent with the essential features of folk music. Folk songs were regarded as the real music of Turks; they reflected the noble, pure soul of Turks. Since the national soul and characteristics of Turks were not immoral and spoiled, their folk songs could not include defective or immoral elements. It is explicit that the essentialist nationalist comprehension of Kemalism reflected on their opinions about the folk music. They tried to awake some things which were in a deep sleep. On the other hand, these exalted characteristics are the products of the experience people had in life. Kemalists neglected the main constituent elements of folklore.

In addition to this, folk songs were analysed by the Kemalist cadres from the aesthetic perspective. This outlook resembles the Arnoldian framework which analysis the cultural forms as the reflection of excellency and delicacy (Eagleton, 2005: 43). Although the word 'asthetic' was a highly modern concept, the Kemalists did not refrain from applying it to the folk music of pre-modern times. For example, they defined the folk songs which lacked techniques as deficient or lose its essential characteristics or valueless in terms of the music policies. Furthermore, they considered folk music as being completely distinct from the Ottoman Classic Music. On the other hand, it is a fact that, although very limited, there is a mutual relationship between folk music and the Ottoman Classic Music; they had a historical impact upon each other. In sum, the Kemalist views on the features of folk music are not valid in terms of their indispensable features.

Another point to be mentioned is that, according to the Kemalist cadres, the Turkish folk songs already had some polyphonic elements. On the one hand, the polyphonization of the folk songs, which was the main aim of the music policies, was highly emphasized by the Kemalist cadres, and, on the other hand, it was

assumed that a kind of polyphony existed in the Turkish folk music. In fact, the pentatonic music, which was the initial step in the emergence of polyphonic music, had been the main element of the Turkish folk music and the pentatonic, and thus, polyphonic music spread all over the world via the migrations of Turks from Central Asia. This assumption is highly related with the Kemalist nationalist comprehension, which asserted that the elements of modern and civilized life was initially found by Turks, and thus, the modernization of Turks meant some kind of a return to the roots; in other words, the polyphonization of the folk music was the return of this music to its origin. However, the problem is not merely the assumption of the existence of the pentatonic or the polyphonic melodies in the Turkish folk songs. The problem is the observation and elimination of folk songs considering the criteria of the Western music. In this sense, as mentioned above, the opinions of the Kemalist cadres were the repercussions of their ideological paradigms but not of any musicologic research.

The lack of any method and the existence of inconsistencies are other important points regarding the folklore acts during the Early Republican Period. The first point is so explicit that it was even admitted by the Kemalist cadres themselves. On the other hand, one of the important reasons of the lack of method was the existence of the inconsistencies among the Kemalist cadres. For example, some argued that the folk songs would be collected from people who had no contact with the cities and from the region where the effects of the city life were not seen. But, this attitude neglected one of the most indispensable future of the folk music artists who had travelled abundantly from one city to another as a result of the *aşık* tradition. However, some argued that the collections that have been made were not worthy since they did not include the mysterious part of the Turkish folk music. Furthermore, some collected folk songs from the *cönks* and presented them as samples of folk songs. In fact, some did not even go to the places where the collection could be made, but invited the people who were considered the source of folk music to collect the folk music. The list can be expanded. In conclusion, it can be said that the Kemalist folk music acts were loaded with the lack of method and consistency. This is another important reason underlying the disorganization of the folk song materials in Turkey.

The music policies of the Kemalist regime is highly vital to understand the features of the main characteristics of Kemalism. Through these policies the

weakness of the Kemalist aims to a modern society can clearly be seen. In this sense, it can be said that these policies could not create a national will among people. On the other hand, the Kemalist music policies and the folk music acts as part of these policies still perpetuate their effects today. In other words, although they became unsuccessful, if we take into consideration the periods in which these policies were enforced and if the whole period of the Turkish Republic is taken into account, they are still dominating in a way the debates and issues that have occurred in cultural, social or political life. It can be claimed that the main ideological paradigms and the cultural policies of the Early Republican Period seem highly hegemonic in the modern life of Turkish people. In spite of its inconsistencies and unsuccessful in its period, Kemalism refers to the most serious efforts to transform the Turkish society completely. Thus, the other attempts to modernize the society tried to show their historical roots in the discourse of Kemalism. It means the discourse of Kemalism is highly hegemonic in the Turkish political, cultural and social life.

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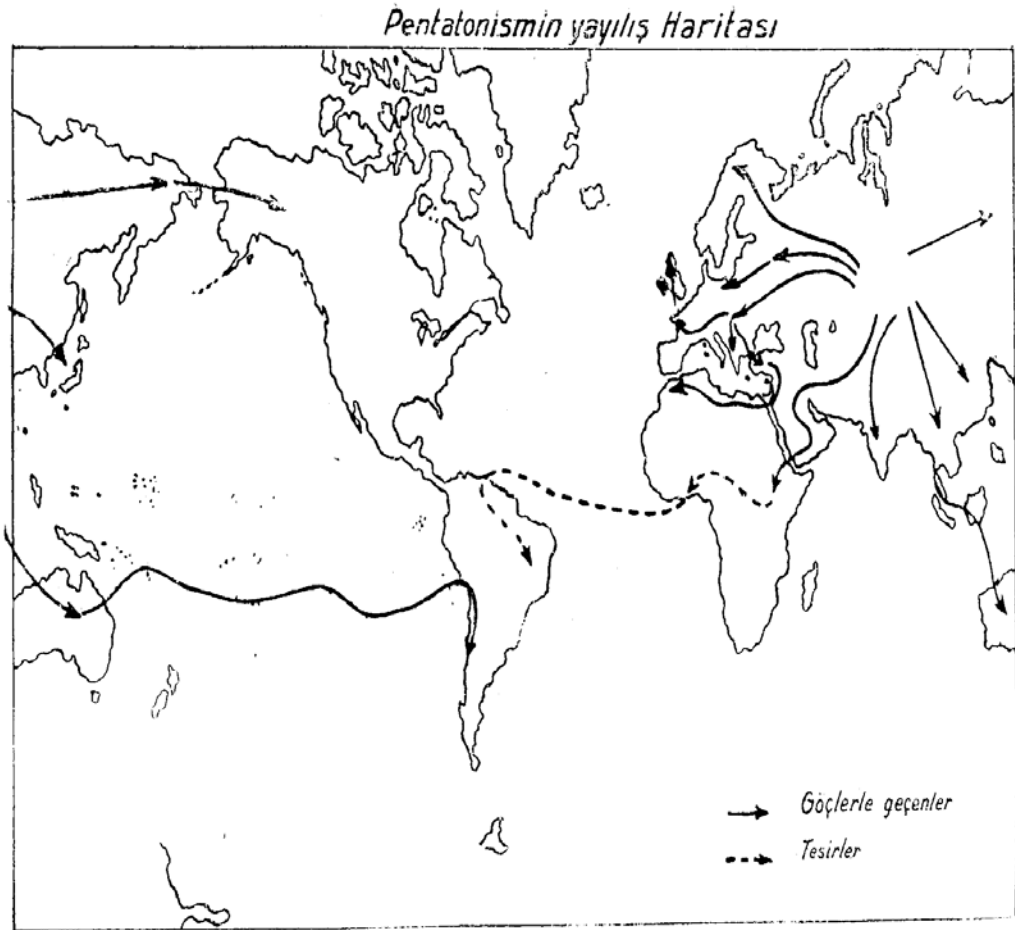
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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A

#### THE MAP OF DISSEMINATION OF PENTATONISM FROM CENTRAL ASIA



Source: Saygun, A. Adnan. (1936a) *Türk Halk Musikisinde Pentatonizm*. İstanbul: Numune Matbaası, p. 10.

## APPENDIX B

### THE NUMBER OF COLLECTED FOLK SONGS IN TERMS OF THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN 1937-1949

	1937	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
ADANA		52			72								
AFYON		53											
AMASYA							150						
ANKARA									283				
ANTAKYA										148			
ANTALYA						86				29			
AYDIN		57											
BALIKESİR		66											
BİNGÖL								34					
BOLU												121	
BURDUR						79							
BURSA		1									137		
ÇANAKKALE											70		
ÇORUM			248										
DENİZLİ		35											
DİYARBAKIR		24											
EDİRNE											69		
ELAZIĞ		27						93					
ERZINCAN	59												
ERZURUM	220												
ESKİŞEHİR													95
GAZİANTEP		71											
GİRESUN							112						
GÜMÜŞHANE	24												
İSPARTA						150							
İÇEL										41			
İSPARTA				11									
İZMİR		86											
KASTAMONU												183	
KAYSERİ					201								
KIRKLARELİ											63		
KİRŞEHİR									70				
KONYA				506									
KÜTAHYA	28	73											
MALATYA	108	19											
MANİSA		148											
MARAŞ		116			33								
MUĞLA						111							
MUŞ								90					
NİĞDE					115								
ORDU							104						
RİZE	124												
SAMSUN	1						133						
SİNOP												35	
SİVAS	70												
TEKİRDAĞ											146		
TOKAT	3						205						
TRABZON	177						46						
TUNCELİ								116					
URFA		110											
YOZGAT									89				
ZONGULDAK												62	

**THE NUMBER OF COLLECTED FOLK SONGS IN TERMS OF THE  
YEARS (1937-1949)**

YEAR	NUMBER
1925	161
1926	250
1927	250
1928	200
1929	300
1937	814
1938	942
1939	248
1940	517
1941	421
1942	426
1943	750
1944	334
1945	442
1946	218
1947	487
1948	401
1949	95

Sources: Elçi, A. Coşkun. (1997) *Muzaffer Sarısözen: Hayatı, Eserleri ve Çalışmaları*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

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## APPENDIX C

### THE ORIGINALS OF TRANSLATIONS IN CHAPTER 2

[1] “Sade milliyetçilik türk vatanının sınırı içinde dil birliği, kültür birliği ile mazi hatıralarına ve gelecek zamanın emellerine bağlılıkta birleşme yapar.”

[2] “Fırkamız, vatandaşların, Türkün derin tarihini bilmesine fevkalade önem verir. Bu bilgi Türkün kabiliyet ve kudretini nefesine itimat hislerini ve milli varlık için zarar verecek her cereyan önünde yıkılmaz mukavemetini besliyen mukaddes bir cevherdir.”

[3] “Kafasını ve vicdanını, en son terakki şuleleriyle güneşlendirmeye karar vermiş olan, bugünün Türk çocukları, biliyor ve bildirecektir ki, onlar, 400 çadırli bir aşiretten değil, onbinlerce yıllık, Ari, medeni, yüksek bir ırktan gelen, yüksek kabiliyetli bir millettir.”

[4] “Biz Türküz ve Avrupalıyız.”

[5] “Nihayet insanlık tarihi 20. yüzyıla açılırken, yeryüzünü kaplayan geniş Türk yığınlarının batı parçası, her yönden gülünç, zayıf ve karmakarışık hale gelmiş olan ve kendisin terkip eden cüzler arasında bir bağlılık kalmayan Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun durgunluğu içinde uyuyordu. Bereket versin ki, en büyük imha vasıtaları, ve en ezici hadiselerle bile bozulması mümkün olmayan tek bir şey, Türk kanı, bütün bu gürültüler içinde temiz kalmıştı. Batı Türkleri bu çöküntü içinde kanının arılığını korudu ve sakladı.”

[6] “Dilimizi bir batağa sapladık.”

[7] “Dağıldıktan sonra dostum Abdülkadir yanıma geldi. Kendisi bir defa demişti ki; Ben Asya Türklerinin çoğunun lehçelerini biliyorum. Sizin ve Yakup Kadri’lerin lehçesini de anlıyorum. Benim aklımın ermediği bir lehçe varsa o da Türk Dil Kurumu’nun lehçesi.”

[8] “Cahil saydığımız, bir şey bilmez dediğimiz köylülerimiz, Türkün yaradılışında olan temiz ve keskin duygusuyla her şeyi seziyor, anlıyordu.”

[9] “Terbiye her türlü hurafeli ve yabancı fikirlere uzak, üstün milli ve vatanperver olmalıdır.”

[10] “Herhangi bir köyden birisi köyünde bağ dikmiş üzümünü yemiş, o birisi meyve dikmiş yemişinden faydalanmış, o birisi toprağına göre buğday ve emsali hububat ekmiş kazanmış olduğunu görünce diğerleri o noktaya koşuyorlar. Fakat bu zaman kaybetmeğe sebep oluyor... Bilhassa bizim köylülerimiz görgüye çok muhtaç bulunuyorlar.”

[11] “...Efendi, köylünün sağığı ve zenginliğı için söylediklerinizi anlıyorum. Fakat köylüye anlatamıyorum. Ben şimdi sizin geldiğınızı söyleyerek köylüyü bu meydana toplayacağım. (Muhtarın kendi başına köylüyü toplamakta güçlük çektiğı bu sözden anlaşılır).”

## APPENDIX D

### THE ORIGINALS OF TRANSLATIONS IN CHAPTER 3

[1] “*Bektaşî* musikisi bu açıdan çok tipik bir özellik gösterir. *Bektaşî* nefeslerinin günümüze ulaşan örneklerinde, klasik zevkle halk musikisi zevki arasında son derecede ilgi çekici bir kaynaşma görülür.”

[2] “İlk saray musikicileri arasında sayılan kopuz saz çalan sazendeler, saraydaki Türk halk geleneğinin temsilcileri olarak görülebilir. Bunlar saz şairlerinin ozan (kopuz-ı ozan) dedikleri çalgıyı çalıyorlardı.”

[3] “Klasik Osmanlı bestekarlarının türkü, koşma, semai, destan formundaki folklorik bestelerine karşılık, çoğunun bir tarikat bağlantısı olan halk şairleri de tekke edebiyatı ürünlerini ortaya koydukları klasik divanlar yazmışlardır.”

[4] “Evvel be evvel musikimizi islah etmeli. Çünkü bundan beş altı asır evvel Avrupa muzikasında olduğu gibi bizim muzikamız hala ünison yani hep bir perdeden icra olunur bir muzikadır. Armoni henüz girmemiştir.”

[5] “...Glinka'nın mübeşşirlik ettiği Rus musiki mektebi , Musorgski'siyle, Borodin'iyle, ve Korsakof ile karşımıza çıkıyor. Bu, koskoca bir Rus aleminin o üç sanatkarda dile gelişidir; bu, halk sanatının yeni bir tezahürüdür.”

[6] “Tarih diyor ki bize: Medeniyet ırmağı\Brakisefal soyda buldu özlü kaynağı\Bu soy Asya'dan çıktı, dört bir yana yayıldı,\Bu tarih yükselişin başlangıcı sayıldı.\Avrupa, Anadolu, İran ve Orta Garpta\Medeniyete girdi, bakır, bu büyük soyla.”

[7] “-Garp musikiciliği bugünkü haline gelinceye kadar, ne kadar zamanlar geçti? – Dört yüz sene kadar geçti. –Bizim bu kadar zamanı beklemeğe vaktimiz yoktur. Bunun için, garp musikiciliğini almakta olduğumuzu görüyorsunuz.”

[8] “Atatürk'ün direktifi üzerine bir müddet sonra (1934'de) Maarif Vekili Abidin Özmen, sekiz müzisyen olarak bizleri (Cevat Memduh Altar, Halil Bedii Yönetken, Hasan Ferit Alnar, Necil Kazım Akses, Ulvi Cemal Erkin, Nurullah Şevket Taşkıran

Cezmi ve beni) Ankara’da kongreye toplamıştı. Toplantı açılıp nazikane nutukların teatisinden sonra, Maarif Vekili sevimli şivesiyle bizlere ‘Ey hadi bakalım, musiki inkılabı yapacakmışız, bunu nasıl yapacağız?’ demesi üzerine kongrede bir şaşkınlık havası esmeye başladı. Toplantı dört saat kadar devam etti. Arada sırada Maarif Vekilini telefona çağırıyorlardı. Son telefonda sonra Abidin Özmen heyecanla bizlere ‘Paşa Çankaya’dan bir kaçtır telefon ettiriyor. Musiki inkılabı ne yoldadır diye soruyor?’ dedi. Biz büsbütün şaşkına döndük. Ne karar alınacağını bir türlü kestiremiyorduk.”

[9] “Güzel sanatların hepsinde, ulus gençliğinin ne türlü iletilmesini istediğinizi bilirim. Bu yapılmaktadır. Ancak bana kalırsa bunda en çabuk, en önde götürülmesi gerekli olan, Türk musikisidir. Bir ulusun yeni değişikliğinde ölçü, musikide değişikliği alabilmesi kavrayabilmesidir. Bugün acuna dinletmeye yeltenilen musiki bizim değildir. Onun için o, yüz ağartacak değerde olmaktan çok uzaktır. Bunu açıkça bilmeliyiz. Ulusal, ince duyguları, düşünceleri anlatan yüksek deyişleri, söyleyişleri toplamak, onları birgün önce, genel son musiki kurallarına göre işlemek gerektir.”

[10] “Ne yazık ki, benim sözlerimi yanlış anladılar, şu okunan ne güzel bir eser, ben zevkle dinledim, sizler de öyle. Ama bir Avrupalıya bu eseri, böyle okuyup da bir zevk vermeğe imkan var mı? Ben demek istedim ki bizim seve seve dinlediğimiz Türk bestelerini, onlara da dinletmek çaresi bulunsun, onların tekniği, onların ilmi ile, onların sazları, onların orkestraları ile, çaresi her ne ise. Biz de Türk musikisini milletlerarası bir sanat haline getirelim dedim. Türkün nağmelerini kaldırıp atalım, sadece garp milletlerinin hazırdan musikisini alıp kendimize maledelim, yalnız onları dinleyelim demedim, yanlış anladılar sözümü, ortalığı öyle bir velveleye verdiler ki, ben de bir daha lafını edemez oldum.”

[11] “Bela Bartok, bir halk musikisi arşivi kurulmasının, Türk musikisi bakımından olduğu kadar beynelminel noktai nazardan da pek arzuya şayan olduğunu söyledikten sonra arşivin gayesini şöyle tesbit etmektedir: a) Köylü musikisini yerinde ve mahallinde yani bizzat köylerde, mekanik cihazlarla plaklara almak ve bunları muhafaza etmek. b) Alınan parçaları mümkün olduğu kadar tam olarak notaya geçirmek. c) Bu malzemeyi sistematik bir tarzda tanzim etmek. d) Bu sistematik şekilde tanzim edilen malzemeyi neşretmek.”

[12] “...bu gibi getirtişler katıyken yabancı musiki göçmenlerinin aramıza sükün etmeleri gibi bir hal almamalı, ve gelen iyi artistlerin kontratlarına hangi işler için getirilmişlerse o işler dışında hususi angajmanlar almamalarına dair sıkı maddeler konulmalıdır.”

[13] “İlmi usullerle derlenen halk musikisine ait eserlerin tasnifi ve fişlerinin tanzimi, halk musikisine ait yerli ve yabancı neşriyattan mürekkep bir kütüphane tanzimi, halk oyunlarının ve oyun kıyafetlerinin fotoğraf ve filmle tesbiti, halk sazlarının muhtelif nevilerine ve halk kıyafetlerine ait kolleksiyonun tanzimi, halk musikisine ait neşriyat yapılması.”

[14] “Son zamanlarda gençlerimizi hastalık halinde saran ve çabuk yayılan caz müziğinin yüksek ve istenen müzik gibi göstermekten kaçınmalıdır. Bu gibi müziği dinlemek için değil de ancak danslı toplantılarda çalınmasına müsaade edilmelidir. Bu kötü müzikle şiddetle mücadele etmek lazımdır.”

[15] “Alaturka müziği gündün güne öldürüyorlar. Eskiden radyoda yüzde 40 alaturka musiki varken, bugün 20-22’ye indirildi. Türk musikisinin yerine alafranga musikiyi ikame etmeğe çalışıyor ve adeta bizi zimnen istiskal ediyorlar.”

[16] “Osmanlı musikisi Türkiye Cumhuriyetindeki büyük inkılabları terennüm edecek kudrette değildir. Bize yeni bir musiki lazımdır ve bu musiki, özünü halk musikisinden alan çok sesli bir musiki olacaktır. İtiyad dediğiniz şeye gelince, sizin Osmanlı musikinizi Anadolu köylüsü dinler mi? Dinlemiş mi? Onda o musikinin itiyadı yoktur.”

[17] “Bir millet çok şeyde inkılap yapabilir ve bunların hepsinde de muvaffak olabilir; fakat, musiki inkılabıdır ki, milletin yüksek gelişiminin işaretidir.”



## APPENDIX E

### THE ORIGINALS OF TRANSLATION IN CHAPTER 4

[1] “Türk halk musikisinin iki büyük kaynaktan beslendiği görülür: 1-Aşıklar, 2-Türkü yakıcılar. Bu iki grup halk sanatçıları, çeşitli eski ezgilerden, akıllarında kalanları, bilmeyerek, bir başka söz altında birleştirmek suretiyle yeni yeni türkülerin meydana gelmesine sebep olurlar. Bu işi yaparken daha önceden bilinen kuralları uygulamayı düşünemezler, uygulayamazlar. Zira, nazari müzik bilgileri yoktur. İçgüdü ile yaparlar bu işi. Aşıklardan bir çoğu eskiden yaşamış büyük ozanların deyişlerini, yetiştikleri yörenin müziği ile söylerler.”

[2] “Aşık şiirini değişik kültürel etkiler biçimlendirmiştir. Anadolu derviş edebiyatının etkisi vardır, Asya Şamanlığının etkisi vardır, kent edebiyatının etkisi vardır. Bütün bunların sentezidir. Aşık şiirinin ana teması olan aşıkta klasik edebiyatında etkisi vardır.”

[3] “Tamamıyla halkın malı olmaları bunların en mühim vasıflarıdır. Bunlar menşelerinde, her eser ferdi olsalar bile, çok geçmeden, sadece kendilerini ilk meydana getiren adam unutulduğu için değil, halkın içinde dolaşırken boyuna yeni meçhul sanatkarların elinde şekil ve mevzu değiştirdikleri için de bu ferdiliklerini kaybeden eserlerdir. Kaldı ki bu türlü eserlerden bir kısmında bu menşedeki ferdilik de en az ölçüdedir: Mesela, bir köyde her hangibir vaka üzerine türkü yakan adam, o zamana kadar duyduğu türkülerdeki bir takım hazır kalıpları, zemin ve zamana göre icabeden değişiklikleri yaptıktan sonra terkibetmek suretiyle yeni bir türkü meydana getirilmiş olur.”

[4] “Topluluklarda ya da alt kültürlerde, yani müziğin yazılmadığı yerlerde, şarkıcı, kemancı veya gaydacı, ezgileri aklında notaları ile tutmuyor, işini doğaçlama yapıyordu. Öte yandan, tamamen istediği gibi doğaçtan çalıp söyleyemez, bir izlek üzerine çeşitlemeler yapardı. Temel ezgiye süslemeler veya fazladan notalar ekler, kaydırmalarla, dönüşlerle, iki notayı ardarda vurmalarla ezgiyi süsler veya ritimde ya

da ses perdesinde önemsiz deęişiklikler yaparlardı. Dolayısıyla halk ezgileri bir çeşitlilik, yani deęişke bolluęuna uğradı. Doğru bir yorum yoktur, çünkü ezgiler yazılmadıęı, notaya dökülmedięi sürece doğru yorum fikri anlamsızdır. Sözlü gelenekte ezgiler sadece deęişkeleriyle varolur...”

[5] “Aşık şiirinde olduęu gibi halk türküsünde de düşünce bağlantısı ve konu birlięi aranmaz; bentler, kimi zaman dizeler bile birbirine içten, sıkı bir anlam baęı ile deęil, mekanik bir şekilde baęlanmışlardır; konunun gelişmesi bakımından da birbirinden baęımsız olabilirler... bu türkülerde anlatı çoęu kez tutarsız ve bulanıktır; alışılmadık, beklenmedik düşüncelerle gözlemler ya da olaylar ortaya sürülerek anlatı düzeni sık sık bozulur; mantıęa uygun bir anlatı düzeni ve sırası bulunmadıęı için türkücünün bentleri keyfinin istedięi gibi sıralaması mümkündür ve türküyü söyleyen gibi ilk yakan da çoęu kez böyle davrandıęı için, belli belirsiz izler sayesinde sezilen olaylar zincirinin tersine çevrildięi, zaman bakımından sonra söylenmesi gereken bir olayın başta söylendięi olur.”

[6] [Folklorde] mantık mümkündür ama zorunlu deęildir. Anlatının sanatsal mantıęı nedensel düşüncenin mantıęıyla uyuşmaz. Birincil olan neden deęil eylemdir” (Propp, 1998: 45).

[7] “Halk müzięi dedięimiz, zaman içinde devamlı kendini yenileyen ve deęiştiren, yörelere, kişilere ve kullanılan sazlara göre farklı tavır, üslup ve tekniklerle karşımıza çıkan, alabildięine kompleks ve derin bir müzik...”

[8] “Hasılı bu maniler umumiyetle güzeldir, orijinaldir, ekseriyetle çok spiritüeldir. Gayet şairane olanları, içtimai dertleri, halkın daimi şikayetlerini terennüm edenleri vardır.”

[9] “Halk müzięimizin deęeri çok büyüktür. Onlar aynı ses cümlelerinden örülerek meydana gelen basit türküler deęil, çeşitli seslerle süslenmiş başlıbaşına bir şaheser olan zevkine doyulmaz kıymetli melodilerdir. Beste ile manile ve hareketler arasında manayı tamamlayan kuvvetli unsurlar vardır.”

[10] “Halk müzięinde sözel yapı, müzięe göre önde görünür. Geleneksel yaşantısı içinde halk sorunlarını ve yaşamını sözel yolla melodik biçimde anlatır.”

[11] “Bu türküleri niçin topladıęımızda gelince: Şüphesizki musiki devrimimizin temelini halkımızın ulusal benlięinden kopan türkülerimiz, zeybeklerimiz ve ukusal oyun havalarımız temsil edecektir. Bizde bu ülküye faydalı olabilmek için

muhitimizde işittiğimiz bu türküleri not edip böyle bir kitapçık halinde toplamayı kendimize bir vazife bildik.”

[12] “Kuvvetini, orijinalitesini medrese ilimlerinden ve tasavvuftan alan şekilci, kaideci divan şairleri hiç bir zaman büyük Türk halkının ruhuna tercüman olamamışlardır. Bu edebiyatta cemiyete bakış olmadığı gibi tabiat ve tabiiilik te yok denecek kadar sönüktür. Ve divan şairi en objektif tasvirlerde bile kendi görüş ve maksadına esir olmaktan kurtulamamıştır. Halbuki halk şairlerinin sesi, her beşeri ve tabii konuda en ilahi nağmelerle çınlamış ve gönülleri ebedi fusununda tutmak kudretini daima muhafaza etmiştir.”

[13] “Elazizin bu güzel parçalarının -esasî kaybedilmemek şartıyla- Batı musikisi tekniğine uygun şekilde armonize edilip meydana getirilmesi de, programımız arasındadır.”

[14] “Halkevleri milli gelenekleri çatıları altında devam ettirmekle önemli bir iş yapıyor, halk kendini buluyor, öz benliğine ve neşesine kavuşuyor, bu suretle, müzik ve oyun geleneklerinin devamı, milli eğitim ve birliğin sağlanmasına yarıyor. Halkevlerinin görevi sadece geleneği korumak ve onu devam ettirmekten ibaret değildir. Halkevleri aynı zamanda halkı, mensup bulunduğumuz medeniyet çerçevesi içinde yükseltmek, ona ileriye doğru adımlar attırmakla da görevlidir. Bu bir eğitim işidir ki onda da hareket noktamız gene gelenek olacaktır. Halk kendini çekmeyen ezgiye ve oyuna ilgi ve sevgi besleyemez, yeni aşının tutması için onun, aşılacak bünyeye uygun gelmesi ve maharetle yapılması lazımdır.”

[15] “...Bu ezgi, Türk halk müziğinin en orijinal ezgilerinden biridir, her kavalcı onu bilir ve çalar. Besteci elinde bu ezgiden dünyanın en özel senfonik şiirlerinden biri meydana gelebilir.”

[16] Mistik sanatın ezgisiyle bunalıncaya kadar içimize büküldük. Şıkıltıların şıkırtılarıyla da yeterince keyfettik. Artık, ileri bir görüş ve coşkunlukla büyük sanat idealine doğru da yol almak zorunda bulunuyoruz; gençliğin bu yolda beslemeye başladığı inanı anlamamız lazımdır. Eski ağırbaşlı mistik seslerden iradeli ve heybetli adagiolar, şakrak oyun ritmlerinden şen ve gürbüz vivaceler çıkarabildiğimiz gün Türk sanat ruhu yepyeni estetik kadrolar dairesinde dirilip canlanmış olacaktır.”

[17] “Bucak’ta, Halkevinde bir halk sanatkarı sazıyla çalar, söylerken bir ara sazla ses arasında bir çeyrek ses kadar bir aralık oldu, salonda toplanmış olan yüzlerce insan birden yüzlerini buruşturdular, rahatsızlık alameti gösterdiler. Olay, halkımızın

müzik kulağı, duyuş, ve anlayış hesabına takdirle kayda değer milletimizin müziğe karşı gösterdiği duyguya dair müşahedelerimiz çoktur. Şu muhakkattır ki, Türk milleti müzisyen bir millettir. Sazların çeşitli düzenlerinde, makam ve ritm zenginliklerinde çeşitli oyunlarımızda gösterdiğimiz ileri, ince müzikalite, her türlü takdirin üstündedir. Avrupa’da milletler tanırız ki, böyle zengin bir folklorla, bu kadar ince bir müzik kültürüne sahip olmadıkları halde kendilerine müzisyen millet sıfatını vermişlerdir. Müzisyenliği gelip Türk halkında görmeli. Hele o aşiret çocukları... Onlara medeni kültür versek kimbilir ne büyük sanatkarlar elde ederiz.”

[18] “Pek azı müstesna olmak üzere, halk türkülerimiz, yapılarındaki incelik, ritimlerindeki güzellik ve küçük küçük cümlelerle ifadeye muvaffak oldukları muhteşem mana ve tesir bakımından ölçüye sığmaz birer sanat eserleridir.”

[19] “Bestekarın, yıldızlar fezasındaki muhayel sevgiliyi aramak hususunda kullandığı, engin boşluklara atılan nağmeler, gayri kabili taklittir.”

[20] “Bazılarının görüşüne göre halk türkeleri Ayşe veya Fatmadan bahseden bozuk kafiyeli gelişigüzel cümlelerdir. Fakat hakikatı araştırarak olursak bunun hiçte böyle olmadığını görürüz. Gerçi –ötedenberi kullanılan- bu gibi isimleri ihtiva eden birçok halk türkeleri vardır. Bunları gözden geçirdiğimiz zaman çoğunun lirik, bir kısmının sanat, bir kısmında müzik bakımından kuvvetli olduğunu görürüz. Bu vasıflardan en az birini haiz olmıyan türküler doğdukları yerde bir müddet söylendikten sonra unutulmuşlardır.”

[21] “Türkü yakanların hemen hepsinin gözettği birinci hedef maksadı iyi ifade etmektir. Bu hedefe ulaşabilmek için vezin ve kafiyeye endişesine düşüpte maksattan uzaklaşmazlar. İşte bunun içindir ki türkülerin ekserisinde yarım kafiye görülür. Bazan üç ye bazan da dört manalı kıtalar olduğu gibi bazan da ikinci mısraın vezni birinci mısraya uymayabilir. Fakat buna rağmen kuvvetli manalar taşırlar.”

[22] “...bu manilerin kailleri bilgisiz köy delikanlıları, cahil kadınlar ve genç kızlar olduğu için bunlarda vezin ve kafiye aramak bittabi hatalı olur sanırım.”

[23] “Onun (Mesleki) kırpık ve iptidai lisanından yükselen Perişan inilti, kalem şairlerinin muhayyel sevgililer için inleyen rübablarının nağmelerinden daha munis, daha cana yakın ve müessirdir.”

[24] “Son yıllarda milli edebiyatın dağınık ve gayrimektup mahsullerini toplama için çalışmalarda binlerce mani derlendi. Bunlar içinde hiçbir fikir ve duygu kıymetine tekabül etmiyenleri o kadar mebzuldur ki bunun sebebini nazım şeklindeki yapılaş ve

söyleniş kolaylığında aramak muafik olur. Halk edebiyatı hakiki sanat için ön safta tutulan teknik titizliğine çok müsamehakar olduğundan bu derlenen manilerin çoğundaki fikir ve duygu yokluğunun yanı başında teknik fukaralığında en aşık haliyle mevcuttur. Bunlar asaletini kaybetmiş, hüviyetlerinden uzaklaşmış manilerdir.”

[25] “Seyahatim esnasında tesaduf ettiğim kemencecilerin aletlerinin akordunu bozup, dikkatini başka yere çektikten ve bu suretle kulak hafızasını zayıflattıktan sonra yeniden akord etmesini teklif, benim için çok şayanı dikkat bir tecrübe oldu. Bu suretle, biraz önce muayyen bir irtifada çalan ve teganni eden bir adamın nisbeten kısa bir zaman sonra evvelkinden daha kalın veya ince akord ettiği bir sazla hiç yadırgamaksızın ve bu ses değişikliğinden tamamen bihaber olarak aynı türkülerini icra ettiğini tesbit ettim.”

[26] “Köy düğünleri basit şekildedir. Davul, Zurna, Saz (Bağlama) dan başka bir çalgı bulunmaz. Köy halkı arasında bir kaval hatta bir düdük dahi çalan tek adam yoktur. Hatta milli şarkı söyleyende yok denebilir.”

[27] “Bu türküler, halk ruhundaki estetik unsurların gösterisi ve mayamızın hayat, aşk, tabiat ve insan karşısındaki duygu ve düşüncelerinin. Bize, her sesin, her kelimenin tadında bir şeyler aramak, bir şeyler bulmak gerekir. Bunlarda, kötü, çirkin, zararlı, hatta yaramaz bir taraf olabileceğini hatıra getirmek, halk ruhunda duyuş ve düşünüş sakatlığı vehmetmek demektir. Kalabalığın, herhangi bir an içinde, müspet ve bilhassa menfi tesirlere çok elverişli olabileceği fikrini, halk ruhunun asırlar, devirler geçire geçire kazandığı duyuş ve düşünüş salabeti yerine koymıyalım. Uzun bir sosyal yaşayış içinde birike birike bir hacim ve süzüle süzüle bir öz elde eden halk ruhu, -atasözleri gibi- bütün anonim ürünlerinde bu hacim ve özünü tamamen taşımaktadır... Radyo’daki bazı türküler, iki edebiyat mensubu arasında bir münakaşa mevzuu oldu. Bir taraf, bunların, halktaki kahramanlık duygularını besliyeceğini; öteki taraf ise, bunun aksine, halk ruhunda şakilik ve haydutluk duyguları yaratacağını söyledi. Birisi ne kadar müspet ise diğeri o kadar menfi bir düşünüştür... Halkın bir çocuk gibi yanlış anlayacağını söylemek ise, ilkönce çocuk, sonra da halk psikolojisini hesaba katmamak demektir. Çocuk ta halk ta aldanmaz.”

[28] “Sevgili Ayşenin çayıra iner inmez güzel yüzünün parlaklığının bayırlara vurmuş olmasını söylemek kolay kolay söylenecek ve bulunacak benzetmelerden değildir.”

[29] “Çünkü varlığımızı kökünden inceleyerek içinde sivrilmiş bütün aykırı ve yabancı pürüzleri yerli yerince bulup ayıklamaktadırlar.”

[30] “Evvelce Stravinski’nin Petruşka adlı eserinde tanıdığım bir melodiyi, Artvin taraflarında türkü derlerken, o havalinin sazı olan tulum zurnadan hemen aynen işitince hayret etmiştim. Acaba bu oyun melodisi önce radyoda çalınıp bu mevzu üzerinde radyoda konuşma yapıldıktan ve Stravinski’nin eseri anlatıldıktan sonra Petruşka çalınsa halk bunu yadırgar mı? Ben hiç sanmıyorum.”

[31] “Halkın musiki seviyesini yükseltmek vazifesini de üstüne almış olan Halkevlerinde, halka verilecek eser üstünde de bilhassa titiz davranmak icabeder. Hatta, bu husus için bir program yapmak ve onu, neticelerini daima kontrol etmek şartıyla dikkatle tatbik etmek daha doğru olur.”

[32] “Halkevlerinde halk ezgilerini gençlere öğretirken bazen bu ezgiler arasında seçme yapmak zarureti hasıl olur. Bu türkülerin evlerde daima hem ezgi, hem ezgi hem sözleri bakımından nezih olanlarını seçmek ve yaymak gerektir. Açık saçık sözlü ezgilerin gençler arasında, Halkevlerinde yayılması doğru olmaz...Uygunsuz sözleri kaldırmak lazımdır. Halkevi halkın evidir ama, o ev, nezih bir aile yuvası karakterini taşıyan bir evdir...Halkevlerinde halkımız hakiki manasıyla bir bedii ve artistik hayat yaşayacaktır. Bedii hayat temiz, disiplinli bir dekor ve hava içinde yaşanır.”

[33] “Müşterek taganni tarzı Anadolu’nun diğer taraflarında mevcut değildir. Şayanı dikkattir ki, belki dini tesirlerin, içtimai şeraitin icabı olarak Anadolu köylüsü beraberce taganniden zevk almamıştır. Beraber taganni tabiriyle birkaç sesli taganniyi kasetmiyoruz. Tek sesle fakat birkaç kişi birden bir türküyü okumak adeti dahi Anadolu’da mevcut değildir diyebiliriz. Gerçi bir toplulukta bazen bir kişi taganni ederken ona diğerlerinin de iltihakı vaki’dir. Ancak bu tesadüfi bir mahiyet arzeder ve Rize havalisinde rastladığımız neviden, yani bir usulle mukayyed olmayıp, heyecan saikasıyla gelişi güzel yapılmış bir iştirakden ibaret kalır.”

[34] “[Halkevlerinde] Halk musikisi de Halk oyunları da yalnız ve yalnız halk sazları ile icra olunur. Türkülerimizin ud, tanbur, ve bazı nevicat sazlarla çalınması katiyen doğru olmadığı gibi, oyunlarımızın bu neviden sazların refakatinde icrası da katiyen

dođru deđildir. Saf haldeki halk türküleri ancak halk sazlarıyla söylenebilir...Netice olarak diyeceđim ki bu sazların Halkevlerine girmeleri dođru deđildir. Ancak klasik Türk musikisinin hakkıyla icraya muktedir bir heyetin Halkevinde bu eski kıymetli eserlerimizi icra etmelerinin de aleyhinde deđilim, fakat bu hey'etlerin merkezde mutahassis bir musikişinas tarafından tayin edilmesi ve Genel Sekreterliđin buna istinaden müsaadesi alınmak şartıyla..."

[35] "Halkevleri musiki mesai ve müsamerelerinde beynelmilel modern musiki ile milli türkülerimiz esas tutulacak ve beynelmilel musiki teknik ve aletleri kullanılacaktır. Yeni musikide gayemiz, modern ve beynelmilel musikiyi (ve teganni tarzını) esas tutmak ve bunu tatbik ve temin etmektir."

[36] "Bazılarınca, sadece ham bir folklor maddesi telakki edilen halk türkülerinin öyleleri vardır ki, Türk musikisi örneđi olarak milletlerarası piyasaya göđsümüzü gere gere çıkarabiliriz: öylesine ince öylesine orijinal tema ve motiflerle bezenmiştir."

[37] Baş bar 9 zamanlı ağır bir dans, (Temirađa) çift vuruşlu, çeşitli varyantları olan ve pentatonik karakter gösteren bir oyundur. Daldalan, beş vuruşlu, bir küçük yedili içinde dolaşan gene pentatonik bir çatı gösteren... bir oyundur."

[38] "Mesela pentatonik ezgilere Uzak Dođu, İskoçya ve Amerika İnkaları gibi en aykırı topraklarda rasgelineşinin son zamanlarda tarihten önceki insan ve ırk göçleriyle ilişkili hadiselerden görülebilir olmasına karşılık, sistemlerin ırkların zeka derekeleri ile ilişkili görülmesi nazariyesi büsbütün ölmüştür: artık, çeyrek sesleri Brakisefal ırkın eser ve icadıdır gibi isbatsız bir faraziyeyi diriltmeđe çabalıyamıyacağız. Çünkü, sistem tonal, günümüzün görüşünce, çağlara, vasıtalara ve yeni yeni ihtiyaçlara göre tedricen deđiştirilmesi bile mümkün, ve asırlar ortasında çok defa istihalelere uğramış teknik bir alet, bir çeşit ses paleti olmaktan başka bir şey deđildir."

[39] "...Musikimizin millet unsurlarımız arasındaki yerini ise duygu birliđinden başka yurt birliđinde, dil birliđinde, tarih birliđinde, ölkü birliđinde de bulabiliyoruz... Tarih birliđinde musikimiz ise duygu birliđi ile beraber Türklük tarihi ile yaşıttır...Tarih tezimize göre nasıl Türkün ana yurdu Asya ise Türk musikisinin ana kaynađı da Asyadır."

[40] "...en deđerli olan çalgı budur; çünkü, reciterinin sayısı tamam beştir: üstünde çıkarılacak havalar ister istemez beş sesli –yani pentafon- idi."

[41] “Pentatonizmin bugün Türk illerinin çoğunda neden dolayı azalmış olduğunu anlamak için peşin onun biricik boğucusu ve düşmanı olan heptatonizmin bir din halinde nasıl doğup ne güçle içerlere doğru yayılmış olduğunu bilmek ister: bu yeni mezhebin üstadları, köylere sığınan halk sazlı şairlerinin el ve dilinde kalan o asırlık pentatonikleri hor, bozuk ve fena görür oluvermişlerdi: nazariyatçılar onların incelenmesine birer yaprakçık bile ayırmıyorlardı.”

[42] “Türk Musikisinde Pentatonism adlı eserimde ... koyduğum saf pentatonik örnekler Anadolu saf pentatonik musikisinin bakiyeleri olabilirse de bu husus tedkike muhtaçtır.”

[43] “Fakat bugün olduğu gibi halk şarkıları mazide de yalnız dedelerden kalma ananelerin muhafazasını gütmeyerek içtimai üst sınıfların taklidini de istihdaf ettiği için halkın her söyleyip çaldığına halk şarkısı demekten sakınmalıdır.”

[44] “Türkülerin deyişlerini ağır ağır söyleyip yazdıktan sonra bir de sesle söyletilirse arada çok az fark görülüyor. Türkücü aynı türküyü her söyleyişinde ya tertip itibariyle değişik söylüyor, yahut bazı ilaveler yapıyor. Bu hal uzun türkülerde ve hususiyle oyun havalarında çok oluyor.”

[45] “Bu yoldaki ezgileri bulmak için Anadolunun Konya gibi (klasik alaturka veya şehir mevlevi musikileriyle çok düşüp kalkmış) yerlerine gitmek boş yere yorulmak olurdu; Eğin, Erzincan gibi doğu yanlarındaki ortalara, veya İzmir illerine yakın dağ köylerine gitmek ister...”

[46] “Zira şehir ağzı onun samimi mısralarını bozabilir. Zaten o şehir şairi değildir. O, Anadolunun bitip tükenmek bilmiyen ovalarının, birbirine yaslanıp uzanan dağlarının, sonu gelmez ayrılığın acı sızlatıcı hasret ve gurbet duygularının engin ve coşkun bir aşığıdır. O, bunları söyler bunları çalar. Onu şehirliler bilmiyecekmiş varsın bilmesin.”

[47] “Şehirle temasını sık yapan köylerimizde, toplanacak malzeme daha az emniyete layıktır. Köy içinde ve civarında yaşayan oymaklar (Türkmen, Yörük, Afşar, Abdal, Çingene boyları gibi) varsa bunlarla dost olmak faydalıdır. Yalnız bunların kendi öz bilgileri ile, gezdikleri yerden edindikleri bilgileri ayırt etmelidir.”

[48] “Kır İsmail, Haruniye kazasının Düziçi-Peçenek yöresindeki Tabaklar (yahut Tabaklarköy?) köyünün yerlisi; ama o sırada rastlantı sonucu Osmaniye’deydi. Sadece çalgısını yanında taşımasından dolayı değil, verdiği iki ezginin karmaşık yapısından dolayı da, basit bir köy şarkıcısından çok, gezici, meslekten bir saz şairine



benziyordu. Kır İsmail, köy türküleri için, on bir heceli ezgilerin icracıları kadar güvenilir bir kaynak sayılamaz.”

[49] “Şu halde, tek bir köylünün hariçten bilhassa şehirden öğrenerek getirdiğini bildiğimiz veyahut tahmin ettiğimiz” melodisini toplamıyacağız.... Çok defa harcalem olan basit melodileri bile toplamıya lüzum yoktur.”

[50] “Köylerde yetişmiş şairlerin birçoğu da bu kasaba-şehir şairlerinin vasıflarını taşırlar. Halk şairliği-aşıklık, aynı zamanda seyyahlık demek olduğu için, köylü aşık, çok defa hayatının büyük bir kısmını gurbet diyarda, yetiştiği köy muhitinin dışında geçiriyordu. Halk şairlerinin büyük bir kısmında bu gurbete çıkış bir hikayeye bağlanır. Şair rüyasında gördüğü maşukasını (sevgilisini) aramaya çıkar. Bu gurbet hayatı, birçok hallerde şairin bütün köylü hususiyetlerini yok etmiştir.”

[51] “Bilindiği gibi, paralel beşliler ve dörtlüler, sanat tarihinin kaydedebildiği ilk çok seslilik şeklidir. Musiki tarihleri bunu böylece yazıyor. Yazıyor ama bugün ortaya koyduğumuz bu kuvvetli belgelerin bir eşini de gösteremiyor ve sadece bu çeşit çok sesliliğin ilk nerede, ne zaman başladığının henüz belirtilememiş olduğunu işaret etmekle iktifa ediyor. Halbuki biz, folklor yolu ile, dedelerimizin zamanımıza kadar ulaştırdığı belgelere dayanarak, bugün hayran olduğumuz çok sesli Avrupa musikisinin başlangıçlarındaki büyük hissemiz elimizle kendi tarihimize yazmış bulunuyoruz. Bu belgeler, başkalarıyla çürütülmedikçe bu böyle kalacaktır.”

[52] “Sadece yurt içinde değil, yurt dışı folklor aleminde de heyecan uyandıracak kadar önemli birer belge olan bu iki sesli orijinaler, Tunceli'nin Pertek kazasında Süleyman Kaya ve İsmail Oğuz'dan plağa tesbit edilmiştir. Heyetçe Pertek'e vardığımız zaman, Halkevinde toplanarak bizi bekleyen halk sanatçıları arasında iki kemane ve bir bağlamanın katılmasıyla sözleri Pertek'e ait bir parça okunuyordu. Türkünün kulağımıza çarpan sesleri bizi hayrete düşürdü. Çünkü çalınan ve söylenen türkü tek sesli değil, düzgünce söylenen iki sesli bir parça idi. Kemane çalanlarla onlara sazsız olarak katılan bir okuyucu, esas türküyü, bağlamacı da paralel beşliler halinde yürüyen ikinci sesi söylüyordu... Orada bulunan Pertekli halkın, türküye ikinci bir sesin katılmasından çıkan başkalığı hiç yadırgamadan adeta vect içinde dinlemeleri dikkati çeken bir olaydı. Çalanların, söyleyenlerin bu tabii hallerinden açıkça anlaşılıyordu ki bu bölge halkı bu tarzda havalar dinlemeye alıştı... Bu türkülere Tunceli gibi belli sebepler altında yüzyıllarca çevresinden ilgisi kesilmiş bir

bölgede rastlanmış olması bunların folklor bakımından önemini bir kat daha arttırmaktadır.”

[53] “Halk müziğimiz de uzun veya kırık havalarda saz ve kemane refakatlari çok seslilik bakımından son derece dikkate değer. Türk halkının, Türk halk sanatkarlarının çok sesliliğe hatta disonanslara olan hayret ve sempatisi takdire layıktır. Türk köylüsü çoksesli polifonik bir müzik zevki içindedir. Şehirli halk, sırf müzikal yönden köylüden geridedir. Köylümüz şehirlimizden daha ileri bir polifonik müzik kültürüne sahip bulunmaktadır.”

[54] “Netice itibarile halk musikisinin gizli kısmından elimizde hiçbir şey yoktur. Halbuki tetkik olunacak ve türkün hakiki musikisini olduğu gibi gösterip meydana çıkaracak kısım bu kısımdır. Bu nevi musiki de, asırlardan beri gizli kalmış bu musikide, ilmin çok ziyade göz önünde tuttuğu (armoni tarihi) ne ait büyük hakikatler vardır. Bugünkü ilim dünyası (armonisi olmayan bir milletin musikisi kendisile beraber iptidaidir) diyor. Bu gizli kısmın araştırılışı esnasında bizi bu suçtan kurtaracak musiki parçaları da bulunmuştur ve bulunacaktır. Biz, ferdi olarak yaptığımız tetkiklerde iki ve üç sesli musiki ilminin (Kanon) dediği şekle ait çok mühim öztürk musikisi parçalarına rastladık.”

[55] “Sadi Yaver Ataman’ın, halk türkülerinde kanon yaptırarak veya bir ses uzatılırken ikincisinin muayyen müzik cümlelerini tekrarlaması iki seslilik sayılabilirse de halktan doğan bir öge olmadığından, delil olamaz.”

[56] “Mahalli şive ile konuşan ve türkü söyleyen halk musikîşinasının, sazı ile icra ettiği melodiler için olduğu gibi, teganni ettiği kelimeleri de aynen tesbit etmek lazım geldiğine göre bu husus için de bir işaret kabulü zaruri idi. Güfteleri yazmak için bundan evvel kullanmış olduğum işaretleri burada tekrar ele aldım ve bazı ilavelerle kullandım.”

[57] “Halk türkülerini mahallilikten kurtarıp bütün Türk milletine mal etmek, Radyonun şerefli hizmetleri arasında yer alır.... Milli Birliğin en canlı vasıfları dil ve zevk birliği olduğuna göre, şimdiye kadar mahalli kalmış halk türkülerinin bütün millete mal edilişindeki mana büyüktür.”

[58] “Şimdi bu türküde dil bakımından ne melezlik var? Pürüzlük bile yok. Bu günün bile temiz türkçesi değil mi?”

[59] “Çirkin ağızla bir kadının göbeğini memelerini veya bir mahbubun uçkur, çakşırından, bahseden duygusuz şairlere ne demeli?”

[60] “Birkaç türkü temiz bir surette hazırlandıktan sonra bir konferans veya başka bir vesile ile halk davet edilerek dinleyiciler huzurunda koro da teganni edilir.”

[61] “Trabzon ve havalisi manilerinin enteresan bir tarafı da –ekserisinin- fazla açık, saçık söylenmeleridir.”

[62] “Rizeliler tamamen Türkçe konuşurlar. Merkez ilde Lazca bilen tek bir kişi yoktur. Yalnız Pazar ilçesi ve mülhakatı Lazca biliyorsa da bu dil yerini gün geçtikçe Türkçeye bırakmaktadır. Yeni nesil ulusal terbiye ile yetişiyor... Şehir halkının, okuyanların dili düzgün ve kusursuzdur. Yeni yetişenler, bilhassa kızlar mahalli şivenin tesirinden kurtulmuşlardır. İlin dil durumu gün geçtikçe düzelmektedir.”

[63] “...Türkleştirme politikasının paralelinde Türkiye’de yaşanan çeşitli etnik gruplara ait türküler –bu ilk dönemde yapılanların bir kısmının etnik kimliği belirtilmiş, ancak (halen dahi) yayınlanmamıştır- ya yok sayılıyor ya da Türkçe sözlerle (çoğunun da içeriği değiştirilerek uydurma sözlerle) yayınlanıyordu...Aslı Kürtçe, Lazca, Rumca, Çerkesçe, Ermenice vs. olan türküler Türkçeleştiriliyor/Türkleştiriliyordu.”

[64] “Son çağlara kadar köylü sözleri diye hiçbir değer verilmeyen Halk edebiyatı Türk Edebiyatının en zengin ve göz kamaştırıcı bir tarafıdır.”

## APPENDIX F

### THE ORIGINALS OF TRANSLATIONS IN CHAPTER 5

[1] “Memleketin muhtelif köşelerine mektuplar göndererek türkülerin tesbitini rici ve peyderpey gelenleri tashih ederek neşretme.”

[2] “Bu çalışma tarzının yanlışlığını müşahede ederek bir heyet halinde seyahate çıkma, ve türküleri yazma; bu mesai de ikiye ayrılıyor: Fonografla tesbit etme; doğrudan doğruya yazma.”

[3] “Buna rağmen toplamış olduğum bine yakın türkü için fonograf kullanmadığımı yazmalıyım. Fakat bu, bir cihaza malik olmayışından münbaistir.”

[4] “Şube, halk arasında hele köylerde ve oymaklarda söylenen halk türkülerinin notaları ile sözlerini tesbite ve bunları asıllarına hanel gelmemek şartıyla tamime çalışır. Halk türküleri ancak kendi ağızlarıyla ve kendi sazlarıyla icra edilebilir ki, bu sazlar da: cura, bağlama, bozok, meydan sazı, kabak, Black Sea kemençesi, davul, zurna, kaval, darbuka, çifte nara gibi halk sazlarıdır. Halk türkülerine: Keman, ut, cümbüş, kanun, ney vs. sazlar refakat edemez.”

[5] “Dergi çıkaran her Halkevi, dergisinden diğer Halkevlerine birer, Ülkü dergisine bir sayı ve Parti Genel Sekreterliğine de iki nüsha gönderir.”

[6] “Bütün halkın milli marşları ve mahalli şarkıları öğrenmesine yardım etmek, ve bunların milli gösteri günleri ile Halkevleri müsamerelerinde kadın erkek hep bir ağızdan söylenmelerini sağlamaya çalışmak en başta gelen işlerdendir.”

[7] “Halkevleri Müzik çalışmalarında esas, milli ruhun derinliklerinde zengin bir hazine olarak yaşamakta bulunan halk türkülerimizi Garp tekniği ile işleyerek müstakbel kompozitörler için, sadakat ve itina ile toplamak ve saklamakla beraber yeni Türk müziği bir taraftan vücut bulmakta iken kulakları ve zevkleri çoksesli müziğe alıştırmak ve ısındırmak; bunun içinde birçok fırsatlardan istifade ederek Garp müzik eserlerini bol bol dinletmektir.”

[8] “Radyodan resmi ideolojiyi tamim etmek, köylere kadar prensiplerimizi yaymak görevi beklenmektedir. Oysa Devletin, radyoyu ülke düzeyinde kültürel ve politik terbiye aracı olarak değerlendirmesine karşın, bu araçtan ciddi ve etkin bir biçimde yararlanma yoluna gidemediğini görüyoruz. Bunun birinci nedeni kuşkusuz vericilerin gücü, alıcı sayıları, alıcıların fiyatları, elektrifikasyonun yetersizliği vb. niceliksel etkenlerdir. Ancak siyasi iktidarın radyo ile geniş halk kitlelerine gerçek anlamda yönelmek istediğini ileri sürmek aynı şekilde olanaksızdır. Siyasi iktidarın böyle bir amacı olsaydı, örneğin halka ucuz alıcı sağlaması yolunda etkin önlemler alınırdı...radyonun etkin bir ideolojiyi yayma aracı olduğunu anlamışlar, Halkevlerini bu aygıtlarla donatmayı planlamışlar ama hiçbir zaman radyo alıcılarını çok pahalı olmaktan kurtaramamışlar, köylerin izbalarına radyoyu sokamamışlardır.”

[9] “Türk radyolarında halk müziği adı altında yayınlanan müzik bir iki sanatçının yerel ezgileri çalıp söylemelerinden ibaretti...Radyodaki halk müziği çalışmaları bu düzeydeyken, 1936 yılında başlatılan derleme çalışmaları kısa sürede önemli gelişmeler göstererek Maarif Vekaleti, Devlet Konservatuvarı ve radyo işbirliği ile büyük atılımlar gerçekleştirildi. Derleme çalışmalarına 1937 Ağustos’unda katılan Sivas Lisesi Müzik öğretmeni Muzaffer Sarısözen’in Devlet Konservatuvarı ve Ankara Radyosundaki çalışmaları, zengin bir halk müziği repertuarının oluşmasında etkili olmuştur.”

[10] “Halk musikimizin en güzel ve en doğru zabtedilmiş örneklerini bulmak için Maarif Vekilliği Devlet Konservatuvarının Folklor Arşivinde toplanmış malzemenin, bu malzemenin aslı ve esası bozulmadan güzelleştirilip mikrofon karşısına çıkacak şekilde öğretilmesi için de bu arşivin mütehassısı Folklorcu şefinden [Muzaffer Sarısözen] faydalanıyor.”

[11] “Radyo ve radyonun yurttan sesler saati bütün memlekete hitabettiği için bu türküler arasında esaslı ve titiz bir tercih yapmak, iyisini kötüsünden, doğrusunu yanlışından ayırmak mecburiyeti vardır. Hiç şüphesiz bu işlerin de yetkili uzmanlar tarafından yapılması lazımdır.”

[12] “Yurttan Sesler saatinin belli başlı amaçlarından biri de memleket sesleriyle kulaklarımızı doldurmak, yeni yetişecek olan bestecilere yurt seslerinden yeni ufuklar açmaktır.”

[13] “Folklor çalışmalarımız, şimdiye kadar başıboş bırakıldığı için, yalnız özel araştırmalarda değil, resmi derlemelerde bile güvenle tetkik edilebilecek malzemenin pek az olduğunu söylemek zarureti vardır.”

[14] “Türkülerin sanat musikisine nazaran makamları, seyirleri tayin ve onlara göre tagyir işaretleri ilave ediliyor. Makam itibariyle sabit bir rengi olmayan bazı şarkılara filan makamdandır demek mümkün olamayınca, şarkıların yalnız hangi şehirlerden geldiğinin tashih ve tahririle iktifa kılınıyor.”

[15] “Bir senedenberi geçen zaman isbat etti ki bize gelen notaların birçoğu kitabeti musiki kavaidine tamamiyle vakıf olmayan zevat tarafından yazılmış ve mesela 9\16 hesabıyla yazılması icabeden bir şarkının 5\8 ile yazılması gibi ehemmiyetli bazı hatalar bile yapılmıştır.”

[16] “Sadi Yaver Atamanın, halk türkülerinde kanon yaptırarak veya bir ses uzatılırken ikincisinin muayyen müzik cümlelerini tekrarlaması iki seslilik sayılabilirse de halktan doğan bir öge olmadığından delil olamaz.”

[17] “Yurttan Sesler yayınlarında çalınan türküler arasında memleketin çeşitli bölgelerinde söylenen bazı parçaları kısmen değişmiş, yahut –tabir caizse- restore edilmiş şekilde dinleyen bazı kimseler, alışık oldukları nağme ve temaların değişmiş olduğunu görünce, sinirleniyorlar; bu türkü böyle değildi, bunu bu hale sokan kim, halkın türküsü nasıl değiştirilebilir şeklinde itirazlarda bulunuyorlar.”

[18] “Sarisözen, Halk Müziğinde koma seslerini numaralayıp, otantik karakterin kaybolmasını önlemiştir. 1940’lı yıllardan önce koma sesleri halk müziğinde kullanılmamıştır... Türk halk müziğinde ise koma işaretleri yoktur, bilinmez. Bir ihtiyaç kendiliğinden doğar. Beş koma bemol koyulduğunda, sanatçı onu iki koma basar. Bu nasıl belli edilecek? Örneğin; halk türkülerini bilmiyen bir sanatçı, ordaki beş komayı basar; ancak türküdeki gerekli olan ses basılmamış olur. Biz ordaki koma nisbetini görünce sazımızın perdesini ona göre ayarlayarak basarız.”

[19] “Ankara radyosunda Sivas Folklorunu yaşatmak için eski türkülerini düzgün, yanlışsız okuyan bir bayan bulamadım. Mevcut saz ve söz ehlinin hepsi de hem ezgileri, hem de demeleri değiştirmişler.”

[20] “Ne yazık ki Yurttan Sesler programı, sentez siyasetlerinin, iyi niyetle de olsa, nasıl bir kültürel fakirleşmeye yol açabileceğine iyi bir örnek oluşturur. Sarisözen, toplanan yerel örnekleri yörelerine göre sınıflayıp notaya geçirirken, aşıkların geliştirdikleri kişisel tarzları yok sayar ve türküyü kendi kafasındaki ‘yöre’ göre

sınıflandırır. Kriter yedi coğrafi bölgedir ve ‘uymayan’ örnekler dışlanır. Dahası halk müziği icra geleneğinde olmayan, aşık tarafından tek sazla söylenen türkü, aynı ezgiyi çalan bir çok saz eşliğinde geniş bir koro tarafından ve bir şef yönetiminde sunulmaya başlanır. Böylece Batı müziğindeki koro ve çalgı eşliği halk müziğine uyarlanmış, neredeyse şef tarafından yönetilen bir orkestra etkisi sağlandığı düşünülmüştür. Ne niyetle olursa olsun bu derleme faaliyeti, halk müziğindeki geleneksel ‘aşık tarzının’ yok olmasının önemli nedenlerinden biri olmuştur.”

[21] “Derleme çalışmalarında notalama sistemi uygulanıyordu. Batılı on iki nota sistemine göre yapılan notalama sonucu halk müziğindeki komalı (çeyrek) sesler atıldı, bu sisteme uymayan sözler değiştirildi. Dolayısıyla halk müziğinin özelliğini, özgüllüğünü veren icradaki doğaçlama yapısı, söyleyişteki, saz düzenindeki yerel özellikler ortadan kalktı. Sonuçta, ‘Yurttan Sesler’ korosunun da katkılarıyla standart, yöreselden çok uzak, donuk bir icra biçimi ortaya çıktı.”

[22] “Bir çok derleyicilerin notalarını eserle karşılaştırdığımız zaman melodik hatalardan başka, üslup ve karakter bakımından affedilemeyecek ihmal ve bilgisizliklerle karşılaşırız. Bizde resmi araştırmalar dışında, kendi hesaplarına folklor araştırmaları yaparak, bunları yayınlayanlar olmuştur. Bu yayımlar, pek faydalı olmakla beraber, müzik folkloruna ait olanlar nota metinleri bakımından güvenle tetkik edilecek şekilde değildir. Nota denilen Standard yazı vasıtasının muayyen usullerine riayet etmeyen müzik araştırmacıları olduğu gibi, pek çoklarında derledikleri parçaları süslemek, düzeltmek gibi folklorda asla cevaz verilmeyecek müdahalelerle maddenin asli kıymetini giderdikleri görülmüştür.”

[23] “Güzel yazı ile, doğru imla ile yazılmış cönklerdekiyle; bir şiiri iki üç cönkte gördüklerimi ve Aşık Nuri üslubunu sezdiklerimi aldım. Şüphelendiklerimi bıraktım... Kırk beş-elli yıldanberi elden ele dolaşan Aşık Nurinin şiirlerinde bir çok kelime, mısra değişiklikleri olmuştur...bir iki cönkte benzeri bulunan şekli kabul ederek pek az fark gösterdim. Başkalarına ait olan sözlere dokunmadım. Geri kalanını öz Türkçe ile yazmaya çalıştım.”

[24] “Velhasıl, bu gün şuurla, elbirliğiyle girilen dil temizleme işinde, sanatkarın rolü büyük faydası sonsuzdur. Yarının, katıksız, nizamlı, güzel türkçesini yaratacak ve yaşatacak sanatkardır.”

[25] “Metinlere hiç dokunmadık; ancak müstehcen sayılabilecek iki mısraı kaldırıp yerlerini boş bıraktık.”

[26] “1941 yılında Halkevlerini teftiş eden Kemal Güngör, Ülkü dergisinde çıkan bir makalesinde Çorum ve Sivas halayları hakkında bazı yorumlar yapar. Buna göre, Güngör’ün Çorum yöresinden izlediği altı oyun arasında en çok Çorum halayı adlı oyun çok orijinal figürleri ihtiva etmekte, ve iğdeli gelin oyunu ihya edilmeğe değer çok güzel bir oyundur. Güngör, Hürürnü oyununu, bazı müstehcen figürleri ihtiva etmektedir diyerek hemen hemen bozulmuş bir oyun olarak değerlendirir.”

[27] “Sözgelimi bugün radyolarda okunan ‘Türkmen Kızı’ parçası ilk derlemelerde ‘Kürdün Kızı’ biçiminde geçer.”

[28] “İlk süreç, dilin Türkçeleştirilmesi olmuştur. Bu nedenle TRT arşivi kapılarını Doğu Karadeniz bölgesindeki Rum repertuarına ve bazıları tercüme halinde mevcut olsa bile Güneydoğu Anadolu’daki Kürt repertuarına kapatmıştır. Benzer bir şekilde, diyalekt olmayan yabancı kökenli sözcükler de mümkün oldukça Türkçe karşılıkları ile değiştirilmiştir.”

[29] “Bunlardan birincisi kız-oğlan tarafından diyalog şeklinde söylenen ve bir önlükü sebep ittihaz ederek, asıl motif olan sevgiyi canlandıran bir türküdür. Lakin son bentlerde türkü benliğini kaybederek başka bir mecraya dönüyor ve asıl ahengi kaybediyor...İkinci bir türkü bir ananın dilinden, ağıt lisanile söylenmiş ve aşığı İsmail tarafından vurulan Ayşe’nin hususiyetleri gayri muayyen bir sıra ile anlatılmıştır.”

[30] “...binlerce mani derlendi. Bunlar içinde hiçbir fikir ve duygu kıymetine tekabül etmeyenleri o kadar mebzuldur ki bunun sebebini nazım şeklindeki yapılış ve söyleniş kolaylığında aramak muafik olur. Halk edebiyatı hakiki sanat için ön safta tutulan teknik titizliğine çok müsemahakar olduğundan bu derlenen manilerin çoğundaki fikir ve duygu yokluğunun yanı başında teknik fukaralığında en aşık haliyle mevcuttur. Bunlar asaletini kaybetmiş, hüviyetlerinden uzaklaşmış manilerdir.”

[31] “Mapavrili Enes, Zilkif, Kahyaoğlu varsa da yazılarında edebi bir kıymet görülmediğinden kitaba geçirilmelerinde fayda görülmemiştir...Adlarını bu kitapta bulamayanlar noksanlığı daha ziyade kendilerinde arasinlar. Düşünceleri bayağı, yazıları edebi bir kıymet taşımayanları yazmakta fayda görmedim.”

[32] “Bu destanın bazı kısımlarına ilaveler olmuştur. Ağızdan ağza şifahi bir halde yaşarken asıl bozulmuş, bu gibi mısralar düzeltilmiştir. Şiirin sahibi sorumuza cevap vermediğinden bu zaruret hasıl oldu.”



[33] “Güveyinin ağzından söylenen bu türkü ağıta ait olduğu söylenen birkaç kıta daha var. Fakat gerek bu altı kıtadaki lirizm ve bağ ve gerekse ifadedeki zayıflık yüzünden bunları almadım.”

[34] “...halk türküsünde belli bir metnin bölümleri arasında düşünce bağlantısı ve konu birliği aranmaz; bentler, kimi zaman dizeler bile birbirine içten, sıkı bir anlam bağı ile değil, mekanik bir şekilde bağlanmışlardır; konunun gelişmesi bakımından da birbirinden bağımsız olabilirler...bu türkülerde anlatı çoğu kez tutarsız ve bulanıktır; alışılmadık, beklenmedik düşüncelerle gözlemler ya da olaylar ortaya sürülerek anlatı düzeni sık sık bozulur; mantığa uygun bir anlatı düzeni ve sırası bulunmadığı için türkücünün bentleri keyfinin istediği gibi sıralaması mümkündür, ve türküyü söyleyen gibi ilk yakan da çoğu kez böyle davrandığı için, belli belirsiz izler sayesinde sezilen olaylar zincirinin tersine çevrildiği, zaman bakımından sonra söylenmesi gereken bir olayın başta söylendiği olur.”

[35] “Çekingen bir tavırla geldi. Nasırlı elini sıktım. Ve yer gösterdim. Oturmak istemedi, ısrar ettim...Kangalın Mescit köyündenmiş. Muallim Eflatun Beyin daveti üzerine gelmiş. Fakat niçin çağrıldığını anlamamış, öyle ya! Efendilerin onunla ne işleri olabilir, o bir meydan şairidir. Onun şiirleri köy kahvelerinde okunur, dinleyiciler köylülerdir...Onu açmağa, söyletmeğe çalıştık!”

[36] “Elazığ Halkevine gittik. Halkevinin pencereleri alçak, birinci kat odalarının birinde derleme çalışmalarına dinlenme amacıyla ara verildiği bir sırada; kahve, sigara içilirken kaynak kişi bunalmış olacak ki, derleme heyetinin daldığı sohbet vakfesinden istifade ederek pencereden atlamak suretiyle kaçıyor. Çünkü, mevsim yoğun iş mevsimidir, düğün değil, bayram değildir; üstelik o kaynak kişi köyünden jandarma ile getirilmiştir, kaçır elbet!”

[37] “...Jandarma çavuşuna deniliyor ki ; Çabuk, çevrede ne kadar saz çalan, türkü söyleyen varsa bulacaksın ve Vali Bey’e getireceksin. Jandarma da köylere gidip türkü söyleyen kim var; Ahmet var, Mehmet var. Adam, tarlada çalışırken, bir de bakıyor, sırtında silahı, jandarma geliyor. Ahmet oğlu Mehmet?, Tamam, yürü Vali Bey’e. Adamcağızın, tabii, ya oğlu asker kaçağı, ya vergisini ödememiş, ya bilmem ne. Yakalandık, diyor, bu kez bittik, iyicene sonumuz geldi. Bunları alıyorlar. Ne jandarma niye gittiklerini biliyor, ne adam biliyor, ne jandarma çavuşu biliyor. Böyle yayan-yapıldak, Adana ilçelerinin dağlık yollarından vilayete kadar, epeyce uzun yollar yürüyerek, merkeze varıyorlar ve polise devrediyorlar...[türkücü] dedi ki:

Beni, işte aynı bu şekilde, jandarma yakaladı, geldik ve size türküleri söyledik. Hatta kendi söyleyeceğinden farklı söylemiş. Niye öyle söyledin? diye sorduğumuzda, Yahu, benim üstüme ne vazife. Beni getirdiniz jandarma ile ben de size, böyle iki türküyü birbirine kattım da söyledim, dedi.”

[38] “Biz ayrıldıktan sonra, derleme yaptığımız köylerin birinde şöyle bir konuşma olmuş; -Yahu, bunlar hafiyeler olmasın! –Yok canım, bunların hepsi tanıdık adamlar – Sen asıl tanıdıktan kork. Tanımadığımız kimseler olsa bizden ne koparacaklardır? Yanlarında deli deli söylendik, ne malımız varsa meydana döktük.”

[39] “Bunun bestesini bilmiyorum. Zaten köylü türküsüdür. Ve köylülerle fazla teması olan bir akrabamdan derledim. Tabii onlar bestesini biliyorlar.”

[40] “...Zekeriya çavuş adlı birinin dersten sonra yazısının düzgünlüğünü göstermek üzere bir koşma yazıp getirdiğini gördüm. Nerede bulunduğunu sorduğumda; Muallim efendi ben bunlardan çok bilirim, dedi. O günden sonra Zekeriya çavuşun yakasını bırakmadım. Ve hemen her gün onu derslerden sonra bir kenara çekip bildiklerini not etmeğe çalıştım. Mısraları çok defa yanlış söylüyor becerip çıkaramıyordu. O zaman hemşerilerinden orada bulunan diğer iki kişiye daha tekrar ettiriyor bir kısmını da yakınlıkla ve söz gelişine göre çıkararak düzeltiyordum. İşte bu tetkik böylece meydana geldi.”

[41] “Dolayısıyla elde edilen eserlerin büyük bir kısmı, ilmi kıymetten uzak, gelişmiş güzel mesailerin mahsülü olarak kalmıştır.”

## **APPENDIX G**

### **THE ORIGINAL OF TRANSLATION IN CONCLUSION CHAPTER**

[1] “Baksanıza güneşin yeniden parlaması için benim çekip gitmem yeterli olmuş.”